

Early Salesian Regulations: Formation in the Preventive System

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In the fourth volume of the *Biographical Memoirs of St. John Bosco*, we read:

On another Sunday afternoon Don Bosco was visited by two distinguished priests from out-of-town. "My companion and I would like to visit your Oratory and observe your method of teaching," one of them said.

"Your arrival at this very moment is providential. Would you be so good as to help me with the catechism classes? Afterward, we'll be able to talk at our own leisure." Then he turned to the one who seemed to be the more important of the two and said, "Would you please take care of the older boys? They are in the chapel, back of the main altar."

"Gladly!" replied the priest.

"And you," Don Bosco said addressing the other, "would you mind teaching another group in the sanctuary? The boys in that group are the most restless."

Don Bosco somehow sensed that his two visitors were not just ordinary priests, and he also noticed that they were expert catechists. As soon as the services were over, Don Bosco eagerly looked for them to make their acquaintance. "This is Father Rosmini, founder of the Institute of Charity," one of them said, gesturing to the other.

"I'm not surprised now that you taught catechism so well," Don Bosco added. Then turning to the other priest, he said, "And might I ask your name, Father?"

"I'm Father Giuseppe De Gaudenzi."

"The canon archpriest of Vercelli?"

"Yes."¹

¹ Giovanni Battista Lemoyne, Eugenio Ceria, Angelo Amadei, *Biographical Memoirs of St. John Bosco* (New Rochelle NY: Don Bosco Publications 1965-, 16 vol. of English translation to date) [=BM] IV:24-25, condensed. These volumes

Most readers would take the above as a charming story, and so it is. But the two distinguished visitors were actually following Don Bosco's *Regulations for the Oratory*, ancestor to the Regulations of the Salesians which explain their rule, the Constitutions.

Much attention has been devoted to the Constitutions of the Salesian Society, both in their earliest and most recent forms.² The first part of this study,

translate *id.*, *Memorie Biografiche di San Giovanni Bosco* (Turin: SEI, 1898-1939, 19 vol.) [=MB].

Father Antonio Rosmini-Serbati (1797-1855) was an Italian patriot, philosopher and theologian, a friend of Don Bosco, founder of the Institute of Charity. His collected works run to dozens of volumes; among them are the controversial *Five Wounds of the Church* (Lugano, 1848) and *A Constitution Based on Social Justice* (Milan, 1848).

² The most important texts of the Constitutions are:

Texts by Don Bosco:

Regolamento della Congregazione di San Francesco di Sales [1858?], manuscript copy of 1858 by Michele Rua with corrections by Don Bosco. Text also in *Costituzioni della Società di San Francesco di Sales* [1858]-1875, critical edition by Francesco Motto (Rome, LAS 1982) [=Const. FM], text Ar; also Archivio Salesiano Centrale (1111 Via della Pisana, 00163 Rome) [=ASC] 022 (1). MB 5:931-940 and its English translation, BM V:635-645 have a version close to Motto's Ab text (1859).

*Regole o Costituzioni della Società di S. Francesco di Sales...*Torino 1875 [=1875 C] (Motto's text V; ASC 022 (101-103)).

Resulting from the 10th General Chapter [=GC 10].

Costituzioni della Società di San Francesco di Sales...(Torino, Tipografia Salesiana 1907). English translation: *Constitutions of the Society of St. Francis de Sales, Preceded by an Introduction written by the Founder Don John Bosco* (London, The Salesian Press 1907).

Resulting from GC 12:

Costituzioni e Regolamenti della Società di S. Francesco di Sales Precedute dall'introduzione scritta dal Fondatore Sac. Giovanni Bosco (Torino, SEI 1923). In English: *Constitutions and Regulations of the Society of St. Francis de Sales. Preceded by the introduction written by our Ven. Founder, Don Bosco* (London, The Salesian Press 1925).

Resulting from GC 17:

Costituzioni e Regolamenti della Società di S. Francesco di Sales...(Torino, Scuola Tipografica Salesiana 1954). In English: *Constitutions of the Society of St. Francis de Sales. Introduction written by the Founder Saint John Bosco* (Paterson, New Jersey, Don Bosco Technical School 1957).

Resulting from GC 19:

Costituzioni e Regolamenti della Società di S. Francesco di Sales...(Torino, Direzione Generale Opere Don Bosco 1966). In English: *Constitutions and Regulations of the Society of St. Francis de Sales, Preceded by the Introduction by our Founder Saint John Bosco* (Madras, Provincial Office 1967).

Resulting from GC 20:

Costituzioni e Regolamenti della Società di s. Francesco di Sales (Roma, Edi-

however, will examine that other body of Salesian particular law, the Regulations. It will trace their development from their earliest beginnings around 1850, the era of Father Rosmini's and Father De Guadenzi's Sunday afternoon visit, up to 1967. Certain structural features are retained throughout this entire period, but after 1972 an entirely different arrangement is adopted as a result of the Second Vatican Council and the Special General Chapter.

The second part of this study will show how the Regulations' structural development, and certain individual articles, shed light on the Salesians' evolving view of Don Bosco's way of educating. His method is called the Preventive System, and it is based on reason, religion, and kindness.³

trice SDB 1972). In English: *Constitutions and Regulations of the Society of St. Francis de Sales* (Rome, Editrice SDB 1972).

Resulting from GC 22, and currently in force:

Costituzioni e Regolamenti della Società di san Francesco di Sales (Roma, Editrice SDB 1984). In English: *Constitutions and Regulations of the Society of St. Francis de Sales* (Rome, Editrice SDB 1984).

Studies on the development of the Constitutions include those in Joseph Aubry (ed.), *Fedeltà e rinnovamento: studi sulle costituzioni salesiane* (Rome, LAS 1974): Pietro Stella, "Le Costituzioni salesiane fino al 1888"; François Desramaut, "Le Costituzioni salesiane dal 1888 al 1966" and "Il primo articolo delle Costituzioni salesiane dalle origini fino al 1966". There is also Desramaut's article-by-article study, *Les Constitutions Salesiennes de 1966: commentaire historique* (Rome, PAS 1969). See also Francis Maraccani, ed. *The Project of Life of the Salesians of Don Bosco* (Rome, Editrice SDB 1986). This is a weighty article-by-article commentary on the 1984 Constitutions, and has valuable historical summaries of the development of the Constitutions and Regulations.

³ A very brief introduction to the oldest Regulations as exemplars of the Preventive System is in Pietro Braido, *Il sistema preventivo di Don Bosco alle origini (1841-1862)*, in *Ricerche Storiche Salesiane [=RSS]* XIV:27 (luglio-dicembre 1995) 255-320, especially 283-286. The bland-sounding name "Preventive System" refers to a system of life education based on reason, religion and kindness, developed by Don Bosco and explained far better by his deeds than by treatise. The literature on Don Bosco's system in Italian is extensive, but readers of English can find it explained in Michael Ribotta, "The Day They Shut Down the Oratory School", in *Journal of Salesian Studies [=JSS]* II:1 (Spring 1991) 19-44; *id.*, "Training Boys to Earn a Living: The Beginnings of Vocational Education at the Oratory", in *JSS* IV:1 (Spring 1993) 61-86; *id.*, "The Roman Letter of 1884 and Its Aftermath", in *JSS* V:2 (Fall 1994) 1-22; *id.*, "Tough Love is not the Answer: Don Bosco's Views on Punishment", in *JSS* VI:1 (Spring 1995) 81-108. This last gives an overview of the meaning of the Italian "sistema preventivo" and how it compares with the common English translation "Preventive System" used here. See other views on that, and pre-Don Bosco thought on the system in Pietro Braido, *A Brief History of the Preventive System* (Rome, LAS 1993). Older but still readable are Paul Avallone, *Reason, Religion, Kindness: the Educational Method of St. John Bosco* (New Rochelle NY, Don Bosco Publications 1977); John Morrison, *The Educational Philosophy of St. John Bosco* (Hong Kong, Tang King Po School

Overview of the Regulations' Development

Early in the 120-year span of this study, the protagonist is Don Bosco. In the Valdocco district of the Northern Italian city of Turin he founds the Oratory of St. Francis de Sales, its attached hospice, and the Salesian Society; all the while he experiments with rules to govern these. Toward 1877, he enlists the help of trusted lieutenants to draft improved versions of these rules, while the Society expands beyond Turin and Italy. After that, the Salesian Society's General Chapters take over as the authors of the Regulations.

The Regulations for the Oratory

The first Salesian work is the Oratory, so it is no surprise to find its regulations among the first rule-making activities of Don Bosco. These rules govern the Oratory in its permanent location in Valdocco, beginning with the humble rented Pinardi shed.

First, a look at the structure of these rules. Every complete version has an introductory section, more developed in the earlier manuscripts. These sections usually have an introduction properly so called, then an historical sketch of the Valdocco Oratory up to 1854, followed by a statement of purpose. Later manuscripts have only this last item, which always ends with a list of the offices of the Oratory staff.

Then comes the first part of the Regulations proper, giving staff job descriptions. The second part contains the rules for the boys. These two parts change very little in their arrangement, while the individual articles undergo some development. Later, we will see how the *Regulations for the Houses* adopt this basic arrangement, and develop it extensively. Only one manuscript version of a special third part is extant, which adds rules for day and night elementary schools, special religious feasts and seasons, for lotteries, and for the librarian.⁴

Let us now review the sources for these regulations. The earliest manuscript in our possession is an autograph by Don Bosco. It has a full introduction with the historical sketch, statement of purpose and offices list, then parts one and two.⁵ In the *Memorie Biografiche*, Don Bosco's biographer Giovanni

1976).

⁴ The oratory regulations were finally published as *Regolamento dell'Oratorio di S. Francesco di Sales per gli Esterni* (Torino: Tipografia Salesiana 1877) [=RO 1877].

⁵ We can call this ms. A. *Piano di Regolamento dell'Oratorio di S. Francesco di Sales in Valdocco*, ASC 026, also on microfilm in Alfonso Torras (ed.), *Fondo Don Bosco* (Rome, Direzione Generale Opere Don Bosco 1980) microfiche [=FDB] 1972B3-C5; 1955B1-D5. The introduction and historical sketch (here, called

Battista Lemoyne⁶ says it dates to 1847. But this document must date from 1852 or later, because its art. 13 for catechists assigns them to posts near the altars of St. Aloysius and Our Lady, both in the Church of St. Francis de Sales dedicated that year. Before that, catechism instruction was held in the little one-altar Pinardi chapel, where Don Bosco sent Fathers Rosmini and DeGuadenzi. It does not seem to be later than 1853 or 1854, because there are no rules for the shops or internal high school introduced in that period.⁷ There are several

“Cenni54”) has been studied by Pietro Braido in *Don Bosco educatore: scritti e testimonianze*, ed. Pietro Braido (Rome, LAS 1992) [=DB Educatore] 85-150. Braido dates it no later than summer 1854: it talks about Count Cays’ donation for decoration of the Church of St. Francis de Sales, but does not mention the cholera outbreak of August of that year. The text of the rules is on slightly different paper; that could vary 1 or 2 years from the date of the introduction and historical sketch. The rules page has as its first words a quote from John 11:52: *Ut filios Dei, qui erant dispersi, congregaret in unum*, “to gather into one the dispersed children of God.” This is then crossed out. The quote is also the beginning of the introduction, so the rules could be from 1852 and the introduction and sketch made in 1854 to replace “Ut filios” as an expanded introduction.

⁶ Giovanni Battista Lemoyne (1839-1916) was ordained for the diocese of Genoa, then as a young priest he met Don Bosco on the last autumn outing with his boys to his hometown of Becchi and other nearby towns. This took place in 1864. He joined the Salesians practically on the spot, then in the space of a single year proved his worth as a novice, perpetually professed member and director at Lanzo. In 1877 he directed the Daughters of Mary Help of Christians (Salesian Sisters, FMA) at Mornese then at Nizza Monferrato until 1883. Then he went to Valdocco to edit the *Salesian Bulletin* and to serve as secretary of the Superior Chapter. In 1888, he began work on the *Memorie Biografiche*: he produced 45 volumes of proofs, and brought 9 volumes to publication. A prolific biographer, he crafted portraits of such varied figures as Christopher Columbus, Luther, Calvin, Hernan Cortes, Bartolomeo de las Casas, St. Secundus, St. John the Apostle and Mamma Margaret. Father Lemoyne died on Sept. 14, 1916. *BM* XV:588-589; Tiburzio Lupo in *Dizionario biografico dei salesiani* (Torino, Ufficio Stampa Salesiana 1969) [=Diz. bio.] 166-167.]

⁷ *Regulations for the Oratory*, “The Chapel Subassistants” art. 2 (*BM* III:445), “The Catechists” art. 13 (*ibid.*, 445) mention the same two altars and also the “big door” (translated “main entrance”). *BM* III:81 describes Don Bosco teaching catechism to the adults in the “choir”, or apse behind the altar. Both the Pinardi chapel and the Church of St. Francis de Sales had one; the former being a simple room behind another that served as sacristy, and thus once removed from the altar. In John Bosco (St.), *Memoirs of the Oratory* (translated by Daniel Lyons. New Rochelle NY, Don Bosco Publications 1989) [=MO] 268, we read how he took a boy for confession through the sacristy to this little “coro” or apse. *Ibid.*, 366, and the Father Rosmini story in *BM* IV:24-25 shows him taking his class in the same place. See the descriptions and layouts in Fedele Giraudi, *L’Oratorio di don Bosco* (Torino, SEI 1929) 66-71 (the Pinardi chapel); 106 (Church of St. Francis de Sales, based on *MO* 387-388). This work shows how the buildings at the Valdocco oratory grew from 1846 to 1929. Another *terminus a quo*: Part 2, ch. 1, art. 8 on acceptance, and ch.

copies of this in the Salesian archives, some incomplete. All manuscripts in this group have errors in harmonizing the list of jobs in the statement of purpose with the chapters that actually follow.⁸

10 of the same part, art. 5 both mention the Society of Mutual Aid, founded in 1850. Or was it 1852, a date is given in *MO* 387?

Note 12 below relates this text of the *Regulations for the Oratory* in *BM* III to other manuscript and printed versions.

⁸ Ms. B: *Regolamento Primitivo dell'Oratorio*, FDB 1955 D6-1956B3, by the seminarian Michele Rua. In pencil an archivist has marked "1854". It has a complete introduction and includes ms. B of Pietro Braido's study of Cenni54: "Documenti di pedagogia narrativa", in *DB Educatore*, 89-90.

Ms. C: *Regolamento Primitivo dell'Oratorio di S. Francesco di Sales*. FDB 1972C8-C9 (Introduction), 1956B4-D10 (Cenni54, part 1, part 2). B4-C2 is Braido's ms. C of Cenni54: see *DB Educatore* 90-91.

Ms. D: *Regolamento Primitivo dell'Oratorio di S. Francesco di Sales*. FDB 1972C6-C7 (introduction), 1956D11-E10 (Cenni54). This is Braido's ms. D in *DB Educatore* 91-92. No manuscript of attached oratory rules has been found. Bonetti has added to the margin of its first page: "The dates are a little inexact." There are pencil notations: "MB II, 45" "1854". The word "Introduzione" is in quite good calligraphy.

Translation of Bonetti's notation by author. Except where noted, all translations from the Italian are the work of the author.

Ms. E: *1° Regolamento Oratorio Festivo*. ASC 026 (5); FDB 1956E11-1957C4. It has the two rules parts, but no introduction except a statement of purpose. One archivist has written "1852" on it, and another "[1854]". There are also many references to the Italian *Biographical Memoirs*: vol. 3:91-92, 98-108, 111, 125-126, 162-164, 167, 218-219, 467-468; 7:46, 853-856. Most of these correctly point to rules sets in the Italian original of document Z (see note 12, below). Part of this is translated in *BM* III:441-459, 463; but none of the material in *MB* volume 7 is translated.

Ms. G: "Parte Seconda". ASC 026 (7); FDB 1957D7-E4. It is the work of one copyist, the calligrapher who did ms. D. It apparently was done from ms. B, because it ends with a doodle "Laus WG.N.G. Deo", an unthinking imitation of the "Laus W GMG Deo" at the end of ms. B. The "w gmg" stands for *viva Gesù, Maria e Giuseppe*, "Long live Jesus, Mary and Joseph". This copyist was active in the 1854 effort that produced the historical sketch Cenni54.

The titles give us a clue for dating. A is called "Draft Regulations for the Oratory of St. Francis de Sales", while B, C and E have "First Regulations" or "Primitive Regulations". This seems to date them somewhat after 1854, perhaps as late as 1860: long enough for something from 1852 to be called "primitive".

Giovanni Battista Bonetti (1838-1891) entered the oratory at Valdocco as a student in 1855. He distinguished himself in study and piety, and was elected a councilor at the foundation meeting of the Salesian Society on Dec. 18, 1859, in Don Bosco's room. Ordained a priest in 1864, he taught and wrote extensively. He was named the first editor of the *Salesian Bulletin*. When Bishop Cagliero had to give up the office of Spiritual Director, the Fourth General Chapter elected Bonetti in 1886 to that post. He was remembered fondly by the Daughters of Mary Help of Christians for his kindly and skillful service as their Director General. According to

We also have transition manuscripts, intermediate between the earlier ones and the printed versions. One of these has new, more developed versions of some articles. The differences are not great; we can assign it a date in the late 1850s. Another in the transition group was written after 1862, and is our only witness to that special third part of the published version.⁹

We reach a witness close to the other parts of the printed 1877 *Regulations for the Oratory* (abbreviated "RO 1877") with a manuscript probably from the middle 1870s. The first manuscript to get the list of offices to agree with the chapters in part 1, it contains corrections by Michele Rua¹⁰ on a text already developed beyond the early group. Where all previous versions gave the title "rector" to the head of the oratory, this one and all after it call him the "director". He has seven articles in this and all later versions, where earlier ones

a prediction by Don Bosco, he would be the first of the Superior Chapter to follow the Founder to the grave. And so it happened, in 1891. Fr. Bonetti's works include numerous anti-Protestant broadsides, *Don Bosco's Early Apostolate*, and several biographies. Eugenio Ceria, "Bonetti sac. Giovanni, direttore spirituale generale", in *Profili dei Capitolari Salesiani* (Colle Don Bosco, LDC 1951); Giovanni Battista Francesia, *D. Giovanni Bonetti* (San Benigno Canavese, Tipografia Salesiana 1894).

