THE ORIGIN OF THE DAUGHTERS OF MARY HELP OF CHRISTIANS IN THE GROUND OF SECULARIZATION

Premise

"What the tree has flowered comes from what it has buried" (poet quoted by Pope Francis)

We desired to dedicate the initial meeting of *Salesian Thursdays* at *Auxilium* of the 150th anniversary of the FMA at the origins. Instead of talking about the foundation process, we focus on the ground that welcomed the seed, or rather the environment in which the Institute initiated its roots.

Why this theme, which seems to be arid? Because from there the Salesian originality was sprung, and then it is useful to consider whether there were favorable or unfavorable conditions and what were those conditions. Furthermore, in order to rediscover the initial creative state of the charism, it is necessary to know the terrain in which the first intuition sprouted.

Why was there typhoid in Mornese? A pandemic is not a fatality, it has its own causes. Why did Don Bosco speak of the politics "Our Father?" Why did he choose the title of Mary "help of Christians?" Why did Minister Rattazzi give him certain advice to establish the Congregation? And why then did he want to initiate a female institute and not leave the Daughters of the Immaculate Conception with the good they were doing in Mornese?

To answer these above questions, let us consider how Don Bosco and Maria Mazzarello, peasants of a radical character, perceived a call within a social, economic, cultural, religious context that conditioned them and at the same time offered new opportunities. Through an international genealogy, the vitality of that root reaches the present, which is so different. "The creativity of the moment," recalled by Pope Francis, must be understood yesterday in order to dare it today as well.

A second reason for dwelling on the environment is, I would say, an act of justice towards reality. If we want to talk about the founders, we often tend to exalt them as isolated giants of charity, cathedrals in the desert of certain poverty. Thus parallel stories emerge, with little attention to the contemporary frame. On the other hand, those who speak of civil history generally study the contexts and ignore the religious. Often they deal with social groups that are irrelevant to power, and therefore are considered an irrelevant component in the history of a country. While they are social components that at least in some periods prove to be promoters of development of social and human capital (of individuals). It is because a living faith does not remain closed in intimism or in an external ritual, but pushes towards a humanizing and transforming action of the environment.

In order to verify all this, however, it is necessary to dwell on the real originality with respect to a context in which an Institute was born and developed. In this way, a separate, story is not told, but rather inserted in the big picture of a country. The charism, in fact, offers an original insight into how to look at reality, not just what to do.

Furthermore, considering the characteristics of a period, one can better grasp their impact on women, and in particular on young women. This is the point of view and the scope of the FMA. The wide-ranging historical account will seem far from the small peasant world,

where a group of young people prepared the girls for family life, and instead we will see that the humble community of Mornese and then of Nizza enters into a great concert, without closing in on small goals and in known horizons. The Institute of the FMA is one of 183 women born institutions in Italy alone in 1800. It was born in an agricultural town in Piedmont, which was then politically central; the more general framework concerned the formation of the sovereignty of Italy and the Church.

A Short Youthful Life in the Great Story

When the young Maria Mazzarello accepts the mandate "I entrust them to you," in 1860-61 she is experiencing a time of personal crisis, because she sees her health, certainties and projects collapse. She doesn't know what to do with her now fragile life. From the unexpected and the smallness, the improbable will grow.

A typhoid epidemic attacked Mornese which was already torn into pieces by the second war of independence fought in the name of the homeland, under the pressure of the Renaissance.

In 1860-62 Main's youth changed, while Piedmont also changed. It is no longer a small kingdom of the Savoy, but the heart of the political unification of the peninsula, which seeks independence. However, the price of the unification of Italy had also been paid by the Church, which had lost sovereignty over the Papal State, so that the Pope remained the spiritual head of the faithful, but he did not have a territory from which to freely guide Catholics, without being conditioned by Italian politics. Or at least, this was the fear of Pius IX, who saw the pope's territorial independence as indispensable in a period of conflict.

At the basis of the Renaissance were the liberal values for which the French first and, then the American Revolution had arisen. Individual freedom entailed liberation from the absolute authorities of the ancient regime, the separation between the sphere of public life and religious practice. Thus, in countries where the relationship with the Church had been closer, such as Italy, France, Spain, Portugal and Latin America, the separation took place in a hostile way, secularization was colored by secularism.

