

A. M. D. G.

WOODSTOCK LETTERS

A RECORD

OF CURRENT EVENTS AND HISTORICAL NOTES CONNECTED
WITH THE COLLEGES AND MISSIONS OF THE
SOCIETY OF JESUS

VOL. LXXXVI

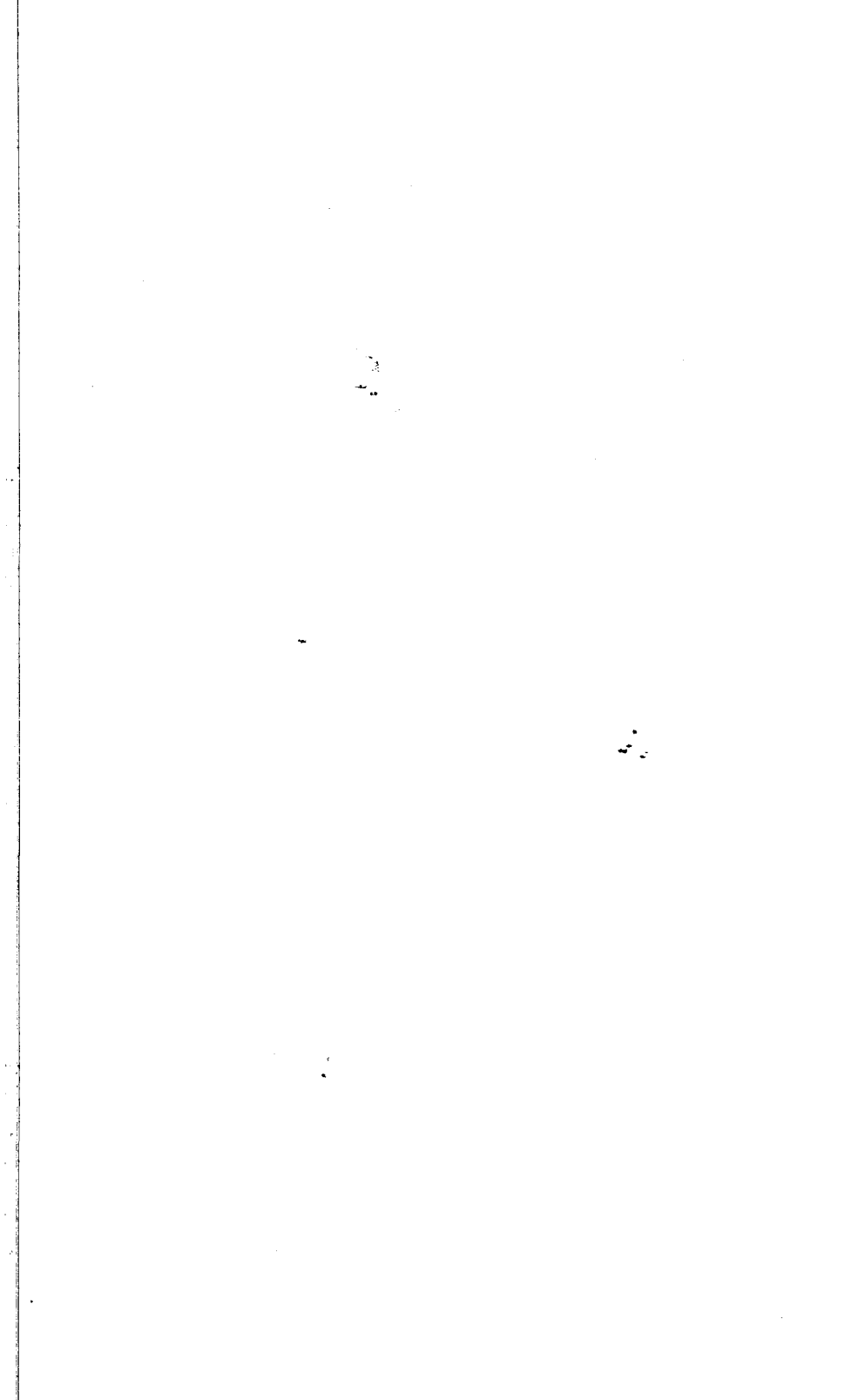


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Saint Ignatius And Education

JOHN W. DONOHUE, S.J.

No doubt the history of any age has its own ironies and paradoxes. The history of the sixteenth century, at any rate, fairly glitters with them. This is to be expected, of course, for that was a seething period of transition, a time of shattering change and upheaval, and one could hardly expect it to have been also an era of entirely logical and predictable patterns. And the subject of St. Ignatius and education might be approached by way of a moment's reflection on one of those ironies, a comparatively minor paradox, but with some relevance for our topic.

About the year 1509 the recently founded university at Wittenberg acquired a new lecturer on Aristotle, a young Augustinian monk who in several ways might have seemed very much a man of the new age and admirably suited to the temper of this Renaissance school, conceived, as it had been, in the spirit of the humanistic persuasion. He was sprung from that middle class whose star was everywhere ascending. His father had originally been a miner but he came to the city where he did well enough to plan for this son a lucrative career in the law. The boy was trained in his youth on the customary diet of grammar, rhetoric and poetry. His university work had made him aware of the classical spirit propagandized by the transalpine humanists and those who knew Martin Luther in 1509 might reasonably have supposed that any energy he chose to direct towards education would be deployed on behalf of intellectual values, especially those of the new learning.

Now just about the time this young professor was climbing into the chair a little blond boy from the Basque country was getting quite a different sort of education as a page in the palace of Juan Velasquez de Cuellar, chief treasurer of the royal court of Castile. This young aristocrat was drinking in a tradition of chivalry which owed as much to the medieval ideal of knighthood as it did to the Renaissance concept of

This paper was one of a series read at Loyola Seminary, Shrub Oak, New York, during the Ignatian year. We plan to publish others of the series later.

the courtier. Instead of poring over Donatus' grammar like an industrious bourgeois in a dusty schoolroom, this scion of a proud, provincial nobility capered in the flashing regalia of a court gentleman and practiced sword play. He liked to read, to be sure—but vernacular romances, not the forensic outbursts of Cicero. Aristotle *De anima* meant nothing to an admirer of the amorous quests of Amadis de Gaul. The antiquarian enthusiasms of the Renaissance scholars would have seemed quite mad to this proud child of the Middle Ages in whose breast a genuine piety and a lusty taste for adventure jostled one another. He could not have understood the enthusiasm of a Poggio finding the complete Quintilian buried amid rubbish in the Abbey of St. Gall nor the raptures of the Florentine academy burning votive lights before the bust of Plato. For his part, he dreamed of rescuing fair ladies from dungeons, not Latin manuscripts and he lit tapers before the shrines of the saints, not the philosophers. Those who knew Iñigo de Loyola in 1509 might, therefore, reasonably have supposed that any interest he chose to manifest in education would hardly focus on the problems of Latin schools and courses of study in literature and philosophy.

But such is the vivacious irony of history that both Martin Luther and St. Ignatius did indeed interest themselves in education—but with a difference. In his educational projects the man from the medieval world went forward to meet the new age while the father of Protestantism often seemed bent on retreating to a world as much like ancient Judea as possible and to a charismatic concept of education. St. Ignatius founded universities and wanted them to honor Aristotle within reason and to adopt the *modus et ordo Parisiensis*. Luther, on the contrary, assailed all universities for, as presently ordered, what are they, he demanded, "But, as the book of Maccabees says, 'schools of Greek fashion and heathenish manners; full of dissolute living.'" Out with Aristotle, he insisted. For does not that wretched man teach that the soul dies with the body and thereby contradict Holy Scripture? What should be taught then? The Bible. For if, "we hold the name and title of teachers of the Holy Scriptures, we should verily be forced to act according to our title, and to

teach the Holy Scriptures and nothing else."¹ But St. Ignatius would require for the formation of young Jesuits, besides Scripture, humane literatures in various tongues; logic, natural philosophy, moral philosophy, metaphysics, scholastic and positive theology. The miner's boy became the confidant of princes and prescribed for peasant children an hour or two of class a day with the rest of the time to be usefully employed in domestic duties or in learning a trade. The hidalgo's son became, in a sense, the schoolmaster of Europe who would provide for the children of the new bourgeoisie a formidable academic introduction to eloquence and wisdom.

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All this suggests, then, not merely the paradoxes but the complexities hedging about any discussion of St. Ignatius and education. These are, to begin with, two enormous themes. The reality subsumed under the label "education" is so rich and so central an element in the lives of men and their communities as to make the concept almost too comprehensive to be significant. And our other focus, St. Ignatius himself, is no less difficult to treat briefly and still adequately. This is a delicate matter for Jesuits to comment upon; yet we must at least point out, as unaffectedly as possible, that Ignatius of Loyola was one of those men through whom God changed the face of the Church. In this he stands with such saints as Paul, Augustine and Francis of Assisi. He decisively influenced, for instance, the practices of Christian piety. He introduced new concepts of the structure and purposes of a religious institute and, through the Society he established, he profoundly affected the apostolates of the foreign missions and education. All this, of course, is quite familiar to you and

¹ Martin Luther, "To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation Respecting the Reformation of the Christian Estate," *Early Protestant Educators*, ed. Frederick Eby (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1931), pp. 35, 40. The contrasts above are admittedly somewhat unnuanced. There is much about Luther that is medieval in spirit just as there are passages in which he advocates the humanities as a good preparation for those who are eventually to study Scripture profoundly. Nevertheless, so sharp if tendentious an observer as Erasmus maintained that where Lutheranism prevailed, scholarship declined.

has been discussed with authority and detail by the preceding speakers in your series.

We propose this evening, in order to make the material somewhat manageable, to sum up a few reflections under two broad categories which are rather conventional but also sufficiently capacious. These are headings corresponding, more or less, to the conventional distinction between practice and theory. Let us, in the first place, review what St. Ignatius did in education, what his personal experience with formal schooling and its problems was like. And secondly, let us consider St. Ignatius' broad theory of education—that is to say, those aspects of his world-view which have particular pertinence in this whole matter.

Practice

The concrete contribution of Ignatius to the actual business of education can, of course, be spelled out definitely and succinctly. Under God he founded the Society of Jesus; organized it with a prescient and practical wisdom and gave it its first orientation towards those works of scholarship and teaching which are the constituents of our educational enterprise and are accounted by our present Father General first among our ministries.² In all these projects, what distinguished St. Ignatius, the administrator, was this astonishing synthesis of a venturesome foresight with prudent realism. In 1556 neither he nor anyone else could have predicted the needs of 1956. But St. Ignatius gave his Company an institute of reasonable—and for the time, novel—flexibility which left it free to follow the developing lines of apostolic necessities. It was, consequently, open to growth and inspiration in a way that would have been impossible had the Society been rigidly ordered to some predetermined work like ransoming captives or preaching crusades.

This Ignatian genius for tranquilly maintaining in steady balance an absolute sureness regarding basic aims and a careful but imaginative experimentalism touching concrete means

² John Baptist Janssens, S.J., "Epistola ad Societatem 'De Ministeriis Nostris,'" *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu*, XI (Fasciculus iii—Anno 1947), 315 ff.

shows up strikingly in the history of our development into a teaching order. The details have been summarized by Father Farrell, Father Leturia and, most recently, by Father Ganss.³ In the beginning the newly formed Society had only a general dedication to teaching in the widest sense. By a series of steps it passed from the establishment of houses of study exclusively for young Jesuits to the admission of externs to those classes and finally to schools and universities explicitly created for the general humanistic education of lay students. The whole development was canonically sanctioned by the Bull of Julius III, *Exposcit Debitum* of July 21, 1550 which declared that the Society exists to defend and propagate the faith by, among other means, public *lectiones*.

You know the astonishing results of these decisions and how this novel enterprise involving a religious order in the teaching not of theology only but of the humanities and natural sciences as well became, in fact, the characteristic work of the Society of Jesus. This is the work, as Father General has put it, which the Society "has esteemed beyond others and cultivated with the greatest zeal."⁴ When Ignatius died four hundred years ago there were already thirty-five colleges established and seven more on the way. When Ribadeneira died sixty years later there were 293 colleges, some thirty-eight of them abroad in the Americas, India and Japan.⁵ Today, in our own country, there are more than twenty-six thousand students in forty-one Jesuit high schools and more than one hundred and three thousand in thirty-four Jesuit colleges, universities and seminaries. We are, to be sure, dedicated with all our hearts to the foreign missions.

³These are accounts available in English: Allan P. Farrell, S.J., *The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education*, (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1938), pp. 25-152; George E. Ganss, S.J., *Saint Ignatius' Idea of a Jesuit University*, (Milwaukee: The Marquette University Press, 1954), pp. 18-43; Pedro Leturia, S.J., "Why the Society of Jesus Became a Teaching Order," *Jesuit Educational Quarterly*, IV (June, 1941), 31-54. This last is a translation by V. J. Yanitelli, S.J. of the original essay of Father Leturia in *Gregorianum*, XXI, Fasc. III & IV (1940).

⁴John Baptist Janssens, S.J., *op. cit.*, p. 319.

⁵Leturia, S.J., *op. cit.*, p. 54.

Still, even there much of our effort is spent precisely upon schools.

The history of Jesuit schools is, however, another story and we must go no further with it lest we lose sight of St. Ignatius himself. This much has been recalled only to underscore the enormous insight of our Father in God. St. Ignatius, as we suggested before, could hardly have known—at least naturally speaking—the lineaments of that new world towards which his own transitional age was moving. In the post-Renaissance centuries two distinctive actualities would appear. In the West the ideal of some formal schooling for everyone would become an unquestioned principle. At the same time, the control of popular education would largely pass from the church to the state in the nations of the Atlantic community. On the North American continent a new republic would come in time to exemplify both these actualities. Its Catholic citizens would find themselves living, it is true, in a pluralistic society where the schools are technically neutral toward religion. But at the same time these Catholics would be sharers in the economic abundance of the United States and would be prepared to support their own schools—if someone were prepared to conduct them. Thus it has happened that the preeminent apostolic activity in a culture such as ours is probably that of education. At other times and in other places a people may have transmitted its way of life through vehicles other than the school. Perhaps the Athenians were as effectively initiated into the Hellenic idea and ethos at the theatre or in the assembly as in the rather makeshift classrooms frequented only by a minority. But in America now this task is made to devolve, in theory at least, upon the school almost alone. This is not to say that such a situation is wholly desirable but only that it happens to be the real one. So that if today you want to work for the good of your neighbor there is simply no better place, no more sensitive and vital area in twentieth century America than the school. This is not to pretend that it is an easy place to work. Teaching is now as ever a business of much sweat and anxieties, having its unique rewards, but fertile also in failures and disillusionment. Neither do we mean that the school is the only place to work or that other apostolic activities are not also essential. We simply mean that at present

the civilization of intelligence and the formation of conscience; the examination of life's central issues and the acquisition of intellectual resources to meet them is more than ever the charge of the school. But since personal fulfillment and ultimate redemption are profoundly conditioned by, or intertwined with, these processes the work of teaching is now of unparalleled apostolic import.

It was the wisdom of St. Ignatius to have realized, even though the future was opaque, that education is at any time a job of considerable significance and to have shrewdly surmised that it would soon be crucial. Besides having launched the Society of Jesus upon this apostolate—in which it is proud to be laboring with so many other religious groups as well as with such dedicated laymen and laywomen—Ignatius also left us an example of that spirit of practical zeal which is an important key to success. There is an inescapable lesson to be drawn from the contemplation of St. Ignatius at his desk in Rome, busy with plans, and letters; testing, weighing, watching and acting. To think that the youth brought up amidst the Quixotic ambitions of a fading chivalry should have put aside all the pointless reveries and adventures of a caballero to work for the world from a little desk—to think of this is to understand what splendors grace can effect in a noble nature.

Theory

So much, then for the concrete educational work of St. Ignatius. Our second theme is less easily stated. Did St. Ignatius entertain some characteristic concept of a Christian humanism and if so, what was it? We can formulate an answer, I think, by returning to an earlier point and recalling for a moment his own education which was, in fact, two educations: the education of Iñigo de Loyola and the education of Master Ignatius. All in all, St. Ignatius was unusually well equipped for a world in transition where the sun was setting on one way of life and rising on another. He knew both spheres, yet managed to transcend each because he was larger than his context. He had got himself educated in two ideologies without being totally committed to either for he was one of those exceptional men who, while necessarily

humanized by an actual society, still surmounts this matrix as a prophet does.

In the manor house at Loyola, and later on in the palace at Arevalo, Iñigo de Loyola acquired accomplishments which were real enough but neither scientific nor scholastic. He loved music, novels and courtly manners. He became equally skilled in the Biscayan dances and the tough arts of a soldier. He knew no theology but he was formed in a firm loyalty to the Church. We know that this early education left lasting traces. The first point of the Kingdom meditation, for instance, is certainly not thinking of any Renaissance prince. It is a Louis IX, not a Cesare Borgia or Henry Tudor that one must have in mind there.

In all school history there can be few pictures at once so odd and so significant as that which illustrates the start of the second education of the former defender of Pampeluná. He has undergone, of course, a spiritual transformation symbolized in a homely way by the reduction and alteration of the resounding Iñigo Lopez de Loyola to a plain Ignatius. Now in his thirties, he is wedged into school benches with little Barcelona boys shrilling the Latin declensions. For eleven years he applies himself to the standard academic regime. After Barcelona, a sort of hodgepodge at Alcalá: *Terminos de Soto*, he told Father Gonzales, *y phisica de Alberto, y el Maestro de las Sententias*.⁶ Finally, the orderly curriculum of Paris: grammar reviewed at Montaigu; the arts at Sainte-Barbe, amid the humanistic breezes, and theology with the Dominicans at the convent of the Rue Saint-Jacques. But it is important to notice that this long program was, for St. Ignatius, strictly instrumental in character. In the memoir which he dictated to Father Gonzales, speaking of himself in the third person, he says: "When Ignatius understood that God did not wish him to remain at Jerusalem, he began to consider what he should do. The plan he approved and adopted

⁶ The original text of the autobiographical pages dictated by St. Ignatius is printed in the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu: Monumenta Ignatiana*: Series Quarta, Tomus Primus, (Madrid, 1904). The lines above are found on page 70. There is an English translation edited by J. F. X. O'Connor, S.J., *The Autobiography of St. Ignatius*, (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1900) but it is unfortunately often inaccurate.

was to enter upon a course of study in order to be better fitted to save souls."⁷ It was no love of learning for its own sake that inspired him but an implacable devotion to an end which learning might serve.

Unlike St. Bernard

It is this attitude, of course, which sharply distinguished him from the humanists—not only from a Bembo, but also from an Erasmus. Father Leturia reminds us that Erasmus thought love of letters admissible only *si propter Christum*, but one cannot imagine St. Ignatius talking about love of letters at all.⁸ On the other hand, his attitude is also quite unlike that of St. Bernard. In the tenth part of our Constitutions we are told that the men of the Society are to cultivate diligently all those human resources which will make them—*useful*. Their learning is to be exact and thorough and they are to acquire some eloquence for effective preaching and teaching. And if for certain people this notion of *utilitas* seems to profane the academe, still any demand for studies and teaching would have appeared questionable to St. Bernard. *Monachi non est docere*, Bernard said more than once, *sed lugere*. And he exhorted the clerics of his day: *Fugite de medio Babylonis, fugite et salvate animas vestras*.⁹ But the sixteenth century was not the twelfth—and neither is the twentieth. Jesuits are accordingly bidden to study the tactics of the king of Babylon and to join battle with him. Besides, the end of their Society is not only to look to their own salvation, but also to work tirelessly for the salvation of others.

In terms, then, of this academic profile Ignatius appears again as a curiously independent figure, formed but not absorbed by each of two different cultural traditions. Doubtless his ability thus to overpass his milieu can be explained on the psychological level by the matchless intensity with which he grasped a few pivotal supernatural truths and realized them with unremitting devotion in practice. Consequently, to schematize St. Ignatius' "philosophy of education" we need

⁷ *The Autobiography of St. Ignatius, op. cit.*, pp. 80-81.

⁸ Leturia, *op. cit.*, p. 41, n. 58.

⁹ Quoted by Philippe Delhaye, "L'organisation scolaire au XIII^e siècle," *Traditio*, V (1947), 227—text and n. 14.

only disengage these fundamental certainties and indicate their relevance for educational theory. Such an approach is not necessarily artificial for it is not inappropriate to think of St. Ignatius under the formality of an educational theorist. He has not bequeathed us, of course, anything like a complete philosophy of education for there are many speculative questions which he never attacked. But he was greatly interested in the education of character, in the making of the good man and in this he shares the fundamental concern of all the philosophers of education from Plato to Dewey. Every influential pedagogical treatise has been informed by a dominant moral purpose and was written in the spirit of an ethical zeal for the nurture of moral men. St. Ignatius would have approved of this inspiration if not of all the programs in which it issued.

The mind of Ignatius is reflected, of course, in his own documents—in the book of the Exercises, the Autobiography, the Constitutions and the Letters. One might comb through these for details which could be sifted into our modern categories.¹⁰ It is more important, however, to point out that all these constitute a rich lode from which our educational tradition has long drawn and which we ourselves continue to mine. Many problems may arise in a Jesuit school or university today for which there is no detailed and specific answer in the institute. Their solution is authentically Ignatian, however, if it represents the concrete application of that total tradition in which we have been formed. Guidance in these junctures comes from a man's whole Jesuit background and part of that background is a central theme in the Ignatian idea of education which we want to stress here.

Christian Humanism

If we were to isolate the essential facet of humanism it will surely appear in giving primacy—even a monopoly—to an interest in man and this world, whereas Christianity, without

¹⁰ To suggest but one example: the fourteenth annotation in the *Exercises* which instructs the retreat director to have a care for the particular condition and character of the exercitant will be cited as an instance of respect for individual differences. It is, of course, though St. Ignatius might have thought it simply basic common sense.

forgetting either of these elements, does indeed accent in the first place an interest in God and the Kingdom of Heaven. The characteristic problem of Christian humanism becomes, then, one of harmonizing these two interests in what Pius XII has called the synthesis of the living person. Now St. Ignatius did not wish to neglect the humanistic values but he did have a very definite notion of the part they were to play in that total harmony. It is quite certain, I think, that for him all of human culture is to be regarded as fundamentally instrumental, an agency not a term. For him, therefore, education is a means and not an end. This is true whether education be thought of as a product or as a process. An individual ought to want to realize in himself the fruits of an education in order that he might better serve the Divine Majesty, assist his fellow men and save his own soul. A teacher should wish to expedite this process for much the same reasons.

For those familiar with the Exercises and Constitutions there is really no need to document this thesis. *Tantum quantum, instrumentum conjunctum*, means, service—you know how distinctive and constant is St. Ignatius' employment of these concepts. There is no sound intellectual, aesthetic or physical value which he would exclude from the ideal education. With this in mind we shall avoid misunderstanding the saint. When he tells us to find God in all things, we realize that he is fully aware of the intrinsic values to be found in creatures. He does not consider them *sheer* instruments—the *bonum utile* and nothing more—but rather intermediate ends. Neither is his view of education crassly utilitarian. He would not let Lainez curtail Ribadeneira's Latin studies for the sake of getting on more quickly to the professional business of theology, because the intermediate goal itself was not simply the acquisition of skills but total humanization. But granted all this, it remains true that he would require every educational value to find its place within a wider context where ultimately it is not terminal but instrumental.

Now this has some refreshing consequences for education. It seems to me, for instance, that Father Ganss is quite right when he argues that St. Ignatius was no blind traditionalist in the matter of contingent aims and procedures. He wanted a man's education to outfit him for a life fully and effectively

Christian in both its individual and social dimensions. And he would hardly expect a twentieth century school to attempt this by means of a sixteenth century curriculum. For as Father Ganss puts it, he had "an instinctive horror of being entangled in rules or traditions of the past which had ceased to be effective means to a present end, however good they may have been when first drawn up."¹¹

Still, it is possible that viewing education as ultimately instrumental may leave us with a troublesome question. For isn't it true that intellectual and cultural values are inherently precious, are good in themselves and not merely as useful tools for reaching something else? Of course they are, and as we noted above St. Ignatius knew this and nowhere denies it. He simply does not address himself to that point for he surveys the terrain from an exceedingly lofty elevation and his dominant concern is with the final and total picture. Had he adverted to this matter he would surely have agreed that no man can consume his life in a chemistry laboratory or in editing texts or simply in reading the dull but necessary books that every student has to get through unless, besides other motivations, he is also sustained by an insight into the inherent worth of the intellectual endeavour itself. But if he is a Christian, he will know too that within the larger perspective this excellence appears as an intermediate good, having about it the quality both of a goal and a factor. Within the dimensions of its own order the simple furtherance of knowledge is the sufficient end of research. But the man is more than the physicist or historian or artist and his life is not comprehended by his professional career. In the final reckoning, the whole realm of scientific or creative work is ordered as a means to a transcendent and absolute value.

Saint differs from saint and Ignatius warns us anyhow not to compare them. We might, though, observe that since St. Thomas Aquinas was a great scholar as well as a great saint, he will serve to remind us of the essential goodness in the quest for truth, while St. Ignatius will keep before us an equally pertinent principle by reminding us that the search itself must be a service of the God of truth. Those who are lazy or anti-intellectual will need to meditate on the instruc-

¹¹ Ganss, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39.

tion of St. Thomas. Those who have already savored the rewards of dedicated scholarship need to keep in sight the instruction of St. Ignatius. One of the greatest Christian scholars of our day has put it all very well. In *Christianity and Philosophy*, Professor Gilson observes that piety can never dispense with technique.

To serve God by science or art, it is necessary to begin by practicing them *as if* these disciplines were in themselves their own end; and it is difficult to make such an effort without being taken in. So much the more difficult is it when we are surrounded by a spontaneous expression of naturalism or, to give it its old name, which is its name for all time, of paganism, into which society ceaselessly tends to fall back because it has never completely left it. It is important, however, to free ourselves from it. It is impossible to place the intelligence at the service of God without respecting integrally the rights of the intelligence; otherwise, it would not be the intelligence that is put at His service; but still more is it impossible to do so without respecting the rights of God; otherwise, it is no longer at His service that the intelligence is placed.¹²

Conclusion

And now, what of ourselves? We, too, live in a day of transition and in many ways a very desperate day it is. In our rosier moods we are fond of saying that it is a time of great challenges, but there are moments of dreadful perception when we are apt to think that the challenging forces are only too numerous and too cataclysmic while our resources are much too few. You know, of course, that this problem can only be confronted tranquilly within the precincts illumined by the austere light of faith. But as we address ourselves to all these tasks of the hour, let us recall the bracing example of St. Ignatius. Father Jerome Nadal once jotted down some personal recollections of Father Ignatius and I should like to conclude by citing two of these.¹³ Writing of the saint Nadal said: *Numquam rem assumpsit, quam non confecerit*—he never failed to complete any project he took up. Literally this was quite true. But in a symbolic sense it is not yet true.

¹² Etienne Gilson, *Christianity and Philosophy*, trans. Ralph MacDonald, C.S.B., (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1939), pp. 116-117.

¹³ "Acta Quaedam P.N. Ignatii a P. Natali," *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu: Monumenta Ignatiana*, Series Quarta, Tomus Primus, *op. cit.*, p. 471.

Through the Society which he founded St. Ignatius took up the apostolate of education, but it is not yet finished. The hour of its consummation is known to God alone. But as the sons of this great and holy Father it is our present vocation and privilege to carry the work forward for the space of our lives, and to do so in the spirit of St. Ignatius.

And what is that spirit? Its great components are well known to you: the total abnegation, the ideal of service, the all conquering charity. But set beside these another winning characteristic which was the first that Nadal recalled. For he remembered that to visit St. Ignatius was a delightful experience, guaranteed to buoy up the most anxious heart: *Qui in eius cubiculo*, said Nadal, *laetissimi semper ac risibundi*. Great fissures may have been cracking Christendom and the Church itself may have seemed in deadly peril from the apostasy of entire nations. But as St. Ignatius bent steadily to his labors in his modest office he was so affable, so merry even, that the contagion was quite irresistible. This is not the Ignatius of legend—this is the real Ignatius, the man and the saint. May it be granted us to be worthy sons of such a father.

FRENCH TRANSLATIONS

A French translation of twelve documents, drawn for the most part from the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu* and embodying Ignatian principles pertinent to contemporary Jesuit needs, has been published by Père Gervais Dumeige of the French Scholasticate at Enghien.

Père Dumeige also directed the translation into French of Father Hugo Rahner's "Notes on the Spiritual Exercises" (*WOODSTOCK LETTERS*, July, 1956). This translation was of great assistance to the Fathers who translated the "Notes" into English. Most of their supplementary bibliography was taken from the French version.

Four Centuries Of Inspiration

GEORGE BYRNE, S.J.

A few years ago, a Cambridge ecclesiastical scholar, Mr. Green published *Eight Studies in Christian Leadership*. On the Catholic side, he considered St. Augustine, St. Francis of Assisi, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Ignatius Loyola; on the Protestant side: Calvin, Hooker, Wesley, Temple. Eliminating one or two Protestant prejudices, we find his admiration for Ignatius' work sincere. Thus he writes: "The bull—*Regimini militantis Ecclesiae*—was a landmark in the history of the Church. It established a religious society which constituted nothing less than a living embodiment of the Church militant here on earth. Loyal above all to the vicar of Christ, the Jesuits were next in duty bound to give complete and unswerving obedience to the General of the Order. A successful soldier fights with undeviating obedience to his superior officer, willing to suffer all the wounds and bitterness of the campaign, asking only to fulfill his duty, 'for no reward save that of knowing Thee.' If the Franciscan was the tumbler of the Lord, the Jesuit was the mercenary of God, dispensed from the duty of singing the monastic hours in choir, or from the duty of wearing the monastic garb, graded according to his spiritual efficiency and true vocation. It may well be that more than any single man or woman he contributed to the reformation of the Catholic Church and the reinfusion of vigour which enabled her to face the future with delimited numbers but unchastened enthusiasm. And this was because for all his efficiency and moderation, Loyola always had his mind and soul focused on the greater loyalty which lies beyond the world. 'We must', he told Sister Teresa Rejadella, 'lift ourselves up in true faith and hope in the Lord.' This was the ultimate secret of Loyola's success." (Green, *From Saint Augustine to William Temple*, pp. 92, 101)

An exhortation given at Milltown Park.

The earliest description of the Saint in an official document is far from suggesting a founder's triumph and his canonization. In an indictment, sent in 1515 to the episcopal court at Pampeluna, he is characterized "as bold and defiant; he wears a leather cuirass and is armed with sword and pistol; he is brutal, vindictive." At the time of his death, he was said to be "a character whom no passion could taint; a master of self-discipline whom the last vestiges of selfishness had left; a man who lived exclusively in the service of God." How did this wonderful transformation come about? The evolution is portrayed, line by line, in the Spiritual Exercises. In his letter to Father General, for the fourth centenary, His Holiness the Pope says: "If the book of the Spiritual Exercises was the firstborn of St. Ignatius, the saintly author can equally well be said to have been the firstborn of those Exercises."

The new birth, with all its consequences, took place in his hours of contemplation at Manresa, by the banks of the Cardener. There, Orlandini tells us, he saw the *Fabrica Societatis*.

The general view took its concrete shape and expressed itself in the meditation on Two Standards. Father Mercurian, fourth general of the Society, heard from the lips of the Saint that: "In the meditation of the Two Standards, God had placed before his eyes the plan and basis of the Society." And Ignatius considered the vision of La Storta as the accomplishment of the colloquy of the Two Standards. From this we may draw two conclusions very important for a deeper conception of the Society.

On the one hand we have a sketch of the Society outlined; on the other the humble search for the way to be followed. The search extended over years, probing possibilities, and forming what has been called the theology of the *Magis*. Ignatius has but one will: to help Christ in souls. The rest is left to the conduct of grace which unfolds little by little. We may record our Lord's words to His apostles: "I have many things to tell you yet but you cannot bear them now." One idea stood out in daylight clearness: it is necessary to come to the assistance of souls in the Church militant. In the Pope's letter referred to, this point is thus stressed: "When Ignatius later composed the Constitutions and gave them to his companions, his intention was not that rigid laws

should replace the living and life-giving law of interior love."

From the vivid awakening of the supernatural outlook four great principles dominated Ignatius: they are the heart of the Spiritual Exercises, and the soul of the Constitutions. The first is that of militant service: the Kingdom of Christ and the Standards. The militant service is impossible without discipline, so "the true and genuine progeny of the Society should be distinguished by the mark of obedience." But, and it is the third principle, the obedience is one of love, brought home to us by the name of Jesus, one of the substantials of the Order, never to be sacrificed, without changing its whole spirit. And the fourth principle is the aim and object of the Exercises, and of the Company organized to carry it out: to conquer one's self and regulate one's life by the determination of seeking and finding God's will. The words *regulate* and *determination* stand out. The former knight-errant of an idealized princess is master of himself instead of the pursuivant of glory in his own interests. The accepted idea of chivalry was turned upside down: the fixed idea, "What new enterprise can I attempt and carry through?" Opposed to it is Ignatius' fixed inspiration: "What is the enterprise to which God wills that I should address myself?"

St. Ignatius had discarded the office in choir. The conservatives frowned on him. Yet it is hardly an exaggeration to say that with St. Ignatius, as in St. Ignatius, thought about prayer reached its high-water mark. Two obstacles to perfect prayer were removed: undue formalism and unbalanced mysticism. Devotion concentrated on the life of our Lord: *sequar te quocumque ieris*: countless souls were stimulated to the unselfish and unremitting service of God and man. The whole gamut of the soul's powers was played upon to harmonize it with the Master's own prayer: application of senses, sorrowing to tears with Christ sorrowing, rejoicing in His great joy; reflecting back upon myself, and ending up in the way of the genuine mystic: a complete answering of love to the love out-poured so that, as the nineteenth rule has it, "we may be daily more fit to receive in greater abundance His graces and spiritual gifts."

What, then, dear Fathers and Brothers, is to be the fruit in our souls of this fourth centenary celebration? The Pope,

himself a saint by general admission, tells us: "In these troubled times Holy Mother Church asks the Society for sons of the Ignatian mold. Under the standard of the Cross may they stand firm against all the attacks of the princes of the world of darkness. Loving and ready obedience must be shown to superiors, especially the Supreme Pontiff. To worldly desires, love of poverty must be opposed; to empty pleasure a certain austerity of life and untiring labour; to the discord of the world, gentle and peace-bringing brotherly love, love for each other and for all men."

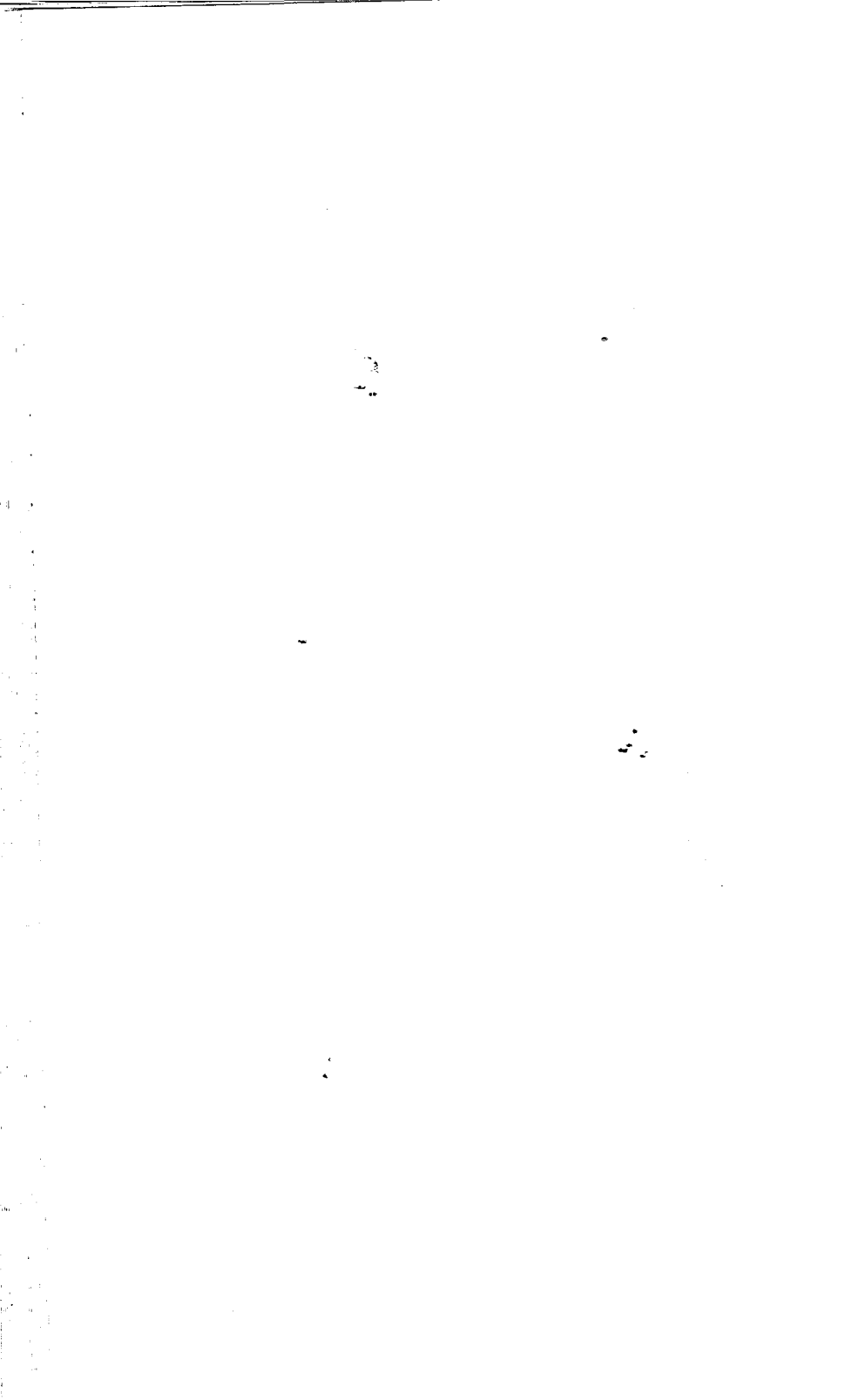
LETTER TO AZPETIA

I beg you with all my power and affection for the love and reverence of God our Lord to devote yourselves to the honor, credit and service of His only-begotten Son, Christ our Lord in that tremendous institution of the Blessed Sacrament, wherein His Divine Majesty in His divinity and humanity is as grandly, completely, powerfully and infinitely present, as He is in heaven. In the Confraternity that should be formed, let there be rules binding each member to go to Confession and Holy Communion once a month, but voluntarily and without any obligation under sin. I have not the slightest doubt that doing and acting thus you will find inestimable spiritual benefit. In the early Church, all those of the right age, both men and women, received the Blessed Sacrament every day. Afterwards, when devotion had grown a little cold, they communicated every eight days. Then, a long time later, charity having much more diminished, people went to Holy Communion only on the three great feasts of the year, each being left to his own choice and devotion to communicate more frequently, every three days, or eight days, or once a month. At length, owing to our great frailty and infirmity, we have reached the stage where Communions only once a year are the custom, and we hardly deserve the name of Christians. Then let it be our part for the love of such a Master and for the great profit of our souls to take up again the holy practices of our forefathers, at least in part if we cannot entirely, by going to Confession and Holy Communion once a month. Should any wish to advance further, he may rest assured that he will do so in conformity with the will of our Creator and Lord. I end by begging and entreating you for the love and reverence of God our Lord to give me a share in your devotions, above all in those of the Most Blessed Sacrament, and you shall always have in mine, though poor and unworthy, the completest participation.

ST. IGNATIUS LOYOLA



FATHER EDMUND A. WALSH



Father Edmund A. Walsh

LOUIS J. GALLAGHER, S.J.

Edmund A. Walsh was born October 10, 1885 in South Boston, Massachusetts. His parents, John Francis Walsh and Catherine J. (Noonan) Walsh, were Americans of Irish descent. He received his early education in the Boston public grade schools, first attending the Bigelow School and afterwards graduating from the Rodger Clapp School in Dorchester. Somewhat in advance of his class, he entered Boston College High School at the age of thirteen. At that time the High School comprised only a three year course; during his years there young Walsh ranked high in all his classes, took part in high school debates and in Shakespearean plays, and for his second and third years was a member of the High School track team, and locally known as a good short distance runner. He was, however, anything but a short distance man. As his future revealed, he went the full distance and achieved distinction in several different spheres of life in which there was plenty of competition. On completion of his high school course he decided to apply for Annapolis and to enter the Navy, but his mother had something to say about that, and she needed only to express her wish that he fulfill a higher ambition which he had entertained from the time of his earlier youth. On August 14, 1902 he entered the Jesuit Novitiate at Frederick, Maryland, and he was a member of the community that transferred from Frederick to the new Novitiate at St. Andrew-on-Hudson in January, 1903.

On October 19, 1952 Father Walsh celebrated his Golden Jubilee as a Jesuit, at Georgetown University, and the number of congratulatory letters he received on that occasion affords us some idea of the diverse and numerous, national and international, projects in which he was involved during his half century of activity as a Jesuit. On November 15th, 1952, the Georgetown University Club of Washington held a jubilee dinner celebration for Father Walsh at the Mayflower Hotel, at which Archbishop Amleto Cicognani, Apostolic Delegate, Rev. Francis Brown Harris, Chaplain of the United States Senate, Rabbi Norman Gerstenfeld, General J. Lawton Collins, Chief of Staff of the United States Army, and Honorable

Harold M. Stephens, Chief Justice, United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, offered their felicitations to the Jubilarian. The selection of speakers at this dinner and the telegrams read by the toastmaster from former President Hoover, from J. Edgar Hoover, and from various foreign embassies and consulates, were other indications of the many and prominent contacts that Father Walsh had made during the busy course of his active career. A few excerpts from his reply to the congratulations tendered him at this dinner will afford a summary sketch of his life.

Sketch of Life

"It was my lot," he said, "to be born into the waning years of the nineteenth century when life and social customs in Boston were tinged with the roseate hues of a setting sun condescendingly called the Victorian Age. The times were not violent nor hurried nor hard on the nerves. Every past, I presume, seems slower in pace than every present. Distance and the laws of optics do that to the human eye gazing on all receding objects. The horse and buggy, far from being a reproach, were a symbol of considerable economic speed, not to say of affluence, in my boyhood. The nights were illumined, not by the garish glare of neon tubes, but by the softer glow of gas jets, kerosense lamps, and Welsbach mantles. They represented the best available products of that particular stage of invention, and were far better than the tallow candles and whale oil lamps that preceded them. In 1892 the great World's Fair at Chicago and the attendant publicity made us primary school boys conscious of Christopher Columbus. We began to understand that America was discovered by an Italian navigator in the employ of Spain, whereas we previously had imagined that the new world had been created by Puritans from down Cape Cod way.

"It was in August, 1902, that I first set foot in the comfortable and leisurely southern city that housed the then unproliferated Federal Government. Georgetown, a half century ago, was simply West Washington, a tranquil suburb basking in the sun. It gave small evidence in 1902 of the residential destiny and the architectural renaissance awaiting it at the hands of the real estate experts. That first acquaintance with

Washington was in the nature of a pleasant stopover on the way to a still more characteristically southern community, Frederick, Maryland, where I was to embark on my ecclesiastical studies in the Society of Jesus. Being a displaced New Englander in what Bostonians would consider the deep South, I dutifully compared the comparables. Hence, I stood one day on the bridge close to the house of the redoubtable Barbara Fritchie, and by the magic of memory recalled her verbal shot heard round the world:

Shoot if you must this old gray head,
But spare your country's flag, she said.

I next staged in my mind's eye a concrete manifestation of southern chivalry as the rebel commander gave his magnanimous order:

Who touches a hair of yon gray head
Dies like a dog. March on, he said.

One sceptical Yankee among us suggested that Stonewall Jackson really held his fire because from where he stood he could not quite see the whites of her eyes. Another, from Maryland, quietly asked if it might not rather be that he was economizing ammunition until he caught up with General Lew Wallace commanding the Yankee troops then in hasty retreat from Frederick Town.

"It was 1909 when I returned to the rapidly growing National Capital, as a young instructor at Georgetown University, to begin a residence of over thirty-five years in this community. There were periods of absence and residence elsewhere in the ensuing decades—in England, Ireland, Austria, France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Mexico, Holland, the Near East, Iraq, Japan and, longest of all, in Soviet Russia under Lenin, who miraculously escaped liquidation by Mr. Stalin in one of his purges by conveniently dying in 1924. Although these absences were frequent and sometimes prolonged, I believe I may truthfully say they were of the body, not of the spirit. The spires and the clock-tower on Georgetown Heights were rarely absent from my thoughts and never from my affections. My esteemed colleagues on the Hilltop understand, I am sure, why Goldsmith's nostalgic lines came often to my lips:

Where'er I roam, whatever realms to see
My heart, untravelled, fondly turns to thee.

I would be dishonest to the facts, and utterly insensible to the influence of Georgetown University on my adult life if I were to omit tribute to her place and to her share in whatever of merit you have discovered in the record of my years.

"I thank the disciplined but patient formation (of character), as exercised by my Order, founded as it was by a soldier over four hundred years ago, which taught me to put first things first, particularly to regard no man as fit for command who has not first learned how to obey.

"I thank the venerable educational institution which has harbored my presence, borne with my faults, encouraged my projects, and always welcomed me back after frequent sojourns in foreign parts."