⁹ Ms. F: *Prime Regole dell'Oratorio di S. Francesco in Valdocco* (Torino [sic, no closing parenthesis], in a different hand from the first two parts. ASC 026 (6); FDB 1957C5-1958A3. Part 1, and a fragment of part 2 of a complete rules set. It is the work of two copyists, one of whom manages to skip two chapters promised in the list of offices.

Ms. H has only the third part: "Parte Terza Delle Scuole elementari diurne e Serali," ASC 026 (9), FDB 1957E5-1958A3. This the work of three different copyists. A notation in the left margins refers to "MB VIII 853 026 (9)". A crossed-out chapter title, "The feast of Mary Help of Christians" dates this to after 1862.

¹⁰ Michele Rua (1837-1910) was born in Turin. He attended the elementary school of the Christian Brothers, then came to live with Don Bosco at the oratory in 1852. In January of 1854, he was among the group of four that privately promised Don Bosco a "test in the practice of active charity towards their neighbors", and was in the founding Salesian group of Dec. 18, 1859. Michael was one of Don Bosco's first assistants, first teachers, one of his first priests. In 1863, Don Bosco sent the recently ordained Michael as Director of the third Salesian house at Mirabello, where he was another Don Bosco to the boys. Then Don Bosco called him back to Turin to be his second-in-command as Prefect General, then Vicar in 1885. Father Rua guided the Congregation by wide-ranging visits, incisive circular letters, and no less than six General Chapters until his death in 1910. All this activity established the institutional face of the Congregation for decades to come. Augustine Auffray, *Fr. Michael Rua* (manuscript translation by Francis Klauder SDB, South Orange NJ); Angelo Franco, *The Heroic Fidelity of Venerable Michael Rua, Disciple of, and Successor to, Saint John Bosco* (Paterson NJ, Salesiana Publishers 1955); Peter Lappin, *The Wine in the Chalice* (New Rochelle NY, Salesiana Publishers 1972).

gave him nine. The statement of purpose also changes substantially: there is no longer mention of "this congregation", and there is a reference to "the work of the Oratories".¹¹

In explaining how the *Regulations for the Oratory* grew and eventually reached print, Father Lemoyne presents a composite text in the *Memorie Biografiche*. It has a kind of variants apparatus, which the translation editors of the English *Biographical Memoirs* have kept. Material supposedly added after 1852 is printed within parentheses, and discarded material is printed in italics. Lemoyne advertises the normal text and that in italics, minus the text in parentheses, as being written in 1847, but this is almost certainly not the case.¹² Lemoyne's primitive text is, however, close to the early ones discussed above. The result of adding the text in parentheses and subtracting that in italics he gives as equivalent to an 1887 printed edition of the *Regulations for the Oratory*, and indeed it is practically the same as RO 1877. Its third part, and that of RO 1877, appear to come directly from the post-1862 manuscript.

The Regulations for the Houses

Since the Oratory was insufficient to shelter very poor and abandoned boys, Don Bosco began in 1847 to take them into his house and help them. Shortly after, in the early 1850s when their number had grown, and there was an "annex house" for them, he started to make rules for those boys and for his house staff. The *Biographical Memoirs* tell a story of Don Bosco's far-reaching plans, to be based on this house and the people in it:

Don Bosco, after listening to Canon Gastaldi's arguments, made it immediately clear he was not in favor of such a plan. He added, "You have your plan, Canon. I too have my plan. Let each go his way in freedom. The only thing that matters is to do good. Besides, I must be independent. To care for many

¹¹ Ms. I: *Regolamento Dell'Oratorio Esterno di S. Francesco di Sales*. ASC 026 (8); FDB 1958A4-C8. A ms. with corrections by Rua to Part 1, some dealing with layout and typographical matters. This suggests a date close to the 1877 *terminus ad quem*, when the *Regulations for the Oratory* were printed. Rua preparing an important text for the press corresponds not to the young cleric of ms. B, but to the prefect of the oratory. Father Rua assumed this position after Father Alasonatti died on Oct. 7, 1865.

¹² Document Z: Composite text reported by Lemoyne in MB 3:91, 98-108, 111, 125-126, 162-164, 167, 467-468; BM III:67-68, 441-459, 463. The base text supposedly of 1847 is closest to ms. F, and (approximately) RO 1877 = ms. F + (Z text in parentheses) - Z text in italics. Against giving an 1847 date to the primitive material, we have the *terminus a quo* of 1852 for ms. A, the earliest of *Regulations for the Oratory*. BM IV:534-535 has some additions that Don Bosco supposedly made "some time after the blessing of the church of St. Francis de Sales" (p. 310).

boys I shall need priests and clerics [seminary students], men who will depend entirely on me and not on others.”

“Does that mean you intend to found a congregation?” Father Durando asked.

“Call it what you want. I must open oratories, build chapels and churches, conduct catechism classes and schools; and unless I have a loyal staff I cannot do anything.”

“But how will you be able to do all that? You would need buildings and heaps of money!”

“*Would* need them? I already *do* need them, and what’s more I’m going to have them.”¹³

We shall see that Don Bosco’s *Regulations for the Houses* tell us much about how he got all that staff, buildings and money.

Once again, there is an almost invariant two-part structure as in the *Regulations for the Oratory*: rules for staff, then rules for boys. There can also be variable additions, such as an introduction or appendix. The following table shows the similarity in basic structure between the *Regulations for the Oratory* and the *Regulations for the Houses*:

¹³ *BM* III:320-321, condensed.

Table 1. Structures of the Regulations for the Oratory and the Regulations for the Houses

<i>Regulations for the Oratory</i> ¹⁴	<i>Early Regulations for the Houses</i> ¹⁵	<i>Regulations for the Houses (R 1877)</i> ¹⁶
Introduction (Early mss. only)	Part I	The Preventive System in the Education of Youth
Historical sketch (Early mss. only)	Purpose	General Articles
Part I	1. Acceptance	First Part: Particular Regulations
1. The Rector or Director	2. The Rector	I. The Director
2. The Prefect	3. The Prefect	II. The Prefect
3. The Spiritual Director or Catechist	4. The Catechist	III. The Catechist
[10 other offices]	[4 other offices]	[14 other offices]
Part II	Appendix for Students Acceptance Religious conduct Study	Second Part: Regulations for the Houses of the Congregation of St. Francis de Sales
Rules for all staff members (ends Part I in mss versions. Role similar to General Articles in R 1877.)		I. Purpose of the Houses of the Congregation of St. Francis de Sales
1. Conditions of Acceptance	Second Part: Discipline of the House	II. Admission
2. Behavior in Recreation	1. Piety	III. Piety
3. Behavior in Church	2. Work	IV. Behavior in Church
[7 other chapters]	[5 other chapters]	[11 other chapters]
	Things strictly forbidden in the house Three evils to be avoided	XVI. Things strictly forbidden in the house; three evils to be avoided
Part III (late addition)		Appendix to the Regulations of the House: how to write letters

These sets of rules have come down to us in the Salesian archives in many manuscript versions, leading up to their first publication as the 1877 *Regula-*

¹⁴ *Regulations for the Oratory* manuscripts A, B, C, E and I, documents Z and RO 1877.

¹⁵ *Regulations for the Houses* manuscripts D, E, F; document G. See the note 18 below describing the manuscripts and their groups.

¹⁶ *Regulations for the Houses*, or *Regolamento per le Case della Società di S. Francesco di Sales* (Turin: Tipografia Salesiana, 1877) [=R 1877].

tions for the Houses (abbreviated “R 1877”). Earlier versions always begin with a statement of purpose and a chapter on conditions for acceptance, which ends with a list of the six core offices in the house: the rector, the prefect, the catechist, the assistants, the sponsors, and finally the service personnel. Then come the rules themselves, one chapter for each office. Later manuscripts drop the sponsors and add chapters for other offices, but often the list at the end of the acceptance chapter does not reflect the change—a defect we also saw in early manuscripts of the *Regulations for the Oratory*. A late development is the transfer of the purpose and acceptance chapters to the second part, containing the rules for the boys.

One of these rules was applied by Mamma Margaret when she scolded a young apprentice: “Don Bosco sweats blood from morning to night trying to provide you with food, and yet you refuse to work? Aren’t you ashamed to eat what you haven’t earned?” The boys are told to earn the bread they eat in the second part of the house rules.¹⁷ Such is the tenor of one of the rules in the second part, for boys. This part always has chapters on piety, work, behavior towards superiors, behavior towards schoolmates, modesty, behavior in the house, and behavior outside the house. Only at the very end of the process, toward 1877, do we find structural changes here.

Early manuscripts have an “Appendix for Students”, consisting of a special statement of purpose, special conditions for acceptance, and a chapter on study. This appendix deals with youngsters taking a classical secondary course leading to the priesthood or the professions, as opposed to the “artisans”, or trades apprentices who up to the middle 1850s had formed the bulk of the resident population. The appendix comes at the end of the first part, separate from the bigger block of rules for all boarders in the second part. Only late in the process leading up to the printed R 1877 is this appendix combined with the general statement of purpose and the general admissions conditions, and the result placed at the head of part 2, the rules for the boys. This results in a cleaner two-part structure, with no appendix, similar to the earlier arrangements of the *Regulations for the Oratory*.

Adding, Changing and Subtracting Offices

Now let us look at changes at the chapter level to the *Regulations for the Houses* up to their publication in 1877. The earliest manuscripts all come from the early 1850s, a period contributing rules in which the prefect both manages the internal shops, and records the employment conditions of artisans working outside the house in small, pre-industrial cottage industries. In the *Biographical Memoirs* volume 4, Father Lemoyne gives us a text of these early rules based on these manuscripts. We have from this time an addition to

¹⁷ BM III:260. The rule is in BM IV:553.

the second part by Don Bosco against "Three evils to be avoided above all else": blasphemy, impurity and stealing.¹⁸

New offices are added almost immediately, and the list of them develops right up until 1877. The earliest group of complete rules sets contains a chapter for the shop teacher, even though this office is not listed among those at the end of the acceptance chapter. Don Bosco began adding shops in 1853.¹⁹

¹⁸ The earliest mss. are incomplete. Fragments in what we may call the A group of *Regulations for the Annex House*:

Ms. A: *Piano di regolamento per la Casa annessa all'Oratorio di S. Francesco di Sales in Valdocco*, in FDB 1958C9-D2, ASC 026 (20). Ms. of unidentified copyist with corrections by Don Bosco. It contains the statement of purpose, the acceptance conditions chapter, and most of the offices part. It breaks off at the first article on the sponsors, p. 4, then resumes with a fragment of a students' appendix, pp. 9-10. Marginal archivist's notations: "1854?"; "MB IV:735", which is the beginning of document G (see below, D group).

Ms. B: *Piano di regolamento per la casa annessa all'Oratorio di S. Francesco di Sales*, in FDB 1958 D3-D5, ASC 026 (21). Ms. of Michele Rua incorporating corrections made to ms. A. It contains the statement of purpose and acceptance conditions chapters, and most of the offices part. It breaks off at the 6th article on the assistants.

Ms. C: "Parte II/Disciplina della Casa", in FDB 1958E2-1959A3. Don Bosco and two unknown copyists, with corrections by Don Bosco. The ms. is of an incomplete Part II by an unknown copyist; the last chapter is "Contegno fuori della Casa" or "Behavior Outside the House", 12 articles. The last page is page 11, written by Don Bosco on dog-eared paper, with the first occurrence of "3 mali sommamente da fuggirsi", or "Three evils to be avoided above all else": FDB 1958E12. Then 12-14 have the first chapter on service personnel, "Servitù", by a different unidentified copyist, with corrections by Don Bosco. Notations "MB IV 741" and "MB IV 742" point to this chapter in document G (see below). This would be ch. 8 of Part I, but is out of order. It has three rules sets for the cook, custodian, and door-keeper, in FDB 1959A1-A3.

Complete mss. from this period make up the D group:

Ms. D: *Piano di regolamento per la casa annessa all'Oratorio di S. Francesco di Sales*, in FDB 1960B4-D9. A notation reads "1852"; another, "MB IV 735", pointing to document G. It appears to be based on mss. A and C.

Ms. E: *Piano di regolamento per la casa annessa all'Oratorio di S. Francesco di Sales*, in FDB 1959A4-D3. Ms. of unidentified copyist with corrections by Don Bosco. Its uncorrected version is essentially ms. D.

Ms. F: *Piano di regolamento per la casa annessa all'Oratorio di S. Francesco di Sales*, in 1959D4-1960B3. Ms. of the copyist of ms. B. Notations: "'1852'(?)" "Observed in 1853 - there is another copy." It is a clean copy of the corrected ms. E.

From the *Biographical Memoirs* comes Document G: *Primo piano di regolamento per la casa annessa all'Oratorio di S. Francesco di Sales*, in MB 4:735-755. Translation in BM IV:542-559, but the author prefers to translate the title with *Draft Regulations for the Oratory Annex House*. It contains features of mss. D and F.

¹⁹ See BM IV:458-463; IV:549, 574; V:5, 20-24, 497-499; VI:129-131; VII:38-42, 70-74 continue with the other shops; see Eugenio Ceria, *Annali della Società Salesiana* (Turin: SEI 1941), 650-651 for Don Bosco's difficulties in arriv-

There is a manuscript from this early period in Don Bosco's handwriting that drafts a chapter for the duties of the service personnel, those who did the cooking, washing, cleaning and mending. Mamma Margaret had been doing this in the Pinardi shed since 1846; later other generous "Mammas" joined as unpaid volunteer help. Some cooks and other domestic help were hired.²⁰

Beginning in 1854, persons called "coadjutors" begin to join the students and artisans.²¹ They did domestic work while resident in the little community; the rules for service personnel applied to them, but the name "coadjutor" does not appear in the *Regulations for the Houses* until 1867. Then the chapter title was changed to read "Coadjutors, or persons entrusted with material work." Only toward 1877 do we find a single rule relating to Salesian coadjutors: their practices of piety are prescribed in the Constitutions, not those laid out here for the non-Salesian coadjutors.²²

ing at a satisfactory organization for the shops.

²⁰ See above, ms. C.

²¹ See *ibid.*, also Pietro Stella, "The Salesian brothers (1854-1974): Development of his Social-Professional Profile", in Mario Midali, Pietro Stella, Gustave Leclercq, Paolo Natali, and Mario Seren Tha, *Acts World Congress Salesian Brothers* (Madras, SIGA 1976), showing how "coadjutors" appear in the master registers of entries and exits. He also studies their role before Salesian coadjutors appear.

²² There are two groups of sources from this period of the 1860s. One consists of at least two, and possibly three, adaptations of the rules of the Valdocco oratory to other Salesian houses. Two houses are named: Mirabello, founded in 1863; and Lanzo, founded in 1864. A date in the early 1860s, therefore, is suggested. In detail, this "other houses group" consists of:

Ms. H: "Del Rettore," in *FDB* 1958D6-E1, ASC 026 (22). Acephalic ms. of Don Bosco. No introduction, statement of purpose or first chapter on acceptance; it begins with chapter 2, on the Rector. "MB IV 736" (points to document G) is in the top right corner; "MB VI 863" (points to document J) is written in the left margin near art. 2 of the Rector. This ms. has a reduced office set like those of the A and D groups, but has the multi-catechist feature of the 1867 group (see below, this note). It appears to be based on something derived from ms. F.

Ms. I: *Piano di regolamento pel collegio convitto di S. Filippo Neri in Lanzo*, in *FDB* 1966B10-E12. A notation "VII 863" points to document J, a draft regulations set for Mirabello beginning at MB 7:863.

Ms. J: *Regolamento pel collegio convitto di s. Carlo in Mirabello*, printed in MB 7:863-869 but not in BM. See BM VII:313-315 for Lemoyne's view of the educational function and interplay of the core offices.

Mss. I and J share some language similarities with ms. H.

The second group can be called the "1867 group", after the dates on two of its three manuscripts:

Ms. K: *Regolamento della Casa di S. Francesco di Sales in Torino 1867*, in *FDB* 1962C9-1963D2. Ms. of Gioachino Berto, according to a notation on the cover. Another says: "with retouches by Don Bosco". Another notation, "MB IV 735", points to document G.

Manuscripts of rules for the houses at Lanzo and Mirabello name the local superior of the house "director" instead of "rector".²³ These date from the early 1860s, when these houses were founded, and before a general rules set for all Salesian houses was attempted.

At this time, Don Bosco experimented with multiple catechists. Besides the one present in the core group of offices, special catechists of workers, artisans, and students appear, then mostly disappear in the 1870s.²⁴

Adding the Preventive System

Explicit reference to Don Bosco's Preventive System of education is visible only in the printed R 1877, but its ideas are present from the beginning. This we will see later, when we examine the educational significance of all the Regulations. There is a related section, however, called the "General Articles", whose development can be traced back to 1867.

Beginning in that year, a single "General Article" begins to appear right after the offices list that closes the acceptance chapter, and before the chapter on

Ms. L: *Regolamento della Casa annessa all'Oratorio di S. Francesco di Sales in Torino 1867*, in FDB 1960D10-1962C8. Ms. of an unknown copyist, with corrections by Don Bosco. Its uncorrected version is essentially ms. K.

Ms. M: *Regolamento della casa dell'Oratorio di s. Franc. di Sales*, in FDB 1963D3-1964D9. Unknown copyist, writing after 1865 in a copybook that once belonged to the schoolboy Michele Rua. It also has corrections by Don Bosco, this time on an uncorrected version that is essentially ms. L.

On ms. K, "Coadjutors", art. 1, Don Bosco changes "service personnel" to "coadjutors"; the 1870s ms. N (see below) has the "coadjutors" title but "coadjutors, or persons entrusted with material work" in the first article. Ms. K and the 1867 group all have a coadjutor leading the service personnel as catechist. Only in ms. Q (see below) do we find the reference to Salesian coadjutors.

Gioachino Berto (1847-1914) came to Valdocco for study, quickly became Don Bosco's trusted secretary even while still a seminarian, and filled that office for some 20 years. His chronicles, preserved in the Society's archives, are of great value for the early history of the Congregation. Young Gioachino was ordained in 1871. He served as catechist of students at Valdocco, archivist, ascetical and devotional writer, moderator of sodalities, and revered confessor of boys up to his last days. Amedeo Rodinò, "Berto sac. Gioachino, segretario di don Bosco", in Amedeo Rodinò, *Diz. Bio.* 38-39.