The Italian State no longer tolerated interference by the Church in legislative choices (such as a religious marriage valid before the State, the prohibition of divorce and abortion, censorship of the press, the Catholic religion as the only recognized ...), but claimed to continue to control the ecclesiastical works, collecting the goods of the religious, demanding to authorize the jurisdiction of the bishops in the dioceses, etc. The state no longer recognized Catholic morality as its foundation, whereas previously what was a sin for the Church was a crime for the state; furthermore, the exaltation of individual freedom led to identify modernity with the de-Christianization of society, while many bishops opposed it, because the person, the baptized, is at the same time a faithful and a citizen, belongs to the Church and to a State.

Impact of Changes on the Church

What consequences emerged for the Church and society, with the affirmation of a liberal politics?

First of all, religious practice becomes a private choice, so for example in public schools catechism and the figure of the priest disappear; the state did not care whether one was a believer or an atheist, Catholic or Protestant. In the name of progress it seemed necessary to

marginalize the hierarchy, so that it would lose influence and authority over society and consciences. De-Christianization did not involve violent persecution (as in France or Mexico ...), but was favored by laws that put in difficulty the institutions traditionally managed by the Church: hospitals, schools, colleges, etc.

Faced with these new ideas, for the Church it remained true instead that "outside the Church there is no salvation," therefore a Catholic had to side with the Pope, without ambiguity, as Don Bosco did. For their part, the authorities did not hinder a private, individual faith, it was possible to pray and participate in rites, as long as the Church renounced the claim to guide the choices of public life.

Liberal politics, promoter of modernity and development of peoples, however, often favored the productive social classes and neglected the poor. Could the believers remain passive, leaving them in misery, just praying for them? Catholics were far from politics, but they looked at people. Many so-called social priests felt the responsibility to intervene to save souls and bodies.

Together with others, Don Bosco also wanted to "morally regenerate" society with education, raising the condition of the children; looking around him, driven by an industrious and anticipating charity, he understood and chose his path. First for the boys, then also for the girls.

Transformation of Female Consecrated Life

In this situation of uncertainty in the Church, many pastors understood that they could count on a hitherto neglected resource, women, who could be good associates to keep the faith alive in families, more threatened with indifference among men. The way was also opened for a broader apostolate, which led many young people to consecration. But what were the present forms? Until then, the true religious were cloistered nuns, according to canon law.

The new social mentality was linked to bourgeois and industrial economic initiative, and considered monasteries useless, because they separated women from the world and did not produce useful services. Women of more modest backgrounds remained in the family, like religious at home.

Listening to reality, to concrete people, manifested as in an unprecedented situation, more was needed. In addition to prayer, action was needed to make faith credible. In a world of interests, gratuitousness and joyful sacrifice made the difference. It was precisely the new apostolic urgencies that exerted pressure on ecclesiastical structures. ¹

Despite persistent prejudices about female weakness, a wide range of forms of consecrated life flourished over the course of the century. What prompted the institutional renewal? Not a project at the table, but the needs of charity and a living faith that challenged the responsibility towards people, in the conviction that one had to act, that one should not give in to passivity or passively suffer as adult women in the Church.

From the model of the Daughters of Charity, service to the poor evolves and was a prelude to consecration in the century, with strong Marian characteristics. Among the girls, the associations of the Daughters of Mary, the Daughters of Mary Immaculate, and it was followed

¹ ROCCA Giancarlo, *Donne religiose. Contributo a una storia della condizione femminile in Italia nei secoli XIX-XX*, Roma, Ed. Paoline 1992.

by the development of Catholic Action. Maria Mazzarello was one of the first daughters of Mary Immaculate of Mornese, with a spiritual formation oriented not only to prayer and purity, but also to the apostolate, that is, to a faith concretized in formative works that were to prepare for adult life. The interest in catechism also in Mornese passed through human relationships that made religious information meaningful.

In an environment of lively Catholicism, not resigned, above all a forest of Congregations of simple and temporary vows grows, more suitable for the current events for the exposure of the members to contact with the "world," but above all for the fact of not being formally recognized as religious neither by the State nor by the Church and therefore not subject to the constraints of the ancient orders.

Generally a distinction is made between the pioneering institutes, which arose in the first half of the 19th century, and those of the second half, in which the FMA are located.

