**JOSÉ-LUIS CARREÑO ETXEANDÍA, SDB (1905-1986): A SKETCH**

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José-Luis Carreño Etxeandía (1905-1986) has been described as “the most loved Salesian in South India” of the first part of the twentieth century.[[1]](#footnote-1) Carreño lived in India, Goa (when it was a Portuguese colony), the Philippines and Spain, and in all these countries we still find Salesians who treasure their memories of him. The closest thing we have to a biography is *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios*, the substantial mortuary letter written by José Antonio Rico.[[2]](#footnote-2) “I hope someone will soon write a good biography of this exceptional Salesian,” Rico says at the end his letter. More than 30 years later, that wish has not yet been fulfilled. Hopefully it will soon be.[[3]](#footnote-3)

# Prelude: Early years in the Basque country (1905-1913)

José-Luis Carreño Etxeandía was born in Bilbao, Spain, on 23 October 1905, to Rogelio Carreño and Teresa Etxeandía. The Spain of 1905 was a constitutional monarchy, Basque nationalism had just emerged towards the end of the nineteenth century, and the Basque Nationalist Party had been founded in 1895.

José-Luis was baptized on 28 October 1905 in the parish church of San Antón Abad. He was to conserve a deep appreciation for the sacrament of baptism: “Coming to life is the first sign of the love of God. He wants that we exist. And hopes that we will love him in return. But the real moment of life is that of our Baptism.”[[4]](#footnote-4)

Rogelio and Teresa were also blessed with three daughters, Itziar, Mari-Teresa and Garbiñe.[[5]](#footnote-5) Itziar, who is the one José-Luis mentions most often in his last autobiographical writings,[[6]](#footnote-6) married the famous Basque artist and sculptor Jorge de Oteiza Embil (1908-2003), and eventually, at her brother’s invitation, settled down with her husband in Alzuza.[[7]](#footnote-7)

When *aita* (father) Rogelio Carreño went to Buenos Aires in the hope of being able to better support his children,[[8]](#footnote-8) the family left Bilbao and moved to the ancestral house in Villaro “under the Gorbea” mountain.[[9]](#footnote-9) There were now three families under the roof of the *caserón de Chichirri* with 13 cousins and a total of 17 members.[[10]](#footnote-10) The household was presided by grandmother Pascuala Iruarrízaga, who José-Luis remembers with much affection. Pascuala was what the Book of Proverbs calls ESCHET KHAIL, woman of valour – *mulierem fortem quis inveniet?* (Prov 31:10) *–* the very incarnation of a Basque matriarch, a simple woman who reigned over her large household with undisputed authority and calm dignity, unruffled serenity and immense goodness.[[11]](#footnote-11)

The boy was close to his *amatxu* (mother), who taught him to read (“I could already read at the age of four,” he recalls[[12]](#footnote-12)) and initiated him into the faith and to a special love for the Eucharistic Lord. "One morning", he recalls in one of his books, "my mother took me to Mass. ‘Look,’ she said, ‘in a little while the priest will raise a little round white thing. That’s Jesus!’ Sure enough, shortly after, there was the sound of a small bell and in the semi-darkness a small round object began to rise slowly in the hands of the priest. I must have given a sharp cry because I immediately felt a soft hand covering my mouth. That round object was forever engraved on my soul. It was the ‘personal revelation’ of the mystery of transubstantiation."[[13]](#footnote-13) “When the Eucharistic embrace comes very early in life, the soul is marked by it forever,” Carreño adds.[[14]](#footnote-14)

But tragedy was around the corner. José-Luis’ beloved *amatxu* was sick, and the doctors decided to send her to Urquiola where the climate was better. She never came back. “One month later, my mother, who had prepared me to receive Jesus, winged her flight to Heaven.”[[15]](#footnote-15) It was the year 1913 and José-Luis was 8 years old. Towards the end of his life, writing his memoirs at the insistent request of friends, the memory of that loss is still fresh: “For at least ten days I felt the impact of that terrible orphaning. Sitting on the wide landing at the top of the staircase, I wept and kept repeating: ‘Why did you go away, *amatxu*?’[[16]](#footnote-16)

With *amatxu* dead and *aita* in faraway Argentina, José-Luis found comfort and consolation in grandmother Pascuala. From her he received not only the affection he needed but also a love for the Basque language – seeing that his mother did not speak Euzkera.[[17]](#footnote-17) It was a love soaked in Salesian moderation, as this memory of the sad time after his mother’s death reveals:

When grandmother Pascuala would see me more depressed and sad than usual she would call me, make me lay my head at her feet, take off my socks, warm me up by rubbing my cold and damp feet, lulling me to sleep with the sweetness of her ancient Euzkera words:

*“Ené, Josetxu! Biotxa! Lastán ederra!"*

*"Kuitádua! Be otxa!"*

until my head would sink into the oasis of dream and forgetfulness.

I have always felt that the Basque language was made for the balm of tenderness. Never for shouting "*Errebolúzisa, Erreconbérsisa*" ...[[18]](#footnote-18)

And with a love of the language, there was also an intense love of the land:

O valleys of Vizcaya! I have seen the Great Canyon Valley of Colorado and the paradisiacal valleys of the slopes of the Himalayas and of the Andes, but I have never found anything like your beauty.

Hardly did one leave the Capital of Iron [Bilbao], an imposing armada of majestic, white cloud-ships appeared, ploughing through the pure blue of the infinite skies.

There [in Bilbao] they had spoken to me about God.

Here it was God who was speaking to us.

Singing brooks playing with pebbles and rolling down their beds. Meadows of intense greenery, covered with orchards. On one side, mountains crumbling into fronds of water falling towards the wide valley. On the other side blinding whiteness, like colossal ivories. The singing of the birds. Cows grazing meekly (*ding dong*) on the juicy carpet of the meadows. Sheep bleating. The joy of thousands and thousands of little brooks teeming with fish. Little streams bursting with crabs.

Is there anything in creation more beautiful than these valleys of ours?[[19]](#footnote-19)

Practical woman that she was, grandmother Pascuala decided to put the motherless boy into a boarding school run by religious. She first tried the Jesuits in Durango and when that failed, she turned to the Salesians at Baracaldo, which was at that time their only foundation in the Basque country. Here she had better luck. Years later, when asked by an Indian archbishop how he had not fallen under the spell of the Jesuits, coming as he did from the place of Ignatius of Loyola, this is what Carreño replies:

‘Truly, Your Grace, the reason is very simple. In 1913, my saintly mother passed away. My father was at that time in Argentina, trying to find the means for the sustenance of his children. And when my mother left for heaven, my grandmother Pasquala, a valiant woman, decided to put me in a hostel….

‘In those years, St Ignatius was the big name in the Basque country, especially in the field of education. Where else would that brave woman have knocked, if not at the gates of a Jesuit boarding school? I do not know what happened inside. I only remember her coming out shaking her venerable head. There was no need for her to tell me: with the money *aitatxu* (dad) was sending, that hostel was beyond our means.

But some time later, I remember it as if it were yesterday, I saw her in friendly conversation with a fatherly figure, round and smiling. It was Fr Ramón Zabalo. I saw that they were discussing about the boy’s admission. I saw her taking out of her pouch a heap of silvery, shining coins and putting them on the table, and I saw how Fr Ramón convinced her to put them back into the pouch. About the details of the conversation I know nothing; only that, a few days later, I found myself in the boarding school of Alta Santander.

‘Your Grace, from that time onwards, from 1913, I have been eating Don Bosco’s bread.’[[20]](#footnote-20)

At this point a Jesuit bishop intervened: “And it would seem, from what you have been saying, that you are not at all sorry about it.” Carreño continues:

‘The thing is that there is something more to add to my story, Your Lordship,’ I said. ‘Being with Don Bosco, I can dedicate myself to the work that is dearest to the heart of God: doing good to his poorest and most abandoned ones. Today, for example, I have to find rice for hundreds, or better, for thousands, of mouths with good appetites. And this is something more enjoyable than writing the minutes of some convention. There are other Orders that keep you studying books all your life…. Are books really worth all that effort? All the good things they say we will know one day in the Essence of God. Don Bosco, instead, throws us into the midst of work for the needy, something that won’t be needed in heaven. And this is what happened, Your Lordship, that when my good friend, Fr Varin, SJ, the holy Administrator of your Universidad de Loyola, did not know where to put the orphans of his gardener who had just died, he brought them to me who, thank God, knew where to put them.’ …

For a little boy who had just lost his mother in October, it was small consolation to be locked up in a distant boarding school. And I spent days crying in the dark corner of the landing under the staircase of that mansion at Villaro, crying to my *amatxu* (mum) who was no more: “Why did you go? Why did you go?”

 Only much later does one become aware of the great and merciful plans of God. I had not entered into one more a boarding school. I had crossed the threshold of a beautiful, great, wonderfully cheerful family that would be mine forever.[[21]](#footnote-21)

# First Salesian experience: Santander (1913-1917)

José-Luis entered the Salesian ‘colegio’ or boarding school of Santander in November 1913, and his stay there practically coincided with World War I (1914-1918), but the effects of that war were not felt since Spain remained neutral, as it would largely do also during World War II.

The Salesian ‘colegio’ of Santander had been founded in 1907, so it was barely six years in existence when José-Luis arrived, but the motherless boy was blessed to find Salesians who he himself described as extraordinary, beginning from the Rector, José Pujol Fabrega.[[22]](#footnote-22)

“I had the fortune of having a holy Salesian Brother as my teacher, Bro. Miguel Blanco…. Bro. Miguel was qualified as a teacher, and he was indeed a teacher par excellence,” Carreño recalls. He remembers especially an act of delicacy and kindness on the part of Bro. Miguel – something that he himself would imitate in later years:

But what remains stuck in my mind is the memory of the winter mornings. No matter how late we got up… it was always too early for an eight-year-old boy. I do not know whether the big blankets were warm enough or not, but it seems that I had rolled myself into a ball inside the huge bed that seemed like a bullfighting arena. There was no heating, of course, in the large hall that was our dormitory. But in the morning, I felt very warm and relaxed under my blankets… on top of which there lay a big, thick overcoat. It was the overcoat of my teacher, Bro. Miguel![[23]](#footnote-23)

It was in the Salesian school of Santander that José-Luis met also Fr Marcelino Olaechea Loizaga (1889-1972), later bishop of Pamplona and archbishop of Valencia. Olaechea became his father and friend: “He was an extraordinary person; he was my Rector at Carabanchel, my Provincial in Barcelona, my mentor when I left for the missions, and my father all my life.”[[24]](#footnote-24)

In Santander the love for the Eucharistic Lord planted by his mother found good ground and flourished:

I found there a new home, completely oriented towards the ‘round white thing' under the blue mantle of the Virgin Mother, Mary Help of Christians.

The Eucharistic experience from then on gave the tone to the whole of life, communitarian and personal.

And, on the other hand, as my child’s mind developed, I discovered slowly in that 'small round white thing' nothing less than the ‘unfathomable riches of the omnipotent Wisdom and Love of God,’ who ‘though infinitely wise, did not know what more to give us; All-powerful, could give us nothing greater; infinitely rich, had nothing more to give us’….[[25]](#footnote-25)

To enter the House of Don Bosco meant to settle permanently within the gravitational pull of the Real Presence.

One soon discovered that the 'small white round thing' was the centre of everything.

First Santander, then Campello, Carabanchel, Sarriá, Gerona… then the East – everywhere it was the same….

It was not a question of a mystical experience of some kind; it was a reality one began to digest from the very beginning. The daily Mass, the chapel always open and accessible to all, the natural and timeless custom of the visit after lunch, night prayers before the Blessed Sacrament followed by the familiar 'Good-Night' talk by the Rector....

A house without all these was not a House of Don Bosco.[[26]](#footnote-26)

Santander was in fact all that a house of Don Bosco ought to be – a house for boys who were not easy at all, as we can surmise from the humorous memories recounted by Carreño:

When I went to the Third Elementary, my teacher was a strong and energetic cleric who was none other than Don José Lasaga. He and Marcelino Olaechea, the young Prefect of Studies, were the two strong arms that ensured order in that motley and sometimes turbulent mob that was that boarding school. Because, even if your wisdom tooth had not yet emerged, and perhaps not even the others, it did not take long to realize that in the absence of those Reverend young guardians of order we would have had a mini-republic there before its time.

It seems that in those years the Council of the Vizcaya province had entrusted the Salesians of Santander with some of their ‘juvenile delinquents’ to see if the Preventive System – or else the ‘Explosive’ System – could straighten them out. And sometimes you had to use both.

Every now and then a whole gang of them would run away, sometimes more than a dozen. And, after a few days, tracked down and subdued by the Civil Guard, we saw them returning heads down and humiliated, like the captive remnants of a defeated army.

There were those who, according to stories passed around…, had pulled a knife on some less sturdy cleric: ‘If you ever smack my brother again…!’

There were others – I saw this with my own eyes – who put novels into their prayer books and opened and closed their mouths disproportionately as if they were praying to the deafest Saints of the calendar, when instead the object of their devotion was Dick Turpin or Buffalo Bill or even the Count of Monte Cristo.

And when a bird was spotted on the farm on the other side of the road, a great shout would go up from the classroom on the second floor: ‘Look, a thrush!’ and the first inkbottle at hand would go hurtling out of the window.

And then there was this boy who – I saw this once and remained horrified ever since – upon receiving a letter from his mother exclaimed, ‘Bah! Foolish old woman!’ and tore it into a hundred pieces to the amazement of those around who witnessed the sacrilege. With those boys from Bilbao you had to have a couple of breakwaters like Don José and Don Marcelino.

When one of these kids went out of control, a categorical slap would resound through the playground, we would see Don José or Don Marcelino next to us like vigilantes, a wave of reverent silence would slowly spread, and we knew that peace had been restored: ‘Order reigns in Warsaw.’ And yet I believe Don Marcelino and Don José, in that order, were the two that were most loved by all.[[27]](#footnote-27)

For offenses of an intellectual nature there were more sophisticated punishments. If one had smudged the notebook or sadly got the problems wrong, he had to march behind the rest of his class, his notebook wide open for all to see. Of course, if someone from the lower classes tried to take a closer look he would be taking a great risk, and he would receive what he deserved from the offender himself, who still had his honour to defend.

As a general rule, those who spoke in the study hall were penalized by writing fifty or one hundred times: *I will not speak in the study hall*. And since true economic geniuses emerge especially in times of crisis, clandestine publishers would begin to appear, selling two hundred *I will not speak in the study hall* for a pack of caramelised almonds or three stories by Calleja; and, if the handwriting was good, for up to half a dozen biscuits or a novel by Dick Turpin. But sometimes it would happen that, just when you had acquired – God knows at what sacrifice – two or three hundred *I will not speak in the study hall* against future sanctions, the sanctioning authority would say: 'You will bring me a hundred *In the study hall I will not speak*.’ It was the first bitter experience of depreciation of paper money![[28]](#footnote-28)

But in this motley crowd of young ruffians, the faith still made its silent entrance. Carreño has beautiful things to say, for example, about Mary honoured under the title ‘Help of Christians.’

Mary Help of Christians was the sweetest and most repeated word we heard in those years of carefree childhood.

*Es María Auxiliadora – dulce faro del mar* [Mary our Help – sweet light of the sea] Who was the one who had composed this song? ... It was something local, not something translated from the Italian as were the more sophisticated hymns. It was something that sprang from the heart of some great lover of Mary Most Holy, here in Spain. Was it Don Rinaldi? I have never been able to find out. This spontaneous and tender song would be enough to immortalize its simple troubadour. It is, in the sphere of the divine, what Gutiérrez de Cetina’s *Ojos claros, serenos* is in the human. I don't know what the *Faro del* *mar* might sound like to a city boy. Perhaps like a windmill without blades. But for us Cantabrians, who heard the roar of the gales on winter nights, who reverently opened the shutters to catch a glimpse of the cosmic struggle of the elements through rain-lashed windows; who, terrified, watched the bare trees creaking and bending under the implacable force of hurricane winds, and imagined the desperate leaps of the high waves behind those gigantic cliffs... the imperturbable, serene, intermittent but rhythmic and punctual ray of light that kept appearing out of the Lighthouse at the edge of the abyss had a force and purity and an unforgettable message ... In the midst of those storms it was, simply, ‘sweet.’[[29]](#footnote-29)

In time the faith that had silently entered bears its own sweet fruit, because the mercy of God knows no bounds. Carreño continues:

About fifty years had passed since those years in the Alta when, a fugitive from the Missions, I was in Madrid, trying to print a book. The typesetting difficulties were such that it was only with the help of some friends of mine, technicians from Bilbao, that I managed to overcome them. I had just returned from Bilbao to the SEI in Madrid when the phone rang.

— ‘It’s for you. From Bilbao.’

— ‘But hombre! I have just come from there and haven’t even opened my suitcase!’

A friend was on the line.

— ‘Do you remember N.N. who, it seems, was your companion in Santander?’

— ‘Yes, of course… though we haven’t seen each other in 50 years.’

— ‘He’s sick. Very sick. Dying of cancer. We know he is estranged from the Church. But he says will not confess to anyone… if not to Archbishop Msgr. Olaechea, or to an old companion, José Luis Carreño.’

— ‘You don’t have to tell me twice.’

I caught a night train and the next morning I was in the sick man’s house. I sat on his bed and we began chatting as if we had seen each other the previous day… a day that was half a century long. But there we were, both chatting away.

— ‘Hey, and do you remember when…?’

— ‘And you remember how…?’

— ‘And you remember when we used to sing *Es Maria Auxiliador dulce faro de la mar*…?’

He shut his eyes so as not to disturb the distant light of memory… and by the time, with a great effort of the will, he came to the end of the song: *Es el amor de mi alma – desde que yo supe amar* [She is the love of my soul – from the moment I learned to love]… silent tears were rolling down his cheeks.

— ‘Leave us a moment, child,’ I said to his wife. And when, later, she returned to the bedroom I said to her: ‘Ask the parish priest of San Antón to bring Holy Communion tomorrow, because I have to go away immediately.’

Later I was away from Spain for a while, and by the time I came back and inquired about my companion, they had almost forgotten about the poor fellow. We are passing nothings for men, but not for Her, *la que en mi niñez – mis pasos guió* [the one who in my childhood – guided my steps]. She knows how much we cost her Son. There are verses that epitomize a life.[[30]](#footnote-30)

# Discerning the Salesian vocation: Campello (1917-1921)

In September 1917, now almost 12 years old, José-Luis entered the Salesian aspirantate at Campello.[[31]](#footnote-31) How did this happen? “That real saint of a provincial, Don José Binelli,[[32]](#footnote-32) said to me one day: ‘Why don’t you come with me to see Campello? If you like it, you can remain; if not, you can come back.’ And it was … love at first sight.” So the beginnings of the Salesian vocation were simple. “In those days it was not usual to talk a lot about Don Bosco, nor was there yet an ascetico-pedagogico-pastoral Salesian technology… But for us a Don Binelli was a Don Bosco, not to speak of Don Rinaldi, then Prefect General, whose visits left us with a supernatural feeling, like when the messengers of Yahweh visited Abraham’s tent.”[[33]](#footnote-33)

So it was that the young lad from the Basque country found himself in the aspirantate at Campello. This involved a 1000 km shift, from Santander on the Cantabrian Sea to Campello on the Mediterranean, but José-Luis remembers it as “nothing more than a change of climate,” because both places were *home*, and in both there were Salesians who were fathers and friends.[[34]](#footnote-34)

Aspirantates remained always close to Carreño’s heart. "A congregation like ours, for which we were preparing ourselves at Campello,” he wrote later, “is made up of men dedicated to God to whom they are going to lead countless generations through the apostolate of Christian education. Those men must therefore be superior in everything, especially in the refinement of the spirit. That’s why all the Campellos in the world must get the very best education."[[35]](#footnote-35)

In one of his last writings,[[36]](#footnote-36) Carreño reveals that his decision to be a Salesian was not without difficulties, stemming mainly from the fact that his father was trying to get him to go down to Argentina, where “he had kept ready for me a white pony on which I could gallop through the Pampas.” In his letters *aita* would constantly remind his son that his first duty, when choosing his future, was to obtain his father’s blessing. José-Luis was perplexed and so, during holidays from Campello, he decided to go to Limpias to find an answer. In the years 1918-1920, the centre of national and religious discussion was the Christ of Limpias who was said to move his eyes. Thousands of people flocked to witness this phenomenon, though there were also others who were sceptical – José-Luis recalls the large and noisy driver who was refusing to enter the church without first having had a good cup of coffee and a plate of sausages and fried potatoes. His own interest was different: “If I see the Christ moving his eyes, I have a vocation. If not, I will go and take charge of my white pony.” But after three hours of rigorous fasting, tense waiting and anxious attention he saw absolutely nothing that could be regarded as supernatural. Upon returning to Bilbao, however, the young man received a phone call from Don Alejandro Battaini, Rector of Campello, inviting him to join him on the way back to the aspirantate. On the train, in the midst of a discussion about his experience in Limpias, he received sound and fatherly advice from Don Battaini:

Vocation is not something that is at the mercy of a blinking eye. It is something much more serious: God calls you without forcing you. If you accept to dedicate your life to God, He embraces you with joy. If you prefer to follow some other way of Christian life, He respects your freedom and continues loving you. A vocation is 50% God’s work and 50% your cooperation. Forget about this story of the blinking eyes.[[37]](#footnote-37)

It was wonderfully sane counsel from a wise son of Don Bosco. So José-Luis made a free decision and in 1921 joined the Salesian novitiate at Carabanchel Alto in Madrid.[[38]](#footnote-38) He made his profession on 25 July 1922, not yet fully 17 years old.

But Rogelio Carreño had not yet given up. Soon after his profession, José-Luis was told that an uncle of his had visited the Salesian house of Baracaldo with a letter from his father instructing José-Luis, still a minor, to leave for Buenos Aires. To ensure this, Uncle José had been authorized to file a complaint in the Juzgado de Guardia, the tribunal: “search, capture, marching orders, and, naturally, exclaustration." With Don Marcelino Olaechea, José-Luis left for Bilbao, but always succeeded in missing Uncle José who did not fail to turn up again at Baracaldo, escorted by a lawyer and a sheriff. At the reception, however, Uncle José met a Salesian who informed him that “Don José-Luis” was a professed member of a Congregation of pontifical right that enjoyed exemption from the law, and that if they wanted to discuss anything they could get in touch with the Tribunal of the Rota in Madrid. Getting entangled with the Sacred Roman Rota was, in those days, no simple thing, so the lawyer wisely decided to back off, and there the question of Argentina seems to have come to an end.[[39]](#footnote-39)

In the face of the earlier dismissive remarks about ascetico-pedagogico-pastoral Salesian technology, Carreño’s comments on his vocation discernment are worth reading, shot through as they are with his fine sense of humour and profound faith. Vocation discernment is not a simple Hamletian either-or option. If all the circumstances of his life had been fed into the best computer available, it should have responded: “Look, boy, you have simply succeeded in heating up my circuits. The decision is yours: do what your heart really tells you to do.”[[40]](#footnote-40) And that is what in fact happened: José-Luis listened to his heart. In the little church of the Salesian house of Baracaldo, he speaks of Christ saying to him: “So, boy, what have you decided to do? Do you want to stay with me or will you also go away?” And the answer surged up in the words of Peter: “Lord, to whom shall we go? You alone have the words of eternal life.”

I don't know what those words sounded like on the shores of Lake Tiberias. But I do know very well what they meant for me on the left bank of the Ría in Baracaldo: my destiny merged with the program of Christ: to bring the Kingdom to the poor, announce to people the word of Life, offer forgiveness to the lost, welcome and bring succour to orphans, multiply rice for the masses, communicate a joyful vision of life to the slaves of *karma* or Destiny, embody the compassion and love of a Crucified Saviour, spread His radiant message through the written and printed word.... Was such an answer possible on the lips of a fortune teller, in the somersaults of a coin thrown into the air, in the uncertain blinking of gentle eyes in the semi-darkness, in the opinions of jurists, in the fried sausages of a driver, in the quiet beauty of a white pony waiting for its owner to arrive? I think my Baracaldo monologue was the most momentous one of my life.[[41]](#footnote-41)

This long account of Carreño’s vocation discernment helps us discern what is essential and permanently valid in his obvious enthusiasm for the aspirantate of Campello: the family spirit; Salesians who were fathers, brothers and friends; community and personal accompaniment that allows the young to touch and be touched by Christ and his Mother; the gentle fatherly word at the right moment; patience rooted in trust in the capacity of the young to make free decisions…. The triune God presides gently and patiently over the symphony of our lives with their chords and discords, calling, sending and bringing all things to their good end. Men like Carreño touched the mystery of God and were able to discern its traces in the vagaries of their own lives.

# Early Salesian formation (1922-1932)

The novitiate, as we have said, was done at Carabanchel Alto in 1921-1922, with Fr Antonio Castilla as novice director. The end-of-novitiate scenario reported by Rico is worth putting down for the light it sheds on José-Luis:

Everything leads us to suppose sound spiritual growth in this chosen soul. With characteristic humour and sincere humility he himself recounts how, at the end of those twelve months, the Master asked him, during the final solemn scrutiny presided by the provincials of the Madrid and Barcelona provinces: ‘So, do you want to be perfect?’ — ‘Perfect… well… to tell you the truth….’ Carreño continues: ‘Imagine the state of that holy man upon finding that one of his pupils, indoctrinated by him over the three hundred and sixty five laborious canonical days of the novitiate, saturated with the noblest ideals available to a human being, was not able, at the moment of truth, to say a loud and vibrant “YES!” that would make that august assembly jump out of their seats. Three hundred and sixty five days wasted on an unexpected and unsuspected recalcitrant! What a failure!’

At that moment Fr Marcelino Olaechea, provincial of Barcelona, threw me lifesaver: ‘But let’s see: are you willing to do everything the Rules ask of you?’ ‘Of course!’ ‘Well, that’s good enough. Now beat it, slacker!’

And I left without having to pronounce the solemn YES. I think I sensed a sigh of relief in the room. It’s just that ‘perfect’ felt so wrong to me already then. It would have been hypocritical to set myself such unreachable Olympian standards! … Me, perfect! … This, yes: I have had the privilege of offering the saving Sacrifice of the Mass for more than half a century now, and of being always with Christ and renewing myself spiritually in His Blood. But ‘perfect’… And yes, even the most grotesquely imperfect among us, battered, defeated, far from having fulfilled the Law, we are ready to cry out: 'With Christ, yes!!!’ *Téleios* is the one who goes up to the very end of the road... limping perhaps, but always with Christ![[42]](#footnote-42)

Not perfect but always with Christ: that is how José-Luis Carreño saw himself. He would have been at home with Marko Rupnik’s tirade against a religious formation that seeks the perfection of individuals. Such perfection is tied to the atomic individualism stemming from Descartes. The mission of the baptized, instead, has to do with persons in communion, it consists in being a revelation of the Father, just as the Son is the revelation of the Father.[[43]](#footnote-43) Christ was all, for Carreño, he was the SIGN, the Sacrament, of the Father, and he himself grew to become more and more a sign and bearer of God’s love.[[44]](#footnote-44) An intuitive distaste for abstract perfection and an overwhelmingly clear love for Christ: these are fundamental elements in the life of this great Salesian.