²³ In the "other houses" group, the change is introduced with ms. I. The "1867" group has "Rector" everywhere. In the "1877" group, ms. O has "Rector" in its uncorrected version, corrected to "Director" everywhere. Mss. Q and R 1877 simply have "Director" everywhere.

²⁴ Mss. H, K, and L all have a full set of four catechists. M combines the workers' catechist into the artisans' catechists; all later versions retain the artisans' catechist with the general catechist. Ms. H is from the early 1860s; K, L and M are the 1867 group. See note 22 above on dating these individual manuscripts. See also BM III:253 for an early view of the artisans' catechists in action.

the director. It says that all staff members should advise and correct the boys when necessary, and is a constant feature in all complete versions right up to the rules printed in 1877. One of the last manuscripts contains a notation by Don Bosco: "general articles" over the crossed-out single 1867 general article; another includes the 10 on some inserted pages by Don Bosco.²⁵

²⁵ See mss. K, L, M (the mss. in the 1867 group), and this later "1877 group":

Ms. N: *Piano di regolamento per la casa annessa all'Oratorio di S. Francesco di Sales*, in FDB 1964E7-1966B9, ASC 026 (31). A complete regulations set with new offices and 10 "General Articles". It has the single general article on p. 5, FDB 1965A3. Inserted are four pages by Don Bosco, 1964E11-1965A2, bearing the notation "For p. 4 of the Regs." 1964E10 is that page 4, which has the end of the acceptance chapter and the offices list. The first of the 10 general articles is the old 1867 single general article.

Ms. O: *Piano di regolamento per le case della Società di S. Francesco di Sales*, in FDB 1967A1-D3, ASC 026 (40). Ms. by an unidentified copyist, with corrections by Michele Rua. A complete regulations set, it uses the old Part I—Appendix for Students—Part II arrangement. A new one is suggested in a note by Rua on the first page, and ms. P is an attempt to implement it.

This ms. has an acceptance chapter in the old position, but it is all crossed out. Then comes the single general article.

Ms. P: "Scopo di questa Casa", in FDB 1964E5-E6, ASC 026 (30). This is a draft of unified statement of purpose and acceptance chapters, combining their general forms and those special forms for students found in earlier mss. This unification was suggested by Rua in a marginal note on ms. O, and adopted in R 1877. It has no general articles.

Ms. Q: *Regolamento per le Case della Società di S. Francesco di Sales Torino Topografia Salesiana 1877*, in FDB 1967D4-1968A12, ASC 026 (41). Ms. of the same unidentified copyist as ms. O, with corrections by Don Bosco and Father Rua. It contains the offices part only. There is no statement of purpose or acceptance chapter, so the new ms. P plan of putting those in the boys' part is being followed. Ms. Q has only the single general article in the usual place, but Don Bosco adds a note "General Articles", over a crossed-out title "General Article". He wants the full set of 10 to go here, instead of the single, ancestor one present since 1867.

Ms. S: *Regole Disciplinari*, in FDB 1965E7 - 1966A3, ASC 026(32). Ms. of Giulio Barberis, with many corrections by him and by Don Bosco. It covers Part II of the house regulations only, and seems to use the old plan, because there is no statement of purpose or acceptance chapter here.

In book 12, XII of his chronicle, Father Barberis says he worked on the discipline part of a late ms. of R 1877, and added material he had often discussed with Father Rua. This may be that material; many corrections are in Barberis' handwriting. See BM XII: 273; Braido, *DB Educatore*, 212.

These general articles are the subject of a fine study by Pietro Braido, "Il 'Sistema preventivo' in un 'decalogo' per educatori", *RSS* IV:1 (Jan. - June 1985) 138-142, later republished as "Gli 'Articoli Generali' del 'Regolamento per le case' (1877)", in Braido, *Don Bosco Educatore* 275-291; the set of 10 is his ms. B.

There is a predecessor: Don Bosco's "General Rules for those having the direction or assistance of the boys", in FDB 1968E12-1969A2. This version has only 8

The 1877 printing of the *Regulations for the Houses* begins with Don Bosco's famous treatise on the Preventive System, followed by the ten general articles, then the house regulations themselves. These have been printed in that order in all succeeding Regulations versions up to and including 1967. No prior regulations manuscript includes any part of this treatise, first published as part of a booklet commemorating the opening that year of an orphanage in Nice.²⁶ The placement of the treatise before the general articles in R 1877 has given rise to the idea that the ten should be considered the last chapter of the treatise. A competing idea is that the General Articles are just what the 10th one says they are, "the preliminary articles of our regulations." With their independence from the treatise here established, this last theory is to be preferred.²⁷

With the treatise on the preventive system and the General Articles as its new introduction, the entire R 1877 can be viewed as an introduction to and codification of the Preventive System: indeed, more than one succeeding General Chapter adopted precisely that view.²⁸

Two of the last manuscripts have a new article for the directors added by Father Rua: they will find their rules in the *Confidential Reminders for Directors*.²⁹

general articles, corresponding to articles 2-9 of the 10. None, then, corresponds to the 1867 general article. This is Braido's ms. A. He firmly dates both sets to spring 1877. Now we have a rough idea of the growth of the general articles:

1867 Single, ancestor general article

1877 8 "General rules"

1877 General rules added to the ancestor general article for insertion into the *Regulations for the Houses*. A concluding tenth article completes the insertion by explaining that all ten are "the preliminary articles of our Regulations." Compare the author's literal translation here with the invariant Italian: "Questi sono gli articoli preliminari del nostro Regolamento", and with the varying translations in published English versions: 1925 and 1967, "The foregoing articles serve as an introduction to our Regulations"; 1957: "These are the introductory articles of our Regulations."

²⁶ Giovanni Bosco, *Inaugurazione del Patronato di S. Pietro in Nizza a Mare* (Torino, Tipografia e Libreria Salesiana 1877), reprinted in Giovanni Bosco, *Opere Edite* (Roma, LAS 1977) [=OE] XXVIII:380-446.

²⁷ Braido's study, "Il 'Sistema preventivo' in un 'decalogo' ..." gives the two opinions on the relation of the general articles to the treatise, without taking a position. See pp. 276-280 comparing the two, and with some interesting notes on the placement of those articles in an 1899 edition of R 1894.

²⁸ A process studied by Braido, in the study cited in the note 27.

²⁹ Mss. O and Q. The *Reminders* are a development of an 1863 letter of Don Bosco to Father Rua on sending him to Mirabello as director. Text and critical edition in Francesco Motto, "Ricordi confidenziali ai direttori (1863)", in *DB Educatore* 153-166, which furnishes a critical text and is a short version of Francesco Motto, "Ricordi confidenziali ai direttori (1863)", in *RSS III* 4 (1984), 129-143.

Another late addition is an extensive reworking of the second part by Don Bosco and Father Giulio Barberis.³⁰ New chapters on behavior in church, in class and in the study hall, on cleanliness, hikes and the theater are added; the others have considerable changes to their individual articles. An appendix on letter writing, later adopted by R 1877, makes its first appearance here.³¹

Finally, rules sets on the theater and infirmary are present in the finished 1877 Regulations. Those for the infirmary do not appear in any manuscript, but the theater is the subject of one of Barberis' new chapters for the second part. There are, in addition, individual rules sets for these two operations. They all are essentially rules for the theater manager or infirmarian, and must date from shortly before 1877.³²

The Work of the First Six General Chapters

The Annual Conferences

In all these rules sets there is very little for the Salesians in their life as religious. The Constitutions, approved in 1874, did supply some general guide-

BM VII:317-319 translates the 1863 *Ricordi*; *MB* 19:1041-1050 and *BM* X:447-452 have an 1871 printed text. Rua is referring to the 1871 edition here.

Motto identifies two manuscript sources: the latter in *FDB* 46E10-47A1, and an ms. of the 1871 edition: *FDB* 1361E6 - 1362A7.

³⁰ Father Giulio Barberis (1847-1927) was born at Mathi, Northern Italy. He came to the Valdocco oratory in 1861, then first professed as a Salesian in 1865. Ordained in 1870, he was awarded a doctorate in theology from the University of Turin in 1873. Father Barberis also taught and wrote on geography, and was appointed to the Royal Geographic Society. Don Bosco appointed him novice master in 1874, a position he held for 25 years, not always full time. In 1879-1887, he was novice master at San Benigno. In 1887-1891, he was Director at Valsalice. From 1892 to 1900, he was a member of Superior Chapter as Novice Master General. He helped Fathers Rua and Raphael Piperni weld the Father Belloni orphanage in Palestine to the Salesian Congregation. In 1902-1911, he served as provincial of the Central Province. He was Spiritual Director General from 1910 until his death on Nov. 24, 1927. Perhaps his best-known work is a manual for Salesian novices, the *Vademecum*. A. Barberis, *Cenni biografici e memorie raccolte*, San Benigno Canavese: Tip. Salesiana, 1932; E. Ceria, in *Profili*, 305-324; Salesians, *Un Centenario* [at San Benigno Canavese] (Turin, Scuola Grafica Salesiana 1980), 26-27.

³¹ Ms. S: "Disciplina della Casa", in *FDB* 1965E7-1966A3, ASC 026 (32). Ms. of Part II with many corrections by Giulio Barberis and Don Bosco. It uses the old part two plan, with no statement of purpose or acceptance chapters.

³² We have a printed rules set "Infirmario/Torino, 22 Agosto 1876", *FDB* 1971D1, very similar to those in R 1877. For "Il teatrino", "The little theater", see the possibly much older *FDB* 1972A2-A5, then a much changed and much cleaner version in 1972A6.

lines, but there was nothing like the decades-tested *Regulations for the Houses* to govern Salesian religious life. Since the late 1860s, however, yearly meetings of directors had been taking place at the end of January, around the feast of St. Francis de Sales. In some years, meetings of prefects, and meetings at other times of the year, were added. These did consider religious life, and began to draft deliberations to regulate it. We can group these meetings under the name "annual conferences".³³ But after the publication of the *Regulations for the Houses*, the protagonists of this process will be the General Chapters.

GC 1 and GC 2

In the convocation and study book for the first General Chapter, Don Bosco does not explain much about its general purpose. Instead, he lists a large number of practical points, with detailed draft rules taken from the annual conferences, covering life in community, health and appearance, study, morality, clothing and laundry, financial administration, respect for superiors, hospitality and meals, religious practice, habit-forming activities, and vacations. There are blank pages here and there for suggestions. In the list are also some very important organizational topics: the provinces, the novitiates, and rules for the General Chapter itself.³⁴ Don Bosco states his purpose much more clearly in his reported opening discourse and in the book of the deliberations: the Chapter was to write the rules necessary to put the Constitutions into practice.³⁵

Only later would it become apparent how large this task was, and only much later would it be finished. GC 1 met for the better part of a month in 1877 without finishing its task. Instead, it authorized Don Bosco to put together and publish what was accomplished.³⁶ He did so, but once again asked GC 2 in 1880 to take up the codification task. Essentially the same areas were

³³ Sources: many manuscripts from 1868 to 1879 (?) are in *FDB* 1869 E6-1875B5. A copybook by Gioachino Berto contains summaries of the annual conference deliberations classified by topic: "Uffici particolari" and "Articoli estratti dalle Conferenze degli anni scorsi", in *FDB* 1968B8-E12. Berto was named archivist in 1873 by an annual conference decision; see the minutes in *FDB* 1870E2. His classifications into topics are similar to those considered at GC 1; see below.

³⁴ See Giovanni Bosco, *Capitolo Generale della Congregazione Salesiana da Convocarsi in Lanzo...* (Torino, Tipografia Salesiana 1877), also in *OE* XXVIII:313-336. The general purpose of the Chapter gets a sentence on p. 3.

³⁵ See *Deliberazioni del [primo] Capitolo Generale della Pia Società Salesiana...* (Turin: Tipografia e Libreria Salesiana, 1878) [=GC 1], 8-9; Ceria, *Annali* I:313; *BM* XIII: 178.

³⁶ GC 1 is published also in *OE* XXIX:377-472. Sources for the debates are in *ASC* 04. For studies on the discussions of GC 1, see *BM* XIII:177-219; *Annali* I:308-323; the doctoral dissertation of Marcel Verhulst, *Note storiche sul Capitolo Generale I della Società Salesiana (1877)* (Rome, Università Pontificia Salesiana 1981); summary with the same title in *Salesianum* 43 (1981) 849-882.

discussed, and again the General Chapter left it to Don Bosco to organize and publish the results.³⁷

Let us now briefly examine both these sets of Chapter deliberations. GC 1 and GC 2 did indeed cover those areas Don Bosco had proposed. GC 2 changed the order somewhat, with important additions: rules and job descriptions for the general superiors, rules for priestly vocations, their studies and for their houses of formation. These items filled in large gaps covered only very lightly by the Constitutions. But the first two General Chapters did very little work on the 1877 *Regulations for the Houses*, outside of some new rules for the director. Later attempts (at GC 6 in 1892, and at GC 10 in 1904) to publish a complete code of Salesian rules both had to take account of this divergence. The reason for leaving the house regulations alone is easy to understand from the purpose Don Bosco set before the two Chapters: to make the Constitutions practical. As far as the houses and the boys were concerned, R 1877 had already accomplished that task.

At the end of GC 2, then, we have two great blocks of regulations: those for the Houses, unchanged since 1877, and those by GC 1 and 2 for the Salesians. GC 2 has the material laid out thus:

- Division I: Special Regulations
- Division II: Common Life
- Division III: Piety and Morality
- Division IV: Studies
- Division V: Financial Administration³⁸

These have very few topical or structural features in common with the *Regulations for the Houses*.

GC 3 to GC 5

Unlike the first two, the next three Chapters did not attempt a complete review of Salesian legislation. They propose no global rules structure like R 1877, GC 1 or GC 2; instead they sought to improve some areas in the existing rules, and to open new areas made important by changing conditions.

In 1883, Don Bosco once again prepared and sent out a circular letter to convoke the General Chapter and propose eight themes for study. This time,

³⁷ *Deliberazioni del Secondo Capitolo Generale della Pia Società Salesiana....* (Turin: Tipografia Salesiana, 1882) [=GC 2], also in *OE XXXIII*:1-96. GC 2's discussions get coverage in *MB* 14: 518-521; *BM XIV*:407-409; *Annali I*:465-468. One problem with GC 2 is that the minutes are incomplete. See Arthur Lenti, "Key Concepts, Concerns and Fears of a Founder - Don Bosco in his Declining Years, Part II" in *JSS VII*:I (Spring 1996), 4-35.

³⁸ GC 2, index.

instead of a substantial book, he included a four-page form, with only the theme titles and space for a member's ideas and proposals. The last theme proposed a look at the *Regulations for the Houses*, which the first two General Chapters had left largely intact. This was the first time a General Chapter was called to work from a simple list of themes, rather than a detailed draft set of deliberations from Don Bosco.³⁹

Like GC 1 and GC 2, GC 3 did not finish the task set before it. One very important thing it did decide, however, was to establish a brothers' novitiate alongside the existing one for seminarians (called "clerics" in all Salesian regulations) at San Benigno Canavese.

Don Bosco convoked GC 4 to meet in 1886 and once again sent out a short list of the themes.⁴⁰ It met for a week in early September, and neither did it do anything like a full review of R 1877. When the chapter finished, it left in Don Bosco's hands the task of preparing a unified set of acts for itself and GC 3. These were published in 1887, and we can refer to them with the abbreviation "GC 3, 4".

GC 3, 4 covered the following special themes:

- I. Regulations for the Parishes
- II. Norms for sacred ordinations; norms for the Spiritual Director of the Congregation
- III. On the religious spirit and vocations among the coadjutors and the artisans
- IV. Regulations for the festive oratories
- V. The *Salesian Bulletin*
- VI. Method to provide for exemption from the military draft

Theme III mentions "coadjutors", a name we recognize for service personnel, from the development of R 1877. But now GC 3, 4 define "coadjutor" to mean "lay Salesian", the Salesian brother.⁴¹

³⁹ See *BM* XVI:326; or *FDB* 1959 B9-B12, ASC 04. The convocation letter without themes is in Eugenio Ceria (ed.), *Epistolario di s. Giovanni Bosco* (Torino, SEI 1954) [=EDB] IV:221-222.

⁴⁰ See *MB* 18:175; Ceria, *Annali* I:560-562; or *FDB* 1864 E1-E4, ASC 04 for the aims of GC 4. The convocation letter without themes is in Paolo Albera, *Lettere Circolari di don Bosco e di don Rua* (Torino, Tipografia Salesiana 1896), 33-34.

⁴¹ See *Deliberazioni del Terzo e Quarto Capitolo Generale della Pia Società Salesiana...* (San Benigno Canavese: Tipografia Salesiana, 1887) [=GC 3, 4] 16. A full text is available in *OE* XXXVI:253-280 and partly in *MB* XVII, 699-702.

GC 3's minutes are only partially conserved: ASC 04 (*FDB* 1863 E7-1864 D10). Nonetheless, the reader can have an idea of its doings from *BM* XVI:326-332; *Annali* I:468-472; GC 4's debates are discussed in *MB* 17:174-191; *Annali* I:560-566.