In the first period the founders were sometimes married women, such as Maddalena Frescobaldi, founder of the Passionists and the Marquise Giulia Falletti of Barolo; more often they were consecrated; they had to insist on bishops and the Holy See to get some recognition that seemed indispensable to the new needs. So, Teresa Eustochio Verzeri and Paola Frassinetti for the Daughters of the Sacred Heart and the Dorotees asked for a royal authority for the superiors general and also for the position for life (while the temporariness was linked to the fact of being women). Some superiors referred to the founder of a male institute, such as the Daughters of Wisdom, the Rosminians, the Daughters of Mary Help of Christians, the Servants of the Poor of Cusman, or collaborated with a diocesan priest or bishop who stimulated or supported the foundation, as was for the Marcellines and many others ... The tendency of the Holy See was to support an ecclesiastical superior and a cardinal protector, subsequently orienting to ask for the autonomy of female institutes from the similar male branch, above all for fear of scarce dependence on bishops.

In other respects, Giulia Barolo for the Sisters of St. Anne and later Rosa Gattorno for the Daughters of St. Anne, had to fight for the Constitutions to reflect the original intuition rather than the mentality of the material author or canonist.

The first foundresses, who knew how to write and defend their ideas for educational and welfare works, came above all from medium-high social classes (such as Magdalene of Canossa), and therefore counted on networks of knowledge and social prestige, on a certain culture and on an initial economic availability. In the second half of the century, various foundresses were of more modest withdrawal, such as Maria Mazzarello.

The new Institutes focused on centralizing the government and the economy to favor the spread of houses, the transfers of personnel required by the works; for this it was necessary the figure of the superior general, initially opposed by the curia, and bordered by a councilor. The very lively sense of catholicity also pushed the religious to many places of mission, when very few women could travel. The productive faith legitimized a wide-ranging lifestyle.

The Modern Charity

The opening of modernity towards women also gave space to the initiative of the religious, making a leap in quality possible. In fact, it led to no longer address the issue of charity only in terms of occasional alms, leaving social differences intact (as the ancient aristocracy meant assistance and charity). On the other hand, education and assistance were

increasingly institutionalized, giving stability to the works, without limiting themselves to contingent activities destined to dissolve and leave things as they were before. Many founders recognized, rather, that if education and charitable works became well-organized and increasingly professionally qualified areas, they favored the integral development of people and dignified integration into society. It was a "silent revolution," taking into account that for various historians popular women's education was the only truly successful revolution of the nineteenth century.

With liberalism the fixist and static social vision was broken and it was convinced that material misery also produces moral corruption. While Marxism was launching its violent proposal against the Industrial Revolution, Catholics believed that it was above all necessary to prevent evil, giving adequate tools to live well. Enterprising charity was accompanied by the ideal of the religious reconquest of society and re-Christianization, as opposed to secularism, the work of the devil.

Love of neighbour assumed a thousand ways, including intellectual charity with A. Rosmini, who recognized the importance of enlightening the mind so that the person could accept humanizing values in faith. Today we speak of educative as well as educational charity.² It nourished the awareness of one's role in the family, in society and in the Church.

The new Institutes began to develop with certain margins of creativity and autonomy, regulated by the *Methodus* of 1854. The large number of religious created bridges between subjects who were distancing themselves. Especially the more economically developed circles or the exploited workers were moving away from the Church, attracted by socialist, anticlerical, Masonic ideas.

The religious sisters entered gracefully into the pockets of hardship of a large part of the population, lived in poverty, to serve, while the State did not immediately show itself capable of taking on it. The political unity of the peninsula favored the spread of congregations that arose above all in the north, also in the southern regions and in the islands, known as mission lands in Italy, since the old poverties were in fact added to the new ones. The consequent mobility of personnel had the positive effect of bringing modern forms of religious life into contact, inspired by an apostolic spirituality, active and enterprising, with environments and mentalities more caged in traditions and in a more ritual and outward religiosity.

The new foundations were supported by the work of the members, not by the income. With the credibility of the facts and of a sacrificed life, the religious sisters thus faced a sometimes suspicious climate and negative propaganda on part of the press, especially towards the hierarchy.