Father Walsh took his first vows at Poughkeepsie in 1904, and after two years of classical studies he went to Woodstock, Maryland for three years of philosophy. It was his proficiency in the Greek and Latin classics that prompted his Superiors to send him to the University of Dublin in 1912 and to the University of London in 1913 for graduate studies in Greek and Latin. Previous to these special studies, and after completing the course of philosophy at Woodstock, he passed two years of the regency or teaching period at Georgetown University. The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 found him in the first year of theological studies at Innsbruck, in Austria, and when the theologate was taken over by the military, he was among the students who were forced to return to their native countries. In that same year his theological studies were resumed at Woodstock, where he presented the *Actus Publicus de Deo Elevante et Iustificante* in 1918, two years after his ordination to the priesthood. His second contact with Georgetown was his appointment there as Dean in 1918, and from that time until his demise, during a period of thirty-eight years, his name was in the Georgetown catalogue. During his first year as Dean of Georgetown he was called into the service of the United States War Department, as a member of a board of five educators to co-ordinate the studies in colleges taken over by the Government. This was an

R.O.T.C. project covering the entire country, and he was assigned as regional director of colleges in New England.

On his return to Georgetown in the following year, he immediately set to work planning a new department of education to meet demands in the field of international relations that would develop as a result of the great upheaval of the first World War. In this instance, his vision of the part that Georgetown was to play in the future educational world was nothing short of worldwide. The immediate result of his planning and of his experience in the Army was the founding of the Georgetown School of Foreign Service, in 1919, of which he was the first director and regent. Two years later, in 1921, he was in Paray-le-Monial, in France, approaching the end of the year of tertianship, when he was summoned to Rome to undertake the first of the great projects that were to keep him engaged in foreign countries, at varying intervals, for the next twenty-seven years. This was the beginning of a series of global expeditions which resulted in his being named an honorary citizen of five foreign countries. In June of 1922 he was appointed director of the papal relief mission to Russia and papal representative in that country. The year and a half absorbed in this Russian undertaking directly influenced every major project he conducted during the rest of his busy life.

Apart from his work as an educator, a lecturer, and an author, Father Walsh's life may be divided into a series of international episodes relating to his life as a diplomat.

First Diplomatic Mission

The first of the diplomatic missions entrusted to him during his varied overseas career was the most difficult and the most precarious. After a five year period of war and revolution, of famine and of the red terror, in which "scepter and crown had tumbled down," the Communist Bolshevik government was in the first phase of its contemplated domination of the world. There was a famine in the land. The American relief administration was endeavoring to assuage it. Under direction of Pope Pius XI, Cardinal Gasparri, the Secretary of State, and his assistant, Monsignor Pizzardo, were negotiating with the Bolshevik officials in Rome about sending a Papal

Relief Mission into Russia to assist in feeding their millions of starving children. The necessary food supplies for such an undertaking might be purchased from the Roumanian Government or from the American relief administration in Russia. The direct purchase of food from Roumania would have been costly, and its distribution over the vast stretches of the Russian famine area by papal agents would have been a cumbersome task requiring a numerous personnel. To affiliate the papal mission with the American relief administration, with the privilege of purchase and distribution of American food to papal warehouses in outlying districts, was more economical and much less difficult. At that time there were five other relief organizations affiliated to the American relief administration in Russia, all of which were headed and operated by Americans. A papal mission to Russia, made up of men from five different nations, had to be directed by an American in order to secure the privileges of affiliation.

In February of 1922 Father Walsh was called from the Tertianship at Paray-le-Monial, and directed to go into Russia to make a survey of famine conditions and to arrange with the director of the American relief administration for the affiliation of a papal relief mission. He arrived in Moscow on March 23rd and was back in Rome by May 3rd, after having visited the Moscow and Petrograd districts and the more seriously affected famine area of Samara. Conditions were more than serious. They had already proved fatal to more than a million children. The question of affiliation with the American relief administration required more time and travel than the Russian survey.

Under President Harding all European relief was in charge of Mr. Herbert Hoover, at that time Secretary of Commerce. Colonel William Haskell was directing the American relief administration in Russia, and negotiations for the affiliation were carried on between Moscow, Rome, and Washington. Father Walsh landed in New York on May 27th, presented the Pope's letter to President Harding on the 31st, took breakfast with Mr. Hoover on June 1st, and delivered a second letter directed to him from the Vatican, and the affiliation was confirmed. Father Walsh and his American assistant were both made members of the American relief administration.

No objection was made to the fact that the other eight members of the mission were to be Europeans. The two Americans arrived in Rome on June 28th. In the meantime the other members of the mission were appointed from Italy, Spain, Germany, and Czechoslovakia, and arrangements were being made for their entrance into Russia by way of Constantinople and Odessa.

To Moscow

The director's trip from Rome to Moscow was not without its attendant difficulties. On the train from Warsaw to Riga he was informed by an A.R.A. agent that Colonel Haskell was very probably on the outgoing train from Riga, which would stop at Janiskis to meet the ingoing train at 2:00 A.M. Father Walsh had planned on meeting the Colonel at Riga or in Moscow. The meeting was important, so he decided to find Colonel Haskell on the other train and to return with him to Berlin. His assistant went on to Riga, in Latvia. It was a hurried change. The conductor of the train had collected all passports, as was the custom at the time. He very probably could not distinguish one American passport from another, and handed Father Walsh the first one he put his hand on. On the following day Father Walsh's American assistant met a fellow American to whom the conductor had given Father Walsh's passport on his arrival in Riga. On July 19th, after a six day sojourn in Riga, the assistant received a telegram from Father Walsh in Berlin, reading: "Proceed to Moscow with baggage—having passport trouble." He proceeded as directed and arrived in Moscow with two trunks and three bags on July 22nd. Father Walsh reached Moscow four days later, on the 26th, the same day that the eight additional members of the papal mission to Russia sailed from Bari, in Italy.

Realizing as he did that this particular mission was beset with difficulties arising from sources wholly alien to the feeding of starving children, the first duty of the director was to get his feeding program underway and operating. He knew he was facing a spectre of famine that would haunt Russia for a few years and eventually change its shape into a still more

dangerous political and philosophical phantom. The large sign painted on the Kremlin wall, "Religion, an opiate to the people," reminded him that apart from feeding hungry children he had another commission, as vital to the Russian people as relief from physical hunger. He was the sole agent in Russia at that time of the one government in the world that was diametrically opposed to the fundamental tenets of the Marxian doctrine, upon which the Bolsheviks had already begun to build a Communist government. To feed a quarter of a million children in a dozen different centers, scattered hundreds of miles apart, in a country where there were no highways, and where railroad transportation had virtually fallen apart, was a task in itself. To conduct such a mission under the supervision of suspicious and inexperienced government officials who had to report on the movements of every foreigner in the land was quite another undertaking. The housing of agents, the transportation of foodstuffs and of personnel, the opening of feeding kitchens and the distribution of food packages, the hiring of Russian help and the opening of warehouses, all met with discussion and delay while little children were dying of hunger. Despite the fact that the Catholic Archbishop, the Patriarch of the Russian Church, and a Jewish Rabbi, eighty-two years old and blind, were in prison in three contiguous cells in Petrograd, and apart from the fact that the government campaign of spoliation of the churches was in full swing at the time, interest in church affairs had to be postponed in favor of the hungry children. And yet, while inaugurating an extensive feeding program in Moscow and in the Crimea, Father Walsh succeeded in negotiating with the government to keep open Catholic churches in Moscow and in Petrograd. It was about this time also, in August, 1922, that Pope Pius XI offered to pay in equal weight of gold for the holy vessels confiscated by the government from Catholic churches in Russia, but there was no response to his request. The Holy Father had already made his first petition to the same government for the return of the relics of Blessed Andrew Bobola, Polish Martyr, which Bolshevik agents had removed from the Catholic church in Vitebsk to a medical museum in Moscow, but, here again, not even the courtesy of a reply was forthcoming.

On August 2nd Father Walsh left Moscow for Novorosisk, where the Vatican mission agents were scheduled to land from Constantinople. Their itinerary, however, had been changed and they landed at Sevastopol on August 6th. By August 22nd the director was back in Moscow, having arranged with the local Crimean authorities for the opening of a feeding kitchen at Eupatoria and for the transfer of the mission agents to carry on relief work in other parts of Russia.

The long series of letters and documents exchanged between the papal relief office in Moscow and the housing committee of the city of Moscow, relative to a residence in the city, which the government was to supply on application, is only one evidence of time lost and of work impeded by dealing with subordinate officials who worked and lived in utter fear of their superiors. Negotiations with higher government officials relative to church affairs in Petrograd were even more exasperating. The director of the papal mission made several trips to Petrograd, in an effort to safeguard church property, to keep open the Catholic churches, and to have Archbishop Cieplak released from prison. The Archbishop was in prison when the papal mission arrived in Russia and he remained there until nine months later, when he was summoned to Moscow for trial and condemned to death, together with Monsignor Butchevitch. The Monsignor was executed the very night he was condemned. The Bishop's sentence was commuted to twenty-one years in prison; and the same sentence was given to twenty of his priests. During these nine months there was a continual flow of letters and documents between the Vatican and the mission office.

Difficulties

Only the experience of having attempted such a gigantic relief task can afford an adequate appreciation of the difficulties encountered in establishing an alien organization in Russia in 1922. The distances and the weather that defeated Napoleon are always present in a Russian winter. The national system of railroads had collapsed before the end of World War I, and since that time not a spike had been driven. Trains that were still running were whole days late on their

running schedule, and their engines were burning wood due to a national shortage of coal. There were few inter-city roads and no military highways, and the railroads were the only means of long distance travel and transportation. Automobiles and auto trucks were a government luxury and the few that one saw were left-over American models from the war years, or were brought in by the American Relief Administration. And despite all this, in addition to the added delays and interruptions caused by letters and even telegrams arriving from Rome days and even weeks after date, the relief work was begun with incredible dispatch.

The general plan was to feed children in open kitchens and to send out packages to needy families. The food package was a collection of forty-nine pounds of flour, twenty-five pounds of rice, ten pounds of sugar, ten pounds of lard, twenty tins of evaporated milk, and three pounds of tea. Within two weeks of its arrival in Moscow, the mission had sent out four hundred and five of these packages, in response to requests sent in before the mission had arrived, by people who had known of its coming. No distinction of race or religion was made in package distribution or in the open kitchens. The operations were further delayed by contradictory orders coming from Rome and from Moscow as to where the work was to begin. Originally the Spanish and German members of the mission were destined for Rostov and for Krasnodar, but when they arrived in the Crimea the Russian government asked to have the entire Papal mission detained there because of the famine conditions prevailing in that district. According to their report, there were thirty-five thousand children in that section threatened by famine. Directions from Rome were to open kitchens in the Crimea with four men to direct them, and to send the others to their original destinations. One can gather some idea of the difficulty in following contradictory orders, from the fact that a telegram sent to the mission from Rome and dated September 20, 1922 was delivered there in October, 1923. This particular telegram was sent through the Soviet representative in Rome, who, in turn, sent it to the Soviet state department in Moscow. Evidently it did not fit into their plan for papal mission activities.

At that time also, there were thousands of orphaned chil-

dren wandering aimlessly about Moscow and its vicinity in search of food. Who they were and where they came from, no one knew. Dr. Golder, of the Jewish relief organization, then operating in Russia, said that there probably were four million children between the ages of seven and fifteen, orphaned by the war, the famine, and the red terror, moving about Russia in advance of pursuing famine. For the most part they came into the larger cities riding underneath the railroad cars. The Government was endeavoring to gather them into barracks and warehouses and abandoned factories. When the papal mission agents arrived in Rostov there were three hundred of these children living in a factory which had been stripped of its machinery. They were half-clothed, half-fed, and ninety per cent of them were suffering from disease. Nothing but the grace of God, in the form of American food and American medical supplies, dispensed by the relief missions, prevented the outbreak of a plague in such unsanitary conditions. By September 25th the director of the Vatican mission could write to Rome, forwarding an account of the opening of feeding kitchens in the Crimea, where three thousand children were being fed once a day, and this was only the beginning. One month later the Holy Father was informed that the papal flag was flying freely in Moscow, Petrograd, Rostov-on-the-Don, Krasnodar, and in various towns in the Crimea. In other words, the feeding program was under way and making progress.

Pots and Kettles

Due to a lack of equipment in opening their first kitchen in Eupatoria, the papal agents had to build stone fireplaces in the building assigned to them. These fireplaces were fashioned to hold large soup cauldrons and the cauldrons, in turn, were made from abandoned harbor mines found on the sandy coast of western Crimea. As Father Walsh said at the time, if swords have been beaten into ploughshares, so explosive mines originally intended for the destruction of enemy ships could be shaped into pots and kettles for use in feeding hungry children in Catholic kitchens in Bolshevik Russia.

The dozen papal agents were merely the directors of the

different stations. The detailed work of the entire operation required a large corps of Russian employees: clerks, typists, interpreters, translators, warehouse managers and chauffeurs. All of these were indispensable adjuncts of a nationwide operation that had to be conducted on businesslike lines involving purchase, shipment, insurance, storage, distribution, and control of thousands of tons of precious food. This kind of work required long and frequent trips to outlying district stations, and travel at that time in Russia was no small problem in itself. In a stateroom of what had formerly been known as a first-class car, one had to supply his own bedding, food, and lighting. Sleeping bags, a primus stove, a basket of food from the American commissary, and a large can of insect powder were the ordinary travelling equipment. In second and third-class carriages, one carried the same equipment, but he slept on a board shelf, up or down, fully accoutered from fur cap to high felt boots, one of four in an open alcove, and the other three were frequently Soviet soldiers. During all their travels, which were long and frequent, no mission agent ever reported a loss on a train. Railroad accidents were common but not serious. On overnight journeys a train would sometimes stop in the early evening on the edge of a forest or near a thicket of trees, and the passengers were handed axes and told to cut up dead wood for fuel for the night run. The feeling of insecurity, an ingredient of the Russian atmosphere, was at times enhanced during train travel when one experienced the very perceptible swaying of a heavily loaded and slow chugging train over a decadent wooden bridge.

The complicated feeding program, with its three-way correspondence between the Vatican, the mission office and the Bolshevik government, would have supplied sufficient work to occupy a well-filled work-a-day program. This, however, was only part of the activities that were constantly increasing. In addition to food, a request was made for twenty thousand pairs of children's shoes, and clothing for as many children and adults. Fortunately, the vast medical program being carried on by the American relief administration covered the districts in which the Papal mission was working. This was all relief work; bodily and material assistance, and the principal reason for the presence of the Vatican relief mission in

Russia. The extra, more delicate, more difficult, and more dangerous assignment, entrusted to the director of the mission, was the supervision of the interests of the Catholic Church, in a country that was openly and avowedly hostile to its very existence. The great spoliation of the churches—Russian and Catholic—was still in process. Some churches were being used for barracks and moving picture houses, and others were being torn down under pretext of removing obstructions from public places.

No Compromise

The Russian schismatic churches had already lost over a hundred million dollars worth of sacred vessels, icons, and gold and silver ornaments. The Catholic churches, less ornate in decorations, had lost some hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of similar objects. Every district that one visited in Russia at that time had stories of Russian schismatic priests who had been put to death. The great drive on the state church was coming to an end. The Bolshevik government had that particular religious element well in hand and under control. With the Catholic Church there was no question of control, because with that Church there was no room for compromise. Here it was question of total eradication, and, were it not for the presence of the papal mission in Russia, the effort might have well have been successful. In the last analysis, the anti-religious drive fell but little short of its endeavor. Apart from Petrograd and Moscow, in each of which only one Catholic church was left open for worship, there was no other place in Russia where the government showed any hesitation in confiscation.

The religious controversy was rapidly approaching a crisis, when in January, 1923 the government asked the Vatican mission to take over the famine-stricken district of Orenburg, beyond the Volga, in the lower Ural country. The American relief administration had worked there during the preceding year, but had to close its relief station and recall its personnel because of continued interference by local Russian authorities. The salaries of Russian employees at relief centers were paid by the central government in Moscow. The payroll was made

out at the relief office, and the money to cover it was delivered to the relief office by the local representatives of the central government. With this arrangement, and living conditions being what they were, it is not difficult to understand why local authorities, following the ideology of their superiors, would try to control the distribution of food and the handling of money.

The American relief administration and the Vatican mission both responded to the call of twenty thousand hungry children in the Orenburg district without question or condition, but in doing so the director of the Vatican mission placed himself in a dubious, if not in a precarious, position. Father Walsh was a student of Marxian Philosophy, and after half a year in Russia he was well aware of the fact that with Bolshevik officials diplomacy and duplicity were synonymous. His later writings are patent evidence that at that time he knew he was taking part in the opening chapter of a struggle that eventually would affect every religious profession and every form of government in the world. For the first time in history the universal Catholic Church was face to face with a new kind of civil government, set upon establishing its own universality by the destruction of all other forms of government, and by the reshaping to conformity with its own ideas, of every phase of human life. Even the phantom of such a regime called for the elimination of the idea of individual liberty and of God-given rights. The Russian Church already had been compromised into subjection. What occasioned the second flare-up against the Catholic Church in Russia during the first months of 1923, was probably the fact that it did not and would not compromise on its fundamental tenets. Telegrams in code were passing between the Vatican and the mission office in Moscow, and the director was advised to make every effort, except a threat to discontinue relief work, in order to protect the imprisoned Bishop in Petrograd and the rights of the Church in Russia. Even the deportation of the Archbishop, reluctant as he was to leave his people, would have been a gesture of courtesy to the Pope, who at that time was feeding thousands of Russian children, but courtesy has no place where injustice is dominant. That the director did

everything in his power became evident a few months later when the crisis came, attended by catastrophe.

The American relief administration and the Vatican mission despatched their agents to Orenburg in January, 1923. Within a few weeks the spectre of famine had vanished, and by the end of March thirty thousand children and adults were being fed every day. It was in March also, and during Holy Week, that the Bolshevik authorities in Moscow, after waiting until the Orenburg threat of famine was under full control, struck its lethal blows in the trials and condemnation of archbishop Cieplak, of Monsignor Butchevitch, and of twenty Catholic priests.

The relief station at Orenburg, beyond the Volga, in the southern Ural district, was the last to be opened (January, 1923) and the first to be closed (June, 1923). It was operating at its peak in April, the season of the floods, when the Ural River rises and cuts off the hilltop city from the rest of the world. Thousands of people from the steppes, across the river, flocked into the city in search of food and shelter until the floods receded. The American relief administration and the papal relief mission had filled their warehouses in anticipation of the floods, and the refugees were cared for, in addition to the thousands of children then being fed. At that time the package distribution center at Krasnodar was supplying food for fifteen hundred families, and the Crimean stations were feeding thirty thousand children. By the middle of February, the Moscow central office of the papal mission had despatched clothing to the various relief stations for fifteen thousand children and adults. The number of people being fed at that time was 90,000, and in June of 1923 the overall and top figure for the Vatican relief mission was 138,000.

By June of 1923 the Bolshevik government could publish to the world that famine conditions in Russia were at an end. The American relief administration had closed most of its stations and was ready to withdraw. With it no longer operating, package distribution had to cease because all papal relief packages were purchased from it.

A request from the government to the papal mission to continue its work in the Crimea presented a whole new series of

difficulties, which were, however, attended by certain advantages. The diplomatic controversy that followed developed into a typical Bolshevik paper war. Negotiations were still going on relative to the release of Archbishop Cieplak and the other priests, and the Vatican was anxious to keep a representative in Russia. Correspondence was piling up on the subject of Church property, and the question of the restoration of the relics of Saint Andrew Bobola had already been reopened. The added difficulties connected with relief work in Russia after the departure of the American relief administration were patently evident. Food supplies would have to be purchased from Roumania, the cost of transportation to the Crimea would be heavy, and the usual troubles connected with the housing of agents were certain to be multiplied. The terms under which the Vatican mission had been operating with the American relief administration were ideal. The conditions under which the mission would have to operate as a separate organization, as suggested by the government, were prohibitive. The distribution of food and the hiring of Russian help were to be supervised by Soviet agents. The house rental for foreign relief workers was exorbitant, and their homes and offices were at all times to be open for police inspection. During all the time that the papal mission was working in Russia, the Director was aware of the fact that the house servants at all the mission centers, and especially at Moscow, were periodically summoned by the police to give a detailed report of what was going on in the mission houses. At one outlying station the two men in charge found out later that the local police were kept informed of where they went, with whom they talked, when they retired and when they got up, when and what they ate and drank, what they were reading. Fortunately, these two priests, working and dressed as laymen, were exempted from reading the breviary and spoke a language which none of their servants understood. The newly suggested condition of police inspection would mean all this, plus the added advantage of entrance without notice and search without warrant. These same conditions of house inspection were dictated to the British commercial unit when it was first opened in Moscow about a year previous to this time. In reply, the director of the unit said he would have no

objections provided the same conditions applied to the Russian commercial unit then operating in London. There was no further argument on the subject and no police inspection for the British. The Vatican was not in a position to make a similar reply. There were Russian agents living in Rome at that time but their residence was not within Vatican jurisdiction. When the Turkish Ambassador arrived in Moscow, in that same year, his house was exempted from police inspection, but four days after his arrival his Turkish servants discovered dictaphones in his office and in his living room. He, himself, told that story to one of the papal relief agents.

If the Russian government had not asked the papal relief mission to continue its work after the American relief administration had departed, the Vatican would probably have made a request to do so. The Catholic Church was then facing a crisis in Russia and there was no doubt as to its outcome. It was a crisis that must eventually terminate in an impasse, not only for the Catholic Church but for Christianity in general. It was a situation hitherto unheard of; namely, the total eradication of Christianity and the utter obliteration of all religion, for the creation of an atheistic world.

The great Russian state church, which took over the Christian inheritance from Byzantium when Constantinople fell, was already submerged in the wreckage of the imperial state. What heretical flotsam was left was now being gathered up to be built into the new Bolshevik atheistic church, in itself a contradiction in terms. This red church gesture was just another compromise with the Russian people. It would take a generation of atheistic education, perhaps a century of it, to wholly erase the idea of Holy Russia, which over seven centuries of state church had burned into the soul of the nation under the Caesaropapist rule of tyrannical Czars.

Destruction of Religion

Competent historian that he was, and a diplomat of long perspective, the director of the papal mission realized that Rome was facing a situation wholly different in origin and purpose from any of the series of crises the Church had weathered in the long course of its turbulent history. The separation of Byzantium, resulting in the growth of the vari-

ous branches of the Eastern Church, the defections of the so-called Reformation that gave rise to so many Protestant sects, and even the residence at Avignon, were dislocations causing the dismemberment of unity and the increase of heresy, but the heretics were still believers.

Atheistic Communism was the first human endeavor to destroy religion entirely with the purpose of producing an unbelieving humanity. The threat and the danger of such a philosophy to mankind in general, and the determination of its advocates to force it upon the world, were afterwards the topics of hundreds of lectures given by Father Walsh and listened to, but never acted upon, by hundreds of statesmen and politicians. Long before the Soviet satellite countries were subdued, and far in advance of the Yalta Conference, he endeavored to persuade the directors of American foreign policy that religion was the only safeguard of morality, and that morality, in turn, had no substitute as a protection for national and international industrial and economic society. Nowhere can we find a better forecast of the relations existing today between Soviet Russia and the rest of the world than in his writings. He was one of the first to warn the nations that the Communist strategy to conquer the world would be introduced by a camouflage of peace, followed by a cold war of nerves, in order to build up the necessary military strength for universal conquest. With him this was a logical but a conditional conclusion—if the world were to hesitate and compromise and continue to appease a philosophy which was essentially evil in its conception. His warnings were sounded long before Russia could boast of a military power ready to face the rest of the world, and far in advance of the discovery that frightened the world into believing that Russia might realize her boast in the atom bomb.

The recognition of the Russian government by the United States was granted, despite the views and the opinion of the director of the papal mission to Russia, given to President Roosevelt in the White House, on his personal invitation. It was on that occasion, and shortly before the official recognition, that the President, after listening to Father Walsh's objections, remarked: "Leave it to me, Father, I am a good horse-trader." The disastrous trading took place later on at

Yalta between the President and the man who was the very embodiment of all that was evil in atheistic Communism. Yalta was the diplomatic undoing of an enfeebled President, and his host became the great hero of Communism not only in Russia but in the rest of the world. Some years later the name and the fame of Stalin were declared anathema by his own hirelings, who divided up his power, wiped out his glory, and presumably rejected his policies, but they never had a word of criticism for his dealings with the American horse-trader.

A longer sojourn of the papal mission offered little or no hope of strengthening the tenuous hold of the Catholic Church in Russia, but there were advantages to be had from a delayed departure. Father Walsh went to Rome in late June and was back in Moscow in early July with plans for continuing relief work. Three whole months of correspondence were to pass before any work could be done, and more of this letter-writing was concerned with housing facilities than with feeding stations. In the meantime, two more major projects were still under discussion, namely, the surrender of the relics of Blessed Andrew Bobola, and the release from prison of Archbishop Cieplak and his twenty priests. The decision to continue work in Russia may have had some bearing on the outcome of these two undertakings.

Colonel Haskell and the last of the American relief administration workers left Moscow on July 20th, 1923. Plans were drawn up for the continuation of relief work by the papal mission in Moscow and in Rostov. The station in Orenburg had been closed, those at Krasnodar and in the Crimea were to be liquidated. What food and clothing were left in the warehouses of the stations, already closed, were handed over to the local Russian authorities for distribution. The mission workers had to give up their residence in Moscow in favor of an incoming ambassador, but no provision was made for other lodgings. This particular difficulty consumed a whole month of correspondence with two government bureaus, one of which had jurisdiction over foreigners living in Moscow, and the other over housing facilities, neither of them being certain of just where its jurisdiction began and where it ended. The mission agents were finally forced to take over a

house vacated by the American relief, until such time as another one was assigned to them, at a much higher rent than they had been paying up to date. Why they had to pay any rent at all, considering the work they were doing, was merely a mystery of Bolshevik policy.

During these busy days Father Walsh had several conferences with Mr. Checherin, the Soviet Secretary of Foreign Affairs, regarding the relics of Blessed Andrew Bobola. Checherin was an old-time Czarist diplomat who went over to the Bolsheviks, hoping that he could do more for his people in a public office than he could from a prison cell. He was well educated, mild mannered, and soft spoken in half a dozen European languages—a Bolshevik official who evidently found it a difficult task to steer a safe course between his conscience and his atheistic overlords. As one of the original founders of the Bolshevik regime he succeeded in prolonging his career until he fell a victim to the Stalin purge of 1937. It was through him, however, and probably on his initiative, that the body of Blessed Andrew Bobola was given over to the director of the papal mission and afterwards transported to Rome by a member of the mission, crossing over the Black Sea from Odessa to Constantinople on a Russian freighter named the Checherin. The story of that journey, the longest of the several Odysseys made by the body of the Blessed Andrew, is told in the life of the Saint written by the same Jesuit mission agent, traveling at that time as a diplomatic courier of the state department of the Soviet Government.

Progress on the other commission was not so noticeable, but results were more rapid and more surprising. When the mission agent, en route to Rome with the relics, arrived in Constantinople on October 22, 1923, he was informed that the Archbishop had been released and was then in Warsaw. The reason for his release has never been divulged; the circumstances attending it were afterwards recounted in detail by the Archbishop. On further investigation in Constantinople a rumor was heard, though it never could be verified, that just at that time, October of 1923, the Soviet Government was negotiating with the British government relative to mutual trading and tariffs, and that through the influence of the British Labor leader, Mr. McDonald, a clause was inserted

into the trading contract requesting the release of Archbishop Cieplak.

A few days after the arrival of the relics in Rome, a telegram was received at the Vatican asking if the agent who transferred the relics could return to Moscow and thus enable the director to go to Rome for consultation. It seemed high time to terminate relief work in Russia, and the telegram was answered by asking the director to turn the Moscow office over to the German mission agents, who had come in from Rostov, and then to come to Rome. The German Fathers continued to work in Russia for a few months after Father Walsh's departure. In that short time the demands and restrictions placed upon them by government officials made it impossible to carry on relief work. Famine conditions were at an end. The Papal Relief Mission closed its doors and the last of its agents returned to their native lands.

Second Diplomatic Mission

Father Walsh's second overseas diplomatic mission marked him as an organizer extraordinary. Before 1926 there were two Catholic organizations operating for the social, educational, religious, and temporal betterment of the area known as the Near East. The Catholic Near East Welfare Association, founded by the Right Reverend Monsignor Barry-Doyle, and the Catholic Union, founded by the Reverend Augustine Calen, O.S.B., had both been making substantial contributions to a common cause. Their work was efficient, but necessarily limited because of insufficient financial aid. To remedy this situation Pius XI decided that these two organizations should be welded into a larger and a more generously supported mission of relief. The appeal to this end was made to Catholic America, and on September 15, 1926 the American hierarchy, at its annual meeting in Washington, D. C., put into operation a complete plan of action and gave its approval to the extension and support of this work. By papal direction this new organization retained the name of Catholic Near East Welfare Association and, by appointment of Pius XI, Father Edmund Walsh was named as its President. He was to work under a board of governors, of which Cardinal O'Connell, of Boston, was to act as chairman and Cardinal Hayes, of New York, as

protector. The other members of the board were Cardinal Dougherty, Archbishops Glennon and Hanna, and Bishop Hoban. The purpose of the new organization was to work for the temporal relief and the religious welfare of the peoples of Russia, Greece, the Balkans, and Asia Minor.

Perhaps the outstanding example of Father Walsh's genius for organization is seen in the method he suggested to Rome for the permanent formation of a relief society for the Near East, and in the rapidity with which he accomplished results relative to its financial support. His plan of operation was presented to and accepted by the American hierarchy. In order to launch the new enterprise financially, his first request to the bishops assembled in Washington was to petition them for a definite Sunday on which a collection would be taken up in every Catholic church in America. The day agreed upon was January 23, 1927. His second suggestion was aimed at establishing a permanent income in order to secure the future growth of operations. That could be done by forming a society of associates among the laity. His goal in this undertaking was a million members contributing one dollar a year. As president and director his office was accountable for all correspondence, printing, accounting, and recording. Within the four months allotted for the work, this new organization was completely established in every detail and operating at full capacity. The chanceries of all the dioceses in the country were briefed with advance notices, and from them every church in the United States was notified several weeks previously of the special collection to be taken up, and of the society of lay associates which Catholics were invited to join. Every Catholic newspaper and magazine was contacted to publicize the appeal, and the 23rd of January, 1927 furnished another striking example of the response of Catholic America to a papal request. The result of the special collection in American churches was \$1,051,933.93. The interest of the lay associates could not be determined until the following year, when their donations amounted to the surprising figure of one-half of the sum contributed on the day of the special collection. The success of this rapid and efficient organization was such that it merited a special letter from Pope Pius XI, dated October 3, 1928, to the cardinals and bishops of the United States, in

which he says in part: "A detailed study of the financial reports of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith and of the Catholic Near East Association fills us with admiration and gratitude and offers us real and genuine comfort. We are filled with admiration by reason of the brilliancy and importance of the success reported; with gratitude for the co-operation on so vast a scale and with such great effect, evincing, on the part of so many people of every class and from every section of your immense country, such generous and beneficent good will." It was in this same letter that Pius XI mentioned the Society for the Propagation of the Faith as the work of works, first and supreme in its importance because it is the continuing through the centuries, and in the whole wide world, of the work of the Divine Founder of the Church Himself and of His first Apostles. It may be that at this time His Holiness already was thinking of incorporating the Catholic Near East Relief Society into the older and more widespread organization. The new society was well organized and operating efficiently, and could supply the Propagation with an index of half a million interested associates. The assurance of continued interest on the part of these associates needed more than the annual reminder of a single director. It needed the appeal of the united hierarchy which was forthcoming each year for the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. Hence it was that in 1932 Father Walsh retired as director of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association, and that organization was taken over by the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, under the guidance of Cardinal Hayes of New York.

Mexican Mission

Father Walsh was called upon by the Vatican, in 1929, to act as a special representative in negotiating with the Mexican government in the church and state conflict of that year, and after a short visit to the City of Mexico, the presumably definite impasse was dissolved. This was the third and perhaps the most delicate of his diplomatic missions.

Of prime importance to the foreign diplomat is a knowledge of the character and of the background of the officials with whom he will have to deal. Some acquaintance with the lan-

guage of the country he is about to visit is important, but interpreters are plentiful and not too expensive. The history of the country and of its people—of their religious, political, social, and industrial development—is also necessary; but the future of all of these is dependent upon the powers that are making domestic and international decisions, and it is in their philosophy of life that the visiting diplomat must be most interested. Father Walsh went into Russia in 1922 primarily to feed hungry children, and, so far as that mission was concerned, there were only minor difficulties to be anticipated in dealing with the ruling Bolshevik outfit. At that time the so-called iron curtain had already been let down against emigration of the native population, but with a hundred million of them threatened with starvation it had to be raised for the entrance of foreign relief missions. The Vatican relief mission to Russia, under the direction of Father Walsh, fulfilled its assignment in detail so far as the hungry nation was concerned. It would have been suicidal for the political overlords to obstruct the organization or the efficiency of the relief workers. The added assignment of protecting what was left of the Catholic Church and of its hierarchy in Russia was quite another undertaking. With a famine on the land, relief was a vital necessity for the preservation of the country, apart from its form of government. The preservation of religion in Russia, which the government had already condemned to death and crowned with thorns in preparation for crucifixion, was a hopeless task in the face of opposition that ridiculed even the idea of placing guards at its tomb to prevent the hoax of a resurrection to follow. In 1922, close to the bridge in Moscow, there was a boat that had been sunk by the revolutionists in 1917, leaving part of its bow above water, on which one could read the name "The Hope of the People." When the state turned turtle in the revolution, the state church, the only hope of the Russian people, was also submerged, leaving only its name as historical evidence.

In Mexico it was a different story. Up to somewhat short of a hundred years before, when the government took over the schools, Mexico could be called a Catholic country, but neither in Mexico nor anywhere else was the Catholic Church as such ever identified with the state. Governments have been over-

whelmed in revolutionary storms, but the Bark of Peter, even when acting as a convoy to the state in a Catholic country, has never been submerged. There was scarcely any room for choice between the barbaric regime of Stalin in Russia and the fanaticism of Calles in Mexico. In both countries the dictator governments wrote and altered the constitutions, and successive tyrannical governments altered and took exception to the constitution whenever that would favor their political policies, and this is especially true where religion was concerned. In Russia there was comparatively little organized opposition on the part of the people or of the Schismatic Church to anti-religious and anticlerical legislation. Both the people and the Church were at a disadvantage in having no religious authority outside of Russia to defend their cause. Both the hierarchy and the people in Mexico had the Vatican as a support. Ninety percent of the people in Mexico were Catholic when President Calles was carrying on his campaign of hatred against the Catholic Church, drawing his policy, as he claimed, from the Quaretaro constitution of 1917. Surrender to Calles on the part of the Catholic hierarchy at that time would have meant the disappearance of the Catholic Church in Mexico. Here the people could organize, if not in armed opposition, at least in protest, and this they did in forming such societies as the association of Mexican youth.

When Calles as a candidate for office in 1924 asserted that he was an enemy of the sacerdotal caste, he saw that with the backing of the Quaretaro constitution he could go far toward wiping out the Catholic Church in Mexico, and he was well aware of the fact that there were various elements in the Mexican population that would help him in doing so.

During the Calles regime the Mexican government was operating with the active cooperation of the United States of America, but the Catholic people of Mexico, who had taken a stand against Calles, were backed and encouraged by the Catholic Church in America and in the rest of the world. What happened in Mexico between 1926 and 1929 is part of the history of the major persecutions of Church.

Archbishop Ruiz was driven into exile by the Carranza Government ten years before, and a second time by the Calles regime in 1927, but he probably was able to do more for the

Church and for his people as an exile in the United States than he could have done for them had he been permitted to remain at home. When Calles consented to talk with the Archbishop in 1928 it must have been evident to the dictator that the churchman had accumulated more than a little prestige during his exile. The results of this conference were encouraging, but internal trouble in Mexico prevented the immediate execution of any agreement. Obregon, the president-elect, was assassinated, and the Escobar military revolt turned the religious as well as the economic and political turmoil into a veritable chaos. In the meantime, Archbishop Ruiz continued with his plans. After consultation with the Mexican episcopate he went to Rome and laid before the Pope the results of his conference with Calles. This attempt at reconciliation might at least open the door for further negotiations in the near future.

That the existing Mexican constitution was written to shackle the Church was evident in the reading. That it could be changed for political purposes was already proved. That certain parts of it might be interpreted to mitigate the bondage of external control in which the Church was then existing in Mexico, was what the Archbishop was looking forward to in his next conference with the Mexican President.

To assert, as the Constitution did, that the Church could have no juridical personality in Mexico, meant that there could be no apostolic delegate nor any other authorized representative through whom the Church could deal with national authorities. That alone was sufficient to render the entire dispute a unilateral affair. The difficulty of separate states adding their own anticlerical laws to the already restricting federal constitution had also to be considered. If these and other anticlerical sections of the Constitution could be considered for interpretation, it was hoped that Church and State might come to an agreement that would at least establish a *modus vivendi* for the church in Mexico. By April of 1929 the Archbishop had arranged for an interview with Portes Gil, the provisional president. Apart from the Archbishop himself and Archbishop Diaz, an extraordinary committee of three was arranged to participate in the negotiations, and the choice of these three was made with as much caution as

discernment. The Apostolic Delegate to the United States, Archbishop Pietro Fumasoni Biondi, interested the American Ambassador to Mexico, Dwight Morrow, who suggested overtures for a settlement. Miguel Cruchaga, formerly Chilean Ambassador to the United States, made the first overtures to the Vatican for a new conference. It may be that Portes Gil was influenced in favor of another church-state conference by the attitude of the Catholics in the Serrano revolt, during which the Catholic clergy advised their people to remain loyal to the government.

The third member of the commission was Father Edmund A. Walsh, who was commissioned to go to Mexico to review the situation for the Vatican, and, if possible, to tone down the extremists on both sides. The result of the meetings of Archbishop Ruiz and President Portes Gil would seem to prove Father Walsh was quite successful in his mission. His brief stay in Mexico before the first conference, during which he made a survey of the existing conditions, his knowledge of the man he had to deal with and of the opposition he had to encounter, as well as his knowledge of the past few years of Mexican history, were sufficient to induce him to believe that the most to be hoped for was an agreement that would permit the Church to resume its activities in Mexico. With that there would be some hope for the future, dependent upon the character and the attitude of those who would follow the present incumbent in the office of president.

The public statement made by Portes Gil after his first meeting with Archbishop Ruiz was encouraging. A *modus vivendi* was finally agreed upon and established. The priests, who were withdrawn from their churches three years before, and were now widely scattered both in and out of Mexico, were returned to their parishes and the churches were reopened. The Mexican people were again permitted to practice their religion in public. The special commission had attained its end, and it may be taken for granted that each of its members played an essential part in the negotiations that brought it about. His Mexican experience is another example of Father Walsh's fast and efficient diplomatic procedure.

More than once Father Walsh's busy life of writing and lecturing was interrupted by a cablegram that was to de-

termine his activities for the following year or more. The signal success of the Vatican relief mission to Russia in 1922 and 1923, under his direction and for which he received a special citation of merit from Pope Pius XI, marked him as a diplomat held in reserve for emergencies.

Iraq

For some years previous to 1930 the Catholic hierarchy of the different rites in the Middle East had been petitioning the Vatican to open a Catholic college at Baghdad in Iraq. The founding of such an institution was an undertaking involving the solution of numerous and varied problems, some of them involving delicate diplomatic relations. Such questions as state educational requirements, the nationality of a foreign school faculty, religious teaching, language, curriculum of studies, entrance requirements, day scholars and boarders, had to be taken into consideration, as well as the important questions of finance, building, and the selection of a proper location for such a school.

The General of the Society of Jesus responded to the first request of the Vatican and accepted the undertaking with all its numerous responsibilities. His first call was to the American provinces of the Society; and four men were selected as pioneer workers, one from each of four provinces. One does not merely walk into a foreign country and open an American school. There was a difficult terrain to be surveyed—the dispositions of the local Catholic bishops of various rites, and of other religious leaders, the social and religious differences of a cosmopolitan public, and the ideas of the political, social, and industrial leaders of the country, all had to be considered. This task called for an educator and a diplomat, and it was this involved and delicate commission to which Father Walsh was summoned by an unexpected cablegram that detached him from his busy routine at Georgetown and sent him off, first to Rome for initial briefing, then to Baghdad as a Vatican agent. He arrived in Baghdad on March 27, 1931 and returned to Washington, by way of Rome, in May of the same year. The despatch and the efficiency with which this preliminary investigation was accomplished are evident from the immediate results obtained. The manner and the method in which

the commission was conducted are evident in the comment made upon it, contained in correspondence between the Vatican and the hierarchy of the Middle East at that time. The project of opening a Jesuit college in Baghdad was received with enthusiastic interest by such centers as the Babylonian-Syrian episcopate, the apostolic delegation of Mesopotamia, the Chaldean episcopate of Amadia in Iraq, the archiepiscopate of Mosul, and the sacred oriental congregation. Not a single objection was registered against it from the so-called Orthodox churches or from the religious leaders of non-Christian denominations.

On this tour of inspection and inquiry the only major problem left unsolved, and that for a purpose, was the choice of location for the future school. Father Walsh knew that he was not to remain in Baghdad and that the pioneers who would soon arrive were coming to stay. They would live in hired lodgings, and perhaps teach in a temporary school building for weeks and maybe for months. In the meantime, they could make a topographical study of the city proper and of its surrounding localities, of their natural features and transportation facilities. They were the ones who were going to live there, and they would be better able to select a location suited to their present work and to their future projects.

With full assurance that the Society of Jesus could meet the demands of the Iraq government and the requirements of the ministry of education of Baghdad, Father Walsh's next interest was to form a corporation in America as a protective agency for the new foundation abroad. This corporation is made up of American Jesuit colleges acting as a sort of holding company, to offer both moral support and representation if such should be necessary. The legal certificate of incorporation of the Iraq American educational society is now in the files of the recorder of deeds in the District of Columbia, under date of April 9, 1932. One significant item of exceptional foresight in this particular document is that the term for which the corporation is organized is perpetual.

Another immediate requirement for the security and the continuation of this educational project was the striking of an authorized seal, that would indicate the purpose of the foundation of the college and represent the mutual American

and Iraqi interests in its existence. To this end, Father Walsh collected and studied the seals of every Jesuit college in America, in order to avoid duplication of design and to work out an original and an appropriate escutcheon. The result of this labor is the present day seal of the College of Baghdad and of the corporation under which it continues to operate.

Selling America

One important observation made during his preliminary survey was the paucity of knowledge of all things American on the part of the people of Iraq, which also characterized their religious, political, and social leaders. Here was an obstacle that might delay the development of an American college in those parts, and Father Walsh immediately set about removing it, or at least reducing it to a harmless hazard. The means he employed to overcome this difficulty undoubtedly resulted in the development of closer relations between the two nations. With the opening of the new school, American books, magazines, and newspapers would be forthcoming in time. The radio was not generally known to the common people at that time, and television was not as yet in vogue. The problem required a rapid and an effective solution, and his first step in this direction was projecting machines and a collection of eighty-nine reels of films, illustrating every phase of American life. This film campaign met with immediate popularity. The people of Baghdad and of its surrounding vicinity developed a friendly spirit of co-operation and of admiration for American enterprise that went far toward building up their enthusiasm for the opening of an American school in their midst. They were proud of the antiquity of Baghdad, but were amazed by the size and activity of the younger Baghdad-on-the-Subway, known as New York. Many of them had crossed the Syrian desert, but they knew nothing of a Great Desert in America. Mountains they had seen to their east and north, but the Rockies, the Grand Canyon and Yellowstone Park were simply beyond their imagination. They had heard of and had probably seen the cedars of Lebanon, but they had never dreamed of trees like the giant sequoia trees, beside which their Lebanon cedars, probably of equal age,

were dwarfed in comparison. They were living between the Euphrates and the Tigris, but they could neither spell nor pronounce the name of the great river that cuts the United States in two. For some, their ideas of America were being changed, and for others, newly created. Their eyes were being opened to another world as they gazed upon American wheat fields and cotton plantations, the printing of newspapers, and the production of automobiles and breakfast foods, American sports and recreation, road building and travel and church-going, and a hundred other urban and rural activities, occupations, and diversions. The opening of a new American school in ancient Baghdad was something to look forward to with expectant interest.

One unique item relative to the founding of Baghdad College is that the college paper, *The Baghdadi*, is older than the college itself. The first issue of this interesting publication appeared aboard ship, when the first two of the pioneering Fathers were en route to Baghdad to open the college, and it contained the first of the very appropriate and amusing free-hand illustrations that have characterized every subsequent issue.

The high school department of Baghdad College opened September 20, 1932 with a faculty of four Jesuit priests. On that day, of the 350 students who had made application, 103 were registered. Among them there were Chaldean, Syrian, Armenian, Latin, and Greek Catholics; Russian, Greek, and Armenian Schismatics; Nestorians, Jews, and Moslems. In 1955 there were thirty-six Jesuits on the faculty, three lay brothers in community, eighteen lay professors, and 720 students in attendance. The location of the college had been well chosen, and new buildings appeared with the increase of attendance and with the growth of interest on the part of American benefactors.

The original survey for the American college in Iraq was well and accurately drafted, and drawn to a scale which Father Walsh envisioned as the natural development of an educational endeavor in the hands of his fellow Jesuits. During the years of its progress he watched its growth from various distant corners of the world, where he was engaged on

other special missions for the Society of Jesus and for the Church in general.

Nuremberg

The decade that followed his visit to Baghdad was a period crowded with classroom activities, with writing and with public lecturing. In 1935, and again in 1939, he was a visiting lecturer at the Academy of International Law, at The Hague, in Holland. In 1942 he was appointed consultant and lecturer of the war department of the United States Army, and in 1945 he returned to Germany as consultant to Justice Jackson, the United States Chief of Counsel, at the trials of the Nazi war lords in Nuremberg. During this sojourn in Europe he spent much time interviewing the Catholic bishops and priests of Germany and Austria relative to the persecution of religion during the Hitler regime. It was during this period also that he had occasion to visit and to question Major General Karl Haushofer, Hitler's teacher and the outstanding exponent of Nazi geopolitics. His book, *Total Power*, published in 1949, is chiefly based upon his experience in Nuremberg.