The novitiate was followed by two years of philosophical studies (1922-1924) at Sarriá in Barcelona; Fr Marcelino Olaechea was by then provincial of the newly erected Barcelona province. Sarriá became the novitiate of the new province, and so in 1924 we find José-Luis beginning practical training in the same house, as ‘assistant of novices’ under (Blessed) Fr Antonio Martín Hernández (1885-1936). In 1928 the novitiate was transferred to Gerona, with Fr Eugenio Magni (1899-1980) as the new novice master. Carreño continued as ‘assistant of novices,’ but also began theological studies in preparation for the priesthood, besides finding time to write every month for the *Mensajerito de Maria Auxiliadora*.[[45]](#footnote-45) The young Salesian seems to have made an impression. We find Fr Pedro Escursell Marsá (1897-1982) writing in 1928 to Fr Pietro Ricaldone (1870-1951), then Prefect General:

I am speaking at this very moment with one of the model clerics of this house. He is an assistant in the formation of the personnel of this province; he tells me that he has been asking for some time to be sent to the missions and says he’s given up asking because he gets no answer. He is a young man of great intellectual and moral worth. His name is José-Luis Carreño and he is at your disposal. His preference is for the missions of the Far East and in particular the mission of Krishnagar. At the moment this cleric is doing his Practical Training.[[46]](#footnote-46)

After a brief stint of military service, José-Luis made his perpetual profession at Gerona on 11 December 1928. Theological studies continued up to 1932, and on 21 May 1932 he was ordained priest at Gerona by Msgr Josep Vila Martínez (1866-1932), taking as his motto the words of St Paul: *Omnia Christus* – Christ is all (Col 3:11).

# Missionary in India (1933-1951)

In 1925 Fr Marcelino Olaechea had been transferred to Madrid (SMA) as provincial, and his place in the Tarragona province (SBA) was taken by Fr (now Blessed) José Calasanz Marqués, to whom José-Luis expressed his desire to be a missionary.[[47]](#footnote-47) The good Calasanz was not inclined to allow his gifted young confrere to go to the missions, but said that he might be allowed to go after his priestly ordination.

On the eve of his ordination in 1932, however, José-Luis wrote directly to the Rector Major, Fr Pietro Ricaldone, offering himself unconditionally for the missions, while expressing a preference for India:

I want to offer myself unconditionally to my superiors to work in the missions in accordance with my desires and prayers during the last seven years. I only ask you that my destination be also in accordance with my weakness. I am not afraid of Bolsheviks or pirates but I am afraid of myself. Likewise I want to express my liking for the missions of Asia. I am ready, however, to go to any place on earth as obedience may dispose of me.[[48]](#footnote-48)

Ricaldone had just been elected Rector Major but had spent almost all his Salesian life in Spain, till he was elected to the Salesian Superior Council in 1922. He accepted the young priest’s offer immediately. “When the order to leave finally came,” Carreño writes, “good Fr Calasanz gave in. But, in a final gesture of affectionate opposition, he muttered: Very well, you’ll go to the missions, but you’ll never be a missionary. And when I protested, he added: But don’t worry, you’ll form many missionaries.” Rico comments: the life and activities of Fr Carreño in the missions show just how true was this prophecy on the part of the future martyr.[[49]](#footnote-49)

## The Indian subcontinent in the 1930s

When Carreño arrived in 1933, most of the Indian subcontinent had been under British rule since 1858. There were also small parts on the west coast that were ruled by the Portuguese: the *Estado da Índia* or *Índia Portuguesa* consisted of Goa and the tiny territories of Daman, Diu, Dadra and Nagar Haveli to the north of Bombay.

Within the Catholic Church there were three rites at this time: the Syro-Malabar rite with origins in the mission of St Thomas the Apostle, the Latin rite brought by Dominican and Franciscan missionaries in the 13th century and in a big way by missionaries associated with the Portuguese colonial exploits in India in the 16th century, and the Syro-Malankara rite established in 1930 when a part of the Malankara Orthodox Syrian Church entered into communion with the Catholic Church. In the 1930s, the two Oriental rites were present mainly in the Kingdoms of Cochin and Travancore – which are today the Indian state of Kerala.

The historical presence of the Portuguese in Goa and in other parts of India meant that there were two jurisdictions in the Latin rite of the Catholic Church in India, usually referred to as *Padroado* and *Propaganda*, with Portugal enjoying patronal rights over the whole of India, and *Propaganda* representing direct jurisdiction of the Holy See through the *Propaganda Fide* (Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples). Double jurisdiction was abolished by an agreement between Rome and Portugal in 1928. It was only in 1950, however, that, in the new context of Indian independence, *Padroado* was restricted to the Portuguese enclaves in the Indian sub-continent.[[50]](#footnote-50)

The Salesians were welcomed to India by the *Padroado* diocese of Mylapore in South India, in the present state of Tamil Nadu. They arrived in 1906, taking up a work in Tanjore (Thanjavur) in that year and in Mylapore near Madras in 1909, but withdrew from this diocese in 1928 for reasons that have been ably presented by Thekkedath. By this time, they had accepted the mission of Assam and had begun the work there in 1922, coming in this way also under the jurisdiction of *Propaganda*.[[51]](#footnote-51)

According to the Salesian Historical Database, the first Salesian province in India was set up in 1926. Louis Mathias (1887-1965) had been appointed prefect apostolic of Assam in 1922,[[52]](#footnote-52) and was *de facto* provincial up to his transfer to the see of Madras in 1935.[[53]](#footnote-53) The ‘South’ was made into a vice province in 1932 or 1933, with Fr Eligio Cinato being named as superior. In 1934, South India became a province under the patronage of St Thomas the Apostle, with Cinato as the first provincial.[[54]](#footnote-54) On the ecclesiastical front, in 1928 Eugene Mederlet (1867-1934) had been appointed archbishop of the *Propaganda* archdiocese of Madras. Mederlet died in 1934, and Mathias took over in 1935. The present-day Archdiocese of Madras and Mylapore was formed in 1952 by the merging of the earlier *Propaganda* and *Padroado* dioceses.

## Novice director in Tirupattur (1933-1943)

It was into this complex political and ecclesiastical scenario that Carreño arrived. He was initially deputed to be catechist or *socius* in the new novitiate in South India, while a colleague, Amanzio Andrei (1897-1962), was to be novice master.[[55]](#footnote-55) Carreño and Andrei spent a year (1932-1933) at Cowley, Oxford in the United Kingdom, learning English. Trouble began, however, already while crossing the English Channel: “Hardly did we begin crossing the English Channel in order to spend some months in England and begin babbling in English, when my companion became seasick… and began to tremble at the very thought of the great sea voyage that awaited him.” Still, the brave Fr Amanzio set about learning English with great determination, even to the point of studying the dictionary by heart and, in the process, causing some damage to the self-esteem of his companion: “And I, who have always been incorrigibly disordered, and who have always had a superstitious admiration for the tenaciously methodical types, felt very small at that moment and chose to maintain a reverent silence.” By the time the two would-be missionaries reached Genoa, however, Fr Amanzio’s missionary dream had vanished. “And so it happened that the mantle fell on my shoulders, and it was I who was stuck with our first Seminary in South India.”[[56]](#footnote-56) And that is how the prophecy of Fr Calasanz began coming true.[[57]](#footnote-57)

Carreño set sail from Genoa and landed in Bombay in June 1933.[[58]](#footnote-58) As we have pointed out already, South India had just been constituted into a vice province, with Eligio Cinato (1898-1964) as superior. Carreño would have liked to go directly to Madras, but Mathias wanted him to visit Shillong first, and that is where he went. The time was spent studying Tamil and preparing for the confession examination. This is when a letter arrived from the Prefect General, Fr Pietro Berruti (1885-1950), asking Carreño to taking over as novice master in the South. He was not yet 28 years old, and since the required age for a novice master was 35, an apostolic indult had to be obtained.[[59]](#footnote-59)

The first Salesian novitiate in South India began at Tirupattur in December 1933. We know that Carreño, accompanied by Cinato, reached Tirupattur on 2 December 1933, with the novices arriving about a week later. The novitiate was canonically established, however, only on 2 February 1934, and so the profession of the first batch of novices took place on 29 January 1935, as Thekkedath explains.[[60]](#footnote-60)

The novices were mostly fresh missionaries from different European countries. The first batch consisted of 10 novices, with 6 Europeans and 4 Indians.[[61]](#footnote-61) Life was not easy: Fr Cinato noted that there was “grinding poverty, not to say misery, in the house; but in compensation, much good spirit and holy cheerfulness.”[[62]](#footnote-62) The good spirit, he said, was due in great measure to Fr Carreño. He was able to make his novices “fall in love with the Heart of Jesus and… to give themselves completely to him.”[[63]](#footnote-63)

“He cared for us as a father,” remembers Msgr Hubert D’Rosario (1919-1994). “We felt attracted to him and tried to imitate him. He inculcated in us lasting values… He was a brilliant teacher, a convincing preacher… We were always eager to listen to his lectures, the conferences that he used to prepare so well. We were won over by his fatherly heart. Joy, love, peace and hope were the things one breathed in that house… That house was like heaven.”[[64]](#footnote-64)

Hubert was the son of the station master of Tirupattur. Upon learning that Carreño was in the process of setting up the mission, Mr Rosario had promised to send ‘two soldiers.’ The two soldiers turned out to be his two sons, Hubert and Mervin, and Fr Carreño wisely decided to let them play football. The boys became fast friends of the missionary. When Hubert was ready to go to university, he came to Carreño asking for help to learn French. Carreño obliged with lessons, but soon turned to the topic of Latin, and then to the question of the priesthood: What is the use of studying Latin if you don’t become a priest? Hardly had Hubert said yes, when Carreño put him on his motorbike and dashed over to get his father’s permission. “We did not require much time to persuade his father, who was a wonderful Catholic, that God could not bless his family with a greater gift.”[[65]](#footnote-65) Hubert D’Rosario eventually became bishop of Dibrugarh (1966-1969) and archbishop of Shillong-Gauhati (1969-1994). He is the founder of the Visitation Sisters of Don Bosco (VSDB), one of the member groups of the Salesian Family.

Carreño’s goodness is proverbial. Fr Joseph Vaz would often narrate to me how his novice master had noticed him shivering during one of the daily conferences.[[66]](#footnote-66) “Wait a moment, hombre,” Carreño said, and went out. A little later he returned with a blue sweater for Joe, who noticed that it was strangely warm. Then he remembered that his novice master had been wearing a blue sweater under his cassock. It was now no longer there. Carreño had given him his own sweater. Bro. Miguel Blanco’s example had gone deep into the heart.

Another story is narrated by an Indian confrere:

There are many testimonies making the rounds of the Provinces of South India, especially among the older generations, which amply illustrate the goodness, kindness and deep religious spirit of Fr. Carreño. One such story regards a Brahmin: the old Brahmin was travelling by a crowded third class railway carriage in mid summer. When the train stopped at an important station, people would rush out and have some water or cool drinks and some eatables. The Brahmin who could not move about freely was sitting in a corner of the coach, unable to elbow his way out and return fast after a hurried snack. Hence, he was hungry and very thirsty. At a particular station, Fr. Carreño pushed his way through and got a tender coconut for the old man. The aged Brahmin was so happy that he said to the foreign priest, ‘You are a true follower of Jesus Christ.’ Fr. Carreño treasured this eulogy of the Brahmin, as the greatest praise he had ever received![[67]](#footnote-67)

Luigi Di Fiore, (1921-1989) another of Carreño’s novices and later provincial of Madras, says: "Without a doubt the most precious legacy that Fr. Carreño handed on to us was the Salesian spirit in its essential characteristics: thirst for souls, fraternal charity, family spirit built on prayer, work, cheerfulness, healthy optimism, hospitality."[[68]](#footnote-68) The historian Fr Thekkedath writes: “[Carreño] was the heart and soul of that house which became also a house for students of philosophy as soon as the novices professed early in 1935.”[[69]](#footnote-69) Fr Berruti, Prefect General, wrote after a visit in 1937 that the house of Tirupattur was extremely poor but full of gaiety and joy, and that the soul of the house was the young Rector, Fr Carreño – happy, intelligent and extremely active. Fr Antoine Candela (1878-1961), councillor for professional schools, did not hesitate to call Fr Carreño a treasure.[[70]](#footnote-70)

## Provincial of South India (1943-1951)

We have noted already that in 1934 a second Salesian province was set up in India, with its provincial house at Vellore, Fr Eligio Cinato as provincial, and a handful of houses and presences: the canonically erected houses of Madras, Vellore and Bombay, and other presences, parishes and mission stations in Madras and in North Arcot.[[71]](#footnote-71) When Archbishop Eugène Mederlet died suddenly in 1934, Louis Mathias was named archbishop of Madras in his place.

In 1939, British India began feeling the echoes of World War II. By 1942, all foreigners, including missionaries, who belonged to countries at war with Great Britain, had been interned in camps in different parts of the country.[[72]](#footnote-72) Since Carreño belonged to a neutral country he was not disturbed, and was even able to mediate for his fellow Salesians before the authorities. In 1943 he received a message over the Vatican Radio that he was to take the place of Cinato, who had been interned, as provincial of the Southern province.[[73]](#footnote-73) At the same time, Archbishop Mathias invited him to be his Vicar General, conferring on him the title ‘Monsignor’ according to the practice at the time.[[74]](#footnote-74)

In 1945 Carreño was officially appointed provincial,[[75]](#footnote-75) an office he exercised from 1945 to 1951. One of his very first acts was to consecrate the province to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Many Salesians were convinced that the extraordinary growth of the Southern Province was due to this act.[[76]](#footnote-76)

The Salesian centres doubled under the leadership of Fr Carreño: formation houses in Kotagiri (1946, novitiate and philosophate) and Poonamallee (1947, diocesan seminary); works for poor youth in Nagercoil (1947, boarding school), Panjim – Goa (1947, orphanage and technical school), Valpoi – Goa (1948, parish, oratory and technical school[[77]](#footnote-77)), Madras (1950, technical school), Uriurkuppam (1950, agricultural school), and Yercaud (1950). [[78]](#footnote-78) One of Carreño’s most far-reaching acts was to begin a university college in the remote Dalit village of Tirupattur.[[79]](#footnote-79) Sacred Heart College went on to transform the whole district. On the other hand, he also had to withdraw from two new openings – Carmel High School, Nagercoil (1947-1950) and St Joseph’s English High School, Trivandrum – perhaps because of the haste with which he had accepted them in the first place, as Di Fiore suggests.[[80]](#footnote-80)

Carreño was a gifted fund raiser. During his time as provincial and also later, he travelled several times to Europe, communicating his message in song and verse and appealing for help for his apostolic works.[[81]](#footnote-81)

Fr Thomas Panakezham (1930-), general councillor for the Asia region from 1977 to 1996, remembers Carreño’s love for the poor: “When he used to return to Provincial House from some visit, it was interesting to see how the boys would run to meet him. He would always pull out something from his pockets to give them, sweets, stamps, medals.”[[82]](#footnote-82)

As provincial, Fr Carreño participated in the 16th Salesian General Chapter (1947) which was held in Valdocco, Turin. Here he made a memorable intervention: “We have diminished Don Bosco…. Our works no longer serve the most needy young people; we calculate too much; we do not trust in Providence like Don Bosco….” His words had an impact. The Rector Major, Fr Ricaldone, asked all provincials to send him a report on the matter.[[83]](#footnote-83)

One of Carreño’s gifts was his ability to get Salesians to volunteer for the missions. We get a little glimpse of his charm from what Orlando González González writes:

In 1944, the 46 philosophy students [of the house of Gerona] wrote to the already famous missionary from India, and then Vicar General of Madras, Don José Luis Carreño; and I would like to share with you a magnificent fragment of the answer he gave them, with the freshness that always characterized him:

‘You are 46! When will I receive a group of you?

And now, between us: Have you taken this mission thing seriously? Because if you have, I will wait for some of you here.

If your superiors allow you to correspond with me, it must be clear right away that my correspondence will be subversive.

But let it be known that those who come here must be boys with an apostolic heart (no adventures, no dreams, no sentimentality), with a great desire to make Our Lord Jesus Christ triumph – and well prepared, because we have to deal with an ancient civilization, with Brahmans who are very intelligent and highly cultured, with complicated languages and a very rich literature – and strong and humble as Our Lady wanted in the first dream of Don Bosco.[[84]](#footnote-84)

Among those drawn by Carreño’s infectious zeal and passion were Josip María Zubizarreta Aramendi (1930-2012), Ignacio Rubio Moreno (1921-1983), José María Armiñana Pascual (1929-1987), José María Dieste Lopez (1926-1986), Jesús Jiménez, Manuel Albizuri Arocena (1925-1982), Jaime Aguilar Valenciano (1925-1971), Eugenio Ojer Buil (1926-) and Alfredo Marzo Remirez (1935-).[[85]](#footnote-85) Here is the testimony of Marzo, who has been in India since 1953:

[E]ven though not physically present, for the people of Madras, Fr. Carreño (*Carreño swamy,* as the people used to call him) was present on the lips and in the hearts of the poor people. The school at Basin Bridge, St Joseph’s Technical School of Madras, and the other schools and colleges in the main cities of S. India, bear witness to the prophetic vision of that man of God who was bubbling with joy, enthusiasm and vitality in the whole of the South. Humble with the humble, always ready to devise ways, at the initial stages of the Salesian Province of Madras, he laid the foundation for progressive expansion and spiritual fecundity, in the midst of many and not so small, difficulties. Fr. José-Luis Carreño was guided by the Spirit, and ebullient with humanity. He was that ‘man,’ who, as he passed through Spain, between the years 1940 and 1950, touched the small ones and the big ones, all without exception, and filled them with enthusiasm through his smile and his irresistible ways. His songs, poems, conferences, his cheerfulness and enthusiasm, were all like a river rushing down, and carrying with it everything that it met on its way…. That rushing river, that incomparable torrent, lifted me, and many others like me, to Mission lands, to thousand-year-old India, to work with Fr. Carreño for the poor and the more needy youth, and to help them to live a life more dignified and human. Fr. José-Luis Carreño, just like Don Bosco, was at home with the youth, even those with dark skin;he spoke their language, and understood perfectly their manner of being and behaving. It was this that he sought to sing and propagate, by composing the hymn to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, praying for vocations: *Cor Iesu Sacratissimum, ut bonos et dignos operarios piae Salesianorum Societati mittere et in ea conservare digneris.* (Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, deign to send to the pious Salesian Society good and worthy labourers and preserve them in it.) It is for this reason that he searched through the country-sides to contact, call, receive and form new youths who were self-possessed, and who could, little by little, assimilate the tenets of the Congregation, and become well-beloved members in the Salesian Garden.[[86]](#footnote-86)

## Indianization of the face of Don Bosco

As Marzo has noted, it was Carreño who was largely responsible for ‘Indianizing’ the face of the Salesians in India, by searching for local recruits instead of relying solely on missionaries. This was a bold move. Most other international congregations had taken years if not centuries to begin accepting local vocations.[[87]](#footnote-87)

In 1943, when Carreño took charge of the province, there were only about a dozen Indian Salesians. Among those in initial formation there were 20 students of theology in Tirupattur, 5 students of philosophy and no novices.[[88]](#footnote-88) With the start of World War II in 1939 and the blockade of the Suez Canal, the flow of missionaries from Europe ceased. What could be done? Carreño hit upon the brilliant idea of going to Kerala in search of vocations. Kerala had a long Christian tradition, strong faith and wonderful Catholic families, and it was here that the net had to be cast. “Today,” the good missionary writes in 1965, “the number [of Indian Salesians] has grown to some five hundred; and if we count also those in the minor seminaries [aspirantates], the total goes up to about a thousand.” He began visiting parishes and schools, speaking about Don Bosco and about the need to save souls, attracting with his simplicity and joy, his cheerful presence and music. “In this way that unusual emigration began: a trickle at first, then a torrent, and later a real sea. At the present moment [1965] we have about TWO DOZEN SALESIAN SEMINARIES IN INDIA.”[[89]](#footnote-89)

Not everyone agreed with Carreño’s ideas, but his move to seek local vocations proved to be providential. Not only did the flow of European missionaries cease during World War II, but also 120 Salesians belonging to nations at war with Great Britain were put into internment camps,[[90]](#footnote-90) leaving only about 6 in the field. And when in 1947 India attained independence, the new government quickly adopted the policy of not granting visas to new foreign missionaries.[[91]](#footnote-91)

Carreño’s drive for local vocations is, according to Thekkedath, his most lasting contribution to Salesian India. He had begun the aspirantate at Tirupattur in 1943. At the beginning the aspirants were all post-SSLC students, but the number never reached forty for several years. In 1945-46 Carreño began recruiting younger boys who were still in high school, and the number soon went up to 200. Criticism was not lacking, but Carreño stuck to his idea, with the help of Fr John Med (1916-2011), Rector of the aspirants, and the financial help coming through Fr Aurelio Maschio (1909-1996).[[92]](#footnote-92) “If the Salesians in India today number more than two thousand, the merit of that growth goes to the policies started by Fr Carreño.”[[93]](#footnote-93)

Fr Carreño’s letters to the Superiors in Rome reveal a filial attachment to the centre of the Congregation. The province itself enjoyed a period of peace and union of hearts. In their letters to Rome, Archbishop Louis Mathias, Fr Maschio, Fr Vincenzo Scuderi (1902-1982) and others had no hesitation in attributing this state of affairs to the work of Fr Carreño.[[94]](#footnote-94)

In the local Church also there was appreciation. Carreño was deputed by Mathias to help as secretary in the 1950 Synod of the Church in India, Burma and Ceylon.[[95]](#footnote-95) Fr Archimede Pianazzi (1906-2000) reports that he won the admiration of many for his “Ciceronian Latin.”[[96]](#footnote-96)

## Last years in India

The differences between Mathias and Carreño have been documented to some extent by Thekkedath. The major disagreements seem to have arisen especially in the last year of Carreño’s provincialship. One of these concerned the way of dealing with Salesian religious discipline. “Mgr Mathias stood for harsh and humiliating punishments for those guilty of serious misbehaviour, while Fr Carreño advocated a milder procedure. Some of the canonical penalties proposed by the archbishop did not even seem to be legally tenable. In one case Fr Carreño warned that if the person concerned were to appeal to Rome, the penalty was likely to be declared illegal.” This, in fact, is what happened in the case of a diocesan priest: the archbishop was forced to retract.[[97]](#footnote-97)

According to Pianazzi, the breaking point was when Carreño as Vicar General solemnly celebrated, in the cathedral, the nuptials of a Salesian Brother who had left the Congregation: after this Msgr Mathias no longer wanted to have Carreño as his Vicar General.[[98]](#footnote-98)

I have also heard the story told of a Salesian priest in Chennai who had left the Congregation. Fr Carreño came to know where he was living and went to meet him. Seeing that there was no one at home, he hid himself near the door and waited. After a while the priest did turn up, but no sooner did he hear Carreño calling out his name, he dashed into his house and shut the door. Fr Carreño went up to the door and said: “You can close the door to Fr Carreño, but you cannot close it to the Sacred Heart of Jesus.” It is said that eventually the priest found his way to Australia, where he returned to the exercise of the ministry and died a priest.

Mathias and Carreño were completely different in character, Fr Pianazzi notes,[[99]](#footnote-99) and the archbishop was not one to take things lying down. One of fallouts was his “decisive opposition” to the setting up of a separate school for Brothers at Lu Ville in Madras. The vocation of the Salesian Brother was a theme very close to the heart of Fr Carreño. In a circular letter of 1948, he insisted that the vocation of the Brother be cultivated with as much zeal and care as that of aspirants to the priesthood. He began the school for Salesian Brothers in Tirupattur in 1948-49, and in 1950-51 wanted to transfer it to Lu Ville in Madras. The plan, however, met with opposition from Archbishop Mathias, who insisted that the Brother-aspirants be sent along with other boys to Basin Bridge. In the end the project itself collapsed.[[100]](#footnote-100)

It is not unlikely that there was also a kind of overlap between the authority of the provincial and that of the Salesian archbishop. It would appear also that the superiors in Turin agreed at least in some way with the archbishop. Fr Albino Fedrigotti (1902-1986) who visited the South India province in the name of the Rector Major in 1949-1950 wrote that Fr Carreño was “an excellent religious, a man with a great heart, but a bit too much of a poet. He would like to save the whole of India in an instant. He was able to infuse enthusiasm into everyone and in everything, but was less careful about organization and discipline. He made too many changes of personnel and was too indulgent in the selection of candidates and in admitting people to profession and to orders.” However, the visitor also seems to have added that “the spirit of the province was very good and observance was flourishing.”[[101]](#footnote-101)

It was not that Msgr Mathias did not appreciate Fr Carreño. In his correspondence, for example, we find him telling Carreño how much he loved to read his letters full of optimism and enthusiasm. After the fallout, however, there seem to have been harsh letters from the archbishop, to which the provincial replied with humility, as Thekkedath notes.[[102]](#footnote-102) Carreño’s book, *Singladuras indias*, contains a chapter on Msgr Mathias entitled “El Capitán,” which reveals a sincere and deep esteem for the archbishop.[[103]](#footnote-103)

The allegation about being a poor administrator seems to have stuck – Carreño still speaks about it with gentle humour in his last autobiographical writings[[104]](#footnote-104) – but was strongly denied by a man like Fr Maschio, whom no one could accuse of being a poor administrator.[[105]](#footnote-105) There is no doubt, however, that Carreño was a visionary and an innovator who tended to be ahead of his time. Some of his ideas – like that of bringing non-Salesian volunteers to mission lands – were frowned upon by the central authorities of the Congregation at the time, but are now being actively promoted by everyone.[[106]](#footnote-106)

At the end of his official 6 year term as provincial (1945-1951), Carreño was asked to end his service and to return to Spain to look after the Salesian Cooperators. Was this the real reason for being asked to leave India after 18 years? Rico – who at the time of writing was general councillor for the Iberian Region – does not attempt to answer this question in his obituary letter, though he does admit that the new obedience was difficult.[[107]](#footnote-107) Thekkedath, instead, does give us an answer. It is clear that Archbishop Mathias had written to Turin saying that Carreño should not continue as provincial, on the grounds of weakness in dealing with religious indiscipline and of having loaded the province with debts, and suggesting that Carreño be sent to replace Scuderi in Goa.[[108]](#footnote-108) In the end, Ricaldone and his council accepted the archbishop’s suggestions, decided to appoint Pianazzi as provincial, and to ask Carreño to take care of the Cooperators in Spain for a few years, before returning to the missions.[[109]](#footnote-109) “The news that Fr Carreño was not going to continue as the provincial of South India was a shock to the [provincial] council,” says Thekkedath, and resulted in a flurry of letters from some of them to the Rector Major.[[110]](#footnote-110) As for the archbishop himself, Thekkedath speaks of “one or two sharp letters” even towards the end of July 1951, Carreño’s humble reply, and Mathias’ profession of his love and esteem for him: “Be sure that I always love you, even if I bark.” It is difficult to interpret, however, another letter from Mathias to Carreño, this time when Carreño is already on his way to Bombay en route to Europe: “Madras seems to be deserted… It does not seem true to me that they could have robbed you from us.” The archbishop was aware that Carreño’s transfer “had caused a great impression” and that Carreño himself “felt very much to have to leave India.” He takes pains to deny that he had been responsible for the transfer: “You know very well that I have had nothing to do or to say about his new obedience.”[[111]](#footnote-111)

With the undeniable appreciation for Carreño’s personal capacities, it would still be true to say, therefore, that he had been ‘removed’ from India in 1951. On his part, he had cheerfully and happily accepted to obey, going by what the Rector Major himself wrote to Mathias.[[112]](#footnote-112) From Alfredo Marzo, however, we have the suggestion of also another motive: “Over the years, Fr Carreño realized that his image as Provincial Superior of the Salesian Congregation and his fatherly ways were putting Mgr. Mathias in the shade, and so he [Carreño] opted for the evangelical dictum, ‘He must increase; and I must decrease’.” I am unable to weigh the validity of this suggestion. What we do know is that, in *Singladuras indias*, Carreño offers a warm tribute to Msgr Mathias.[[113]](#footnote-113)

# First Spanish interlude (1951-1952)

At any rate, in 1951 we find Carreño in Spain, making a study of the Salesian Cooperators. He plunged into this new and unexpected task with customary enthusiasm, visiting a large number of Salesian houses and Cooperators’ units in order to get an idea of the situation.