A short study of the R 1877 differences from GC 3, 4 is in my earlier "The Con-

One focus of the Fifth General Chapter, held in 1889, was formation. Don Bosco had died the year before, and the problem of training Salesians who did not know him personally was growing acute.⁴² At this time, there were some studentates of philosophy for the "clerics" (seminarians), but no practical training and no studentates of theology. Each province managed as best it could, appointing professors to teach the seminarians working in the houses. The published *Deliberations* show that three of GC 5's twelve areas are related to formation:

- I. Philosophical and Theological Studies
- II. Novitiate and Studentate Houses
- III. Assistance to members assigned to military service
- IV. Autumn Vacations
- V. Regulations for the Parishes
- VI. Administration of patrimonies
- VII. Holy Week
- VIII. Novitiates
- IX. Segregation of persons not belonging to the Congregation
- X. Gregorian chant and Music
- XI. Particular exceptions for houses in the Missions
- XII. The Councilor for Arts and Trades⁴³

cept of Secularity in Salesian Documents", in *JSS* VII:2 (Fall 1996) 177-183, and a longer one is in my thesis *The Spiritual Identity of the Salesian Brother in the Light of Official Salesian Documents* (Rome, UPS doctoral thesis 1995). Other studies of these two chapters tend to focus on the brother problem: Luciano Panfilo, *Dalla Scuola di arti e mestieri di don Bosco all'attività di formazione professionale (1860-1915)* (Milan: Centro Nazionale Opere Salesiane (CNOS) 1976) 81-84; Luciano Pazzaglia, "Apprendistato e istruzione degli artigiani a Valdocco (1846-1866)", in F. Traniello (ed.), *Don Bosco nella storia della cultura popolare* (Torino: SEI 1987), 46-62. Different in emphasis is François Desramaut's discussion of how GC 3 confronted the morality problem, in *Don Bosco et son Temps* (Turin: SEI 1996), 1223-1226.

Studies of the development of Salesian trade and technical schools are provided in the cited studies of Panfilo and Pazzaglia, and also by Silvio Tramontin, "Don Bosco and the world of work", and José Manuel PELLEZO, "Don Bosco and the professional schools (1870-1887)", both in Mario Midali and Patrick Egan, *Don Bosco's place in history* (Rome, LAS 1993). Both show the background of the labors of GC 3, 4 on this question.

⁴² For Fr. Albera's personal approach to this problem, see Joseph Boenzi, *Paolo Albera's Teaching on the Salesian Spirit...* (Rome, UPS doctoral thesis 1996).

⁴³ For the convocation of GC 5 (no themes listed), see Rua, *Circolari*, #8 (Summer 1889), 39-40. Ceria, *Annali* II:37-47, and Angelo Amadei, *Il Servo di Dio Michele Rua, successore di san Giovanni Bosco...* (Turin, SEI 1934) [=Amadei, *Rua*], vol. I: 460-461 cover the debates. For the conclusions, see *Deliberazioni del quinto Capitolo Generale della Pia Società Salesiana* (San Benigno Canavese,

In all, GC 5 published 117 articles sequentially numbered, to add to the 432 of GC 2. The number of rules and books to hold them was growing. Something had to be done about this.

Codification by GC 6 on Structure of GC 2

GC 6 was convoked for 1892 to study seven proposed themes, and one is of general importance. That is Schema II, devoted to a revision and re-ordering of all the previous General Chapter deliberations. The aim was to publish them all in a single volume. Also, particular areas like ecclesiastical studies, novitates and studentates were scheduled for another round of discussion—with some urgency, because the Congregation had doubled in the six years since GC 4.⁴⁴

The Chapter assembled at Valsalice on Aug. 29 and got down to business. As indicated in the second theme above, GC 6 had an ambitious project placed before it: codifying all the General Chapter deliberations up to then existing. Before finishing its sessions on Sept. 6, it set up a commission to finish the project. The Chapter favored following the arrangement of the Constitutions, but the commission decided instead to adopt the arrangement of GC 2. The result appeared in 1894: it is a handy little book containing Don Bosco's 1875 Constitutions, followed by 712 articles produced by the six General Chapters.⁴⁵ The process leading up to it can be called "the little codification of 1894", and the book itself "R 1894".

Tipografia Salesiana 1890) [=GC 5]. Microfiche of these printed deliberations are in Alfonso Torras (ed.), *Fondo Don Rua* (Rome, Archivio Salesiano 1996), [=FDR] microfiche 4015C6 - 4016A3.

⁴⁴ See Michele Rua, *Lettere Circolari* #19 (Nov. 11, 1892) (2nd. ed. Turin, Direzione Generale Salesiana 1965) [=Rua, *Circolari*], 92-93. GC 6 was convoked by Father Rua's letter in *Circolari* #17, (March 19, 1892), 86-89. Debates are summarized in Ceria, *Annali* II:238-249; Amadei, *Rua* I:591-592; Rua, *Circolari* #19 (11 Nov. 1892), 92-95.

⁴⁵ *Deliberazioni dei sei primi Capitoli Generali della Pia Società Salesiana precedute dalle Regole o Costituzioni della medesima* (San Benigno Canavese, Tipografia Salesiana 1894) [=R 1894]. *Fondo Don Rua* [=FDR] has no copy of these, except for some worksheets used at GC 10 (see below).

GC6 adopted the framework of GC 2, as this table shows:

Table 2. Comparison of GC 2, R 1894 Structures

GC 2 (1880)	R 1894
Division I: Special Regulations	Division I. Special Regulations [Adds GC 3, 4 rules for ordinations and the Councilor for Arts and Trades]
Division II: Common Life	Division II. Common Life
Division III: Piety and Morality	Division III. Piety
	Division IV. Morality [Adds GC 3, 4 rules for coadjutors; GC 3, 4, 5 rules for novitates, studentates, artisans]
Division IV: Studies	Division V. Concerning Studies [Adds GC 3, 4 rules for ordinations and GC 6 rules for priests]
Division V: Financial Administration	Division VI. Financial Administration [Adds GC 5 rules for the provincial Purchasing Agent, and GC 6 rules for the local Shop Manager]

GC 6 decided to put most of the special material from GC 3, 4 and GC 5 under morality and studies. The rules for houses of priestly studies, called “studentates”, are separated from those on study and ordinations. Two rules sets, for coadjutors and for artisans, now come in the new stand-alone morality division. GC 3, 4 had them together in one theme not divided into chapters.

In the division on financial administration, we see the new rules for the provincial purchasing agent and the local shop manager. If the R 1877 organization had been followed, the latter would have found its natural place among the “Particular Offices”. Just as GC 6 had no single place for rules for studies and priestly formation, so it had no unified view on where job descriptions should go; they are scattered all over. We shall see that GC 10 has a clear opinion on this question.

GC 7 to GC 9, and the Growing Problem with the Constitutions

The next three General Chapters were like the three before GC 6, called to fill in gaps without making a general codification. But GC 9 began work on the next codification.

GC 7 met in 1895 to study the *Regulations for the Houses*, practically untouched from 1877. New rules sets for agricultural schools, the dining room, retreats and novitiates came up for study; a proposal for an agricultural novitate like the artisans’ was considered. The *Deliberations* came out a year later in

a new format, reporting much of the discussion leading to the decisions taken.⁴⁶

Father Rua convoked GC 8 to meet in 1898, and to study which articles of the Constitutions and Regulations were least observed. It was also to see how to ease the transition of the brothers from the novitiate and the seminarians from the studentate into active apostolate in the houses. This develops the practical training stage of initial formation, begun by GC 5. GC 8 also reviewed some other work done by earlier chapters.⁴⁷

While rules for elections were being read, Father Berto pointed out that the copy of the Constitutions kept in Rome since approval in 1874 was different from the 1875 printed version (reprinted by GC 6) and all other versions used by the Salesians. As can be imagined, this caused a bit of a stir. In later discussions, it was noted that R 1894 called for a single novice master for the whole Congregation, but the Latin Constitutions of 1874 specified one for each novitiate. This prompted GC 8 to ask for the research and publication of an edition of the Constitutions perfectly in accord with the approved 1874 copy in Rome, replacing the 1875 ones till then in use.⁴⁸

GC 9 met in September of 1901 at Valsalice. Juridical matters and formation absorbed most of its labors. It sanitized irregularities from the previous General Chapters, from the elections of novice masters, and the canonical erection of provinces. Friends in Rome had urged this, and suggested General Chapters every six years to be composed of provincials and delegates instead of all the directors.⁴⁹ GC 9 began the work of adapting the Regulations of 1894 to the decree of the Holy Office, *Quod a suprema*, forbidding Salesian superiors to hear the confessions of their subjects.

One of GC 9's *Deliberations* is this:

⁴⁶ Convocation of GC 7 was by Rua, *Circolari* #28 (April 30, 1895), 125-128. Discussion and decisions are given in the acts: *Deliberazioni del Settimo Capitolo Generale della Pia Società Salesiana* (S. Benigno Canavese, Tipografia e Libreria Salesiana 1896) [=GC 7]; text also in *FDR* 4025B9 - 4026D6; see also Ceria, *Annali* II:445-460; Rua, *Circolari* #31 = Edifying letter #3 (July 2, 1896), 170-171.

⁴⁷ See Rua, *Circolari* #33 (Jan. 20, 1898), 199-200. This does not list the study themes; those are in Ceria, *Annali* II:738-739.

⁴⁸ Discussions at GC 8 are summarized in Ceria, *Annali* II:734-740; Amadei, *Rua* I:812-814; Rua, *Circolari* #35 (Dec. 15, 1898), 213-220; the *Deliberations* themselves, and specifically on 140-141 for the Constitutions question. *Deliberations: Atti e Deliberazioni dell'VIII Capitolo Generale della Pia Società Salesiana* (S. Benigno Canavese, Scuola Tip. Salesiana 1899) [=GC 8]; text also in *FDR* 4035A3-4036C10. For the novitiate in the 1874 and 1875 Constitutions, see Const. *FM* 192-197.

⁴⁹ Fr. Rua reported the legal sanations by the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, and the main accomplishments of the Chapter, in "Resoconto del IX Capitolo Generale...", in *Rua, Circolari* #46 (March 19, 1902) 312-319.

9. The General Chapter unanimously resolves that the Rector Major select a standing Commission in charge of codifying all the General Chapter deliberations of a general character, which complement the Constitutions, and of separating them from those that are merely suggestions or resolutions. These selected Deliberations should then be submitted to the next General Chapter, before being sent to Rome for approval.⁵⁰

Writing about GC 9 to all the Salesians in a circular, Father Rua summarized the legal work, named the provincials, then warned that they and their provinces would shortly begin establishing provincial councils and holding provincial chapters. He wrote that GC 10 would do everything carefully and by the rules, and would have full authority to remedy legal irregularities by itself.⁵¹

GC 10, a New Kind of Chapter

The 10th General Chapter was different from all before it: instead of being composed of directors and prefects or house delegates, it was made up of provincials and delegates elected at provincial chapters. It lasted longer than any before it, and assumed the enormous tasks of fixing the problems with the Constitutions, and codifying the Regulations. It decided that future General Chapters would be held every six years. This meant that GC 11 was not scheduled to meet until 1910, so there was no hurry to finish the codification before 1907, when GC 11 would have met under the old rules.

GC 10, like GC 6, wanted to adopt the order of the Constitutions for the new codification of the Regulations. They agreed to continue the line of the GC 9 deliberation quoted above: that is, to determine which Regulations were essential to complement the Constitutions. These would be called "organic deliberations"; GC 10 separated them from the merely directive or preceptive deliberations of all the General Chapters.⁵² The organic deliberations would then be printed with the Constitutions. The remaining deliberations would be further divided into articles for the new Regulations, and into exhortations and suggestions that the Rector Major could handle in circular letters.

Complicating the task was *Normae secundum quas*.⁵³ This decree from Rome forbade quoting Scripture, the Fathers and Founders in the rules of relig-

⁵⁰ *IX Capitolo Generale (1-5 Sept. 1901)* (nd, np) [=GC 9] 9; text also in FDR 4041B12-D1. The deliberation can be found on FDR 4041C7. For background on this decision, see Ceria, *Annali* III:161-162.

⁵¹ Rua, *Circolari* #41 (March 19, 1902), 312-329.

⁵² Father Rua explained these differences to all the Salesians in *Circolari* #46 (Feb. 19, 1905) 375-377.

⁵³ *Normae secundum quas S. Congregatio Episcoporum et Regularium procedere solet in approbandis novis Institutis votorum simplicium*, decree of the Sa-

ious congregations; it forbade including any sort of spiritual explanation. All this was to achieve greater uniformity among the many new foundations of the 19th century.⁵⁴

GC 10, the commissions and the Superior Chapter did their work, and so finished what Don Bosco and GC 1 began. This essentially closed the organizationally formative period of the Salesian Congregation. But the great achievement took some years to finish: first, came the organic deliberations published separately in 1905 after their approval by Rome.⁵⁵ Then the Regulations, 1406 articles strong, all reached publication in 1906. They were set forth in seven booklets, which can be grouped under the abbreviation "R 1906".⁵⁶ A year later came the Constitutions with the organic deliberations, including transla-

cred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars (June 28, 1901).

⁵⁴ See Francis Maraccani, ed. *The Project of Life of the Salesians of Don Bosco* (Rome, Editrice SDB 1986) [=POL], 19-21, for *Normae secundum quas* applied to the Constitutions. Briefly reviewing the growth of the Regulations on 52-53, the 1986 commentary does not mention any influence of *Normae secundum quas* on the Regulations, but it is nonetheless there.

⁵⁵ *Deliberazioni dei Capitoli Generali della Pia Società Salesiana da ritenersi come organiche* (Turin: Tip. Salesiana, 1905). Text also in *FDR* 4057E6-4058B8, another in 4083E5-4084B6. These were approved Sept. 1, 1905 by the Holy See.

⁵⁶ The publication of R 1906:

I. *Regolamento per le Case della Società di San Francesco di Sales* (Torino, Tipografia Salesiana (B. S.) 1906). Contains art. 1-840. The Roman numeral is part of the title here, as with the next five booklets. This booklet is the direct descendant of R 1877, and will go by the abbreviation R 1906 I.

II. *Regolamento per le Case di Noviziato della Pia Società di S. Francesco di Sales* (Torino, Tipografia Salesiana (B. S.) 1906) [=R 1906 II]. Contains art. 841-941.

III. *Regolamento per Gli Ispettori della Pia Società di S. Francesco di Sales* (Torino, Tipografia Salesiana (B. S.) 1906) [=R 1906 III]. Contains art. 942-1026.

IV. *Regolamento per le Parrocchie della Pia Società di S. Francesco di Sales* (Torino, Tipografia Salesiana (B. S.) 1906) [=R 1906 IV]. Contains art. 1027-1063.

V. *Regolamento per gli Oratori Festivi della Pia Società di S. Francesco di Sales*. (Torino, Tipografia Salesiana (B. S.) 1906) [=R 1906 V]. Contains art. 1064-1368. A reprint of RO 1877.

VI. *Pia Unione dei Cooperatori ad uso dei Soci Salesiani* (Torino, Tipografia Salesiana (B. S.) 1906) [=R 1906 VI]. Contains art. 1369-1406.

Regolamento pei Capitoli Generali della Pia Società di S. Francesco di Sales (Torino, Tipografia Salesiana (B. S.) 1904) [=R 1906 VII]. Contains art. 1-51, separate from general numbering. Also published in 1906.

These are not reproduced in Fondo Don Rua, but there are GC 10 worksheets with a marked-up version of R 1906 in *FDR* 4060-4064. One can also see marked-up worksheets with R 1894 reordered and pasted in, *FDR* 4058-4060.

tions into English and other major languages.⁵⁷ These results I group together under the name "the great codification of 1904-1907".

The organic deliberations mainly deal with the General Chapters, the General Councilors, and the provinces; they summarize the great work of organizational solidification accomplished by the Congregation during the Rua years. They eventually became full articles of the Constitutions, and thus pass beyond the scope of this study.

But what happened to the Regulations? The 1,406 of them basically came from two sources, R 1877 and R 1894. Accretions from GC 7, 8, 9 and 10 account for the rest. They have never been translated into English. Their seven-book arrangement is the dominant new organizational feature, very different from the organization of R 1877, and from the GC 2 organization that was adopted and expanded by GC 6. It will persist for nearly 70 years, longer than any other. The table below shows how this organization is related to the two major models that preceded it.

⁵⁷ *Costituzioni della Società di San Francesco di Sales...* Torino: Tipografia Salesiana, 1907. Contains the corrected text of the Constitutions, and the organic deliberations. English translation: *Constitutions of the Society of St. Francis di Sales, Preceded by an Introduction written by the Founder Don John Bosco* (London, The Salesian Press 1907).

Table 3. Structures of R 1877, R 1894, and R 1906

R 1877	R 1894	R 1906
		I. Regulations for the Houses.
	Division II. Common Life.	Part I. Religious life.
		Part II. The Salesian education system and particular offices.
The Preventive System in the Education of Youth [plus General Articles].	[Some material taken from morality division.]	Section I. The preventive system in the education of youth [4 chapters plus General Articles and Education].
First Part: Particular Regulations [17 local offices].	[Director, no other local offices.]	Section II: Particular offices [23 local offices].
Second Part: Regulations for the Houses		Part III. Regulations for the pupils
	D. IV. VI. Novitiates and Studentates. [D. I and V. Contribute material on studies and ordinations.]	II. Regulations for the Novitiate Houses [Includes studentates, practical training.]
	D. I. XII. Regulations for the Inspector.	III. Regulations for the Provincials.
	D. I. XIX Regulations for the Parishes.	IV. Regulations for the Parishes.
	D. I. XX. Regulations for the Festive Oratories.	V. Regulations for the Festive Oratories.
	[D. I, IV, V contribute material on associations: Cooperators, <i>Salesian Bulletin</i> , Salesian Sisters.]	VI. Norms to Salesians for the Pious Union of Cooperators.
	Division I. Particular Regulations [General Chapters, the Superior Chapter].	Regulations for the General Chapters [Superior Chapter in organic deliberations].

The large blocks in this table show us how GC 10 combined the structures of R 1877 and R 1894. The first booklet, R 1906 I, includes the *Regulations for the Houses*, and comes mostly from R 1877. The next five, R 1906 II-VI, are assembled from pieces of R 1894. We remember that R 1894 was itself based on GC 2. The combined structure will be adopted again in 1923, 1954 and 1966, but in 1972 and 1984 an entirely different one will come.

Let us now look at the individual booklets in more detail.

R 1906 I begins with a new Part I on the Salesians. GC 10, like GC 6 before it, wanted its Regulations to follow the order of the Constitutions. The commission and the Superior Chapter could only partially achieve that. The

new part, dealing with religious life, has chapters that do follow the Constitutions up to Chapter VI. Then come three chapters dealing individually with the three groups in the Constitutions trinomial “priests, clerics and laymen”. This new grouping pulls in articles that GC 6 had split between the morality and study divisions. Another novel feature is the separate treatment of seminarians or “clerics”, who before had been lumped with the priests under the study division of GC 6.