Father Walsh's last diplomatic mission took him to the other side of the world, which he had not as yet visited. From November, 1947, to April, 1948, he was acting as visitor general for the reorganization of the Society of Jesus in Japan, after the second World War.

At that time the Jesuits in Japan were mostly German, working on a foreign mission attached to the Province of Lower Germany. During the war, as nationals of an allied country, they were unmolested and permitted to carry on their apostolic labors as missionaries in the outlying country and as educators in the University of Sofia, in Tokyo. American Jesuits in the Philippine Islands, on the contrary, were put into concentration camps after the conquest of the Islands by the Japanese, and were left there until released by the American troops after the reconquest of the Islands.

From the time of Xavier's entrance into Japan in 1549 until the beginning of the great persecution in 1596, Japan had become what was known as the flourishing garden of Christianity. In 1591 there were a hundred and thirty-four Jesuits in Japan and three hundred thousand Christian Japa-

nese. The Church suffered its first blood bath in Japan in 1596-97 and a second and greater one in 1622, both in Nagasaki, the very town that was destroyed by the atom bomb in 1945. The systematic destruction of Christianity began in 1624 under the Shogun Yemitsu, and, forty years later, to all appearances the Catholic Church in Japan was actually defunct. Over two hundred and thirty years later, in 1858, when Perry persuaded Japan to adopt an open door policy, and when in 1859 the French refused all trade with Japan unless the door was also open to Christian missionaries, the first missionaries to enter found that some of the Japanese still had retained the fundamentals of the Catholic faith inherited from their forebears. In 1884 it was officially decreed that there was no state religion, and in 1889 the new constitution gave authentic recognition to religious liberty. In 1908 there were 62,000 Catholic Japanese, and in 1948, 120,000; and 70,000 of these, living in Kyushu, were descendants of the old-time Christians.

It is only to be expected that during a world war communications between the superiors of religious orders, residing in Rome, and their missionaries laboring in countries involved in the war, should be reduced to a minimum, if not cut off entirely. During the period of the second World War it could be taken for granted that the status of the Jesuits in Japan relative to the government would not be greatly altered, but their missionary and educational work was undoubtedly interrupted. Its continuance and advancement were dependent upon the outcome of the universal conflict, and nothing more promising for its progress could have happened than the American occupation under General MacArthur. That was an epoch-making event, bringing a new freedom to the people and to the spread of Christianity in Japan.

To Japan

With a detailed knowledge of what was happening at the various Jesuit centers in Japan, the General of the Society could more easily draw up plans for the future development of their work. Two of the Jesuit centers, Nagasaki and Hiroshima, had been wiped out by atomic bombs, and the activities at the other stations had been adapted to war conditions. In such circumstances it is not uncommon for the General of the

Society to appoint a man with the title of visitator, or official visitor, to go to a mission or to a province, or even to a whole assistancy, to investigate the activities of the Society in that region and to report to him what changes, legislation, or regulations would, in his estimation, be beneficial to the welfare of the Society. It was such an appointment as this, in 1947, that sent Father Walsh on his first trip to the Far East. Traveling by plane, via Alaska and the Aleutian Islands, he arrived in Tokyo on November 10, 1947, where he was met by General MacArthur, whose courteous attention during his stay in Japan expedited his travel along the full length of Honshu and north to Hokkaido.

Before his departure, and in anticipation of public lectures and newspaper conferences, he made an intensive study of the political, economic, industrial, and religious phases of post-war Japanese life. The development of the University at Tokyo and of the High School at Yokohama, and particularly the growth of the outlying missions, would be intimately connected with the living conditions of the people and with the government's efforts for rehabilitation.

Apart from the University of Tokyo, there were at that time in Japan under Jesuit direction twenty-six stations, ranging along the full length of the main island of Honshu, and extending north to Sapporo on the island of Hokkaido. Operating the Mission Stations there were seventy-one priests, seven scholastics and nine lay brothers. During his six months' stay in Japan Father Walsh visited all of these stations, spending a longer time at the larger centers of Tokyo, Yokohama, Hiroshima, Kobe and Nagasaki. His first public lecture was given at the Japan industry club, on the future of Japan, during which he emphasized the necessity of a proper recognition of moral and spiritual values for the rebuilding of the country. The *Nippon Times*, published in English, and several of the Japanese papers carried the full text of his lecture.

One important conclusion drawn from his general survey was the necessity of attacking the most difficult problem facing all foreign missionaries in Japan; namely, the acquisition and the mastery of the Japanese language. His solution to this problem was the establishment of a native language school

in Yokosuka, which all incoming missionaries not sufficiently acquainted with the language would be obliged to attend for two or three years, or until they had acquired sufficient knowledge of the language to teach and to preach in Japanese. This was really a return to the method of Matteo Ricci who learned to read, write, and speak Chinese like a mandarin.

Progress

Evidently the work of the Jesuits in Japan was making considerable progress, despite the disadvantages of post-war conditions. Within two years of Father Walsh's visitation the status of Japan was changed from a mission to a vice-province, and the General of the Society was calling for volunteers for the growing, if not as yet flourishing, garden of Christianity.

The three great opportunities for the development of Christianity in Japan had their beginnings, first, in the coming of Xavier in 1549; secondly, with the return of Christian missionaries on the adoption of the Open Door Policy in 1858; and lastly, with the close of the Second World War and the establishment of American occupation. The first epoch saw the Catholic Church grow to nearly half a million Christians, but this flourishing garden was well nigh eradicated by several centuries of persecution. In the second period the Church developed to nearly a quarter of a million members, seventy thousand of whom were descendants of the old-time Christians. In 1947 there were almost ten thousand Catholics less than in 1939, just before the war. This loss was due, in part, to the change in status of the islands of Oshima and Okinawa and in part to the number lost in the war.

Working in close harmony with all the clergy in Japan was the rehabilitation committee of the Catholic Church. This was a private organization of nine members, lay and clerical, established by direction of the Hierarchy of Japan, with Father Bruno Bitter, former president of the University in Tokyo, as chairman. The purpose of the committee was the execution of all measures to facilitate the rehabilitation of institutions of the Catholic Church in Japan, and to direct or assist essential activities relating to the general rehabilitation. In such issues as foreign missionaries entering or leav-

ing Japan, permission to travel in Japan, health requirements, the importation of building material and food, this committee operated under the laws and regulations published by the American High Command, and the Catholic military chaplain of the district of Tokyo was a member of the Committee. During his stay in Japan Father Walsh did much to cement relations between this committee and the government of occupation. A unique example of the problem of importation is recorded in the fact that after the Japanese surrender, the catechism, prayer books, and the Bible were entirely out of print, and that, at a time when unheard of numbers of people were asking for instruction. The problem was a supply of paper which had to be imported from abroad. The petition to the Supreme Command to import sufficient paper to meet the demand for religious books was graciously granted, but it was soon discovered that even in America it was extremely difficult to buy paper for export to Japan. Finally, through the head of the Belgian liaison mission, 150 tons of paper were sent to Japan in six different shipments. This paper was used for the printing of prayer books, catechisms, and Bibles. In such instances, the presence of one who is well known at the foreign embassies in Washington can be duly appreciated.

Father Walsh's visit to Japan had to do with only one of the nine religious orders of men then operating in Japan and during his limited sojourn he contacted every one of the 114 Jesuits in the country. The opening talk of the visitation was given at the University of Tokyo on November 21, 1947, and repeated in substance, with local modifications and applications, at all the other houses visited. In February of 1948 at a three day session, the 10th, 11th, and 12th, he met with all the superiors, and many other Fathers of long experience in Japan, to discuss the state of the Church in Japan, and the particular educational and missionary tasks of the Jesuits. The papers read by several of the Fathers at this meeting were discussed in open session.

Father Walsh's reputation had preceded him to Japan. He had known General MacArthur in Washington when the General was Chief of Staff, and his frequent lectures at the War College and at Leavenworth made him known to many

of the Army personnel then stationed in Japan. He was tendered a public reception in Tokyo, at which many of the prominent Japanese officials and of the high ranking American Army officers were present. At this reception he spoke on the future of Japan, emphasizing the fundamental needs of a people who were searching for new spiritual ideals. The full text of this address was carried by several Japanese papers. His varying addresses, such as the one he gave to the Far East Air Forces in Tokyo at the Dai Ichi auditorium, dealt mainly with geopolitics, a subject on which he was a recognized authority. In his volume *Total Power*, published in 1948 after his return from Japan, treating mostly of Nazi geopolitics, he gives a summary account, in an epilogue, of the collusion of Japan with Nazi Germany just prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor. He had been present at the Nuremberg trials in Germany in 1945, and he was lecturing on geopolitics for the three years following. His writings and his addresses reveal a full knowledge of Japanese as well as of Nazi and Russian geopolitics, and the fact that he spoke freely and publicly on geopolitics in Tokyo without a single disparaging reference to Japan is a tribute to his sagacity as a missionary and a diplomat. In the official entrance papers issued to him by American Army Headquarters his occupation is listed as missionary.

On his return to Rome by plane via Hong Kong and New Delhi, India, he addressed Father General's Curia in French on the status and the outlook of the Society in Japan, made his official report to Father General, and returned to America from England on the U. S. liner *America*, sailing from Southampton on Friday, April 23, 1948. On this particular mission Father Walsh went around the world.

International Influences

Someone once remarked of Father Walsh that he was internationally minded. The influence on a man's career of the international happenings that took place during his school years might be discerned from a cursory review of his career in retrospect. The so-called policy of American imperialism is usually dated from the treaty of Paris in 1898. It was in that year that Father Walsh saw Dewey's fleet enter Boston

Harbor. Later on he thought of joining the Navy, and in after years he wrote a book on the merchant marine and was a faculty member of a merchant marine institute. From that time on, also, the United States became involved in disputes with countries in which the most important episodes of Father Walsh's life were enacted. The Boxer Insurrection and the breakup of China in 1900 involved England, Germany, Russia, France, and Japan, in all of which countries he was to operate later on. One might imagine that international affairs had little or no influence on the career of a man who was busy pursuing a course of studies in a religious order. Peace time altercations between nations are frequently prefatory notices of future wars; and wars in general, particularly world wars, are disruptive of every phase of life, not excepting the activities of religious orders. In fact, such interruptions and upheavals frequently have gone far to shape the educational and missionary plans, not only of individual members but of an entire order. Father Walsh was at his studies in Innsbruck, in Austria, when World War I broke out, and had to make a hurried and precarious exit through Italy. Years later he was to return to Austria and to Germany to be present at the trials of the Nazi military leaders. It was war that interrupted his studies and started moving him about, and it was war and the aftermath of war that kept him moving across the Atlantic again and again in ocean liners, over all of the United States and Europe and the Near East, by train and by plane, and finally around the world. When not engaged in foreign operations, his whole time was taken up teaching, lecturing, and writing about the interrelations of warring nations. At the close of the second universal conflict he was called upon by the government to lecture at the War College and at various Army centers, as an expert on the theory and the practice of martial geopolitics. In this same capacity he completed a lecturing tour on international relations, which took him to thirty Army camps and officers training schools covering posts between Fort Riley, Kansas and Fort Ethan Allen, in Vermont. For several years, also, he was regular civilian lecturer to the finishing officers classes at the command and general staff school at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and at the judge advocate general's school at the University

of Michigan. During 1933 and 1934 he served as director of language and area studies of the armed specialized training program at Georgetown, and in the post-Second-World-War period he lectured frequently at the air university, Maxwell Field, Alabama. In 1945 he became with Professor Chamberlain of Columbia University the co-founder of the institute of world polity, an organization connected with the Georgetown School of Foreign Service, and devoted to the discussion and systematic research of questions affecting international relations and the foreign policy of the United States. He was a member of the President's advisory commission on universal military training, and also a member of the President's committee on religion and welfare in the armed forces. In 1935 he was, as mentioned above, lecturing at the academy of international law at The Hague, in Holland, to which he returned for a second series of lectures in 1939. As a recognized authority on Communism in general he gave more than a thousand lectures, including his widely attended public lecture courses in Washington.

As founder of the Georgetown School of Foreign Service, Father Walsh was not only interested in every phase and angle of its work, but spent the greater part of his very active life in the actual and practical service for which the school was educating its student body. The necessity and the demand for a greater knowledge of foreign languages in America developed in step with the entanglement of international relations during the period between the two world wars, and it quickened its pace with the growth of Communism and the organization of the United Nations. To meet these emergencies the linguistic phase of international contact and of American foreign service was first answered by the Institute of Languages and Linguistics of Georgetown University, which was initiated and developed by Father Walsh in 1949.

Reputation

Thus far we have merely enumerated the outstanding accomplishments of a life of ceaseless activity of fifty years in the Society of Jesus. Father Walsh was nationally and internationally known as an ecclesiastical scholar, as an educator, historian, lecturer, diplomat, and author. As a writer, his

English style is purely classical, his grammar ever precise, his choice of words exact and accurate, and his vocabulary astoundingly large. His Latin letters also are examples of precision and of style. He spoke French and German fluently and corresponded in both languages with equal ease. From his high school days Father Walsh had an insatiable thirst for knowledge, and his retentive memory stored up an exceptional collection of quotations from the Latin and Greek classics and from the plays of Shakespeare, which he continually and very aptly used in conversation, in his lectures, and in his writings. After a day spent in Athens with Dr. Robert Finley, a well-known classical scholar of his time, the Doctor told Colonel Haskell that he had not begun a single quotation from the Greek classics which Father Walsh did not terminate. He was a student of history, and particularly so of comparative political history, by which his books and lectures are illuminated with the clarity of stereopticon views.

Father Walsh's books are accepted as standard works on the various subjects with which they are concerned, and they are still being quoted by leading experts in the different fields they undertake to survey. The story of thirty-four years of his busy life is traced in detail in his four classical volumes, which constitute one of the most reliable sources available of American foreign relations between the years 1917 and 1951. Two of his books, written in French, *Les principes fondamentaux de la vie internationale* and *L'évolution de la Diplomatie aux Etats-Unis*, are reprintings of his lectures given at The Hague. In 1944 he collaborated with a group of specialists in preparing a volume entitled *Compass of the World*, contributing the chapter on geopolitics and international morals, and he was co-author with William S. Culbertson of *Political Economy of Total War*. His four larger works were the separate results of what might be styled the four major episodes of his varying career. His writing kept apace with his lecturing.

In connection with the overseas department of the School of Foreign Service he wrote *Ships and National Safety* in 1934, and in 1935 his one short story, *The Woodcarver of Tyrol*, was selected as one of the best Catholic short stories of the year.

His first large volume, *The Fall of the Russian Empire*, marked him as an accurate historian and a keen analyst of international diplomacy and politics. His sojourn in Russia as director of papal relief brought him into every corner of European Russia and also into intimate contact not only with the Russian people, but with every phase and department of the Marxian revolutionary government, at that time in the process of formation. The study and analysis of what he actually experienced during a year and four months of immediate negotiation with the new masters of the Kremlin resulted in his being recognized as a standard authority on Marxian philosophy. During the period that intervened between his return from Russia and the appearance of *The Fall of the Russian Empire* he was continually engaged in public lectures, endeavoring to awaken the American people in general, and their politicians and educators in particular, to the true nature and to the imminent danger of Communism. In connection with this effort, which might be cited as the fundamental purpose of all his writing and lecturing, in his latest book published in 1951 he gives us a very enlightening account of his two conferences with President Franklin D. Roosevelt, relative to the recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States of America.

“The Fall of the Russian Empire”

Apart from being perhaps the finest sample of Father Walsh's literary style, *The Fall of the Russian Empire* is a unique historical document which future historians will consult for several reasons. His character analysis of the chief actors in the revolution of 1917, and in the counterrevolution, affords us a factual foundation for the historical causes of the collapse of the Czarist regime in Russia. The revolution was still rumbling when he arrived in Russia, and he had the decided advantage of actually contacting some of the leading characters of the great upheaval, and of interviewing people who had known the more prominent victims already fallen prey to its ferocity. His dramatic account of the pathetic passing of the imperial family was probably the first authentic description in English of the woeful tragedy that brought the Romanov dynasty to its lamentable end. Of this book one

literary critic remarked: "This history reminds us of two other studies: Gibbon on Rome and Carlyle on the French Revolution. It is as painstaking, as well-documented, and as scholarly as the former; as dramatic, lively, and impassioned as the latter."

The military and political manoeuvring that took place in Russia before and just subsequent to the signing of the treaty of Brest Litovsk is still historically obscure. The story of that brief but very important period is the very keynote of the history of the Russian Revolution, which was destined to affect every country in the world. The story of this period is nowhere better outlined than in *The Fall of the Russian Empire*. Philosopher that he was, the difficult undertaking of endeavoring to stem a famine set him to reasoning on the causes that had brought about the terrible plight of a mighty nation, and his account of the passing of the Russian Empire was the immediate result of this absorbing study. As an historical document it will stand as invaluable; as an example of historical literary style it has few rivals in the English language.

The second of his four larger books is entitled *The Last Stand*. It begins where *The Fall of the Russian Empire* left off, namely, with the exit of Kerensky and the entrance of Lenin. This volume is an interpretation of the first of Russia's five year plans. In it we have a thorough analysis of the task of Lenin, and of those who were to succeed to his Marxian mantle, in fashioning a Communist dictatorship out of the charred and scattered debris of Russia's imperial regime. After outlining the origin and scope of the first five year plan, he explains the working of the plan in Russia and its effects on the outside world. His vivid eyewitness account of the *modus operandi* of the plan on the religious front is a trenchant account of the first great onslaught of atheistic materialism against religion in general and Christianity in particular. As an historical account of this particular phase of the plan, this section of the book is penned with force and accuracy. The author's evidence was firsthand and visual, and the scenes of religious persecution he describes are strictly true and fairly related. In the foreword to this book he says: "The title of this volume *The Last Stand* should not be mis-

understood as prejudging the issue or forecasting the events. The final stand of an embattled army does not always mean catastrophe. A last trench may hold simply because there is no other, as the French held at the Marne and snatched victory from the jaws of defeat." The closing chapter of this volume, on the recognition of Russia by the United States, is a good preface to the efforts of Father Walsh to delay that recognition until such time as the United States could negotiate with the people of Russia rather than with their anti-American government. His efforts were to no avail, as we see in the narrative of his two interviews with President Roosevelt on this particular subject.

"Total Power" and "Total Empire"

Total Power, the first of Father Walsh's books dealing with geopolitics, is an analysis of the anatomy and of the abuse of power, as illustrated in the rise and fall of the Nazi movement which terminated in the Nuremberg trials. The author was present at these trials and had occasion to gather first-hand information relative to Nazi geopolitics from the accused leaders of the movement. This book affords us an amazing description of both Nazi and Soviet geopolitics, each set upon the destruction of the other, and both determined to accomplish the conquest of the entire world. The chapter on humanism and world revolution would alone be sufficient to mark its author as an erudite historian, a profound philosopher, a delicate analyst of human character, and master of a clear, concise, and classical style. Here, as in his other books, his exact and frequent reference to the arts and sciences reveals not only his varied and extensive reading but the talent for research of an experienced lawyer. It seems that he could gather together sufficient knowledge of any subject whatsoever to serve the purpose of his brief in preparation. This book, *Total Power*, received an award of twenty-five hundred dollars from the Authors' Fund of New York.

Total Empire, the latest of Father Walsh's books, is a study of the origin and development of Soviet geopolitical policy. As an outstanding example of scholarly research, this book probably is the best written and the most reliable source of detailed information in this particular field that has yet

appeared in English. The titles of Father Walsh's last three books give us no idea of their contents. *The Last Stand* deals with the Soviet Five Year Plan; *Total Power* with Nazi geopolitics; and *Total Empire* with the policy of Soviet expansion. These three volumes will last as standard works for historical research, and, as such, the matter treated in them should, perhaps, have been indicated in the titles by the appearance of the words Nazi and Soviet on their respective covers.

Father Walsh was in his forty-sixth year in the Society of Jesus and was sixty-three years old when he returned from Japan, his last major commission abroad. The years were passing rapidly. The days were all too short to accomplish his designs, and for some years past he had developed the habit of extending his workday into the early hours of the approaching dawn. In keeping with his oft repeated remark, that the correspondence of today is the historical document of tomorrow, he had accumulated a whole library of magazines, pamphlets, and clippings containing material pertinent to his lectures; of documents, official and unofficial, relative to his various missions abroad; and of correspondence, personal and otherwise, from which he evidently intended to fashion a memoir when the time arrived. The constant demand for his services and the continual pressure on his person were never relaxed and never interrupted for a vacation or a period of rest. Physically endowed with a strong constitution which was never subjected to a chronic illness, the accumulation of responsibilities he had accepted demanded a continual increase of both physical and mental energy.

Last Appearance

At the time of his golden jubilee as a Jesuit he was vice president of Georgetown University, regent of the School of Foreign Service, still teaching, giving public lectures, serving on half a dozen public commissions, and planning educational projects for the future. While speaking at the Jesuit community dinner in honor of his jubilee, he showed evident signs of lassitude that appeared to be something more than physical fatigue. For the next two months he continued working on his long day schedule, to which were added a series of recep-

tions, leading up to the jubilee dinner tendered him by the Georgetown University Club of Washington at the Sheraton Hotel on November 15, 1952. The printed program of this dinner contained a *curriculum vitae* and a list of honors conferred on Father Walsh, which afford us some idea of the work he accomplished and of the recognition it received. Congratulatory speeches were made at this dinner by public officials representing the various phases of American life in which Father Walsh had risen to prominence. Shortly after the opening of his address in reply to the many compliments he received, which we quoted above, the rich and resonant voice for which he had been nationally known as a public speaker began to weaken and gradually to lose its carrying power. Several times he paused, pardoned his delay because of a cold, and then continued to talk with noticeable effort and with an evident nervous strain, which increased as the tone of his voice was gradually weakening. Nothing but will power enabled him to continue. When he stood up to speak he presented the usual ease and calm that were characteristic of his frequent public appearances. As he continued to talk his distress became more and more evident to his audience, and, when finished speaking, and having sat down, maintaining his usual reserve during the continued applause, his whole countenance was literally dripping with perspiration. The Archbishop, seated next to the president of the University, turned to him and said: "Reverend Father, you have a sick man on your hands." With the reception and the banquet over, it was decided that Father Walsh should remain at the hotel that night rather than return to the College. This was the last of a long series of public appearances; a farewell address, though not intended to be, in which he thanked his friends for their interest and cooperation in his work, and explained the motives of his multiple activities. But his was more than an active life. It was a life spent in the exaltation of the spiritual motives which energized and intensified a long and relentless drive on a naturally buoyant nervous system, which finally succumbed to exhaustion under a burden of overwork.

In that closing address of his public life, Father Walsh expressed his regret for the absences from Georgetown occa-

sioned by the numerous calls of superiors to distant lands and at times for prolonged periods. To Father Walsh Georgetown was more than a cluster of buildings, more than an outstanding institution of higher education. It was his home, and the home of the religious community to which he belonged as a member of the Society in which he had vowed to spend his life for the greater glory of God. During his long residence at Georgetown this community was changing with every annual status, and, due to his numerous extramural activities, some of those who came and went never knew him with the familiarity that develops unheeded behind the sign of cloister. And yet, such was his extraordinary memory, that there never was a time, previous to his long illness, when he did not know every member of the community of eighty or more, and the work in which each one was engaged. His home coming after a foreign safari was looked forward to in anticipation of an interesting travelogue. He was an entertaining conversationalist in any company, an excellent raconteur, and quick at repartee, which he frequently illustrated with an apt quotation from Shakespeare or from the Greek and Latin classics. A good actor from his high school days, he had developed a humorous habit of surrounding the narrative of his personal experience with a dubious aureole of mystery or of secrecy, which he left for his listeners to fathom. To some who were unacquainted with it, this left him open to the charge of being secretive, esoteric, distant. This cryptical byplay is illustrated in the following incident. On one of his visits from Moscow to Rome during the period when he was director of the relief mission, rumor was spread about that he was consecrated bishop, to return to Moscow as apostolic delegate to Russia. Shortly after his return to America he was asked very bluntly by one of his fellow Jesuits, and in the company of a dozen others, whether or not he had ever been consecrated a bishop. The question was naive and direct, and the answer to it was a look of surprise, a two-handed gesture, and a shrug of the shoulders. This was followed with a humorous smile, which the company, still in doubt, were left to interpret. This rumor, like most of its kind which travel with the speed of a thermonuclear missile, had a solid basis for its projection. During the visit to Rome, just mentioned, Father Walsh would very

probably have been consecrated a bishop, to reside in Russia, were it not for the fact that on first mention of the idea he immediately went to the General of the Society of Jesus and begged him to prevent the occurrence, which the Father General did, as he himself afterwards affirmed to one of the priests then engaged on the Vatican relief mission.

The Priest

Among his many Protestant acquaintances Father Walsh was known as an exemplary churchman. To his Catholic brethren and listeners he was an energetic priest, whose addresses and lectures were laden with the fundamental doctrine and morality of the Catholic Church, couched in no uncertain terms. At his public golden jubilee dinner he was presented with a framed certificate of appreciation for his frequent contributions to the spiritual welfare of men in the armed services. During his stay in Russia, when the men working on the papal relief mission were forbidden to perform any religious service in public and were ordered to refrain from any form of proselytism, Catholic priests and Russian schismatic bishops and priests frequently came to Father Walsh for advice and for consolation. In writing, in teaching and in preaching, in founding schools, as he did in Washington and in Baghdad, on relief work in Russia, in settling church and state difficulties in Mexico, or in planning the reorganization of a Jesuit Province in Japan, the A.M.D.G. of the Society of Jesus was never absent from his mind as the fundamental motive of his every endeavor. Even as a patient during his long siege of illness, and up to the day he died, he still harbored the hope of returning to the work which he felt he had left unfinished. But his work was done, and well done. Its effects are international, as was his mind; they are centered in Georgetown, as was his heart; and in his memory they will go down through the years, a guerdon in attestation of a life of unstinted labor in the service of God. He was one of America's great Jesuits.

Father Walsh died a peaceful death on the 31st of October, 1956, and, despite the fact that he had been absent from public life for four years, the attendance at his funeral Mass was a high tribute to his reputation. The Mass was said by the Very

Reverend Vincent McCormick, S.J., American Assistant to the General of the Society. Seated on the altar were the Apostolic Delegate, Amleto Cicognani, Archbishop O'Boyle of Washington, his Auxiliary, Bishop McNamara, and Archbishop Yu Pin of Nanking, and present in the church were representatives of the President of the United States, of the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, the Senate, the House, and of many of the foreign embassies. President Eisenhower in a letter of condolence to Father Bunn, the president of Georgetown University said: "The death of Father Edmund A. Walsh is a grievous loss to the Society in which he served so many years, to the educational and religious life of the United States and to the free peoples of the Western World. For four decades, he was a vigorous and inspiring champion of freedom for mankind and independence for nations. His voice was influential throughout this country and in many lands overseas, because he spoke with knowledge and conviction and a sympathetic concern for all peoples. And, at every call to duty, all his energy of leadership and wisdom of counsel were devoted to the service of the United States. His University and his Society—all who knew him well—mourn his death. But they can find in his memory the deathless inspiration of a life that was dedicated to the advancement of human rights and dignity and spiritual stature."

BEGINNERS

Beginners like to turn their eyes away from outward conduct to the more hidden processes of their own spiritual experiences. If we allow a beginner to choose his own subject for particular examen of conscience, he will almost always choose some very delicate and imperceptible fault, the theatre of which is almost wholly within, or some refined form of selflove, whose metamorphoses are exceedingly difficult either to detect or to control. He will not choose his temper, or his tongue, or his love of nice dishes, or some unworthy habit which is disagreeable to those around him. Yet this is the rule of St. Ignatius; and surely no one will accuse him of not cultivating an interior spirit.

F. W. FABER

TWO INTERVIEWS WITH F. D. R. IN OCTOBER, 1933

FIRST INTERVIEW

The President had done me the courtesy of inviting me to the White House on the very day when he announced to an astonished press that he had just dispatched an invitation to the Soviet Government to send a representative to Washington for the purpose of negotiating an agreement involving diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union. It was shortly after four o'clock. The President had ascended from the executive offices to the Oval Room on the second floor of the White House. He was in an exhilarated mood and reflected in his outer bearing the thrill he always experienced in letting fall some new bombshell. After some few preliminaries of courtesy and protocol, we discussed with complete frankness the nature of the announcement which, at that moment, was circling the world on the wires of the newspaper agencies. I shall not here recount the complete substance of that extraordinary interview. One phrase, however, was particularly revealing. In reply to certain observations I had made respecting the difficulty of negotiating with the Soviets, he answered with that disarming assurance so characteristic of his technique in dealing with visitors: "Leave it to me, Father; I am a good horse trader."

This first interview terminated with his request that I prepare two reports for him, one dealing with my personal recommendations respecting religious liberty in Russia, the second with the personality and background of Maksim Litvinov, the Soviet negotiator then preparing to leave Moscow for Washington. The latter request was occasioned by my look of amazement when the President remarked: "Did you have any dealings with Litvinov? I understand he is a renegade Catholic."

My reply was to the effect that somebody must have been pulling the presidential leg, as Maksim Livinov was well known to be a Jew and had passed under several aliases, his family name being Finkelstein. Mr. Roosevelt tossed his head back, moving it from side to side in one of his characteristic gestures. Then, with a laugh, he fished into his pocket, and extricated a crumpled package: "Have a cigarette, Father?"

SECOND INTERVIEW

The two documents were delivered by me personally on October 31, 1933, at twelve o'clock noon, President Roosevelt receiving me this time in the executive office in the west wing of the White House. On entering the room, I perceived that we were not to be alone. At my left toward the north wall, a man was apparently working on a clay model of the

President's head. It was Mr. Jo Davidson, a well-known sculptor, born in Russia, who at that time and for many years thereafter was an enthusiastic advocate of causes considerably left of center. I understand that Mr. Davidson's affection for Moscow has cooled considerably in recent years. But on the date here under discussion, and because of the circumstances of my visit, I found his presence within easy hearing distance of whatever I might say so curious a coincidence that I chose an attitude of extreme reticence. This conference was short, due to the reservations suddenly imposed on me by the eavesdropper at my elbow.

EDMUND A. WALSH

CONTRASTS

The modern world has ceased to believe wholeheartedly in the extremes which Christianity has its mission to present as contrasts: poverty and riches, the Cross and comfort, humility and pride, the supernatural and the natural, Heaven and final perdition. Bloy called this unwillingness to face eternal facts, to grasp the sword of division, the *Esprit Bourgeois*, and he predicted a time when the poor would rise in wrath against those who had taken away from them their one hope in adversity.

MARTIN D'ARCY

* * *

INNER SANCTUARY

In an age of doubt man sows and does not reap; he has no courage in his convictions, he is like one beset with scruples who loses his sense of values and powers of steadfast judgment. The evil of unbelief is that it must shut its eye to the forms and patterns of truth inscribed in the universe, and retire to the inner sanctuary of the mind, there to rest in uncertainty, in the presence of a fugitive self and the broken idols of its hopes.

MARTIN D'ARCY

Father Miguel Selga

Miguel Selga was born on November 25th, 1879 in Barcelona, Spain, of Pablo Selga and Francisca Trullas Selga. He received his preparatory education in his native city and his college education in Zaragoza. He entered the Society of Jesus on March 30th, 1895.

His superiors, recognizing his aptitude for the natural sciences, decided to send Father Selga abroad for special studies in astronomy and meteorology. In 1911 he went to Woodstock College, Maryland, to complete the third and fourth years of theology and to familiarize himself with English. After tertianship at St. Andrew-on-Hudson, he did astronomical work in the Harvard observatory at Cambridge, Massachusetts and Lowell observatory at Flagstaff, Arizona, 1914-1915. He was pursuing his studies in Lick observatory, California, when he received word to proceed to Manila to replace Father Brown in the Jesuit observatory there. Father Brown, an English Jesuit, had been recalled to his Province due to the exigencies of World War I.

This sudden call to the Philippines resulted in Father Selga's being placed in the embarrassing position of being a man without a country. When he was sent to Woodstock for his last two years of theology, he was instructed to apply for American citizenship. He, therefore, took out his first papers, renouncing his Spanish allegiance. At the time of his appointment to the Philippines, he had fulfilled only four of the five years of residence in the United States required before he could take out second papers and become a citizen. Father Selga represented this need for another year of residence by cable but was instructed that because of the urgency he should leave for Manila at once; and so he did. On various occasions when he left the Philippines for scientific congresses he had no passport but simply a letter from the Governor General to the effect that he was an honest man and would behave himself. During the Japanese occupation the Spanish consul allowed Father Selga's name to be placed on the list of Spanish nationals, so he was not listed as an enemy alien.

Father Selga was appointed assistant director of the Manila observatory, and on January 1, 1926, succeeded Father José Algué as director when the latter was forced by failing health to retire and return to Spain. He retained this position until the total destruction of the observatory in the last year of the Pacific War (1945). During this period the Manila observatory functioned as the meteorological service of the Philippine government; of this weather bureau and its net of weather stations throughout the Philippines Father Selga was the director.

Naturally, most of Father Selga's time had to be given to administrative duties. He was known as a very efficient administrator, albeit perforce a little exacting. The budget allowance of the weather bureau was rather meager in those days. In fact, budget considerations gave Father many an anxious moment, trying to combine need for new instruments and demand for multitudinous telegrams for sufficient and efficient typhoon warnings with budget. Furthermore, much time had to be given to supervising the publication of the monthly review and annual report of the bureau, with their voluminous statistics.

In spite of these many duties, which would seem to leave very little time for aught else, Father Selga gained a reputation as an outstanding scientist, so well known that he was more than once publicly honored as such. But besides his ability as an administrator and scientist, let us stress aspects of his work that may not be so well known, his genius for historical research and ability as a scientific writer. Father Selga was rather timid, wrongly so, about his ability to write in English, so we must turn to Spanish magazines, like *Revista de la Sociedad Astronomica de España y America*, and *Iberica*, if we would appreciate this point. On examination we find that the number of scientific articles written by him for these magazines reaches the surprising total of well over one hundred and fifty.

Due to the ravages of World War II, much of Father Selga's writings, the patient work of ten years of free time, as also the official superintendence of revised statistical data on almost every conceivable element of weather, such as temperature, humidity, barometric pressure, rainfall, etc., with ac-

accompanying graphs were burned and irrevocably lost, although just ready for publication. The outcome of the ten years of work had been a labor of love—three very valuable catalogues: a) catalogue of all recorded typhoons in the Philippine region; b) catalogue of all recorded earthquakes in the Philippines; c) catalogue of all astronomical events recorded in the Philippines. Each typhoon, quake and astronomical event was given a printed card, a little larger than a library index card, which contained the source of information and a brief description of the event. For such information, Father had scoured all the records of monasteries and convents in the Islands. It is fair to say that with the loss of these manuscripts, combined with the probable loss of the original sources by destruction during the war of monasteries and convents, posterity has suffered an irreparable loss. We firmly believe that it was the loss of these statistical compilations, together with the much greater loss of these catalogues, that did more than anything else to break Father's spirit and health and discouraged him from further work along the same lines. We might well apply to him the lines in the *Merchant of Venice*, describing Antonio's loss: "Enough to wear a royal merchant down, and pluck commiseration for his state from hearts of stone".

Father Selga was a member of the Philippine delegation to two Pacific science congresses; the second (Sydney, 1923) and the third (Tokyo, 1926). At Sydney he presented two papers: "The Determination of Gravity at the Manila Observatory" and "The Determination of Gravity at Mirador Observatory." At Tokyo he presented five: "Astronomical and Meteorological Conditions of the Eclipse of the Sun, May 9, 1929, in the Philippines;" "The Latitude of the Manila Observatory;" "Investigation of the Upper Air by Means of Airplanes;" "Atmospheric Electricity and Typhoons;" and "The Height of Typhoons." In 1936, he attended the Meteorological Congress at Warsaw.

Father Selga was a member of the following learned societies: The Philippine Scientific Society, the National Research Council of the Philippines, the Philippine Geological Society, the American Astronomical Society, the Astronomical Society of the Pacific, the Société Astronomique de France; the So-

ciudad Astrónomica de España; the Société Scientifique de Bruxelles; and the Franklin Society.

In his spare time Father Selga did extensive reading in the history of the Philippines. Thanks to him and to Father William C. Repetti, chief of the seismological section of the observatory, the observatory library gradually acquired an excellent Philippiniana collection. As member of the Philippine historical committee organized by the Philippine Commonwealth government, Father Selga provided the information contained in many of the commemorative plaques affixed by the committee to historic sites and buildings.

When the Japanese occupation authorities interned the American Jesuits in 1944, the novitiate and juniorate of the Philippine Mission were transferred to temporary quarters at La Ignaciana on Herran Street with Father Selga as vice-rector. After the conclusion of World War II he went to Spain to seek a remedy for the glaucoma which had begun to impair his sight just before the outbreak of the War and which war-time conditions had aggravated. Some improvement resulted from an operation, and he returned to the Philippines; but his general health rapidly began to fail.

In the midst of his scientific work in the Manila observatory, Father Selga found time to devote to the direction of souls. His quiet apostolate was expended chiefly among the young men of the University of the Philippines who came to hear Mass in the chapel of the San José Seminary, and the girls of a school nearby, the Philippine Women's College. His confessional in this public chapel was often crowded before Mass every morning and on Saturday afternoons. His influence among the young men and women who came to seek his advice may be traced to the happy quality he had of combining profound scientific knowledge with a simplicity of approach.

During the Japanese occupation, he acted as master of novices for a while. Those who were his novices recall that he looked stern and forbidding in manner. But he told them, "If I seem rough to you, it is because I want to make men of you." Underneath that austere look beat a heart, gentle and kind.

For more than thirty years, he acted as the spiritual counselor of the Philippine Women's College. From 1919 until

the outbreak of World War II, he used to teach catechism and give lectures there once a week, after his office hours in the observatory. Many girls were converted from Aglipayanism through his influence. Often Father Selga not only converted the student but brought back to the faith the entire family. He believed that "the person is never to be divorced from the family" and this principle he applied so effectively that it led him to take trips to the provinces to meet the parents and relatives of the children. This is how his influence spread beyond the observatory. His prodigious memory for names of a family is legendary. Some time before he died, one of these students, now a married woman, came to him, after he received a degree in science from the Philippine Women's University, and said to him: "Father, do you remember me?" It had been many years since he met her. Father Selga answered: "Yes, I remember. I married you to your husband at four o'clock in the morning! Where's Bernardino?"

In 1955 the Philippine Women's University conferred upon him the honorary degree of doctor of science, and in 1956 he was the recipient of an award from the UNESCO commission of the Philippines for bringing honor to his adopted country by his meritorious achievements in the field of science.

Father Selga died on April 23, 1956, at San José Seminary, Quezon City, mourned by his many friends and a grateful people.

KEMPIS

All down the centuries, men have admired and praised the *Imitation*. It has not been a classic in the sense of a book that everyone praises and very few read, but on the contrary it has been the familiar reading of a great many of the chosen spirits among mankind ever since its appearance. To have been the favorite book of St. Thomas More, Bossuet and Massillon, of Loyola and Bellarmine, of John Wesley, Samuel Johnson, Lamartine, La Harpe, Michelet, Leibnitz and Villemain is indeed a distinction. Nor has it appealed only to Christians, for men like Renan and Comte almost in our own time have praised it highly.

JAMES J. WALSH

Brother Alphonse Thorain

1865-1954

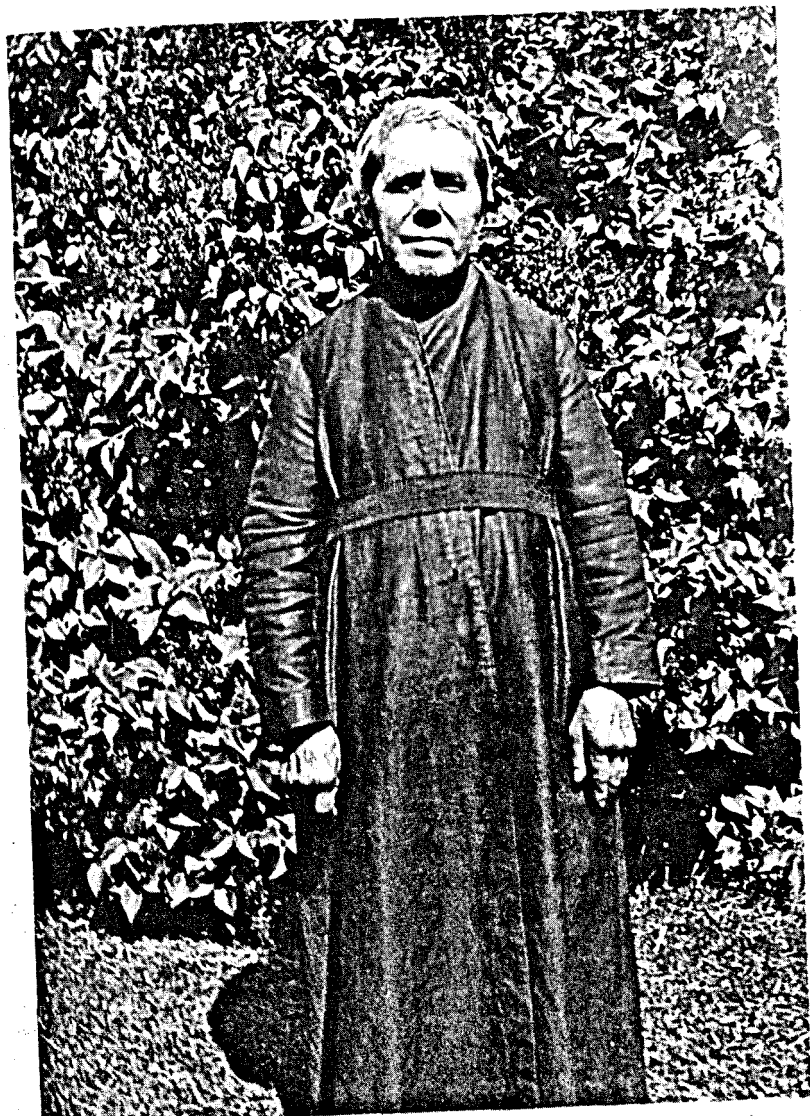
LAWRENCE W. BEER, S.J.

The bell tolled, books were shoved aside, and birettas donned. The long black line of Jesuits passed to the cemetery at Mt. St. Michael's to bury their brother in Christ, loveable Brother Alphonse Thorain. The body which had housed his vigorous soul lay peacefully in the casket, worn out by seventy-two years of hard labor for the Kingdom of Christ.

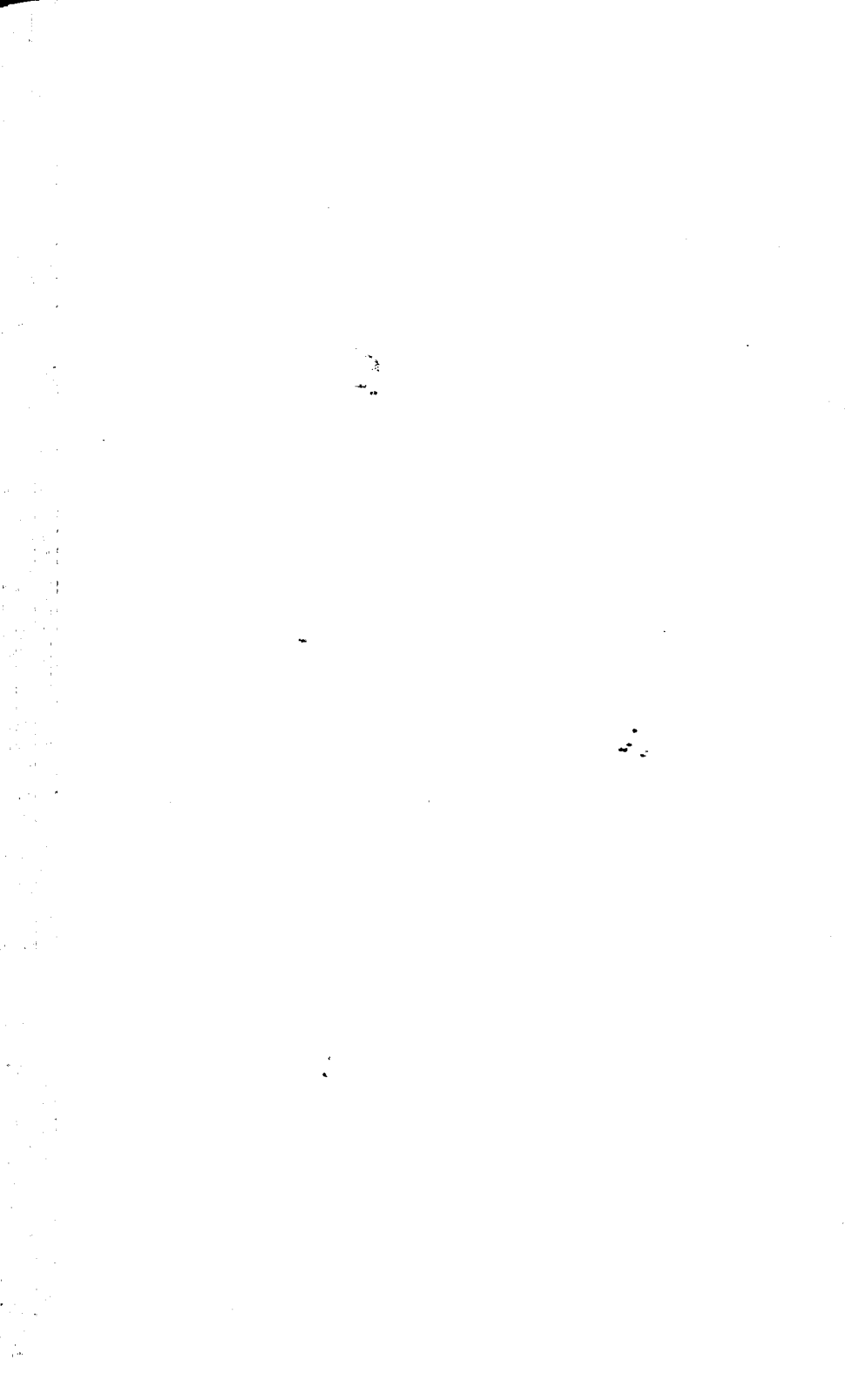
The world might laugh if it could hear us lauding the life of this simple Coadjutor Brother. We might be asked, "What did he do? What schools and churches did he build? Where are his converts, his books?" And so on. Then it would be our turn to laugh, for we could say that his accomplishments have been swallowed up and assimilated by the members of his Province. Brother Thorain was a cook. But who knows the love, the only real measure of value, with which he peeled potatoes, fried meat, and swept the kitchen floor? This we can only guess from his consistency in kindness and work.