Carreño’s ‘report’ may be found in a letter of 4 April 1952 addressed to the new Rector Major, Fr Renato Ziggiotti (1892-1983), and another on the same day to Fr Albino Fedrigotti, now vicar of the Rector Major, in which he speaks about the situation and suggests remedies. He notes that the Cooperators were poorly organized, and that they were few: only 15,000 (!!). The reason for this, according to him, is that the Cooperator is seen only as a benefactor, someone who makes a monthly contribution. The fault, he suggests, lies in Salesians having reduced Don Bosco, the greatest miracle worker in the Church since apostolic times, to the level of one among the many founders of teaching Congregations. Salesian work has been shut up within the walls of schools, and Salesians, he says, are turning into people who are impervious to the great currents in the Church. He has seen Cooperators in some places running as many as seven festive Oratories, whereas the Salesians have none. The thinking Catholic asks whether it is not we, his sons, who are responsible for reducing Don Bosco’s stature. And if many young Salesians are opting for the missions, is it perhaps because Salesian religious life in Spain lacks that element that most fascinated them when they followed Don Bosco – the apostolate? Carreño goes on to suggest that the Cooperators are the ‘extern Salesians’ that Don Bosco had dreamt of, that they should work in the same field as the Salesians, and that in this way the good would multiply so much that we would begin to understand the greatness of the mission of Don Bosco.[[114]](#footnote-114)

Carreño then passes on to new ways of organizing the Cooperators. It is not enough to send an old Salesian to their homes to collect a monthly contribution. It is not enough to send a poor ex-missionary (like himself?) to distribute pamphlets and give conferences. Neither does it suffice to push Rectors, already over-burdened, to do more. What is needed is to provide the ‘extern Salesians’ with houses that would welcome them, where they could read, pray, reflect, update themselves doctrinally, make their retreats…. “In these houses for extern Salesians we could concentrate on and direct the many lay apostles that the Church needs. Traveling in Spain, it has been wonderful to see thousands of young people who spend their Sundays teaching catechism in the peripheries of our cities, but it saddens me to see that we, with a few exceptions, are the great absentees in this great crusade. HOW WE HAVE DIMINISHED DON BOSCO, HE WHO IS THE GREATEST MIRACLE WORKER OF THE CHURCH!”[[115]](#footnote-115)

The new Rector Major’s response to this passionate plea was not, unfortunately, very favourable. He reminded Carreño that he (Ziggiotti) was not Ricaldone. Carreño should not try to introduce novelties into the Constitutions, he should stop “itching for reform.” He was trying to take advantage of his status as a missionary and former provincial, and he would be a danger to the unity of the Congregation if he persisted with his ideas.[[116]](#footnote-116)

Was it this affair that prompted the superiors to ask Carreño to leave Spain and head for Goa? We do know that, already in 1951, Msgr Mathias had suggested such a move.[[117]](#footnote-117) At any rate, Pianazzi claims to have been the one to request, in his capacity as provincial of South India, that Carreño be sent as Rector to Goa.[[118]](#footnote-118)

# *Goa Dourada* (1952-1960)

As provincial, Carreño was deeply and directly involved with the beginnings of the work in Goa. From what he writes, it would seem that several invitations had been received from Goa itself, and that several unfruitful attempts had been made to get permission from the Superiors in Turin: “Many times have the Salesians been invited to start some institutions in GOA and the invitation had invariably met with another sterotyped [sic] reply: ‘We have no personnel.’” It was World War II, however, that provided an opening:

It was necessary that Our Lady should interfere in order to bring the Salesians not to some delightful, hidden spot in the up-country, but straightaway to the heart and capital of Goa for the welfare of this youth. And seemingly since Our Blessed Lady is not bound by objections against Machiavellian methods, she made use of 'War conditions' in India.[[119]](#footnote-119)

Which were the many invitations received by the Salesians? And what were the “Machiavellian methods” and the objections to them to which Carreño alludes? The answers would no doubt be further contributions to the history of the Salesian work in Goa and to Carreño’s own biography. But the long and short of the matter is that, at the end of the Second World War in 1945, some of the interned Salesians – the ones who had caused trouble to the British in the internment camps – were not allowed to stay on in British India, and some of these became the pioneers of the work in Goa.

The idea of going to Goa – the *Estado da Índia*, or simply *Índia Portuguesa* – had been germinating in the mind of Fr Vincenzo Scuderi already during his internment at Purandarh, and he might have shared it with Fr Carreño.[[120]](#footnote-120) Fr Carreño had tried his best to retain Scuderi and the others in British India, and had even gone to New Delhi to intercede with the Viceroy, but His Majesty’s Government would not listen. "Very well, then," said Fr Carreño, "those men have come to India to serve Christ. If you don’t want them in British India they’ll go to Portuguese India."[[121]](#footnote-121) Accompanied by Fr Aurelius Maschio, he went to Goa to meet the Patriarch, José da Costa Nunes, who welcomed the Salesians with open arms, saw to the necessary visas, and helped the Salesians rent a house in the ‘Cidade de Goa,’ as Panjim was then known.[[122]](#footnote-122) That is how a band of 7 Salesians led by Fr Scuderi entered Goa on 4 April 1946.[[123]](#footnote-123) Was there permission from Turin for this new work? The matter does not seem to be clear, though the superiors no doubt soon became aware of it, as can be seen from the correspondence of Scuderi, Ravalico and others with Turin.[[124]](#footnote-124)

In 1951, after five hernia operations and a bout of typhoid, Fr Scuderi went to Europe for a rest. However, the house of Panjim had also suffered from serious divisions and misunderstandings among confreres, and Fr Scuderi had been unable to heal the divisions, and so the superiors decided to ask him to stay on in Europe and to send Fr Carreño in his place.[[125]](#footnote-125)

Fr Carreño, who had been in Europe for about a year, as we have seen, was asked to proceed to Goa as Rector of the Panjim house. He arrived in October 1952 and stayed in Goa till 1960, according to Thekkedath, a period of 8 years.[[126]](#footnote-126) "Goa was love at first sight," Carreño wrote in *Warp in the Loom*.[[127]](#footnote-127) It was the only corner of continental Asia where Catholics were more than 50% of the population, with a priest for every 600 Christians, fields, hills and houses dominated by the cross, and families with deep Christian ideals. “Goa had the most encouraging source of energy that a missionary could hope for, after the Eucharist that sustains us and our heavenly Mother who pampers us: the incorrupt body of St Francis Xavier… who Pius XII called ‘the greatest treasure of Asia,’ conserved in a silver casket in the Bom Jesus Basilica.”[[128]](#footnote-128)

The work in Goa had expanded to include two technical schools, a high school and an elementary school; two public churches, one of them in Panjim dedicated to the Pilgrim Virgin of Fatima; the care of more than 600 poor boys; the printing presses, the ‘Catholic Hour’ on the government radio station; and the work for vocations.[[129]](#footnote-129)

All this called for money and the Salesians were desperately poor. So in November 1953 Carreño made a trip to Venezuela and Cuba in search of funds for a future technical school with “Mechanical Engineering” and printing sections.[[130]](#footnote-130) He also tried to solve the problem of trained personnel by getting two Salesian Brothers from Spain, and by sending some Goan youth to Spain for training.[[131]](#footnote-131) Two of Carreño’s books, *God in a Mirror* and *Christ’s Portrait* were printed in the new Don Bosco Printing Press.[[132]](#footnote-132)

The boarding school in Panjim had 300 boys during Carreño’s rectorship, most of them non-paying. Stories circulate about how some of the more restless would slip out at night to watch movies in the nearby ‘Cine Nacional,’ and how Carreño, when he found their beds empty, would himself make dummies so that the miscreants would not be discovered by some attentive ‘assistant.’ When the movie buffs came to know this from their companions, they would make their way shamefacedly to the Rector. It was Carreño’s way of finding a way to their hearts and gaining their confidence.[[133]](#footnote-133) Valerian Pereira reports:

Fr. Carreño had a special predilection for those boys who came from poor families. The poorer you were, the more abounding was his fatherly goodness towards you. On one occasion, a boy came crying to Fr. Carreño informing him that his uncle had arrived to take him home since his father had just passed away in hospital. Fr. Carreño wept and after a while accompanied the boy and his uncle to their home to console the family. There while praying for the repose of the soul of the man he wept again. Before leaving the home of the boy, he drew him towards him and said: ‘No one should ever have the experience of losing a father at a young age but God’s Providence is greater than my poor understanding of such a reality.’ A young man who was also present at the house and who had noticed these events recounted them to his colleagues and his boss while at work. The boss was moved by the charity and humanness of Fr. Carreño and visited him personally in order to assure him that henceforth he would be the anonymous sponsor for the boy who had lost his father. The boy in turn did well in life and he continued to visit the oratory long after his wonderful days as a Salesian pupil and boarder.[[134]](#footnote-134)

Among the boarders were also some aspirants, and from these came Salesians like Albano D’Mello (1931-2009), Romulo Noronha (1944-2016), Anthony Byron D’Silva (1943-2020), Elias Dias (1942-), Chrysologus D’Cunha (1942-) Thomas Fernandes (1943-), and Amarildes Sigmaringa (1948-).[[135]](#footnote-135) Carreño’s dream was to set up a separate aspirantate, but of that more later.

The growing demand called for expansion of the facilities. With much difficulty and with the help of a grant from the Governor General, the boarding school section was expanded, a new refectory for the boys was added, and also a residence for the confreres. With some difficulty and much determination, Carreño was also able to get the government to change its plans of acquiring a good part of the property of the Panjim house. When rebuked for his intransigence in front of the Governor General, Carreño’s reply is in character: “That’s exactly why I am speaking with such confidence, knowing that I am speaking to a father who will understand us.”[[136]](#footnote-136)

The local people still tell stories about Carreño’s hard work and sacrifice, though some of the upper-class ladies of Panjim seem to have been scandalized upon coming across *Senhor Diretor* perched on the roof in his cassock, making repairs. And I have personally heard some of the early Salesians of Goa narrating, with tears in their eyes, how, when money and food was scarce, Carreño and others would drop into the Medical College next door to donate blood so as to be able to buy rice and footballs and other things with the few rupees they received.[[137]](#footnote-137) The Salesians literally gave their blood for their boys.

Carreño had a very good relationship with the patriarch, José Vieira Alvernaz, who he had known as bishop of Cochin when he himself was provincial of South India and Vicar General of the Madras Archdiocese. Knowing that Carreño had been secretary at the Synod of the Church in India,[[138]](#footnote-138) the patriarch named him secretary of the Diocesan Synod. With the aim of promoting religious literature in Konkani, the local language of Goa, Carreño was named president of the *Liga dos Escritores Católicos em concani* (Association of Catholic Writers in Konkani). He was also member of the board of Catholic Action in the archdiocese, and teacher of Catechetics in the *Escola Normal* which prepared teachers for primary schools. At the conclusion of the Marian Year, he was asked to address the Académico Instituto Vasco da Gama de Goa. He was frequently asked to preach recollections to the clergy and seminarians of the archdiocese.[[139]](#footnote-139) I have myself heard that Carreño’s spiritual animation of the religious and diocesan clergy was highly appreciated.[[140]](#footnote-140) Joseph Vaz who we have already cited, Carreño’s novice and later confrere in Panjim, even alleges having seen his Rector in levitation, which I report here in the words of Valerian Pereira:

That Fr. Carreño was a man of prayer was known to both the boys and the lay faithful who would come to Panjim to pray. Many among the laity would be seen making their confession to Fr. Carreño or seeking his spiritual guidance or his blessing. Deeply disturbed by a certain happening in the oratory, Fr. Joseph Vaz decided to meet Fr. Carreño after night prayers and seek his guidance. He knocked on his door but there was no response. Seeing the door slightly ajar, he peeped in and was awe-struck seeing Fr. Carreño in prayerful ecstasy, slightly levitated and in deep colloquy with God. Fr. Joseph Vaz … [said] that he found it difficult to share this experience with others because of the fear that the others would not believe him and as a mark of respect to his Rector. Now, while sharing the memory of this great Salesian missionary, he felt moved by the Spirit to honour his memory with this disclosure.[[141]](#footnote-141)

## Between two provinces

A report sent by Armando da Costa Monteiro, provincial of Portugal, to the Rector Major, Renato Ziggiotti, provides vital information for understanding the Salesian presence in Goa.[[142]](#footnote-142)

Monteiro begins by mentioning the good work and spirit among the Salesians, naming them all and most especially “the active and dynamic Fr Carreño, lightning rod [parafulmine] of the Salesian Work in that State.” The patriarch, he reports, has praised the work of the Salesians, saying that it alone enjoyed the esteem of all the people of Goa.

The provincial goes on to speak of the 1940 Concordat and Missionary Agreement between the Holy See and the Portuguese government. Under the latter, the Portuguese province had been recognized as a Missionary Corporation, with all the rights to subsidies for formation and for the travels of missionaries. This also meant, however, that all mission houses in the overseas territories of Portugal had to depend on the provincial in Lisbon, and that the superior of the mission houses had to be a Portuguese national. The presence of Salesians depending on the provincial of Madras was, therefore, a problem – as also, perhaps, the nationality of the Rector, though Monteiro does not say so.[[143]](#footnote-143)

Monteiro then expresses his own opinion as provincial. Much of what he says is based on what was told him in confidence by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities in Goa, and which, out of delicacy, had not been said to the non-Portuguese superiors. The latter, therefore, could have only a partial view of the situation. Besides, they had not been careful to keep in touch with the authorities, had neglected certain formalities, and had even said “that they had nothing to do with these authorities.” In the light of certain criticisms, oral and written, the patriarch had been questioned more than once by the Minister for the Overseas Territories about the suitability of the Salesians. This Ministry had even gone to the extent of calling the Salesians “the greatest enemies of the Portuguese in Goa.” Especially after the tensions of 1954 (when the Portuguese enclaves of Dadra and Nagar Haveli had been invaded by the Indian Union), the government was not happy that Indian Salesians were being sent to Goa. Given the seriousness of the situation, therefore, the patriarch recommended the sending of Portuguese personnel and the incorporation of Goa into the province of Portugal, following the example of the Jesuits. Likewise, the governor general had also expressed to Monteiro his hope that Goa would be integrated into the Portuguese province in the spirit of the Concordat.

During his visit, Monteiro seems to have met also John Med, provincial of Madras. Med, he reports, was offended by the visit of the Portuguese provincial, and did not understand the situation of Goa and the problems it was causing to the Portuguese province. When counselled to send Goan Salesians to Goa rather than Indians, he retorted that it was he who gave the orders. When Monteiro hinted that the Superiors might decide to attach Goa to the Portuguese province, Med’s reply was categorical: “I cannot allow my province to be cut up like this.”[[144]](#footnote-144)

Monteiro’s report makes it clear that, as long as the Salesian Work in Goa remained under the jurisdiction of the South India province, it was in an anomalous position. In the light of this it is not surprising to find, already in 1949, a letter from the General Director of Education (in the Colonies) asking the provincial of the Portuguese province to regularize the situation of the Salesian works in Goa by integrating them into the Portuguese province.

We need to note that Agenor Vieira Pontes (1895-1985), who preceded Monteiro as provincial, had already taken up the matter with Carreño. In his letter, Pontes suggests that Goan clerics be sent to Portugal for the study of philosophy, and perhaps also some Goan priests for a few months; this would be looked upon favourably by the Overseas Ministry. He notes that the Concordat did not envisage that the superiors in the missions be foreigners. He asks Carreño for a list of activities so that he could send the obligatory annual report to the Ministry. He does not, however, go so far as to suggest the integration of Goa into the Portuguese province, because of questions of distance and dispersion. If Goa could accept some Portuguese confreres, however, it would help. He says he had spoken to Pianazzi, the provincial of South India, in Turin, about the matter, but without any concrete results.

Now, in response to Monteiro’s report, Turin decided to accept the proposal to appoint a Portuguese Rector in Goa, but did not as yet feel the need to integrate Goa into the Portuguese province. “The Superiors feel that for now this first step will suffice; the authorities will be happy to have a Portuguese superior and many difficulties will thus be avoided.”[[145]](#footnote-145)

What follows is a kind of comedy of errors. Manuel Julio Pinho de Bastos was appointed as Rector of Panjim.[[146]](#footnote-146) On 24 March 1960 Monteiro writes to Fedrigotti, thanking him for the letter of appointment of Pinho, and for that of Fr Puddu communicating the decision of the Superiors to pass Goa to his province – although he had not expected such a quick decision.[[147]](#footnote-147) On the same day Monteiro communicates the news also to Carreño in Goa. He says that Carreño could proceed for his holidays in Spain after the new Rector’s arrival, and that upon his return he could take charge of the aspirantate in Goa.[[148]](#footnote-148) On 29 March 1960, however, Fedrigotti responds post haste to Monteiro, denying that Goa had been passed to Portugal:

I don’t know what might have given you the impression that Goa was to pass to your Province; perhaps Fr Puddu misunderstood a discussion we had on the matter. But I want to assure you that for now the Superiors want that Goa continue under the jurisdiction of the Provincial of India. You yourself can easily understand the reasons: the change of Rector is already a big move. Besides, in those two houses there are many confreres belonging to the province of South India who naturally still have ties to their province of origin, at least as a matter of feeling. We must therefore go slowly.[[149]](#footnote-149)

Carreño, who had no way of knowing about this clarification, replies with great joy to Monteiro. In particular he had been pained, he says, about Fedrigotti’s suggestion to shift the aspirantate to Bombay, but is now very happy about Monteiro’s concern for the aspirantate, and will accept the request to be in charge of it.[[150]](#footnote-150)

Monteiro, instead, replies to Fedrigotti saying that his letter had disturbed him very much. Puddu had not only talked about the Superiors’ decision to place Goa under the Portuguese province, but also had referred, in Pinho’s letter of appointment, to the house of Goa as belonging to the “Provincia Lusitaniensis.” Fr Borra,[[151]](#footnote-151) on a canonical visit to the province, had himself confirmed the news, and so he and his council had communicated it to the province and to Carreño and the confreres in Goa. However, the most serious thing was that the governor of Goa, the patriarch and the Portuguese government had come to know about it. It was not now possible to speak of a mistake on the part of the Superiors; the matter could even reach up to the Holy See. He hopes, therefore, that the Superiors will revise their decision and confirm what Puddu had written.[[152]](#footnote-152)

Did Turin in fact confirm what Puddu had written, and therefore officially authorize the passage of the Work in Goa to the Portuguese province? It would seem so, even though the evidence I have is only indirect. One indication is that Carreño writes to Monteiro on 29 July 1961 from Los Angeles, asking permission to extend his stay in the USA, and inquiring whether he had decided where to place the new aspirantate, in Betim or in Vasco da Gama, etc.[[153]](#footnote-153) Another is that Caetano Lobo, in his “Goa Salesiana,” speaks of the “unexpected news” that Goa had been integrated into the province of Portugal, something that Med, the provincial of Madras, found very difficult to accept.[[154]](#footnote-154) Yet again, Monteiro writes to Patriarch José Alvernaz: “As everyone was hoping, the Salesian works of Portuguese India have been integrated into this province not only officially but also in a Salesian way.”[[155]](#footnote-155) Finally, the Panjim chronicles of 1959-60 are signed by “visto Armando Monteiro, Prov[incial]” on 6 June 1960.[[156]](#footnote-156) At some time in 1960, therefore, the Salesian Work in Goa came under the jurisdiction of the Portuguese province, thus bringing it within the terms and spirit of the Concordat and Missionary Agreement, with obvious and concrete benefits, not in the least material.

## Between Nehru and Salazar

If the Salesian Work in Goa found itself between the province of South India and the Portuguese province, Carreño at one point found himself between the Indian Union and Índia Portuguesa, “between Nehru and Salazar,” as a journalist put it,[[157]](#footnote-157) and this is another interesting point in his biography.

Rico reports that in 1960 the Portuguese government honoured Carreño with a Commendation.[[158]](#footnote-158) He is probably referring to an ordinance published by the Governor General Manuel António Vassalo e Silva in the *Boletim Oficial* praising the work done by Carreño.[[159]](#footnote-159) Caetano Lobo comments that Carreño was *persona grata* to both Portugal and India because, in the absence of the consul, he had taken interest in the *satyagrahi* prisoners during the period 1955-59.[[160]](#footnote-160) Rico himself reports that when the Indian Government broke diplomatic relations with Portugal over the issue of Goa, Carreño was called by the Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, to act as an intermediary in the liberation of Indian prisoners in Goa.[[161]](#footnote-161)

A few more details about this affair are available thanks to a Portuguese newspaper of 1977 that published excerpts from what was up to then a classified secret: Carreño’s own report to the Governor General of Goa about his meeting with Nehru.[[162]](#footnote-162)

In August 1947, India had attained independence from Great Britain, and in January 1950 it had promulgated its Constitution and declared itself a republic. Several of the princely states had by then acceded to the Indian Union, but there remained the question of the Portuguese territories in the Indian subcontinent. In August 1954, hundreds of Indian *satyagrahis* had entered Goa at various points, as part of an ongoing movement for the integration of Goa into the Indian Union. According to R.N. Sakshena, many of these were killed by the Portuguese armed forces.[[163]](#footnote-163) It would appear, however, that a far larger number was imprisoned in Goa.[[164]](#footnote-164) India cut off diplomatic relationships and imposed an economic blockade, freezing Portuguese funds in India and making financial transactions impossible.[[165]](#footnote-165)

Carreño was, as we have said, deeply involved in caring for the *satyagrahis* held in Goa, to the point of establishing close friendships with some of them.[[166]](#footnote-166) He was, however, also disturbed about the effects of the economic blockade on the ordinary people of Goa. In his report of 13 November 1956 he writes:

A few months ago, using the little authority I had from the fact of being in charge of Indian political prisoners, I had written a rather strong letter to Mr Ashok Mehta of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Government of India (but resident in Bombay), protesting against the injustices caused by the economic blockade of Goa and, above all, the unjust withholding of pensions for thousands of Goans.[[167]](#footnote-167)

The minister replied by inviting Carreño to Bombay and then to Delhi, where, as it happened, Nehru himself asked to see him. The day was 29 October 1956. According to Pianazzi, the fact that Carreño had taken Indian citizenship gave him a special position before Nehru, who had great esteem for him.[[168]](#footnote-168) Nehru expressed gratitude for all that Carreño was doing for the Indian political prisoners. He was sorry that the Portuguese government had not appreciated his [Nehru’s] efforts to stop the *satyagraha* movement at the cost of becoming unpopular with his own people. But he was interested in securing the release of the Indian *satyagrahis*. Carreño indicated that what was not possible in the political sphere might be possible through the mediation of the Catholic Church, but also insisted that the economic blockade be lifted, seeing that it was causing distress to hundreds of ordinary Goans. Nehru said he would be happy if the Church could mediate, but did not promise anything by way of lifting the blockade.

Carreño’s part in this affair bears investigation. His concern was clearly not limited by political or national boundaries: he had gone out of his way to care for the Indian political prisoners in Goa, and he was equally deeply concerned about the effects of the economic blockade on ordinary Goans. On the question of the continued Portuguese presence in Goa and on the possible Indian responses he is more ambiguous:

— Mr. Nehru, it has to be confessed, that the Goa question is currently at a standstill. The Indian Union does not seem to be aware of what Goa represents for Portugal. Portuguese India is so embedded in its history, its glories, its literature, its greatest poem, its spiritual heritage, that there is no hope of convincing the Portuguese that they can leave this territory, without betraying their most sacred duties to the Homeland. Do not compare Goa with Pondicherry. Here, economic interests are not at stake: it is the duty of a people to defend a sacred heritage. Believe me, Portugal will not budge. On the other hand, the Indian Union accepts no other solution than to force Portugal to abandon Goa. And, as the I.U. does not want to take up arms, it seems to have lost all hope of conquering the citadel of Portuguese conscience. Having closed its delegations, we have a dead end here. Shall we remain like this forever?

And again:

— Any honourable person will tell you, Mr. Nehru, that this blockade is a total failure. This blockade does not even scratch the Portuguese government or its army. Why does the Indian Union persist in getting involved with the Goan people?

— From a political point of view, the blockade is a failure: the only objective you have achieved is to bring the Goans closer to Portugal. They have every reason to say: ‘Portugal is our mother; the Indian Union treats us like a stepmother’.[[169]](#footnote-169)

According to Carreño, Nehru listened to him in silence, “with his head down like a tired lion.” As he had spoken before the Governor General of Goa, so now he had expressed himself without fear before the Prime Minister of India. Fear was not an emotion he had picked up during his upbringing. “*No one ever talked to me of FEAR*,” he writes about his childhood, “And how much I appreciated that all my life! Fear of what? Of whom? For what? Of lions? Was I not a son of God and brother of Jesus Christ?”[[170]](#footnote-170)

But let us return to the contents of the intervention. Is Carreño merely representing Portuguese convictions here, or is he reflecting his own? The author of the *Expresso* article of 1977 goes to the extent of suggesting that the good priest was acting as a double agent, though perhaps only involuntarily and without explicitly intending to. Rico reports that the dialogue between Carreño and Nehru ended with Carreño saying: “Mr Prime Minister, I am not a diplomat” and Nehru replying: “No, Father. But you are an honest person.”[[171]](#footnote-171) We could say that Carreño certainly appreciated the benefits of Portuguese rule for the work of the Salesians, but that he was not one to allow his heart to be stopped by political boundaries.