R 1906 I Part II and Part III incorporate and slightly expand the 1877 *Regulations for the Houses*, beginning with Don Bosco’s famous little treatise on the Preventive System in the first section of Part II. A small but significant change: the “General Articles” are simply the fifth chapter of the treatise; the theory that they belong to the treatise is now given official sanction. In fact, the entire Part II bears the title “The Salesian education system and particular offices”; meaning it is a set of rules on how to apply the Preventive System. A sixth chapter on education follows, which drops the professional component from GC 3, 4’s list of three educational components for artisans: moral-religious, intellectual, and professional. Instead, education for all now has five components: moral, religious, vocational (not professional, but limited to Church vocations), intellectual and physical. We will examine the evolution of these components in more detail below.

Part II Section II has all the local job descriptions, the first global review of these since 1877. For the first time, the local house council, the local Councilor for Arts and Trades, and the shop manager find their place in the list. Rules on the director are expanded again, from 26 to 42 articles. The coadjutors in R 1877 Part I Chapter XII have become domestics in R 1906 I Part II chapter XVII, and are now completely detached from the lay Salesians in the trinomial “priests, clerics and coadjutors”.

Part III is R 1877 Part II, virtually unchanged. These are the rules for the boys, appearing in the Regulations for the last time. After 1923, the Regulations deal only with Salesians.

R 1906 II is the second book, called *Regulations for the Novitiate Houses of the Society of St. Francis de Sales*, identical to the title of R 1877 except for the addition of the word “Novitiate”. But it goes beyond that to cover most of the whole initial formation program, remedying the lack of any formation rules in R 1877. Its organization is far superior to R 1894’s scattered treatment. There is still no chapter on studentates of theology, but the circular letters fill in some material on that.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Studentates of theology are only now getting started: Rua, *Circolari* #47 = Edifying Letter #7 (14 June 1905), 395-396; #49 (Nov. 21, 1905), 400-402.

The new regulations for provinces, parishes, and oratories come in the next three books. All roughly follow R 1894, but improve their organization.

R 1906's sixth set of regulations, on the Cooperators, replaces a much more complex set in R 1894. The Daughters of Mary Help of Christians are now completely separate, and there are no rules for relations with them.

The rules for General Chapters in R 1906, also formerly in R 1894's catch-all Division I, are split between the 51 separately published directive articles, and 52 organic deliberations in a footnote to article 33 of the 1907 Constitutions. Job descriptions for the general superiors have also become organic deliberations.

Looking to the future, the Chapter set up permanent commissions, one for each of the six major rules divisions. The plan was for the commissions to prepare draft experimental texts, then monitor the experience and suggestions of the Salesians regarding these rules. At GC 11, the commissions would then have the rules with observations ready for discussion.⁵⁹

In summary, then, GC 10 expanded the Constitutions, completely codified the Regulations, and went further than any Chapter or rules set before it in connecting them with the Preventive System.

GC 12 and the Great Codification of 1923-1925

At GC 11 in 1910, Father Albera agonized about being elected Rector Major, and sung Father Rinaldi's praises to anyone who would listen. But Father Rinaldi walked around with a big smile, seemingly without a care in the world. Why? He knew from a prophecy of Don Bosco that "Albera is the second."⁶⁰ This became known only after GC 11 elected Albera successor to Father Rua, and the second successor to Don Bosco.

But Father Rinaldi was not to escape the next time. GC 12 was originally scheduled by Father Albera to meet on Don Bosco's 100th birthday in 1915. But he postponed it to 1922 because of the war and its aftermath in Europe.⁶¹ When he died in October of 1921, Father Rinaldi as Prefect General re-

⁵⁹ See Ceria, *Annali* IV:6-7.

⁶⁰ See a version of the story in *BM* XIII:350, Ceria, *Annali* IV:2-3.

⁶¹ Convocation: see Paolo Albera, "Anticipazione del XII Capitolo Generale...", in *Lettere Circolari* #12 (April 5, 1914) (2nd ed. Turin, Direzione Generale Salesiana 1965) [= Albera, *Circolari*] 168-170. Postponement: see Albera, *Circolari* #16 (Nov. 21, 1915) 206-208; convocation for 1922 in #28 (Jan. 1, 1920), 321-323; *Atti del Capitolo Superiore* [=ACS] II 6 (Sept. 24, 1921) 258-261; II 7 (Oct. 7, 1921) 283; II 9 (Nov. 4, 1921) 312. English translations began to appear in 1932, as *Acts of the Superior Chapter*. ACS became *Atti del Consiglio Superiore* and *Acts of the Superior Council* in 1965, keeping that title for numbers 244-310. The present titles, *Atti del Consiglio Generale* and *Acts of the General Council*, are used beginning with number 311.

convoked GC 12 to elect a new Rector Major, and to revise the Constitutions and Regulations to conform with the new 1917 Code of Canon Law.⁶² That Chapter elected him the new Rector Major.

After the Chapter, Father Rinaldi explained in two letters why there had to be all this change in the Constitutions and Regulations.⁶³ He reviewed the work of the standing commissions and of GC 11 to clean up the untidy organic deliberations, and described how the other, non-organic deliberations eventually became the Regulations. All this change, he wrote, was not “itching for reform”, one of the “five defects to be avoided” Don Bosco warned about in the Introduction to the Constitutions. He sees those same Constitutions containing Don Bosco’s religious spirit and the evangelical counsels, adaptable to all that is good in human nature; all else can be adapted to the needs of the times.⁶⁴

As in other codifications, GC 12 left the production of the finished product to the Superior Chapter, which in turn handed the job off to a special commission. The result was the publication in *Atti del Capitolo Superiore* (ACS) of new Italian Constitutions in 1923, then they were printed together with the Regulations in 1924. They were reduced in number from 1,406 to 416. An English translation of this handy little book followed in 1925, giving the Regulations to English-speaking Salesians for the first time in their native tongue.⁶⁵ We can call them “R 1925”.

First, an overview of the structural changes in the Regulations from R 1906 is presented in the table:

⁶² For the attempts to convoke GC 12, see Albera, *Circolari* #12 (April 5, 1914) 168-170; for 1916: #16 (Nov. 21, 1915), 206-208; for 1922 in #28 (Jan. 1, 1920), 321-323. Rinaldi’s convocation for April 1922: see Filippo Rinaldi, ACS II 9 (Nov. 4, 1921) 312. The themes were those proposed by Father Albera: ACS II 7 (Oct. 7, 1921), 282-283.

⁶³ See Filippo Rinaldi, “Lettera del Rettor Maggiore”, in ACS III 17 (Jan. 6, 1923) 34-45; “Lettera del Rettor Maggiore: Il Giubileo d’oro delle nostre Costituzioni.—Nuovi Regolamenti.—Sogno di D. Bosco: Futura Salesianorum Societatem respicientia”, in ACS V 23 (Jan. 24, 1924) 174-199.

⁶⁴ See Filippo Rinaldi, “Lettera del Rettor Maggiore”, in ACS III 17 (Jan. 6, 1923) 39-44.

⁶⁵ Constitutions alone: ACS III 21 (Sept. 24, 1923) 124-140. Constitutions and Regulations: *Costituzioni della società di s. Francesco di Sales* (Torino, Scuola tipografica salesiana 1923). In English: *Constitutions and Regulations of the Salesian Society* (London, The Salesian Press 1925) [=R 1925].

Table 4. Structures of R 1906 and R 1925

R 1906	R 1925
I. Regulations for the Houses.	I. Regulations for the Houses.
Part I. Religious life.	Part I. The Religious Life.
Part II. The Salesian educational System; particular offices,	Part II. Government of the Houses.
Section I. The preventive system in the education of youth. [Includes General Articles as chapter V.]	Section I. The "Preventive" System in the Education of the Young. [Includes General Articles as chapter V.]
VI. Education [Moral, religious, vocational, intellectual, physical.]	Section II. General Rules for the Application of the "Preventive" System. [Not the General Articles. Moral, religious, intellectual or professional, physical education.]
Section II: Particular offices.	Section III. Particular Offices.
II. Regulations for the Novitiate Houses [includes practical training.]	II. Regulations for the Novitiate and House of Studies.
Five of the Novitiate chapters.	Section I. The House of Novitiate.
Other two Novitiate chapters, Appendix.	Section II. The Studentates of Philosophy and Theology.
III. Regulations for the Provincials.	III. Regulations for Provincials.
IV. Regulations for the Parishes.	IV. Regulations for Parishes.
V. Regulations for the Festive Oratories.	V. Regulations for the Oratories.
VI. Norms to Salesians for the Pious Union of Cooperators.	VI. Rules for the Salesians in regard to the Pious Union of the Cooperators.
Book I Part III. Regulations for pupils.	Regulations for pupils [Hereafter, published separately.]

As the table shows, there is little change in structure from 1906. These new Regulations retain the six major divisions from the last codification, but put them all in one book. The first division, deriving ultimately from the *Regulations for the Houses*, again has two parts. Part I is still on religious life. Part II was on education in 1906; now it is renamed "Government of the houses". It has three sections, two for education where the 1906 Regulations had one. The first section is Don Bosco's treatise, with the General Articles as a fifth chapter entitled "Other things recommended." They could not continue to be called General Articles, because the second section has the similar title "General Rules for the Application of the 'Preventive' System." Those are wholly given over to the components or broad goals of education, changed in an important respect: professional education is back from being exiled by R 1906. The local superiors' job descriptions in the third section of Part II still follow the material on the Preventive System, just as in the 1877 *Regulations for the Houses*. But R 1925 pulls back from considering these offices' rules sets as application of the Preventive System, as R 1906 had done.

The second major block is on formation houses, logically structured: the novitiate, then the studentates of philosophy and theology. The name is broadened to include later stages in priestly formation, instead of lumping all together under the name "Novitiate" as R 1906 had done. But not all formation is here: practical training is treated under the "clerics" term of the trinomial "priests, clerics and coadjutors" in the first block's religious life part, and is not for brothers. While there are individual articles on the aspirantates and the brothers' finishing course, neither has an independent chapter.

The other blocks follow the arrangement of R 1906, with the regulations for the students published separately from now on. These Regulations remained in force until 1954, but an important General Chapter prepared the way for the next edition.

GC 15 and Its Aftermath: Salesian Formation

Father Rinaldi's successor, Father Pietro Ricaldone, convoked the Fifteenth General Chapter to meet at Rebaudengo in June of 1938. This house was the flagship international formation house for brothers, a perfect venue for the only Chapter whose general theme is formation.⁶⁶

Its acts are amply reported in *ASC*; they are in the form of rules blocks for the various formation phases: aspirantate, novitiate, philosophy and theology for seminarians, and the brothers' post-novitiate finishing course. GC 15 is also the first whose complete acts were published in English, a practice continued ever since. Unlike the General Chapters of the Rua era, however, GC 15 did not add these new regulations sets directly to the Regulations of the Society. It instead approved them *ad experimentum* for six years. GC 16 considered them only briefly when it met in 1947.⁶⁷

The next Chapter was far more thorough. GC 17, besides electing Father Renato Ziggitti successor to the deceased Father Ricaldone in 1952, considered the regulations sets from GC 15, still under trial. It also looked at the professional and agricultural schools, the missions and missionaries.

Its acts are in *ASC*, as had become the custom in the Rinaldi and Ricaldone rectorates. It generally approved those GC 15 rules. Some of them GC 17 called "deliberations", and left to the Superior Chapter the task of finishing and

⁶⁶ See Pietro Ricaldone, "The Letter of the Rector Major: 1. Convening of the [15th] General Chapter", in *ACS XVIII* 83 Translation #26 (Sept.-Oct. 1937) 1-4.

⁶⁷ All of GC 15's acts are to be found in "Regulations for the Houses of Formation", in *ACS XIX* 91 Translation #34 (Jan.-Feb. 1939) [=GC 15] 1-4 (presentation and six-year trial period), 5-31 (articles). GC 16 could not meet in 1944 because of World War II. For its limited reaction to GC 15's deliberations on brothers as catechists, see "Deliberations and Recommendations of the XVI General Chapter", in *ACS XXVII*, 143 Translation No. 45 (E) (Sept.-Oct. 1947) [=GC 16] 64.

publishing a new edition of the Constitutions and Regulations based on them. Others were re-designated as "directives", and still others as "recommendations." New Constitutions and Regulations resulted from this effort, and were published in Italian in 1954. English translations followed in 1957.⁶⁸

The new sections on formation improve those of 1925, with a more logical arrangement of the sections. The regulations on formation add two new sections coming from GC 15, one at the beginning for the aspirantate and one at the end for the brothers' finishing course. This is the first time that a brothers' formation phase has been the object of a unified set of Regulations, about 50 years after the seminarians' studentates of philosophy passed the same milestone.⁶⁹

Father Ricaldone's books in the *Salesian Formation* series, especially those on the aspirantate and novitiate, and *Don Bosco Educatore*, had an influence on these Regulations and decisions of GC 15, 16 and 17.⁷⁰ We will have more to say about this work in connection with the concept of Salesian assistance, below.

GC 19 and the 1967 Constitutions and Regulations

GC 19, however, had another inspiration: the Second Vatican Council. It was held in the spring of 1965, a short time before the fourth and concluding Council session. Father Ziggiotti announced a postponement from 1964 to 1965, so that GC 19's meeting place at the new Rome campus of the Salesian Athenaeum could be made ready.

The topics to be studied were the governing structures of the Congregation, its apostolate to youth and to others, the brothers and the professional

⁶⁸ Convocation of GC 17: see Renato Ziggiotti, "The Prefect General... 2. Convocation of the XVII General Chapter...", in ACS XXXII 167 Translation 45 (E) (Jan. 1952) 2-7. Themes: see Secondo Manione, "The Moderator of the General Chapter: Topics...", in ACS XXXII 168 (March 1952) 10-12. Acts: "Deliberations and Recommendations of the XVII General Chapter", in ACS XXXII 170 Translation 46 (E) (Oct. 1952) 7-38 [=GC 17]. The unified Italian Constitutions and Regulations: *Costituzioni della società di s. Francesco di Sales...* (Torino, Scuola Tipografica Salesiana 1954). Father Ziggiotti presents the finished Italian Constitutions and Regulations in "The Rector Major...7. The new edition of the Constitutions and Regulations", in ACS XXXV 179 Translation 55 (E) (March-April 1954) 8. The English translation: *Constitutions and Regulations of the Society of St. Francis de Sales* (Paterson NJ, Don Bosco Technical School 1957) [= R 1957].

⁶⁹ GC 5's chapter II (not divided into articles) has general observations on studentates. Only in R 1906 do we find a set of rules for them, including a single Article 936 for the brothers' finishing course.

⁷⁰ Published in Italian: Pietro Ricaldone, *Don Bosco Educatore* (Colle Don Bosco (Asti), LDC 1951).

schools, regulations for the houses, formation, the Constitutions and Regulations, and the missions. As a unifying theme, the acts themselves point to "the Salesian at the center of it all."

The Chapter made several small changes to the Constitutions and Regulations reflecting big changes in the Society's central government. Shortly after, the 1966 Italian edition appeared, replacing the 1954 edition. The English translation came out in 1967.⁷¹

Many of the changes have to do with the name changes from "Superior Chapter" to "Superior Council" and "House Chapter" to "House Council"; others concern the expansion of the Superior Council and its new councilors in charge of groups of provinces. Their role is very similar to what Don Bosco described for provincials (*ispettori*, "inspectors") in his 1875 Constitutions. The changes concerning the Superior Council were not made to the Constitutions, but only came into force *ad experimentum*. The Regulations, however, included some changes made necessary by this experimental re-structuring of the Superior Council. This differs from how GC 10 handled the organic deliberations. Substantively, the experiments were said to suspend the Constitutions; formally, the texts of the new Constitutions and Regulations were published in the normal way, including the suspended ones. The text of the changes and experiments was printed in the *Acts of the 19th General Chapter*.⁷²

The office of Councilor General of Arts and Trades was abolished in the Superior Council restructuring done by GC 19, Father Ernest Giovannini⁷³ being the last to hold that post.

⁷¹ Postponement: see ASC XLV 234 (Jan.-Feb. 1964) 13-14. Theme: see "Acts of the 19th General Chapter of the Salesian Society," ASC XLVII 244 (Jan. 1966) [=GC 19] 3. The acts occupy the whole number. The new Constitutions and Regulations are both in the Italian *Costituzioni della Società di S. Francesco di Sales...* (Torino, Direzione Generale Opere Don Bosco 1966), translated in *Constitutions and Regulations of the Salesian Society* (Madrass, Provincial Office 1967).

⁷² In GC 19 219-290.

⁷³ Father Ernest Giovannini (1904-1993) was born in the rural town of Verolengo near Turin, entered school at the oratory in Valdocco in 1918, then joined the Salesians in 1922. He was immediately assigned to New Rochelle, near New York, where he was to do his novitiate in 1923-1924. His practical training was in Watsonville, California, and ordination followed in due course in 1931. After work in the formation house at Richmond near San Francisco, Fr. Giovannini in 1940 was the founding director of St. John Bosco school in Bellflower, Southern California. From 1944 to his election as Counselor General for Arts and Trades at GC 18 in 1958, Father Giovannini guided the explosive growth of the Eastern USA province as its provincial. As Counselor General, he skillfully guided the Salesian technical schools in Italy through the changes made necessary by a new education law of 1962. When GC 19 reorganized the Superior Chapter into the Superior Coun-

GC 19 followed (mostly) the practice of GC 17 in distinguishing deliberations from norms and recommendations. One of the most important is in the area of formation. The Chapter finally stated clearly

That the formation of the coadjutor must meet the needs of their particular vocation, and should be equal to that given to the clerics, both in duration and quality.⁷⁴

GC 19 drew a practical consequence from this formation principle, and built that into the structure of the Regulations' formation section: the brothers' advanced training houses are grouped with the studentates. We can now see how three versions of the Regulations, those of 1925, 1957 and 1967, built up the formation program for both seminarians and brothers:

cil in 1965, it abolished the post of Counselor General for Arts and Trades, but elected Father Giovannini to stay on as Regional for Italy and the Middle East. He held that post until the Special General Chapter in 1972. After this, Father Giovannini began a long working retirement in Watsonville, California, giving his usual splendid example of hard work and love for the Salesian brothers. Giovanni Fedrigotti, Felice Rizzini, Arthur Lenti, Mario Bassi, *A Don Ernesto Giovannini* (Roma, Tip. Don Bosco 1994).