"And who is this? And where does he come from?" This was Brother's approach to others, and it will be ours in his regard. Alphonse Thorain was born in 1865 at Orleans, France, home town of St. Isaac Jogues. When fourteen he began working at the nearby Jesuit college. As a result of this happy contact, the short, husky Alphonse was drawn to the Society of Jesus two years later. It must have been more than the usual sacrifice for his parents, when their only child left for the English Novitiate, never to return to France.

Brother Alphonse worked first in England as a tailor's helper (at the home of Gerard Manley Hopkins, the great Jesuit poet, incidentally). From there he made the trip to Jersey Island to cook for the Jesuit scholastics, a couple of years before crossing the Atlantic to America. In 1886 he moved across the United States with the well-known Jesuit pioneers, Fathers Cataldo, Monroe and Crimont (future



BROTHER ALPHONSE THORAIN



Bishop of Alaska) and helped establish the Rocky Mountain mission. From then until 1917 when he came to Mt. St. Michael's, Brother Thorain served the Indian and white population around the northwest. His various homes were the Colville, De Smet and Umatilla Missions, and finally Spokane (then known as Spokane Falls). As late as 1953 "Little Salmon", as the Indians called him, still marked the return address on his letters "Spokane Falls".

When asked about his work with the Indians, Brother Thorain smiled and said, "Indians are good children." On his sixtieth jubilee he was asked to comment on his life at Mt. St. Michael's. After a moment of silence, he raised his intense, half-smiling face: "Tell all the people I like my work. I like all our houses because I like our communities. I like the Scholastics."

Love of Flowers

"I like"—these words sum up Brother's childlike outlook on life. He liked his work, so much so that he began before five in the morning and continued till late at night. He liked the people he served. And he liked to pray. His life drew its meaning principally from these two things, work and prayer. In back of the kitchen amid onion and potato sacks Brother had his own private oratory, where he would kneel during off moments. But he liked to go to God most of all through flowers and other plant life. This led him to keep up a small flower garden behind the kitchen, where he would stand and gratefully gaze at the graceful petals God had created for him.

Every year on the Coadjutor Brothers' gaudiosa day, Brother Thorain could be seen slipping away from the house around mid-morning. This was always a mystery to first year Scholastics, for all the other Brothers were off somewhere on a drive. *He* was off to neighboring greenhouses to look around at the flowers. Late in the day he would purchase a flower and come home to tell everyone about the wonderful kingdom of plants he had seen.

Finding just the right meditation book is quite a problem for many religious. Not so for Brother Thorain. A seed, a leaf and a blossom were commonly seen arranged on his

work table. These were his meditation manual, points written by God's own hand. In the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius this method of prayer is referred to as the *Contemplatio ad amorem*.

Captain of the Kitchen

Brother Alphonse had the natural culture and balance which God seems to grant so often to truly simple souls. In his dealings with others he was direct, clear-sighted and confident without losing gentleness and tact. But if one was working under this captain of the kitchen, he had to do things just right. For instance, one had to make sure there were not too many dishes on the refectory carts. This recalls the amusing sight of the very short Brother Thorain pushing a cart down one of the aisles, peering out from under the top level.

Though he was never what you could call bubblingly sociable, people found his company enjoyable and amusing. When the Scholastics' parents would come to the Mount for visits, Brother Thorain's invariable question upon introduction was, "Do you speak French?"

For a long time he had trouble with rheumatism, but only after more than thirty years of service at Mt. St. Michael's did it force him to relinquish his command of the kitchen and turn to less strenuous jobs. Even in his last days Brother made himself as useful as possible to the community that he liked.

At the feast in honor of his seventieth anniversary as a Jesuit, he sat next to Father Provincial. With his typically amusing simplicity, he asked the surprised Father, "And who are you; and where do you come from; and what do you do?" Two years after this celebration, at the age of eighty-nine, Alphonse Thorain went to heaven, where he is still spreading the Kingdom of Christ through his silent prayer.

Books of Interest to Ours

BEST AMERICAN JESUIT WORK ON SCRIPTURE

The Two-Edged Sword. An Interpretation of the Old Testament. By John L. McKenzie, S.J. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1956. \$4.50.

The biblical revival in the Catholic Church, already under way in parts of Europe in the thirties and given world-wide impetus by the encyclical letter *Divino Aflante Spiritu* (1943), has resulted in a considerable amount of scholarly and popular writing by Catholics. In the area of *haute vulgarisation* of the Old Testament, French writers have taken the lead; besides the incomparable *Bible de Jérusalem*, they are publishing the series *Lectio Divina* and *Témoins de Dieu*, and have produced many other books and articles. In German and English speaking countries production has been much slower and often much inferior. The *Catholic Commentary* from England is a work of very unequal value and by no means adequately fills the gap for the English speaking world; the translation of Monsignor Knox, though approved for public and liturgical reading by the English hierarchy, does not fulfill the papal directive to make translations from the original languages and is, besides, far from approaching the ideal of an Old Testament translation. For English readers the still incomplete American Confraternity version will be infinitely superior. The Germans have fared much better with their *Bonner Bibel* and *Echter Bibel*, and from Switzerland, H. Haag has produced a fine *Bibel-Lexikon*, really a translation and new edition of the Dutch *Bijbelsch Woordenboek* (1941).

In the area of synthesis of the religious teaching of the Old Testament, even the French have not produced anything exactly like the work of Father McKenzie. The works of A.-M. Dubarle (1946), J. Guilton (1947), and A. Gelin (1949) are more limited in scope; J. Guillet's *Thèmes bibliques* is selective and cannot be called popular. The present work differs, too, from C. Charlier's *La lecture chrétienne de la Bible* which devotes far more space to the peripheral areas of biblical study and to the practical and esthetic values of the Bible.

Father McKenzie undertakes a spiritual interpretation of the Old Testament and he is at pains to make clear that he does not intend allegorical or symbolic interpretation such as we find in the Church Fathers, nor the so-called fuller sense of the Scriptures. His effort is to get at the religious teaching and meaning of the Old Testament as understood by the Israelite readers and writers themselves. While the book is not an introduction to the Old Testament in the technical sense, some problems traditionally considered part of introduction, v.g., the origin and history of the Old Testament and its use, the idea of inspiration, and the question of the canon, do form the bulk of the first chapter. The book is not a biblical theology, though it could serve as preparation

for a biblical theology which would turn out to be vastly different from the work of Heinisch.

A glance at the table of contents gives some idea of the wide range of material covered: cosmic and human origins, the national origins of Israel, the history of Israel (in its religious import), Israelite thought on the themes of hope, wisdom, evil, after-life, prayer, and the nature of God. A final chapter discusses the relation between the Old Testament and the New.

The author feels that his book is just a beginning. Actually, many more things could have been treated. By choice the author has not taken up development of late post-exilic Judaism which, however, has definite importance for the origins of Christianity. Chapters on the reforming work of Ezra and Nehemiah, on the Chronicler's interpretation of Israelite history, and on the late wisdom books would have been welcome. Nevertheless, from the material covered the reader will get an excellent idea of the religious thought of the golden age of Hebrew and Israelite history.

Though the author has studiously avoided the use of documentation, his colleagues will be well aware of the scholarship that is behind the work. He is quite well known from previous articles in learned journals and has won respect in all quarters. He has made use of the most recent work of scholarship in all circles and has reflected long and carefully on the conclusions adopted.

The reviewer wishes to acknowledge that he is in complete sympathy with the author's approach and is, in fact, usually in complete agreement with the author's conclusions. But this community of feeling does not mean that the reviewer would agree with every detail of the author's interpretation. For example, the reviewer would look on the sin in the garden from a different viewpoint and would be quite skeptical of polemical purposes in any of Genesis. This, however, does not mean that the author's views should be suspected by Catholics; they have been in the past and are at present maintained by Continental and American scholars. But the author and the reviewer are both conscious that their opinions are sheerly points of view.

Again, in understanding the phrase, "God reveals himself in history," the reviewer is inclined to think that the author plays down too much its importance. The reviewer feels that God's nature and demands were manifested to Israel much more by what He did than by what He said. The great acts by which God rescued Israel from Egypt, chose her for His own and made a covenant with her, and brought her into the land of promise were more eloquent than any sermon; in the providence of God, Israel knew that the Lord had accomplished them and so was not tempted to attribute them to a deity of the nature of Assur or Marduk. We cannot, of course, neglect the role of God speaking even though it is difficult to understand how He did speak to Moses and his prophets.

These, however, are points for discussion between the author and his professional colleagues and do not in the least detract from the

worth of his book. This is a book that can be read and reread, preferably with Bible in hand. The style is easy and graceful, sober and concrete; the reader will feel himself transported into a different world—the world of the thought, feeling, and expression of the men of the Old Testament. No Catholic book on the Old Testament in any language is quite like the present work; it can take a proud place in the literature, both Catholic and non-Catholic. It is easily the best book on the Bible ever written by an American Jesuit.

G. S. GLANZMAN, S.J.

NOT GOOD

The Sources of Catholic Dogma. Translated by Roy J. Deferrari from the Thirtieth Edition of Henry Denzinger's Enchiridion Symbolorum.
B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis, 1957. Pp. xxxiv-653-[67]. \$8.50.

Next to the Bible, Denzinger's *Enchiridion* has been the most important reference work for the theologian. In recent years the need of a good translation has become more urgent. Unfortunately, Doctor Deferrari's translation is not good. This judgement is based on a careful reading of D.'s translations of the basic creeds of Christendom and the decisions of the first eighteen ecumenical councils.

The Eastern version of the Apostles' Creed has twelve brief articles. In this translation there are four inaccuracies. The creed expresses faith in one God . . . *maker* and not *creator* of heaven and earth; in Jesus Christ . . . *through whom* and not *by whom* all things were made; in the Holy Spirit . . . who spoke *in* or *through*, but surely not *among* the prophets; in one baptism *unto the remission* of sins and not *in the dismissal* of sins (D 9). The first two inaccuracies occur again in the creed of the first ecumenical council, that of Nicaea (D 54). The second inaccuracy is still found in the Nicene-Constantinople creed of the second ecumenical council, that of Constantinople I (D 86).

Two major dogmatic errors appear in D.'s translation of the famous second letter of Cyril to Nestorius, which was read and approved at the third ecumenical Council, that of Ephesus. The Council says that "the Word, in an ineffable and inconceivable manner, having hypostatically united to Himself flesh, animated by a rational soul, became Man and was called the Son of Man" (D111a). D. translates: ". . . rather (we say) that the Word uniting with Himself according to person is a body animated by a rational soul, marvelously and incomprehensibly was made man, and was the Son of man . . ." In the same excerpt from Cyril's letter, the Council says: "For it was no ordinary man who was first born of the holy Virgin and upon whom only afterwards did the Word descend . . ." D. misplaces the adverb *proton* (*primo*) with the following confusion: "For in the first place no common man was born of the holy Virgin; then the Word thus descended upon him . . ." D.'s

concluding statement ". . . he is said to have endured a generation in the flesh in order to appropriate the producing of His own body," is all but unintelligible. The Council concludes: ". . . He is said to have undergone fleshly birth, claiming as His own the birth of His own flesh." Finally, the editors of the *Enchiridion* give a reference to the anathemas of Cyril which were added to Cyril's letter to Nestorius, as well as a reference to the anathemas of Nestorius against Cyril. D. speaks of "Those anathematized who were added to the Epistle," and the "Anathematized of Nestorius against Cyril."

The translation of the Latin version of the definition of Chalcedon on the two natures of Christ omits a *nusquam* with the unfortunate result that the distinction of natures is denied: "the distinction of natures removed on account of the union" (D 148).

Canon 7 of the fifth eumenical Council, that of Constantinople II, omits in translation "as well as in His Manhood" (D 219). The Fathers of the sixth ecumenical Council, that of Constantinople III, "embrace with open arms" the suggestion of pope St. Agatho. This is weakly translated "willingly accept" (D 289). The seventh ecumenical Council, that of Nicaea II, bears the heading "Definition of the Sacred Images and Tradition." Since sacred images were not defined, it would have been better to translate *de* as *concerning*. The translation of the definition is very poor, concluding with the extraordinary observation: "For the honor of the image passes to the original, and he who shows reverence to the image, shows reverence to the substance (*subsistentiam*) of Him depicted in it" (D 302). We might note that the Council is speaking here of the images of Christ, of the Blessed Virgin and of the Saints, not only "of Him."

The question of sacred images is taken up again in the eighth ecumenical Council, that of Constantinople IV. D.'s translation of canon three is symptomatic of the kind of English one meets with in the early sections of the present volume: "We adore the sacred images of our Lord Jesus Christ in like honor with the book of the holy Gospels. For as through the syllables carried in it, we all attain salvation, so through the imaginal energies of the colors both all the wise and the unwise from that which is manifest enjoy usefulness; for the things which are the sermon in syllables, these things also the writing which is in colors teaches and commands . . ." (D 337).

Canon 10 of the First Lateran Council (ec. X) says: "Let no one impose hands on a bishop for his consecration unless he has been canonically elected" (D 363). D. translates: "Let no one unless canonically elected extend his hand for consecration to the episcopacy." The second Lateran Council (ec. XI) speaks of feigned or insincere repentance. D. speaks of "false penitence." The Council prescribes that heretics be restrained by the "secular powers (*potestates exteras*)" (D 367). D. translates "by exterior powers."

The third Lateran Council, (ec. XI) has but two brief chapters recorded. In the second chapter (D 401) "*in Gasconia, Albigesio et*

partibus Tolosanis" is translated "in Gascony, in Albigesium, and in parts of Tolosa." The fourth Lateran Council (ec. XII) condemns the error of the Abbot Joachim on the Trinity. There was need throughout for a trained theologian to attempt a translation of this difficult section. D.'s attempt to translate "*alius sit Pater, alius Filius, alius Spiritus Sanctus, non tamen aliud*" comes close to Sabellianism: "one is the Father, another the Son, and another the Holy Spirit, yet they are not different" (D 432).

The translation of the excerpts from the thirteenth ecumenical Council, that of Lyons I, reads badly. The following passage is also inaccurate. Innocent IV interprets the sin against the Holy Spirit in Mt. 12:32 as meaning that "some sins are forgiven in the present life, others only in the world to come" (D 456). D. translates: ". . . by this it is granted that certain sins of the present be understood which, however, are forgiven in the future life." The profession of faith of the second Council of Lyons (ec. XIV) in translation begins: ". . . we declare (*fatemur*) that the Holy Spirit proceeds eternally from the Father and the Son, not as from two beginnings (*principiis*), but from one beginning, not from two breathings (*spirationibus*), but from one breathing" (D 461). Additional professions of faith are introduced by Denzinger under the heading [*Varia*]. This becomes *Variant Readings* in D.'s translation. An earlier [*Varia*], introducing n. 425, was translated *Variations*.

The Council of Vienne (ec. XV) is concerned principally with the errors of Peter John Olivi. As was true in the case of the Abbot Joachim, the point at issue is again delicate and needed a trained philosopher as well as a theologian to translate accurately the Church's decision. The Council insists that the rational or intellectual soul is truly and of itself *the* form of the human body. D., missing the point completely, translates the heading [*De anima ut forma corporis*] as [The soul as a form of the body], and in the body of the definition speaks of the "substance of the rational or intellective soul" as "truly and in itself a form of the human body." (D 481).

The Council of Constance (ec. XVI) met to condemn the errors of Wycliffe, Huss and their followers. In the translation of the errors of Wycliffe we read the following: "It is not established in the Gospel that Christ arranged (*ordinaverit*) the Mass" (D 585). "One bringing alms to the Brothers is excommunicated by that very thing (*eo facto*)" (D 600). In a concluding note to this section the editors of the *Enchiridion* refer the reader to n. 661 where the theological censures attached to these 45 articles of Wycliffe are found among the questions to be put to the Wycliffites and the Hussites. D. translates: "See the theological censures of these 45 articles to be proposed to the Wycliffites and the Hussites, n. 11 (661 below)." A similar reference on the part of the editors follows the listing of the errors of John Huss. This time D. translates *Interrogationes Wicleffitae et Hussitae proponendas*, but they are not the Council's questions to be proposed to the Wycliffites and

the Hussites, but "Questions of Wycliffe and Huss to be proposed."

The Council of Florence (ec. XVII) is important for its defense of the *Filioque*. It argues that "since all that the Father has, the Father, in begetting, has given to His only begotten Son, with the exception of Fatherhood, the very fact that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son the Son Himself has from the Father, by whom He was begotten also eternally" (D 691). Rearranging the phrasing, and translating *quoniam* as that, D. obscures the meaning, and suggests in the concluding phrase that the Holy Spirit not only proceeds from the Son but was also eternally begotten of the Son: "And that all things, which are the Father's, the Father Himself has given in begetting His only begotten Son; without being Father, the Son Himself possesses this from the Father, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son from whom He was moreover eternally begotten."

Denzinger's *Enchiridion* gives but one excerpt from the eighteenth ecumenical Council, that of Lateran V (D 738). Accordingly, the other topics which are dealt with by Leo X, including the Errors of Martin Luther, should not bear the page heading *Lateran Council V*. The single excerpt defines the oneness of the soul in each individual, its multiplicity in many bodies, and its immortality. Unfortunately, D. omits the definition of the soul's immortality. The concluding sanction is inaccurately translated.

In a work of such monumental proportions it would be unjust to apply too rigorously the addage: *Bonum ex integra causa, malum ex quocumque defectu*. Unquestionably, the quality of D.'s translations improves as the work progresses. However, in a work entitled *The Sources of Catholic Dogma*, there are too many defects in the translation of the basic sources to allow us to call D.'s translation good. For this reason we cannot recommend the present volume until the sections dealing with the Apostles' Creed and the first eighteen ecumenical Councils of the Church have been thoroughly revised or, better, redone.

PAUL F. PALMER, S.J.

OPTIMISM AND PRECISION

The Catholic Viewpoint on Race Relations. By John LaFarge, S.J.
Garden City: Hanover House, 1956. Pp. 190. \$2.95.

This is the first of a series of books which will examine crucial problems facing Catholics in the United States today. If the later treatises match the excellence and thoroughness of Father LaFarge's present work, this will be a reference series of real and lasting value for every thinking Catholic.

The first section of the book outlines the problem of race relations in general. The nature of segregation and the vicious circle which it entails are carefully studied. In looking at the history-making decision of the

United States Supreme Court, Father LaFarge develops the significant observation of the Court that many of the intangibles of education in a free society are denied to the child who is forced to attend a segregated school. The author then proceeds to study the Catholic record and Catholic principles affecting this area of human life. He makes mention of the limited apostolic work among the Negroes, due to the apathy, lack of support, and hostility of some Catholics. The magnificent work currently being done by the Catholic interracial councils, colleges and Negro leaders is pointed out.

The third section of the book deals in a very practical manner with what the individual can do to help in this field, both as an individual and as a member of an organization. The opportunities which parents have to eliminate prejudice in their children are studied, as is the perennial question of interracial marriage. We are cautioned to seek information before acting in this area of human relations, as much well-intentioned action has had disastrous results, due to lack of correct information. A listing is made of the organizations which can supply this sorely-needed information and guidance. In this connection, a well deserved word of praise is given to an organization, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which in recent months has been the victim of numerous unfounded and vicious attacks. In the final chapters of the work, the meaning of moderation in action is explained and illustrated. The book finishes with a brief consideration of the Church's position on interracial marriage, and a study of an inspiring venture in interracial living, known as the Manhasset Project.

The author treats with optimism and precision an area which too often in the past has been marked by a defeatist style of thinking. The most striking impression given by the book is that of real confidence that a solution will soon be had for the problems discussed. If the reader did not know otherwise, he would envision the author as a man of some thirty-five or forty odd years. Father LaFarge certainly shares the confidence of the younger workers in this field that the solution is near at hand. May God spare him for many years that he may see the joy of that day.

FRANK C. BOURBON, S.J.

SECOND TO NONE

St. Ignatius' Own Story. *Translated by William J. Young, S.J.*
Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1956. Pp. xii-138.

In a number of ways the first section of this work is like the book of the *Spiritual Exercise*. It is, first of all, Ignatius' own story of his life. Secondly, its length comes close to that of the book of the *Exercises* and its style is as matter-of-fact. And finally, though on a different plane from that of the *Exercises*, its contents also give an exposition of the roots of everything Ignatian. This translation was

overdue: it stands now as the first translation into English of the autobiography since the turn of the century, and as the first made from the original Spanish and Italian text. In his rendition Father Young has rightly preferred to keep close to the simplicity of the original wherever possible, and so to avoid using his polished prose style.

The second half of this work gives English readers a sampling of Ignatius' thousands of letters. Father Young has selected some that are interesting in themselves and important for understanding the spirit of Ignatius in his advice, government and spiritual counsel. These letters, with the exception of three (nos. 2, 4, 5), are not contained in a previous English translation of some of Ignatius' letters (London, 1914). Throughout this book the introductions and footnotes are especially well done: they fulfill their function of making the essential matter more interesting and more intelligible. The printing and format are likewise splendid. Nothing distracts readers from the Ignatian content. As a whole, of the books that appeared in English on Ignatius in 1956, this may well be the least catching for general readers; but for Jesuits (and mature, interested non-Jesuits) it ranks second to none for its basic historical content.

KENNETH C. BOGART, S.J.

ORIGINAL AND EFFECTIVE

Man's Knowledge of Reality: An Introduction to Thomistic Epistemology.
By Frederick D. Wilhelmsen. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1956. \$4.00.

Mr. Wilhelmsen's textbook of Thomistic *and* existential—he would not take the two as necessarily synonymous—epistemology is a rather radical departure from the format of most manuals. Indeed the very extent and depth of his departure from the ordinary course in criteriology, whose happy demise the author hails, may cause some to look askance and go no further. But that would be unfortunate.

It is easy enough to total up what could be considered defects in Wilhelmsen's work. As a text it presupposes courses in both metaphysics and the philosophy of man, which puts it out of the order of courses in many of our colleges and universities. Perhaps Wilhelmsen's own Santa Clara is an exception. Then there is the problem of language. Wilhelmsen is a stylist who uses language in an original and often highly effective way. Still the style does at times lead to obscurity through a certain imprecision or by seeming to bury a point completely. Some might find certain judgments rather excessively polemical; others, still more staid, might object (though unwisely) to his willingness to pun.

More serious still are some doctrinal points. One is caught up short by the universality of the assertion that the "subject is *never* understood as such in any judgment (p. 105)." The explanation that follows, while admittedly argued with great cogency, does not seem to deal with

the so-called analytic judgments whose truth, *terminis notis*, is immediately seen. Still stranger is the conclusion that history, even "in the broad, non-technical sense of any information possessed about the past," possesses the character of metaphysical certitude (p. 168). There seems to be a confusion between the necessity of fact—what was cannot not have been—and the certitude proper to my knowledge of that fact. Likewise there is a failure to distinguish the two distinct but not unrelated means of contradiction. Hence, it is absurdly easy, but withal a little unfair, to reduce Occasionalism to a flat contradiction (p. 91). It is even more difficult to understand how the first truth of realism can be "Being is" in the light of the thorough-going existential interpretation that is given both to *being* and to *is*. There is at least ambiguity in the statement, if not existential redundancy (p. 41 ff.).

Yet it would be misleading to end a review on such a critical note. For these criticisms are but a way of saying, albeit negatively, that a very fine book might have been better. And it is a very fine book, filled with much of positive value, conceived and executed with a real and always refreshing insight into the basic problems of an epistemology that is genuinely realistic. The concrete approach to the notion of *representation* is superb. The section (chap. 10) on the structure and meaning of the judgment is excellent though difficult reading, and it is a real attempt to get beyond the logical conception of judgment as a process of "composing and dividing" concepts. Indeed almost every page is filled with interesting reflections and correlations that give evidence of a very facile and alert mind. The approach to problems is always new, so new in fact that the retention of the traditional three degrees of certitude seems almost an anomaly. One would like to have seen Wilhelmsen develop his principles even into this knotty field.

In sum one cannot but recommend the book most highly. It is not that Wilhelmsen has solved all the problems nor that he has turned out the perfect text. But any teacher of epistemology could profit by a serious reading of his attempt to discuss real problems. The theologian too should find his explanation of the symbolic phantasm most enlightening and suggestive in light of the current interest in the truth value of myth.

H. R. BURNS, S.J.

EMINENTLY PRACTICAL

Guidance for Religious. By Gerald Kelly, S.J. Westminster: Newman Press, 1956. Pp. xi-321. \$4.50.

The proven value and continued popularity of Father Kelly's many excellent articles in the *Review for Religious*, has prompted their republication in book form by Newman Press under the title of *Guidance for Religious*. Although the book consists of a collection of articles written over a period of years, it has a surprising unity which is well

established in the introduction by a concise explanation of the nature and scope of spiritual direction.

The emotional life of the religious is the subject of the opening chapters, which include Father Kelly's penetrating analysis of emotional maturity, a high point, to this reviewer's mind, in the whole book. Today, when there is so much emphasis on psychological testing of applicants, not only to the religious life, but for almost every professional vocation as well, the principles and solid applications laid down by Father Kelly are invaluable. Emphasis is placed on the need for personal responsibility in thought and action, unselfishness, and on open-mindedness. Thus we are presented with the practical goals to be sought on one side of the persistent enigma faced by every master of novices; how to develop emotional maturity while at the same time fostering religious obedience. One could wish Father Kelly would complement this outstanding analysis of emotional maturity with another study treating specifically of its relationship to obedience in religious life.

Perhaps the most helpful suggestions toward spiritual progress are found in the chapters devoted to confession. While the value of devotional confessions is emphasized today by spiritual writers, we are constantly warned against the dangers of routine. For most, the danger is all too obvious; the difficulty is what to do about it! Here Father Kelly lays down four definite rules on how to make good confessions better, explaining them at some length by particular illustrations of confessional defects in matter of form. A subsequent chapter on contrition also affords some workable methods to diminish the dulling effects of frequent confession.

Two other exceptional chapters of the book deal with vocational counseling and the qualities of a good moral guide. If linked with the first chapter on emotional maturity, they form an excellent source of reference for anyone engaged in counseling. While giving numerous practical hints, these chapters nevertheless manage to convey a comprehensive picture of the whole, and a feel for the subject which is remarkable in such brevity.

The few sections of the book consisting of a moralist's treatment of the minimum requirements in our duties toward God, suffer greatly in comparison with the rest of the book. The reader is forcefully reminded of the numerous appeals in modern times for a more positive approach to moral theology. Certainly if such an approach would elicit more chapters in our moral theology text books comparable to Father Kelly's positive treatises described above, it is a consummation devoutly to be wished! There is a final chapter on the Catholic attitude toward the race question which seems out of place since it does not, at least to the same extent as the other chapters, fall under the unifying scope of spiritual direction set forth in the introduction.

The book as a whole is an eminently practical work, a handy reference clarifying ideas and offering concrete solutions to many of the everyday problems that occur in the pursuit of religious perfection. It sparkles

with anecdotes which often explain the matter better than any detailed explanation ever could.

J. ROCHE, S.J.

WHAT IS SOCIAL JUSTICE?

Social Justice. By *William F. Drummond, S.J.* Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1956. Pp. v-132. \$2.00.

This little work is a distinct contribution to the study of the much disputed nature of social justice. Whether or not one accepts Father Drummond's theory on the nature of social justice, it is impossible to deny that this work is the fruit of long and careful thought. The first chapter provides an excellent background for the subsequent discussion by summarizing the principles necessary for an understanding of social justice in relation to the human person. The next two chapters analyze the thought of the two great Encyclicals of Pius XI on the virtue of social justice and after a brief analysis of St. Thomas's "stewardship of wealth" concept, which he identifies with the virtue of social justice, Father Drummond formulates his own definition of social justice as a distinct virtue, namely, "A virtue which deals with the economic order of society as distinct from but part of the common good." More concretely, it is the virtue which is concerned with the management of private property in as much as it is destined to serve the needs of all men. In the final chapters of his work, the author puts in a plea for a re-evaluation of the traditional approach of the manuals to the question of ownership in modern industrial society and concretely indicates lines along which development is needed. For those who feel that our ethics and moral courses have yet to accommodate themselves to economic realities, these few chapters should be encouraging. Yet it may be questioned whether Father Drummond has actually established the theory into which he fits his study, namely, that social justice is a virtue distinct from legal justice. Nowhere do the Encyclicals cited use the term social justice as applying exclusively to the economic order. Nevertheless, the author's insistence on and his development of the social character of economic possessions stands apart from the theoretical framework and is in itself a valuable contribution to the field of Catholic social thought. It is to be hoped that the rich fields of study suggested by the author will not remain unexplored by Catholic moralists and social scientists.

JOHN F. DOHERTY, S.J.

LABOR AND MANAGEMENT

Co-Responsibility in Industry. By *Jeremiah Newman.* Westminster: The Newman Press, 1955. Pp. xxiii-187. \$4.00.

In order to provide one effective means for the development of human personality in present day industrial society, Pius XII has, on more than

one occasion, spoken on the desirability of workers' participation in management. Credit must be given to Rev. Jeremiah Newman, professor of sociology at St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, for putting out a book in English on the controversial subject of joint management of industry by owners and workers. From the disparate "management sharing" literature that has grown after World War II, Professor Newman has given us a complete study, first, of the Catholic teaching on co-management, and secondly, of the different co-management legislations and systems that have been tried in various countries. Professor Newman has prudently and satisfactorily shown the feasibility of co-management without in any way watering down the dangers and difficulties involved in its introduction. All through the book, he has shown that responsibility is the key to a successful and working co-management program.

The greater part of the book, and by far the more important, is devoted to study of co-management legislation and systems in Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, and of co-management experiments in Britain, Ireland, and the United States. As a result of this critical study from the Catholic viewpoint, Professor Newman offers the following suggestions: 1) a system of co-responsibility should not be rushed into unthinkingly by state legislation, but should be left to the free choice of industries; 2) each industry should find for itself the best organization for the purpose; 3) the introduction of a system of co-responsibility, patterned on that of Holland, would seem to meet the demands of Pope Pius XII regarding greater respect for the human element in industry; 4) any system of co-responsibility will not work unless there be a radical psychological change on the part of owners and workers alike and unless the human element in industry be impregnated with the Christian spirit of social justice tempered by social charity. The papal proposal of joint management will be realized only when the worker has been taught responsibility and the owner has been shown that joint-management is good, profitable business. The book has an appendix containing the German co-determination law of May 21, 1951, the Belgian law of September 20, 1948, and the Netherlands law of May 4, 1950.

VITALIANO R. GOROSPE, S.J.

INTRODUCTION TO THE PHILOSOPHY OF ST. THOMAS AQUINAS, III

Psychology. *By H. D. Gardeil, O.P.* Translated by John A. Otto. St. Louis: B. Herder, 1956. Pp. xiii-303.

This introductory text for the psychology of St. Thomas, the third in a series of four, is carefully and skillfully ordered according to the plan of Aristotle's *De Anima* and St. Thomas's commentary on it. All of the key theses of the Thomistic synthesis on man are included. The whole matrix of thought, then, is that of St. Thomas and his leading

commentators. So too, unfortunately, are the limits of discussion. This is not to say that the truths about man that St. Thomas taught are not perennially important and necessary. They are. But the complexus of facts which demand assessment, use or rejection by the Thomist philosopher today is much wider and more detailed. Those teachers, therefore, who were favorably impressed by the recent texts of Donceel and Klubertanz, might well find this text book too stringently delimited. It is not that Father Gardeil is unaware of experimental psychology or unappreciative of the insights it has given and the problems it has raised: his introduction shows the contrary to be true. Indeed he is aware that some might receive a faulty impression of his work because of his curtailment of empirical data (p. 234). But, perhaps because he intended to write a philosophical or metaphysical psychology, he has chosen to treat of modern problems only in passing. Hence, his book may not have that degree of concreteness that some would look for. However, Father Gardeil's text can be of great value as a supplement to the class text. Its clarity and orderly presentation are a great advantage in what is an exceedingly complex area of investigation. On that score, despite whatever other reservations might be made, there can be complete agreement on the fact that the author has written a fine and scholarly exposition of the traditional teaching of St. Thomas. That is no small merit and, by way of supplementing and summarizing a more concrete and inductive approach, it can be a great one.

H. R. BURNS, S.J.

DEVELOPMENT OF PHILOSOPHY

A Short History of Philosophy. By *F. J. Thonnard*, A.A. Translated by Edward A. Maziarz, C. PP. S. Tournai: Desclée, 1955. Pp. 1074. \$6.50.

While the value of the history of philosophy as an apt means of teaching philosophy itself has long been recognized, the attempt to exploit this more concrete and problematic approach to philosophy has been hampered by the lack of a good, one volume history of philosophy in English. That of Turner is surely out of date, while others by non-Catholics (e.g., that of Thilly-Wood) either slight Christian philosophy or require a degree of discernment that is beyond the abilities of the undergraduate student. This English translation, therefore, is assured a happy reception in this country. Brief though it is, it is no mere compendium of facts which have been detached from all meaningful context. Factual data there is, and in plentitude, especially in the ample and up-to-date bibliographies. Father Thonnard's purpose, however, goes beyond that of an annalist. He desires to give some understanding at least of the philosophical doctrines of the great men in philosophy. He adds too in each case criticisms which are balanced and just. In

general the translation reads well. But on certain points the English does not clearly and adequately convey the meaning intended. Despite blemishes, however, the translation should fill a long and seriously felt need in American colleges. It is admirably fitted to do so.

H. R. BURNS, S.J.

A MAJORITY OF CATHOLICS IN SECULAR SCHOOLS

The Catholic in Secular Education. By James M. O'Neill. New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1956. Pp. xix-172.

At a time when the building program for new Catholic educational institutions has reached unprecedented heights, a book on the Catholic student in secular education could have been a most unwelcome topic. Yet this book has been favorably received primarily because it judiciously reminds the American Catholic of a fact that can easily be forgotten. Professor O'Neill, who is eminently qualified to write about secular education on the college level, shows that, even with the expanding building program, the majority of Catholic students will continue to be instructed in secular schools.

Backing this statement with accurate information, the author then raises his voice in justified protest against his fellow-Catholics' blind condemnation of the secular institution. Drawing on his own and the experience of many of his Catholic friends who also teach in secular colleges and universities, he describes the dangers and yet the generally improved atmosphere which will face the Catholic student there today. With so many Catholic students confronting the dilemma of going to public high schools and secular universities or limiting themselves to a grammar school education, the author calls for a greater effort on the part of Catholics to permeate the educational life of the secular institution. He mentions the need for more Catholic scholars and professors who can competently represent the faith. They can become not only a protective force for the Catholic student but also a leaven in the non-Catholic majority. He cites the outstanding work done by Newman clubs and similar Catholic societies within the college milieu. Catholic students under the guidance of a zealous chaplain can gain additional strength in their religious, intellectual and moral convictions.

Even with his restrained eulogy of the improved atmosphere of the secular college, Professor O'Neill admits that there will always be a danger to the Catholic student who is weak in his faith. This, indeed, would be true under any circumstances. Finally, although he does not state it in explicit terms, the aspiration of every Catholic youth must be to receive his undergraduate training in a Catholic college or university. There rests the Catholic ideal. For there alone can his faith, fostered by a religious environment, grow to its fullness in the light of philosophical and theological truth.

ROBERT A. MCGUIRE, S.J.

THE CATHOLIC COLLEGE: TEACHER AND STUDENT

A Little Learning. By *Walter J. Handren, S.J.* Westminster: Newman, 1956. Pp. xii-215. \$3.50.

One of the characteristics of Jesuit education is a special interest in the student on the part of the teacher. This book is an application of this principle, for the author is sharing seventeen years of experience in the classroom, as well as mature scholarship, with the numerous college men and women who will read him. The book is divided into three parts. Part one pictures the main environmental factors constituting a Catholic college. Such topics as relations with the faculty, study habits, extra-curriculars, dancing and parties, the pros and cons of boarding away from home are candidly treated. Part two presents a philosophy of education in simple yet clear terms. This is the heart of the book and its more fruitful and worthwhile matter not only for the student but also teachers wishing to brush up on practical pedagogical principles. "Expressing Oneself" and "Aesthetic Development" are chapters which might prove of particular interest to Ours. The third part of the book reduces to rule and practical application the principles of the preceding sections as applied to campus environment. It is thus a synthesis of the first two sections. The chapter on "Reading" seems particularly worthy of note. The principles which find development in this volume and the reservoir of teaching experience that it represents should recommend this book to Ours as well as to college students.

LEO H. LARKIN, S.J.

THE FREE SPIRIT OF A HERO

Seek For A Hero. By *William G. Schofield.* New York: Kenedy & Sons, 1956. Price: \$3.95.

"Where shall we seek for a hero, and where shall we find a story?" From these lines found in a poem by John Boyle O'Reilly, comes the title of this book which is an interesting biography of a great man.

In O'Reilly, the author finds his hero, and in *Seek For A Hero* we find a story with warmth and vitality. Tracing the life of O'Reilly from the time of his early youth until his death in 1890, Schofield brings into clear focus his courageous, freedom-loving spirit. At the age of twenty-two O'Reilly was captured by the English, sentenced to life imprisonment for being a Fenian spy, and exiled to an Australian prison camp. Instead of wilting under the inhuman treatment, he grimly searched for a way to freedom, and after years of suffering, managed an amazing escape and ultimately found his way to America. Here, too, it was impossible for him to remain deaf to the cries of the oppressed, and as editor of *The Pilot*, Boston newspaper, he championed the cause of the Negro, the American Indian, and others who sought to have their rights recognized. We must thank the author for this graphic portrayal of an Irish hero.

ROBERT B. CULLEN, S.J.

CATHOLIC PRIEST IN MOSCOW

Moscow Was My Parish. By the Reverend Georges Bissonnette, A.A.
New York, McGraw-Hill Company, Inc., 1956. Pp. 272. \$3.95.

The first graduate from Fordham's Institute of Contemporary Russian Studies, the author was well equipped to assume the extraordinary duties of American chaplain in Moscow from January, 1953 until his dramatic and much-publicized expulsion in March, 1955. He learned much about the Soviet Union during that time, and what he saw, his reactions to circumstances and his interpretations of events are the contents of his book. All things considered, one closes this book with a sane sense of hope for Russia, chiefly because of the religious depth of her people. The Catholic Church in the Soviet Union is barely a shadow of the complex of dioceses, schools, colleges, monasteries and newspapers that once existed, but it is still a force, though a small one. The hierarchy of the dissident Russian Church presents a special problem because of its subservience to the Soviet regime and its willingness to become the instrument of foreign and domestic policy, but to the common people religion is still essentially an effort to conform their conduct to Christ's life on earth.

JOHN J. McDONALD, S.J.

 THE BEST IN CATHOLIC VERSE: 1930-1955

The Second America Book of Verse, 1930-1955. New-York: The America Press, 1955. Pp. 189.

When Father Talbot was appointed Literary Editor of *America* in 1923, he began to encourage the publication of the best in Catholic verse and his successors in that office have tried to continue that tradition so ably begun. The first *America Book of Verse* appeared in 1928 and contained selections of the best poetry, which had appeared in the magazine since its foundation in 1909. Twenty-seven years later *America* publishes its second anthology, selected and arranged with excellent taste by James Edward Tobin. Of interest to readers of *WOODSTOCK LETTERS* is the fact that thirty-four poems are from the pens of seventeen Jesuits, among whom are Alfred Barrett, John L. Bonn, William Donaghy, Richard Grady, Leonard McCarthy, Francis Sweeney and Daniel Berrigan.

As Father Gardiner, the present Literary Editor, remarks in his preface, "The poetry is somehow different". Foremost among the changes he lists those in technique and diction, and the absence of the language of poesy. There are obvious signs also that poetry is no longer regarded as a separate kind of knowledge, a precious technique or an instrument of propaganda. The deepening maturity of Catholic education, the increased participation on the part of Catholics in the life of the Church through the liturgy and increased awareness of doctrines like the Mysti-

cal Body, all these account for the growth in maturity of Catholic poetry in this country. Christian dogma is at the heart of this growth and the artist in this 1955 collection gives evidence of seeking its aid not just in regard to subject matter but more importantly as that vantage point from which he gains the light necessary for contemplating all the truths of the created universe. This second *America Book of Verse* will certainly repay the serious attention of the reader.

J. J. GOLDEN, S.J.

PERSON AND COMMUNITY

The Three-Dimensional Man. By A. M. Sullivan. New York: P. J. Kenedy. 1956. Pp. ix-298. \$4.00.

The author in his introduction to his work states that he is an expert on nothing. The reader will be inclined to disagree vigorously. Mr. Sullivan has done the job of an expert in his understanding portrayal of the relation between spiritual values and material progress in science and business. In defining the three-dimensional man, the author depicts a man of personal integrity, community responsibility, and spiritual awareness. Then he proceeds to explain the physical and moral forces, which help to form these three qualities. The true three-dimensional man must be wary in choosing his reading, conscious as he is that what he reads contributes greatly to what he is. In his analysis of minority groups and their influence upon a man's thought, two types of minorities emerge—the dedicated and the selfish. The author cautions against the labels and slogans which so often manage to lead even thoughtful men astray. The final chapter is truly a fitting summary of a splendid book, which offers a very good study of the place which the humanities can play in the life of an educated American. For the man whose daily activities are wholly concerned with one or other rather limited scientific or commercial field, this book could be the beginning of a new view of life. The basic truths of Christian humanism are presented in a delightfully American tone. Mr. Sullivan tells us that if there need be a moral to this appraisal of American culture, it might be worded in the question, "What makes life worth living?" This book is a spiritually alert effort to answer that tremendous question.

FRANK C. BOURBON, S.J.

FINE SYNTHESIS

Toward the Summit. By Raymond L. Bruckberger, O.P. Translated by Sister M. Camille, O.S.F. and Alastair Guinan. New York: Kenedy, 1956. Pp. 160. \$2.75.

France and the Dominicans have made considerable contributions to the Church's spirituality. Father Bruckberger, a Frenchman and a Dominican, presents a few spiritual insights which afford a solid

basis for achieving spiritual progress. In its analysis of the fundamental elements of Christian spirituality, *Toward the Summit* presents a clear tripartite division. First, God is the object or end of our life; second, man therefore, should attempt to inculcate unity with God even on this earth; third, the saints are offered as examples for imitation in accomplishing that union.

In the first section the author examines the needs presented by man's consciousness. God alone satisfies man, since the attributes that God possesses complement the needs or desires found in man. To see such a solution requires a free gift, faith. True, we may dispose ourselves by a rational preparation and by hearing the announcement of His revealed message. Ultimately, however, our reaction depends on God's gift of grace to the soul.

Contact and union with God is also a desire of man. The second section deals with the predispositions needed to effect union with God through prayer. Great stress is placed on the first condition of prayer, to "place ourselves in the presence of God." As our concern with our own attachments becomes less, the truth of God becomes clearer. The Our Father shows us the correct disposition for prayer, the best method of prayer, the means of moving towards God, the completion of our life, our summit.

The saints appear united with God; their summit is not hidden by clouds. They do not appear to us, however, like the legendary heroes of ancient times, as supermen; saints imitate the heroism of Christ which was human. Every human situation is presented to us as capable of leading men to God, which is proven by the fact that saints have come from every state in life. Since each avocation has its patron saint, men in a similar position can be inspired to follow the example of a saint who shared this same milieu. Thus the saints by their lives show the possibility of reaching the summit.

This work is a fine synthesis of the soul's progress towards God. Its author gives evidence of the wide erudition and the deep, intimate spiritual life that has appeared in his other writings. As a translation, the fear is present in the reader that the author's personal insights sometimes become obscured by transfer to another medium of expression. The translation of the second and third sections is good, literary English; the first section presents an attempt to preserve the French style even at the cost of sacrificing clear, English idiom. The book, however, still presents much material for meditative thought.

EDMUND G. RYAN, S.J.

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Saint Ignatius As Man

JOHN LaFARGE, S.J.

This Ignatian year is for us Jesuits a year of commemoration and a year of self-examination, in which we ask ourselves whether we are still faithful to the ideals of our Founder. It is a search, a renewal in our minds and hearts of Ignatian spirituality, and during the year 1956 much will be said and written about this topic. The expression in a way is a bit misleading. A great religious order does not profess a spiritual way of life entirely unique and distinct from all others. It is not something drawn up with precise formulation, sharply defined, like the charter of a juridical institution. Practically every feature of any importance in the order's spiritual life belongs to the patrimony of the entire Church. For all it is the same royal road of the Cross, the same battle of the Spirit against the flesh, the same reliance upon divine grace and the same goal of ultimate triumph. Differences are to be found more in the sum total of unwritten tradition and customary practice; in stress and emphasis. Nothing, for instance, seems more different outwardly than the life of a Jesuit compared with, let us say, that of a Carthusian monk. Yet when you talk to a Carthusian, or study the traditions of the Carthusian order, you are struck by profound resemblances to the Jesuit spirit, at points where you least expect them. It was from the Carthusians of Cologne that Ignatius' ideas on perfection found an extremely early response. It was the Carthusian Prior Gerard Kalckbrenner of Cologne who publicly took up his defense and the monks of the Cologne Charterhouse dedicated to him one of their own spiritual publications.