They had to underline the "secular" character of the associations. With simple vows, individuals did not lose their civil rights, so this formula was a resource in the face of suppression laws. While for solemn vows the goods belonged to the orders as such and not to individuals, the religious could demonstrate that they were not subject to those laws precisely because they did not issue solemn vows. It is no coincidence that the name of the buildings was not a convent or monastery, but Casa. In fact, previously the vow of poverty required the renunciation of personal property to attribute it to the order, and in the event of suppression,

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² CAIMI Luciano, *Carità educatrice. Riscontri e testimonianze nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*, Milano, Vita e pensiero 2018.

everything passed to the state. In the new regime, the religious retained the rights and duties of all the others, renouncing the administration of their own property. It was the formula also used by Don Bosco for Salesians and Daughters of Mary Help of Christians, on the advice of the liberal Minister Rattazzi: True religious before the Church, equally free citizens before the State. Thus there were no questions or dilemmas of citizenship, accepting in fact the political situation, without entering into useless polemics on questions of principle, because now there was no turning back. And by practicing the "politics of Our Father" the opportunity of the formula was seen in all the new Congregations, which therefore no longer asked for ancient privileges, but adapted to changes, becoming, in fact, pioneers among women in some areas.

Presence in Keeping with the Socio-Cultural Environment

This new way of understanding the presence and "citizenship" of religious in society resulted in the commitment to fulfil with the law also in the acquisition of educational qualifications, in participation in public competitions and in collaboration with bodies and committees, all realities to which the founders paid attention with a realistic sense. Thus Don Bosco also pointed out to the FMA, without feeding tension and opposition, without privileges, but setting the conditions for a proactive, evangelical insertion.

Religious institutes aimed at the apostolate and manifested a presence of the Church in society, discreet, unarmed, penetrating, expressing, if anything, the soft power of the authority of the service, not the power of a role. Francesca Cabrini said that in her thirties she learned to keep her eyes wide open, not downcast, as was the common custom among women. It is no coincidence that the link between single woman and the apostolate was accentuated at the beginning of the 20th century, recognizing certain freedoms of mobility, organization and management of works still impracticable for contemporary lay women. It is enough to remember the municipal teachers, the care of the sick, the visits of the sick at home, the economic management. Religious and charitable associations, initiatives for the transmission of faith and education were concrete elements of women's promotion. Let it be clear that the motive for the openings in the female religious world was adherence to the apostolic vocation, not the demand for emancipation promoted by the feminist elites. After having left freedom of expression and action in the nineteenth century, with the twentieth century the Conditae a Christo (1900) by Leo XIII sanctioned the full recognition of religious with simple vows, but implied a disciplinary process that would be carried out with the Code of Canon Law of 1917, passing through the Normae of 1901.

Origin of the FMA Institute

The foundation of the FMA in 1872, the day after the capture of Rome, a city that for many centuries belonged to the Pope, is therefore situated within a complex historical and ecclesial framework. Maria Mazzarello, with the realism typical of peasants, was able to read the new direction of her life by catching the signs of change in the nearby environment, without however closing herself in on her boundary. She belongs to a group of co-founders and foundresses ready to adhere to daring proposals, since she did not confuse humility with narrow-mindedness or distrust and disdain, nor the resourcefulness and zeal of the *Da mihi*

³ Cf GAIOTTI DE BIASE Paola, *Da una cittadinanza all'altra. Il duplice protagonismo delle donne cattoliche*, in BONACCHI Gabriella - GROPPI Angela (a cura di), *Il dilemma della cittadinanza. Diritti e doveri delle donne*, Roma-Bari, Laterza 1993, pp. 128-165.

⁴ Cf CAVAGLIÀ Piera, *Il rapporto stabilitosi tra S. Maria Domenica Mazzarello e S. Giovanni Bosco. Studio critico di alcune interpretazioni*, in POSADA M. E. (a cura di), *Attuale perché vera. Contributi su S. Maria Domenica Mazzarello* = Il Prisma 6, Roma, LAS 1987, pp. 69-98.

animas with pride. She herself passed from the Mornese dialect to Italian and to indicate Spanish to the missionaries to follow the emigrants, accepting criticism and sarcasm, thus entering into a large ecclesial concert.

The Way of Persuasion and Proclamation, not of the Threats of Punishment

The way of communicating the faith was changing, and women were contributing to the change. At the end of the time of imposition and traditionalism, the path of persuasion would have expressed its effectiveness in the climate of secularization, in which submission, obedience, clashed with the affirmation of freedom of conscience.