⁷⁴ GC 19 72, citing ASC XII 56b (April, 26 1931) 947. See also Father Albera introducing the "equal formation" idea, in *Circolari* #42 (May 15, 1921) 519-520.

Is this a deliberation, norm or recommendation? Most of the GC 19's chapters are followed by deliberations so marked, but this one has 3 articles on p. 72 prefaced by "The 19th General Chapter...decides as follows:" On the next page, "The 19th General Chapter deliberates as follows" on several points, at least one of which is a clearly marked recommendation.

Table 5: Arrangement of the Formation Regulations in R 1925, R 1957, and R 1967

R 1925	R 1957	R 1967
II. Regulations for the Novitiate and House of Studies.	II. Regulations for the Houses of Aspirants, Houses of Novitiate, Houses of Studies for Clerics, and Houses of advanced training for Coadjutor Brothers.	2. Regulations for the aspirantates, novitiates, studentates, and houses of training for coadjutors.
	Section I. Houses of Aspirants.	Section I. Aspirantates.
Section I. The House of Novitiate.	Section II. Houses of Novitiate.	Section II. The novitiate house.
Section II. The Studentates of Philosophy and Theology.	Section III. The Studentates of Philosophy and Theology.	Section III. Studentates and houses of professional training [includes Salesian University, and houses of advanced training for brothers.]
	Section IV. Houses of Advanced Training for Coadjutor Brothers.	

These 1967 Regulations, and those of 1957, are the only ones to deal with houses for brothers' formation. They also are the last to contain the three small particular sections on priests, brothers and seminarians; those of 1906, 1925 and 1957 had corresponding sections. Finally, they are the last to contain, as articles in active force, material written by Don Bosco. Many of these are in his still-included treatise on the Preventive System.

The Preventive System in the Early Regulations

Now that we have seen the Salesian Regulations in their development up to 1967, we are in a position to examine their importance for our understanding of Don Bosco's Preventive System of education.

Individual Regulations Versions

First, we consider certain individual versions of these rules sets, beginning with Don Bosco's *Regulations for the Oratory* and the *Regulations for the Houses*. These offer some problems when they are examined as a whole. At first sight, for example, it is remarkable how little the oratory rules change.

Importance of the Regulations for the Oratory

Francis Desramaut is of the opinion that RO represents an ideal, an expression of educational goals never achieved in practice. In support of this, we can recall their almost invariant structure over 30 years' development. But when we descend to individual articles, and when we compare these rules with the *Biographical Memoirs*, we see that while they indeed guide the educational endeavors of the oratory workers, they are practical and undergo considerable changes in some cases as needs change. One example is the removal of the specific references to the Church of St. Francis de Sales that helped us date the first manuscript. Another is the addition of material allowing adaptation to oratories in other places, going from the A group through ms. I to the printed versions of art. 2 for catechists:

Table 6: Adaptation of an Assistance Rule to More General Situations

Ms A (1853?)	Ms I (1870s)	RO 1877
2. There are four in number, and should take their supervision posts: one near Our Lady's altar, a second near the altar of St. Aloysius, and the other two in the center of the church toward the big door. ⁷⁵	2. There should be at least four of them and they should take their places at strategic places or corners of the church (one near Our Lady's altar, a second near the altar of St. Aloysius, and the other two in the center of the church toward the big door). They should not leave these posts without a good reason. If they have to warn someone, they should do so without undue haste, and should never pass in front of the main altar without genuflecting.	2. There should be at least four of them and they should take their places at strategic places or corners of the church. (1)
	In places where the catechists can remain from the beginning to the end of the service, they and the assistant should be enough for supervision. ⁷⁶	(1) In places where the catechists can remain from the beginning to the end of the service, they and the assistant should be enough for supervision. ⁷⁷

The *Regulations for the Oratory* are an important source for volume III of the *Biographical Memoirs*. Father Lemoyne gives us the oratory rules scattered throughout this volume.⁷⁸ The text of the volume contains much commentary on the early oratory rules, and how the Preventive System worked in the oratory.

Here and there is direct and clear textual influence from the earliest manuscripts. Lemoyne explains how more traditional oratories were different from

⁷⁵ *Piano di Regolamento per l'Oratorio* (ms. A), FDB 1955B8.

⁷⁶ *Regolamento Dell'Oratorio Esterno di S. Francesco di Sales* (ms. I), FDB 1958A4. Rua corrects "should be at least four" from "are four in number", a reading common to the A group.

⁷⁷ RO 1877 13-14; OE 29:43-44.

⁷⁸ Document Z, as described in the note 12 above. Note that the placement is different in the English from that in the Italian, and neither version presents the *Regulations for the Oratory* in a compact block.

Don Bosco's: "It was enough to gather youngsters at certain times on feast days, and entertain them with clean recreation..." He seems to have borrowed from the first lines of the *Regulations for the Oratory*: "The purpose of this oratory is to entertain youth on feast days with good, clean recreation after they have attended the sacred functions of the church."⁷⁹ Again, when Don Bosco "... chanced upon some older boy who for some months had stopped coming to the oratory, he ... would end by saying, 'Come and see me.'" This is what art. 2 of the rules prescribes for all staff: "Those boys who already frequent the Oratory should be exhorted to do so regularly, and new boys should be invited to attend..." Don Bosco did that once by getting some to chase him while he carried a bag of cookies. The boys got them by answering catechism questions.⁸⁰

Before entering a catechism class, a boy had to be placed in the right one. The above-mentioned art. 13 for catechists, dealing with the locations of the classes in the church, goes on to say that "the other classes should be arranged according to age and knowledge..." This clause appears almost verbatim in the *Memoirs*: "On the first Sunday of Lent, the boys were classified according to their respective age and knowledge."⁸¹

Biographical Memoirs III uses a rule for the director in *Regulations for the Oratory* to show how he supports the catechetical program:

6. *He hears the confessions of those who freely come to him.* When confessions are over, he or another priest will celebrate Holy Mass; there will follow a homily on the Gospel (or an incident from the bible or church history).⁸²

Here the later version (including the words in parentheses) is closer to this passage from the *Biographical Memoirs* than are the earlier manuscripts:

⁷⁹ Author's translation from *MB* 3:87 and Italian *Regolamento dell'Oratorio* document Z, "Così don Bosco espone lo scopo..." in *MB* 3:91; cf. another in *BM* III:65 and 67. See similar phrases in DB's letter to "Mendicità Istruita", 20/02/50 E I 29-30; *Catalogo degli oggetti posti in lotteria..* (Torino, tip. G. B. Paravia 1857) 1-4. The *Catalogo* also has "good Christians and honest artisans", and a reason for the hospice in same terms as 1875 C I.4. See Braido, *Don Bosco Educatore* 101.

⁸⁰ See *BM* III:29-30; *Regulations for the Oratory* document Z, "General Rules for All Staff Members" (*BM* III:452). See *BM* III:30-31 for the story of the cookie chase.

⁸¹ Author's translation from *MB* 3:181, to be preferred to *BM* III:123. The rule is given in *Regulations for the Oratory* document Z, "The Catechists" art. 13 (*BM* III:447).

⁸² *Regulations for the Oratory* document Z, "The Director" (*BM* III:441). Recall that in Lemoyne's variants apparatus, the material in parenthesis is "added after 1852".

When confessions were over, Don Bosco celebrated Holy Mass ... After Mass, Don Bosco ascended the pulpit and the boys listened with rapt attention and pleasure. That year [1847], he began by telling stories from Bible History. After finishing that, he went on to Church History and the lives of the popes.⁸³

Don Bosco was a firm believer in catechizing with entertaining moral stories and examples from history, and this shows as clearly in art. 8 of the rules for catechists as in the *Biographical Memoirs*. The rule states: "At the sound of the bell, five minutes before the end of the catechism class, he should tell his pupils some story from bible or church history, or some incident emphasizing the ugliness of a certain vice or the beauty of a certain virtue." Accordingly, the *Memoirs* describe for us the commotion that resulted near the end of each lesson: "The catechism classes lasted only half an hour. Five minutes before the end, the altar bell would ring. All the boys would then shout in unison, "Story! Story!" and the catechists without further ado, to the boys' great delight, would narrate some episode from the lives of the saints, church history, or the miracles of the Blessed Virgin."⁸⁴

The *Regulations for the Oratory* also help us understand the Founder's concept of his own job, that of the local superior. He is at the center; he must know and guide everything. During the 9th General Chapter, Father Rua repeated one of Don Bosco's favorite stories about how being a director means being informed. It seems a rich man went to a guru to get advice on how to run his castle better. The holy man gave him a little box to wear around his neck, with these instructions: "Go visit each room in your castle each day, but at a different time. After such-and-such time, open the box." The nobleman did so, and saw who was goofing off, who was pilfering things, who was making deals on the side. Finally, after the stated number of days, he opened the box. Inside, a little scrap of paper read, "The horse gets fat under the eye of the master."⁸⁵ If the director is to play that central role given him by the *Regulations for the Oratory*, he must go around like the castle owner and be fully informed about its condition.

At this point, it seems in order to take a look at all these director's rules together.

Chapter 1. The Director

⁸³ Author's translation from *MB* 3:111, 113; compare with *BM* III:74-75.

⁸⁴ *Regulations for the Oratory* document Z, "The Catechist" (*BM* III:446-447). Narrative: *BM* III:83. The practice was allowed until 1868. St. Alphonsus Liguori's devotional works are full of these examples. The author remembers exactly the same reaction from his students, but before lessons in metallurgy or electronics.

⁸⁵ See Ceria, *Annali* III:150.

1. The director is the head superior and is responsible for all activities of the oratory.

2. He must be outstanding among the other staff members in piety, charity, and patience. He should always show himself a friend, companion, and brother to all, and therefore should encourage all to carry out their duties by persuasion rather than by command.

3. Before appointing someone to an office, he should first of all consult the other staff members. If the appointee is a priest, the director should consult the priest's ecclesiastical superior (or the pastor in whose territory the oratory is located, unless the priest is well-known and it can be assumed that there will be no objection to his appointment.)

4. Once a month he will hold a staff meeting to hear or suggest what is best for the boys.

5. It is the director's duty to warn, to see that each one carries out his duty, to correct and even to discharge staff members when necessary.

6. *He hears the confessions of those who freely come to him.* When confessions are over, he or another priest will celebrate Holy Mass; there will follow a homily on the Gospel (or an incident from the bible or church history.)

[7. He should be ready to receive kindly those staff members who come to him, and give them whatever suggestions may turn out useful for keeping order and promoting the glory of God and the spiritual good of souls.]

7[8]. He ought to be as a father among his children, and should strive in every way possible to instill in the boys love of God, respect for sacred things, frequent reception of the sacraments, filial devotion to Our Lady, and the elements of true piety.

[9. He can name a successor, who however should be an Ecclesiastic and approved by the Bishop.]⁸⁶

Immediately, article 1 puts total responsibility squarely on the director's shoulders.

This set of rules has all three bases of the Preventive System. There is an appeal to reason in dealing with staff in articles 2, 3, 4 and 7. Concern for religion shows in the leading role for the Eucharist, Confession and the study of the Gospel in article 6; article 8 has the rector or director teaching piety and devotion. Finally we have the kindness of the director in articles 1, 7 and 8. These elements of reason, religion and kindness are never named in these rules, nor any other until Don Bosco's treatise on the Preventive System published with the 1877 *Regulations for the Houses* as we have seen. But they are here, and we can already begin to see how they work together.

For instance, that article 8 on piety and devotion says that the fatherly kindness of the rector or director is the key to effectively teaching these things. They all stem from the love of God made visible in the fatherly love and kindness of the head superior. We also have article 2, in which that same kindness

⁸⁶ *Regulations for the Oratory* document Z, "The Director" (BM III:441). Here, the author has extended Lemoyne's document Z variants apparatus: omitted earlier material—which should appear in italics—is printed [within square brackets].

makes it possible for him to persuade. Mere reasoning cannot convince; it must be accompanied by goodness which makes the truths proposed visible by example. Finally, the appeal to reasonable cooperation in articles 2, 3, 4 and 7 is there to promote the religious aims of the oratory: the glory of God and the good of souls.

Importance of R 1877

Just as the *Regulations for the Oratory* are a source for the third volume of the *Memoirs*, so the *Regulations for the Houses* are for the fourth. This volume contains a text of the early house rules as we have seen; it also reprints Don Bosco's little treatise on the Preventive System, then follows that chapter with one on the use of punishments. For Lemoyne, the Regulations are another treatise on the practice of the Preventive System 25 years *ante litteram*.⁸⁷ There are also some parallels between the text of the *Biographical Memoirs* and the *Regulations for the Houses*. Don Bosco practiced rules from several job descriptions in this passage on how he dealt with the boys:

Frequently he visited them at study or at work [protector, art. 6]. He would notice even the least infraction and promptly apply a remedy [catechist, art. 5]. He often conferred with other superiors about the boys' conduct and the best measures to be taken to maintain order and discipline [protector, art. 6; oratory director art. 4]. He introduced the custom of giving each pupil weekly marks for conduct and for diligence [catechist, art. 5; study, art. 3; R 1877 school and study hall assistants, art. 5]. He himself read them aloud to the assembled boys on Sunday evening [shop teacher, art. 9], adding some words of praise for the better boys and of admonition for those who had not behaved too well. [catechist, art. 16]⁸⁸

Examining the structural development of the Regulations, we have already noted that those for the houses eventually included Don Bosco's treatise on the Preventive System, and the General Articles associated with it. The 1877 published version, then, serves as a context for these two important documents on Salesian education. We noted also how all the Regulations versions from 1906 to 1967 have incorporated R 1877 as the core set of rules, and how later General Chapters interpreted those house regulations as practical expressions of the Preventive System.

But study of these house rules in their own right at the article level also raises problems. One is in the rules for the rector or director: why are they so few?

The rector has a bare three lines in the earliest manuscript:

⁸⁷ *Primo piano di regalamento* ... document G, translated in *BM* IV:542-559 from *MB* 4:735-755. See *BM* IV:371-398 (chapters 46-48) for Lemoyne's Preventive System interpretation.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 386. Except where noted, references in brackets are to document G.

The Rector is the head of the establishment. It is his duty to accept or dismiss boarders and to see that each staff member does his duty. He is responsible for the morality and education of the sons of the house.⁸⁹

Don Bosco was convinced that it was enough for each to follow the rules for his office, and he said as much at the 1878 annual conference of St. Francis de sales.⁹⁰ Don Bosco does not even bother to give this article a number. This may indicate the importance of the *Regulations for the Oratory*, whose chapter on the local superior is a veritable cue card of the Preventive System as we have seen. Let us not forget that this house is the "Oratory Annex House", and so the rector of the house can get his detailed job description from the *Regulations for the Oratory*.

A second rule, which reserves to the local superior the right to change the job descriptions and the rules, was added in the 1850s. Then, toward 1877, Father Rua added a third rule which says the director will find his norms in the *Confidential Reminders to Directors*, but this did not reach the printed R 1877. In the last manuscript before publication, Father Rua inserts one that amplifies the oldest and first article: it says the director is responsible for the spiritual, scholastic and material sectors. This article survives as the third of only three articles for the director in the 1877 finished product.⁹¹

The name of the local superior of the house is "rector" at the beginning, then changes to "director" as it did for the oratory. But we have a more complex situation here than with *Regulations for the Oratory*. As expected, a rector is the head superior in the earliest manuscripts. But a director runs houses other than Valdocco in the two manuscripts designed in the early to middle 1860s, while the 1867 group, dealing only with Valdocco, keeps the rector. In the 1877 group, however, we have attempts to deal with all Salesian houses, and the name "director" comes back.⁹² The reason is the same as with the oratory:

⁸⁹ Author's translation from *Piano di regolamento per la Casa annessa...* ms. A, "Rector", FDB 1958C10.

⁹⁰ See MB XIV:27.

⁹¹ Document O, FDB 1967A3, adds the reference to the *Confidential Reminders*. Q adds the article on the Director's responsibility at FDB 1967D7.

⁹² All the rules sets have a local head superior:

The A group (mss. A, B, C; ancestors of D) is for a house headed by a rector.

The D group (mss. D, E, F, document G, dated 1852-1854) also places a rector at the head.

The H group (mss. H, I, document J), for houses other than Valdocco in the early to mid 1860s, varies:

H: The head is a rector.

I, J: A director.

The 1867 group (mss. K, L, M) all have a rector as the local superior.

The 1877 group (mss N, O, P, Q, R, S, document T) are mixed:

when Don Bosco was the only local superior, his title was that of rector. Other Salesian local superiors needed a different title when he kept that one.

The directors' rules in other documents developed far more than in the *Regulations for the Houses*. Besides the *Confidential Reminders*, we have a manuscript of "Private Norms" for directors, distilled from the deliberations of the annual conferences. These are explicitly stated to be "explanation and complement to the *Confidential Reminders*."⁹³ The annual conferences are full of "director makes sure of this", "director watches that" articles; they are the most important sources that amplify R 1877's spare 3 articles to the 26 of GC 6. GC 10 brought their number to 42 as we have seen.

Purpose and Components of Education

There are several attempts in the Regulations to divide education into broad fields or components, although earlier versions do so only implicitly.

Preliminary Reflections

For example, our earliest manuscript for the *Regulations for the Houses* says in its statement of purpose that "all spiritual means are useless unless they [very poor boys] are given temporal help."⁹⁴ This is the reason for the annex house; it provides the instruction necessary to earn a temporal living while the oratory teaches the eternal truths. Without that instruction, teaching catechism is useless for those very poor and abandoned boys.

That same manuscript has, in its appendix for students, another indication of the spiritual-temporal division:

3. Since all recommend having a regular confessor, one will be appointed for the students. They should not go to another without notifying the Superior.

O, Q, T: headed by a director.

N: headed by a rector.

P, R, S: fragments with no chapter on the local superior.

⁹³ *Regole estratte dalle conferenze annuali*, in FDB 1968B8-E11. Copybook of Gioachino Berto preserved in FDB 1968B8-E11. There are 19 articles here. A source for these is "Regole private per i Direttori", FDB 1971C1-C7, 26 articles. Other sources: "Direttori", 5 articles from the Berto copybook, FDB 1968B12; "Articoli estratti dalle Conferenze degli anni scorsi", also from the Berto copybook, FDB 1968B8-B11; "1884: Cose per Direttori nelle nostre case"; mss. by Don Bosco on directors: FDB 1971C8, "1884: Unità di comando" (FDB 1971C9-C10), "Assolutamente necessario" (FDB 1971C11).