Carreño’s mission was only partially successful. He carried Nehru’s request to Bangalore, where the Catholic Bishops’ Conference of India was meeting: “The Prime Minister requests the Catholic Church to work towards obtaining amnesty for the Indian political prisoners in Goa.”[[172]](#footnote-172) Four months later Portuguese Goa granted the desired amnesty. Nehru’s India, instead, did not offer anything in return, and according to Rico “Goa suffered unjustly.”[[173]](#footnote-173) According to Pianazzi, this led to a falling out between Carreño and Nehru, with the former renouncing his Indian citizenship.[[174]](#footnote-174)

The chronicles of Panjim contain information about another incident that reveals Carreño’s political attitude.[[175]](#footnote-175) The occasion was the Indian takeover of the Portuguese enclaves of Dadra and Nagar Haveli in 1954. In July 1954, a *Dia de ‘Herois de Dadra’* (‘Heroes of Dadra’ Day) was held in Goa, in which the students of the Don Bosco School took part as members of the *Mocidade Portuguesa* (Youth of Portugal).[[176]](#footnote-176) In October 1954, Dr Socrates da Costa convened a meeting of all Head Masters in which he asked them to sign a manifesto, “Saibam quantos êste documento virem [Let those who see this document know],” protesting against India for trying to merge Goa into India. Fr Caetano Lobo, the Salesian principal, was the only one of those present who declined to sign, saying he had to consult his superior, Fr Carreño. Dr Socrates insisted on knowing Carreño’s opinion, so Carreño sent a reply to Lobo that is a marvel of good sense and gospel shrewdness:

First of all, we are ministers of Jesus Christ and benefactors of the poor boys. This everyone knows.

Now, there is no doubt that for the good of Religion it is much better that Goa remain Portuguese, either as an overseas province or as a member of a Lusitanian Union. And I say this not as a Spaniard, but as a Catholic priest who is witnessing the course of events in the Indian Union. While the Portuguese government has been our best and most generous benefactor in Goa, the Bombay government, with its Public Trust Act, has been taking over – if not outright stealing – ecclesiastical properties, as you all know.

But in the public manifestation of our political convictions two limits are imposed on us

a) by our religious discipline

b) by our duty of charity.

(You see that I have not invoked the virtue of ‘prudence,’ for which I have very little sympathy!)

You, Fr. Lobo have your vow of obedience. You can be sent by your Provincial Superior once again to the houses of Shillong, Dibrugarh, Kotagiri... where you have worked before. If you, Fr. Lobo, sign any public manifesto in the present circumstances, it would not only go against our Constitutions which ask us to remain not only a-political but supra-political (‘we follow the politics of the Our Father,’ as Don Bosco used to say), but would make it impossible for you to be faithful to your vow of obedience. Suppose Fr. Provincial calls Fr. Lobo to Madras for a Retreat, the renewal of vows, to be Rector of a College... when Father arrives at Castle Rock, they could tell you what they told Mr. Virgincar: ‘You signed a public manifesto: please go back.’

I personally would be very happy, because that would mean that Father Lobo would stay with us in Goa for ever: but objectively, it doesn't seem canonically right.[[177]](#footnote-177)

Carreño goes on to mention “an even stronger reason” connected with the fact that the majority of the poor boys of the school have relatives in nearby India or in English Africa, but the chronicles unfortunately do not contain the second page of the letter. At any rate, the chronicler (probably Lobo himself) says that the letter was shown to Dr Da Costa, who in turned showed it to the Patriarch and probably also to the Governor General. In addition, a list of 249 names of ‘filiados’ (associates, members, probably the students) who had signed the document in question send to the *Mocidade*, and with that the matter seems to have been closed. “It was a delicate situation but it made clear to all that Salesians by their Constitution are to be not only a-political but supra-political,” comments the chronicle. Carreño comes out as pro-Portuguese or at least as one who appreciated what the Portuguese government was doing for the Salesian Work, but also as the wise (not prudent!) superior who is able to keep the larger picture in mind. He cared for the Indian *satyagrahi* prisoners but was also able to dialogue boldly with the Indian authorities. He was appreciated by Nehru but also received, at his departure from Goa, an official commendation on the part of the Portuguese government and a public homage involving the maximum authorities, both civil and ecclesiastical. Carreño knew how to give to God what belonged to God, and to the various Caesars what was due to them.

## An unfinished project: the Betim aspirantate

Another interesting element in Carreño’s Goa sojourn is the Betim aspirantate project.

In South India, Carreño had searched for vocations mainly from the vigorous and ancient church of Kerala. Goa, he realized, was another precious mine of vocations.

In the beginning the aspirants were simply part of the boarding school in Panjim along with other boys, as I have noted already. In 1955, the decision was taken to separate the aspirants from the rest. At first “Shed III” was allotted to them, and in 1956 the high school building, with the school being transferred to the central building. The provincial of South India, Pianazzi, entrusted immediate charge of the aspirantate to Caetano Lobo, under the direction of Carreño.[[178]](#footnote-178)

But Carreño’s dream was to put up a separate aspirantate.[[179]](#footnote-179) The idea is mentioned already by the provincial of Portugal to Carreño in 1952: if the Salesians in Goa could put up the aspirantate and novitiate in the Convent of St Caetano in Velha Goa, the Portuguese province would take care of the philosophical studies of the clerics.[[180]](#footnote-180) However, not everybody agreed with the idea of setting up a separate aspirantate. The provincial of Madras – Monteiro complains to Fedrigotti in 1959 – wanted, in fact, to close down the aspirantate in Goa.[[181]](#footnote-181) It would seem that during his extraordinary visit to Goa the same year Fedrigotti himself suggested – according to Carreño – that the aspirantate be sent to Bombay.[[182]](#footnote-182)

In 1960, however, as we have seen, Goa passed to the Portuguese province, where the aspirantate project found enthusiastic support. This, in fact, is one of the first things that Monteiro mentions to Carreño in his letter of 24 March 1960 communicating the news of the change of jurisdiction and of the appointment of Pinho as the new Rector of Panjim. In fact, he asks Carreño to take up direction of the aspirantate after returning from his holiday in Spain.[[183]](#footnote-183) Carreño, clearly relieved that the project was going through, replies that he would be happy to accept: “I had told you how it had pained me that Fr Fedrigotti was inclined to send the aspirantate to Bombay…; but when I received your letter and saw that your first concern was about the Aspirantate, it filled my heart with hope and joy. I feel happy now and willing to work for the propaganda; I believe that if I manage to collect a few thousand dollars for our minor seminary, the [Portuguese] Government will also be disposed to give us as much….”[[184]](#footnote-184)

Carreño left Goa for Spain probably in early June 1960, after the arrival of the new Rector. In February 1961 we find him still in Spain. Writing to Pianazzi, now a member of the Superior Council in Turin, he thanks him “for this marvellous holiday,” saying that he arrived there in time for the 75th anniversary of Don Bosco’s visit to that city.[[185]](#footnote-185) He reports that he is still in the process of publishing his Marian Meditations, which would serve in his fundraising campaign for the aspirantate project in Goa. He then adds with uncanny prescience: “Even if I were not to return to Goa, what a consolation it would be for me to know that a new centre of vocations there would continue to multiply the good....”[[186]](#footnote-186)

In March 1961 the good missionary is in the USA, working in a rural parish while preparing the fundraising campaign. He had been hoping to get Fr Michael Murray to help him,[[187]](#footnote-187) but that was not possible because he had been sent elsewhere by the local superiors. He writes to Monteiro, however, that Murray is keen to return to the missions: why not request the Rector Major or Bellido his vicar to send him to the new aspirantate in Goa?[[188]](#footnote-188)

In July 1961 we find Carreño writing to Monteiro from Don Bosco Tech, South San Gabriel, California. He is disappointed that Turin will not allow Murray to return to India: “It is a bitter refusal, but once authority has had its say, I accept in a spirit of faith. Fiat voluntas Dei!”[[189]](#footnote-189) He goes on to ask for a decision about extending his stay in order to collect some more funds, discusses various details about the construction of the aspirantate building, inquires whether Monteiro had decided to place the project in Betim or in Vasco da Gama, and suggests that the provincial request the Portuguese government for a substantial contribution.[[190]](#footnote-190)

In November 1961 begins the discussion about transferring Carreño from Goa to the Philippines. Fedrigotti writes to Monteiro saying that Carreño had no problem accepting the transfer but was only asking for some months to complete the fund-raising for Goa – implying perhaps that the latter was, at the time, still in the USA. Fedrigotti goes on to say that the money collected for the aspirantate in Goa should be used for that purpose, as Carreño himself has been insisting. Even if the ‘college’ is built first, money must be found for the aspirantate. But the danger is that no money will be left. “I think you agree that the aspirantate in Goa is urgent.”[[191]](#footnote-191)

In December 1961, however, Goa is absorbed into the Indian Union and things change completely, also for the aspirantate project. Carreño writes to Monteiro from Barcelona saying that he has been told by Fedrigotti to hand over the money collected to Fr John Med, provincial of the South India province[[192]](#footnote-192) “who would look after the Goan aspirants.” Carreño is not at all happy with this turn of affairs: “Mi deja muy de mal humor todo este negocio [The whole business leaves me in a very bad mood],” he says, because it is a violation of the intention of the donors and of the one asking the donations.[[193]](#footnote-193)

The archives of the South India province will probably contain more details about the aspirantate project at this point. What is clear is that the aspirantate was never built in Betim but continued in different forms in Panjim itself.

## Departure from Goa (1960)

We have seen already that, as part of the effort to bring the Work in Goa within the terms of the Concordat, Carreño was asked to terminate his service as Rector in May 1960, even though his (third) term was due to expire only on 15 August 1961.[[194]](#footnote-194) It is likely that, after the public homage and farewell given to him in Panjim, he stayed on to welcome the new Rector and the Provincial who was accompanying him, and that he left Goa in early June. However, there is still some ambiguity surrounding the departure: was it temporary or final?

We have seen that – at least according to Lobo – already in 1959, during the canonical visitation, Fedrigotti had told Carreño to leave Goa the next year and go to Spain for some rest, after which he could proceed to the USA to collect funds for the proposed aspirantate at Betim.[[195]](#footnote-195) Perhaps the Superiors in Turin were already thinking of ways of ‘regularizing’ the situation of Goa in the spirit of the Concordat.

However, it would be useful to keep in mind a very strong letter from Fedrigotti to Carreño, dt. 15 February 1957:

Would you like me to say what I think about some of your letters? I know how much you love the Congregation and Don Bosco; and this spares you a more severe judgment. But believe me that, perhaps without your being aware of it, your letters are sometimes offensive in what they say about the superiors: it would seem that they [the superiors] don’t understand anything and don’t do what they are supposed to do.

…

When you make a request, it seems there is nothing more important in the whole Salesian world, and so everyone must begin moving immediately to do it. You say another thing that is completely out of place [Ne dici un’altra grossa]: the weaknesses that have motivated your letter are, according to you, ‘indirectly the result of the disaffection we have experienced’: as if the weaknesses in question don’t have a much older provenance, even predating my visit to India.

…

So that’s what I wanted to write to you. Forgive me if I have not put enough sugar into it. When you need to say something, you are always free to do so, and even for the sake of letting off steam; but you must do it in such a way that when your cause of beatification is introduced there will not be too many difficulties to overcome….[[196]](#footnote-196)

I have not been able to find Carreño’s reply to this letter, but the fact that he made a copy of it and sent it to Monteiro is itself of some significance, although the immediate reason was probably linked to Fedrigotti’s suggestion to send the Goan aspirants to Portugal for the novitiate. In addition, there is the fact that Carreño thanks Monteiro for his reply: “A thousand thanks for your affectionate letter of 5.3.57 that put new life into me, because the truth is that we receive all kinds of blows from all sides, including naturally from our dear Superiors….”[[197]](#footnote-197)

At any rate, we know that Carreño accepted with very good grace the early termination of his Rectorship. Instead of finishing in August 1961, he would finish in May 1960, before the beginning of the academic year in Goa. In May 1960, in fact, we have a rather well-documented and solemn homage to Carreño by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities in Goa. In the speeches that have come down to us, as also in the Official Commendation by the Governor General published a few days later, no mention is made of his leaving Goa.[[198]](#footnote-198) However, other documents do speak of the function as a “despedida” or farewell on the occasion of Carreño’s trip to Europe, and the *Aitarachem Vachop* contains five tearful poems by well-wishers and past pupils,[[199]](#footnote-199) but all this does not necessarily indicate a definitive departure from Goa. We know that Monteiro, the provincial of Portugal, visited Goa in May-June 1960, in order to accompany the new Rector, Pinho, but also perhaps because Turin had, in the end, sanctioned the passage of Goa to the Portuguese province.[[200]](#footnote-200) We have surmised that Carreño left for Spain in late May or early June 1960.[[201]](#footnote-201) We have seen that in February 1961 he was still in Spain, and that from there he proceeded, probably in late March 1961, to the USA on his fund-raising mission on behalf of the new aspirantate in Goa.[[202]](#footnote-202)

As we have noted already, a significant change takes place in November 1961: Monteiro receives a letter from Fedrigotti saying that Carreño would be transferred out of Goa, probably to Manila:

I have to ask you for a sacrifice. The cardinal of Manila, who has blind faith in the Salesians, has asked us insistently for a Salesian to head his Catechetical Centre, a work of great importance for the capital of the Philippines. We have set our eyes on Fr Carreño who, apart from other great gifts, also speaks the two languages necessary in the Philippines, English and Spanish. I have already written to him and he has no difficulty in accepting this task; he asks only for a few months to complete his propaganda for Goa.[[203]](#footnote-203)

The good provincial is shocked – “questa lettera mi causò una scossa profonda” – and in his long reply asks the superior not to go ahead with his plans. Carreño was highly appreciated by church and civil authorities, as the homage of May 1960 had made clear. He was involved in collecting funds for the aspirantate, and the Portugal province has no one else with that capacity. During his visit to Goa, the governor general and the patriarch made him promise that Carreño would return. “I responded, basing myself on your letter of March of last year, that they could be sure that the wish of his Excellency coincided with that of the Superiors.”[[204]](#footnote-204)

Monteiro goes on to note that some Salesians had challenged Carreño for defending the respect due to the established authorities. Now, if he were not to return, it would appear that the superiors were either defending these Salesians, or else that they were allowing themselves to be deceived. It might also appear that the Portuguese Salesians wanted to send Carreño away: “And I, like all the Portuguese Salesians that I know, would feel very offended at this kind of calumny, because we admire him immensely and are very grateful to him.” The provincial then speaks about the aspirantate: he would like the money collected by Carreño to be used exclusively for the new building, and he had told the new Rector, Pinho, that as soon as Carreño returned he should begin with the construction. It was his intention, with the approval of his council, to name Carreño Rector of this aspirantate; this had been communicated to Carreño himself and also to Pinho and others. “For all these reasons I hope that the Superiors do not take him away and that they find someone in Hong Kong, where there is an abundance of personnel, e.g., Fr Pomati, for the mission that the Cardinal of Manila wants to entrust to the Salesians.”[[205]](#footnote-205)

To Monteiro’s long and passionate letter there is no reply from Fedrigotti. The Indian military action began on 11 December 1961, a day after the provincial’s letter, and ended on 19 December 1961 with the annexation of Goa. The provincial was in Rome, participating in the First International Congress for Religious Vocations. From his letter to Carreño of 22 December 1961 it is clear that he is shocked, upset and worried about Goa and the confreres and people there, and at the same time pained at the lack of sympathy in Church circles for Portugal:

My impression in Italy, where I attended the First International Congress of Religious Vocations, is that the general mentality, at least in the case of Portugal, is the same as that of the Communists. For only these (and the socialists) make frontal attacks on our government and on the Portuguese position. And the great majority of the priests supported this position.[[206]](#footnote-206)

But, obviously, Monteiro is also still dealing with the possibility of losing Carreño. He reveals that he had gone to Turin – precisely on 19 December 1961 – to meet the Superiors and discuss with them not only the new situation in Goa but also Carreño:

And let's come now to your case and the problems it raises.

I will send you a copy of a letter I sent Fr Fedrigotti so that you can see my state of mind when I heard the sad news that they wanted to take you from us. I went to Turin on the 19th to meet the superiors and to work out things in the new situation created by the barbaric Indian attack on the Salesian work in Goa. In principle, they told me to leave everything as it is; but will the Hindu gentlemen in the Indian capital agree? Will they not send away the Portuguese Salesians and also some of the [other] Europeans? I will write to Fr. Med to get some news, because it is impossible to get news through our postal service for the time being.

I asked Fr Fedrigotti that you come to help us in Africa, because we will soon be opening a house in Luanda. But he, who was willing to change his mind when it came to Goa, if everything had continued as it had till a few days ago, told me that you could not go to India because you had defended the Portuguese position in Goa, and that they had already promised you to the Cardinal of Manila. You have no idea how much I feel this loss. The Provincial Council also joined me in defending you. And I am very sorry that I did not call you at the end of October or the beginning of November to give you a temporary posting until other problems were solved. My intention was that you would go to Goa in March-April to prepare for the new school year as Rector of the Aspirantate. Another Portuguese priest would go with Fr Casti to help you, because Fr Corcoran clearly does not have the qualities needed for community life. What can we do now? *Fiat voluntas Dei.*

Monteiro’s visit to Turin explains, perhaps, why there is no official reply to his protest letter of 10 December 1961 to Fedrigotti. It is good to know that Fedrigotti was, in fact, ready to change his mind and leave Carreño in Goa. The new political status of the territory, however, complicated things – especially because Carreño was regarded as a defender of the Portuguese position in Goa. There was also the promise made to the cardinal of Manila. Or perhaps it was just that things worked out in such a way that it was quite convenient to move Carreño out of Goa and into the Philippines.

Strangely, there is also a letter from Fedrigotti in Turin to Monteiro dt. 4 January 1962 which acknowledges the latter’s telegram communication and gives instructions about steps to be taken in the new situation.[[207]](#footnote-207)

Some days ago we received your telegram with news of Goa. Thank God that there have not been major problems. Fr Pinho has also written to me: poor man, he is shocked and discouraged about the turn of events; he would like to leave immediately; but we must do things calmly. He [instead] has already sent a telegram to Fr Med asking him in the name of the superiors (sic!) to visit Goa to see the situation for himself. [But] it seems to me that there is no need of that.

Instead – and here you also must help – we must wait and see how the Portuguese government reacts; to remove [our] Portuguese personnel immediately would be to consider the invasion of Goa as a *fait accompli* and could be wrongly interpreted by your authorities.

Naturally, Fedrigotti does not mention Carreño at all. That also is now a *fait accompli*. “What can we do now? *Fiat voluntas Dei*,” Monteiro had said.

Carreño’s departure from Goa in 1960 turned out to be, therefore, his definitive departure. Thekkedath is right when he assigns 1952-1960 as the dates of Carreño’s sojourn in Goa.[[208]](#footnote-208)

The public homages offered in May 1960 were, in point of fact if not in intention, the definitive *despedida* (farewell) to a man who had truly loved Goa. Among the messages that have come down to us, the official commendation offered by the governor general stands out:

We laud Rev. José Carreño for the magnificent work carried out in Goa during his eight years of permanent and tireless activity on behalf of the most underprivileged boys, to whom he tried to offer, along with care, food and lodging, living conditions that would make it possible for them to face life with greater optimism and hope.

Thanks to the tireless dedication of the illustrious Salesian Father it became possible for a few hundred young people to become men capable of living up to the task of a mission on earth quite different from that which would have resulted if they had grown up in the precarious state in which they were before being brought under the protection of the magnificent work of the Salesians.

In order to make this possible, at the cost of many sacrifices on the part of this missionary, some important facilities were set up… which… are already today a valuable element in the activities of this city, along with the enormous outreach in the moral, spiritual and professional formation of these hundreds of boys, the men of tomorrow, on whom the very structure of this Portuguese overseas province must be based more and more vigorously.

The Governor General is very pleased to officially and publicly record his high regard for the simple, humble and dynamic figure of the illustrious missionary that is the Reverend Father José Carreño, the fruit of unlimited devotion to the Holy Cause to which he dedicated all the strength and intelligence with which God has blessed him.

Rico also reports a fine tribute “from the Portuguese confreres,” which we now know was written in Lisbon after Carreño’s death:

The Oratory in Panjim, along with a high school, technical school, youth centre and other Oratories; the aspirantate next to the boarding school for abandoned boys; the growth of devotion to Mary Help of Christians and to Don Bosco, the collaboration with the local clergy and the prestige earned for the Salesians, all these are proofs of the quality of the unforgettable Fr Carreño. For the young confreres he was a father who never let down his sons in difficult moments.[[209]](#footnote-209)

Most moving, however, is what this tribute reports about the feelings of the young:

And the students, when he finished his term as Rector of Panjim in 1960 and was going back to Europe, were inconsolable: ‘If we only knew that he was not coming back, we would not have allowed him to go. We would have all gone to the airport…’.[[210]](#footnote-210)

Between South India and Goa, Carreño had spent almost thirty years in India. Marzo writes: “The 11 Salesian provinces and the flourishing of local vocations in the whole of India are the greatest and the best monuments of the great courage of Fr. Carreño, for whom the world was too small and for whom the Church and Don Bosco were the greatest loves of his life as father, prophet and visionary of the Salesian works in India.”[[211]](#footnote-211)

# Second Spanish interlude – and the USA (1960-1961)

Arriving in Spain early June 1960, Carreño, as we have seen, was certainly in Barcelona in February 1961, working on a book of Marian meditations in English, to be distributed to benefactors in the USA.[[212]](#footnote-212) We know that he was certainly in or around New Rochelle by the end of March 1961. On 29 July 1961 he writes to Monteiro asking whether he should extend his stay in order to collect some more funds, discusses details about the new aspirantate building in Betim, and talks enthusiastically about “the best technical school in the Salesian world” at Los Angeles, where the superiors would be happy to welcome aspiring Goan coadjutor brothers. “The future of our Salesian Goa is very bright,” he exclaims, and then adds: “What a pity that I am already old and tired!”[[213]](#footnote-213) He was barely 55 years old. Ahead of him lay a short stay in the Philippines and then a very long one back home in Spain.

# Short stay in the Philippines (1962-1965)

Fr Carreño spent only four years in the Philippines (1962-1965), but here also he left an indelible imprint, “an immeasurable and crucial contribution to the Salesian presence in the Philippines,” in the words of historian Nestor Impelido.[[214]](#footnote-214)

We have seen how, in November 1961, the superiors in Turin had begun thinking of sending Carreño to the Philippines to meet a request from the cardinal of Manila for a Salesian to head his Catechetical Centre. In point of fact, Carreño went to the Philippines to take over as novice director. Celestino Lingad reports that Fr Carlo Braga, now the Servant of God,[[215]](#footnote-215) had met Carreño in the Tibidabo Basilica in Barcelona, and was so impressed by him that he had invited him “to come to Manila and give a hand to the Salesians working in the Philippines Visitatoria.”[[216]](#footnote-216) Braga was, at the time, superior of the newly erected Philippine vice province. As was his habit, Carreño immediately set about seeking funds for vocations and formation in his new mission land. On 25 March 1962 he seems to have begun his voyage to Manila,[[217]](#footnote-217) arriving in April 1962.[[218]](#footnote-218) On his way to the Philippines he broke journey at Bombay to visit Goa and South India.[[219]](#footnote-219)

## Novice director in Mutinlupa, Pampanga and Canlubang

The Salesians had arrived in the Philippines ‘by chance’: the Communists of Mao Tse Tung had expelled them from China and they needed somewhere to go. The first houses were opened in 1951 in Tarlac and Victorias. In a letter published in *Urdimbre en el telar*, we get an idea of the situation of Catholics in the Philippines and Carreño’s feeling about it:

The Filipinos were almost 100% Catholic when Spain left the islands, today they are no more than 80%. And if things go on like this, we will have a nation of only 50% Catholics in twenty years. Of the one million babies God sends us every year, some 200,000 are not baptized… because there are no priests! There are of course some, but they are half those of India, when the Philippines has two and a half times the number of Catholics in the whole of Asia…. I was 30 years in India, but today I give thanks to God for having sent me to fire the last shots in the Philippines.[[220]](#footnote-220)

The first group of 10 novices (1962-1963) guided by Fr Carreño began in Mutinlupa. Carreño had taken over as novice director from Fr Vincenzo Ricaldone (1897-1975), nephew of Fr Pietro Ricaldone.[[221]](#footnote-221) The practical trainee or ‘assistant of novices’ was Valeriano Barbero.[[222]](#footnote-222) Two months later the novitiate moved to the house of San Fernando, Pampanga, some 98 kms north of Manila,[[223]](#footnote-223) where the Rector was Fr Godfrey Roozen (1912-1997), a Dutch missionary who had worked in China and had later tried to begin a foundation in Indonesia.[[224]](#footnote-224) Of the 10 novices who began, 4 made the first profession on 31 May 1963 and one on 17 June 1963 at the hands of Fr Carlo Braga. Seeing that so few had professed, some confreres complained that Fr Carreño was too liberal. The testimony of Fr Barbero, however, gives us a precious insight into Carreño the formator: those who left, in his opinion, were those who were not meant for the Salesian vocation.[[225]](#footnote-225)

A couple of days after the first profession, the novitiate shifted to a new location in Canlubang in the Laguna province, about 40 kilometres from Manila. The property had been donated by Chief Justice José Yulo, a great friend and benefactor of Fr Braga, and a building had been constructed on the site. In 1964 Carreño was appointed Rector of the new house, in addition to being novice director.[[226]](#footnote-226) From 1962 to 1965, three groups of novices – a total of 33 – passed through his hands.[[227]](#footnote-227) In 1965, however, even before finishing his term as Rector, he returned to Spain, for reasons we will soon discuss.

Fr Giovanni Benna has wonderful memories of this period when Fr Carreño and he practically founded the Salesian work in Canlubang. Fr Benna had come from Italy as a young priest and had been assigned to Canlubang. He remembers asking Fr Carreño whether he could do some apostolate with the young people in the many barrios that surrounded the house, and how Fr Carreño encouraged him enthusiastically, despite the fears of some senior confreres that the young candidates would lose their vocation. He also recalls how Fr Carreño would simply entrust the whole house into his hands and go off to the United States in search of funds that were direly needed for setting up the house.[[228]](#footnote-228) Fr Carreño in turn described Benna as a Salesian of great value, spirit of sacrifice, well prepared and zealous.[[229]](#footnote-229)

In Spain, Carreño had founded the VOFISA (Vocaciones Filipinas Salesianas) Association in order to collect funds for vocation animation and formation in the Philippines.[[230]](#footnote-230) As always, the distribution of his own books played a key role in this fund-raising.[[231]](#footnote-231)

Fr José Bernacer (1937-), a Spanish Salesian who came to work in Canlubang as a formator during Fr Carreño’s last year in the Philippines, said that Carreño suffered because of the clash of mentalities with the Salesians who had come from China, but that he was never one to be discouraged. Full of humanity, enthusiasm, optimism and salesianity, he was able to make every young confrere loved.[[232]](#footnote-232)

As ever, Carreño was the man of dreams and visions. He soon became convinced that the newly professed Filipino Salesians should not be sent to Hong Kong for their philosophy, and that the vice province ought to have its own centre of philosophical studies that could also be a university college capable of providing them with the certification necessary to teach in schools.[[233]](#footnote-233) His idea was to prepare not only Salesian Brothers but also clerics and priests to teach in technical and professional schools.[[234]](#footnote-234) Convinced that the Salesians could do in East what the Benedictines had done in the West, he had promoted and established professional and agricultural schools in India,[[235]](#footnote-235) and now he was pushing much the same idea in the Philippines.