It was not the polemical path of a sharp criticism, of the threats of hell, but the path of mission in support of the needy, to reduce the unequal opportunities in the face of progress, and to ensure a dignified life in a changing world. So many religious have conveyed the image of goodness, of the providence of a God who is present, active, not offensive or revengeful; with their motherhood they showed the protection of the Virgin, through sacrifice, a sense of duty, gentleness and, in the Salesian way, through the characteristic note of cordiality and joy in community and educational relationships.

Without claiming rights, the founders and women religious in general conquered new social spaces through service, the assumption of responsibility towards others. They expressed the human face of faith. Furthermore, the impossibility of making a "career" in the hierarchy perhaps more clearly manifested the gratuitousness of the gift of salvation they proclaimed, the motivation of faith in generous service. Prayer, ascesis and the conviction of collaborating in the salvation of the brothers became the tools to overcome the sense of inadequacy. It is no coincidence that the recurring model was Mary, the figure of the redeemed woman and cooperator of the Redeemer, who inspired many religious institutes, as well as the Sacred Heart of Jesus, his mercy, divine providence and charity.

Women and Work

In this general reality, which is reflected in the small town of Mornese, Maria Domenica realizes that the formation of girls is fundamental for a life lived with dignity as women and daughters of God, starting with the family. But the town's school only had two classes for girls, so teaching ended just when it was necessary to direct emotions, curiosity, a more conscious openness to values. Maria perceives that she must take care of their people. But how? Only by teaching catechism? Only by inviting them to pray and giving good advice? Just by making them have fun? No. All this together and beyond.

With common sense, you understand that a person needs economic autonomy to grow in responsible freedom and also to choose honesty. In those years, especially in northern Italy, industries were developing. Those that asked for female labor were the manufacturing ones (wool, cotton, silk, etc.), even with the exploitation of minors. However, most of the girls worked at home, they helped out in the fields. But this did not generate money, an obvious economic advance for the family.

When Maria has to reinvent herself she doesn't escape. She looks and finds the answer in what is under her eyes. The tailor, the seamstress profession. In those years it was the best you could hope for a girl, because it was a job that did not distance you from the family, but at the same time put you in contact with customers, who had to pay for the service rendered. There were no packs of clothes in series, so it was a profitable job.

In the cities, in the same years, young women began to be employed in post offices, as telegraphers, even if various families still looked at the contact with the public with distrust.

Women and Popular Education

With the desire for progress for all, the relationship between women and education also began to change. In families, the preparation of the sons was generally more concerned than of the daughters. Sometimes they learned to read, but not to write. According to a modern cultural development project, since 1859 the *Casati* law obliged all families to send both sons and daughters to school, at least for the first two years. Very Soon it was asked if the years were 4 or 5 mandatory, but not everyone attended.

For the increase of the classes, teachers were needed to train the citizens, and therefore the preparation of the teachers in the Normal schools developed. On the other hand, to be a nurse, another typically female job, no particular studies were needed, if not preparatory courses.

In fact, the vast majority of girls attended only a few elementary classes. Then, the families of landowners, or professionals, generally sent their daughters to the Normal schools, for an adequate preparation for modern needs. But there were not many schools, nor many Normal schools in the area, nor many means to move every day, consequently many colleges were born, where the pupils stayed almost all year round, lived and studied.

Those who sought employment as teachers had to face persistent prejudices against those who came out of family control; others were interested only in cultural education, because the more affluent families considered it unfortunate for their daughter to leave home to teach, with moral risks. Paid extra-domestic work was initially seen more as a necessity than a choice of freedom. The wealthiest families gave private training at home, or in exclusive boarding schools.

The figure of the elementary teacher became very important immediately after the unification of Italy in 1861. The State was convinced that, after the political unification not felt by all to be advantageous, it was necessary to form Italians, the citizens, until then mostly linked to local habits and mentality. Before, Italy was divided into various small kingdoms, so it was necessary to create unity with the language, civil and patriotic modern values.

The Church, still considered linked to the ancient regime, received less and less trust from the authorities, especially since they feared anti-patriotic and traditionalist judgments. For this reason, after the era of privileges, if priests or religious wanted to open a school, they had to obtain diplomas like everyone else, undergoing exams. Classrooms and equipment had to observe with the laws, although often the same laws were not respected in the schools of the state.