⁹⁴ *Piano di regolamento per la Casa annessa...* ms. A, "Scopo", FDB 1958C9. See the English BM IV:542 for the very similar passage from *Draft Regulations for the Oratory Annex House* document G.

This is to ensure that the student frequents the holy Sacraments and receives regular spiritual direction from the same [spiritual] director. Those who devote themselves to study need more spiritual culture, since study is all work of the spirit.⁹⁵

This is exactly the opposite of an argument Father Albera made in 1921 for equal formation for brothers. In a circular letter, he says they need equal if not more formation than seminarians, being more exposed to the dangers of the world.⁹⁶

Evolution of the List

Only with the regulations for the house at Lanzo do we have our first formal division of education into components: moral, literary-scientific and civil.⁹⁷ A similar three-item list of educational goals occurs in the treatise on the Preventive System: education is civil, moral and scientific.⁹⁸ The combined deliberations of the Third and Fourth General Chapters, absorbed into R 1894, contribute still another division. It arises from the purpose of the Salesian houses for very poor and abandoned boys:

Among the principal works of charity done by our Society is that of gathering those young people who are so abandoned that instructing them in the truths of religion is wasted effort unless they are housed and directed to some art or trade...

In accepting these young artisans, the Pious Salesian Society aims at educating them in such a manner that, on leaving our houses after their training, they may have mastered a trade to enable them to earn an honorable livelihood, have received good religious instruction, and have acquired such knowledge as is appropriate to their state in life. It follows that there is a triple component to their education: religious-moral, intellectual and professional.⁹⁹

GC 10 lengthened the list to five while extending it to all pupils, but dropped the professional component. In R 1906, education is moral, religious, vocational [Church vocations, not job training], intellectual and physical.¹⁰⁰ GC

⁹⁵ Author's translation from *ibid.*, "Appendice per gli Studenti: Pietà", *FDB* 1958D1. See *BM* IV:551 for a near equivalent from document G.

⁹⁶ See Paolo Albera, *Lettere Circolari* #42 (May 15, 1921) (2nd ed. Turin, Direzione Generale Salesiana 1965)] 520.

⁹⁷ See ms. I, "Scopo", *FDB* 1966B11.

⁹⁸ See R 1967 art. 97.

⁹⁹ GC 3, 4, Theme III, "Direction of the Young Artisans". This was kept as the introduction to R 1894's Division IV, ch. VIII.

¹⁰⁰ See R 1906 I. Part I. Section I: "The preventive system in the education of youth", ch. VI.

12, 17 and 19 organize education into a different set of five components: moral, religious, intellectual and professional, physical and hygienic.¹⁰¹

But GC 17 has another list, implicit in a directive explaining art. 53 and 309 of R 1957, dealing with houses for the brothers' finishing course. That course has a dual purpose: not only professional formation, but also cultural and religious preparation. This is GC 3, 4's trinominal revisited, except "intellectual" is now renamed "cultural".¹⁰² It is puzzling to see this explanation of the general aim of a formation course relegated to the directives.

Reason

"This [preventive] system is based entirely on reason and religion, and above all on kindness," writes Don Bosco in the treatise.¹⁰³ Do the Salesian Regulations have anything to say on these three points?

Appeal to Reason in Piety Articles

Reason in the Preventive System means that the rules and directives of the superiors should be understandable and reasonable to the boys, so that they will obey from inner conviction and not by compulsion. Hence, we find many appeals to reason in the earliest Regulations, but fewer later on as they are become more directed to Salesians. Reason also means that the staff should not expect miracles, but should take reasonable precautions to prevent disorders. For example, in the oratory church:

3. There should be no need of supervision [literally, "an assistant"] in church; the mere thought that one is in God's House should be enough to banish any distraction, but since one may thoughtlessly forget himself and where he is, everyone is urged to obey the assistants and peacemakers. No one should ask to leave without a serious reason.¹⁰⁴

Not only is it reasonable for boys to behave in church, but it is also reasonable to suppose that they will forget themselves, and the reasonable approach is to help them remember their duties. That is why the assistants and peacemakers give orders.

Staff Meetings

¹⁰¹ See R 1925 I, Part I, Section II: "General Rules for the Application of the 'Preventive System'". R 1957 and R 1967 follow suit.

¹⁰² See GC 17 9.

¹⁰³ R 1967 art. 87.

¹⁰⁴ *Regulations for the Oratory* document Z, Part II, "Conduct in Church" (BM III:454).

There are many rules exhorting reasonable cooperation among staff members. In the oratory, the local superior must take the lead:

3. Before appointing someone to an office, he should first of all consult the other staff members. If the appointee is a priest, the director should consult the priest's ecclesiastical superior (or the pastor in whose territory the oratory is located, unless the priest is well-known and it can be assumed that there will be no objection to his appointment.)

4. Once a month he will hold a staff meeting to hear or suggest what is best for the boys.¹⁰⁵

We also have, from R 1894:

488. Every other month the Director shall hold a conference for assistants and heads of workshops, listen to their observations and suggestions, and give suitable guidelines and advice for the good management of the workshops. If there are non-Salesian craftsmasters, they should also be invited.¹⁰⁶

This last rule reminds us that Don Bosco's rules were written first for non-Salesian staff, including many lay people.

Also the prefect is told to consult his staff:

13. ...He shall ask for their [coadjutors'] reports on their jobs and about possible disorders and damage to the House they may have found.¹⁰⁷

"Good Christians and Honest Citizens"

Don Bosco's use of the formula "good Christians and honest citizens" recalls those spiritual and temporal aspects of education examined above, and is also of interest here as an appeal to reason in religious terms.¹⁰⁸ An early manuscript of the *Regulations for the Oratory* uses the formula to appeal to the boys' reason, preparatory to prohibiting blasphemy and other bad talk.

6. Upon entering this Oratory, a youngster ought to be firmly convinced that this is a place of religion, whose only purpose is to make good Christians and honest citizens. For that reason, blasphemy and conversations not in keeping

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, "The Director" (BM III:441). Article 3 covers a situation like the one in the Fathers Rosmini and De Gaudenzi story: such eminent priests need present no references to be catechists for Don Bosco.

¹⁰⁶ R 1894, Division IV, ch. VIII. §2 "Direction of the young artisans", *Religious-moral component*. The rule originated in GC3, 4.

¹⁰⁷ R 1877 First Part ch. II. "The Prefect".

¹⁰⁸ The formula's place in Don Bosco's educational thought is thoroughly studied by Pietro Braidò, in "Una formula dell'umanesimo educativo di don Bosco: 'Buon cristiano e onesto cittadino'", in *RSS* 24 (Jan. - June 1994) 7-75.

with good manners or against the holy Catholic religion are rigorously prohibited. Whoever commits such faults will be paternally warned the first time that if he does not improve, the Director will be notified, who will expel him from the Oratory.¹⁰⁹

The 3rd, 4th and 6th General Chapters contribute deliberations detailing how education to citizenship in an industrialized society is to be done. All these were included in R 1894:

490. It is important to place graduates with good Christian employers, and give them a testimonial of good conduct to present to their pastor. [GC 3, 4]

491. It is also advantageous, for those of sufficiently good conduct, to enroll them in the Salesian Cooperators and recommend them to some Catholic labor organization. [GC 3, 4]

492. In order to equip the pupils in our Hospices and festive Oratories against modern errors, let them hear conferences from time to time on capital and labor, goods, the Sunday rest, strikes, savings, property; all without meddling in politics. The following books will be found very useful to this end: *The Christian Laborer*, *The Worker's Portfolio*, *Watch Out!*, *Common Sense and a Good Heart*. [GC 6]

493. Savings bank passbooks are recommended as prizes. [GC 6]

494. The alumni of our Houses and Oratories should be directed to Catholic Labor Societies where they exist, or accompanied either in person or by letter. The St. Joseph sodality could be a preparation for these Societies. [GC 6]

495. We should prefer and help those Catholic Associations, and send them as many boys as possible, in line with the desires expressed by Leo XIII in his Encyclical *Rerum novarum*, and by Don Bosco. [GC 6]¹¹⁰

Religion

Although religion is named second in the triad of bases for the Preventive System, it is first as a purpose for Salesian work. Safeguarding the effectiveness of religious instruction in the oratory for poor boys is the reason for the annex house as we have seen, but the purpose of the oratory itself is primarily religious:

3. *After they have fulfilled their religious duties.* Religious instruction is the oratory's primary objective; the rest is only an accessory, an inducement for the boys to attend.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Author's translation from *Regulations for the Oratory* ms. B, "Acceptance" (FDB 1955C6). Braidò, "Una formula...", 67, gives a chronological list of Don Bosco's uses of the formula which begins in 1857. This instance is from 1852 - 1854; see note above on dating mss. in the A group.

¹¹⁰ R 1894, Division IV, ch. VIII, "Direction of the Young Artisans".

¹¹¹ *Regulations for the Oratory* document Z, "Purpose" (BM III:68).

Over a century later, this purpose had not changed:

375. The scope of the oratory is to attract boys by means of pleasant and healthy pastimes, in order to give them sound religious instruction, and to help them to fulfill the duties of a good Christian.¹¹²

Work for Souls

Even more fundamental than religious instruction is the purpose to which it tends, and that is the salvation of souls. The statement of purpose for the oratory continues, bringing this out:

So this oratory is placed under the patronage of St. Francis de Sales, to indicate that the basis on which this congregation rests, both in those who command as well as in those who obey, must be the charity and sweetness characteristic of this Saint. For this reason, those who wish to consecrate their labors to the moral good of the youngsters who come here must be ready to make great sacrifices. They must hold nothing back, neglect nothing whatever that may contribute to the greater glory of God and the salvation of souls.¹¹³

The last chapter of the first part of the oratory rules is, as noted above, a statement of duties for all staff members. The religious base of the Preventive System is evident here as well, especially as charity and kindness can help achieve the oratory's religious purpose:

General Rules for All Staff Members

1. Every task in this Oratory should be motivated by charity, and discharged with zeal as a homage to God. All should encourage one another to persevere in their office and carry out their respective tasks. ...

3. It is a great privilege to be able to teach the truths of our Faith to one who does not know them and to prevent even a single sin.

4. Mutual charity and patience in putting up with each other's defects, in promoting the good name of the oratory and its staff, and in urging everyone to be friendly with and have confidence in the director are warmly recommended. Without these things order will never be maintained, nor will the greater glory of God and the welfare of souls be promoted.¹¹⁴

¹¹² R 1967 "Regulations for the Oratories: General Rules".

¹¹³ *Regulations for the Oratory* ms. A, "Purpose." The "hold nothing back, neglect nothing" passage is also present in mss. B, C, E, F and G. Ms. I, document Z and RO 1877 omit it. (*BM* III:68). The "congregation" is not the Salesian religious congregation, but a loose association of staff members at the three oratories of St. Francis de Sales, St. Aloysius, and the Guardian Angel. See *BM* III:521-522.

¹¹⁴ *Regulations for the Oratory* document Z, "General Rules for All Staff Members" (*BM* III:452-453).

Word of God and the Sacraments

In preaching, Don Bosco wants clear, easy to remember thoughts, and plenty of examples to imprint the truths of the faith on his hearers' young minds. We have already seen how the *Regulations for the Oratory* tell the director to preach in this way. Lemoyne gives us from Don Bosco a lesson on how to miss all three of reason, religion and kindness in a sermon:

There was a priest well known for his easygoing ways. Let's portray him by just describing his manner of preaching. He would start off with a standard topic—the Ten Commandments—eyes closed, hands resting on the pulpit. "Mind you," he would say, "I shall be brief, very brief. The Gospel of this Sunday... (Now, you ladies, I know you like to gab, but hold your tongues at least during the sermon...) As I was saying, today's Gospel is about the multiplication of the loaves. A moral we could draw is that you should go to confession. Before doing so, of course, you should examine yourselves on the First Commandment. (Sexton, please take the candle extinguisher and use it on that unruly lass down there.) From the First Commandment let us pass on to the Second... (You altar boys, can't you ever sit still?) and to the Third and the other commandments." And he went on and on, simply enumerating the commandments.¹¹⁵

Alongside the Word of God, the sacraments, especially confession and communion, are powerful helps to salvation in Don Bosco's system. The *Regulations for the Oratory* propose this to the boys in reasonable terms:

1. Remember, my dear boys, that confession and Holy Communion are your two most solid supports along the road to heaven. Therefore, if anybody tries to make you give them up, consider him an enemy of your soul.¹¹⁶

Also reasonable is Don Bosco's insistence that the service staff give good example in this regard:

6. They shall devoutly go to Confession and Communion not less than once a month in their own Church or Oratory, so that their good Christian conduct may become known to the pupils of the House and serve as good example.¹¹⁷

Kindness

At first sight, it may seem that kindness and goodness are only means to an end, that of attracting the boys to religious instruction with "good, clean rec-

¹¹⁵ *BM* VI:111.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, "Confession and Holy Communion" (*BM* III:456).

¹¹⁷ R 1877 Part I. ch. XII: "The Coadjutors".

reaction".¹¹⁸ Our look at the rules for the director showed that they have a great deal to say about kindness, and the *Confidential Reminders to Directors* contain a famous phrase: "Try to make yourself loved sooner than feared."¹¹⁹ But the message of the religious instruction given to the boys is the Good News that God loves us as sons and daughters. This connection is not explicitly made in the Regulations, but both points are made separately. The Good News part is perhaps clearest in an article from the *Regulations for the Oratory's* second part. For kindness to work, the boys must practice it as well:

7. Fighting, striking, or roughhousing is expressly forbidden. Vulgar or contemptuous language is also forbidden. We are all children of God and must love one another with the same charity we would display toward brothers.¹²⁰

All of these are explicit calls to kindness and gentleness. But whenever these rules talk about preventing dangers and disorders, or of helping the boys fulfill their duties, they are talking about the charity that leads one to help in saving souls. This is the fundamental role of assistance in the Preventive System: a set of positive helps and negative preventive measures designed to lead the boys through dangers to Paradise.¹²¹ The General Articles of the *Regulations for the Houses* name the assistant more than any staff member, but their first and last articles say all staff members must lend a hand.

The word "assistance" occurs in the early Regulations with at least four distinct but related meanings. There is a wide sense used in the statement of purpose for the *Regulations for the Houses*:

Among the boys attending the festive oratories of this city there are some who will not benefit from any spiritual help unless they also receive material help. Some of them, already somewhat advanced in years, are either orphans or bereft

¹¹⁸ See above page 36, "Individual Regulations Versions," discussing the importance of the *Regulations for the Oratory*.

¹¹⁹ *Confidential Reminders to Directors*, "For Yourself" art. 5, (BM X:447). More of the same sort of thing is apparent in the "Clarifications and Additions to Confidential Reminders to Directors", especially articles 2-5 (BM X:453-454). See Pietro Braidò, *Breve Storia del "Sistema Preventivo"* (Roma, LAS 1993) 14 for a brief discussion of the recurring "love rather than fear" theme in educational writings. A longer one, confined to Don Bosco's writings, occurs in his above cited article "Articoli Generali", in Braidò, *Don Bosco Educatore* 281-284.

¹²⁰ *Regulations for the Oratory* document Z, "Behavior During Recreation" (BM III:455).

¹²¹ Besides the treatise on the Preventive System and the General Articles occurring in R 1877 and later versions, early writings on Salesian assistance include a Nov. 15, 1873 circular letter of Don Bosco on discipline (text in MB 10:1101-1104, BM X:492-494), and "With the Young Students" in the *Confidential Reminders*; later, we have Ricaldone, *Don Bosco Educatore* 346-414.

of all assistance because their parents cannot or will not take care of them; they are without a trade or even a mere elementary education...¹²²

So assistance in this sense means giving what parents give: food and lodging, loving care, instruction or a trade. It is essentially child rearing; close to what we understand today as social assistance, but with the loving parents' touch. The connection with the kindness component of the Preventive System is obvious, and Father Ricaldone does not miss it in *Don Bosco Educatore*.¹²³

A second, derived sense comes from this parental care sense; it is the service provided by the assistant as described in the first part of all the early manuscripts of the *Regulations for the Houses*. It is also described in the *Biographical Memoirs* by the activities of Don Bosco's mother, Mamma Margaret, acting as the boys' own mother: she kept them clean and fed, and kept their clothes and beds in order. This passage from the third volume of the *Biographical Memoirs* is another in which the *Regulations for the Houses* is a source:

Since he did not think it advisable to hire domestics, he [Don Bosco] and his mother did all the household work. Mamma Margaret managed the kitchen, saw to the wash, and mended the linen and the boys' clothes. Don Bosco handled the many other chores... In the morning he saw to it that the boys washed properly. He combed the hair of the smaller ones, gave all of them haircuts, cleaned their suits, made some beds, and swept the rooms and the little chapel...

To save on clothing expenses, he cut and stitched trousers, underwear, and jackets. With his mother's help, he could make a boy's suit in a couple of hours. At night, while the boys slept, he picked out the clothes in need of mending and took care of them.¹²⁴

In the *Regulations for the Oratory* we find a third, narrower sense: the assistant is to set a good example of devout assistance at the church services, and to see that the boys do the same.¹²⁵ This sense is no longer used.

But a fourth sense expands it. In the early *Regulations for the Houses* are older boys called "monitors" who supervise in the dormitories or the shops;

¹²² *Draft Regulations for the Oratory Annex House*... document G, "Purpose of this House" (BM IV:542, but with "mezzi spirituali" translated "spiritual help" instead of "spiritual assistance".)

¹²³ Pietro Ricaldone, *Don Bosco Educatore* (Colle Don Bosco (Asti), LDC 1951) 350-352 uses the family model to explain assistance, and how it is different from mere supervision.

¹²⁴ BM III:234. See very similar phrases in *Draft Regulations for the Oratory Annex House* document G, "Assistant" (BM IV:545-546).