## The ‘Hong Kong’ controversy and the ‘seminary college’ in Canlubang

The first aspirantate had been begun in 1953 by Fr Luigi Ferrari (Barbieri) (1908-1990) at Mandaluyong, in the old Seminario Conciliar de Manila given by the Archbishop of Manila to the Salesians. After some years it was transferred to the Salesian school at Victorias in Negros island. However, the parents of aspirants from the island of Luzon were reluctant to send their children so far away, so in 1962 Fr Carlo Braga, superior of the vice province, transferred the aspirantate to the Salesian school in San Fernando, Pampanga.[[236]](#footnote-236)

As for the novitiate, after several false starts in Mandaluyong (1954) and Victorias (1955), it was begun in 1956 in Mutinlupa, south of Manila, as we have seen, in a villa leased by a benefactor. The first 8 novices made their profession in 1957. In early 1962 the novitiate was transferred temporarily to the school of San Fernando, Pampanga, while a house was being constructed for the purpose in Canlubang.[[237]](#footnote-237)

Fr Mario Acquistapace (1906-2002), provincial of the China-Philippines province, had begun exploring various options for philosophical studies for the newly professed Filipinos: the Lyon province in France, the USA, the formation house in Cheung Chau – Hong Kong, and the Salesian house of Mandaluyong – Manila. In June 1957 the superiors in Turin approved the plan to keep the newly professed in Manila. Fr Acquistapace decided to keep the postnovices for the time being in Mutinlupa, with Fr Ferdinando Rossotto in charge.[[238]](#footnote-238) The choice of Fr Rossotto did not prove to be a happy one, however, and so for their second year the postnovices were sent to Cheung Chau, where they joined others from the China-Vietnam and the Japan-Korea areas. Fr Braga himself realized that this solution was problematic for several reasons, one of them being that they would come back without a degree recognized in the Philippines, something they needed if they were to teach in the schools.[[239]](#footnote-239)

When Carreño was in San Fernando as novice director in 1962, therefore, the young clerics had been going to Hong Kong since 1958. New, however, was the decision taken in 1962 by the superiors in Turin, that the house of Cheung Chau in Hong Kong would be the international community for students of philosophy in East Asia.[[240]](#footnote-240) Very soon, as we have said, Carreño became convinced that the newly professed should not go to Hong Kong, and that the vice province ought to set up its own ‘seminary college.’ To this end he carried on a long correspondence with the general councillor for studies, Fr Archimede Pianazzi, the vicar of the Rector Major, Fr Albino Fedrigotti, and the Rector Major himself, Fr Renato Ziggiotti. The exchange makes for interesting reading and sheds light not only on Carreño’s return to his native Spain in 1965, but also on his character. He was certainly a poet and a visionary, but could also be strong in his judgments and persistent in dialogue. We draw here from 7 letters of the period 1963 to 1965.

The first letter is written from San Fernando on *8 January 1963* and is addressed to Fr Pianazzi. Of the 7 clerics who went to Hong Kong, Carreño points out, 4 returned with tuberculosis. Further, after spending 3 years there, they returned without the diploma (the *papelito*) that would enable them to teach in the five schools of the province. Worse still, one cleric returned with a falsified diploma. Sending the young Filipino Salesians to Hong Kong, Carreño said, amounted to deceiving them, for unlike in India, it would be easy to put up a school for philosophy in the Philippines, given that the government was favourable. He himself was willing to go to Spain and to India to find the needed professors and formators. The original sin of the Salesian work in the Philippines was that it had been begun *per accidens*, “come uno sfogo,” because the Salesian missionaries had been expelled from Communist China and needed to find something to do.[[241]](#footnote-241) These missionaries, including Fr Braga, were still attached to China, and it was this that made them insist on sending young Salesians to Hong Kong. When he had said that the young Filipino confreres ought to remain in the Philippines, the reply was: “How can we do this to our confreres in Hong Kong?”[[242]](#footnote-242)

In this letter of 8 January 1963, Carreño had made bold to ask Pianazzi to send a professor of calculus, chemistry and Spanish in the person of Bro. Julio Ferrer.[[243]](#footnote-243) Ferrer would be a great boon to the college and, besides, he was being sadly under-utilized in Tirupattur. From Carreño’s letter to Pianazzi dated *5 February 1963*, we understand that the latter had not agreed to this request. Carreño expresses his regret and adds: “I do not say this with bitterness, Don Pianazzi, even though it is inevitable to feel, at the age of 57, a new vein of irony in the body: if you had said yes, it would have been the second time, in these 30 years, that the Superiors of the Council (excepting the Rector Major) had said yes to me. I am by now very much used to the reaction from Turin – quixotic of me! – to my many requests: ‘another poem from Don Carreño!’”[[244]](#footnote-244)

In February 1963 there was a provincial visitation during which Fr Braga seems to have told Fr Carreño that the clerics would no longer be sent to Hong Kong. A few days later, instead, Fr Roozen, Carreño’s Rector, received a letter from Fr Braga informing him that the clerics would, in fact, be sent to Hong Kong. This seems to have provoked a letter from Carreño to Braga, saying that the superior had been deceiving the young confreres and their families and the interests of the Congregation in the Philippines.[[245]](#footnote-245) This was a strong accusation, and Carreño tried to explain himself in a letter of *4 March 1963*to Fr Fedrigotti. He first rehearsed his reasons for not wanting to send the clerics to Hong Kong. They would not be able to see their parents for three years. 50% of them were likely to return with tuberculosis. They would return without a degree recognized in the Philippines. Not knowing Chinese, they would not be able to do apostolate in Cheung Chau, and anyway, how many oratories were there on that small island? Worse, he had also heard disparaging remarks from the (missionary and largely European) confreres, to the effect that the Filipinos were simply baptized pagans, while the Chinese were naturally Christian even without being baptized. Fr Braga, he said, had sacrificed the interests of the Filipino Salesians because of his ties with China. He had never really become ‘Filipino.’ This, he added, was just a hypothesis, but he believed he was not wrong, because he himself had been deceived several times since he came to the Philippines. Worse, he felt guilty that he was now part of the deception of the young Salesians, and so he had often thought of returning to Madrid. But there was another reason why he felt guilty: he was explaining to the novices that Don Bosco had given his life for poor and abandoned youth, but his impression was that the Salesians in the Philippines were not really working for the poor. It would be better if the superiors were to send another and saintly novice director to replace him. Carreño ended by noting that he had respectfully shared all these thoughts with Fr Braga, whom he considered a great, holy and humble Salesian. But it was precisely to protect Fr Braga that he was writing as he did, so that history would not later accuse him of having betrayed the trust that the Filipinos, and especially the young Salesians, had put in Don Bosco.[[246]](#footnote-246)

About two weeks later, on *17 March 1963*, Carreño wrote to Pianazzi, sending him a copy of his letter to Fedrigotti, which in another context, he acknowledged, could have been regarded as a protest. He repeated what he had said to Fedrigotti: that the thought of going back to Madrid was growing stronger every day, so as to avoid the possibility of giving way to open criticism and quasi-rebellion. For him it was sad that the Congregation had been established in the Philippines as an ‘outlet’ for China. There was a great absence of ideals. Whenever he spoke of poor and abandoned youth, he felt a disgust so strong that he was tempted to tell the young Filipinos not to allow themselves to be deceived, and that it would have been better for them to join the Society of the Divine Word.[[247]](#footnote-247) He ended the letter by repeating his plea to be allowed to return to Spain, revealing in the bargain that he is well aware of how he was regarded in Turin:

I am aware, more or less, that my letter will not change anything, because I know by experience that my correspondence is pre-classified in Turin as poetic. But at least I have done my duty. And, secondly, that it will convince the Superiors to send a Master of Novices who is holy… and also a bit naïve. Once he has arrived, if this will not displease the Superiors, I will humbly ask to return to my people: one does not come to the missions without an ideal, even if it might be called poetry. If it is only a question of ‘saving one’s soul’ or perhaps ‘to manage’, I ask that I might be allowed to save my soul in Madrid, where I have always felt at home. I will live with the remorse of having abandoned the most beautiful field of apostolate [I have ever seen]: but here I would run the risk of turning into a rebel.[[248]](#footnote-248)

A postscript sheds more light on what was going on in the heart. Pianazzi had informed him about the bad impression created by his ‘harangues’ during his recent trip through South India: confreres there felt he was trying to ruin India, because of his request to take Bro. Ferrer to the Philippines. Carreño’s comment reveals a certain regret if not hurt at the lack of gratitude on the part of the Salesians in India:

From Yercaud they write to me: ‘Very soon we will have 21 priestly ordinations for this province and 17 clerics ready for practical training,’ all for the province of Madras! Those priests are the ones I left as Latinists… in those days when I used to make raids on Malabar [to find vocations]. And now our asking, as we are beginning, the service of a coadjutor to help in the setting up of a House of Formation, amounts to wanting to ruin India! … If this is not the bitterness of ingratitude, it is at least amnesia. How much more grateful my Goans have proved to be![[249]](#footnote-249)

In a letter of *10 April 1963* to Fedrigotti, Carreño thanks him for his assurance that the neglect of the Filipino Salesians and the lukewarmness towards them would soon cease. He then reports Pianazzi’s (rather blunt) reply to the effect that the new novice master had been identified and that, as soon as he arrived, Carreño could return to Spain:

Don Pianazzi has also replied to me. I must say, however that writing to him as the one in charge of studies, I had added also that I was feeling that my attitude was beginning to be interpreted as a kind of rebellion (‘these fellows from India’… ‘these confreres who have just arrived’… or, worse still, ‘these fellows from Spain’…). I had therefore said to him that, having always been an unconditional supporter of ‘authority’ (perhaps I should have added ‘of Salesian “authority”,’ because it is true that with ‘diocesan authority’ I got into a lot of trouble), I would be very sorry to give the bad example of rebellion, not being able on the other hand to simply shut up and say nothing; I requested therefore that a saintly Master of Novices be sent; upon whose arrival I would request to return to Spain rather than scandalize the whole province. And Don Pianazzi responded to me that in fact the new Master would soon set out and that ‘as soon as he arrives, you can return to Spain.’[[250]](#footnote-250)

Given that the novitiate year would end 31 May, Carreño went on to ask “a last favour”: to return to Spain via the USA, so as to collect money to build the Chapel at Canlubang. It transpires that Carreño had already received, from the Curia of Newark diocese, a sum of $25,000 for the construction of the Chapel, but that money had been used to complete the construction of the Formation House. He now felt obliged in conscience to find the money to build the Chapel. He had 20,000 copies of a second edition of his Marian Meditations, and by distributing them in the USA he hoped to collect the sum required.[[251]](#footnote-251) Even when being seen as a rebel, Carreño continued to love “this beloved land” – the Philippines.

Carreño sent a copy of this letter to Pianazzi the same day, *10 April 1963*. In his note he said:

This time I will disappear for good in my Cantabrian mountains, and I will not give any more trouble to anyone. I don’t hide the fact that it will cost me to leave this land, with which one falls passionately in love at first sight – especially if the missionary is Spanish – but I am by now used to giving this kind of shock to my poor heart.[[252]](#footnote-252)

In the meantime, the vice province had become a province, and the first provincial was appointed: Fr Alfredo Cogliandro (1911-1992), who had earlier been in India and had now just finished his term as provincial in the USA. Fr Carreño came to know that Fr Cogliandro had already authorized the departure of the newly professed clerics for Hong Kong, even before he could come to the Philippines and without having spoken to the formators. Perhaps the order had come from the superiors in Turin? He decided, therefore, to write to the Rector Major himself, which he did on *5 September 1963*, asking Fr Ziggiotti to intervene in the matter. If the problem was the lack of philosophy teachers in the Philippines, he was ready to look for some in Europe. Sending clerics to Hong Kong was a stupendous waste of time, anyway, seeing that they returned without any certificate to teach. Further, in the Philippines minors needed the consent of their parents to go out of the country, but it was easy to intimidate parents in the name of God. And then, why deprive the young clerics from seeing their mothers? Why punish their parents by depriving them from seeing their sons? And why deceive them about the hope they had put in the Congregation? Carreño ended his letter by asking the Rector Major that he be changed and that another novice director be found in his stead.[[253]](#footnote-253)

In notes on the back of the letter – probably at the request of the Rector Major himself – Fr Pianazzi said that Fr Carreño was exaggerating his case. It was calumnious to say that the clerics who went to Cheung Chau got tuberculosis. On the other hand, it was true that the teachers there were weak in English and had no degrees in philosophy. It was also true that the British certificates granted in Hong Kong were not recognized in the Philippines. However, Pianazzi pointed out that the Philippines vice province did not have the personnel to run a house for philosophical studies. Manila did offer good possibilities as far as professors were concerned, but Canlubang was too far from Manila, and in Manila itself there was no Salesian house that could accommodate the students.[[254]](#footnote-254)

Impelido does not report Fr Ziggiotti’s reply, but remarks: “Turin would later heed Fr. Carreño’s proposal to have a college for the Salesians in the Philippines. But by that time, he was already resolved to return to his native Spain.”[[255]](#footnote-255)

## The ‘seminary college’ at Canlubang

When exactly did the “seminary college” begin in Canlubang? Impelido implies that this happened already in 1963, with Carreño’s first batch of novices – the ones who professed in 1963[[256]](#footnote-256) – and in his letters Carreño himself talks about beginning in June 1963.[[257]](#footnote-257) It would appear that he had purposely ‘neglected’ to have the novices prepare their passports, and so the seminary college had to be started – or at least that is what Fr Philip Lazatin says, going by what he heard from Fr Celestino Lingad and others.[[258]](#footnote-258)

In the seminary college of Canlubang, the young Filipino Salesians studied philosophy and also obtained a degree that would enable them to teach not only academic but also technical subjects.[[259]](#footnote-259) Carreño had visited the Department of Education in Manila to see the courses they offered, and had chosen Bachelor of Science in Education (BSE) and Bachelor of Science in Industrial Education (BSIE), at a time when all college seminaries in the Philippines, both diocesan and religious, were offering just Bachelor of Arts in Philosophy (AB Philosophy). His reasoning was that an ‘AB Philosophy’ would be useless in the Salesian academic and technical high schools.[[260]](#footnote-260)

In front of Mount Maquiling and 22 kms from the Taal volcano…, in the midst of sugarcane fields, arises our first Filipino Seminary in Canlubang. And it will not be the last one, please God! … even if… for me perhaps it will be. We began it in 1963. In other words, it has meant two and a half years of hard work… and all this without any official resources or help from any agency! This allows us to see that there is Someone who is in a more hurry than we are to prepare priests for this sweet Christian land that has been betrayed. Who is She? The same one who once whispered into the ear of the Good Master: ‘They have no wine!’ and who today goes on repeating: ‘They have no priests!’ Look at those millions of innocent children, those good mothers, those humble houses, those simple peasants who three generations ago were all Christians, thanks to the Spanish missionaries.... Today, instead, they cannot even receive you in the most holy Eucharist because there are no priests! Go, my Son: help your ministers multiply vocations.[[261]](#footnote-261)

So the ‘seminary college’ began in June 1963, and the first group young postnovices, it would seem, did a ‘double’ course consisting of ecclesiastical philosophical studies as well as BSE. Qualified teachers were obtained from the surrounding towns, but Carreño also managed to get an American De La Salle Brother to come over every week from Lipa City, Batangas – some 29 kms away – to teach English.[[262]](#footnote-262) As he himself had hinted – and we have seen that by April 1963 his request to return to Spain had already been accepted[[263]](#footnote-263) – Carreño did not see the first fruits of his project: the first graduates received the BSE or BSIE diploma in early 1967, by which time he had already left the Philippines.[[264]](#footnote-264)

In his letter (5 September 1963) to the Rector Major, Fr Carreño had also suggested that Fr Bellido send about 20 novices from Europe, as he had once done for India.[[265]](#footnote-265) Such an injection of young clerics from Europe would provide fresh blood. They could easily learn not only English but also the local language. They could even obtain Filipino citizenship if they wished to. And studying in the seminary college they would be qualified to teach in any Philippine school. Finally, a mixture of local and foreign clerics would be to the advantage of all.[[266]](#footnote-266) This wish found a listening ear in Turin, and young clerics began coming from Italy to Canlubang for the study of philosophy. The arrangement did not last for long, however, because of the travails of the Church in Europe in the immediate post-Vatican II period and the consequent decrease in vocations.[[267]](#footnote-267)

Fr Cogliandro, who had resisted the project of the seminary college at first, later saw the wisdom of such an initiative.[[268]](#footnote-268) On 10 July 1964 we find him writing to Fr Fedrigotti, in fact, saying that Fr Carreño was doing well as novice director and superior of Don Bosco Seminary College, Canlubang, and that they were expecting to have about 50 young Salesians, between novices and students of philosophy, in August 1964.[[269]](#footnote-269)

## Final years in the Philippines

We do not have much information about Carreño’s last years in the Philippines. However, a further insight into the generosity of his character is provided by the following incident. The provincial chapter had elected Fr Carreño as delegate to General Chapter 19 (1965), but he saw that Fr Braga, who had by then finished his term as superior of the vice province, was nonetheless keen on going to the Chapter, and so yielded his place to him. Fr Braga was, at the time, serving as confessor in San Fernando, Pampanga.[[270]](#footnote-270)

The third and last group of Carreño’s novices professed on 16 July 1965. Fr Giuliano Carpella, a confrere on loan from Hong Kong, seems to have arrived either in July 1965 or else a year later, on 14 August 1966, to take over as novice director.[[271]](#footnote-271) Since it had been decided that the aspirants coming from San Fernando would do two years of college and only then begin the novitiate, the novitiate had been suspended for two years. Fr Carpella was asked to take the job of music and Latin teacher. He became novice director when the novitiate resumed in 1967.[[272]](#footnote-272)

Carreño left Canlubang and took the flight to Spain on 24 July 1965.[[273]](#footnote-273) On 12 October 1965 we find him writing from Spain to Fedrigotti saying he was on vacation. He sends his filial greetings to the vicar of the Rector Major, informing him that he was doing what he could for the ‘seminary college’ in Canlubang, asking benefactors for funds to put up the necessary buildings. On his part, he reminded the superiors to send confreres to strengthen the work there.[[274]](#footnote-274)

So, did Carreño depart definitively from the Philippines in July 1965? There is some uncertainty about this. Celestino Lingad is of the opinion that he left only in early 1966, while Rico and Thekkedath say he remained till 1967.[[275]](#footnote-275) However, the novitiate chronicles of Canlubang do speak of Fr Provincial (Cogliandro) taking over as acting Rector after Carreño’s departure to Madrid on 25 July 1965, and of Carpella’s arrival in Canlubang on 29 July 1965.[[276]](#footnote-276) One thing is certain: José-Luis Carreño had loved this his third mission land as he had loved India and Goa, and perhaps even more. “I spent 30 years in India; but today I give thanks to God for having sent me to fire the last shots in the Philippines.”[[277]](#footnote-277)

# Coda: Last years in Spain (1965-1986)

Back in Spain, we find Carreño listed for the years 1968-1969 as a member of the Provincial House community “Casa Don Bosco” in Madrid. According to Rico, he worked in the Central Catequistica Salesiana, where he continued writing books and preaching retreats, which many Salesians remembered as the best of their lives. From this period we have *Perlas*, *Urdimbre en el telar* (Spanish edition), and *Salmos al viento* – the whole Psalter in verse, which he later put to music and recorded on ‘long playing’ discs.[[278]](#footnote-278) The Carreño who believed that we would get all the wisdom we need not from the study of books but in the Essence of God in heaven, was without doubt a prolific writer.[[279]](#footnote-279)

Many in Spain still recall Carreño visiting different Salesian houses, enthusing the young with his missionary enthusiasm, songs and music. Eugenio Ojer, for example, reports the following song:

*Si le veis con la barba florida,*

*si le veis tostadito del sol,*

*dad-le todos cordial acogida*

*porque es un misionero español. (bis)*

*Ya ha llegado el misionero,*

*ya llegó de tierra extraña,*

*y por fin cruzó el mar fiero*

*para ver el sol de España.*

*Una santa viejecita,*

*su retorno esperará:*

*Ya no llores, mujer; olvida tu ayer*

*que al fin ha vuelto ya*.

*Oh juventud, te vas – No volverás jamás;*

*Antes que pases me iré a Madrás.*[[280]](#footnote-280)

Later – perhaps in 1970 – Carreño went to the United States, where he worked for a while in the Mission Procure in New Rochelle.[[281]](#footnote-281)

We know for sure that he made a trip to India, at the invitation of Msgr Hubert D’Rosario, in November-December 1970: *Singladuras indias* is a travel diary of his visits to Bombay, Goa, New Delhi, Assam, Calcutta, Madras, North Arcot and Bangalore.[[282]](#footnote-282) The book was originally titled *Adiós a la India*, as can be seen from the preface by Archbishop Olaechea, but, as Carreño himself notes, it was changed to *Singladuras indias* at the instance of his missionary confreres.[[283]](#footnote-283)

Back in Spain in 1971, we find him once again in the Madrid Provincial House. In 1972 he is in Zaragoza, in 1973 in Valencia, and in 1974 in Pamplona.[[284]](#footnote-284) He seems to have distributed his time between his great friend Msgr Olaechea in Valencia, his sisters and brother-in-law (the sculptor Jorge Oteiza) and the Mission Procure of Madrid.[[285]](#footnote-285)

It was during his stay at Pamplona that Carreño thought of setting up, in Alzuza near Pamplona, the *Hogar del Misionero*, a house for missionaries who had returned home. Perhaps the *Hogar* was also meant to be a seminary for adult vocations who would be missionaries in Latin America, as Carreño himself says in *Singladuras indias*.[[286]](#footnote-286)

From 1974 onwards, according to Rico, Carreño preferred to live in the *Hogar* itself. The Elenco lists him as a member of the Pamplona community till 1977; in 1977 the *Hogar* at Alzuza was set up as an independent community with 7 confreres, though it was never canonically erected. From 1981 Carreño remained the only Salesian in Alzuza, so in 1982 the *Hogar* seems to have been put once again under the jurisdiction of the Pamplona house, though Carreño continued living there till 1985, after which, in the last year of his life, he went back to Pamplona.[[287]](#footnote-287) According to Eugenio Ojer, Carreño would go down every Sunday to Pamplona for lunch with the community, but he slowly distanced himself, probably because of the many discussions that his visits occasioned. There was already a growing distance between the missionary accustomed to attracting large crowds of youngsters and the new kinds of youth who frequented the Salesian oratories of Navarre.[[288]](#footnote-288)

According to Ángel Miranda Regojo, SDB (1938-), Mari Paz and Javier Azcárraga, a couple from Vizcaya, came to Alzuza to help Jorge and Itziar Oteiza and eventually also Carreño.[[289]](#footnote-289) The sculptor and his wife had come to live in Alzuza, at Carreño’s suggestion; their house is now the Museo de Jorge Oteiza.[[290]](#footnote-290) In the *Hogar* itself there were two young Chinese girls, Shiu-Chin and Margaret, as also Carreño’s friend, Eugenio Ojer Buil (1926-).[[291]](#footnote-291) Eugenio lived in the *Hogar* in 1978-1979, helping Carreño in various ways, and it was to him that Carreño entrusted the destruction of his personal correspondence.[[292]](#footnote-292) He eventually married Shiu-Chin. It was at his suggestion that Carreño had invited Shiu-Chin’s sister Margaret to the *Hogar*. Margaret Peng, who had been working in a travel agency in Calcutta, was welcomed warmly by Carreño and became the daughter he never had, helping him not only in the running of the house, but also, more importantly, in typing out the books that kept emerging in his head.[[293]](#footnote-293)

Michael Murray, whose help Carreño had tried to get in the USA for his fund-raising efforts, joined the Salesian community of Pamplona in 1979 and seems to have lived with Carreño in the *Hogar*.[[294]](#footnote-294) It appears that his situation had been regularized only in 1979 – thanks probably to the efforts of Fr Carreño.[[295]](#footnote-295)

Occasionally, Salesians from India and the Philippines would also visit the old missionary.[[296]](#footnote-296) Valeriano Barbero visited him in the summer of 1965 – soon after his return from the Philippines – and reports that he found him somewhat downcast.[[297]](#footnote-297) Lingad visited him first in Pamplona in the summer of 1983, and later in Alzuza.[[298]](#footnote-298)

Mari Paz – who was Carreño’s niece – and Jorge Azcárraga looked after him with great affection and generosity. Rico notes that the old man never used bedsheets, preferring to sleep wrapped in a blanket – it was his way of continuing to live the poor life of a missionary. The doors of the house were always open: whoever came had the right to enter, eat and sleep there, and to talk with Carreño. Very few missionaries, however, took advantage of the *Hogar*, and this was surely a cause of suffering to Carreño. He later added a wing for retreats and youth animation. Much of his time was spent reading and writing.[[299]](#footnote-299) He used to complain that Salesians had forgotten Don Bosco’s apostolate of Good Literature for simple people.[[300]](#footnote-300)

The old missionary had always been a prolific writer of popular books. Some of them, such as *G in M* ("God in a Mirror") – which he printed in the press of Don Bosco Panjim – were apologetic. Many were religious. Most were, however, for the humble purpose of fund-raising for the missions and especially for the needs of formation. In *Urdimbre en la telar*, after recounting humorously the many and varied ways in which missionaries try to find funds, Carreño concludes: “As for me, I have never been able to reach up to the standard of these apostolic financial wizards and have always found myself among the less imaginative back benchers, so that in the end I had to resort to writing books….”[[301]](#footnote-301)

Carreño not only wrote, but also encouraged others to write; evidence of this is his election as Patron of the Konkani writers association in Goa during his stay there.

Carreño was especially interested in the Holy Shroud. According to Ojer, he came back to Spain with three projects in mind: setting up a house for missionaries, finding vocations in Poland for South America, and promoting the cult of the Holy Shroud. Of the three, he was most successful in the last. He participated in international Congresses on the Shroud and, according to Ojer, wrote a book after each of them – the origin of his five books on the Holy Shroud. Many scholars and others interested in the Shroud would make the trip to Alzuza to discuss, exchange impressions and examine the full size copy of the Shroud and related memorabilia, such as the coin minted by Pontius Pilate that Carreño had obtained through the good services of a friend in the United Sates.[[302]](#footnote-302) A Jesuit described Carreño as the best ‘scientific popularizer’ of the Shroud in Spain,[[303]](#footnote-303) and one of his friends, J.J. Benítez, would publish *El Enviado* after a marathon night session with the old missionary.[[304]](#footnote-304)

Carreño was also a poet and a musician. The beautiful Latin hymn "Cor Iesu Sacratissimum" is widely attributed to him,[[305]](#footnote-305) and also "Siam Salesiani" / "We are Salesians." Among his more popular compositions in India was “Kotagiri on the mountain, Tirupattur on the plain” sung to a popular Spanish tune. Fr Giovanni Benna remembers also Fr Carreño’s prodigious memory: he could recite entire cantos of the *Divina Commedia* by heart.

About Carreño’s relationships with the authorities of the Salesian Congregation, Ángel Miranda says: “José-Luis’ relationships with the those who guided the Congregation was not very smooth…. [He was] profoundly Salesian! but with a common sense and creativity that went beyond horizons that were, more or less, ‘limited’….”[[306]](#footnote-306) However, in Alzuza, Carreño had the fortune of receiving visits from two Rectors Major: Luigi Ricceri and Egidio Viganò, the latter in 1985, when Carreño’s health was already delicate.[[307]](#footnote-307) According to Ojer, one of these, when asked for a blessing, seems to have said: “I bless you, but not your work.”[[308]](#footnote-308)

It is striking that in the 21 years of his last stay in Spain, Carreño was never entrusted with authority, not even at the local level, nor was he ever assigned to some formation house. Was this because he refused, or was it because he was never asked? His arrival in Spain in 1965 coincided with the conclusion of the Rectorate of Ziggiotti (Rector Major from 1952 to 1965) and the beginning of the term of Luigi Ricceri (Rector Major from 1965 to 1977), but we must not forget that Ricceri was a member of the General Council since 1950, and so would have been privy to discussions about Carreño.