Indeed it is perhaps a general norm of the religious life everywhere that the more deep and intense the understanding of any one rule of life, the more readily does one sympathize with the spirit of others, each in their own sphere.

All this I have said just as a proviso, so you will not expect

This paper was one of a series read at Loyola Seminary, Shrub Oak, New York, during the Ignatian Year.

me to deliver a neatly formulated picture of Ignatian spirituality. Our subject, Saint Ignatius the Man, as you fully realize, is a vast topic, about which any number of men, especially any number of Jesuits, will offer any variety of interpretations. Just so none of the collection of portraits which his contemporaries had painted and drawn succeeded in picturing him definitively. For Ignatius Loyola was a complex character who reconciled in himself an astonishing diversity of contrasting and opposing traits. He was ardent but self-controlled; comparatively unlearned, yet one of the three or four mightiest initiators of education in the history of Christendom. He was impetuous yet infinitely patient; exacting yet delicately charitable. He was totally detached and Christlike yet entirely at home in a most un-Christlike world.

The most I can do is to select some one aspect of his personality and I do so, not as would a deep philosopher of the spiritual life, but simply as a journalist, as one who has spent most of his life reading the papers and then trying to figure out for himself what lies behind the news that is served up to us day by day. In other words, if I talk of Saint Ignatius as a man, I ask myself what general traits do I find in him which possess a special significance in our era;—or to be more precise, in view of the situation that religion and the Church itself occupy in the present world.

Ignatian Dynamism

This is why I selected the extraordinary dynamism of Ignatius as a point that seems to offer some deeper understanding of the man himself, even though it implies conflict. We do not need to elaborate the notion. We can infer Ignatius' dynamism most evidently from the vigor of the vast institution he founded: its rapid spread, its extreme versatility and universality, the richness of its appeal to modern man, the rapidity of its rebirth after suppression, its present flourishing condition, its power in resisting heresy.

There is a special reason in our time for stressing this dynamic trait. We sense uncomfortably that our faith must emphasize its dynamic character if it is to meet the challenge of the contemporary world, if it is to survive. Our faith must

conquer, or it will be conquered. It must advance or be pushed back into obscurity. The Christian faith and the Church of Jesus Christ cannot rely today upon a momentum derived from ancient impulses. The faith no longer has the support of a Christian-inspired social structure. It no longer can function as a *Gebrauchskatholicismus*, on an inherited patrimony of usage.

Faith today must meet the disrupting elements of the modern technological revolution, as well as the force of the ideologies, with their magical command of mass media: the mass of unflavored gelatine, as Edward O'Connor calls it in *The Last Hurrah*. So it is licit for us to ask, humanly speaking, whence Ignatius' dynamism?

We are considering him as man. But when we say man, we mean a multitude of different aspects, for, as we are constantly reminded, no man is an island. A man is himself, inviolably himself, yet if we wish to view him concretely, we must reckon with the influences and sources that enter into his being. These we may gather around three main aspects, seeing man, as it were, in a three-dimensional world. Two of these concern chiefly the natural order; the third, the supernatural.

Native Endowments

Consider Ignatius from the ground up, as it were: in his origin, in the roots of his being. By origin and by nature he was a man of firm, forceful character, as well as one of simple, unquestioning religious faith. The lines of his nativity and childhood were drawn in the ancient Basque country, with its great social stability, large families, industrious habits and sense of duty and loyalty. Basque faith was militant, and the youth of its upper classes were inspired by Spain's religious chivalry, just as they were by the romanticism that pervaded the drama and literature of the age. The authority and the sanctity of the Church were unquestioned. Even though the lives of many of its representatives were scant credit to it, still men and women of great holiness and learning were frequent enough to set a young man's sights to higher possibilities.

From his home and from his early influences Ignatius de-

rived an active, generous, realistic personality, and his early military training gave him a supreme esteem for courage—moral and physical. His power of decision was innate and paramount, and reflected in his words written very early in his career to Sister Teresa Rejadella: "A person who does not settle things, does not understand, and is no help." (*Quien no detérmina, no entiende, no ayuda.*)

Allied to his sense of decision was his dominant sense of finality: the absolute need to know what you are doing and why you are doing it: to foresee little things and to plan generously for great enterprises; for it was the age of enterprises: some gloriously successful, others miserable failures because of poor planning or mixed motives. At the same time, Ignatius showed from the ground up a shrewd native realism, characteristic of the Basques, the understanding of men and their ways, the penetrating power of observation that often goes with races who have had to earn their daily bread under difficult circumstances. Along with this was a certain broad humanism. Ignatius respected art and literature; he loved music and even the dance.

Our own times sorely need the Ignatian spirit of determination—not that of stubbornness or rashness, but the determination that comes to a mind that has naturally meditated on its motives and life's circumstances.

Environmental Factors

If we look at Ignatius in respect to the world around him, his environment in the widest sense, and the influences that streamed in from it, we can say that he was a child of his times, as we are of ours. It was a world of ferment, of discovery, it was an erudite "republic of letters": scientific, in the wider sense of the world; universalist and international.

The discovery of America opened up a limitless horizon for spiritual as well as military or commercial enterprise. Ignatius' own relatives, it is said, were deeply interested in these discoveries, and it is unlikely that Ignatius himself, in his formative years, would have escaped the influence of the new prospects.

With the revealing of new possibilities for the spread of Christ's Kingdom, came also a realization of the weakness and

corruption that had crept into the inner sanctuaries of the Kingdom itself: a sense of the Church's suffering from corruption in high places, as well as of the deep current of anxiety among spiritual minded men everywhere over the need of genuine reform. But the currents of reform themselves were part of the surrounding atmosphere, their errors and excesses as well as their merits. Ignatius' firm faith, and his steadfast conviction of God's goodness and mercy, revolted against the Reformers' exaggerated pessimism. Nowhere is this more clearly seen than in his masterly treatment of the problem of guilt and sin. He leads the exercitant step by step into an understanding first of the origin and nature of sin, as a world phenomenon, then as a phenomenon in our own lives. The paths of meditation induce the retreatant gently but firmly to grasp the real nature of his own guilt—not as a psychological excitement, but as a chilling fact, in view of the eternal truths of the Faith. But this very revelation of personal sin is itself the path to humble prayer for forgiveness; it leads to intimate conversation with the Redeemer, to the foot of the Cross, and finally to the reconstruction of one's own life. *Quid agam pro Christo?*

Undoubtedly Ignatius' emphasis upon certain externals of the Church, or of Catholic practice, was the response to an exaggerated inwardness, a distrust of sacramentalism, that was current at that day.

Primacy of Grace

Finally, Ignatian dynamism is to be seen in the light of the supreme determinant of his life: what came to him from above: the work of divine grace. This is a most mysterious and fascinating study. What we do know stands out in such vivid clearness. But as to so much that we do not know, we can only surmise.

Our sources are limited. Besides the Exercises, we must look to the Constitutions and to more mystical sources. These last reveal, as it were, two poles in his early experience to which all his subsequent spirituality seems to gravitate. One of these was the vision of Manresa, on the banks of the River Cardoner, which totally transformed his life. Here we have the first tremendous element in the dynamism of Ignatius'

spiritual life: his insistence upon the total transcendence of God, as the Source and as the End: the sense of the Divine Majesty, mentioned in the Constitutions 279 times. The power of this idea, expressed with force and simplicity, is seen in the power of the Exercises themselves. This idea has penetrated all modern Catholic spiritual teaching.

The other primary experience was the vision of La Storta, where he received the favor of being "placed with" the Son of God, participating in the work of the Word of God in the world. Here then is the second element in his power. The message he brings is not just the message of a great *idea*, but the power communicated by those who become identified with a Divine Person, operating through all history, and in all the world, always moving toward a vast purpose. Here the power of Ignatius is like the power of Saint Paul: *Mihi vivere Christus est.*

He identified himself with the humility of the Divine Word: with the Cross, with the pierced heart of the Redeemer. And it was an active humility. Let us look at this idea more precisely. The most revealing source we know for the work of grace in Ignatius is, unfortunately, but fragmentary: the remnant of his spiritual diary. Only this fragment was saved from the destruction that he had ordered. One feature of this diary seems of special significance, with a wide bearing upon the spiritual warfare of the present time. That which moved Ignatius immensely, moved him more than anything else, was the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. At Mass he received his most intense illuminations, so that after it he spent two hours of thanksgiving, in spite of his careful husbanding of time.

He reflects this solicitude for the Holy Sacrifice in his careful provision in the Constitutions prescribing daily attendance at Mass and in the radical stand he took for frequent reception of Holy Communion: radical and frequent, that is to say, by the customs of those times. Repeatedly he expresses his joy at what God revealed to him at Mass. There he entered into the most profound and intimate communication with the Word of God: there he offered supreme homage to the Father; there he joined in the victim-offering of the Son, and united himself with the Heart that embraced all men. There he offered sacrifice through the operation of the Holy Spirit. He participated

in this Sacrifice as a priest set aside to represent the Church itself, in its act of supreme worship of the Father. The Mass was of the Church, in the Church and for the Church, so that, in the words of Father Karl Rahner, S.J., he was most truly "a man of the Church."

The Mass as Action

We might also note that Ignatius seems to have found as the occasion for these great spiritual outpourings not so much long hours of adoration before the Most Blessed Sacrament, as his daily celebration of the Holy Eucharist, as an action, a Sacrifice. I wonder if this is not the reason why this element of Ignatian piety has not been more dwelt upon. Of old, the typical picture represents Ignatius as a vested priest offering the Mass. That was the sense of his contemporaries and of his immediate successors. So it was here, if I may use a rather crude expression, that his religious faith made its most overwhelming impact upon him.

May this be not without meaning for us today, since the reforms in the Liturgy are helping us to grow more conscious of the power that our Faith exerts through the union of men with the Holy Sacrifice. In the Mass is both the symbol and the reality of the Church: its all-embracing universalism, its ceaseless action for the salvation of souls.

How do we reconcile, someone may ask, this mystical devotion with Ignatius' humanism and dry realism, his much commented-upon being-at-home in the world. Precisely because through his entering into the intimate life of the Saviour, he entered into the true *philanthropía*, that love of man for the good that is in man, as well as the graces that man can acquire through the Redemption. Our retreats, our colleges, our parishes, our missions, are built around this living center. The center is there, and is revered; but it must be more consciously, more reflectively known.

Ignatius, moreover, identifies himself with Jesus Christ through identifying himself with the Church, the Bride of Christ. "Believing that there is the same Spirit between Christ our Lord, the Bridegroom, and the Church, His Bride." He spoke of the "singular benefit of being united to the Mystical Body of the Catholic Church, made living and governed by

the Holy Spirit." He identified himself therefore with the work of the Holy Spirit in the world, as expressed in the Church. Hence his identification with the Father's work of creation, the Son's work of Redemption and with the Spirit's work of diffusion and sanctification.

Conclusion

Ignatian spiritual dynamism, functions, like all great dynamic spiritual movements, by reconciling apparent opposites. It blends into perfect unity and concord two contrasting elements. One of these is the mystery of God's supreme transcendence: the vast and comprehensive view of the relationship between the Creator and all His creation. The other is the mystery of the Heart of Christ, the Incarnate Word, offering Himself to the Father and laboring for mankind. The guarantee of our own participation in these divine labors is the test of humility: not for its own sake, not as self-contained ascetic discipline, but as the condition of joyful companionship with the King in His campaign, with the work of the Holy Spirit in the Church.

Hence the churchliness of Ignatius. Today when the Church is on trial throughout the world: for her very existence, in the world behind or threatened by the Iron Curtain; for her principles of justice and charity, as in her stand for these basic virtues in our communities, North and South, we need to imitate our Founder in His complete identification with the Person of Jesus Christ: with Christ's historical Person, with His sacramental and sacrificial Person, and finally, with Christ in the humblest members of His Church. But the avenue to such identification is an ever deeper identification with the Church itself: not through sensational or restless activity, but in these precious years of seedtime and training, through careful nurturing of the varied gifts God has given to each of us, through humble study and prayer.

If this Ignatian spirit is really deep planted in our own hearts, we shall find ourselves fitted, under God's grace, to be what Father Jerome Nadal said Ignatius wanted himself and all of us to be—in the words of Saint Paul—*coadjutores Dei*, God's willing helpers.

The Proper Grace of the Jesuit Vocation

According To Jerome Nadal

THOMAS H. CLANCY, S.J.

One of the happiest results of the renewal of Ignatian studies since the war has been the rediscovery of Jerome Nadal. According to Polanco,¹ he it was who knew St. Ignatius better than anyone else and his writings are furnishing many new insights into the true character and deepest meaning of Ignatian spirituality.² In these pages we would like to examine his idea of the special and particular grace of the Jesuit vocation.

The Particular Grace of the Religious Vocation

Although, according to Fr. Nicolau, there is nothing basically original in Nadal's thought, he has given an original and personal touch to some doctrines and this is especially true of his idea of the particular grace of the religious vocation and how that grace must be found in the life of the Founder.³

Thus, for Jesuits it is of highest importance to know the life of St. Ignatius "whom God took as a means to communicate that grace (of vocation) and called as a minister of that vocation. God set him up as a living example of our way of life (*nuestro modo de proceder*)"⁴

Two authorities might be cited for the soundness of that idea. The first is Pius XI who in his Apostolic Letter to orders of men, *Unigenitus Dei Filius*, said:

¹ *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu* (referred to hereafter as MHSI) *Monumenta Ignatiana, Epistolae*, V, 109.

² "This way of life is new, difficult to understand and difficult to practice." A. Gagliardi, S.J., *De Plena Cognitione Instituti S.J.*, Proemium. Cited by B. O'Brien in the *Month* May-June, 1941, p. 237.

³ Miguel Nicolau, *Jeronimo Nadal, Obras et Doctrinas Espirituales*, Madrid, 1949, p. 464. This is the essential book on Nadal. It is cited throughout these notes by the name of the author.

⁴ Cited by Nicolau, p. 149. Note that neither this translation or any of those which follow make any pretense at being strictly literal.

And first of all we exhort religious men that each one study the life of his founder if his wishes to participate fully and know for certain the grace which flows from his vocation.⁵

The second witness is the Jesuit psychologist, Father Lindworsky:

Anyone entering an ecclesiastical order so as to live according to a rule approved by the saintly founder of that order, does not thereby automatically take over the religious aim-form of the saint, but only such external manifestations of it as are legislated for. The inspiration that animated the saint and was the most important thing in his foundation of the order cannot be transmitted by verbal formularies or an eternal refrain of conventional catchwords. This inspiration must be experienced anew by the novices and must be applied to each individual; each one must to a certain degree himself become the founder of the order, grasp the ideal of the founder and animate himself therewith, and apply it to himself and his particular conditions. Each individual member is then an order by himself, with his own aims, and his own particular method of actualizing that ideal which his order envisages.⁶

Knowledge of St. Ignatius

The conviction of Nadal's that Ignatius is the exemplar of the proper grace of the Jesuit vocation enables us to understand what we would otherwise have to brand as his insatiable curiosity about the pilgrimage of Inigo. He was one of prime movers in the attrition campaign waged by the Early Fathers to get Ignatius to tell his story in full. When finally Ignatius consented and told it to Gonçalves da Câmara he ended the account with the year 1538 with the words, "Master Nadal will be able to tell you all the rest."⁷

Nadal was a member of that small group of early Jesuits who were privileged to be formed by Ignatius himself. It was a great formation if one could stand it. Ribadeneira tells us, "several times Ignatius gave him such terrible admonitions and penances that he wept bitter tears."⁸

⁵ A.A.S. 16, p. 135.

⁶ *Psychology of Asceticism*, p. 19 f.

⁷ *Autobiography*, no. 98. W. Young, *St. Ignatius' Own Story*, 69.

⁸ Cited by De Guibert, *Spiritualité de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 79 n. Cf. *ibid.*, 72-82 where De Guibert reviews the stern formation given by St. Ignatius to those closest to him. Fr. Casanovas compares three of these privileged souls in the following manner: Laynez was the brains

In his article on the morning meditation⁹ Father Leturia recounts how on the very evening of Nadal's return from his first visitation to Spain there ensued what seems to have been a rather violent argument between Ignatius and Nadal during which the latter was guilty, as he himself tells us,¹⁰ of impertinence and irreverence. Result: he got a penance the following day but it was only a few weeks later that he was named Vicar General of the whole society.¹¹

Nadal's great devotion to St. Ignatius comes out in his Spiritual diary where we read such hurried and fragmentary notes as the following:

The pure spirit of Father Ignatius, united in prayer with God, by which the Society is kept going and by means of which it has received confirmation from God and every good thing.¹²

Give me, Oh Lord, the spirit of Father Ignatius, the victory over the flesh, the world, and the devil; give me his state of contemplation.¹³

P. Ignatius quasi osculans animam, et illi se insinuans suaviter et tranquille.¹⁴

The Particular Grace of the Jesuit Vocation

If, then, we take it as demonstrated that the proper and peculiar grace of the Jesuit vocation is to be found in the life of St. Ignatius the only question remaining is: where in the life of Ignatius is this grace to be found? Which of the many graces he received was the grace to which all the others were ordered?

To answer this question we must remember the testimony of Ignatius himself recorded in the last pages of his autobiography: "With him devotion, or a certain ease in finding

of Ignatius; Polanco, his right hand; Nadal, his heart. Cited by Nicolau, 3 along with other appreciations of Nadal's role as a collaborator of Ignatius.

⁹ *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, 1934, 63 f.

¹⁰ MHSI. *Mon. Nadal* II, 32.

¹¹ MHSI. *Mon. Ign. Epist.* VIII, 42-43.

¹² MHSI. *Mon. Nadal* IV, 693.

¹³ Cited by Nicolau, 412.

¹⁴ MHSI. *Nadal* IV, 720. Part of Nadal's spiritual diary or journal was published in *Mon. Nadal* IV, pp. 643-648, 682-726. Of these selections most were translated into French in *Dieu Vivant* no. 5 (1946) 39-78.

God, was ever on the increase, which devotion he had in greater abundance at that moment (1555) than in his whole life and as often as he wanted and at any moment he wanted he could find God."¹⁵ With Ignatius then as with His Divine Master the characteristic grace is to be sought in the last days of his pilgrimage. Not that we should begin there. We should live again the stages of the Ignatian way to God successively.

Novitiate

Nadal teaches that the novitiate corresponds to the Manresan stage of the Ignatian pilgrimage. There we should give ourselves over to penance and contemplation and zealous desires for the salvation of souls.¹⁶ Ignatius himself gives an indication of this in the General Examen when he sets down as trials of the novitiate experiments which correspond to his own activity at Manresa and up to the time when he began to study. Thus novices are to make the Exercises; they are to live and serve in hospitals; they are to go on pilgrimages begging their way; and so on to the trial of mean and abject offices and the teaching of catechism.

Studies

In the Ignatian vision the man thus tried by fire will be truly mortified and thus able to pursue his studies, which 'claim the whole man' with a minimum of formal prayer. Here are the words of Nadal:

Why is so little time given to the Scholastics for prayer? Because it is taken for granted that the Scholastics have been tried and proven to the point that they can study as they ought. And for them, because they know how sweet it is to pray, the big danger is not that they will neglect their prayer but rather that they will give too much time to it to the detriment of their studies. That is what happened in the case of Ignatius. I think he had to make a vow to correct himself in this matter.¹⁷

Nadal goes on to say that Ignatius found three obstacles during his years of study, namely, his poverty, his sickness,

¹⁵ *Autobiography*, no. 99.

¹⁶ Nicolau, 495.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 481. On Nadal's part in the settling of the question of the time allotted to Scholastics for prayer see the masterful article of Fr. Leturia in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, 1934.

and his prayer and he took care of all three in the Constitutions. Poverty was remedied by the colleges which were the only endowed houses of the Society. Sickness was prevented by the fatherly care of superiors for the health of their subjects. The tendency to excess in prayer was checked by the stated times which were sufficient for one occupied with studies.¹⁸

Tertianship

We might ask to what stage of Ignatius' life tertianship corresponds. Nadal gives no definite answer.¹⁹ And that is to be expected since in his day tertianship had not as yet been fully organized.²⁰ But if we follow out Nadal's principles we see that the Jesuit in tertianship is to repeat and relive the experience of Ignatius in what has been called "the idyll of 1537."²¹ In January of that year Ignatius was joined in Venice by his companions who had come down from Paris. While waiting for a boat that would take them to Palestine they went to work in the hospitals. Ordained priests in June, they found that their apostolate among the poor and sick did not give them enough time to prepare for their first Masses and so they decided to go into solitude.

"We wanted to live entirely alone, separated from all (worldly) things," wrote Favre in his Journal.²² What an excellent definition of tertianship! For several weeks Ignatius with Favre and Lainez lived in a ruined monastery giving themselves to penance and contemplation, begging their bread, venturing out from time to time to engage in the mortifying and humble ministry of preaching in broken Italian.

Every one of the early band of Jesuits looked back with fond memories on this period. For Xavier it was the time of rapid advancement in the ways of prayer. For one of their number, however, Simon Rodriguez, this year was the occasion of a desire to lead the hermit's life. The recurrence of

¹⁸ Nicolau, 481.

¹⁹ Aicardo notes that he found nothing in Nadal's instructions on the tertianship. *Comentario a las Constituciones*, V, 674.

²⁰ De Guibert says that it was only under Aquaviva that the tertianship became institutionalized. *Spiritualité de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 225.

²¹ De Guibert proposes this idea. *Ibid.* 20 n. 40.

²² *Memoriale*, no. 17. MHSI, *Mon. Fabri*, 497.

this desire in later years was to cause Ignatius many headaches.²³

For Ignatius during these days of solitude all the graces and consolations he had refused during his years of study came back.²⁴ The climax of the whole period of waiting was the vision of La Storta which plays the same role in the life of Ignatius as the experiences on Mount Alverno played in the life of Francis of Assisi. It was God taking full possession of him and conforming him to Christ on the cross. For Nadal the significance of this vision was to be found in a deep appreciation of the meditations on the Kingdom and the Two Standards. We are to follow Christ with His Cross and make up, in our service to the Mystical Body, those things lacking in Christ's afflictions.²⁵

The Formed Jesuit

Thus, after ten months of living in the *schola affectus*, Ignatius enters Rome and a new chapter of his life begins. These last nineteen years of Ignatius' pilgrimage may be considered, continuing the parallel, as the time when he exemplifies what the life of a formed Jesuit should be. During this time he reached the highest degree of union with God. Laynez, speaking of the Roman period, says:

Every day he made progress in virtue. Thus he told me one day, if I remember correctly, that the grace and devotion which he had been given at Manresa, which during the time of distractions—i.e., during his studies—he used to look back on fondly and call his primitive church, that grace and devotion, he said, was a small thing in comparison with the graces he received now (i.e., at Rome).²⁶

For the spiritual progress of Ignatius, then, the Roman period is of the highest importance. But paradoxically enough the biographies of Ignatius when they reach this point turn to the history of the Society. Nevertheless, we have two

²³ The indispensable guide to Ignatius' development during this period is the series of articles by Hugo Rahner in *Zeitschrift für Aezese und Mystik*, 1935. Some selections from these articles are translated in the first number of *Christus*.

²⁴ *Autobiography*, no. 95.

²⁵ Nicolau, 352.

²⁶ MHSI. *Mon. Ign., Fontes Narrativi I*, 140.

guides. The first is the fragment of Ignatius' spiritual diary for the year 1544.²⁷ The second guide is the testimony of Nadal, Polanco, Gonçalves da Câmara and Ribadeneira on those last years.²⁸

Concerning the spiritual diary we will pause only to note the meaning of one key word, *hallar*, literally, to find. Ignatius writes:

I was in possession of a great confidence and an absolute love in the Most Holy Trinity. When I sought then to commend myself to the Trinity and to each of the persons individually, I did not find them. (*no hallando*)²⁹

In another place he writes, "I could not get the Father to show himself to me."³⁰ Literally, I could not find from the Father to show himself to me. (*No hallando en la oracion del Padre descubrirseme*).

Truhlar concludes from the study of these and many similar texts that to find God in the language of St. Ignatius means to feel the mystic presence of God, to be united with God mystically. But note that during this period he was not able "to find God" whenever he wanted.

In Actione Contemplativus

When Nadal, however, writes of the state of Ignatius' soul ten years later (1554) there is a marked progression. At the end of his life he was able to find God when he wanted. The page on which Nadal describes this great privilege is justly the most famous he ever wrote and is quoted any time he

²⁷ MHSI. *Mon. Ign. Constitutiones* I, 86-158. A more accessible edition of the diary is that contained in *Obras Completas de San Ignacio*, ed. I. Iparraguirre, S.J., Madrid, 1952, 275 ff. The classic commentary on this diary is contained in the two articles of De Guibert, *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique*, 1938. These articles were reprinted in book form, *Mystique Ignatienne*, Toulouse, 1950.

²⁸ Karel Truhlar, S.J. has gathered together much of this material on the last years and done a penetrating analysis of Ignatius' state of soul towards the end of his life in "La Découverte de Dieu chez S. Ignace pendant les dernières années de sa vie", *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique*, 1948, 313-337.

²⁹ March 2. *Obras*, p. 304.

³⁰ March 5. *Obras*, p. 308. See Truhlar *art. cit.*, 315.

comes up for consideration in the modern literature on Ignatian spirituality.³¹

We know that our Father Ignatius received from God the special and extraordinary grace of being able to pray easily to the Holy Trinity and to refresh his soul in the contemplation of that mystery. Sometimes he was led by a grace that enabled him to contemplate the whole Trinity. He was lifted up to it, united to it with his whole heart and by a poignant sense of devotion and spiritual delight. Other times he would contemplate the Father, then the Son, then the Holy Ghost. This contemplation was often given to him, but in a special degree during the last years of his pilgrimage. Not only did he know this preeminent degree of prayer—in itself a great privilege—but it allowed him to see God present in all things and in every action, and it was accompanied by a lively feeling for supernatural reality: he was a contemplative in the midst of work (*simul in actione contemplativus*), or to use his favorite expression: he was able to find God in all things. This grace which illumined his soul became known to us by a kind of light which shone forth from his face and by the radiant trust with which he worked in Christ. It filled us with a great wonder. Our hearts were much comforted by the sight of him, as we were aware that something of the overflow of this grace poured out upon ourselves. That is why we believe that this privilege was not only granted to Ignatius but to the whole Society and that the favor of that kind of prayer and contemplation is offered to all in the Society and we hold that it is bound up with the grace of our vocation. And so, let us place the perfection of our prayer in the contemplation of the Trinity, extended to the neighbor in the works of our vocation. These works we much prefer to the sweetness and consolation of prayer.³²

Let us look at a few stages of that tortured, almost Pauline page, leaving aside the aspect of the Trinity for the moment. We start off with the graces Ignatius received in prayer, *viz.* to find God in all things or to be a contemplative in action. This grace we share and to this grace we are called by our vocations as Jesuits. And this grace is extended to our neighbor when we perform the ministries of the Society with the result that we prefer those ministries to the consolations of prayer. We have come to the end of our search. Here is the proper and peculiar grace of the Jesuit vocation.

³¹ See Nicolau, 254: Giuliani in *Christus* no. 6 (1955), 193; Coreth in *Theology Digest*, III, 1, (1955), 45. Daniélou's article in *Christus* no. 11 (1956) 254 ff. is just a commentary on this text.

³² MHSI. *Mon. Nadal* IV, 651 f. and Nicolau, 256.

Ignatian Contemplation

If Nadal's interpretation is correct we have to do with a grace and a way of life that is at once an extraordinary gift of God and a practical guide in the life of an apostle, that is, one who must sanctify himself by working for the salvation of his neighbor.

As for Ignatius' right to be considered among the saints most favored by God in prayer that has been vindicated by De Guibert and many other spiritual theologians. Brodrick puts it very aptly:

Put beside St. John of the Cross or St. Theresa or Mother Mary of the Incarnation, he (Ignatius) seems at first sight like a sparrow among nightingales, but deeper understanding reveals him as belonging absolutely to their company.³³

A superficial consideration of Ignatian spirituality is always deceiving. The sobriety, almost banality of his recommendations, sometimes veils for the hurried reader a deep meaning. Père Brou points out that "St. Ignatius speaks a language that is very comprehensive, understandable in either hypothesis, the ascetical or the mystical, but sometimes more intelligible in the latter than in the former."³⁴

We see an example of this in the section of the Constitutions reproduced in the seventeenth rule of the Summary. After speaking of the necessity of having a right intention, he goes on in the second part to say, "And in all things let them seek God, casting off as much as possible all love of creatures." If we keep in mind the meaning of "finding God in all things" in the language of St. Ignatius, we discover in this second part nothing less than an exhortation to practice the *Contemplatio ad amorem* in our daily lives just as our Founder did in the last years of his life.³⁵

The Heresy of Action?

Some have been loath to preach or practice or even interest themselves in this summit of Ignatian spirituality because for them it seems too much like the old my-work-is-my-prayer

³³ *Origin of the Jesuits*, p. 17.

³⁴ *Ignatian Methods of Prayer*, p. 61.

³⁵ See Coreth in *Theology Digest*, III, 45.

error. We know that our present Holy Father has warned against "the heresy of action" on several occasions.³⁶ However, rightly understood the Ignatian ideal as described by Nadal is the best antidote to this false mysticism.³⁷ Ignatius himself in the place cited speaks of purification, "withdrawing ourselves from all love of creatures". Nor will the contemplative in action conceive that this union with God in his work dispenses him from formal prayer in all its forms: meditation, Mass, exams, vocal prayer, etc. But he will not consider his meditation as the charging of the spiritual batteries which run down during the day under pressure of work. No, his action will be for him a real continuation of prayer. He will find God, that is, be united with God, in all his actions.³⁸

In an exhortation in Spain Nadal warned, "We should take great care to follow the counsel of Ignatius and find God in all things. In this way there is great peace and consolation. But we ought to seek this grace in the spirit of the Third Degree."³⁹ In other words, we must find God in trials.

In his spiritual journal Nadal noted the following light in the third person:

A certain one understood what Father Ignatius used to say about not straining or pressing ahead in prayer. We have to go forward patiently and finally we will get to the point of being able to find prayer in anything, and this without depending wholly on our prayer or the consolations and sentiments of prayer. But he also realized that no one can get to this state unless he persevere in the work of interior purification and gives himself wholeheartedly to the ministries of the Society and unless he faithfully performs his spiritual exercises with great humility and sweetness.⁴⁰

³⁶ Pius XII warned against "the heresy of action" in his letter to Fr. De Boynes on the Apostleship of Prayer. See *Acta Romana*, 1944, 637. See also *Menti Nostrae, Catholic Mind*, 1951, p. 50. The fourth part of the Holy Father's address of Dec. 8, 1950 (*Annus Sacer*) is devoted to this same point. See nos. 19-26 in the various English translations, e.g. *Canon Law Digest* III, p. 126 ff. This allocution seems to have reference to the controversy on the spirituality of the secular priests. In this connection cf. the spirituality of action proposed by Masure (*Parish Priest*, 181 ff.) and Thils (*Nature et Spiritualité du clergé diocésain*, 286 ff.). Both these authors profess to be following Ignatian spirituality.

³⁷ This point was mentioned by Pius XI in *Mens Nostra*.

³⁸ See Giuliani in *Christus* no. 6 (1955), 182.

³⁹ Nicolau, 480.

⁴⁰ MHSI. *Mon. Nadal* IV, 691.

Prayer and Work

Note the constant union of prayer and work, mortification and work, consolation and work. These texts enable us to understand why Nadal maintains that in a Jesuit's prayer zeal for souls is the fruit of every divine visitation.⁴¹ He goes so far as to say that any kind of prayer that does not issue in a desire to help souls, though it might be good in itself, is dangerous for a member of the Society.⁴²

Don't be a spiritual man full of devotion only when you are saying Mass or making your meditation. I want you to be spiritual and full of devotion when you are working and this spiritual force and grace should shine forth in your work.⁴³

This is the kind of consolation and grace Blessed Peter Favre had as we gather from his spiritual diary.⁴⁴ He tells us that often he would ask for a grace in prayer only to receive it later on in his work. On the other hand, work done with true abnegation and with energy⁴⁵ was his best preparation for prayer and it paid off in greater ease in prayer, which in turn helped him to work better.

Pendulum or Flywheel?

Spiritual writers often seem to consider the life of an apostle as describing a pendulum-like motion. He swings back and forth ceaselessly between prayer and action. These two are taken to be totally separate and in different directions. But in the Ignatian vision the swinging becomes so powerful that it describes a complete circle in which each point is at once prayer and action.⁴⁶ We would say that the contempla-

⁴¹ Nicolau, 402.

⁴² Nicolau, 320.

⁴³ Nicolau, 321.

⁴⁴ Nos. 126 ff. in *Memoriale. MHSI. Mon. Fabri*, 554 ff.

⁴⁵ Whenever Ignatius or the early companions speak of action or obedience words like speed, zeal, promptitude, strength, force, energy always occur. Thus Nadal writes, "Solebat P.N. (Ignatius) dicere: Non debemus proximum adjuvare frigide et stando. Et hac simplici locutione, uti solebat, exprimebat finem Societatis nostrae: currere nimirum ferventer ad salutem et perfectionem proximi." Nicolau, 339.

⁴⁶ The circle of prayer and action is a favorite of Nadal's. See Hostie's article in *Christus*, no. 6 (1955), 195 ff.

tive in action on the Ignatian model is more like a flywheel than a pendulum. His prayer gives him great energy and zeal for his work which in turn prepares him for greater graces in prayer. The flywheel should be accelerating.

Conclusion

To sum up, then, we see how the man closest to Ignatius conceived the grace of the Jesuit vocation to be a participation in the grace of Ignatius. Among all the graces received by the founder the principal favor and the one to which all the rest were ordered is found in the last meditation of the Exercises and in the last years of St. Ignatius. It is the grace to find God in all things. By his analysis of this grace Nadal has shown us how to resolve the old duality of prayer and action into a synthetic spiritual doctrine where work aids prayer and prayer aids work until our whole life becomes a prayer.

Ignatius did not want the members of the Society to find God only in prayer but in all their actions and he wanted these acts to become prayer. He liked this method much better than prolonged meditations.⁴⁷

It would be belaboring the obvious to point out how neatly this spirituality fits our needs and the needs of the people among whom we work.

⁴⁷ Ribadeneira, MHSI. *Mon. Ign. Fontes Narrativi* II, 419.

Religious Moralism

GEORGES DIRKS, S.J.

It is not easy to work out a type of spirituality that is exactly fitted to our needs. Varied temperaments, personal experiences in the chance happenings of life by which our actions are at times too exclusively inspired, our own special interests—all these expose us to the danger of leaning too much to the right or too much to the left. Balance is a wondrous thing, and balance we must strive for with all our soul and strength as long as we live.

Recently, more than ever before, I have come to the realization that there are, even among good Christians, two quite different ways of conceiving and practicing the Christian life. These ways are so divergent that from the moment of their parting they differ greatly in excellence and in the advantages to which they lead.

The subject merits treatment but we must be careful not to indulge, merely, in facile and odious comparisons. This danger is real since the modes of life which we shall attempt to define do not exist in the pure state in any individual. We are concerned with two more or less clearly marked attitudes. As we try to characterize them, we shall inevitably put more logic and geometry into our concepts than are found in real life. The reader must take care not to forget this preliminary warning.

The Moralizer

To orientate ourselves, let us call the first of the attitudes we have in mind by its name: moralism. It is true that the

Translation by Daniel J. Foley, S.J. of the article "Le moralisme religieux" which appeared in *Revue Ascétique et de Mystique* 26, (1950), 193-201.

“moralizers”,¹ being true believers, begin by postulating God. They know that morality is based on God and that without Him it would scarcely be acceptable to us. But they waste no time in divine contemplation. They are more eager to know how they should live than to acquire knowledge of Him who gives them life and for whom they live. They consider God especially, at times even exclusively, as an exacting taskmaster. Man must spend his life trying to fulfill the desires of this dread Lord. Created by God, man depends totally on his Creator. He depends on Him both for his being and in his acts. In order to obey God, man must mold himself to docility and cultivate the moral virtues. Fortunately Aristotle has left us a handy guide to these virtues in four parts: prudence, justice, temperance and fortitude. It will be particularly advantageous for man to train and strengthen his will. He must fulfill the commandments of God, cost what it may. This obligation bears down on him constantly and this motive always governs his behaviour. Now, if man proves to be a faithful servant, his Master will reward him handsomely; if not, He will punish him for all eternity.

Let us repeat that this description of the moralistic Christian is inadequate and incomplete. In reality, his soul is much less simple. He, too, believes that God is infinitely good, infinitely merciful. He repeats this over and over to himself in order to calm his worries. He, too, knows that the first and greatest commandment is to love God and he intends to observe it. Still the affective climate of his soul is completely conditioned by the ideas mentioned above.

The True Christian

In contrast with the moralistic Christian we find—what shall we call him? He is sometimes called the mystic Christian but that is a misuse of words. Let us call him simply the Christian, the true Christian. For him, too, God is master,

¹ The word *moraliste* has in French a pejorative nuance not found in the English *moralist*. Lacking a word which will give the precise meaning of the French, we shall use *moralizer*. To avoid the possible conclusion that we are speaking of specialists in moral theology, which is not our intention, we shall insert the word in quotation marks.—Translator

primordially and ontologically. But the marvel is that this master desires also to be our Father. It is under this aspect, principally, that this second kind of Christians considers and loves God. Our heavenly Father created us in order that we might participate, by the beatific vision, in the very life of the Trinity, in divine beatitude. We are loved gratuitously and infinitely.

To the overwhelming liberalities of God, newly created man's response was one of pure egoism. Then it was that the love of God showed its true and almost incredible measure. "God plunged into the nothingness of His sinful creation in order to lead it back to Himself."² He became man and for men, who are now his brethren, he atoned and merited. The Godman who did this bears the name of Jesus Christ. Once we have realized the bewildering fact of such a love we can but return love for love. God has willed not only to arouse this love-response in our hearts, He gives it to us, a supernatural gift, when, in baptism, along with sanctifying grace He gives us a filial disposition derived from that of the Son. In the baptized, in this adopted son, not duty but loving gratitude determines all that he thinks and does. As Christ Himself said, "If you love me, keep my commandments" (John 14:15). The Christian seldom thinks of duty. He loves. He is quite willing to accept the sacrifices inevitably entailed by the fulfillment of the commandments of God, even though he feels the burden. He finds in them, more than in anything else, the means of showing his love for God. And though he looks forward to heaven, it is less and less because of the reward that awaits him there, rather it is because there he will know perfectly and possess forever the One he loves. *Non sine praemio diligitur sed absque intuitu praemii* (St. Bernard).

Such a life of love is not achieved immediately by the Christian of whom we are speaking. He applies himself to the task of realizing it more and more perfectly. It is his great concern. He knows that this life has been given him in order that he may rise above the littleness of self-centeredness and attain to the admirable generosity of love. His climb upwards is

² M. de Montcheuil, S.J., *Mélanges Théologiques*, p. 356.

not without halts and even momentary backslidings. The true Christian has moments of carelessness and weakness. But at those times he tries his best to revive his dying fervor. If necessary, he fans it with the fear of hell.

The Way of the Moralizer

Surely we have here two different types of Christian life. The moralizing Christian is dominated by the thought of duty. If he knows that he must, he plods along. If not, he hardly budes. Often enough the care of satisfying with exactitude the demands of duty develops a legalistic frame of mind, along with casuistic worries which end in scruples. Unfortunately, this is not an unknown experience! Before each act, the question is, "May I?" or "Must I?" "Is it allowed or forbidden?" "Is it a counsel or a strict obligation?" Such Christians have, obviously, made observation of the law the essence of the Christian life. We do not deny, of course, that among them there are some remarkable examples of the faithful servant, men of fidelity and even of heroism, who have forged souls of justice, honesty and energy. Unfortunately, it is not rare to find these admirable men convinced that to remain to the end just as upright and strong-willed as they are depends on no one but themselves. Despite the seductions of greed and passion, they feel self-sufficient. They will admit that God's grace is a help; they do not think that it is indispensable. They flatter themselves that characters such as theirs can withstand anything. One thinks of the prayer of the Pharisee in the Temple; which was, actually, no prayer at all. The "moralizers" pray but little and when they do, it is hardly ever to ask for help from God. Instead they seem to say, "Everything can be accomplished by will-power." They apparently do not realize that this proposition is authentically Pelagian. It is true that much is done by the will; it is even true that nothing is done without it. But our will-power is utterly incapable of making us saints. God alone makes saints, because God alone can unite souls to Himself. So it is that the voluntarists devote the greater part of their attention and their effort to the cultivation of the moral virtues, particularly to training the will.

This training produces at times enviable results. They are,

however, of a purely natural and human order. Christian perfection is supernatural. The Christian life is lived on a transcendent plane. The "moralizers" forget this fact and end up, in some instances, believing that heaven, the possession of God, is for them nothing but a conquest they have to make. In reality, it is a gift they have to receive. Since this is the case, their interior life is easily imagined: unceasing preoccupation with self. "Moralizers" are always more or less worried lest they forget this, that or the other thing; just as they are always worried about avoiding things. Pay attention to God, to His presence, to His inspirations? Listen attentively to the Holy Spirit and try to collaborate with Him? Such ideas seldom enter their heads. They might wish things were otherwise, but absorbed as they are in numerous other activities, they have no more time or energy.

Moralism and Prayer

"Moralizers" certainly will never be men of prayer. To pray is to seek God, to find Him and to talk with Him. They forget to look for God. They are looking instead for beautiful and profound ideas. With consequential logic they deduce from their ideas practical conclusions. They line up rules of conduct and think out excellent reasons for keeping these rules—forgetting perhaps the principal and most powerful motive of all: love of God. They pray little; except, perhaps, at the beginning of their meditation in order to direct their attention to God, since that in their opinion is sufficient, and at the end in the colloquy which may be true prayer. But for the greater part of the time they are studying exegesis, moral theology or psychology. They are not looking for God and so they do not find God. They remain alone. Such prayer is nearly always tedious, dry, unenthusiastic—in a word, very difficult. To continue at it for a lifetime, with ideas becoming more and more banal and trite, calls for a dose of energy which is not at all ordinary. Some have it but many do not. The latter, we fear, will abandon meditation.

It is to be feared as well that this moralism will develop but little generosity. It can and does produce men of duty—a point we have already conceded. Those who follow the moralizing approach will do what is necessary. They may

even do more with a view to disciplining themselves and training their wills. But to do this for God, in order to resemble Christ, the type of Christian living, does not seem quite reasonable to them. In fact it belongs to a world which is not the "moralizer's" world. It presupposes another sort of soul. To do one's duty is to do much; but, from the Christian viewpoint, it is not enough. Love goes far beyond the demands of duty and Christianity wants to make us live by love. What we really reproach the "moralizers" with is not the task of moral education to which they rightly, though at times overzealously, devote themselves, but rather the fact that they devote themselves to this task exclusively. What we miss is what they do not do, what should be added to their program of training for Christian living. Moralizing is an attitude which is both incomplete and insufficient. It neglects or omits the very essence of Christianity, the practice of charity. "The training of the will is timely. But were we not all baptized in the name of the Most Holy Trinity in order to live the life of divine sonship by the grace of Christ and in the Holy Spirit? Something very important is at stake. Too many souls have suffocated in the prison of religious moralism. We have worked too hard for twenty years trying to re-learn from St. Paul, St. John and all the great Christians the true foundations of Christianity, not to be upset when this freedom is questioned once again."³

True Charity

The "moralizers" would certainly find in charity the necessary energy to realize their ideal in life, but charity would transform them. Instead of a life dominated solely by the feeling of duty, Our Lord came to arouse and stimulate in those who wish to follow Him a life inspired, as His was, by the love of the Father. Genuine Christian living flourishes in an atmosphere which is different from that of moralism. This life is man's response to the marvelous love which God has for him. The response of a free, intelligent being can be naught but love. The movement of the human soul to God is fundamentally something natural: the élan of a nature made

³ P. Doncoeur, S.J., *Etudes*, June 20, 1923, p. 701.

for God and realizing in a greater or lesser degree that God alone can fill the void it is. Now baptized man also possesses supernatural and filial charity which flows into him from the plenitude of Christ and which the Holy Spirit pours forth in the souls of believers. We have grace to love God. We must exploit both this natural tendency and this grace. Nor should we cavil about the word love. We are not thinking here of sentimentality or a passing infatuation. Love is a serious thing. To love is to have toward a person—we only love people—such a profound inclination of the will that we are ready to do anything for that person. So it is that Christ loved His Father. So it was that the first Christians loved Christ. This bond of the first generation of Christians with Jesus has been compared, with admirable insight, to the love between affianced couples. The vital intensity, the generosity in giving, the happiness and flowering of the whole personality, which nascent love normally produces, are what one observes in the first disciples. There was feeling in this love certainly. We have only to remember Peter and John. But there is much more in love. There is an imperious upsurge of the depths of being; depths, whose supreme activity is love; and there is a united effort of the vital forces, especially of the superior forces, in a giving which decides all of life that remains. And all this is elevated, sublimated by supernatural grace. By this grace, derived from Him, Christ comes into us to love His Father, prolonging in us and multiplying through us the love He has as God's Son; so much so, indeed, that the Christian must say with Paul: "It is no longer myself alone; in me it is Christ who lives, who loves." Obviously in the degree that this state of soul is realized in him, the Christian passes beyond the stage of legalistic and casuistic care. He does not have to worry about whether or not he is fulfilling the minimum required by law or whether he is doing more than is required. He loves God, he loves Jesus Christ; and consequently he must do, although he does it freely and with an increasing "naturalness" all that God wants him to do. *Ama et fac quod vis*, said Augustine. Love and everything you do will be good. True love implies the determination never to limit oneself to what has already been done. He who judges that he had done enough to prove his love and refuses to do more, when more

is possible, merely proves that he does not love. One of the properties of love is to consider not what has already been done but what remains to be done for the beloved.