¹²⁵ See *Regulations for the Oratory* document Z, "Assistant" (BM III:443-444).

they are to give good example, prevent disorders especially bad talk, and report infractions to the superiors, but they take no disciplinary action themselves. Later, this preventive and helping supervision was extended and entrusted to adults, preferably Salesians, called "assistants" of various sorts: of the classrooms and study halls, the shops, and so forth. Their activity is called "assistance" in later Regulations versions, giving us the fourth meaning for the term. This is the sense and meaning of assistance taught in Salesian formation up to the present day, most clearly in *Don Bosco Educatore*.¹²⁶

Before anything like effective supervision can take place, the assistant must know the boys. For this reason, the *Regulations for the Houses* say that an oratory boy gets preference for acceptance:

4. He must already be attending one of the [festive] oratories of this city, since this hospice aims at assisting those frequenting said oratories. Experience has taught us that it is most important to know well the character of a boy before accepting him.¹²⁷

The meaning of "assisting" here is, of course, the wide sense of quasi-parental care.

The General Articles, too, recommend knowing the boys' character. Five of the ten articles are on three character types: "good, indifferent and difficult", and how to deal with each.¹²⁸

The *Regulations for the Oratory* make a similar point about catechists, in an article similar to General Article 1:

16. ...All members of the staff who are free during catechism class are to be considered catechists [in case some teacher should be needed] since they already know the boys and how to deal with them.¹²⁹

Assistance in the last or modern sense, that of preventive and helping supervision, can be further divided into the negative part and the positive part. The

¹²⁶ Early supervisors or assistants: see *Draft Regulations for the Oratory Annex House* document G, "Monitors" (MB IV:546-547). Later assistants are three in R 1877 and R 1906: school and study hall assistants, shop assistants, and dormitory assistants or supervisors. In R 1925, all are combined into one chapter, with duties fully corresponding to the fourth sense in the text. In the *Regulations for the Oratory*, however, the monitor is like the assistant in being concerned with the boys' behavior at church services. See document Z, "Assistant" (MB III:443-444), "Monitor" (445-446).

¹²⁷ *Draft Regulations for the Oratory Annex House*, document G, "Acceptance" (BM IV:543).

¹²⁸ See R 1967, art. 3-7. Source for the triple classification: BM I:192, derived from MO 67.

¹²⁹ *Regulations for the Oratory* document Z, "The Catechist" (BM III:448).

negative part is the prevention of disorders and avoiding dangers, while the positive part means kindly help, guidance, and above all example, for the boys to do their duties.¹³⁰ Later Regulations versions, like R 1967, demand experience and prudence:

111. Let the supervision of the boys be prudent and cautious, and not be entrusted only to the clerics but also to the priests and coadjutors.¹³¹

This makes it seem that priests and brothers are the preferred assistants. Not so in R 1894:

110. He shall see to it that not only progress in skill and study is promoted among the young workers, but also and especially the practice of Religion and virtue; therefore, he shall make sure each shop has a member of our Pious Society as assistant, a cleric or even a coadjutor in case of need.¹³²

Here, a brother is only assigned to assistance as a last resort.

A special challenge in assistance is in helping boys of difficult character. Don Bosco considers this problem in the General Articles, devoting three of the ten articles to them:

106. But all our efforts and solicitude must be especially directed towards those in the remaining categories: the wayward and the bad. The number of such boys average about one in fifteen. Every superior should try to understand them, and obtain information regarding their past life. He should show himself to be their friend, allow them to speak freely, but limit himself to just a few words consisting mainly of short examples, maxims, episodes and the like. These boys should always be kept under observation, but without giving them to understand that no confidence is placed in them.

107. Masters and Assistants, whenever they go amongst their pupils, should at once look around for these boys, and on noticing that any one of them is missing, they should immediately send for him, on pretext of having something to say to him.

108. Whenever blame, advice or correction has to be given to this class of boy, it should never be done in the presence of companions. But use can be made of facts and episodes which have befallen others, in order to point out the praise or blame that is likely to come to those of whom we now speak.¹³³

As these rules make clear, charity and kindness is especially recommended in dealing with these difficult boys. But kindly and loving assistance is to be

¹³⁰ Explained by Ricaldone, *Don Bosco Educatore* 352-354.

¹³¹ R 1967 I, Part II, Sect. II. ch. I. "Moral Education".

¹³² R 1894, Division I, ch. XI "The Councilor for Arts and Trades".

¹³³ R 1967, "Other Things Recommended".

practiced by all towards all. The second General Article expresses this in religious terms:

101. Let every Salesian strive to make himself loved, if he wishes to be feared. He will attain this great end if he makes it clear by his words, and still more by his deeds, that his care and solicitude are directed solely towards the spiritual and temporal welfare of his pupils.¹³⁴

More than any other factor in Don Bosco's view, the boy's realization that his educators assist for his welfare will powerfully motivate him to cooperate with assistance: to flee dangers and employ the means to a holy and productive life.

Beyond protection from dangers and preventing disorders, assistance means positive, active help in the boys' education. It is ultimately motivated by the religious purpose of the oratory and the Salesian houses, that of saving souls by teaching catechism and providing a moral environment. All staff members are required in these rules to do it.

A well-timed word can work wonders. For example, the 1867 ancestor General Article in the Regulations for the Houses has a duty for all house staff:

1. All those who hold office or assist the boys whom divine providence has entrusted to us, also have the duty of giving advice and counsel to any boy of the house every time there is reason to do so, and especially when it is a question of preventing an offense against God.¹³⁵

Like the chapter on duties for all staff members in the *Regulations for the Oratory*, this article makes clear that all are to have concern for the boys' moral welfare. There are to be no excuses like "this is none of my business," or, "it's not my job." When advice is given by the educator directly and individually to a boy, that enormously increases the probability that the youngster will take it as being motivated by love and designed to advance his welfare. Don Bosco explained this "little word in the ear" in his treatise, and also with a rule in the *Confidential Reminders* written in narrative style:

Pupils

2. Spend as much time as you can with your pupils. Try to whisper a kind word to them privately, as you well know, whenever you see the need. This is the great secret of becoming the master of their heart.

3. You may ask, "What shall I say?" Say what was once said to you. For instance:

¹³⁴ *Ibid.* See the note 119 above, in "The Preventive System in the Early Regulations", on the "love rather than fear" theme.

¹³⁵ This article first appears in *Regulations for the Houses* ms. L (FDB 1960E4-E5), in 1867. See above, "Adding the Preventive System." The quote is from R 1967, "Other things recommended".

"How are you?"

"Very well."

"How about your soul?"

"Not bad."

"Will you help me in an important task?"

"Yes, but what's it all about?"

"To make a good boy out of you," or "To save your soul," or "To make you the best of all." ...

You might also ask: "When shall we do the wash? [referring to confession] or "Are you in shape to help me take the devil by the horns?" or "Shall we be friends in spiritual matters?" These and other approaches will do.¹³⁶

Even more important than good advice is good example. This comes in two varieties: examples told in story form of saints and heroes, and the good example of the assistants themselves. We recall the technique of storytelling recommended to catechists, and practiced by Don Bosco himself according to Vol. 3 of the *Biographical Memoirs*. A shorter technique is little slogans or maxims, aids to memory and incentives to action. As for the good example of the educators themselves, all the advice and entertaining stories in the world cannot make up for a deficiency here. Not surprisingly, the director of the oratory must take the lead. Article 2 says good example makes his guidance persuasive.¹³⁷ Boys, too, can give educationally significant example; the prefect must not let this go wasted:

5. When a pupil ceases to belong to the House, the Prefect shall take note of the day and motive of departure. If it is death, he immediately will undertake to inform those concerned, and take note of facts and circumstances could serve as good example and happy memorial.¹³⁸

Formation to Practice the Preventive System

Salesian formation must teach the theory and practice of the Preventive System, and this concern is evident in all versions. Even the earliest, which have no sections on formation *per se*, require frequent meetings and conferences as a means of continuing formation. The subject of such meetings, of course, is the boys' education and conduct, and how to improve them.

¹³⁶ Treatise: see R 1967 art. 87. The friendly word in the *Confidential Reminders*: BM X:449-450. BM VI:210-212 gives an examples of how Don Bosco did it in 1859, with phrases very similar to those in the *Reminders*.

¹³⁷ See above, "Individual Regulations Versions", or *Regulations for the Oratory* document Z, "The Director" (BM III:441).

¹³⁸ R 1877, "Del Prefetto" (OE 29:117).

Ongoing Formation and Meetings

While example is a powerful motivator, often someone has to explain the meaning of the example. This can happen in meetings. Again, the director has the greatest responsibility here, as is evident from the *Regulations for the Oratory*.¹³⁹

Besides the director, other staff members must hold meetings and consult with their dependents. Direct collaboration with a fair portion of the whole staff is required by an 1867 rule for the Catechist of the Artisans:

2. He shall stay in touch with the shop teachers, shop heads, dormitory assistants, economer and the Prefect himself to give and receive observations about the youngsters entrusted to his care.¹⁴⁰

The formative nature of meetings is clearer in recent rules for the shop and farm staff:

193. The head of department must see that the confrères who assist him in the workshop make professional progress and keep abreast of the times. He should promote among them a spirit of constant collaboration and mutual understanding, and together with the superiors should be aware of his responsibility for the religious formation of the young confrères attached to his workshop. ...

200. The craftsmasters and those in charge of the various agricultural sections shall, in agreement with the assistants, give marks every Saturday to the boys for their work, and they should also express their opinion on the conduct of the boys... Moreover, every month there shall be a meeting of the superiors, teachers, craftsmasters, and assistants, to give marks to the boys for work, application and conduct.¹⁴¹

Older boys can contribute here as well:

558. ... It will be useful for the assistant to talk with the boys, especially the more advanced, to learn about common types of damage and disorders and how to avoid them.¹⁴²

¹³⁹ See *Regulations for the Oratory* document Z, "The Director", esp. art. 4.

¹⁴⁰ *Regulations for the Houses* ms. Q, appendix for catechist of artisans. See also mss. H, K, L, M "The Catechist" art. 13.

¹⁴¹ R 1967, also corresponding articles in R 1925 and R 1957.

¹⁴² R 1906 I Part II Section II ch. XIII. "Dell'Assistente dei Laboratori". Ancestor article in R 1877, part 1, ch. IX: *OE* 29:135.

Practical Training

Beginning with GC 5 in 1889, Salesians have had practical training as part of their initial formation. It is aimed at learning the Preventive System by practicing it under the guidance of experienced educators.

At first, GC 5 wanted guidance to come from the staff at Valdocco or in a provincial house, but very soon the local director became the one responsible. The table below shows a fairly consistent view of the nature of practical training; there is varying consideration of brothers along with the seminarians at this stage of formation.

Table 7. Articles on Practical Training from GC 5 to 1967R

R 1894	R 1906 ¹⁴³	R 1925	R 1967
D. IV. ch. VI, Novitiates and Studentates ... When possible, after the study of philosophy, let the clerics spend an entire year at the Turin Oratory or in a Provincial House, or even in another House designated by the Rector Major, during which they shall do practical training in the offices of teacher and assistant. (Gen. Ch. V).	Ch. VII. The transition from the Novitiate or Studentate to the Houses. 940. It is necessary to give the young clerics, and in due proportion also to the artisans who will become shop teachers, a clear idea of the mission that awaits them; a sublime mission, but full of difficulties...	Ch. II. Clerics. 51. Three years' practical training are prescribed for the clerics, for the purpose of instilling and cultivating in them the Salesian spirit and of training them in the application of the "Preventive" System, which is the basis of our pedagogy.	Ch. II. Concerning the clerics. 51. A period of practical training not exceeding three years is prescribed for the clerics and coadjutors, after the course of philosophy or that of professional training. Its purpose will be to test their vocation, by instilling and cultivating the Salesian spirit, training them in the application of the preventive system, which is the basis of our pedagogy, and also attending to secular studies with a view to professional qualifications.

¹⁴³ GC 9 formally introduced the three year practical training stage of formation after philosophy for the clerics: see GC 9 delib. 6 (7), Ceria, *Annali* III: 144-169; Amadei, *Rua* II:666-669.

We also see an evolution in the offices considered suitable for those in practical training. In the leftmost column, R 1894 has them practice the offices of teacher and assistant. That means knowing and following the rules for these two offices from R 1877. In 1906, other offices may have been considered beyond those in R 1906: certainly many young non-artisan brothers were doing practical training as cooks, custodians, doorkeepers.¹⁴⁴ From 1925 on, there is no longer any reference to particular jobs suitable for practical trainees.

But the job of director is pivotal for a practical training program, and the next table shows how it is increasingly recognized as such as time goes on:

¹⁴⁴ In Giovanni Battista Francesia, *Vita e Morte Edificante di Francesco Frascarolo Coadiutore Salesiano* (San Benigno Canavese, Tip. e Libreria Salesiana 1891), Bro. Frascarolo is shown operating as a doorkeeper during his novitiate.

R 1894	R 1906	R 1925	R 1967
	<p>Part II, Sect. II, Ch. I. The Director 395. Let him give a brotherly welcome to the new members, and teach them how to do their jobs; let him read them their regulations and give them a simple explanation.</p>	<p>Ch. II Clerics. 53. During this time the members must direct all their care and energy to acquiring a practical knowledge of our life, under the vigilant and kindly supervision of the Rector and the other Superiors. These shall teach them by example, and by recalling and explaining to them, as opportunity arises, the principles of the "Preventive System," by means of the life and example of Don Bosco and the traditions of his early followers.</p>	<p>Ch. II Concerning the Clerics 52. During this time the members must direct all their care and energy to acquiring a practical knowledge of our life, under the vigilant and kindly supervision of the Rector and the other superiors who shall teach them by example, and by recalling and explaining to them, as opportunity arises, the principles of the preventive system, by means of the life and example of St. John Bosco and the sound traditions, in accordance with the directives of Art. 183 and 194 of the constitutions. There should be at least three scrutinies each year for the members in this period of training, and the Rector should prudently inform those concerned of the results.</p>

Oddly, the relevant articles in R 1967 appear in a chapter whose title still says "Concerning the clerics".¹⁴⁵ The next chapter is "Concerning the coadjutors" as expected, and it too contemplates practical training for brothers as well as for seminarians.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ R 1967 art. 51-56.

¹⁴⁶ See R 1967 art. 57-59. Note that the immediate preparation for perpetual vows, common to brothers and clerics, appears in art. 58.

Conclusion: The Salesian Spirit in the Old Regulations

This tour through the structures and texts of the Salesian Regulations from 1847 to 1967 places us in a position to draw conclusions about how they promote use of the Preventive System. They do so by building it into formation, both initial and on-going.

The Formation Model

Don Bosco learned his apostolate by doing, by trying things out. He formed his first collaborators the same way, before there was any kind of organized formation program. This survey of our Regulations has often remarked on the role of experience, of trial and sometimes error in disconcerting amounts, in shaping these rules. The Salesians' comparatively late start in codifying their praxis for formation should not lead us to think there was none in the earliest days. Formation there was, albeit informal and always in response to immediate, real problems rather than abstract theoretical formulations. The very first manuscript of the *Regulations for the Oratory*, as we have seen, tells the director to hold staff meetings, and to listen to staff members' suggestions to improve the oratory program. Of course, it is beyond the scope of this study to follow this idea beyond 1967, but what we have seen is background for the 24th General Chapter's 1996 assertion that lay youth ministers are formed "...by qualifying the process of elaboration of the pastoral and educative plan as a practical instrument for reciprocal formation."¹⁴⁷ This process of lay folks forming Don Bosco as he formed them is already mandated in that staff meeting article going back to around 1850. Formation by planning and doing youth ministry has a century and a half of Salesian history.

Role of the Preventive System

Reviewing the exactly 100 year-journey of Don Bosco's first General Article, telling all staff members to be involved in education, brings us to the realization that the Preventive System is at the center of those old Regulations. They did not arise from Don Bosco's desk meditations but from his experience as

¹⁴⁷ *Salesians and Lay People: Communion and Sharing in the Spirit and Mission of Don Bosco. Documents of 24th General Chapter, in Acts of the General Council [=AGC] special number 356 LXXVII (May 1996) [=GC 24], §144. AGC is the successor to ASC and continues its numbering, beginning with No. 311.*

Texts of GC 24 available online:

http://www.hooked.net/~jmrasor/publications/gc_24_english/frame.htm

http://www.hooked.net/~jmrasor/publications/gc_24_espanol/frame.htm

<http://donbosco.sdb.org/eng/cg24/frame.htm>

<http://donbosco.sdb.org/esp/cg24/frame.htm>

director, shared with his collaborators, and codified in the earliest *Regulations for the Oratory*. Not only that, but the Preventive System is the spirituality behind articles outside that section, like the three-part education model brought to print by GC 3, 4. It came about precisely because practical men, wishing to apply the Preventive System in the shops, remembered and discussed their own experience and changing conditions in the world of work around them.

We have made much of the structural changes, the arrangements of the chapters, sections and parts. Here again, the role of the Preventive System stands out, even to the point where the 10th and 12th General Chapters could name whole sections "Application of the Preventive System" or the like. Recall also the very long life of the fundamental structure of the earliest *Regulations for the Oratory* and the *Regulations for the Houses*: job descriptions for the staff, and rules for the boys. These two sets grew up together over the years under the hand of Don Bosco, Father Rua and other pioneer Salesians, but behind their writing hands was the living experience of their boys and their fellow staff members. It can be said that these Regulations are the lab notebooks of Valdocco, Mirabello, San Benigno, Nice and other Preventive System research institutes.

Role of the Director

Less evident from the structures than from individual articles is the importance of the directors. They almost always have their own chapter of rules, even if it has only one article as in the earliest manuscripts of the *Regulations for the Houses*. Note the important role of the annual conferences in developing rules for the director, and how they furnished material for GC 1 to take the number of articles from 3 to 12. When we recall that the annual conferences, and all the General Chapters up to the 9th, were essentially meetings of directors, this growth is not hard to understand. They took seriously their third article from R 1877: "The Director has care of the entire spiritual, scholastic and material progress of the institute."

Institutes for which the rules mean application of the Preventive System, then, must be headed by leaders that know it, teach it and model it. As the *Confidential Reminders to Directors* show, they also practice the Preventive System in the formation of their collaborators, whether Salesian or not. This is no less true in this time following the 24th General Chapter than it was in the Pinardi shed.