21 years after his return from the Philippines, José-Luis Carreño died at Pamplona on the Feast of Corpus Christi, 29 May 1986, at the age of 81. At his own request he had gone to the infirmary at Martí Codolar, Barcelona. The house chronicle records his arrival on 5 August 1983, but it seems he did not stay there for more than a few months.[[309]](#footnote-309)

In 1982, on the golden jubilee of his priestly ordination, the venerable missionary had written on his souvenir card: "If fifty years ago my motto as a young priest was ‘Christ is All,’ today, old and overwhelmed by his love, I would write it in solid gold, because in reality CHRIST IS ALL."[[310]](#footnote-310)

The obituary letter was written by José Antonio Rico (1924-2008), former provincial of Madrid and general councillor for the Iberian region from 1977 to 1990.[[311]](#footnote-311)

Archimede Pianazzi, despite his differences with Carreño, paid him a glowing tribute: he was one of the most admirable Salesians he had known; he had infused a spirit of marvellous charity in the province of Madras; he was never heard speaking ill of anyone, not even of those who had made him suffer, like Msgr Mathias.[[312]](#footnote-312)

Luigi Di Fiore said that Carreño, as his novice director and provincial, had incarnated the *benignitas et humanitas* of the Lord and that he was an example of the Salesian superior according to the heart and mind of Don Bosco, a man capable of transmitting the Salesian spirit. So many vocations had been saved because of him, and so many Salesians were proud to call themselves his sons, he among them.[[313]](#footnote-313)

Archbishop Hubert D’Rosario described his novice master as “natural, honest, exacting, zealous, enthusiastic, hardworking and spiritual,” a man with an infectious enthusiasm for his vocation that he passed on to his spiritual children and co-workers.[[314]](#footnote-314)

The one discordant note comes from Basilio Bustillo (1907-1998): “I would only be sorry if the beautiful picture of a God-filled life were stained by the sad epilogue – charged with poetry, no doubt – of an incomprehensible lack of understanding of religious life.”[[315]](#footnote-315) Is this an allusion to the fact that Carreño, after his return to Spain, had not been able to integrate into the province and had made the choice to live by himself in the *Hogar del Misionero*? Perhaps. But confreres who knew Carreño have suggested, that it would be a pity to end the life of Carreño with this remark of Bustillo’s.[[316]](#footnote-316) So it might be better to give the last word to Iñaki Lete: “Let us not judge a man by his last years.”

# Fine

We have to be grateful to Maripaz Azcárraga for preserving the three late autobiographical writings of her uncle that we have been drawing upon now and then, and it is to these that I turn for a final word.

Clearly, the old missionary begins writing his “Codicil” with reluctance and only at the insistence of his confreres and friends: “When will you begin writing your memoirs?” “You have an obligation towards us. All these things that you tell us now and then must be compiled into a book.” “Not to do that would be a serious sin of omission.” He fully agrees with the great Dr Samuel Johnson that the best person to write a biography is precisely the one about whom it is being written. “But, my dearest and ingenuous friends,” he adds, “you forget that the most interesting parts of a biography are precisely those that cannot and should not be written!”[[317]](#footnote-317) We have been warned, therefore, not to expect to hear about certain things – “the most interesting parts” – in these notes. Of course, the fact is that the memoirs never went beyond the vocation discernment years, but even if they had, it is doubtful that the old man would have revealed much about the troubled times in India, Goa, the Philippines, Spain. He is not interested in “recounting facts.” He prefers to recount with humble gratitude the working out of Providence over the large canvas of life – and we have tasted a bit of this in the story of his vocation.

Interesting also is the declared abhorrence of soliloquies and the decision to write in a kind of ongoing dialogue with “Pepe,” who stands for the many confreres and friends of a lifetime – companions in his preoccupations, colleagues in his undertakings, witnesses to his failures, executors of his programs, beloved brothers.[[318]](#footnote-318) Perhaps Carreño did not realize it, but this rejection of the solipsistic monologue in favour of dialogue was a profoundly Christian option, seeing that the *life* that Christ gives us is a life of *communion*.

Striking for me is what Carreño says or fails to say about his father and his mother. The love for *amatxu* surges from the pen even at the age of 80, as does the loss contained in those searing words with which the “Codicil” ends: “¿*Por qué te has ido, amatxu?* Why did you go away?” The relationship with *aita*, instead, is more complex: the narrative is respectful as ever but always sober, and there are no encomiums of the type heaped upon his beloved *amatxu* and his revered grandmother. Did this have any effect on the man and his apostolate? He was fortunate to have found Salesians like Marcelino Olaechea and Alejandro Battaini who became fathers to him, and we know that he himself was *aita* to many Salesians in India and Goa, the Philippines and Spain.[[319]](#footnote-319) Perhaps the repeated differences with the ‘superiors’ have something to do with the early ‘clash’ with *aita*? We can only speculate. But I cannot help remembering Joseph Vaz reporting a phrase from the Alzuza years: “Hombre, superiors today are no longer fathers.”

Carreño says more than once that in those early days, in Santander and Campello – more or less the second decade of the twentieth century – it was not usual to talk much about Don Bosco, but that the superiors were Don Bosco for the young. We could say this about Carreño himself: he became Don Bosco for his confreres and for the young. Drawing inspiration from Benedict XVI, José Luis Plascencia has pointed out that Salesian *amorevolezza* is not only *agape* but also *eros*: it is love that is not content to remain ‘in general,’ but knows how to reach the particularity of the person.[[320]](#footnote-320) This was how Don Bosco loved. This is how Carreño was able to love. That is why we have the phenomenon of so many confreres remembering the formator, superior and missionary with such profound affection. His was not a general love for all, nor even a desire to ‘work’ for the missions. He was able to touch people as individuals in the concreteness of their lives, their families and their cultures. In this he is an outstanding model in a world that is increasingly multicultural. Di Fiore had said that, if left to him to choose the epitaph for Carreño’s tomb, he would say: *Dilectus Deo et hominibus* – Beloved of God and men![[321]](#footnote-321)

On the other hand, despite the warmth with which so many talk about José-Luis Carreño Etxeandía, if I am not mistaken, no one has so much as even raised the question of a cause for canonization. Canonization involves an outstanding practice of the virtues. Could we say that Carreño was outstanding in the practice of faith, hope and charity? Did the “vein of bitterness” that he mentions in his letter to Pianazzi grow stronger in the 21 years that he spent “back home,” “*prófugo de las Misiones*,” when he could have been doing wonders in India, the Philippines, the world over? I sincerely hope not, and going by the tenor of his final writings, I think not.

But perhaps it is time to stop worrying about individual perfection. If consecrated life is not so much about individual perfection as about revealing the Other, the only real question is, did José-Luis Carreño reveal the Other? Did he allow the love of God to flow out to those around him, even to those who were not easy or did him harm? Was he a sign and bearer of God’s love to the young, to his confreres, and to the many people God put on his path? That is the only question. And the answer, for me, is not in doubt.

*(Rome, 13 March 2024)*

1. Joseph Thekkedath, *A History of the Salesians of Don Bosco in India from the beginning up to 1951-52* (Bangalore: Kristu Jyoti Publications, 2005) 1375. (Joseph Thekkedathu [1928-2019], eminent Church historian in India, was provincial of Bangalore [INK] from 1984 to 1990.) Carreño’s maternal surname is sometimes rendered, even by Carreño himself, as Echeandía or Echandía. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. José Antonio Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* (Pamplona: Instituto Politécnico Salesiano, 1986); ET Jose A. Rico, *Father José Luis Carreño Etxeandía: “Worker for God”* (Madras: Salesian Provincial House, 1987). (José Antonio Rico Rico [1924-2008] was provincial of Madrid from 1972 to 1977 and general councillor for the Iberian region from 1977 to 1990.) My own little effort draws chiefly from Rico, Joseph Thekkedath and Nestor Impelido, as well as such archival material that I could lay my hands on. A very big word of thanks to Anibal Mendonca, provincial of the POR province, for sending me valuable material from the province archives, as also Thomas Anchukandom, Hendry Selvaraj, Joaquim Lobo, Mathias D’Cunha, and Vinod Mascarenhas for other archival material. Special mention must be made of three late autobiographical manuscripts that have been conserved thanks to Maripaz Azcárraga: “Codicilo,” “Santander,” “Campello,” and “La casa de Barakaldo en la historia de José Luis.” On the other hand, Carreño’s many publications deserve to be studied better for the information they provide about the author. I also want to thank many people who have generously shared their memories and other information: Eugenio Ojer, Mari Paz Azcárraga, Ángel Miranda Regojo, Jesús Arambarri, Orlando González González, José Antonio Hernández, Alfredo Marzo, Celestino Lingad, Valeriano Barbero, Philip Lazatin, Danilo Torres, Jordi Latorre, Timothy Zak, Michael Mendl. I have not hesitated to make use of their testimonies. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. At the time of writing, Thomas Anchukandom, Director, Istituto Storico Salesiano, Roma is, happily, also engaged in preparing a biography of Carreño. My own little effort arises from a deep and long-standing personal interest in the subject, and does not pretend to follow all the norms of scholarly history, though it tries to be exact to the extent possible. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. See José Luis Carreño Etxeandía, “Codicilo” MS 11-12, and also 12-13, 19-20. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. See Carreño, “Codicilo” MS 28 and “La casa de Barakaldo en la historia de José Luis” (MS of 18 pp dated 21 February 1985) 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. See Carreño, “Codicilo” MS 22-23, 31, 37. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* 23. See also <https://www.homines.com/arte_xx/crono_jorge_oteiza/index.htm> (18.03.2020). Itziar died in 1991 at Alzuza, Spain. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Cf. “Codicilo” MS 48. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Cf. “Codicilo” MS 50. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. A *caserón* is a large old house. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Cf. “Codicilo” MS 53-54. Pasquala, Carreño reports, had a humble job in the ancient baths of Villario, which she never thought of giving up (see MS 38). [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. “Codicilo” MS 22. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Jose Rico, “Jose Luis Carreño,” *The Memory of the Salesian Province of Bombay 1928-1998*, ed. Peter Gonsalves (Mumbai - Matunga: Province Information Office, Don Bosco Provincial House, 1998) 60. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. José Luis Carreño, *El pan que Cristo nos dio. Vivencias al resplandor de la lamparita roja* (Madrid: Editorial CCS, 1985) 14. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Cited in Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. “Pero no menos de diez días me había rondado el impacto de la terrible orfandad. Sentado en el amplio rellano de la escalera, no cesaba de repetir llorando: ‘¿*Por qué te has ido, amatxu?*’” (“Codicilo” MS 60). Carreño’s style is reminiscent French writer Marcel Pagnol’s poignant and restrained narration of the death of his mother in *Le château de ma mère*: “Cinq ans plus tard, je marchais derrière une voiture noire…. J’étais vêtu de noir, e la main du petit Paul serrait la mienne de toutes ses forces. On emportait notre mère pour toujours.” (Editions de Fallois, [2004] 213) [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. See “Codicilo” MS 24: “‘Ama’ never said a word to me in Euzkera, seeing that her Etxeandías came from Bilbao, Zamudio, Arrigorriaga….” [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. See “Bajo el Gorbea” MS 57-58. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. See “Bajo el Gorbea” MS 49-50. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. J.L. Carreño, “Relación New Rochelle – New (26.2.1976),” José Luis Bastarrica, *Los Salesianos en Santander* (Pamplona: Ediciónes Don Bosco, 1981) 134-135, cited in José Arlegui Suescun, “José Luis Carreño Etxeandia (1905-1986): Salesian Missionary Priest,” *Bosco Udayam: A Journal of Salesian Spirituality* 45/3 (2015) 13-14. See also Carreño, “La Casa de Barakaldo en la Historia de José Luis” MS 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Carreño, “Relación New Rochelle,” Bastarrica 135-136. See also Carreño, “La Casa de Barakaldo en la Historia de José Luis” MS 1. But how different this reading from that of Pagnol on the other side of the Pyrenees! Pagnol, after speaking in his restrained ways about the untimely deaths of his beloved mother, brother Paul and friend Lili adds: “Telle est la vie des hommes. Quelques joies, très vite effaces par d’inoubliables chagrins.” (*Le château de ma mère* 214) [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. José Pujol Fabrega (born 1882) was Rector of Santander from 1911 to 1921. He left the Congregation and joined the diocesan clergy in 1942. See Carreño, “Relación New Rochelle,” Bastarrica 137. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Carreño, “Relación New Rochelle,” Bastarrica 138. Miguel Blanco Fernandez was born in 1890 and died a missionary in Jauareté, Brazil in 1968. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Carreño, “Relación New Rochelle,” Bastarrica 142. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Carreño, *El pan* 16-17. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Carreño, *El pan* 19-20. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Carreño, “Relación New Rochelle,” Bastarrica 139-140. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. Carreño, “Relación New Rochelle,” Bastarrica 144. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. Carreño, “Relación New Rochelle,” Bastarrica 145. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Carreño, “Relación New Rochelle,” Bastarrica 145-146. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. See Carreño, “Campello” MS 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. Giuseppe Binelli was born in 1877 and died in 1935. He was provincial of the Madrid province in Spain from 1915 to 1925. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Carreño, “Campello” MS 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. See Carreño, “Campello” MS 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. Rico, “Jose Luis Carreño” 60. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. José-Luis Carreño, “La casa de Barakaldo en la historia de José Luis,” MS of 18 pp dated 21 February 1985. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. Carreño, “La casa de Barakaldo en la historia de José Luis” MS 6-7. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. His novice master was Fr Antonio Castilla (1874-1928). [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. Carreño, “La casa de Barakaldo en la historia de José Luis” MS 7-11. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. Carreño, “La casa de Barakaldo en la historia de José Luis” MS 15. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. Carreño, “La casa de Barakaldo en la historia de José Luis” MS 15-16. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* 5-6. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. See Marko I. Rupnik, “E se l’evangelizzazione chiedesse una novità nella vita consacrata?” at [*https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SOtf0ui\_Iyo&feature=youtu.be*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SOtf0ui_Iyo&feature=youtu.be) (as of 1 September 2020). [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. “*Omnia Christus*, Christ is All (Col 3:11)” was the motto at his priestly ordination, something that he could joyfully reaffirm on the golden jubilee of that ordination. At his funeral, the community of Pamplona chose to distribute what they considered one of his best works: *La señal* [*The Sign*] (1983), whose last sentence reads: “Our destiny is God and to him we go through Christ who is the Last, the Consoling, the Eternal SIGN. There at the end God awaits his prodigal children with open arms.” See Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* 2-3. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. Escursell-Ricaldone, 1928, cited in Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* 7. Ricaldone, born in 1870, was prefect general from 1922-1932 and Rector Major from 1932 up to his death in 1951. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. Arlegui Suescun 18. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. Rico, “Jose Luis Carreño” 60. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* 9. See also Lingad-Coelho, email and attachments of 27 March 2020. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. See Thekkedath, *History* 6-7. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. See Thekkedath, *History* 17-19 (arrival in Tanjore), 73-82 (departure from Tanjore), 92-101 (arrival in Shillong). [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. Thekkedath, *History* 108. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. See Thekkedath, *History* 12: “Till that year [1934] the prefect apostolic of Assam and the Salesian provincial of India were one and the same person, namely Mgr. Mathias.” [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. See Thekkedath, *History* 476-477, 481-482. Cinato was provincial from 1934 to 1945. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. See José-Luis Carreño, *Urdimbre en el telar (narra un misionero)* (Madrid: VOFISA, 1965) 14 and Thekkedath, *History* 519. Carreño refers to his companion as ‘Padre Amancio.’ [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. Carreño, *Urdimbre en el telar* 15. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. Carreno, *Urdimbre en el telar* 15. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. If “Proa hacia el Sur” is to be attributed to Carreño, we have some details of the voyage: it took place on the “Victoria,” in the week after the feast of Mary Help of Christians (24 May), and passed through the Suez Canal on the way to Bombay. The piece was published in *Acción Salesiana* (Valencia) n° 37 (1946-47). [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. Thekkedath, *History* 521. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. Thekkedath, *History* 519-521. According to the documents in the Archivio Salesiano Centrale (ASC), the date of appointment of Carreño as Rector of Tirupattur was 1 December 1934. He was confirmed for a second triennium (1 February 1938 to 1941) on 1 February 1938. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. Thekkedath, *History* 520. The Indians included Edward Rego, Eleuterio Fernandes, A. Bagavantha Raju, and Lazarus. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. Thekkedath, *History* 531. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. Thekkedath, *History* 1375. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. Cited in Thekkedath, *History* 1375. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. See Rico. Lingad remembers Carreño telling them the story of Hubert D’Rosario in the novitiate (Lingad-Coelho, email and attachments of 27 March 2020). [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. Joseph Vaz (1920-2007) belonged to the province of Mumbai (INB). [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. [Thomas Pamparel?], “Fr. Jose Carreño SDB (1905-1986).” The 5 page typescript was received from Maria Arokiam Kanaga. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. Rico, “Jose Luis Carreño” 61. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. Joseph Thekkedath, “The Starting and Consolidation of the First Salesian Work in Bombay (1928-1950),” *The Memory of the Salesian Province of Bombay 1928-1998*, ed. Peter Gonsalves (Matunga: Province Information Office, Don Bosco Provincial House, 1998) 36n99. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. Thekkedath, *History* 1376. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. See Thekkedath, *History* chapters 16-19. [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. See Thekkedath, *History* chapter 21. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. J.L. Carreño, *Urdimbre* (1) (Madrid: CCS, 1995) 31, cited in Arlegui Suescun 21. (This is a new edition of *Urdimbre en el telar* 1965, published now in at least four different booklets.) Thekkedath, however, speaks about a letter read out already on 8 December of the previous year, 1942, giving the news of the appointment of Fr Carreño as acting provincial (Thekkedath, *History* 548). This was probably an ‘arrangement’ that was to take effect in the event of Fr Cinato’s internment. A few days later the news of the internment order arrived. When Cinato and other Italian Salesians left for the camp of Deoli on 2 January 1943, Carreño took charge as acting provincial (see Thekkedath, *History* 548 and 783). [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. Thekkedath, *History* 548, and Arlegui Suescun 21. [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
75. See Thekkedath, *History* 790-791: Fr Berruti’s letter dt. 5 February 1945 enclosing the official document of appointment did not reach India. It was Msgr Mathias who, on 19 March 1945, announced the appointment to the confreres. [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
76. Thekkedath, *History* 1376. [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
77. Thekkedath, *History* 754-760. [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
78. I have removed Bombay from this list, because Fr Maschio bought the Matunga land and constructed the buildings in the early 1940s, before Fr Carreño was appointed acting provincial (1943). [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
79. See Thekkedath, *History* 934-944. The junior college was granted recognition by Madras University in 1952 (Thekkedath, *History* 938-939). [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
80. “Chi ha visto questa grande fioritura di opere con personale scarso e non sempre qualificato, si meraviglierà come sia stato possibile fare tanto in breve tempo. La risposta si trova in una altra grande qualità di Don Carreño. Come Don Bosco, egli sapeva valorizzare al massimo le persone che gli stavano dintorno. Credeva nel detto: ‘buttateli nell’acqua e impareranno a nuotare.’ È vero che ciò gli procurò anche delle noie e fallimenti come quando in cinque anni dovette chiudere due grandi scuole che aveva accettato forse senza ponderare sufficientemente le possibili implicazioni e difficoltà.” Testimony of L. Di Fiore (ASC D798). The two schools were accepted in 1947. The Salesians withdrew from Nagercoil in 1950, and from Trivandrum in 1951. For more details, see Thekkedath, *History* chapter 29. [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
81. The account he had set up in Spain was known as MISALMA (Salesian Missions of Madras). [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
82. Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* 27. [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
83. Cited in Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* 14-15. [↑](#footnote-ref-83)
84. Orlando González González to me, email of 25 May 2020. [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
85. Arlegui Suescun 21. [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
86. A. Marzo – J. Arlegui, Barcelona, 04.11.2012, cited in Arlegui Suescun 19-10. Regarding the hymn *Cor Iesu Sacratissimum* see below n302. [↑](#footnote-ref-86)
87. See, for example, Leonard Fernando, “Jesuits and India” (online publication 2016) 11

([https://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935420.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199935420-e-59 as of 13.09.20](https://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935420.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199935420-e-59%20as%20of%2013.09.20)), speaking about the Jesuits in India:

Today most of the members of these [Jesuit] Provinces and Regions are Indians, and in some of them almost all are Indians, though not all are from their mission area. But in the “old” Society, Indian vocations to the Society of Jesus were not encouraged. Between 1542 and 1773 there was only one Indian Jesuit—Pedro Luis from Kollam, Kerala. Pedro Luis began his novitiate at Goa in 1561, which lasted for three-and-a-half years. He pronounced his vows in 1565, and was ordained the first Indian Jesuit around 1575. After his death in 1596, no other Indian was admitted into the “old” Society of Jesus.

In the restored Society of Jesus, however, things were different. The Madurai Mission had Indian vocations from 1860s, and the Italian Mission in Mangalore and Calicut had vocations within ten years of their founding. In late 1890s, within a few years after their arrival, the missionaries in Ranchi Mission recruited local vocations from first-generation converts. This policy of recruitment of Indians as Jesuits increased the number of Jesuits in each Mission/Province, which enabled it to expand ministries to newer and larger areas. [↑](#footnote-ref-87)
88. Thekkedath, *History* 1377. See Thomas Anchukandom, “The ‘Kerala Element’ in the Growth and Spread of the Salesian Congregation in India,” *Ricerche Storiche Salesiane* 40/2 (2021) 353-361. [↑](#footnote-ref-88)
89. Cited in Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* 13. [↑](#footnote-ref-89)
90. Fr Cinato, provincial of South India, who had not been obliged to go to the internment camp, voluntarily asked to be interned in order to be able to accompany his confreres and share their sufferings. In the camp, Carreño writes to Ricaldone in 1945, the Salesians had been able to organize the processes of formation. Since the beginning of the War, 48 had been ordained for the Northern province and 65 for the South. See Carreño-Ricaldone, cited in Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* 15-16. [↑](#footnote-ref-90)
91. See Rico, “Jose Luis Carreño” 61. [↑](#footnote-ref-91)
92. Thekkedath, *History* 1377. [↑](#footnote-ref-92)
93. Thekkedath, *History* 1379. The South Asia region today (September 2020) counts about 2770 confreres, of which the largest part is in India. [↑](#footnote-ref-93)
94. Thekkedath, *History* 1377-78. [↑](#footnote-ref-94)
95. See Carreño, “Relación New Rochelle,” Bastarrica 134; testimony of A. Pianazzi, 6 July 1986 (ASC D978); and also “May 29. Fr. José Carreño. 1905-1986,” p. 114 (a 3 page article conserved in the ASC, written probably soon after Carreño’s death, and almost certainly published by the INM province mentioned in the first line. The piece contains excerpts from the testimonies of Fr A. Pianazzi, Fr L. Di Fiore, Fr Basilio Bustillo and others, many of which are also conserved in the ASC). Carreño says he was asked to be one of the four secretaries – though in the end two did not turn up, and most of the work seems to have fallen on Carreño himself. Thekkedath speaks of “the Plenary Council of Bangalore” at which Carreño was one of the secretaries, given his exceptional proficiency in Latin (Thekkedath, *History* 830). [↑](#footnote-ref-95)
96. Testimony of Pianazzi (ASC D978). This is confirmed by Carreño himself in Bastarrica 134: one of the participating archbishops addressed him as “ciceronianus noster.” There is no doubt that Carreño was a great votary of Latin: see, e.g., Carreño, “Campello” MS 7-9; the testimony of Basilio Bustillo (ASC D978); and also a brief letter of 1 August 1964 from Carreño to Pianazzi complaining about a mistake in Latin on the part of Salesian Pontifical Athenaeum, then newly entrusted with the care and custody of the Latin language: “Quasi contemporaneamente ci son arrivati il documento papale che fa della Congregazione Salesiana la custode della pura latinità e l’aggiunta immagine contenente nel riverso la parola d’ordine del R.M. della Congregazione Salesiana e nell’anverso questo insulto alla latinità ‘docete omni creaturae’!!” (ASC D978) [↑](#footnote-ref-96)
97. Thekkedath, *History* 825-827; 839-871; 1368-1379; and Thomas Anchukandom, “The Disagreements between Mgr. Louis Mathias and Fr. José Luis Carreño from a Historical Perspective,” *Ricerche Storiche Salesiane* 41/2 (2022) 261-289. [↑](#footnote-ref-97)
98. “Intelligentissimo, non era però amministratore, ma letterato e poeta e fu in questo che venne a un malinteso con Mons. Mathias, che era proprio il contrario. Occasione speciale del malinteso fu che un coadiutore uscì e don Carreño ne celebrò solennemente le nozze (lui Ispettore e Vicario Generale) in cattedrale. Mons. Mathias allora non volle più che fosse Vicario Generale. (Il fatto era avvenuto in assenza dell’Arcivescovo).” Testimony of A. Pianazzi, 7 July 1986, ASC D798. [↑](#footnote-ref-98)
99. Cited in Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* 13-14. [↑](#footnote-ref-99)
100. Thekkedath, *History* 1373-74. [↑](#footnote-ref-100)
101. Thekkedath, *History* 1378-79. [↑](#footnote-ref-101)
102. See Thekkedath, *History* 1378-79. [↑](#footnote-ref-102)
103. Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* 14. [↑](#footnote-ref-103)
104. See Carreño, “Codicilo” MS 30-34 where he begins: “De lo que nadie podrá acusarme, querido Pepe, es de que yo haya sido un *buen* *administrador* ya desde mis primeros abalorios,” and goes on to narrate a funny incident in his childhood when he exchanged a valuable object from his home for a paltry thing that he needed. [↑](#footnote-ref-104)
105. Thekkedath, *History* 1379. [↑](#footnote-ref-105)
106. Thekkedath, *History* 1379. [↑](#footnote-ref-106)
107. Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía* *Obrero de Dios* 16. But see: “In 1951, Fr. Ricaldone sent him [Carreño] to Spain to organize the movement of the Salesian cooperators. After 18 years in India this obedience was difficult for him, but he threw his whole enthusiasm into the new work.” (“May 29. Fr. José Carreño. 1905-1986,” no publication data, p. 114) [↑](#footnote-ref-107)
108. Thekkedath, *History* 854, 861-862. [↑](#footnote-ref-108)
109. See Ricaldone-Candela, 18 July 1951 (ASC F 188), cited in Thekkedath, *History* 865-866. [↑](#footnote-ref-109)
110. Thekkedath, *History* 857-860, 867-868. [↑](#footnote-ref-110)
111. See Thekkedath, History 853-871, esp. 868-871. [↑](#footnote-ref-111)
112. Ricaldone-Mathias, 14 September 1951, cited in Thekkedath, *History* 871. [↑](#footnote-ref-112)
113. J.L. Carreño, *Singladuras indias* (Madrid: CCS, 1974) 195 and 201. [↑](#footnote-ref-113)
114. Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* 17. [↑](#footnote-ref-114)
115. Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* 17-18. [↑](#footnote-ref-115)
116. Carreño-Fedrigotti, Pamplona, 4 April 1951; Ziggiotti-Carreño, Turin, 22 April 1952. See Nestor Impelido, “Father Jose Luis Carreño – *Dilectus Deo et hominibus*: A Salesian in the Philippines (1962-1965),” paper delivered at the East Asia Seminar on Salesian History – ‘Relevant Figures of the 20th Century in East Asia,’ 12 February 2019, Ban Than Phraphon, Sam Phran, Thailand (unpublished) 16. [↑](#footnote-ref-116)
117. See Thekkedath, *History* 854. [↑](#footnote-ref-117)
118. Testimony of Pianazzi (ASC D978). [↑](#footnote-ref-118)
119. Joseph Carreño, *A Brief History of the Province of St Thomas the Apostle, Madras* [Madras: cyclostyled, 1982 – see the library of the Istituto Storico Salesiano, Rome] 30. [↑](#footnote-ref-119)
120. Thekkedath, *History* 38. [↑](#footnote-ref-120)
121. Rico, “Jose Luis Carreño” 62. See also Thekkedath, *History* 39, which explains how Carreño and the Salesians found a very warm welcome in Goa. [↑](#footnote-ref-121)
122. Caetano Lobo, “Goa Salesiana” 4 (typescript of 13 pp. dt. 1961, POR archives, with note “received 29-XI-1961”). [↑](#footnote-ref-122)
123. For an account of the beginnings of the work in Goa, see Carreño, *A Brief History of the Province of St Thomas the Apostle, Madras* 29-33; Giuseppe Moja, “How wonderful thy ways, O Lord! An eye-witness account of the first Salesian presence in Goa,” *The Memory of the Salesian Province of Bombay 1928-1998* 37-54; and Thekkedath, *History* chapter 22. According to Moja 52, the work in Panjim had begun in 1946 with the tacit approval of the provincial, who at the time was Carreño. What Moja probably means is that there was no official permission from Turin. The *sanatio* seems to have been granted some time after the visit of Fedrigotti to Goa in 1949 when, according to Moja, he had come with the intention of closing down the work. [↑](#footnote-ref-123)
124. See Thekkedath, *History* 718ff. [↑](#footnote-ref-124)
125. Thekkedath, *History* 1382. See also testimony of Pianazzi (ASC D978). [↑](#footnote-ref-125)
126. Thekkedath, “The Starting and Consolidation of the First Salesian Work in Bombay (1928-1950),” 36n99. The Panjim chronicles give the date: 23 October 1952. [↑](#footnote-ref-126)
127. Lingad remembers that Carreño was writing this book when he was his novice director (1962-1963) and that he would read a chapter to the novices every day. (Lingad-Coelho, email and attachments of 27 March 2020) [↑](#footnote-ref-127)
128. Cited in Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* 18. [↑](#footnote-ref-128)
129. Cited in Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* 18-19. [↑](#footnote-ref-129)
130. See Panjim chronicles, entry of 14 November 1953, and Lobo, “Goa Salesiana” 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-130)
131. Lobo, “Goa Salesiana” 9. The school was blessed on 22 December 1954 by the Rector Major, Renato Ziggiotti, during his visit to Goa, in the presence of the patriarch, José Vieira Alvernaz, the governor general, Bernard Guedes, and the provincial, A. Pianazzi. [↑](#footnote-ref-131)
132. Lobo, “Goa Salesiana” 10. Lobo notes that *G in M* [*God in a Mirror*] received a good review in the Jesuit publication *Clergy Monthly*. [↑](#footnote-ref-132)
133. Vivian Andrews, drawing from his memory of what older Salesians had shared with him (note to me of 2 September 2020). [↑](#footnote-ref-133)
134. Valerian Pereira, email to me of 2 September 2020, reporting Joseph Vaz in 1997 at Divyadaan, Nashik – India. Valerian Pereira (1969-) belongs to the province of Mumbai (INB) and is currently working towards a doctorate in the area of Salesian history. [↑](#footnote-ref-134)
135. “1946: Panjim,” *The Memory of the Salesian Province of Bombay 1928-1998*, ed. Peter Gonsalves (Matunga – Mumbai: Province Information Office, 1998) 106. [↑](#footnote-ref-135)
136. Lobo, “Goa Salesiana” 9-10. [↑](#footnote-ref-136)
137. I have heard this from Romulo Noronha and Thomas Fernandez. Here is also the testimony of Joseph Vaz as reported by Valerian Pereira (email to me of 2 September 2020):