We cannot attain to this degree of fervor right away. What is true of human love is also true of our love for God. Union once established must still be perfected. To this end the principal thing is practice. This is done negatively by freeing the soul of all that would compete with charity or oppose it. It is precisely here that the principles of moralism can be applied effectively. But the love of God, just as any other love, must be cultivated in a positive manner and by direct means. The first of these means and the most indispensable, since it is almost love itself, is to keep steady company with the beloved. We must increase and deepen our personal contacts with God. "My God," prayed one who aspired to love, "grant that you may be a person to me today." Another: "Lord, the first grace I ask of You is that my relationship with You may be personal." It is clear that this is the decisive attitude, the core of Christianity. Moralism has forgotten this and therein lies its principal defect. In any case, to be religious is to be in personal contact with God. Now our relations with God answer our most profound aspirations only if they are personal. In Christianity these relations must be loving, filial, imitative of the Son, Our Lord Jesus Christ, whose members and brothers we are by grace. Without some contemplation these relations with God are impossible. That is the very essence of prayer, since prayer is nothing more than a conversation with God. We must go far beyond those all too intellectual meditations in which at times we do not think of God at all, or at least, we think of Him very little.

Epilogue

A moral theologian comments on the above article as follows:

"1) Excellent on the 'True Christian.' 2) A bit harsh on the 'Moralizer.' After all one who does his duty is loving God: 'If you love me, keep my commandments.' But perhaps this harshness was inevitable given the viewpoint. 3) Well worth publishing."

The Social Consciousness Of The Spiritual Exercises

PATRICK J. BOYLE, S.J.

Often in the past the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius have been the target for adverse criticism, and today is no exception. The question has been raised: Do not the Exercises foster social isolation, a withdrawal of the individual from all contact and interaction with his fellowmen? Such a charge has serious implications. For any social institution which does not promote social consciousness is considered today dated and useless. It is our purpose to defend the Exercises against this charge and to show that they are in complete agreement with the modern movement of social consciousness.

We do not wish to give a general abstract synthesis of the Spiritual Exercises nor to form something of a weak correlation between them and social life. It is obvious that the more one makes himself like to God, the more social conscious he will become since in his neighbor he will see God. St. John writes in his First Epistle, "If any man say: I love God, and hateth his brother; he is a liar" (IV:20).

St. Ignatius in the meditations of the Second Week says that the object of the Exercises is the perfect imitation of Christ. He writes, "Here it will be to ask for an intimate knowledge of Jesus Christ, who has become man for me, that I may love Him more and follow Him more closely." In other words Ignatius wants his retreatants to become other Christs. Just as Christ was patient, he wants them to be patient; just as Christ was charitable, he wants them to be charitable; just as Christ was social, he wants them to be social.

No one would say that Jesus Christ lacked the social graces. He was socially well balanced and eminently social-minded.

From the beginning of His public life to His death on the cross Christ had a very definite interest in His fellowman. He dined with the Pharisees, was present at the marriage feast of Cana, preached to and fed five thousand people. His entire doctrine promotes and demands social contact. In no way can Jesus Christ be classified as a social hermit or as anti-social. It follows, therefore, that, since the Spiritual Exercises have as their end the perfect imitation of Christ, they cannot but promote social consciousness.

Although such a correlation between the Exercises and social life is valid, nevertheless it is considered by some to be too abstract and implicit. For they argue that every instrument of the Church, which perfects an individual, has a like correlation. We wish to show explicit and concrete examples of social consciousness in the Spiritual Exercises.

Social Contact

At first glance it would seem that the Exercises do foster social isolation rather than social contact. This seems obvious from the way St. Ignatius emphasizes the relationship between the exercitant and his Creator. He has the exercitant withdraw from the world around him, forget his external occupations and friends, and concentrate on God. This, however, should not be classified as social isolation. The reason for such a withdrawal from creatures is to get a better perspective of them in relation to the final end. The exercitant will go back to them, but he will have a different attitude toward them, a more well-ordered attitude.

From the very first meditation of the Exercises Ignatius imprints upon the mind of the exercitant that he is a social being, that there are other creatures, living and non-living, who inhabit the earth. These other creatures are to help him obtain his final end. "The other things on the face of the earth are created for man to help him in attaining the end for which he is created." In other words Ignatius says that these other creatures, living and non-living, have a purpose in life and that the exercitant is to make use of them. He is not to withdraw into his own little cosmos, completely isolated from reality. Man is not to be a hermit. He is to use creatures; but he must be careful. He is to use them only in so

far as they lead him to God. "Hence, man is to make use of them in as far as they help him in the attainment of his end, and he must rid himself of them in as far as they prove a hindrance to him."

In the Contemplation to attain Divine Love Ignatius gives creatures a new function. He has the exercitant use creatures as a ladder or stepping stones to God. He tells him to see how much God does for him in creatures. "This is to reflect how God dwells in creatures: in the elements giving them existence, in the plants giving them life, in the animals conferring upon them sensation, in man bestowing understanding." He also tells the exercitant to see how God labors and works for him in creatures. "This is to consider how God labors and works for me in all creatures upon the face of the earth, that is, He conducts Himself as one who labors."

From the preceding examples it is evident that creatures play an important part in the life of an exercitant. The Exercises do not advocate total abstinence. It is completely unjustified, therefore, to accuse them of fostering social isolation. Indeed, the opposite is true. The Exercises foster social contact, a healthy social contact. For the Exercises so teach the exercitant to value creatures that he avoid exalting them above their station.

Social Interaction

Let us now consider another aspect of the Spiritual Exercises. Granted that the Exercises do foster social contact, in what way does social interaction between the exercitant and his fellow social beings take place? We have stated that the exercitant does have social contact with other creatures, that he uses them in order to obtain his final end. But is this the only type of interaction? A non-reciprocal interaction? Does the exercitant have nothing to offer to these other human creatures? The immediate answer is evident. Any one who so strives to follow Christ that he become an *Alter Christus* desires not only his own salvation but also the salvation of his neighbor.

Many examples of Christ's zeal for souls are found in the Gospels. "Come after me, and I will make you to be fishers of men" (Matt., IV:19). "I came not to call the just, but

sinner to penance" (Luke, V:32). "Going therefore, teach ye all nations: baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost" (Matt., XXVIII:19).

In like manner St. Ignatius pours such desires for the salvation of souls into the mind and heart of the exercitant. In the Kingdom he explicitly mentions and urges this zeal for souls. "To all His summons goes forth, and to each one in particular He addresses the words: 'It is my will to conquer the whole world and all my enemies, and thus to enter into the glory of my Father.'" "If the exercitant, therefore, wishes to follow Christ, he must be willing to fight for Christ.

How many of the great missionary saints, such as St. Francis Xavier, St. John de Britto, and others, have been inspired with zeal for souls by such passages as these:

How the Three Divine Persons look down upon the whole expanse or circuit of all the earth, filled with human beings. Since they see that all are going down to Hell, They decree in Their eternity that the Second Person should become man to save the human race.

This will be to see the different persons: first, those on the face of the earth, in such great diversity in dress and manner of acting. Some are white, some black; some at peace and some at war; some weeping, some laughing; some well, some sick; some coming into the world and some dying.

Here it will be to listen to what the persons on the face of the earth say, that is, how they speak to one another, swear and blaspheme, and so on. I will also hear what the Divine Persons say, that is, 'Let us work the redemption of the human race'.¹

¹ H. V. Gill in his book, *Jesuit Spirituality* (Dublin, 1935, page 39), states that the salvation of one's soul is inseparably bound up with zeal for the salvation of the souls of others and that this zeal is a striking feature of Ignatian spirituality: "In the Foundation Exercise it was stated that 'Man was created to praise, reverence, and serve God, and by doing this to save his soul'. The salvation of my own soul must come before everything else, but as the argument of the Exercises is developed it becomes evident that the salvation of my own soul is inseparably bound up with zeal for the salvation of the souls of others. Did I ask for a proof of this, Ignatius would merely say that this is what Christ did. Directly or indirectly, the object of the Exercises is to form apostles, whose overwhelming interest in life is the salvation and perfection of souls. The personal sanctity at which I am to aim includes as an essential element the sanctity of others. This is indeed an altogether striking feature of Ignatian spirituality. The director of a retreat, in the first place, has in view the salvation and perfection of the exercitant, who in turn, if he has

Another place where social interaction in the Spiritual Exercises is encouraged is the Two Standards. There the Lord of all the world chooses and sends His disciples into the world to spread His doctrine among *all* men, no matter what their state or condition. There He recommends that they strive to help *all*.

It is sufficiently evident, therefore, that the Exercises are not antisocial in tone. I must admit, however, that I have not explicitly integrated the entire Spiritual Exercises with social life, nor is such an integration necessary. A retreat is a time for a man to talk things over with his Creator, so the main emphasis is rightly on the individual. Such meditations as the Three Classes of Men, the Three Degrees of Humility, and others, although they pertain strictly to the individual, implicitly pertain, nevertheless, to society in so far as they make the individual a better citizen and member of the community.

Therefore, one can say that every meditation found in the Exercises can be, either explicitly or implicitly, integrated with social life. Consequently that opinion which sees the Exercises as fostering social isolation is completely unfounded. Very Reverend Father John Baptist Janssens in his letter, *On the Social Apostolate*, says: "Hence it follows that the Spiritual Exercises, conducted for the owners and managers of industry and also for workingmen, must be reckoned among the *most effective means for promoting this social-mindedness.*"

grasped the full spirit of the Exercises, returns to his normal life with the determination not only to save his own soul, but by every means in his power to help others not only to save their souls but to become apostles, too."

CRYSTALLIZATION

It is fascinating to observe how the life-story of Ignatius moves not only towards the spirituality of the Jesuits but also towards the structure of the Society of Jesus with all its novelties, fascinating to see his own experiences finding crystallization in the Society's constitution. Ignatius had made a pilgrimage barefooted to Jerusalem and had tended the sick in the hospitals; the Jesuit novice, in a novitiate lasting two years instead of the hitherto customary one, had, so far as was practical, to serve for a while in public hospitals and make a pilgrimage begging his way. Ignatius, though never a great scholar himself, had spent more than ten years as a university student; in the Society of Jesus, the novice who perseveres his two years does not immediately become professed in the Society, but spends a long period, perhaps ten years or more, as a Scholastic in study or teaching under religious vows and under a vow to become professed in the Society if and when his superiors so decide. This completely novel and original provision in the organization of a religious order—the insertion of an unspecified period of study between novitiate and profession—was much criticised at the time. It was, nevertheless, the foundation of Jesuit efficiency in teaching, catechising, study and controversy. It was with the prestige of masters of the renowned University of Paris that Ignatius and nine disciples—none of whom were Italians—descended on Italy; and it was only the Scholastics best equipped intellectually who were finally admitted as professed Fathers with solemn vows into the body of the learned Society which did so much to restore the intellectual prestige of Catholicism.

Again, before the Society was actually formed but after the ten companions had all taken their degrees and been ordained priests, they had worked for a year or so, two by two, in the cities of North Italy helping bishops and clergy and putting their practical efficiency to the test. So the Jesuit Scholastic, after ordination, undergoes for a year a third period of probation, or tertianship, in which after his years of study, his spiritual life is refreshed and renewed before his final place in the Society is fixed for him. One further point in which the history of Ignatius is mirrored is the constitution of his Society. In 1534 the saint and six companions while still at Paris took a solemn vow to work in poverty and chastity for the glory of God and the good of their neighbour, in the Holy Land if possible, but if not, then in immediate obedience to the pope. It was to the pope that the formed Society of Jesus ultimately offered itself. So, the professed Fathers who take what is called the fourth vow do not take a vow that was invented as an after-thought but one which was involved in the very root of the Society from the first.

H. O. EVENNETT

Father Thomas Ramsay Martin

1881-1954

WILFRED SCHOENBERG, S.J.

The Crimean War in the mid-nineteenth century was an ill wind for many, but hardly so ill that it could blow no good to the farmers tilling Scotland's County Haddington just below the Firth of Forth. The War brought a rising market in wheat and since Haddington produced an abundance of that commodity, it was unusually prosperous. Its principal town, also called Haddington, was a royal and parliamentary burgh on the banks of the Tyne, seventeen miles east of Edinburgh and several hundred north of London. Like Edinburgh it was a corn exchange, second only to that trade-center itself. It also shared Edinburgh's wool and cattle prosperity at a time when Shorthorns from Lothian countryside met little competition from Texas or Australia. To recommend it to travellers, it boasted of a town hall, with an elegant tower of one hundred and fifty feet, and many ruins of castles.

There was another feature, too, a bizarre one if you will, but also a tempting one for travellers of a certain type, that is the ancient human remains which could be easily uncovered in any digging. Exposed as it was, Haddington suffered many invasions through the centuries, and such great numbers of humans had been slain there that it was impossible to dig in any place without finding their bones.

The river Tyne meandered gently past Haddington and fell into the sea at Tynemouth where a fine variety of trout lurked in the racy waters and salmon sometimes came to feed. Counter to the river in the town itself were two main streets, High and Market, with bridges crossing the river to Nungate where John Knox was born in 1505, and where old and ruin-

ous houses were turning to dust, though they were still occupied by immigrant Irish laborers. The Irish had come to share Haddington's war-born prosperity because they, too, had been in the way of an ill wind.

The Earl of Haddington, lord of the county, resided at Tynninghame House, a pretentious modern mansion, as distinguished from castle ruins, on an eight thousand acre estate not far from the city. About the Earl there is little to be said, except that he was the second largest landowner in those parts, that he kept a stable of fine horses, and that he retained in his service a certain Mr. Charles Martin who was head gamekeeper for the County. Martin, as time and the Martin line unravelled, because the great grandfather of an American Jesuit of some fame.

Mr. Martin's mother was Isabella Ramsay Martin, granddaughter of the MacDonalds, and member of the clan of the same name. She was a stout Presbyterian, sober and godly in the best MacDonald tradition, and she passed her godliness on to her own descendants in the same way she had received it, without questioning its origin or tainting its purity. Her husband too, had been head gamekeeper for the Earl, and her father-in-law before him. Gamekeeping, like Presbyterian sobriety, was in the Martin blood, though not so deep that Catholicism or the spirit of adventure could not reappear.

And now Isabella's son Charles was enjoying the family legacy, the faith, the home, and not least of all, the Earl's gamekeeping. It would appear that these occupations kept him busy, particularly the latter, because at the time there was an excess of wood pigeons, which abounded in flocks so vast that they threatened Haddington's prosperity.

Appalled perhaps by the irony of a struggle with pigeons, Charles' own son left the Earl's estate and became attached to Her Majesty's Revenue Service, Her Majesty being Queen Victoria. In this capacity, betraying his restlessness, he travelled the length and breadth of the British Isles. His lately acquired wife accompanied him, and on one of the many journeys, gave birth to a son they called Tom, at West Salton, not far from the old Martin home. Other children came to keep Tom company, but not till the little family had sailed to America to make its home in Massachusetts.

Wanderers-

In America the Martins first settled at Quincy, and finding this unsuitable to their tastes, moved first to Clark's Island, and then to Plymouth overlooking the stormy and rockbound coast where the Pilgrims landed. It would be pleasant to say they stayed there, but they did not. They moved with monotonous regularity, and the boy Tom grew into young manhood without taking root. Periods were spent in Boston, in Toronto, where Mr. Martin apparently had distant relatives, in Brewer, Maine, and elsewhere. Eventually they returned to Plymouth, which is surely a recommendation, if one is needed, for the salty old seaport which even natives call quaint.

While they had lived in Toronto, that splendid Tory stronghold, Tom had joined the Military Cadets, and had, by persistent efforts, risen to the rank of captain. When his family returned to Plymouth, he resigned his captaincy and re-enlisted with the Standish Guards, Third Regiment, Fall River, which was stationed at Plymouth, and served in this unit as armorer under Colonel Borden. Here he became an expert in ballistics. When he finally left military life, he opened a gunsmith business and set himself up nicely by inventing a marine sight, which was used for many years on Springfield rifles. From this point on he prospered in a modest way, and before he was fifty, he had become famous among riflemen the world over, not only for his skill as a marksman, but also for his inventive work in which he had no contemporary equal.

Meanwhile he had taken two irrevocable steps; he had become a Catholic and he had taken a wife. Turning his back on John Knox, he was received into the Church by a Jesuit at Immaculate Conception Church, Boston, and was confirmed soon afterwards. He took his new religion seriously, defending it, when the occasion arose, with fearless loyalty, but a shade of the old Calvinism remained. He was a stern man till the day he died.

For his wife he had taken a Boston girl whose name of Kelly reveals all there is to know about her, the lineage of the Kellys in Ireland, and migration when a crisis was reached

in a tenant's hovel near the barren potato vines. Catherine Agnes Kelly was Boston Irish, a member of the class which outlived its tormentors and had its revenge by becoming a Boston aristocracy. Years later Catherine's son Thomas Ramsay Martin would speak about the persecutions of the Boston Irish with an unaccustomed touch of bitterness in his voice. No doubt Catherine herself bore marks of the injustice to her people. In any case, her faith was not weaker for the treatment, but stronger. She was always a devout Catholic with a warm love for the Mass and the priesthood.

Catherine bore five children, Isabel, Charles, Elizabeth, Thomas Ramsay, and Katherine, the youngest. Her period of confinement before the birth of Thomas Ramsay was a particularly painful one and the doctors almost despaired of saving the child. At one point, when all hope was gone, the Kelly spirit asserted itself, and the trusting mother turned to Our Lady. She dedicated her unborn son to the Mother of God. Her confidence was rewarded for Thomas Ramsay was safely delivered on the Feast of the Assumption, 1881.

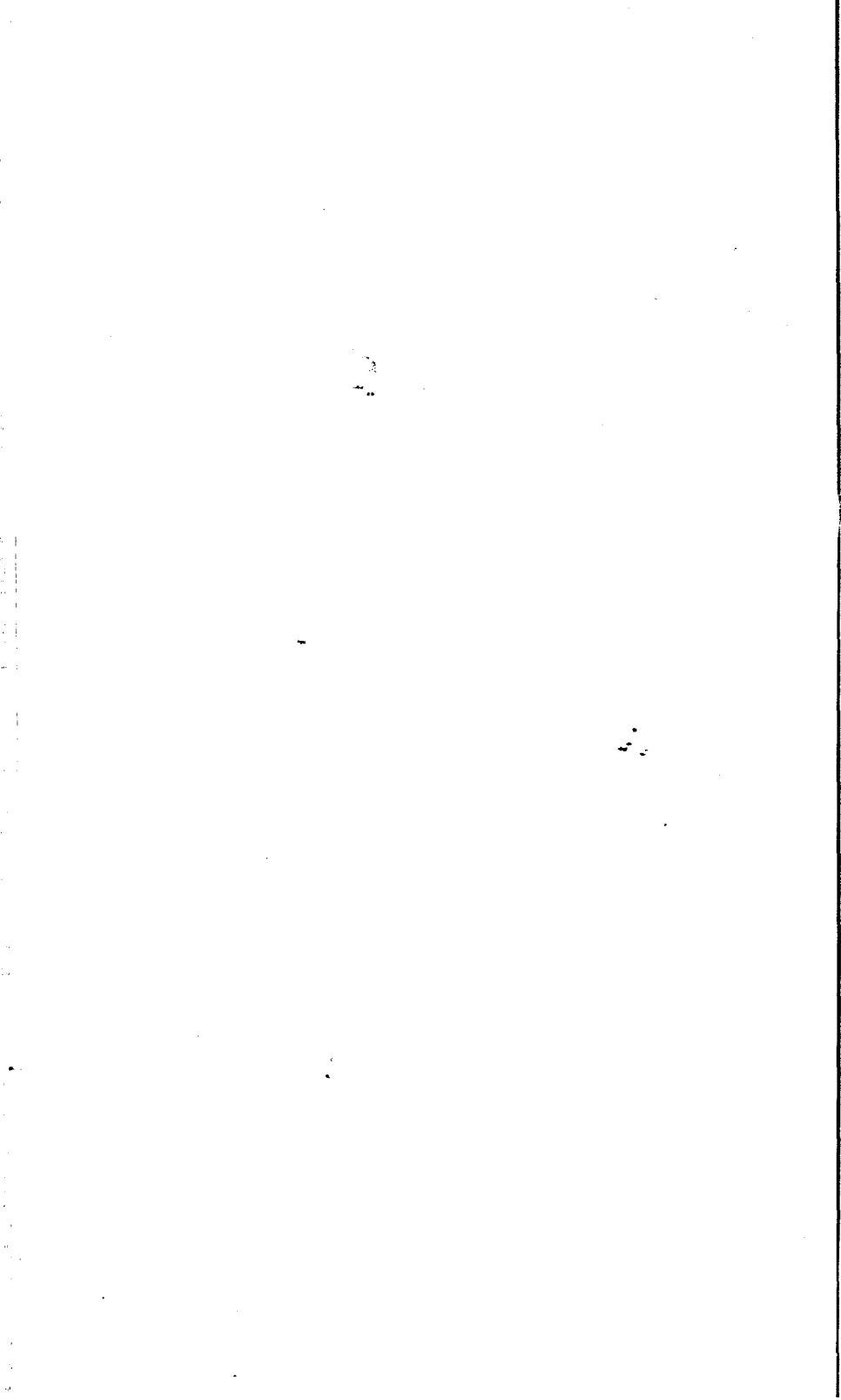
Like his mother he was born in Boston, one aspect of his heritage which gave him great satisfaction. He was born near Dorchester Heights, where the evacuation of the British took place during the War of Independence; another cause for satisfaction, not because he was anti-British, but because he was always history-conscious and deeply moved by what concerned his country's beginnings.

This new little Tom in the Martin household was not accepted with calm equanimity as the three earlier Martin children had been. Mrs. Martin, at least, expected unusual developments in the boy and the older sisters, too, were led to believe that Tommy was not ordinary and that probably some day he would be a priest. It is hard to say what the father thought, and anyway, he had his guns to distract him. He was on hand when the little child, six days old was taken in a carriage to old St. Peter and Paul's in South Boston, and there baptized.

When little Tom was still too young to know the difference, his father purchased a new home in Kingston, not far from Plymouth. It was an isolated home made remote by a half-mile of wood and orchard on either side, a feature which



FATHER THOMAS RAMSAY MARTIN



delighted the elder Martin as well as his daughter Elizabeth. But Mrs. Martin disliked this remoteness. Accustomed to the city and the neighborly Irish, she found the loneliness a penance. What was worse, it was two-and-a-half miles to church, not a deterrent, she would say, but an added hardship in getting there, especially in winter when the snow was knee-deep.

Here in Kingston little Tommy grew up. He discovered, sometimes with great wonder, the usual joys and crises of boyhood. He fished with his father and in the winter time he skated with his brother Charlie on a pond not far from his home. Willy-nilly he helped his father in the vegetable garden and the family orchard, and he went to school in a New England country schoolhouse: one room, plain, and surmounted by the ominous bell. Tom got to school at times in pioneer fashion by travelling back and forth with the woodcutters on a logging sled drawn by a yoke of oxen. An American vignette: chubby-cheeked Thomas Ramsay Martin perched high on the wood between two solemn woodcutters, as they are drawn ponderously by oxen through a New England forest. New England was in little Tommy's blood, as Ireland was in his eyes, and his father's Scotland in his mild and gentle laughter.

When Tom was seven his mother prepared a little birthday party and invited neighbor children to share it. No doubt there were plenty of goodies on hand—not much is remembered about that—but still vividly remembered is the incident about the dove. As Tom and his companions were merry at the table, a pure white dove suddenly appeared and lightly rested on Tom's shoulder. For a breathless moment, when no sound was uttered, the dove hovered, then flew away as it had come. Mrs. Martin, already alert to possible wonders, made inquiries around the countryside, but found no one who kept doves. Nor did she ever find a trace of the little creature they had seen. Too sensible to jump to conclusions, she noted the day, Feast of the Assumption, and waited anxiously for further developments.

When Tom was ten, business made it necessary for his father to move back to Plymouth. They lived there only about a year, but Tom lost no time in getting acquainted with the

history of the area and in putting this knowledge to profit. He acted as a guide for tourists. This was much more to his taste than weeding carrots and he entered into it with boyish eagerness. He had read and memorized many of the solemn inscriptions on local tombstones, and with mischievous delight, he led his Boston clients to and fro among the stones, reciting for them the more eccentric of the epitaphs. Finally as an added feature, he paused for a long time at Pilgrim Monument where an old hearse lay in the last stages of ruin. The tourists were always sobered by the hearse, more so it would appear, than by the tombstones. There was also a museum at Plymouth, Pilgrim Hall, where a model of the Mayflower was featured, along with other Pilgrim relics. Here, Tom, with his blue eyes dancing, put on a real show for visitors. He had an exceptionally good memory and a wonderful stock of stories and he used them all to give eager Bostonians their money's worth.

Vocation

The following year the Martins moved to Rockland and Tom got a paper route. He won the hearts of everybody, cranky old ladies as well as sweet young things. The old folks often talked about him and remarks were passed to his mother that he was "destined for something special." Indifferent to all this, Tom enjoyed Rockland. In due time, he entered its high school and enjoyed that, too, particularly his classes in Latin and Greek, in which he proved to be an outstanding student. When he graduated in 1898, it was announced that he had maintained the highest average in the history of the school. This seems to have left Tom cold. His mind was taken up, not with the past, but with the future; and the future was a question mark. As far as Tom himself was concerned, his mind was made up. He had read a *Life of St. Aloysius*. This had settled his doubts, if there had ever been any, and he had announced to his family that he was going to be a Jesuit, because he wanted "to give his whole life to God." Furthermore, he added that he wanted to go to the missions.

The news had pleased his mother, but came as a thunderbolt to his father who had other plans. Tom's family was an

unusually affectionate one and his father was determined to keep it together. He was a strongly religious man, though somewhat jealous of anything that could break up the family. This missionary business, then, was all wrong, and if Tom really wanted to be a priest, he should join the diocesan clergy and remain near home. Relatives and friends sided in with the father and did their best to dissuade Tom from his plans. There were some who urged him to go to Harvard where he could make a career in the classics, of which he was very fond. "Become a professor," they said, "and remain in New England. Surely a good son should respect his father's wishes." The storm lasted for months. Tom yielded only as far as taking an entrance examination for Harvard, then he got a job. Since he felt somewhat obligated to help out with expenses in the family, he informed his father that he would work for a time, while remaining at home. After that he would do what God wanted him to do.

Meanwhile he had got acquainted with Father Thomas Gasson, S.J., who was the Rector of Boston College. Father Gasson understood perfectly. He arranged for special evening classes so that Tom could keep up in the studies, and gave him every encouragement. Tom took all his troubles to him, and his sins as well, for he went to confession to him regularly. In Father Gasson he found the strength and direction he needed. It was Father Gasson who suggested that Tom apply for the Rocky Mountain Mission where he could be a missionary and still live within reasonable distance from Boston. It was also Father Gasson who made the arrangements with Father De La Motte, Superior of the Rocky Mountain Mission, and placated Tom's relatives, especially his father, who finally yielded and gave a reluctant approval.

Off for the West

By October, 1902, everything was settled. Tom kissed his mother good-bye and left by train for the Novitiate at Los Gatos, California. His trip across the continent was uneventful in the adventurous sense, but for Tom, who was extremely inquisitive, it was the adventure of a lifetime. He arrived in San Francisco, on Sunday, November 2nd, and hustled up to St. Ignatius Church for Mass. He was expected, and break-

fasted, and shown the magnificent church and college which were the pride of San Francisco. Little did Tom realize, as he explored the vast building and new gymnasium that it would all be destroyed in less than four years.

After his tour Tom left for the Novitiate. It was a two hour trip by train down the peninsula to the end of Santa Clara Valley where Los Gatos guarded a pass in the Santa Cruz Mountains. A Brother from the Novitiate, in the best Novitiate buggy, met him at the depot with the curious greeting "How do you do, Brother Martin", and then whisked him over the tracks and up a narrow winding road along a canyon. The Brother did not say much till the road climbed abruptly, then leveled off in the middle of a grape field. Many of the grapes, the Brother said, pointing to mouldy clusters on the vines, had spoiled because the rains were early. Apparently this was a disaster, and Tom nodded solemnly. He could see the Novitiate now, a little higher and in bold relief against vineyards covering the hills directly back of it.

Today Sacred Heart Novitiate is an imposing building, more or less E-shaped, and symmetrical to the casual eye. Its whiteness glistens in the sun and its decor of palm trees casts dark shadows which from a distance look like a frieze. Decades have added many wings to the original structure till its proportions have become most agreeable.

When Brother Martin first saw it that November day, it was box-shaped, like a frosted cake of four layers, too high for its breadth and too ornate for its plain surroundings. It lay on a shelf halfway up the foothills of the Santa Cruz Mountains, overlooking the valley, which at that time was a forest of prune trees stripped bare by autumn winds. The town of Los Gatos huddled in a ravine below, sheltered by an unusually high and broad hill which blocked the southern horizon for the Novitiate and directed one's gaze eastward across the valley to Mount Hamilton and Lick Observatory.

In 1902 Los Gatos was not a friendly town. Its simple folk, misguided by an apostate priest who had become a Protestant minister, were very bigoted, especially toward Jesuits, and they peered up at the Novitiate above and muttered dark things about the priests dwelling there. The few Catholics in the district were scattered, for the most part, on farms.

They had a tiny church in the town, where novices taught catechism on weekends, and performed as general factotums when occasion demanded it. To these activities the Master of Novices, Father Giacobbi, solemnly dispatched them, like Our Lord sending out disciples two by two. Father Giacobbi was also Rector and on his frail shoulders lay the burden of stabilizing the finances of the house, which he did by developing and expanding the vineyards.

Novitiate Days

Brother Martin met Father Giacobbi as he alighted from the buggy. He was welcomed with a fatherly amplexus, and a barrage of questions about his trip, his state of health and his readiness to begin religious life. Father Giacobbi's old world charm and Italian effusiveness warmed him inside. He liked it. He also liked his new companions who lost no time in telling him that the Long Retreat, already delayed by the grape season, would begin in a few days, and that a large statue of the Sacred Heart was expected any day now. It was hoped, they said, that it would be set up in front of the house before the heavy rains came.

It did not take Brother Martin long to get adjusted to Novitiate life. The house, which at first had appeared to him to be silent and inscrutable, took on life, and he became a part of it, and a very jolly part of it at that. There were fourteen other novices including three lay brothers, and all but two of the Scholastics were in the first year. Brother Zacheus Maher, destined to be American Assistant, was in second year. In Tom's own year there were two others who distinguished themselves: Walter Fitzgerald, later Bishop of Alaska and David McAstocker, noted author.

The Sacred Heart statue, nine feet high, arrived on the sixth, and work was immediately begun on a base. It was cautiously moved into place on November 11th and was dedicated two days later, on the Feast of St. Stanislaus, which was also the fourth day of the Long Retreat. Since the fourth day is usually on death or hell, we may presume that the distraction of the dedication was a welcome one.

The retreat ended that year on December eighth and Brother Martin learned for the first time what normal novice

life was like. With his companions he picked olives on cold December and January days and laid them in trays; he gathered ferns; he plucked chickens for first-class feasts; he taught catechism in the little churches in the valley, and he hiked in the hills, sometimes as far as Mr. Doody's wee cabin surrounded by vineyards atop a neighboring mountain. He also attended Father Master's exhortations. Father Master was the spiritual furnace in the house, and flames from his heart penetrated them all.

Villa on Tuesdays was high in the redwoods, a thousand feet above the estate which subsequently became Alma College, and about five miles from the Novitiate. Healthy novices walked it, but an old horse-drawn wagon was provided for fetching victuals and the less vigorous of the brethren. Many are the stories about that horse and wagon. It was said to be more dangerous, at least on the downhill trip, than a ride in a balloon at the Santa Clara county fair.

Besides the villa, there were other diversions to break the monotony. For instance there were the days when they picked prunes. And there was the arrival of the famous Father René from Alaska on a soggy March day when rains threatened to wash roads away. Father René had suffered his own adventures in a gold-rush country and he told of them with characteristic French élan. Then there was old Father Nestor's accident when the horse ran away with him. And there was the brush fire in July when everyone was celebrating America's independence exactly one hundred and twenty-seven years after it began. These were all memorable events, though not momentous. The latter, too, would come.

On the Feast of St. Stanislaus, 1904, Brother Martin's Novitiate was officially over and he pronounced his first vows. A solemn high Mass was sung that day, in honor of the saint. Brother Martin had already moved to the juniorate, where Father James Malone was doing his best to teach Latin to the juniors. There seems to have been a feeling among the juniors then that Father Malone was too steady a driver, especially in Latin memory. He himself could recite reams of Latin, even in old age, though it must be admitted that his memory sometimes failed him in other matters. Father Malone, who was also dean of studies, frowned upon novels,

even classical ones. He permitted a volume of Thackeray or Dickens during Majors, but that was the limit. Despite these exacting ways, the juniors sincerely loved him and took a great deal away from his classes. He had a halo of a certain type of culture about him, a kind of holiness that one associates with men who have lived long and lovingly with books. He was devoted to Greek with a peculiar, almost inspired affection. Father Malone influenced an entire generation of Scholastics.

The juniorate, Brother Martin discovered, was not wholly unlike the noviceship. There were a good many routine classes, along with events like prune picking, visitors from Alaska and rebellious horses. Today one reads the diaries recording them all with a sense of tranquillity, forgetful, perhaps, of the stern monotony which the novices and juniors experienced. Monotony was the test then, as it is now, and the year 1905 at Los Gatos was particularly monotonous.

Earthquake

Different was 1906. That was the year of the great earthquake, when the community was so badly shaken for a period of six weeks that the year remained in everyone's memory as most terrifying. It began on Wednesday, April 18th. At five o'clock in the morning the Novitiate bells jangled as always and Jesuits all over the house scrambled to their feet for a new day. There was the usual rush to the chapel. At exactly five fifteen the quake started. The walls swayed, statues in the chapel tottered and fell to the floor with a terrifying crash. A large chimney buckled and a shower of brick plunged through the roof to the floor of the kitchen. As the earth continued to rock, walls groaned. It was like the crack of doom and there were some who thought it was. Most fled from the building into the open yard where they were speechless with terror. One junior, Brother August Busch, who was sick, had to be carried out. He was laid in the cloister and a priest was summoned to assist him.

All this happened in a few minutes; then there was a deathly stillness, that uncertain calm which usually follows some upheaval in nature. Father Thornton, the new rector, came to reassure his community. It was all over, he said.

He was going to say Mass in the chapel. Everyone should attend and receive Holy Communion in thanksgiving for his deliverance.

He started Mass at the main altar, and another priest started at the side, while members of the community pulled themselves together and opened Missals in a vain attempt at being casual. Most had one eye on loose bricks hanging over the altar, and uneasy minds speculating where they would fall. Suddenly the quake started again. After a moment of hesitation the novices and juniors scurried out, leaving two behind to serve the Masses, which were finished a little sooner than usual.

This time more serious damage was done. The two top floors were crumbling and the whole building was badly cracked. It was plainly uninhabitable, so the community began preparations to live outside. Breakfast was served in the cloister, and the Rector said that everyone should relax and take a walk in the hills to calm down. The older juniors and Brothers, he said, would move what was necessary out of the house, and all would take to living outdoors, as Jesuits had often done before, though seldom in such a lovely climate as California.

All day the shocks continued, while Brother Busch's condition grew steadily worse. Toward evening a report arrived that a tidal wave had destroyed San Francisco, but as darkness fell, the angry red sky to the north denied this piece of fiction. San Francisco was burning. What had happened? How many of the forty-three Jesuits there were still alive? Los Gatos Jesuits wished they knew. They went to bed that night in the cloister, but did not sleep. Birds twittered in the vines above them, then settled down in silence, and not a sound disturbed the peace, but the sky in the north told of terrors and of the need for help for an uncertain number of Jesuits.

Brother Busch died on Friday afternoon. As soon as it could be arranged, he was buried at Santa Clara. There was definite news now about San Francisco: it had been destroyed. A national disaster had been declared and the National Guard was on duty to prevent greater loss of life. The Jesuits at Los Gatos could scarcely bring themselves to talk about it.

St. Ignatius Church was gone and St. Ignatius College—the work of fifty-five years wiped out in a single day.

On May 4th papers announced that there had been seventy-three series of shocks since April 18th. There would be more, it added. As the tormented earth gradually quieted down, the Jesuits started repairs. Juniors and novices took bricks down and cleaned them, and the architect came to tell them what to do next. He said the upper floors had to be rebuilt and the rest of the building braced. It could have been a lot worse. The big loss was Brother Busch, over whose grave was a headstone and name—which would forever be a reminder of a departed companion and the terrible days of the earthquake.

To the Northwest

In August, five juniors prepared to leave for teaching assignments, and Tom Martin was among them. By this time he had reached his physical prime, though, understandably, he was thinner than usual. Tom was scheduled for Gonzaga College. With Dave McAstocker he took a boat from San Francisco to Seattle, then crossed the mountains to Spokane by train. He was assigned to teaching first-year boys, which meant, then as now, nervous little fourteen-year-olds with unaccountable tendencies to chatter. Thanks to Father Kennelly, there was good discipline.

With approximately two hundred boarders on the campus, Tom seldom found life dull, though it must be remembered that an exciting time then was not our idea of high adventure. Monotony was broken with exhibition baseball games by visiting teams and more frequently by debates. Occasionally the whole school went out to St. Michael's Mission on the outskirts of Spokane, where the Brother served them coffee and crackers, and at least once, they rode by streetcar to Manito Park where everyone was allowed to take a smoke. Smoking was a rare privilege and one is led to believe that most boys would have gladly traded their table dessert for a week for a cigar.

Tom taught only two years during this period then moved over to "The Sheds", as it was called, an old college building across the campus. This was the philosophate of the Rocky

Mountain Mission. It was no Louvain, although some of its faculty would have brightened any campus. Father Giacobbi was now teaching metaphysics, though not very successfully. It would appear that he disliked Schifflini, the standard text of the era, and that he improvised too much and that he dictated his lessons. All this was quite distressing to his scholars and great were the lamentations.

It would be wrong to suppose that Tom was much disturbed by the excitement about Schifflini. It amused him, but he was never taken in by clashes of the sort. He rose above them, keeping the good will of both sides. He helped many of his companions through the course, distinguishing himself for his kindness as well as for his ability to penetrate subtle problems. You might say he was a master of the distinction and a wit besides, so no one should be surprised at his popularity in a philosophate. As a philosopher Tom lost his appendix, an operation which in those days was a crucial test. When they put Tom back together again, they made a mistake or two, for he was troubled with adhesions the rest of his life. The seriousness of the episode may be deduced from the fact that he was hospitalized from March 27th till May 31st. When he returned home, the Minister wrote in the diary: "He looks well and is very happy to be among his brethern again."

During Tom's second year, 1909; the Rocky Mountain and the California Missions became a Province with the name of California and with Father Goller of Gonzaga as its first Provincial. Though this development was known long before, official letters did not reach Gonzaga till September 8th, the day of the change, when they were read at table.

In 1911 Tom was sent to Los Angeles, to the *Collegium Inchoatum*, for another term of regency. He traveled to Southern California with three other Scholastics by boat from Seattle. At Los Angeles on July 31st of that year, Father Richard Gleeson was installed as head of the new school, with six Jesuits, including Tom, in his community. The new school was the successor of a Vincentian foundation that had fallen, after fifty years, upon difficult days. Loyola was begun, like a good many of our universities, as a high school, in some small houses, while a new building was being readied. The

college department, already projected in 1911, did not materialize for sixteen years, but the high school prospered from the beginning. Much credit for its development must go to its Rector, who busied himself gathering funds and making friends, but the others did their part too. Father Tomkins, the Minister, was particularly solicitous about the Scholastics who enjoyed the informality of living in several houses, and especially the Spanish food provided. Pioneering had its compensations also.

Woodstock

In 1914, after three years at Loyola, Tom left for Woodstock and theology. He had been scheduled to go to Innsbruck, but happily for him, the war interfered. On the way he visited his family in Boston, an experience never forgotten by any of them. Tom's sister Elizabeth recalled it in 1954 when she wrote: "Never in all my life, and it is a long one, have I heard such deep love and devotion as was in that one word 'Mother' when Tom greeted her after twelve years."

At this time, Tom was a little plump with just a trace of a double chin to shame him. He parted his bushy hair on the right, and when he stood talking to someone, he held his hands behind his back. He wore glasses and behind them his eyes glowed rather than sparkled, windows of a calm soul, not a stormy one. Not even his family would say he was handsome, but there was a warmth and a stability about him that impressed everyone. His sisters, not to mention mother, were very proud of him and they often told him so. They repeated what they had heard from certain Jesuits, that he was very smart and that some day he would be a great man in the Order.

So Tom arrived at Woodstock, which was a Woodstock of traditions, mellow and long, and holy as well. There were the garden walks, lined by shade-trees already venerable with age. There was the pergola overlooking the river where Scholastics wistfully watched Baltimore and Ohio trains disappear beyond the bend. There was Woodstock Church, solid stone and woodsy-looking, processions, and altar boys, the Donovans, the Peaches, and the Murrays. There was the lagoon, where at times you could skate, and the shrine of Our

Lady of Lourdes against a hill. There were swimming holes and a swinging bridge, and, of course, philosophers, too. And a good many other Jesuits besides.

In Tom's first year, Woodstock had two hundred and seven Scholastics and forty-four Brothers and faculty members. The house was firmly but graciously ruled by Father Hanselman who later became America's Father Assistant. It is worth noting that there were two other future Fathers Assistant in the community: Father Zacheus Maher and Father Vincent McCormick. Both were Scholastics.

Woodstock satisfied Tom completely. He liked studies and Woodstock was richly provided with scholars to teach him. He relished friendship and Woodstock was crowded with friends who were very kind to him. With others from the West, he felt that Woodstockians were particularly hospitable to Westerners, either because of the long distance from home or because of the openness and simplicity for which they were noted. Whatever the case, Tom was delighted by the special concern shown for him and reciprocated by giving himself entirely. They called him Ricky Martin, and as Ricky he was long remembered for his modesty and intelligence, but above all, for his genuine spirit of brotherliness.

Tom took his share of the academic burdens. In his first year he defended in *De Ecclesia*, and listened the same evening to a paper called "The Surface of the Moon." On other occasions, Tom participated in debates, read papers and so on. Perhaps his greatest academic conquest was his membership in Father Drum's academy for the study of Syriac.

Ordination came in due course, on June 28, 1917, with Cardinal Gibbons as ordaining prelate. On the following Sunday, Father Tom, as his family now called him, sang his first solemn Mass in St. Leo's Church, Dorchester, Massachusetts. By now his father was happily reconciled to his status as a Jesuit, and his mother almost swooned in ecstasy. After the Mass a formal breakfast was provided. Here the Martin clan gathered, the immediate family and countless relatives, some of whom had once tried to persuade Tom not to be a Jesuit. Before them all Tom was fully justified and the breach of the past was closed forever.

Return to the West

Tom's last year at Woodstock was an anti-climax. The day of his *Ad Gradum* came and passed without notable incident, and Tom left for Boston for a last visit with his parents who were then living with his sister Elizabeth. After his visit, when he boarded the train for Seattle, his mind was filled with forebodings about mother and father. Both were failing noticeably, and his father, suffering from a badly infected foot, was almost an invalid. Tom was never to see either of them again. About a year after Father Tom returned to the West, his mother died suddenly. The shock was great, but Tom never let on to his companions, nor did he ask to go home to bury her. He loved his mother deeply and attributed to her many special blessings.

Meanwhile he had begun tertianship at Los Gatos. His instructor was Father Michael Meyer, who had but recently assumed the office. It was commonly believed that Father Meyer was brusque and perhaps a bit bossy, but these qualities, if real, were balanced by an unfailing kindness, which showed itself spontaneously, whatever the occasion. He had never caught on to American ways, an aspect of his personality which amused his Tertians. Many were the Father Meyer anecdotes circulating Los Gatos and spreading out in ripples of laughter throughout the Province. Tertianship for Tom was a series of unending details—he was sub-beadle—and weekend supply calls, which were integral components of Father Meyer's training. During these few brief months Tom had his only experience of ordinary priestly work with souls. The rest of his life he spent in houses of study, working exclusively with Ours.

He began this life soon enough, as soon as June scattered tertians in four directions. Father Tom was assigned to teach in the Juniorate. On the second of the following February, Father Tom pronounced his final vows at the same altar where he had pronounced his first. If the Novitiate, with its vast new wing, had grown in the interim, Father Tom, too, had grown. He was now in his full spiritual vigor, ready for new tasks which were soon placed before him. He was made Rector at Los Gatos.

He disclosed this fact to his father in a revealing letter.