Immediately after 1861 it became clear that there were not enough masters available. Many refused, because it was a very demanding job, with which they did not earn well. So gradually the teachers increased. Teaching was intended as a mission, in fact many teachers did not marry, meaning teaching as a different motherhood. Initially the teachers were more religious sisters than lay people, to try to maintain Christian values in a secular culture. Then the laity increased, when society was also more appreciated and it was accepted that young women worked far from home, were transferred from one location to another, without losing their honor. Precisely to form the religious as Christian teachers, Mother Mazzarello undertook

to have the sisters study in order to obtain the "authorization" and after a few years in Nizza Monferrato a Normal School was opened in 1900, equalized in legal qualifications to the State schools.

The FMA thus contributed to the integral education and instruction of girls, to awaken and advance the best of the person, and to cultivate the conviction that the world in which one lives can change.

In conclusion

The educational commitment that Maria Mazzarello perceived was a great challenge, in a time of changes that she too would face closely. She, without a specific competence, was called to take care of girls and boys. There were already boarding schools to prepare them for an adult life, but she didn't know and didn't even know how to write yet.

Dedicating oneself to education, in a more demanding context of modernization, required the ability to teach a profitable job, or open school classes. With the first community, she never had the idea of looking after only some aspects of formation, but the growth of the whole person, following Don Bosco who had very broad views. In fact, he witnessed the youth situation in Turin, already struggling with the problems of the industrial city.

In that frame, Main did not shrink back, but moved by faith and passion, she launched herself decisively in the preparation of herself and of the first collaborators, realizing that in education one cannot improvise, if one really wants to prepare for life, staying up to the standards and needs of people, at the height of the present time. All the more so if the educational commitment is accepted as a call to make one's contribution for the growth of a more humane (and therefore intimately Christian) and more just society.

Collecting these ideas in a concrete way, in synthesis it emerges how religious life, despite some slowness, constituted a lever of humanization, in a land that is sometimes arid and not very propitious, a space of female protagonism that brought out unsuspected qualities, to love and serve. according to the Gospel. From a Salesian point of view, it was a question of combining the "good Christian and honest citizen," without opposition.

Of course, there is much to be explored to verify the effective impact of the Congregations in social and ecclesial life, especially in the most cultivated areas of activity. It still remains largely unclear to what extent religious institutes, and the FMA among them, have been paths of an authentic spiritual, cultural, social, economic, organizational development in so many environments. However, their rapid increase attests that women religious were a great resource for the Church at a time when the hierarchy felt threatened by secularization and many faithful were moving away from places of worship. The credibility of the Gospel passed through closeness to people in places and times of need, with human tact, through humility, patience, the invitation to the Sacraments with the word spoken at the right moment.

It can end with a reflection: the unexpected unfolding of events, in personal and social life, involved Maria Domenica in a profound change of habits and certainties, in order to be available for the educational questioning of reality, also mediated by Don Bosco.

Her industrious docility enabled her to give birth to a new family, adapting to the future without delaying the past.

The root of the Institute, already planted in new soil, bore abundant fruit in an unforeseen future, but prepared with the fullness of the gift and community responsibility towards high ideals.

The history of the Institute branches from this terrain and extends across the continents, weaving the same spirit in very different contexts, to be known in depth in order to recognize in each one the original gift of the charism. It always measures itself against the challenges of history, it moves to get to work with creativity, to fill material, educational, moral and spiritual gaps.

The generativity of the origins is a legacy and an exciting call to renew the ability to be present and to adhere to reality as educators, to encourage the preparation of today's young people for life. Thus the memory of the past meets the questions posed by current events and encourages us to act. If the past is a foreign country, as Leslie Hartley wrote, then history is a journey that allows us to broaden our geographical, temporal and mental horizons.

If 150 years ago, in the little Mornese, such a fruitful seed sprouted, why should we not think that even today there can be equally passionate and generous people in the educating communities, among young people? It is the wish for a renewed fecundity for so many lands awaiting the announcement of a fully human life, knowing that in every life the great history and the unprecedented of every existence are intertwined. Even an environment, an apparently unfavorable terrain, can stimulate us not to repeat things already known, but to make room for the newness of the Spirit. After all, everything is Grace.

Sr. Grazia Loparco FMA

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