Fr. Carreño, knowing that the food provisions were running out and having been kept informed by the Economer that there was very little money left in the bank decided to do what Don Bosco would do ever so often for his boys. He (Fr. Carreño) spent an hour in prayer before the celebration of the Holy Eucharist. Soon after Mass, he asked the boys to spend 15 minutes praying for a special intention. He then made off to the Municipal Hospital to donate his blood and came back with enough money to buy provisions for the next two weeks. Fr. Joseph Vaz, who used to help the Economer of the House, knew that this scenario was repeated more than once by the Rector (Carreño), who felt that in the donation of his blood, he was an imitator of Jesus Christ who redeemed us on the cross by the shedding of His blood. [↑](#footnote-ref-137)
138. See n93 above. [↑](#footnote-ref-138)
139. Lobo, “Goa Salesiana” 11. [↑](#footnote-ref-139)
140. In conversation with Fr Nascimento Mascarenhas (1940-2008) of the Goa archdiocese. Some of the details mentioned above can probably be confirmed in the archdiocesan Annuarios: I remember Fr Nascimento showing me some of them. [↑](#footnote-ref-140)
141. Valerian Pereira, email to me of 2 September 2020. Vaz spoke at an event organized in Divyadaan: Salesian Institute of Philosophy, Nashik – India in 1997. [↑](#footnote-ref-141)
142. The 5 page report, dt. 24 October 1959, was written at the request of the Rector Major, and is accompanied by a letter from Monteiro dt. 30 November 1959. Armando da Costa Monteiro (1919-2005) was provincial of the Salesian Province of Portugal (POR) from 1956 to 1964 and visited Goa twice. The first visit was 21 January – 12 February 1959, and the second May-June 1960. See his report to Ziggiotti 2, and also his letter to the confreres of Goa after the events of 1961 (Monteiro-“Irmãos de Goa,” Lisbon, 4 May 1962). In his letter to the patriarch in Goa he explicitly declares his intention to accompany the new Rector, Pinho, to Goa, after the middle of May 1960: see Monteiro-Alvernaz, Vila do Conde, 19 April 1960 (POR Archives). [↑](#footnote-ref-142)
143. See Direção Geral do Ensino – Superior da Província Portuguesa da Pia Sociedade Salesiana, 5 March 1949 (POR Archives). [↑](#footnote-ref-143)
144. Thus far from the Monteiro report to Ziggiotti (24 October 1959). [↑](#footnote-ref-144)
145. Fedrigotti-Monteiro, Turin, 30 December 1959 (POR Archives). Strangely, there is also a handwritten letter of Ziggiotti to Monteiro of 14 February 1960 saying that the Goa question had to be resolved, but that since Fedrigotti and Pianazzi were away, he could not decide immediately. [↑](#footnote-ref-145)
146. The first choice had fallen on Carlos Reis Da Silva (b. 1919, secularized 1987), Portuguese missionary in Namaacha, Mozambique, who had expressed his inability to take up the post of Rector. See Fedrigotti-Reis, n.d., and Reis-Ziggiotti, Namaacha, 22 January 1960 (POR Archives). [↑](#footnote-ref-146)
147. Monteiro-Fedrigotti, Lisbon, 24 March 1960 (POR Archives). [↑](#footnote-ref-147)
148. Monteiro-Carreño, Lisbon, 24 March 1960. [↑](#footnote-ref-148)
149. Fedrigotti-Monteiro, Turin, 29 March 1960 (POR Archives). This is what, in fact, Fedrigotti had written to Reis, while searching for a substitute for Carreño: “noi c’intenderemo coll’Ispettore dell’India Sud, sotto il quale è meglio per ora che rimanga l’opera di Goa. Più tardi si vedrà.” (Fedrigotti-Reis, n.d. but before Reis’ reply of 22 January 1960). [↑](#footnote-ref-149)
150. Carreño-Monteiro, Goa, 1 April 1960 (POR Archives). [↑](#footnote-ref-150)
151. Guido Borra (1896-1981), member of the Superior Council from 1958 to 1967. [↑](#footnote-ref-151)
152. Monteiro-Fedrigotti, Lisbon, 4 April 1960 (POR Archives). [↑](#footnote-ref-152)
153. Carreño-Monteiro, Los Angeles, 29 July 1961 (POR Archives). [↑](#footnote-ref-153)
154. Lobo, “Goa Salesiana” 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-154)
155. Monteiro-Alvernaz, Vila do Conde, 19 April 1960. In his forthcoming visit in May 1960, the provincial says they could work out the details regarding the integration of the Salesian work [into the province of Portugal] in the spirit of the Concordat. See also Monteiro-Pinho, 14 April 1960, where he discusses matters pertaining to the house [of Panjim] and declares that he would not oppose any confrere wanting to return to the province of Madras, but that he would have to arrange to substitute them. [↑](#footnote-ref-155)
156. Panjim chronicles 1959-60 17: “visto 6-6-1960 / P. Armando Monteiro / Prov[incial].” [↑](#footnote-ref-156)
157. See below, n162. [↑](#footnote-ref-157)
158. Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* 19. [↑](#footnote-ref-158)
159. See “Governo-Geral. Repartição do Gabinete. Portaria,” *Boletim Oficial* II.21 of 26 May 1960. A copy of the ordinance was published also in *Aitarachem Vachop*, year XVIII, no. 22 (5 June 1960). (POR Archives) [↑](#footnote-ref-159)
160. “The Governor General Vassalo e Silva published an ordinance in the Bol[etim]. Of[icial] praising the work done by Mons. Carreño. He was ‘persona grata’ to Portugal and India, in the absence of the consul, for having taken an interest in the ‘satyagrahi’ prisoners (1955-59).” Lobo, “Goa Salesiana” 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-160)
161. Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* 19. [↑](#footnote-ref-161)
162. João Carreira Bom, “Missionário salesiano entre Nehru e Salazar. Como um ‘agente duplo’ pode ter jeito para a literatura,” *Expresso* (16 Julho 1977) 5-R. I have not had access to Carreño’s “Relación de mi visita a la Union Indiana.” [↑](#footnote-ref-162)
163. R.N. Sakshena, *Goa: Into the Mainstream* (Abhinav Publications, 2003) 30. In 1930, when Dr Tristão de Bragança Cunha established the Goa Congress Committee and affiliated it to the Indian National Congress, the Goan freedom movement adopted non-violent civil disobedience or *satyagraha*. *Satyagraha* was first offered in 1946 within Goa, resulting in repression by the Portuguese and deportation of some Goan leaders to prisons overseas. In June 1954, instead, a number of *satyagrahis* entered Goa from India and were arrested. In August 1954 hundreds of persons from all over India decided to enter the territory of Goa. The Government of India declared that it did not favour such a step, saying that *satyagraha* in this case should be offered by Goans themselves rather than Indians. The *satyagraha*, however, went ahead, with a number of *satyagrahis* entering Goa from various points. According to Sakshena, many of these were killed by the Portuguese armed forces. (Sakshena 28-31) [↑](#footnote-ref-163)
164. See Carreira Bom. [↑](#footnote-ref-164)
165. See Carreira Bom. Sakshena speaks only of the suspension of the money order service between India and Goa Portuguesa. [↑](#footnote-ref-165)
166. In Carreño-Pianazzi, 23 March 1962, Carreño speaks about his friendship with the head of the Praja Socialist Party and also to the head of the Communist Party in Bengal: they had both been prisoners in Goa “and therefore my spiritual sons” and he hopes to get help from them for permission from the Indian government to visit Goa. See also Carreño-Monteiro, 3 March 1962. [↑](#footnote-ref-166)
167. Carreira Bom. The “Relación” is dated 13 November 1956. [↑](#footnote-ref-167)
168. See the testimony of Pianazzi, 6 July 1986 (ASC D978). ASC 22 B015 describes Carreño as “resident in Goa” and “naturalized Indian citizen”: cf. Impelido, “Father Jose Luis Carreño – *Dilectus Deo et hominibus*” 1. Relying on the Don Bosco Panjim Archives, Thomas Anchukandom has pointed out to me that, in his letter to the Chancellor, Curia Patriarcal de Goa, dt. 21 January 1958, Carreño gives his citizenship as Spanish. [↑](#footnote-ref-168)
169. Carreira Bom. [↑](#footnote-ref-169)
170. Carreño, “Codicilo” MS 23. [↑](#footnote-ref-170)
171. Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* 19. The Carreira Bom piece does not contain this, probably because it reports only extracts from Carreño’s report. [↑](#footnote-ref-171)
172. Carreño, *Singladuras indias* 296. [↑](#footnote-ref-172)
173. Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* 19. In the light of Carreño’s report, the “unjustly” here probably refers to the suffering caused to ordinary Goans by the economic blockade, and not to the colonial question in general. [↑](#footnote-ref-173)
174. See Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* 19, and the testimony of Pianazzi (ASC D978). [↑](#footnote-ref-174)
175. Panjim chronicles, October 1954 3-6. [↑](#footnote-ref-175)
176. The *Mocidade Portuguesa* was a Portuguese youth organization founded by the right-wing Portuguese regime in 1936, inspired by the Italian Fascist *Opera Nazionale Balilla* and the Nazi *Hitler Youth*. Membership was obligatory between the ages of 7 and 14, and voluntary until the age of 25. The Panjim chronicles are full of references to the activities of the *Mocidade*, obviously compulsory for most of the students of the school. [↑](#footnote-ref-176)
177. Panjim chronicles, October 1954 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-177)
178. Lobo, “Goa Salesiana” 11. [↑](#footnote-ref-178)
179. “Necesitamos urgentemente poner en pie nuestro Aspirantado; y hay que tomar una decisión lo más pronto: cada año que pasa son casi un centenar de vocaciones que perdemos.” Carreño-Monteiro, Goa, 26 March 1957. [↑](#footnote-ref-179)
180. Pontes-Carreño, Lisbon, 13 November 1952. In fact, when it became difficult to send the aspirants to India for the novitiate, 3 were sent in 1955 to Portugal, the fare paid by the government, and 4 more in 1960. In a letter to the provincial of POR (Carreño-Monteiro, 26 March 1957, POR Archives), Carreño speaks of 4 candidates to be sent to Manique for the novitiate: 3 for the priesthood (Jose Maria Barreto, Jose Virgilio Coutinho, Albano de Melo) and one for the Brotherhood (Antonio De Silva). This was done with the prefect general’s encouragement (see Fedrigotti-Carreño, 15 February 1957 and 20 May 1957). Writing in July 1962, Lobo lists the following as having done their novitiate in Portugal: Cl. Albano de Melo; Cl. José M. Barreto; Coad. Antonio da Silva; Cl. Romulo Noronha; Cl. Oscar de Souza; Cl. Armando de Souza; Coad. Casimiro Sequeira; Cl. Alexander Faria; Cl. Fremioto Viegas; Coad. Frank Braganza; and Fr Olivio Miranda (“D. Bosco – Goa: Unas datas na Cronaca. Julho 1962” 3, POR Archives). [↑](#footnote-ref-180)
181. Monteiro-Fedrigotti, 18 June 1959. [↑](#footnote-ref-181)
182. “Como se recordará, en mi última a V.R. deploraba el hecho de que el Sr. Pe. Fedrigotti todavía se inclinase a mandar el Aspirantado a Bombay….” (Carreño-Monteiro, Goa, 1 April 1960). On the other hand, Lobo reports that, during that visit, Fedrigotti asked Carreño to first take some rest in Spain, and then proceed to the USA in order to collect funds for the construction of a new building for the aspirantate. See “Goa Salesiana” (1961) 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-182)
183. Monteiro-Carreño, Lisbon, 24 March 1960. Lobo notes that it was with the permission of Armando da Costa Monteiro, provincial of Portugal from 1956 to 1964, that Carreño had been planning to set up an aspirantate at Betim across the Mandovi river from Panjim. (Lobo, “Goa Salesiana” 11-12) Lobo’s “D. Bosco – Goa. Unas datas na Cronaca. Julho 1962” 3 (POR archives) speaks about the dream of Carreño and the POR provincial, Armando da Costa Monteiro (1919-2005), to build an aspirantate at Betim. [↑](#footnote-ref-183)
184. Carreño-Monteiro, Goa, 1 April 1960. [↑](#footnote-ref-184)
185. Don Bosco visited Barcelona in April-May 1886. [↑](#footnote-ref-185)
186. Carreño-Pianazzi, 6 February 1961 (ASC D978). [↑](#footnote-ref-186)
187. Michael Stephen Murray (1899-1981) was an Irish Salesian belonging to the Philippine province who had left the Congregation in 1975 and had spent time in the United States in an irregular situation before returning to the Congregation. Carreño had asked Pianazzi for his help: see Carreño-Pianazzi 6 February 1961: “La seconda parte della preghiera è la seguente: il mio vecchio amico Don Murray mi potrebbe essere di enorme aiuto – dovrei dire che io potrei aiutarlo alquanto – nell’avvicinare degli amici.” Murray and Carreño are listed as members of the Makati community in the Philippines in the years 1966-1968, according to information supplied by José Antonio Hernandez based on the “Elencos of the Congregation,” but this needs to be verified. However, so far as we know, Carreño left the Philippines in 1965: see section 9.4 below. [↑](#footnote-ref-187)
188. Carreño-Monteiro, New Rochelle, 27 March 1961. [↑](#footnote-ref-188)
189. See Carreño-Monteiro, South San Gabriel, 29 July 1961 (POR Archives). At this time it had not yet been decided whether to place the aspirantate at Betim or in Vasco da Gama. [↑](#footnote-ref-189)
190. Carreño-Monteiro, South San Gabriel, 29 July 1961. [↑](#footnote-ref-190)
191. Fedrigotti-Monteiro, 28 November 1961. [↑](#footnote-ref-191)
192. Med was provincial from 1958 to 1964. [↑](#footnote-ref-192)
193. See Carreño-Monteiro, 3 March 1962 (POR archives). [↑](#footnote-ref-193)
194. The granting of a third term, with the necessary permission from the Holy See, is dated 16 July 1958, and the document explicitly states that this term will end on 15 August 1961 (ASC). [↑](#footnote-ref-194)
195. See Lobo, “Goa Salesiana” 12: “Em 1959 pelo fatigante trabalho realizado, o Sr. Pe. Fedrigotti, Prefeito Geral da nossa Sociedade, apos a sua visita canónica, achou que Mons. Carreño devia repousar um pouco na Espanha, e podendo depois ir á América a angariar dinheiro para construir um edifício á parte para a aspirantado.” The Panjim chronicles 1959-60 3 indicate that the visit was in August 1959. Writing to Reis as a possible substitute for Carreño, Fedrigotti says that Carreño is finishing his term as Rector, and has need of rest, because after years of heavy responsibilities his nerves are frayed. “Intendiamo concedergli questo riposo; dopo il quale egli si occuperebbe di propaganda in Ispagna e in altri paesi per raccogliere fondi per la costruzione… di edifici moderni per la scuola di Goa…” [↑](#footnote-ref-195)
196. Fedrigotti-Carreño, 15 February 1957 (copy sent by Carreño to Portugal, probably to Monteiro) (POR Archives). [↑](#footnote-ref-196)
197. Carreño-Monteiro, Goa, 26 March 1957. [↑](#footnote-ref-197)
198. See the speeches of the Patriarch Dom José Alvernaz and of Dr Caetano Dias, President of the Cámara Municipal de Goa in “Homenagem significativa e merecida,” *O Heraldo* (17 May 1960) 2 pp. See also “Governo-Geral. Repartição do Gabinete. Portaria,” *Boletim Oficial* II.21 (26 May 1960) 393, reprinted as “Governo-Geral. Repartição do Gabinete. Portaria” in *Aitarachem vachop*, year XVIII, no. 22 (5 June 1960). (All documents from the POR Archives.) [↑](#footnote-ref-198)
199. See “Homenagem de Despedida,” [Portuguese], *Aitarachem Vachop*, year XVII, no. 20 (15 May 1960) 1. The second piece, “Pe. Carreño Bapa Amchia [Fr Carreño, our father]” is in Konkani and begins thus: “Ho mhoino soronk amcho mogacho Pe. José Carreño, Goaim Salesian Padrincho Superior, Europak veta [At the end of this month our beloved Fr José Carreño, Superior of the Salesian Fathers in Goa, goes to Europe]”: ibid. 3. The third, entitled “Pe. Carreño,” contains 5 poems in Konkani by various people: ibid. See also Lobo, “Goa Salesiana” 11. The piece in *Diario de Goa*, “Mons. Carreño” (29 May 1960) notes that Carreño would shortly end his term as superior of the Salesians in Goa. (All documents from the POR Archives.) [↑](#footnote-ref-199)
200. For the visit of Monteiro, see Monteiro-Fedrigotti, 10 December 1961, and also Monteiro-“Irmãos de Goa,” 4 May 1962 (both in the POR Archives). In the short period that Goa was under the Portuguese province, 1960-1962, five Portuguese Salesians worked in Goa: Fr Manuel Julio Pinho de Bastos (1926-1989), Rector; Fr David Bernardo (1934-), catechist; Jose Basilio, practical trainee; Bro. Manuel Martins, infirmarian; and Bro. Manuel Duarte, in charge of the festive Oratory (see Caetano Lobo, “D. Bosco – Goa. Unas datas na Cronaca. Julho 1962” from the POR archives). [↑](#footnote-ref-200)
201. Lobo speaks of his departure “nos principios de 1960” (“Goa Salesiana” 12), [↑](#footnote-ref-201)
202. See Carreño-Pianazzi, Barcelona, 6 February 1961: Carreño writes from Barcelona and says he arrived in time for the 75th anniversary of Don Bosco’s visit to that city in April-May 1886; Carreño-Monteiro, New Rochelle, 27 March 1961 (where he thanks the provincial for coming to the airport with “our Goan confreres”; presumably Carreño had visited Lisbon on the way to the USA, so the Goan confreres are therefore most likely those studying or working in Portugal); and Carreño-Monteiro, Los Angeles, 29 July 1961 (both in the POR Archives). That he asks Monteiro for a decision about extending his stay in the USA means he is still under the authority of the provincial of POR. [↑](#footnote-ref-202)
203. Fedrigotti-Monteiro, Turin, 28 November 1961 (POR Archives). [↑](#footnote-ref-203)
204. Monteiro-Fedrigotti, 10 December 1961. [↑](#footnote-ref-204)
205. Monteiro-Fedrigotti, 10 December 1961. [↑](#footnote-ref-205)
206. Monteiro-Carreño, 22 December 1961. If priests (Salesian confreres?) in Rome are unsympathetic, Monteiro hopes that those in Goa will be more sympathetic: “And if Portugal suffers in its flesh, what will happen to the good Goan Catholics in the near future? I hope the priests in Goa will be able to understand that the Church is also suffering a severe blow. I refer here to the young. The older ones will not let themselves be taken in by Nehru's promises. / And the noble work? I have been and still am apprehensive about the fate of our confreres and the aspirants and students. And the work under construction and the future aspirantate? I believe, of this I am sure, that the government of New Delhi will not be as generous as ours. But let us trust in God and in Mary Help of Christians.” [↑](#footnote-ref-206)
207. Fedrigotti-Monteiro, 4 January 1962. Pinho and Bernardo left Goa on 6 July 1962, leaving Fr Giuseppe Moja as acting Rector (see Caetano Lobo, “D. Bosco – Goa. Unas datas na Cronaca. Julho 1962” from the POR archives). Note that the dates of Pinho’s rectorate are mistakenly given as 1960-1963 by the Database Storico Salesiano, and as 1959-1961 in “1946: Panjim,” *The Memory of the Salesian Province of Bombay 1928-1998*. [↑](#footnote-ref-207)
208. Thekkedath, “The Starting and Consolidation of the First Salesian Work in Bombay (1928-1950),” 36n99. This long discussion about Carreño’s departure from Goa is bound to be interesting especially to those from Goa, because the archival material touches upon a critical moment in recent Goan history: the Indian military action and annexation of Goa and the end of *Goa Portuguesa*. I cannot resist including here a story narrated to me by Giuseppe Casti (Tocco) (1931-2022) who was catechist and prefect in Panjim from 1958 to 1965, and therefore also during the momentous events of December 1961. Casti narrates that all the inmates were sent away from the house, leaving behind only the redoubtable Fr Giuseppe Moja (1915-2009) along with (the mild) Fr Casti (himself). Moja had two guns, one somewhat more effective than the other. After barricading themselves, the two Salesians positioned themselves with their guns behind the door and waited for the Indian soldiers to arrive. In fact, after a while, there was a loud knock. Moja: “Try to come in and see what happens to you.” A voice from the other side: “Open the door, Father. I am a past pupil of Don Bosco Bombay, and I have been sent by my commandant to protect your house.” So the doors were opened, and the Indian army made sure that Don Bosco Panjim did not suffer in any way. [↑](#footnote-ref-208)
209. Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* 19. This piece, written after Carreño’s death, may be found in the POR Archives: “Mons. José Luis Carreño,” 1 typewritten p. dt. 1986. [↑](#footnote-ref-209)
210. Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* 19. [↑](#footnote-ref-210)
211. Cited in Arlegui Suescun 22. [↑](#footnote-ref-211)
212. Carreño-Pianazzi, 6 February 1961 (ASC D978). [↑](#footnote-ref-212)
213. Carreno-Monteiro, 29 July 1961 (POR Archives). [↑](#footnote-ref-213)
214. Impelido, “Father Jose Luis Carreño – *Dilectus Deo et hominibus*” 1. I have drawn much upon Impelido’s work, but, with access to the original correspondence, some of the judgments are my own. [↑](#footnote-ref-214)
215. Carlo Braga (1889-1971) served in China from 1924 to 1953. In 1953 he was sent to the Philippines as Rector of Victorias. In 1955 he was appointed delegate of the Provincial of China for the Philippines. In 1958, when the Philippines became a Vice Province, he was appointed its first Superior. [↑](#footnote-ref-215)
216. Lingad-Coelho, email and attachments of 27 March 2020. [↑](#footnote-ref-216)
217. ASC 22 B015 Propaganda for Vocations, VOFISA (= Vocaciones Filipinas Salesianas), cited in Impelido, “Father Jose Luis Carreño – *Dilectus Deo et hominibus*” 6. See Carreño-Monteiro, 3 March 1962, where he hopes to leave for Manila once he receives the necessary visa. See Carreño’s letter to Pianazzi (23 March 1962, from Madrid) where he writes that he would be leaving for Manila, d.v., on 25 March 1962. [↑](#footnote-ref-217)
218. Lingad recalls the arrival of Carreño at the aspirantate at Victorias, Negros Occidental, in April 1962 (see Lingad-Coelho, email and attachments of 27 March 2020). [↑](#footnote-ref-218)
219. See Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* 20. The intention to make this visit is announced in Carreño-Pianazzi 23 March 1962, and the visit itself is confirmed in a reference in Carreño, *Singladuras indias* 37: “Mi última visita a Goa había sido en 1962, cuando todavía había miliares de soldados y prisioneros portugueses en los campos de prisioneros…. / Me encontraba entonces en Bombay, de paso para las Filipinas…” In his letter of 17 March 1963 to Pianazzi, Carreño refers to a recent trip through South India: “Pochi giorni dopo la sua lettera, nella quale mi informava della cattiva impressione lasciata ‘dalle mie arringhe’ al mio passaggio pel Sud India, e del come la mia petizione di avere qui un coadiutore di TPT si prendesse come un voler rovinare l’India…” [↑](#footnote-ref-219)
220. Cited in Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* 21. [↑](#footnote-ref-220)
221. Impelido, “Father Jose Luis Carreño – *Dilectus Deo et hominibus*” 6. [↑](#footnote-ref-221)
222. Valeriano Barbero (1938-), several times provincial delegate for Papua New Guinea, served as practical trainee with Carreño in Mutinlupa and later in San Fernando and in Canlubang. He reports that the house in Mutinlupa had two floors, with the ground floor housing the chapel, refectory and various storerooms, and the first floor the dormitory, study and a small room that served also as the novice director’s office. The best eggs from the little poultry were sent to benefactors in Makati, the rest were for the community; and the same went for the mangoes. Food was expensive, and even baths were rationed, because they had to pay for the water from the pump. The young assistant of novices (Barbero) tried to change things, and Carreño did not interfere. It was a time of change, from the previous novice director, Vincenzo Ricaldone, to the new one (Carreño), and from the ‘Chinese’ mentality of Salesians who had been missionaries in China, to the more open mentality of Carreño. See Barbero-Coelho, email of 18 April 2020. [↑](#footnote-ref-222)