July 25, 1921

My dear Father,

Last Friday a telegram summoned me home from San Francisco to assume the superiorship of the Novitiate. This appointment came from our Reverend Father General at Rome. It's the same position Fr. Gasson held at Boston College—the only difference being that here we have none but Jesuit students and novices in our college. You may recall from my last letter that I had a suspicion of this appointment. It is now a reality. It seems so strange to be writing this letter from the room into which I was ushered on my first arrival at Los Gatos nearly nineteen years ago. If anyone had told me on that day that years hence I myself would be at the head of this institution, I would have accounted him a mad man. The purely natural sense of pride I may feel is swallowed up by a deep sense of my own unworthiness and of the magnitude and importance of my burden. If in any way I am fit, let me here, dear father, bear testimony to my dear old father on earth and my loving and beloved mother in heaven, who were God's instruments in shaping my career and moulding my character. My sense of gratitude is far too deep for words. May God reward you in my stead.

Ever your "Boy out West",

Tom

As Christmas approached, Father Tom wrote again to his father.

Dec. 17, 1921

Dear Dad,

I am anticipating my Sunday letter as I foresee a very strenuous day tomorrow. Another reason is that I very much desire that you get a word of Christmas cheer from your boy out West before the 25th. Tomorrow or Monday I'll try to get off a few words of greeting to Charlie and the girls. But this letter to you includes all who bear the Martin name. May God bless you and keep you in His holy love and peace! And may we not forget our dear mother from whom we all learned the finer meanings of Christ's message. May she, dear heart, rest in eternal peace. And may we be found worthy to join her when our day is over. What consolation flows into my heart every time I recall her dear face. How much I owe to her. She is still my mother for I feel her maternal guidance now more than ever before.

Tom

There were reasons for concern about Mr. Martin's health. His infected foot was very painful now and it was impossible

for him to get around. Trying her best to console him in his loneliness, his daughter Elizabeth nursed him and arranged for the parish priest to bring Holy Communion every First Friday. Father Tom, eager to carry his share of the cross, wrote regularly, "Face the Sun".

July 2, 1922

Dear Dad,

Your recent letter was full of delights to me, however I must correct you on one point, to wit that you are an old man who can interest no one. Put that thought out of your mind. It's too sombre, and does not at all agree with good sane sunshine philosophy. That you get lonesome is to be expected. Who doesn't at times feel that way? But try your best to keep your mind filled with memories of dear ones. Now I'll leave it to you: isn't this a good sensible prescription? And the best of it all is that you do not need to go out to the druggist to have it compounded. All ingredients are within easy reach. Now, Dad, mix up a good measure of this wonderful elixir, and keep the bottle close at hand. Lizzie's great devotion to you is an unailing source of consolation and joy. She is truly the valiant woman of the Scripture, "whose value is above gold and all material possessions." Give her my love and tell her how proud I am of her. As for myself I am going out to the summerhouse with our young men to stay as superior for two weeks. I had hoped to get them someone else, but I guess they will have to put up with me again. Now don't forget my prescription, and think of me always as

your boy,

Tom

Nov. 28, 1922

My dear Father,

A few hours ago I offered up the holy sacrifice of the Mass for the repose of my dear mother's soul, and although grief is not absent from my heart today, yet, to be truthful, I feel the sentiment of gratitude to God for having given me such a mother much more than any sorrow. As I have told you before, sorrow is somewhat selfish. And what gain is there in the thought of loss—how much better, how much more ennobling the thought of what we had during all these years. Hence my message to my father and brother and sisters is to renew our gratitude to the good God and to convert all grief and sorrow into an ever increasing realization of the great blessing in our lives our mother has been to us all. You will please tell Charlie and the girls that I remembered them all in my anniversary Mass, but most of all did I pray for you, dear father, that God may bless you. With my own poor blessing to all,

Tom

A few weeks later, Mr. Martin wrote a tender letter.

Beloved son Tom,

Here Thanksgiving has passed with its reunions and feasts and I trust some thanks to the good Creator who has blessed us all. We had a very fine day here. Lizzie had an old-fashioned dinner. It was just like the ones your dear mother used to get up, when as one family we used to bring smiles to her dear face, by our vigorous approval of her cooking. God bless her memory and may the Holy Mass you offered up for the repose of her soul, bring her what you so lovingly asked for. Like you, memories and thoughts of her bring to my mind a sense of relief, rather than sorrow, just as if her face was turned in a loving smile to me. My dear boy, I hope you understand how much your old father values your dear letters. They have given me loyal love and strength *often* when I have needed it and I have felt the practical faith implied therein, fully as much as you could desire. Therefore I hope you will understand that any regret I may have had in past days over your decision to pass your life as a soldier of God, has been fully compensated for by my joy at your success and devotion. The Lord knows best, my dear son, and we all find that He does *in all things*. Your old dad is always thinking of you with love in his heart, for the dear son that never had a cross word for his father, or mother, but always a kind one and a helping hand. Remember this my boy, when I am gone, it may soothe your grief and pain.

Lovingly and sincerely,

Your Father

In June, 1924, Mr. Martin died. Father Tom, sorely disturbed, decided not to attend the funeral. He had been required as Rector to inform one of his Juniors that the Provincial had refused a similar permission, so now without further formalities, he did what he asked others to do. He bore his sorrow cheerfully, not even his closest friend knew what it cost him.

Mount St. Michael's

On June 11th, 1925, Father Tom was appointed Rector of Mount St. Michael's in Spokane, succeeding Father William Benn. No doubt he reflected dolefully on the prospects of six more years of responsibility, but moving to the Mount had its advantages too. He would leave behind the tangled red tape of the winery in Prohibition days and the serious problems of finance because of the cut in income. Not that

St. Michael's was a sinecure. It too had problems, in fact knottier problems than Father Tom dreamed.

A New Englander forever, Father Tom preferred the four season weather of Spokane to the milder climate of California; so he looked upon his return to the Northwest as a kind of home-coming. He was installed on August 4th. The Scholastics, fresh from villa and their annual retreat, were cordial in their welcome. They told him that the Mount building, new to Father Tom, was a bit crowded, and that the swimming pool, lately begun under Father Sauer's direction, had best be finished before the frost came. Could Father Rector speak to Father Sauer about speeding things up, perhaps in time for September swimming? The pool was finished in September, on St. Michael's day after a Pontifical Mass by Bishop Schinner. As the water poured in Father Sauer had a crew busy leveling the fields for baseball and handball, while Brother Giraudi and his helpers waited to see what dirt they could salvage for flower gardens.

By the time that everything was settled to the satisfaction of all, Father Tom began to wish he was back in Los Gatos. Like other houses of studies, the Mount, for its Rector, was a succession of disputations, music academies, minor crises like flu epidemics or brush fires, distinguished visitors and improvements. Father Tom took them in stride. There was an amazing amount of activity during his rectorate: unusual developments like improvements at villa and the building of the large west wing, not to mention minor works and societies, which flourished with unprecedented success. The philosophers, incorrigible pranksters that they were, had a nickname for their Rector, which referred to his curly hair. They called him Kinky, which carried with it more affection than blame. If Father Tom ever knew his nickname, he ignored it as calmly as he ignored the snakes brought home from Pot Holes by biology majors.

At the Mount Father Tom developed several trifling idiosyncracies that became legends. One was his habit of forgetting a rubric at Mass when he was on the verge of exploding about something. Sometimes he forgot the Kyrie, or the Gloria; and when it was noticed, everyone took cover. Invariably after breakfast on such days, a culprit was sum-

moned, queried and sentence pronounced with great dispatch. Father Tom could conduct the whole proceedings in a manner that left nothing obscure.

The duties of Rector did not keep Father Tom out of the classroom. He taught Hebrew, which in those stern days was a required subject for all, like geology and astronomy. No doubt Father Drum's Syriac course served the Hebrew professor in good stead. Father Tom, expert in teaching languages, developed his own grammar, and most cheerfully pounded vowel points into reluctant philosophers' heads. Characteristically, he was happiest when doing so.

During his term at the Mount, big things were happening in the Province, which had grown to 800 men and had a Novitiate with eighty novices. Father Piet, the Provincial, with the approval of Father General, began preparations for a new Novitiate in the northern half of the Province and for a division of the Province itself. Property for the Novitiate was purchased at Sheridan, Oregon, about sixty miles southwest of Portland, and the California provincial's headquarters were moved from Portland to San Jose, California, so that the new Oregon provincial could eventually take over the old quarters. On Christmas Day, 1930, the Oregon Vice Province, called The Region of the Rocky Mountains, was canonically established with Father Walter Fitzgerald as the first Vice Provincial.

Though a new province was being formed, it was hard to tell which was actually the new one. Historically, the new Vice Province had founded the California Mission, in 1850. The Vice Province retained the residence of the Provincial, and was exactly ten men larger at the time of the break. California retained the name. At any rate, the new Vice Province acquired Province status in thirteen months, on February 2, 1932.

Sheridan Novitiate

Six months before this, the Sheridan Novitiate was formally established. Father Tom Meagher, novice master at Los Gatos, was sent with twelve second-year novices to take possession of a hurriedly constructed bungalow atop the Oregon hill. Father Nathaniel Purcell, architect of some ability, was

summoned to act as temporary superior and to supervise construction of a permanent building. The new Novitiate was given the name of St. Francis Xavier after the first novitiate established on the Pacific Coast by Father De Smet, scarcely forty miles away on the banks of the Willamette.

Work on the new building was begun on April 13, 1932. Father Meagher turned over a shovelful of reddish clay and read a number of prayers from the ritual, while novices sang hymns to St. Joseph: "Bleak sands are all round us, no hope can we see." When they finished, workmen who had been standing curiously by, reached for their tools, and the project was under way. The first Mass in the new building was celebrated on the Feast of the Sacred Heart, 1933, in a temporary chapel on the third floor. The same day, the novices moved in, though the building was little more than a damp, concrete shell. Finishing, even furnishing, would have to wait till there was money to pay for them.

Meanwhile devoted friends of the Society, the D'Arcy family of Salem, Oregon, arranged for the construction of a chapel wing as a memorial to their mother. This project led to prolonged litigation between the D'Arcy family and the contractors and ended Sheridan's building developments till Father Tom was already twelve months in his grave. As a consultor of the new Vice Province and Province, Father Tom knew well what was going on, but he could scarcely have guessed that he would be Sheridan's first Rector. That fact was not revealed till November 16, 1932.

Father Tom could hardly console himself, when the news was broken to him, with the reflection that very few Jesuits have the opportunity to become rectors of two different Novitiates. So it will be Sheridan, he thought grimly, recalling the countless consultations during which the subject of Sheridan's poverty had been weighed. One might just as well be appointed president of an insolvent bank, as be made Rector of Sheridan, for there were many debts and few resources.

Father Tom did not make the trip to his new residence till July, 1933. As he rode through the little town of some fifteen hundred, named for an Indian fighter of considerable fame in the region, he could see the Novitiate building in bold relief against the western sky. It crowned an eminence, something

like a fort, overlooking a highway and small river running along Yamhill Valley. It appeared to be massive. A large cross clearly seen for many miles surmounted the concrete structure which was 369 feet long and four stories high in the middle section. Like Los Gatos, when he first saw it, it was box-like and plain, a supermarket without lights.

The road to the building crossed Novitiate hay fields and Rock Creek bridge, passed a prune-dryer and an assortment of prune trees, then ascended the hill abruptly at an angle, coming onto the Novitiate from the rear. It was a picturesque ride, particularly on a July day. Mountain ridges farther west, bordering on the Pacific, glowed with the sun along their crests and deep forests darkened their eastern slopes. Near at hand, cattle grazed in the shade of old oaks; and the last quarter-mile between two rows of windswept apple trees ended suddenly on the summit, where one could look out across grain fields and orchards far to the east where peaks of the Cascades were covered with eternal snow. "Most beautiful view from any Jesuit house in America," one Eastern Jesuit had said, a lovely place to retire in old age. But Father Tom was not retiring.

We do not know what he thought that day when he stepped out of the car that had brought him. We do know he was not afraid, not even of the poverty. In fact, he often said in later years, "Poverty is Sheridan's greatest blessing." It took a brave man to face what he had to face July 13, 1933. As superior he was responsible to the Society and the Church for approximately fifty young men with another fifty due in a matter of two weeks. He had no means to support them except the few cows, the orchard and about eight hundred acres of poor soil that turned into gumbo in wet seasons and in dry, cracked wide open in little cakes like those you see around sulphur springs. He had no adequate water supply, no furnishings for the house, no books for scholars, no credit to borrow on, and it was just five months after the bank holiday. One thing he knew for certain; he could not expect his community to live on the view, which for all its charms, would not put a single loaf on the table.

Fortunately for all concerned, Sheridan had many friends. Mothers' clubs in Missoula, Spokane and elsewhere hurried

to their aid with clothes and furnishings. Father Peter Brooks of the Missouri Province shipped books. St. Ignatius Mission sent cattle. Friends in Yakima donated loads of potatoes, carrots and apples. The D'Arcys provided holiday dinners. Perhaps most touching of all was a truck-load of groceries gathered at Christmas time by boys of Seattle Prep.

Meanwhile the Jesuits at Sheridan were not idle. The Brothers were working hard trying to make the most of the farm, while novices cut firewood in the forests and juniors stripped forms from the building and made furniture with the lumber. Father De Smet and his companions on the Willamette had never worked harder and lived more simply than the pioneers of Sheridan. It was all a gallant gesture, but at times seemingly inadequate. More than one crisis arose, when the Rector's faith was sorely tested and there was talk of sending the novices to their homes. Though each time the disaster was averted by the arrival of additional help, all could see clearly how slender was the thread on which the fate of the house hung.

One can easily understand how, in the circumstances, Father Tom developed a rather strict view of poverty. It became a critical issue with him, and he punished offenders with some rigor. When he saw waste or when someone asked for an unusual permission, he bristled. Yet he was not a stingy man. He was simply conscious of his personal poverty and the community's indigence.

Father Tom's term as Sheridan's first Rector was not all worry. He taught Greek which he loved, and he filled boxes with notes on the authors he explained. He became an authority, though he published nothing. "If things had been different," he told a junior, "perhaps I'd know some Greek today. But they made me a superior. There has been no time for study and I know very little." Greek could interest him so intensely that if a junior went to his room anytime during the day, Father Tom would give a long dissertation on the subject. He taught Greek in Latin, using English only rarely to explain some difficult construction, and when a junior failed to answer questions in Latin, he snapped, "Male sonat! Proximus frater!" We have his grade book for the Greek classes, a treasure if there ever was one for the painstaking record

it is. Father Tom took his Greek very seriously, much more so than the juniors did.

In 1937, while Father Provincial Fitzgerald was away, Father Tom acted as Vice Provincial for some months. He kept his Greek classes by commuting between Portland and Sheridan. When, the next year, he was elected to attend the Procurator's Congregation in Rome, some speculated humorously about his commuting again. But once there was enough to coax him away: his family in Boston, and Christian as well as classical Rome where his curiosity would enjoy a holiday.

He left for the Congregation amid the lamentations of his Greek students, who made a joke out of it. His family welcomed him in Boston. They were especially impressed that he had been chosen to go to Rome "on business of the Order", which apparently for them implied a great and mysterious undertaking, perhaps an epic like the Jesuit invasion of Elizabethan England. It is gratifying to see in this awe of the Martins a deep love and esteem of the Society. Sharing this with their brother Tom, brought them closer together, which is often the case with Jesuits and their families. On his return from Rome, Father Tom stopped in Boston again, and with his sisters visited for a last time the historical landmarks he loved: Paul Revere House, the Old North Church, Hall of Flags in the State House, and Bunker Hill Monument. When he bade them good-bye that autumn of 1938, he was sure he would never see them again in this world.

Mellow Years

The following year, Father Tom was replaced as Rector by Father Francis Gleeson, presently Bishop in Alaska. Father Tom stayed on as spiritual father and teacher of Greek. Thus he began in his fifty-ninth year, what appears to be the most fruitful period of his life. For the next fifteen years he was the mellow Father Martin, gentle or stern, but always himself, forthright, devoted, and delightfully inquisitive. Whatever else, he was always the center of interest, whether saying graces before meals one step ahead of the community, or recreating with the Fathers by simultaneously carrying on conversations, slitting pages of new books and

working crossword puzzles. "It's a sin to miss recreation with him", one Father remarked. "He tones us up for a whole day."

The novices and juniors during this period saw much of him. Wrapped in a tarnished green-black coat that seemed to defy all efforts to destroy it, he stepped briskly about, interested in everything that was going on. In one hand he carried his breviary and at intervals he paced back and forth, saying his Psalms with relish. When he approached a group he paused to inquire as to the state of things, what, why, and who knew how. Then with a smile of satisfaction he was off again, on the lookout for another project. Projects amused him immensely, especially highly imaginative projects. One got the impression sometimes that the wilder the schemes, the more pleased he was. Perhaps most of his satisfaction in these sometimes bizarre discoveries derived from his own relief at no longer being responsible for them.

He loved to argue, though it must be admitted, he seldom had a chance to do so. His quick analysis invariably ended the dispute, while novices or juniors leaned on their tools, dumb-founded. An example of this was a discussion about novice masters and canonization. Just as Father Tom approached one novice opined that the first step for canonization in the Society seemed to be to become novice master. Father Tom objected, "First step is baptism!" Such incisive, pithy comments became legendary. He would say, "Six sentences are enough for a half-hour talk by the simple stratagem of repetition." When a Novice suggested that some lives of saints were overdrawn, he answered, "They are not written in ink but in syrup."

Despite his wit, his Greek, and his gift for government, Father Tom's fame really rests on his community exhortations. Looking back, one is inclined to wonder why he was so popular as a speaker. He was not a rhetorician like Bishop Sheen, and he had no great gift of eloquence. In a church pulpit he would have been listened to, though probably soon forgotten. But in a Jesuit chapel he belonged. He was affective. He reached the heart by his unobtrusive simplicity and directness. The time when we were most aware of him as Father Martin was when he gave his exhortations, and even then, somehow, we were aware of Father Martin speaking

rather than of Father Martin. And when we discussed his remarks the next day, we were seldom conscious of the personality, but only of his message. Yet his remarks were very personable. It would be a mistake to think they could have been effective without the warm personality behind them.

When Father Tom was giving exhortations he was more obviously Christlike than at any other time. Like Our Lord he spoke about familiar things, the homey trifles we all knew, plum puddings, bars of soap, prune-picking, Latin endings, and so on. Nothing was too trivial, nothing without meaning. And like Our Lord, he used Scripture often and realistically. He used its power. St. Paul was a great favorite and when asked why he liked St. Paul, he responded immediately: "St. Paul was a man's man, and a good theologian too."

One phrase of St. Paul especially pleased him and he used it often. "When I was a child. . . ." There was a certain childlikeness about Father Tom, particularly when he spoke. There was a boy's sense of wonder in him, a tremendous preoccupation with the marvels of the created world, which both amused and inspired. That's the odd part about it: we could laugh at Father Tom; his foibles were really delightful, but his very foibles inspired us. They revealed a genuine man.

Golden Jubilee

In November, 1952, much against his will, he assisted at a celebration for his golden jubilee. For the occasion, Father General sent congratulations, the program read, "Happy 12½ Olympiads," and a banquet was spread. After the strawberry sundaes were consumed, songs were sung and spiritual bouquets were presented. Then there were speeches. Father Tom accepted all the praise—perhaps suffered is the right word—then he himself rose to speak. In a moment he adroitly turned all the praise and attention from himself to the Society. As he went along, one no longer thought of him; one thought of the Society, and of thanksgiving to God for St. Ignatius. What are we ourselves, after all?

Someone said, later, "It was the most eloquent talk I have ever heard or hope to hear. Time will never dim the impression he made on us, not so much by what he said, but by what he *was*, as he stood there, self-effacing, genuine, magnificently

great in his own littleness." Often in the past, in his triduum, he had used the expression *pauperculus*, poor little man. Who was Father Martin? *Pauperculus*. Fortunate, indeed, to be a member of the Master's household. When he finished, most felt like beating their breasts.

And thus, Father Tom aged before our eyes; his hair, still bushy, turned gray; his step lost a little of its sureness; his trips around the grounds became less frequent. Always afflicted by the effects of the appendectomy years before, other minor ills now befell him. In July, 1953, he developed throat trouble. He went to Portland to have it cared for, the first time he had been away from the house for three years. He seems to have suspected at once what it was, for in August he started keeping a medical diary, which he called "Data". His entry for Sept. 21st says this: "Saw Dr. Bailey who tells me what it is." It was cancer.

A grim struggle followed. The house diary records it, step by step:

- Oct. 4th. Father Martin returned to Portland for more relief. He has kept smiling, but when asked, "How is your throat?", he answers, "Quite inflamed."
- Oct. 29th. Father Martin back here again. His throat and head sound quite choked; much pain; very cheerful, though.
- Nov. 5th. Father Martin back for treatments in Portland. In great misery but cheerful. He knows that his cancer is malignant.
- Nov. 12th. Father Martin back. His breathing and swallowing difficult.
- Nov. 16th. Father Rector drove Father Martin to the hospital in Portland. He had not been able to eat or drink without great pain. Even with pills he slept poorly. Had to receive a quarter of a small Host from another celebrant.
- Jan. 5th, 1954. Father Martin returned here quite shriveled.
- Feb. 4th. Father Rector annointed Father Martin. He has gone down from 180 to less than 140 pounds. He is quite brave in his pain. When the doctor remarked that most people in his state were terrified and whimpering, he answered that our religion teaches us to accept pain.

While the diarist was recording the official version, Father Tom in his "Data" was faithful to his own. As weeks passed, he was more concerned with keeping accounts of visitors and events around him than of treatments. About the hospital he was becoming quite a celebrity. A cancer specialist brought

young doctors in to examine the peculiarities of his case, and Father Tom greeted them cordially. On his hospital chart there was a special notice: "Question the patient closely. He won't ask for anything."

When the doctor had exhausted all known means to stop the cancer, he went to tell Father Tom. "I went to his room very depressed," he said later, "wishing I could think of something encouraging to say. You know, Father Martin cheered me up. He laughed and joked about the future." But the future was not long. Father Rector announced the fact after a visit in mid-April. "Father Tom is sinking fast." Cancer had blinded one eye and deadened the hearing of one ear. It was closing his throat. Still he did not complain.

In late April, a new Provincial took office, Father Henry Schultheis. Before his departure for the Provincial's meeting, he visited Father Tom. "I'm going back to Boston, Father Martin, for the Provincials' meeting. I will see your sisters." At the words, Father Tom came out of his comatose condition and haltingly spoke. "My sisters! Tell them I love them. I am dying. I may be dead before you see them. Tell them not to feel bad. I am ready to go to God. Good-bye, Father. I am so tired now."

A few days later, on May 8, 1954, he quietly died at 8:40 in the morning. The news reached Sheridan immediately. When the bell tolled, one of the juniorate professors paused in his lecture, led his class in prayer, then resumed class as before. Father Tom's exit was as unobtrusive as his life had been.

Things are different at Sheridan now. More water has been discovered on the property, within a stone's throw of the house, bricks have at last clothed the old concrete shell, and expansion has provided better dining and living quarters. Father Tom, were he to see it now, would be astonished. He would pry and poke into all the new corners, relieved to think that Sheridan, after twenty-two years, had at last finished what was begun in his time, a dream realized, a seed burst into flower. And as he would look into the face of the lovely flower, he would still be able to say: "Poverty is Sheridan's greatest blessing." Despite new buildings, it will always be that way.

Father John J. Kehoe

VINCENT J. HART, S.J.

A gentle rain was falling in the graveyard at St. Andrew's on July 21, 1956, as Father Laurence McGinley, S.J., President of Fordham University, sprinkled the box containing the body of the Reverend John J. Kehoe, S.J. One of the priests who had been Father Kehoe's subject as a member of the mission band said, with obvious emotion, "Good-bye, Father John, and thanks for all you did for the members of the mission band." That expression of gratitude comes as close as any expression will ever come in paying tribute to a sterling priest of God whose heart was big enough for everyone, whose generosity was well known to all, whose kindness was something you took for granted.

For Father Kehoe's greatness was not in oratory, nor in the classroom nor in his ability at composition nor in understanding abstruse points in theology, philosophy or the sciences, but in the warmth and effectiveness of his generous personality. His was the rare gift of creating on the spot a feeling of affection and cordiality. The opportunities he had to meet people were numerous, due to the nature of his work at Georgetown and elsewhere. Invariably, one always heard the same remark, "What a wonderful priest he is."

It was in Father Kehoe's make-up to be perfectly natural. He loved people and enjoyed their companionship. People were his hobby. He never had any particular interest in things. What individuals did interested him more than the thing done. He was primarily a human person, enjoying the companionship of old and young, by groups or individually, possessing the rarest of gifts—that of being able to keep in contact with hundreds and hundreds of people, creating the simple impression on each that this individual was his closest friend. He always had time for the person he was with. Since he, likewise, possessed an understanding of the limitations of

human nature, it was understandable why so many attested to his charming priestly characteristics.

Boyhood

Father Kehoe was born in New York City on November 24, 1895 and baptized in the Church of the Immaculate Conception on 14th Street where his father was a trustee of the parish. His mother died when he was five years of age and he frequently reflected on that early loss, noting that he scarcely remembered her. He used to comment on it, always at the proper occasion, in inspiring others with a tender love of their mothers, while still living.

Father Kehoe's father died in 1908, when Father John was in his thirteenth year. The great respect he had for his father was due to his father's devout life. He had gone to the 5 o'clock Mass every morning before reporting to his contractor's office. The entire family, together with all visitors, Catholic and non-Catholic, recited the family rosary every evening. This love of the rosary stayed with Father Kehoe till the end. In his days at Georgetown and at Fordham it was his custom to go out for an evening walk and say Our Lady's rosary on the campus.

John's lone excursion into delinquency as a child—still the topic of family hilarity—concerns his stealing of one of his father's dump carts and encircling the neighborhood demanding "a penny a ride". He did not get very far, for a knowing policeman corralled him and took him to the station house, phoned his father to come and get the stolen cart and his delinquent son; which his father did. Years later Father Kehoe would reflect on this incident and say with a jovial tone in his voice, "Did I get a licking that night!"

After the death of Father Kehoe's father, Monsignor Edwards who had been stationed in the Immaculate Conception Church on East 14th Street assumed guardianship over him and it was Monsignor Edwards' stern task to review with John his report card and his activities during four years at Fordham Prep (1910 to 1914). The guardian was not the kind of man to be fooled. You either did your work or you did not. Father Kehoe frequently referred to the dreaded monthly report card, how he would approach the Monsignor with fear

and trembling to have the report card signed. He was also assured of a lecture. Guardianship was not a perfunctory task for Monsignor Edwards. He had a duty to perform in watching over the young boy and he fulfilled it in masterful fashion. There was always a reverential awe on John's part for the worthy priest.

Jesuit Beginnings

The pattern of his life in the Society followed that of the Scholastics of his generation. From the time of his entrance into the Society of Jesus at St. Andrew-on-Hudson, Poughkeepsie, N.Y., on August 14, 1914, till his death on July 18, 1956, he tried to have in his make-up the personal characteristics of kindness, devotion to duty and the paternal aspects of government he noticed in his master of novices, Father George Pettit, S.J. He looked upon Father Pettit as the ideal superior and endeavored to model himself in his government of others along the lines so characteristic of that great man. Frequently, did he refer to Father Pettit's treatment of the novices of his day and to the sense of humor in Father Pettit's actions or accomplishments. To him, Father Pettit was the authority and, in later years he felt he could stress a point the better by using the simple phrase, "As Father Pettit used to say."

Father Kehoe took his philosophy course at Woodstock College from 1918 to 1921 and began there to manifest the great love he had for the Brothers of the Society particularly for Brother John and Brother Charley. Those were the days of the First World War and he interested himself in the garden and considered himself quite an accomplished farmer. There, also, he developed his own art of cooking, begun in St. Andrew's as a junior and continued for long years afterwards whenever the occasion arose. He was always at home on a picnic, ready to assume the responsibilities of the open fireplace and did a thoroughly masterful job at it, as his contemporaries will attest. On frequent occasions in his priesthood he went down to the kitchen to get ready a quick dinner for someone or to help in the preparation of special haustus for his community.

The Scholastics of his generation were to him "a great crowd", an expression he used on many occasions thereafter whenever he referred to his associates at Buffalo, Georgetown, Kohlmann Hall or Fordham. The "crowd" had a good time, or was tired or needed a break, or was working too hard.

Mr. Kehoe was sent to Canisius High School in Buffalo in 1921 to teach first year High and had three wondrous years there. One of his responsibilities was the altar boys. In his capacity as moderator of the Sanctuary Society, he came in frequent contact with the revered Brother Sandheinrich who for years thereafter stoutly maintained that, "Mr. Kehoe was one of the finest scholastics I ever saw." A characteristic of his years then—a quality which never deserted him—was his ability to get up on time regardless of the hour when he got to bed. During the hay fever season in his Scholastic days, and in the years of his early priesthood, he frequently spent almost the entire night sitting in a chair gasping for breath.

Mr. Kehoe returned to Woodstock in 1924 to begin his course of theology. He was not one to get a particular relish from study yet he was most conscientious in doing his theological course, being careful to chat with some of his more brilliant contemporaries if the matter at hand was not clear to him. His theological notes were voluminous, carefully worked out and memorized thoroughly. He could never be discursive, nor could he read around a point in theology, but he knew every thesis solidly. While examinations were a constant burden to him and he became excessively nervous over them, yet he never went into an examination without prior assiduous study. He kept his theological notes for almost twenty-five years, destroyed them with reluctance for their yellowing pages recalled to him the very fruitful four years at a place he loved dearly and would return to whenever the occasion warranted it. Father Kehoe was ordained at Woodstock by the Archbishop of Baltimore, Most Reverend Michael J. Curley on June 23, 1927.

First Years as a Priest

The first years of his priesthood were spent at Canisius College, Buffalo, where he was dean of men and moderator of athletics. His work on the mission band during tertianship

(1930-31) had given him an early love for preaching. The head of the mission band at that time, Father John P. Gallagher, wanted Father Kehoe to become a member of the band, so successful were his missions during Lent. True to his nature, Father Kehoe had every sermon written out and memorized—a custom he kept for many many years, for he had no trust in himself in spontaneous oratory. He liked his Lenten work and offered himself to Father Gallagher for the apostolate of preaching. The activity of parish missions appealed to him and the early rising and the late retiring would never bother him. It was an interest, however, that came in handy years later when he became secretary for missions and retreats. Father Kehoe returned to Canisius College in Buffalo after his tertianship in 1931 to begin, as he thought then, a life's work in that city. He had spent two years prior to tertianship there and returned to where he had acquired a host of friends and was beginning to be somewhat of an authority in inter-collegiate athletics.

Actually, it was Father Aloysius Hogan, president of Fordham at the time, who first took note of Father Kehoe's extraordinary ability in getting along with the various elements that make up the sports world, particularly the reporters, the coaches and the opposing teams. Father Hogan had drawn up a detailed analysis of the athletic situation at Fordham at the time, told the Provincial how easily it could be handled by Father Kehoe and requested that he be sent to Fordham in 1932. At that time, Georgetown was faced with a more difficult athletic situation which demanded urgent attention. To Father Hogan's dismay, Father Kehoe was assigned to Georgetown in the summer of 1932. For the next twelve years Georgetown became the love of his life. He had never been to a boarding college. It took him several months to convince himself that he was capable of handling the many situations that arise in a boarding college. Fortunately for him, Father Vincent McDonough, who had dominated the discipline at Georgetown for years, was still there and could, very kindly and willingly, guide Father Kehoe in his early weeks on the Hilltop.

His heart, thereafter, beat for Georgetown. To a great number of the boys of his time he became Mr. Georgetown

and was kindly referred to as Big John or Black Jack. To the men of Georgetown he never slept, for he would never leave his office until every student was accounted for and he would invariably be present to say grace for them at breakfast time. While he had the happy facility all his life of getting along on a few hours of sleep, the students of Georgetown took it for granted that "Big John never sleeps."

Success in Athletics

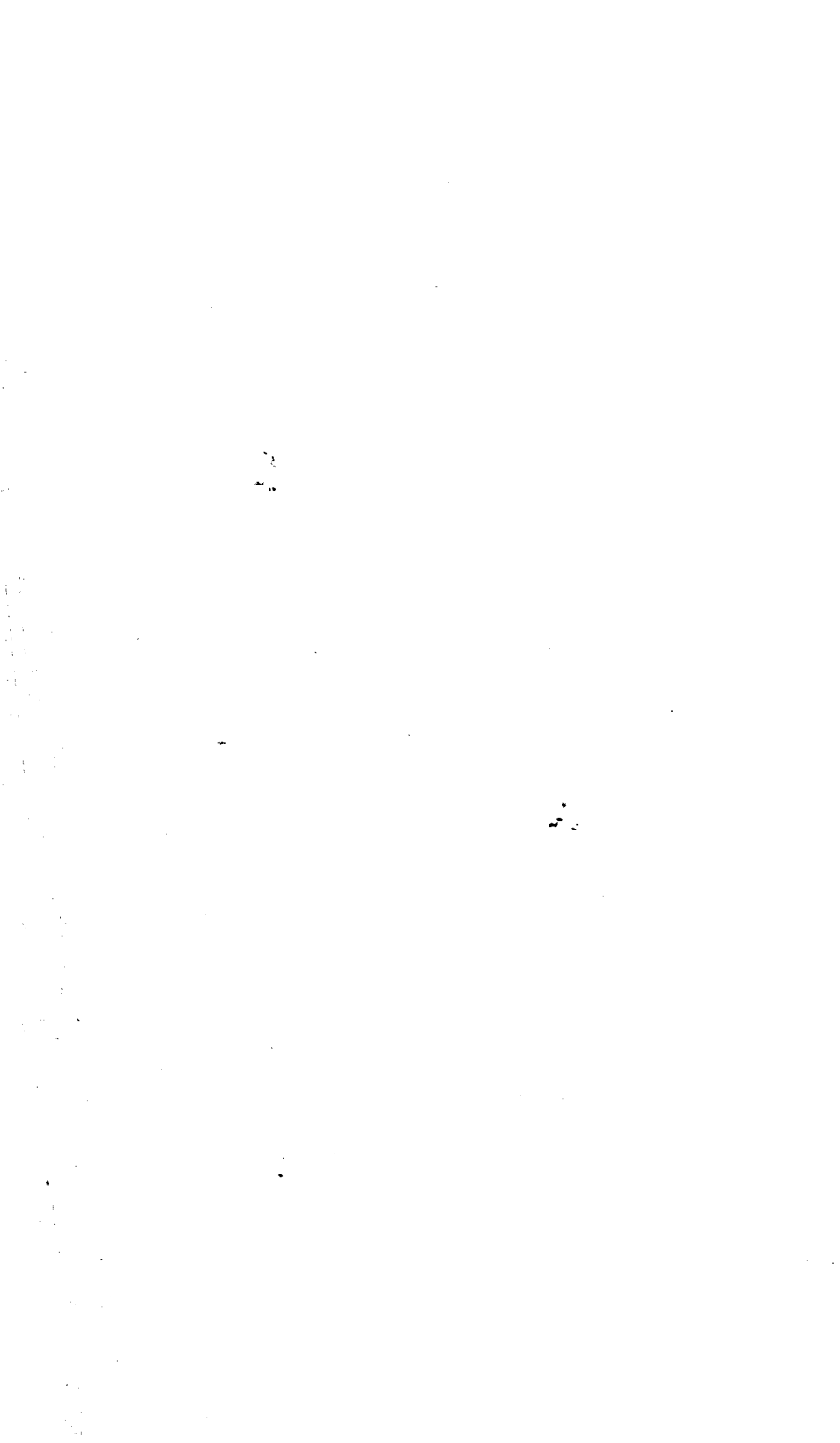
Not an athlete himself, it was surprising what vast interest Father Kehoe created in athletics at Georgetown. He was, in no small way, responsible for their re-birth on the Hilltop. In the days before World War II there were developed at Georgetown, under his direction, teams in football, basketball and golf of national reputation. To him intercollegiate athletics, on a proper basis, were part and parcel of college life. He hated professionalism and hypocrisy. He watched over the athletes as if they were his own sons. While it was not in his nature ever to be severe or stern, he could assert his authority and manifest his displeasure in a way sufficient to humiliate any prima donna attitude of a star performer. He learned quickly at Georgetown the generous spirit of the place and during his twelve years as moderator of athletics, he gave to any Jesuit at Georgetown or elsewhere any number of tickets requested for any athletic event.

The Georgetown boys of his time used to say of him that nothing ever shocked or surprised Father John, which, in their manner of speaking, was a high credit to his priestliness. In college parlance a priest who understands the foibles of college life and has the judiciousness to minimize them is a superior priest. Such was Big John to the boys of Georgetown.

He became a tradition at the place. If there was a gathering of alumni anywhere in the United States, Father John got an invitation and invariably accepted. The Cohonguroton party following the Georgetown-Fordham or the Georgetown-NYU football game never began in the eyes of the boys of Georgetown until Big John entered the room. Then the Hoyas would gather around him and sing and cheer and Father Kehoe enjoyed every minute of it. He was universally beloved



FATHER JOHN J. KEHOE



by the Hoyas. Without exaggeration it can be stated that no Georgetown boy ever said an unkind word to or about Father Kehoe. The boys knew he worried about them and it was not an unknown thing that they would on occasions take advantage of that disposition. He would tell them later on that they had not fooled him. This was what was said about him, in part, in the *Georgetown Alumni Magazine*: "Unlike Father Mac whose flair for the dramatic was well known to all who attended Georgetown in his time, Father Kehoe possessed a natural timidity which seemed to overflow into a nervous state bordering on concern and even worry over the welfare of his boys. Without exception they hold him high in the treasury of their memories, as one who at all times understood their needs, their interests and their problems. It is said that one of his boys in sheer appreciation of what Father Kehoe had done for him, financed in later years a four year scholarship so that some deserving lad might enjoy the advantage of an education at Georgetown. The death of Father Kehoe comes as a shock to Georgetown alumni throughout the country. He was by every measurement a Christian gentleman and an outstanding Jesuit. A friend of our alumni in the true sense of the word, it was his warm and understanding nature which helped to generate much alumni good will over the years. As president of the Georgetown Club of New York in its infancy, I had the priceless experience of discussing with Father Kehoe a number of alumni problems. I found him eager for constructive suggestion. He always welcomed it, considering it as he used to say 'the hallmark of a friend, not an enemy'. For these and other rare characteristics, our alumni respected and loved him and will miss him keenly, while praying fervently for the happy repose of his soul."

Father Kehoe was always attentive to the sick. In his early days in the priesthood at Buffalo he went every morning at 5:30 to say Mass at a hospital close to Canisius College. Hardly a day passed during his twelve years at Georgetown that he did not visit Georgetown Hospital at least once a day, whenever anyone from Georgetown was there. This attention to the sick he kept high in his primacy of duty throughout his entire priesthood, and in particular, as superior at Fordham. It was his daily afternoon custom to visit any hospital in the

metropolitan area where any member of his community was a patient. He saw to it that every Jesuit when sick had everything he needed.

New York City

It was to Father Kehoe the end of an era when he was transferred from Georgetown to 84th Street in New York City to become director of the mission band. He had been thirty years a Jesuit and this was his first assignment in New York City. By all natural standards he disliked his assignment. It took him away from the hubbub of campus life, from the multitude of things that kept him busy at Georgetown, from the many bothers which in his heart he loved. In the beginning he felt like a stranger on Park Avenue. Still he had his work to do. There were missions to be cared for and retreats to be assigned. Gradually he became a master in his new office, began to appreciate more and more the heroic sacrifices of the Jesuits on the mission band and felt he was doing more fruitful work for God as an apostle of the typewriter, than as dean of men. In promoting the efforts of the members of the band, in satisfying the requests of bishops, priests, superiors of religious communities and others for retreats and missions, he became enthusiastic over the work of the members of the band—though, from his conversation it was obvious he missed the excitement of a college campus.—He directed the activities of the mission band from 84th Street for two years and on January 1, 1946 he was made province secretary for retreats and missions and brought to Kohlmann Hall. He was made superior of that community on March 10, 1947 and continued in that office until his transfer to Fordham as superior of the community on September 8, 1953.

To the members of the band Father Kehoe represented paternal government in its finest expression. As one of them said, "He could never do enough for you." It was a source of constant concern to him that he was working the members of the band too hard. They, in turn, could not do enough for him for he was constant in kindness and endeavored to see to it that each member of the band had everything he needed for the work at hand. His high point of nervousness was always during the novena of grace. He was more than ordi-

narily fearful that something might happen to disturb his well conceived plans for the carrying out of the work of the tertians and the members of the band. It was during these harrowing days that he was envious of those who could take things more easily and philosophically. Frequently did he comment on the zealous generosity of the men on the mission band. "They are great Jesuits", he use to say, "I can't do enough for them." In his heart, he thought he saw fulfilled in them the ambition he had as a tertian.

The Community of Kohlmann Hall stoutly maintained that Kohlmann Hall was the finest place in the Province to live in during Father Kehoe's term of office. He endeared himself to every member of that community, particularly to the Brothers, and in a special way to Brother Ramaz. "This is the house of typewriters", he used to say. "We never get away from the grind but we have a joyous community."

He brought to the superior's room at Fordham the same characteristics that endeared him to the boys of Georgetown and the Jesuit community at Kohlmann Hall. He was always available, anxious to help in whatever way he could in the vast work of the University.

For a year prior to his death he complained that he did not feel well. A thorough examination at St. Vincent's Hospital, New York City, at Easter-time 1956, did not reveal any abnormal disturbances. It became obvious, however, to the members of his community that he was ill. He began to lose weight and color. His eyes became sad and his expression forlorn, so different from his usual jovial countenance. Nervous by nature, he became more and more solicitous about his health. He was convinced that something was vitally wrong. He sensed in the numbness of his hands and legs and in the throbbing of his heart that his once rugged frame could not carry the burdens, as was its custom. He decided on June 27th that, "He could not stand it anymore" and went to St. Vincent's Hospital.

His end came with startling suddenness even to the nurses, Sisters and the doctors at St. Vincent's. He had been sitting with some of the other patients at St. Vincent's after dinner on July 18th. Sister Philomena had come in with evening medication. Father Kehoe took his. Sister had scarcely re-

turned to her desk when there was a shrill cry from one of the patients and upon her immediate return to the room Sister noticed that Father Kehoe had slumped in his chair. It was 6:45 p.m. Dr. Brawner was at Father Kehoe's side in a matter of minutes as was also Father Fitzgerald, Chaplain at St. Vincent's. Dr. Brawner pronounced Father Kehoe dead at 7:00 p.m. In all probability, Father Kehoe had died in a matter of moments.

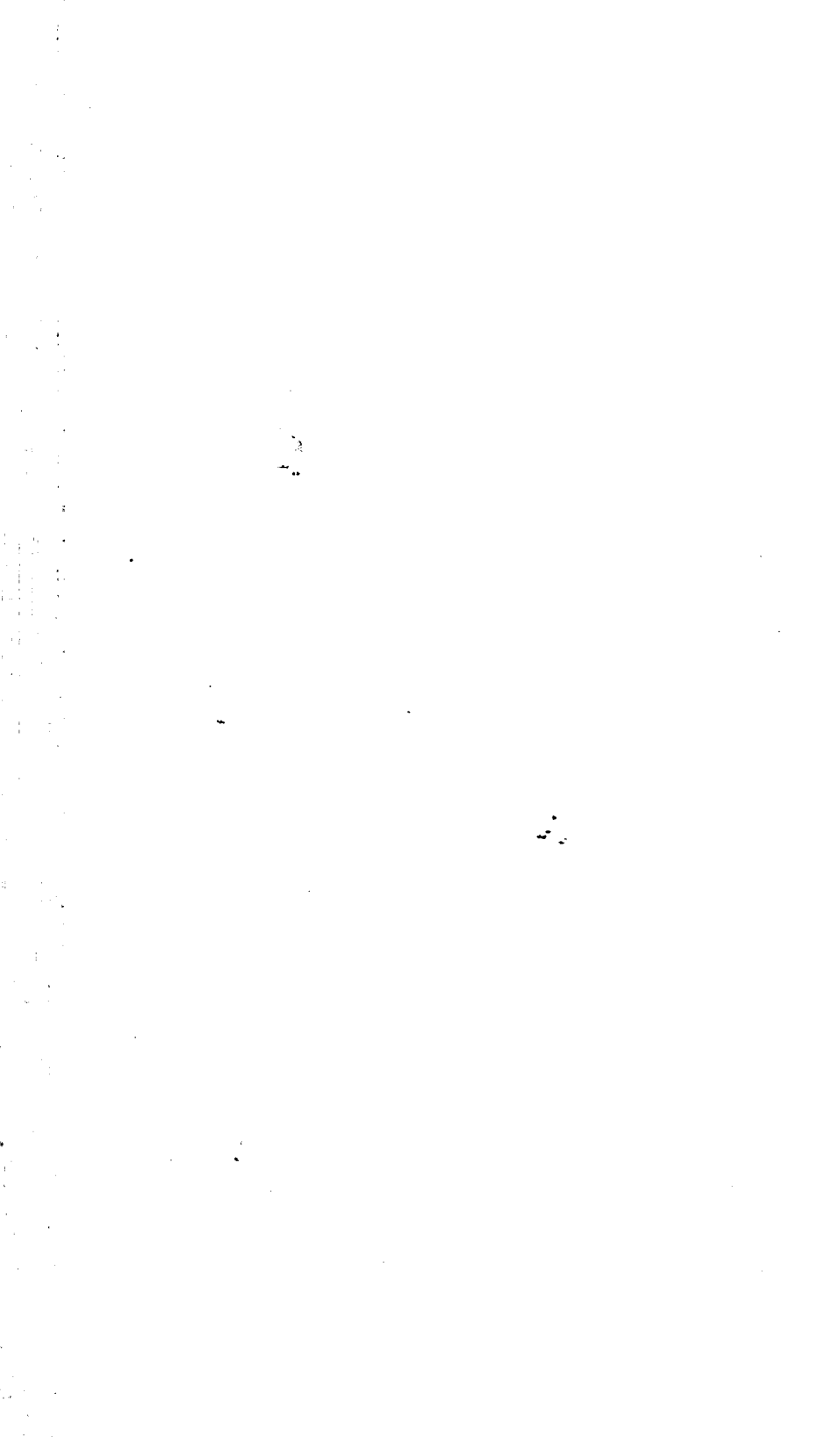
CENTRAL AND SINGULAR

The Society of Jesus has been both central and singular within modern Catholicism. There are those who have sought to drive a wedge between Ignatius himself and the later spirit of his followers—to set up an opposition between Ignatianism and Jesuitry. A living organization that develops and adapts itself through the course of time to new circumstances must always give rise to the query: how far is the development legitimate? The problem is not confined to the Society of Jesus. Would St. Benedict, would St. Francis, have recognized the legitimate descent of all the different forms and traditions of the institutes deriving from them? It is true that within fifty years of St. Ignatius' death his company had embarked upon tasks involving political, social, perhaps even ethical implications unforeseen by him. It is true, also, that it was not until the generalship of Father Acquaviva, the first Italian general of this international body, who ruled it from 1581 to 1615, that the wheels of organization and control began properly to operate in what became the full normal, routine way; and we need, perhaps, to do some more thinking about the significance of his generalate taken as a whole. But there is no doubt that the elaborate Constitutions of the Society were the work of Ignatius himself and that they knit the Society together firmly and permanently, informing its spirit in the way in which he desired, just as his Spiritual Exercises fashioned its spirituality. There had been achieved in St. Ignatius of Loyola himself an unique marriage between whole-hearted, unrecking, self-sacrificing religious enthusiasm on the one hand and a self-controlled, calculating, almost worldly-wise prudence on the other. There is, I think, little in the history of the Jesuits that does not, somehow or other, find its root in his strong, protean, many-sided personality.