223. Lingad notes that the novitiate began on 30 May 1962 at Mutinlupa (see Lingad-Coelho, email and attachments of 27 March 2020). [↑](#footnote-ref-223)
224. See Carreño-Pianazzi, 8 January 1963 and Impelido, “Father Jose Luis Carreño – *Dilectus Deo et hominibus*” 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-224)
225. “Qualcuno criticò don Carreño che era per il suo modo di fare così libero che due o tre novizi non fecero la professione. Del senno di poi capì chi erano quelli che non fecero la professione e furono invitati ad andarsene: gli orgogliosi, quelli proprio pieni dei sé, e chi era più femmina che maschio. Tipi di persone queste che don Carreño non poteva digerire, anche se presentati al noviziato da santi confratelli.” Barbero-Coelho 18 April 2020. [↑](#footnote-ref-225)
226. Impelido, “Father Jose Luis Carreño – *Dilectus Deo et hominibus*” 6-7. The date of appointment in the documents in the ASC is 7 April 1964, and the term is stated to end 15 August 1967. [↑](#footnote-ref-226)
227. 10 in 1962-1963, of whom 5 professed; 8 in 1963-1964, of whom 7 professed; 15 in 1964-1965, of whom 14 professed. According to a study made by Philip Lazatin (FIS province, Philippines) in 2019, 9 of these persevered: Jose Ferrer, Genaro Gegantoni, Celestino Lingad (professed 1963); Aguedo Palomo (professed 1964); Jaime Carmona, Vicente Cervania, Emiliano Santos, Hilario Tamonan, Danilo Torres (professed 1965). [↑](#footnote-ref-227)
228. From conversations with Fr Benna in 2018. See also Impelido, “Father Jose Luis Carreño – *Dilectus Deo et hominibus*” 17. Fr Giovanni Benna (born 1933, Chieri, Italy; died Valdocco, 2018), missionary in the Philippines from 1961 to 1998, and, upon his return to Italy, in charge of the Filipino chaplaincy, San Giovanni Evangelista, Turin, from 1998-2018. [↑](#footnote-ref-228)
229. Carreño-Fedrigotti, Madrid, 12 October 1965. Impelido, “Father Jose Luis Carreño – *Dilectus Deo et hominibus*” 16-17. [↑](#footnote-ref-229)
230. Rico, *Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* 21. The ASC contain two handwritten pages, possibly by Carreño, on the VOFISA letterhead, a kind of appeal to benefactors. [↑](#footnote-ref-230)
231. See Lingad-Coelho, email and attachments of 27 March 2020. [↑](#footnote-ref-231)
232. Testimony of Don José Bernacer, 26 August 1986, cited in Impelido, “Father Jose Luis Carreño – *Dilectus Deo et hominibus*” 18. See also Barbero-Coelho, email of 18 April 2020: “La sua mentalità indiana non trovava posto in quella cinese da lui descritta come un essere imprigionata dalla Grande Muraglia.” [↑](#footnote-ref-232)
233. Lingad reports that, shortly before the end of his novitiate year (i.e., before June 1963), Fr Braga came to San Fernando to see Fr Carreño, telling him “to prepare the boys [novices]” for philosophy in Cheung Chau, Hong Kong. Fr Carreño seems to have objected immediately: “What? Send our young men to the land of Confucius to study scholastic philosophy?... Look, Father, just now, because you have the cassock, you can do anything you want in your own school. But the time is coming that not even in your own schools [will you be able to do] anything without the *papelito* – the diploma!” In fact, Leo Drona, later bishop, had come back with a Hong Kong diploma in mathematics, and Felicisimo Juan in physics, but these were not recognized as valid in the Philippines. (See Lingad-Coelho, email and attachments of 27 March 2020) [↑](#footnote-ref-233)
234. See Impelido, “Father Jose Luis Carreño – *Dilectus Deo et hominibus*” p. 8 and the testimony of Luigi Di Fiore cited in Impelido, “Father Jose Luis Carreño – *Dilectus Deo et hominibus*” 18. [↑](#footnote-ref-234)
235. See the testimony of Di Fiore (ASC D978). [↑](#footnote-ref-235)
236. See Impelido, “The Salesians in the Philippines (1951-1963): ‘Dove la nostra opera vi era nata… già adulta,” *Ricerche Storiche Salesiane* 23/2 (2004) 451-452. [↑](#footnote-ref-236)
237. ASC F163 Filippine: Corrispondenza (Cogliandro-Fedrigotti, Makati, 4 October 1963); see Impelido, “The Salesians in the Philippines (1951-1963)” 452. [↑](#footnote-ref-237)
238. Fr Ferdinando Rossotto (born in 1920) left the Salesians in 1959 to join a diocese. [↑](#footnote-ref-238)
239. See Nestor Impelido, *Salesians in the Philippines: Establishment and development from delegation to Province (1951-1963)*, Studi: Istituto Storico Salesiano, Roma, 24 (Roma: LAS, 2007) 284, and Impelido, “Father Jose Luis Carreño – *Dilectus Deo et hominibus*” 5n29. [↑](#footnote-ref-239)
240. Impelido, *Salesians in the Philippines* 285. [↑](#footnote-ref-240)
241. The phrase had actually been used by Braga writing to the Rector Major, Fr Ricaldone: “è necessario avere subito uno sfogo.” ASC F158 Cina: Corrispondenza (Braga-Ricaldone, Hong Kong, 29 marzo 1951). Cited in Impelido, “The Salesians in the Philippines (1951-1963)” 442n69. [↑](#footnote-ref-241)
242. Carreño-Pianazzi, San Fernando, 8 January 1963; seeImpelido, “Father Jose Luis Carreño – *Dilectus Deo et hominibus*” 7-9. [↑](#footnote-ref-242)
243. Bro Julio Ferrer Mora (born 1921) eventually left the Congregation, in 1966. [↑](#footnote-ref-243)
244. Carreño-Pianazzi, San Fernando, 5 February 1963. [↑](#footnote-ref-244)
245. This letter is mentioned in Carreño-Fedrigotti, San Fernando, 4 March 1963. Impelido, “Father Jose Luis Carreño – *Dilectus Deo et hominibus*” 9-12. [↑](#footnote-ref-245)
246. See Impelido, “Father Jose Luis Carreño – *Dilectus Deo et hominibus*” 9-10, 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-246)
247. “Except for Cebu, which began as a work for street-children but which later ended up to become a school, the majority of the Salesian works in the Philippines commenced as schools.” Impelido, “The Salesians in the Philippines (1951-1963)” 441. [↑](#footnote-ref-247)
248. Carreño-Pianazzi, 17 March 1963. See also Impelido, “Father Jose Luis Carreño – *Dilectus Deo et hominibus*” 12-13. [↑](#footnote-ref-248)
249. Carreño-Pianazzi, 17 March 1963. [↑](#footnote-ref-249)
250. Carreño-Fedrigotti, San Fernando, 10 April 1963. [↑](#footnote-ref-250)
251. Carreño-Fedrigotti, San Fernando, 10 April 1963. See Impelido, “Father Jose Luis Carreño – *Dilectus Deo et hominibus*” 14. [↑](#footnote-ref-251)
252. Carreño-Pianazzi, San Fernando, 10 April 1963. [↑](#footnote-ref-252)
253. Carreño-Ziggiotti, Canlubang, 5 September 1963. Impelido, “Father Jose Luis Carreño – *Dilectus Deo et hominibus*” 14-16. [↑](#footnote-ref-253)
254. Impelido, “Father Jose Luis Carreño – *Dilectus Deo et hominibus*” 15-16. [↑](#footnote-ref-254)
255. Impelido, “Father Jose Luis Carreño – *Dilectus Deo et hominibus*” 16. [↑](#footnote-ref-255)
256. Impelido speaks of the first Filipino Salesians who were never sent outside of the Philippines for their initial formation, and mentions Fr Celestino Lingad and Fr Genaro Gegantoni, who belonged to the 6th batch of novices (Carreño’s first), and Fr Aguedo Palomo of the 7th batch (Carreño’s second). See “The Salesians in the Philippines (1951-1963)” 430 and n6. Lingad confirms this in Lingad-Coelho, email and attachments of 27 March 2020. According to the “Database Storico Anagrafico” of the Salesian Congregation, the ‘activity’ of what was to become the “Canlubang – Postnovitiate” (dedicated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus) began on 12 August 1963. The house was canonically erected on 15 May 1964. [↑](#footnote-ref-256)
257. See Carreño-Pianazzi, San Fernando Pampanga, 5 February 1963. See also Lingad-Coelho, email and attachments of 27 March 2020. [↑](#footnote-ref-257)
258. See Lazatin-Coelho, email of 9 March 2020. [↑](#footnote-ref-258)
259. Impelido, “Father Jose Luis Carreño – *Dilectus Deo et hominibus*” 20. [↑](#footnote-ref-259)
260. Lingad-Coelho, email and attachments of 27 March 2020. [↑](#footnote-ref-260)
261. Cited in Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* 21-22. [↑](#footnote-ref-261)
262. Lingad-Coelho, email and attachments of 27 March 2020. [↑](#footnote-ref-262)
263. See above, section 9.2. [↑](#footnote-ref-263)
264. Lingad-Coelho, email and attachments of 27 March 2020. [↑](#footnote-ref-264)
265. Modesto Bellido (1902-1993), general councillor in charge of the missions. See Impelido, “The Salesians in the Philippines (1951-1963)”448. [↑](#footnote-ref-265)
266. Carreño-Ziggiotti, Canlubang, 5 September 1963. See Impelido, “The Salesians in the Philippines (1951-1963)” 455. [↑](#footnote-ref-266)
267. Pietro Uras, Giuseppe Zucchelli and Ovidio Zaccheddu arrived in 1964. Others had arrived earlier as practical trainees (Felice Furlan, Giuliano Venturini, Pierluigi Zuffetti, Giovanni Arienti), but practically all of them returned to Italy for their theological studies. See Impelido, “The Salesians in the Philippines (1951-1963)” 455. [↑](#footnote-ref-267)
268. Impelido, “The Salesians in the Philippines (1951-1963)” 454. [↑](#footnote-ref-268)
269. ASC F163 Filippine: Corrispondenza (Cogliandro-Fedrigotti, San Fernando, 10 July 1964), cited in Impelido, “The Salesians in the Philippines (1951-1963)” 455. [↑](#footnote-ref-269)
270. See ASC F163 Filippine: Corrispondenza (Cogliandro-Ziggiotti, Makati, 9 December 1963), cited in Nestor Impelido, “The Salesians in the Philippines (1951-1963)” 448. Cogliandro himself writes that the confessor [Braga] was eager to participate in the General Chapter after the one elected had given way to him. [↑](#footnote-ref-270)
271. The dates are both from the house chronicle, now in the novitiate at Lawaan, Cebu City (thanks to Philip Lazatin for this information). [↑](#footnote-ref-271)
272. Telephone interview by Nestor Impelido with Danilo Torres, Superior of Tuloy sa Don Bosco Street Children Village, Manila, 24 March 2020. This information could be checked in the FIN archives and against the house chronicle of Canlubang – postnovitiate. [↑](#footnote-ref-272)
273. See Braga-Massimino 29 July 1965 in *Carlo Braga. Lettere scelte*, ed. Remo Bracchi (Roma: LAS, 2017) 749-750). Fr Braga, returning from General Chapter 19, reports that Fr Carreño left Manila the day before he arrived from Rome. Braga had arrived in Manila on 25 July 1965, so Carreño must have left 24 July 1965. (I thank Nestor Impelido for this reference.) This is confirmed also by the novitiate chronicles (thanks to Philip Lazatin for this information). [↑](#footnote-ref-273)
274. Carreño-Fedrigotti, Madrid, 12 October 1965. Impelido, “Father Jose Luis Carreño – *Dilectus Deo et hominibus*” 16-17. [↑](#footnote-ref-274)
275. See Lingad-Coelho, email and attachments of 27 March 2020; Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* 20; and Thekkedath, “The Starting and Consolidation of the First Salesian Work in Bombay (1928-1950),” 36n99. Rico and Thekkedath are perhaps relying on the document of appointment of Carreño as Rector of Canlubang, which states that his first term would end 15 August 1967. [↑](#footnote-ref-275)
276. See Canlubang Novitiate Chronicles (now held in the Novitiate, Lawaan; information supplied by Philip Lazatin), entries for 24, 26 and 29 July 1965. [↑](#footnote-ref-276)
277. See the undated two page note on the VOFISA (Vocaciones Filipinas Salesianas) letterhead bearing two addresses, Madrid and Canlubang (ASC D978). Since Carreño presents himself as Rector of Canlubang, this is certainly from 1964 or later. In his testimony Pianazzi writes: “Una cosa che rimarcai in lui: amò sempre il luogo dove fu mandato. Quando fu a Madras, la missione di Madras era la migliore del mondo e (scherzando) sottovalutava l’Assam e Goa. Quando fu a Goa, non vi era nulla al mondo migliore di Goa. Quando andò nelle Filippine… passò per l’Ispettoria magnificando le Filippine e invitando a andar là dall’India.” [↑](#footnote-ref-277)
278. Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* 23. [↑](#footnote-ref-278)
279. See Carreño, “Relación New Rochelle,” Bastarrica 135. [↑](#footnote-ref-279)
280. See Ojer, “José Luis Carreño Etxeandía,” sent to me 12 April 2020. Rough translation: “If you see him with a flowing beard, / if you see him roasted in the sun, / give him a warm welcome / because he is a missionary from Spain. / The missionary has arrived, / he has arrived from far away, / he even crossed the wild seas / to see the sun of Spain. / A holy old woman, / will await your return: / Don’t cry any more, my lady; forget your yesterday / that has finally returned. / O youth, you go – You will never return; / Before you come back, / I will go to Madras.” [↑](#footnote-ref-280)
281. Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* 23. According to the Elenco (of the Madrid province?), this was in 1970 (information supplied by José Antonio Hernández). Carreño’s contribution to Bastarrica’s book on Santander, dated 26 February 1976, has him writing from New Rochelle: “I am almost at the end of my sojourn in America…” (Carreño, “Relación New Rochelle,” Bastarrica 135), but since Carreño went several times to the US in search of funds, it is not possible to draw any conclusions from this. [↑](#footnote-ref-281)
282. José Luis Carreño Etxeandía, *Singladuras indias* (Madrid: Central Catequistica Salesiana, 1974). While the chapters contain indications about days and months, the year (1970) is given only casually on p. 4 and with the map of India on the page before the Table of Contents. The information that Carreño had been invited by Msgr Huberto D’Rosario is given by Ignacio Rubio on the inside front cover of some copies of the book. [↑](#footnote-ref-282)
283. See Carreno, *Singladuras indias* 1-2. [↑](#footnote-ref-283)
284. Information provided by José Antonio Hernandez from the “Elencos of the Salesian Congregation.” [↑](#footnote-ref-284)
285. Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* 23. [↑](#footnote-ref-285)
286. Archbishop Olaechea had made an appeal for funds for a seminary for adult vocations who would be apostles in Latin America. In a note, Carreño says: “ese Hostal para Vocaciones Adultas Misioneras… existe ya… y se llama HOGAR DEL MISIONERO, Alzuza (Navarra).” (*Singladuras indias* 2) [↑](#footnote-ref-286)
287. Among the Salesians who lived with Carreño were Michael Murray (1978-1980) and Eugenio Ojer (1978-1979). See information provided by José Antonio Hernandez from the “Elencos of the Salesian Congregation.” [↑](#footnote-ref-287)
288. “Don José Luis sigue en contacto con los salesianos de Pamplona y baja todos los domingos a comer con la Comunidad. Pero poco a poco se distancia. Tiene a veces fuertes discusiones con ellos y casi siempre acaba con hambre, pues quien más quien menos tiene alguna pregunta para este hombre sabio que vive en la montaña. Y ellos saben que el estilo salesiano del misionero que arrastraba masas de jóvenes no es el mismo que el de los patios salesianos de Navarra, donde alguna vez se oyen blasfemias. Eso me lo dijo a mí, con mucho dolor.” Ojer, “José Luis Carreño Etxeandía,” 12 April 2020. [↑](#footnote-ref-288)
289. Miranda notes that Maripaz Azcárraga has a manuscript of Fr Carreño’s: “Me dice Mari Paz que tiene el original de algo que estaba escribiendo sobre sus vivencias….” (Ángel Miranda Regojo – José Antonio Hernández, email of 18 March 2020). This manuscript is the autobiographical matter referred to in n2 above. [↑](#footnote-ref-289)
290. Ángel Miranda Regojo – Francisco Santos, email of 19 March 2020. Ojer comments: without intending it, Oteiza had thus put the little village of Alzuza on the map of Navarre. See his “José Luis Carreño Etxeandía” (12 April 2020). [↑](#footnote-ref-290)
291. Eugenio Ojer Buil (1926-) made his first profession as a Salesian in 1943, and, being sent as a missionary to India, was ordained in Shillong in 1953. He left the Congregation in 1986. [↑](#footnote-ref-291)
292. “Don Luis mandó quemar su archivo de correspondencia con el Consejo General, etc…” (Ángel Miranda Regojo – José Antonio Hernández, email of 18 March 2020). “Eugenio Ojer era el hombre de confianza de Don Carreño, cuando fue salesiano y tras dejar la Congregación. Come dice Ángel Miranda, don Carreño le confió la destrucción.” (José Antonio Hernández – Ivo Coelho, email of 18 March 2020). “Viven los dos [Ojer y su mujer] y siguen en contacto con la presencia salesiana, un poco como ‘administrador’ de los donativos que busca Alfredo Marco, misionero navarro en India.” (Ángel Miranda Regojo – Francisco Santos, email of 19 March 2020) There is truth, therefore, in the story often told about Carreño burning sackloads of letters after the visit of an Indian Salesian who wanted to write his biography and had asked for his correspondence. The Salesian in question was, I imagine, Thomas Pamparel (1930-2016). [↑](#footnote-ref-292)
293. Margaret later immigrated to Australia, where she was able to bring over her mother and brothers. See Ojer, “José Luis Carreño Etxeandía,” 12 April 2020. [↑](#footnote-ref-293)
294. This is confirmed also by Ojer, “José Luis Carreño Etxeandía,” 12 April 2020. [↑](#footnote-ref-294)
295. See the “Database Storico Anagrafico” of the Salesian Congregation, as of 27 March 2020, and also information received from Nestor Impelido. [↑](#footnote-ref-295)
296. See Ojer, “José Luis Carreño Etxeandía,” 12 April 2020. [↑](#footnote-ref-296)
297. “Lo incontrai l'ultima volta in Spagna nell'estate del 1965. Mi sembrava un poco abbattuto. Aveva lasciato le Filippine o era stato mandato via perché, come diceva un Superiore di Torino ‘don Carreño è un poeta’ che viveva fuori dalla realtà? o che era una persona nata troppo presto per il suo tempo e quindi disturbava?” Barbero-Coelho, 18 April 2020. [↑](#footnote-ref-297)
298. Lingad-Coelho, email and attachments of 27 March 2020. [↑](#footnote-ref-298)
299. Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* 23-24. [↑](#footnote-ref-299)
300. Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* 26. [↑](#footnote-ref-300)
301. Carreno, *Urdimbre en el telar* 21. [↑](#footnote-ref-301)
302. In “Codicilo” MS 13 Carreño makes mention of the coin that had been laid on the eyes of the dead Jesus. [↑](#footnote-ref-302)
303. Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* 25. [↑](#footnote-ref-303)
304. Ojer, “José Luis Carreño Etxeandía,” 12 April 2020. See J.J. Benitez, *Un as en la manga de Dios*, which carries the dedication: “A la memoria de José Luis Carreño, que me llevó de la mano (pacientemente) en aquellos años setenta.” And again Benitez: “Fui el último en imaginar lo que iba a representar aquel encuentro con José Luis Carreño y con la imagen de la Sábana Santa. ¿Un encuentro casual? En absoluto. De ahí nacería uno de mis grandes objetivos: investigar y difundir la vida y el pensamiento de Jesús de Nazaret. Y fue aquel sabio navarro –el salesiano José Luis Carreño– quien me proporcionó el bautismo de fuego. Que Dios lo bendiga.” [↑](#footnote-ref-304)
305. The *Atti del Capitolo Superiore della Pia Società Salesiana* Anno 17, n. 78 (24 novembre 1936) 65-66 speak of this hymn as having been composed by Fr Francesco Cerruti (1844-1917) and blessed by Don Rua on his deathbed. According to the letter of the provincial of INM, the prayer “was set to music by Fr. Alfred Schupp SDB in Tirupattur and was sung for the first time during the solemn Pontifical Mass for the consecration of the main altar of the church in Tirupattur on 30 June 1943.” See K.M. Jose, “Remembering the Sacred Heart of Jesus on the occasion of the Platinum Jubilee of the Consecration of the INM Province,” Provincial Circular [of the INM province] INM-KMJ-CIR 16/06-2018 – June 2018. Thekkedath seems to confirm this: see Thekkedath, *History* 898. [↑](#footnote-ref-305)
306. “Sai che il raporto di José Luis con la staf direttivo della Congregazione non é stato molto pacifico... Salesiano a fondo! ma con un senso comune e una capacitá creativa que superava horizonti piú o meno, anche, ‘limitati’…” Ángel Miranda Regojo – Ivo Coelho, email of 20.03.2020 (I have not tried to correct the Italian here). [↑](#footnote-ref-306)
307. Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* 26. Ricceri (1901-1989) was Rector Major from 1965 to 1977 and Viganò (1920-1995) from 1977 to 1995. [↑](#footnote-ref-307)
308. Ojer, “José Luis Carreño Etxeandía,” 12 April 2020. [↑](#footnote-ref-308)
309. House Chronicle Marti-Codolar (thanks to Jordi Latorre Castillo for this information). See Jordi La Torre – Ivo Coelho, email of 6.04.2020: “Ho conosciuto don Carreño già ammalato, nei mesi in cui si è ricoverato nell'antica infermeria dei Martí-Codolar. A quel tempo ero ancora studente di teologia e aiutante di biblioteca. Don Carreño, appena si alzava dal letto, mi chiedeva volumi della rivista *Razón y Fe* dei gesuiti... e quando gli portava dei volumi da leggere e mi ritornava i volumi già letti sempre diceva: "... sai, Jordi, non si scrive niente di nuovo. Quanto si dice oggi è già stato detto prima!". / Da noi si è ricoverato soltanto per alcuni mesi mentre si sistemava uno spazio adatto a lui a Pamplona. A quel tempo la Ispettoria di Bilbao non aveva ancora una infermeria ispettoriale; poi si è sistemata una a Logroño. Don Carreño da MCO è stato trasferito a Pamplona dove è morto circa due anni più tardi.” See also Ángel Miranda Regojo – Ivo Coelho, email of 6.04.2020, which confirms that Carreño had asked to go to the infirmary of Martí Codolar, but that he had returned soon to Pamplona. [↑](#footnote-ref-309)
310. Rico, “Jose Luis Carreño” 62. [↑](#footnote-ref-310)
311. José Antonio Rico, *José Luis Carreño Etxeandía Obrero de Dios* (Pamplona: Instituto Politécnico Salesiano, 1986). [↑](#footnote-ref-311)
312. Impelido, “Father Jose Luis Carreño – *Dilectus Deo et hominibus*” 18. [↑](#footnote-ref-312)
313. Impelido, “Father Jose Luis Carreño – *Dilectus Deo et hominibus*” 17-18. [↑](#footnote-ref-313)
314. Impelido, “Father Jose Luis Carreño – *Dilectus Deo et hominibus*” 18-19. [↑](#footnote-ref-314)
315. “Yo nada más sentiría que el precioso cuadro de una vida toda de Dios quedase manchado con el triste epílogo – cargado de poesía, sí – de una incomprensible falta de entendimiento de la realidad de la vida religiosa.” Testimony of Basilio Bustillo 4 (ASC D978). Bustillo was a companion of Carreño’s in Campello: “Le conocí el 1918, en Campello…. Era un muchacho que llamaba la atención de los compañeros. Por su abierta simpatía, su gran bondad y su mucho saber.” [↑](#footnote-ref-315)
316. “Me permito decirle que (haciéndome de eco de otros hermanos, entre ellos tres de más de 90 años que, gracias a Dios, aún conservan una memoria lúcida) no parece adecuado cerrar la vida de Carreño (página 60) con una ‘banderilla’ de Bustillo (es la palabra utilizada por el discretísimo Miguel Echamendi: ‘Basilio siempre tiene que acabar poniendo su banderilla’).” (Orlando González, email to me of 23 July 2021) [↑](#footnote-ref-316)
317. Carreño, “Codicilo” MS 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-317)
318. Carreño, “Codicilo” MS 5-6. [↑](#footnote-ref-318)
319. See, for example, what Carreño says in passing, commenting on his use of the Basque word *aita*: “Y supongo que no habrá necesidad de traducir esta palabra al castellano, habiendo todavía en el Oriente misioneros que me encabezan sus cartas con la híbrida expresión de cariño “*My dearest aita*”. (“Codicilo” MS 13) [↑](#footnote-ref-319)
320. See José Luis Plascencia Moncayo, *Witnesses of the Love of God: Theological and Spiritual Reflections on the Preventive System of Don Bosco* (Bengaluru: Kristu Jyoti Publications, 2018) 119-122. [↑](#footnote-ref-320)
321. Testimony of Di Fiore (ASC D978). [↑](#footnote-ref-321)