H. O. EVENNETT



FATHER FRANCIS X. DELANY



Father Francis X. Delany

1875-1956

EUGENE T. KENEDY, S.J.

Father Frank Delany died April 24, 1956, after a short final illness in St. Francis Hospital, Poughkeepsie, N.Y. He was the third of his fellow novices of 1897 to miss by less than two years the elusive diamond jubilee in the Society which he would have reached in 1957. He had been hastily removed to the hospital from the Novitiate only a few days previously, but had been in failing health for a long time.

In his eighty-first year, strangely like St. Ignatius' "Letter on Obedience", Father Delany's long life may be said to have "ended where it began", because he died not far from the spot on the shore of the lordly Hudson where he first saw the light of day more than four score years previously. Born in Newburgh, New York, about fifteen miles below Poughkeepsie, but on the opposite bank, where his father was a prosperous shipbuilder, he attended St. Patrick's parochial school and graduated in 1889. It is hard to realize that in that year Pope Leo XIII was still living in Rome, Bismarck in Germany, and in England Cardinal Newman as well as Tennyson and Gladstone.

From parochial school Frank Delany entered Georgetown Prep in Washington, D.C., having himself taken care of the correspondence about the arrangements that had to be made. At the completion of his high school course he spent four years in Georgetown College and graduated in 1897. A few months later he was received into the Society at the old Novitiate in Frederick, Maryland. His unassuming, tactful kindness to me in helping "to break me in" to the mysteries of the noviceship when I entered a year and a half later showed how his spiritual training had already transformed one of the most popular, though not overpious, students of Georgetown into an all but ideal religious. He was the manductor at the time.

Later in life I was under him as Superior in Jamacia, as well as rector of Xavier in New York, where he demonstrated his ability in governing, coupled with a keen insight into human nature. This latter gift was shown in other ways as well, for example, in his success as retreat master to the Scholastics at Woodstock on more than one occasion.

At the completion of his course in philosophy he was honored, along with two other Scholastics, Harding Fisher and Coleman Nevils, by being assigned to inaugurate the new Loyola School in New York. There he spent the entire period of his regency as a high school teacher. How carefully the first faculties were selected, and their calibre, are evidenced by the fact that of the eight or nine Scholastics who taught there during Frank's time, four were to become rectors later of Georgetown, Fordham, Xavier in New York, and Loyola College in Baltimore. The first headmaster was Father James P. Fagan who became in later years general prefect of studies of the old Maryland-New York Province. In Frank's last year the headmaster was Father Patrick O'Gorman, later Vice Provincial of the incipient New England Province where Father Harding Fisher was master of Novices, before he became rector of Fordham University. Loyola School had been started to stop the trend among wealthy Catholics toward such schools as Berkeley, Cutler, Irving Institute, Columbia Institute, Poly Prep and St. Paul's. During his five years at Loyola Frank Delany helped to check the enrollment of Catholics at non-Catholic colleges by persuading most of the graduates to enter the then poorly attended Catholic colleges.

Jamaica

Ordained at Woodstock in 1911 by the famous Cardinal Gibbons Father Delany began his long forty-five years of priesthood. He taught at St. George's in Jamacia for two years before he made his tertianship at St. Andrew-on-Hudson during 1914-1915. He was the prefect of the Tertian Fathers. At the completion of his tertianship his first assignment was Kingston, Jamaica. After teaching for a year he was made prefect of studies and discipline at St. George's College. In 1920 he rose to the position of superior of the entire mission. This included, in addition to the College, the

magnificent cathedral, the finest building on the Island, the Catholic hospital, St. Anne's and Holy Rosary parishes in Kingston, besides a dozen and more parishes with resident pastors and some chapels with non-resident priests, scattered in the bush throughout the Island. There were also three large convents of Sisters to be cared for along with their pupils and patients.

But his greatest worry, if he were of the worrying kind, was the decidedly bad financial condition of the entire Mission in 1920. World War I had just ended and left its scars; times were hard and the cathedral that had cost about 200,000 pound-dollars was deeply in debt, and many of the people were desperately poor. Father Delany had to depend to some extent on gifts from friends at home, the Propagation of the Faith, etc., because the Mission was scarcely self-supporting. The yearly tuition at the then small St. George's College was the equivalent of but forty dollars in our money. And the cost of everything for the missionaries had risen appreciably.

Bishop Collins, probably the most loved and respected man on the Island, had just resigned. By popular subscription from Catholics, Protestants and Jews a purse of about \$20,000 was raised for him. Some said that had he not publicly asserted that every shilling of the donation would be turned over to pay the debt on the cathedral he would have received much more. They wanted him to keep it for his own use.

Shortly after Father Delany became Superior the entire debt was liquidated, and the Mission began to slowly develop into its marvelous growth of today. It happened this way. Bishop Collins' ambitious plans that had nearly led to bankruptcy proved, paradoxically, a blessing in disguise. The cathedral and by far the best hospital, government or otherwise, on the Island were built by him at the extremely low pre-World War I costs. They could scarcely be replaced for double the amount he paid. Everything in the way of building materials skyrocketed in value when peace was restored. Such is a sort of bird's eye view of conditions in Jamaica when Father Delany, after five years as teacher and Prefect of Studies, became superior for five successful years (1920-25) before returning to the United States. Bishop Collins was succeeded in 1920 by Bishop O'Hare. The latter sold an

excellent fruit plantation, bought more than a generation previously by Bishop Gordon for about the equivalent of \$5,000 in American money, to one of the main competing fruit export companies for a price between \$200,000 and \$300,000. At one stroke all debts were paid off.

Father Delany remained ten years in the tropical heat and poverty of the Island, experiencing, too, the effects of the disastrous earthquake that leveled much of Kingston, including the previous cathedral and parochial school. His next assignment was as treasurer of his old Alma Mater, Georgetown College, where he remained from 1925 to 1927. As a business man he excelled. During the next six years he was rector of St. Francis Xavier College in New York and pastor of the church. He had his financial difficulties there also because the church, built years before, was deeply in debt. The parochial school had to be supported by the annual bazaar that lasted a full week. This barely covered school expenses. We next find Father Delany at St. Peter's in Jersey City as procurator, director of the Jesuit Seminary Fund and parish priest from 1933 to 1944. Nearing his golden jubilee, he was moved to Brooklyn.

In the community at Brooklyn Father Delany acted as librarian and house confessor. To these were added the duties of moderator of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine and the Young Ladies' Sodality. In this way he was active in parish affairs and endeared himself to the young people. In 1947 he celebrated his fifty years in the Society and shortly after he suffered a stroke from which he never fully recovered. In 1955, he was sent to the Novitiate of St. Andrew to end his days as house confessor.

Despite the multiplicity of his executive duties Father Delany had his scholarly side. His name appears a number of times in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, under such articles as *Raccolta*, *John J. Scheffmacher*, *Gerard Schneemann*. The only history in English of the Church in Jamaica came from Father Delany's pen in 1930. In clear, readable prose he traced the developments of the Mission, sketched the lives of many of the priests and brothers, and published many pertinent documents. The title of the work is: *A History of the Catholic Church in Jamaica, B.W.I.*

In glancing back over his life several things particularly stand out as admirable. Joined to a winning personality he possessed what have been aptly called the three social dimensions of understanding, generosity and compassion. And he was consistent, practicing what the poet compares to a jewel because of its rarity and value. No one ever heard him complain or criticize in any way the exceptionally wide variety of duties or occupations assigned him. And everyone liked him. He had been teacher, prefect of studies and discipline, mission superior, treasurer, rector, parish priest.

Cardinal Newman once said of the Society that, it has a practical and immediate work to do and goes about it in a practical way. Each Jesuit must be ready, in other words, to go wherever and whenever the need arises. They must pool their resources for the common good. So, in humble imitation of his patron, namesake and model, Francis Xavier, who went to the East Indies, Frank Delany spent the best years of his life in the West Indies. In both cases the teamwork of his Order required it, and what seemed foolishness to some, in the event, proved wisdom.

* * *

HINTS TO YOUNG TEACHERS

FATHER HENRY KEANE, S.J.

A teacher must be a disciplinarian because the first essential in teaching is that a teacher must secure a hearing. He must never become a mere suppliant in a classroom: he must be master. Some people are born disciplinarians, but most people with common sense can learn discipline. Remember that the spirit and atmosphere of a school are all on the side of authority. Start with a new class by being strict and not lax. If you are lax at first, you will never get any work out of them. Be quiet, self-restrained, uncommunicative and strict at first. Why? Because you cannot take your authority for granted. You cannot trust to your strength of will and knowledge of the world. You may be lulled into feeling you have got a grip on a class, because they are quiet and deferential at first. (But it would do you a great deal of good if you could overhear them after school discussing you.) You can hardly overdo reserve at first, since you must look around and observe both the individual character of each pupil and the feelings of the whole body. And while you are taking the measure of the class, be very certain that the class is making a careful study of you. Be chary of

speech. Of course, answer questions politely, but in a few words. Avoid conversation. All depends on this. Do not chat with the boys. You cannot be too cautious of this, since you cannot chat without coming out of your shell. Puzzle them by your reserve till they say: "We can't make out our new teacher." Are you to be on the defensive the whole year, or like a stranger to your class? No. It is just to make their relations with you simple, confiding and cordial without the least danger to your authority that at first you must raise your authority above reach of all assault.

If you are given a class which has got out of hand, remember that the first month is the most important. Be quiet and firm from the beginning. Make up your mind to be hated. "Let them hate provided they fear." Pile on the work, and insist on it. If a teacher has a strong desire to be popular, the sooner he suppresses the desire the better for himself and for the school. Desire of popularity is a curse. A teacher should never aim at being an equal with boys. First of all, it cannot be done, and secondly the boys will eventually despise such a man. The way to be popular is not to seek it. A teacher will be really popular only if he is respected. Boys respect people who do not run after them. They respect people who make them work.

They respect teachers who have a sense of duty and who work hard themselves, who keep their temper in check, and who are always polite. Boys know in their heart of hearts that their parents have sent them to school to work, and boys like being made to work. Boys secretly like being kept in order; one reason for this is that they can look forward to and enjoy recreation time all the more.

Be ruthless with the mob, but very kind to the individual.

If you have to scold a boy privately, do not lecture him while he listens in sullen silence. Make him talk, by asking him questions.

Never issue ill-considered general rules. They are often inconvenient to remember and to carry out; and if you do not carry them out, the class will notice.

Do not use up all the severest punishments at first. Grade them.

Let punishment fit the crime and the criminal.

Never threaten something definite unless you mean to do it. But a vague threat is useful at times.

When you are going to have a "row" with a class, be quiet, calm and firm. Self-restraint always gives an idea of latent power.

After scolding a class, do not carry on school as usual. Give the class some private study so that they may reflect on what you have just said.

Remember that the boys you are now teaching will soon be able to think about you with the thoughts of men.

We do not praise people enough. Encourage a boy. Never tell him he is no good. Praise him judiciously.

Books of Interest to Ours

BRILLIANT TRANSLATION

The Word of Salvation. *Translation and Explanation of the Gospel according to St. Matthew by Alfred Durand, S.J., and the Gospel according to St. Mark by Joseph Huby, S.J., Translated into English by John J. Heenan, S.J.* Milwaukee: Bruce, 1957. Pp. xxviii-937. \$12.50.

The title of this beautifully printed book indicates the spirit in which it was written. It was composed by Catholics for Catholics—to aid them in understanding and profiting by the reading of the sacred text of the Gospels. It does not contain replies to attacks but a simple and tranquil exposition of the Word of God. There is no dallying over technical discussions of the text or its interpretation. The point of view is that of the general reading public and not of specialists.

This does not mean that the writers are not conversant with biblical research. On the contrary they are well aware not only of the problems but of the various solutions advanced. Their plan has been to choose solutions which will be least likely to hinder readers in finding in the Gospels substantial nourishment for faith and piety. Theological and mystical considerations have been added when they were of a nature to aid in the appreciation of the text. The result is a volume which can be read as an interesting, even captivating, spiritual book.

Each chapter of the Gospels in question is presented in a good translation. The historical context is briefly sketched and a running commentary provided. The interpretation is not verse by verse; rather sections of chapters are explained as units in a continuous narrative.

Despite the similarities in the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, the present commentaries are by no means repetitions the one of the other. Each section, which, if published separately, would form a substantial volume, has marked individuality. Father Durand with true competence faces the difficult task of explaining Matthew. He follows the Vulgate rather closely and aims at presenting the riches of the Gospel text with but a modicum of reference to theology and mysticism. Fine examples of his art are to be found in his explanation of the Kingdom of God (pp. 104-106), the faith of Peter (pp. 282-286) and the Resurrection (pp. 489-499). The message of Jesus and the contents of the Gospel of Matthew are presented with historical awareness and exegetical precision.

Father Huby, for his part, relies more on the Greek text and makes more use of the writings of the Fathers and commentators. We find

references here to Tauler, *The Imitation of Christ*, Renan, Newman, Pascal and many others. Fine examples of his penetrating method are found in the discussion about the brethren of Christ (pp. 596-599) and on the eschatological discourse (pp. 816-835). Theological considerations lead the author to the facts of Christian life, not in the way of so-called practical applications but by a vivid presentation of the principles which are implicit in the Gospel.

Father Heenan has accomplished the difficult task of translation in his usual brilliant fashion. The French form has been removed so skillfully that there is probably not a Gallicism in the book. At the same time the translator has taken no liberties with the text which is faithfully reproduced. This book will be especially appreciated by seminarians, religious and priests. At the same time it will offer profitable reading matter for the multitudes who are eager to ponder the Word of Salvation."

E. A. RYAN, S.J.

POET OF IMAGE

Sculptured in Miniature. *The Collected Lyrics of Charles J. Quirk, S.J.* With a Foreword by George N. Shuster. New York: George Grady Press, 1956.

"If good poetry be worth writing," Quiller-Couch observes, "the attempt to write it must be worth making: nor does it need a Socratic dialogue to prove that the more numerous they are who engage in the attempt the fairer will be the prospect of *somebody's* succeeding." The text suggests some reflection. The wonder is not that there are only two Jesuit poets whose reputations endure in the English-speaking world, but that, with so few journeymen, we can claim even Southwell and Hopkins.

Father Quirk's little book is a gentle reproach to so many others of Ours whose spring freshets of verse dwindled and died, just as the handball and tennis of scholasticate days were given up for the role of spectator and sideline oracle. Here are the best of an unspent stream of epigrams, quatrains, sonnets, which for more than forty years have glistened and glowed in the pages of American and foreign magazines, and have been gathered into six slender books.

Though most at home in the quatrain, (The book is dedicated to Father Tabb.) Charles Quirk has made a more notable contribution in the larger poem. He is a poet of image: metrics he carries lightly, and he does not always respect the narrow tolerances of the sonnet. The pictures in the sonnets are his best work:

What lurks behind this topless height of sky,
Blue piled on blue, surging up through the dark,
Stretching beyond the swirling silver spark
Of the last star? What epic pageantry

Of creation's genesis must lie
 Outspread which little man would now embark
 To calculate, encompass, and to mark
 By means of this, his telescopic eye!

Here is the best of the quatrains:

The Worm

No longer need to hide your head,
 Proud may you say, "Ah, once was He,
 God, not compared to beast or man,
 But me."

FRANCIS SWEENEY, S.J.

A NEEDED SERVICE

The Protestant Churches of America. By John A. Hardon, S.J. Westminster: The Newman Press, 1956. Pp. xxiv-366. \$5.00.

Father Hardon of the West Baden faculty has rendered American Catholics a needed service. We all need to know at least superficially the reality of the Protestant churches in our land. They are so many and so diverse that it is no easy thing to understand the religiosity of the great numbers of non-Catholics who surround us. There are indeed excellent handbooks on the churches, e.g., the late F. E. Mayer's *The Religious Bodies of America* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1954), Frank S. Mead's *Handbook of Denominations* (New York-Nashville: Cokesbury, 1951), and Elmer T. Clark's *The Small Sects in America* (New York-Nashville: Cokesbury, 1949. 2d ed.) However, Catholics have certain questions in mind which will not spontaneously present themselves to non-Catholic investigators. Hence a Catholic's survey of the Protestant churches was badly needed. We must thank Father Hardon for meeting this need.

H. has had a good acquaintance with Protestant church-structures for a number of years. He has worked industriously to find the genuine positions of the various churches. He does not consult out-of-date sources.

There are limitations to the work. This is no criticism of the author, because a small handbook must be severely limited in many ways. To ask the writer to do more than he intended to do is an unfair petition. The virtue of H.'s book is the fact that it gives us so much in so brief a compass. We should be especially grateful for his indications of the liturgies used by the Protestant churches, even though such indications are schematic and jejune.

There are two difficulties involved in the confection of a book like the one written by H. The first is that no matter what the author may say about the churches individually and no matter how many sources

he relies on, many members of those churches will insist that the description of their church is neither accurate nor adequate. Confessions, constitutions and books of discipline undergo changes when they descend to the level of the concrete congregations. The bookish reality of the church is quite unlike its lived reality.

The second difficulty inherent in H.'s enterprise is the Catholic's attitude to Protestantism. H. obviously wants to be fair and objective. He tries scrupulously to rely exclusively on the witness of the churches themselves. But it is so hard for us Catholics to be thoroughly sympathetic with the Protestants and in consequence we unwittingly describe them with some degree of disdain. H. controls this tendency but by the nature of things he cannot overcome it entirely.

GUSTAVE WEIGEL, S.J.

BREADTH OF COVERAGE

Encyclopedia of Morals. Edited by Vergilius Ferm. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1956. Pp. x-682. \$10.00.

Some fifty contributors, most gracing the chairs of leading colleges and universities in this country, some scholars reporting firsthand their anthropological findings from the field, here pool their lore to present a scholarly source work. Both moral theory and practice are covered. The treatment is for the most part historical and anthropological.

This is not the typical one-volume encyclopedia, four lines to an entry and boasting knowledge *de omni re morali*. It contains approximately sixty articles of from three to fifteen pages in length. Breadth of coverage is commendably sacrificed for thoroughness. Most of the major religions of mankind are treated, as well as most of the great moral philosophies from Zoroastrian in antiquity to the theories of John Dewey today. Though the entries are relatively few, the work is cross-referenced in detail, so that it is truly an encyclopedia, not just a collection of essays.

The book is remarkably unbiased from the Catholic viewpoint. A half dozen Catholic institutions of higher learning are represented in the roster of contributors. Aquinas, Augustine, the Jesuit theologians, Alphonsus Liguori speak their piece along with Kant, Hegel and Marx. The topics handled by non-Catholic scholars aim to, and by and large succeed in, presenting fairly the Catholic position. Nor are alien "isms" proposed with polemic ardor or without due criticism. This book may be safely placed on the library shelf without worry about it being a forbidden book.

But it is not the Catholic topics which will particularly interest our readers, since we have primary sources at hand. Rather it is such subjects as the epistemology of ethics, current Soviet morality and

existentialism that catch the eye. The *Encyclopedia* is worth consulting, if for no other reason, to learn the non-Catholic concepts of morality. The term, as used off the Catholic campus, is quite broad and somewhat nebulous, though even nebulae are capable of some precision. Thus we find entries on Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky and Dante, who are supposedly moral philosophers of note.

Disappointments there are. The article "Moral Philosophy in America" makes no mention of the rise of interest in scholastic moral philosophy in the United States in recent decades. Too much space is devoted to the morals of primitive peoples.

Summing up: this is good Vergilius Ferm, a useful reference work.

ROBERT H. SPRINGER, S.J.

INTERESTING HISTORY

The Holyday Book. By Francis X Weiser, S.J. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1956. Pp. 217. \$3.00.

This final volume of Father Weiser's trilogy on Christian feasts concerns the season of Pentecost and a selection of saints' feasts. As the liturgical movement gains momentum, this lively yet reverent chronicle of the origin of our religious feasts and customs should inspire a more fruitful and joyful celebration of the holydays. Besides presenting a wealth of historical detail in an interesting manner, Father Weiser makes an important contribution in clearly distinguishing the solid foundation of our religious practices from superstition. His introductory discussion of folklore, legend and their relation to pious practices is excellent and very timely. The reader may well be surprised at how much false propaganda concerning the so-called pagan origins of many Christian customs has become common knowledge. Equally surprising is the historical background of the feast of Thanksgiving—a celebration well rooted in Catholic practice even before the Reformation. A brief reading of the appropriate passages of this book and its companion books throughout the liturgical year should help introduce the spirit and meaning of each feast into our own lives and homes.

W. SCHMITT, S.J.

AN EARLY PERIODICAL

Les Mémoires de Trévoux et le mouvement des idées au XVIIIe siècle (1701-1734). By Alfred R. Desautels, S.J. Rome: Institutum Historicum S.J., 1956. Pp. xxvii-256.

At a time when periodical publications play such an important part in the apostolate of the Society, one cannot fail to read with genuine

interest this well-documented study of the first Jesuit experiment in the field. Founded in 1701 by the Parisian Jesuits, the *Mémoires de Trévoux* (named after the town where they were first printed) undertook the task of keeping their readers abreast of current literary and scientific developments, mainly through condensations of books, to which some comments were occasionally added. Amidst various vicissitudes, the *Mémoires* appeared regularly until the suppression of the Society by the Parlement of Paris, in 1762. The present study confines itself to the first thirty-three years of their existence. A second volume is in preparation.

Father Desautels analyses successively the positions taken by the editors towards the philosophical trends of their time (mainly the schools of Descartes, Malebranche, Locke and Newton), the moral and pedagogical problems, the theological controversies and the question of Christian apologetics. Numerous quotations, accompanied by a discreet but penetrating commentary, throw much light on the subtle influence exercised by heterodox trends on a Catholic intelligentsia. They also betray the growing helplessness of the clergy's intellectual elite, to which the *Mémoires'* editors unquestionably belonged, in face of the steady progress of rationalistic secularism during the eighteenth century.

To the credit of the *Mémoires*, Father Desautels mentions their enlightened approach to the problems of exegesis. Their sympathy towards Richard Simon was, however, denied much of its expression by precise directives, the rigidity of which left nothing to be desired. External opposition likewise checked their defense of probabilism and of the liceity of Chinese rites. Definite shortcomings are also noted: an excessive cult for ancient simplicity in matters of doctrine, a good deal of corporate prejudice in literary judgments, a too frequent inability to face the real issues with competence. In the author's view, this can be explained, to a certain extent, by the inadequacy of a formation primarily directed towards the education of youth in colleges. This should not, however, obscure the fact that, by and large, the *Mémoires* do offer a fairly accurate reflection of the state of Catholic thought during the decades preceding the French Revolution. Against such a background, some positive aspects are brought into sharper relief. In short, the author deserves our gratitude and congratulations for making available to a wide public these echoes of one of the least known, but not the least instructive, periods of the Society's history.

P. LEBEAU, S.J.

CRITICAL AND READABLE

Historia de la Provincia de la Compañia de Jesus de Nueva España, Tomo I, Libros 1-3 (Anos 1566-1596). By Francisco Javier Alegre, S.J. New edition by Ernest J. Burrus, S.J. and Felix Zubillaga, S.J. Rome: Institutum Historicum S.J., 1956. Pp. xxxii-640. \$6.00.

This volume, another in the series of the *Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S.J.*, is the first of a four volume work. Fathers Ernest Burrus, S.J., and Felix Zubillaga, S.J., both of the Institutum Historicum S.J., have continued their valuable work on Jesuit mission history in Mexico and the Spanish settlements in the United States, with a new edition of the history of Jesuit work in New Spain up until shortly before the expulsion of the Society from Spanish dominions in 1767.

Francisco Javier Alegre, a Mexican Jesuit humanist of the eighteenth century, was deputed by superiors in 1764 to write a history of the Province of New Spain which would be in accord with the more critical historical standards then coming into vogue. By 1766 the first draft had been completed and work begun on the revision, so that it would have appeared in 1767, had not the Jesuits been expelled from Mexico. The manuscript saw publication only in 1842-43.

Since this edition is quite rare, Fathers Burrus and Zubillaga have prepared the present edition to make available a source very important for the history of the Society, not only in Mexico, but also in south-western United States, Florida, the Philippines, and parts of Central America and the Antilles, all of which at some time belonged to the Province of New Spain. The history of Alegre has been judged by historians to be one of the best of its time for this field. He showed considerable critical spirit for his day in the use of his material, and displayed a judicious treatment of the miraculous element which plays so large a part in other religious histories of the period. Moreover, as official historian of the Province, he had access to all the archives, and it is evident that he made good use of his resources, frequently letting the documents speak for themselves, and thus preserving many precious ones, which would otherwise have been lost to the modern historian. Yet in his efforts at critical history the humanist in Alegre is not lost, and the history is colorful and very readable.

In the present edition the editors have by their ample historical notes supplied for the defects due to the unfinished state of Alegre's work, indicating his sources, giving brief biographical sketches of the persons appearing in the history, and, where necessary, correcting or clarifying the affirmations of the original. Likewise they have presented much helpful background in their introduction, and a judicious selection of key documents in the appendix, as well as an extensive bibliography and a detailed index of the present volume.

Thus the editors have made available in a far more useful edition, an important book on Jesuit history, in Spanish America, and indeed, on the general history of Spanish North America.

JOHN N. SCHUMACHER, S.J.

APOCALYPTIC

The End of the Modern World. *By Romano Guardini.* Translated by Joseph Theman and Herbert Burke. New York: Sheed & Ward, 1956. Pp. 133. \$2.75.

As Romano Guardini advances toward the culmination of a life of thought, his works have become ever more apocalyptic in tone, as evidenced from the title alone of this essay. The uncompromising and revolutionary sweep of his vision, since it is expressly tentative in character, is not meant to disturb the critical mind. However, the broad strokes, ruthlessly painting the unconditional demands of the times to be, do unsettle the complacent.

Incisively, Guardini outlines mankind's shifting ideals from Classical times through the Middle Ages to contemporary humanity, each age presupposing the norms and ideals of its past. But not so the age of future man, on the brink of which we stand. While the Middle Ages synthesized Classical science in the light of Christian revelation, and while modern man built his culture on the inherited values of the very revelation he denied, the future man will declare this secularized Christianity to be sentimentalism. More honest, he will clear such ambivalence from the air.

What moral and cultural ideals will fill this void? The monstrous growth of man's power, exercised over nature and other men, will create a new fundamental norm. Insofar as men can help increase this power, they will have importance. As individual personalities, they will be meaningless. Insofar as nature can be formularized and manipulated, it will be intelligible. As mystery and as reflection of transcendence, it will be without meaning. The Christian will not find a world which presupposes and compromises his beliefs, but one which judges them hostile because completely incomprehensible. The lines are clearly drawn. The stakes are as fundamental as existence. The non-Christian ethos and the assent to the call of God stand in absolute opposition. The challenge: will the Christian surrender in freedom and through faith to God's unconditional demands? Guardini's English-speaking followers eagerly await the translation of his further analysis in his latest essay.

EDWARD V. STEVENS, S.J.

 COMPARABLE TO ANY

The Recruitment and Formation of the Native Clergy in India. *By Carlos Mercedes de Melo, S.J.* Lisbon: Agencia Geral Do Ultramar 1955. Pp. 358.

For those not particularly interested in the trials and conflicts of the Portuguese Padroado and the early difficulties of the Sacred Congregation De Propaganda Fide, there is the disappointment that Father de Melo ended his study with the nineteenth century. However, especially

in his introduction, the author presents a clear and detailed survey of the roots of many of the problems still confronting the Church in India.

The principles and methods of the early Portuguese missionaries were inspired by the principle universally accepted in Europe at that time: *Cujus regio, illius religio*. In practice, there was no tolerance for the Hindus and Mohammedans, whereas special privileges were granted to the new converts. The first effective weapon in breaking down the barrier between the pagans and the Church was the donning of the saffron tunic of the local sannyasis by Father Robert de Nobili. But the lack of knowledge of the vernacular, especially seen in the absence of sermons in the native tongue and the use of signs in the confessional, greatly hampered the spiritual growth of the newly baptized. Of 422 apostates in the years 1650-1653, not a single one had been instructed by the native clergy. The problems of adaptation and of the vernacular remain difficult problems today.

In his conclusion, the author states his opinion that India may have centuries to wait until she passes out of the jurisdiction of the Sacred Congregation. Without mentioning their relatively small numbers, he assures us that the Indian clergy can stand comparison with any other clergy in the world. Thus, by God's own mysterious ways working for four centuries, with the raising of Archbishop Valerian Gracias to the ranks of the cardinalate, the Church in India stands on the threshold of a new era.

JAMES N. GELSON, S.J.

AVOIDING EXTREMES

Joseph Most Just. *By Francis L. Filas, S.J.* Milwaukee: Bruce, 1956. Pp. ix-141. \$3.50.

In his latest book, Father Filas, prominent Josephologist, treads the fine line of theological sureness and solidity, avoiding two extremes which are the usual result of Josephine theology's meagre sources. He treats without excessive caution such controversial subjects as Joseph's immaculate conception, freedom from sin, and assumption into heaven, but always in the light of the carefully weighed opinions of Church doctors and theologians. At the same time wild speculation is avoided by a judicious use of the argument from analogy or fittingness. Establishing as the foundation of Josephine theology Joseph's position as husband of Mary and foster father to Jesus, Father Filas deduces theologially only the graces, privileges and holiness that this double vocation strictly demands. Thus in concise and summary form, yet with an unction only true piety could inspire, Father Filas presents the Scriptural and magisterial teaching, the thought of the great theologians and doctors, and the very latest liturgical enactments concerning the Church's Universal Patron. It is regrettable, however, that these variegated theological and papal pronouncements were incorporated ver-

batim and successively into page after page of text. Had their content been assimilated into the author's own narration with the direct quotations relegated for the most part to the footnotes, the reader would not be baffled by the disconcerting unevenness of style and abrupt transitions which must attend a technique of direct quotations.

EDWARD V. STEVENS, S.J.

FLUENT PORTRAYAL

Theodore Dwight Woolsey, His Political and Social Ideas. *By George A. King, S.J.* Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1956. Pp. xiv-305. \$4.00.

Theodore Dwight Woolsey (1810-1889), eminent Greek scholar and earliest American-born theorist and writer in the field of political science, served his college (Yale) and his country through an half century of turbulent social and political development. As student, tutor, professor and later, ninth president at New Haven, Woolsey's academic brilliance joined with a mature, practical judgment proved invaluable in stemming the tides of human passion during collegiate and international conflicts. His intervention during the *Alabama* dispute, immediately following the Civil War, probably averted another bloody breach in Anglo-American relations.

Father King sympathetically treats his subject in a fluent, well-documented portrayal that will interest students and professors alike in a patriot whose prominence and contribution might otherwise be lost in the archives of political science research.

OWEN E. FINNEGAN, S.J.

COMPLETE AND EXCELLENT

Morals In Medicine. *By Thomas J. O'Donnell, S.J.* Westminster: Newman Press, 1956. Pp. xvii-266. \$3.75.

To compose a textbook that will handle the difficult problem of widely varied religious and educational student backgrounds is far from an easy task, but Father O'Donnell has done just that. Written in close collaboration with medical specialists and expert theologians, this book has been thoroughly tested in actual practice at the Georgetown University school of medicine and the Georgetown University hospital before it was submitted to the publishers. It is well for the non-student reader to keep in mind, as the author mentions in his introduction, that this book is primarily a textbook to be developed at length as needed in the lecture hall. Otherwise the fundamental truths and basic principles of ethics, moral theology and canon law, found in chapters one and two, will seem too highly concentrated and schematic.

In substantiating and justifying his conclusions to cases, the author has made constant recourse to the latest publications both in the medical and in the moral field. An indication of his thoroughness is his treatment of the moral aspects of mutilation (chapter four), especially of the distinction between the use of ordinary and extraordinary means for the preservation of human life. The author develops the definitions of those consecrated terms from the treatment of sixteenth century moralists to twentieth century experts, showing how these notions are to be applied today. Current problems are presented as they face doctors now and are solved according to time honored principles adapted to, but not compromised by, the present age. Therapeutic abortion, sterilization, sterility testing and professional secrecy are just a few of the many thorny problems which are capably handled and explained in the light of Catholic teaching in this book. *Morals in Medicine* is not only a clear, complete and excellent textbook in its field, but it is also a reliable and up-to-date reference volume. It is well worth the price to any practicing physician or hospital chaplain.

J. JOSEPH HOFMANN, S.J.

ACCURATE SUMMARIES

Papal Social Principles. By Thomas J. Harte, C.Ss.R. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1956. Pp. ix-207. \$3.25.

This is an age of digests and summaries, as the author well points out in his introduction. Perhaps no field of scholarship feels more keenly the pinch of trying to keep up with the literature than the social sciences. A real service, then, is offered by Father Harte in publishing this guide to all the major papal social pronouncements from Leo XIII to our present Holy Father, Pius XII.

The book's purpose is to present neither the text of the papal statements, nor a commentary on them, but an outline summary of their contents, with a brief but important note on the historical setting and special conditions which occasioned the papal pronouncements. Anyone familiar with papal statements on any given subject, is only too well aware of the absolute need of understanding their *context* in order to correctly evaluate their true meaning.

The papal pronouncements are grouped in eleven rough headings, such as "Economic Life," the "Family and Education" and "Catholic Action and the Lay Apostolate." Under economic life *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno* are introduced, outlined, and given excellent selected bibliographies, all in the short space of eighteen pages. Thus the practical utility of this book is to offer brief, accurate summaries of what the Popes of the past century have said on social problems.

In the introduction, after first explaining the various forms of published acts of the Holy See and their classification according to content, the author goes on to discuss the moral authority of the papal social

pronouncements. Perhaps some would question certain statements here, as for example: "the possibility of doubt or debate ceases when the Holy See has spoken definitively" (p. 10). While this, taken in context, is undeniable in theory, its practical application in the present subject matter could well be questioned. In many instances, it would seem the Popes have issued encyclicals on socio-economic questions, not only to restate pertinent principles from the natural law and divine revealed doctrines, but especially to encourage initiative and discussion among qualified Catholic scholars as to how these principles could be made operative in the present day world. The amount of debate constantly going on among Catholic sociologists and economists would seem to indicate that there still is a very wide field for discussion and debate, at least upon the practical implementation of the papal principles.

References are supplied after each outlined pronouncement to the original source in the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, to various English translations, and to standard commentaries where fuller bibliographies are available. An excellent general, selected bibliography is appended, which contains the major English works on the social problem and related matters.

J. ROCHE, S.J.

THE WHIRLWIND IN ASIA

One Front Across the World. By Douglas Hyde. Westminster: Newman Press, 1956. Pp. 270. \$3.50.

The withdrawal of the Western powers from the East has led to the emergence of the New Asia in which a half dozen nations still grope for stability in the confusion produced by the impact of westernization on the ancient culture of the East. The confusion has created a power vacuum in which Communism grapples with Christianity for the soul of Asia. In a graphic survey of conditions from India to Korea, viewed first-hand on his recent trip through the Far East, Douglas Hyde indicates the efforts Catholic missionaries are making to fill that vacuum in Asia. It is a book that may well make Catholics feel proud of the heroic work being done by the missionaries of the Church in the East. Douglas Hyde's front line fighters are Irishmen, Germans, Frenchmen and Americans, but all of them bear the stamp of the Church and all of them stand on the rock of Peter.

It is to be regretted that Douglas Hyde was content with second-hand reports from the Philippines, and did not actually visit the one country where the picture is perhaps most consoling. Save for that one defect, he has done an excellent job of presenting an interesting and highly readable account of the Church's battle for Asia. Mr. Hyde has chosen to tell the story of men and people, of Father Philip Crosbie's quiet heroism and of Father McGowan's parish on the edge of the free world north of the thirty-eighth parallel, rather than of movements or

philosophies. But the conclusions he draws are no less valid than those of the historians.

The process of creating the proper social order in Asia may well rival the herculean task of emptying the ocean into a hole in the sand, but Mr. Hyde's book shows that the missionaries have not been afraid to begin the task. Sociological revolution is inevitable in Asia. It is imperative that the missionary and the Church control the revolution or chaos will revolt in the East as well as in the West. As Addison said so well, "He who rides in the whirlwind directs the storm."

JOSEPH A. GALDON, S.J.

FOR ALL CATHOLICS

The Gospel According to St. Mark. With an introduction and commentary by C. C. Martindale, S.J. Westminster: Newman Press, 1956. Pp. xxxii-177.

Making use of the more recent yet conservative interpretations of Catholic scripture scholars, Father Martindale presents here an almost verse by verse commentary on the second Gospel account. His scholarly and devout observations and rather frequent recourse to the Greek in the inspired pericopes shed refreshing light on some of the obscure or inaccurately translated phrases of the Douay version. In his brief informative introduction he emphasizes the precise nature of the Gospels and the role of spoken tradition in their formation, the testimony of tradition to Mark's authorship, and finally gives in general outline Mark's doctrine. This commentary is the first volume on the individual evangelists in the well-known Stonyhurst Scripture Manuals for school use. Yet, classrooms aside, it can serve as a very fine introduction for all Catholics interested in enriching their appreciation and knowledge of the New Testament.

PAUL OSTERLE, S.J.

TOWARD UNDERSTANDING

The Spirit and Forms of Protestantism. By Louis Bouyer. Westminster: Newman Press, 1956. Pp. xi-234. \$3.75.

The Newman Press has performed a valuable service for the advancement of American Protestant-Catholic understanding in presenting this translation by A. V. Littledale of Rev. Louis Bouyer's *Du Protestantisme à L'Église*. Only a person raised a Protestant who later became a Lutheran clergyman and spent several years in the ministry before becoming a Catholic and a priest of the French Oratory could write with such evident sympathy and understanding. Rather strict adherence to the sentence structure of the original French makes the translation

at times a bit clumsy, if not inaccurate, but any discomfort is soon forgotten in Father Bouyer's analyses.

After a brief introductory message by G. de Broglie, S.J. about the current need for such a book as this, Father Bouyer thoroughly evaluates the positive principles of the Reformation. For well over half the book, with filial insight he discusses Luther and the *Sola Gratia* and Calvin's *Soli Deo Gloria* (a unifying or separating principle?), treating each doctrine in its proper historical context. In the same section, the effects of these doctrines on Protestant life and spirituality to the present day are drawn in detail. Passing on to correlative topics such as the sovereignty of God, justification by faith and personal religion, and the sovereign authority of the Scriptures—all are treated as positive elements which in themselves could have brought a richness to traditional Catholic doctrine. But heresy lay in the negative elements of the Reformation and the inevitable corruption and decay of positive principles. To a dismal why the author points to the philosophy of Occam and the nominalistic air that the Reformers breathed. "If the grace of God is such, only on condition that it gives nothing real; if man who believes, by saving faith, is in no way changed from what he was before believing; if justification by faith has to empty of all supernatural reality the Church, her sacraments, her dogmas; if God can only be affirmed by silencing his creature, if he acts only in annihilating it, if his very Word is doomed to be never really heard—what is condemned is not man's presumptuous way to God, but God's way of mercy to man" (p. 152). Quite naturally then does the book close with an appealing chapter on the Catholic Church as necessary to the full flowering of the principles of the Reformation—the eternal insight that cost him so much. A note by Father de Broglie on the primacy of the argument from Scripture in theology is appended.

A thoughtful reading of this work by priests and seminarians, whose knowledge of Protestant thought has so often been drawn from the polemical arguments so characteristic of most theological textbooks, will be rewarding. A constructive, sympathetic understanding and appreciation of Protestantism cannot help but bring many non-Catholics to the realization of the completely unfortunate negations of the same Protestantism. God's grace must do the rest.

JOHN J. McDONALD, S.J.

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The Sodalist and The Spiritual Exercises

David J. Hassel, S.J.

That the Popes strongly desire the Sodality to draw its Marian piety, its spiritual power, and its apostolic zeal from the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius is evident from their pronouncements on this subject and from their bestowal of numerous indulgences on sodalists making the Exercises. Thus in *Bis Saeculari*, his apostolic constitution concerning the genuine Sodality, Pius XII mentions the Spiritual Exercises first among the means which the Sodality is to use to produce apostles. Again, in a letter to Cardinal Leme of Brazil, he says, "With special joy we noted that the members of this Marian army have frequent spiritual retreats and approach each year to the furnace of the Exercises, in which they forge their spiritual arms."¹

Jesuit Authorities

The Pope is not alone in this desire to have the Sodality make intensive use of the Spiritual Exercises. There is no mistaking Father General Ledochowski, S.J., when he says:

I earnestly recommend that, as far as it is possible, the Exercises be given to our sodalists in the form of closed retreats and over a space of not less than three full days. Moreover, this school of deep and solid Ignatian asceticism must not be confined to the time of the Exercises. It must be the constant base of the entire spiritual formation of the Sodality, instilling into it a manifest strength and seriousness.²

If there should be any doubt remaining concerning the interconnection of the Sodality and the Spiritual Exercises, Father General Janssens, S.J., would allay it quickly by stating:

Men clearly enlightened by faith and inflamed with charity will always be few. Yet by the will of the Vicar of Christ it devolves upon our Society to form such men, chiefly by means of the Spiritual

¹ Letter to Cardinal Leme of Brazil, *Acta Romana*, Jan. 21, 1942, 10, 306-11.

² *Selected Writings of Fr. Ledochowski*, 1945, 807.

Exercises and the Sodality of Our Lady. For the Sodality, as I have indicated elsewhere, is the fruit of the Exercises, and their most powerful ally.³

Consequently Father Paulussen, S.J., president of the central secretariate of the Sodalities of our Lady and Vice-Director of the new World Sodality Federation, is only restating the directives of Popes and Jesuit Generals when he states: "The most encouraging fact of all is that in faithfully following out the norms laid down in *Bis Saeculari* we are returning to the one and only source of all efficacious and powerful renovation, namely to the original inspiration of the Sodalities, the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius."^{3b}

Certainly the leaders of the Sodality movement see clearly the intimate connection of the Exercises and the Sodality as cause and effect. On the theoretical plane there is no quibbling. But historically speaking, has the Sodality actually received its spirit of holiness and apostolic zeal from faithful use of the Exercises? Does history show the Sodality as the layman's incarnation of the principles of the Exercises, an incarnation growing more perfect and powerful through repeated use of the Exercises? Let us see whether an answer to this question can be found in history.

Method of Search

There is only one way of discovering whether or not historically the Sodality received its spiritual vigor and apostolic life principally from the Exercises: study the documented history of the outstanding Sodalities and sodalists of the past. To do this profitably, however, we must clearly state what the three or four basic principles of the Exercises are which we hope to discover in the lives of the sodalists and their Sodalities. Secondly, we must determine whether or not the incarnation of Ignatian principles was caused through retreats and spiritual direction based on the Exercises.

Careful analysis of the Spiritual Exercises would seem to yield the following four principles to be used as measuring rods of sodalists and Sodalities in their Ignatian spirit:

³ Allocution of Rev. Fr. Gen. Janssens to the International Congress of Promoters of the Sodality of Our Lady, April 15-22, 1950.
^{3b} BIS Emile Villaret, S.J., *Petit Abrégé d'Histoire*, Montreal, 1953, Introduction by Louis Paulussen, S.J., 19.

1. A condition for giving a retreat is that the retreatants be men of good will who are intellectually capable of the Exercises.

2. The ultimate aim of the Exercises is to help the exercitant think and act with the hierarchical Church (a definition of Catholic Action) out of personal loyalty to Christ. Confer "Rules for Thinking with the Church."

3. The proximate aim is to help the exercitant firmly choose according to God's Will either his state of life or something which will perfect him in a previously selected state of life.

4. To achieve these aims, three means are enjoined: a) faithful following of spiritual direction; b) faithful use of the sacraments, mental prayer, the examen of conscience; c) devotedness to the Mother of God.

With these principles in mind, we are ready to consider the intertwining histories of these two Jesuit apostolic instruments. Their history falls into two broad natural divisions: one runs from the giving of the first group-retreats and the forming of the first pre-Sodality organizations around 1539 to the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773. The second division runs from the restoration of the Society in 1814 to the 1950's. Our subject, then, will be treated in two parts according to a chronological order with occasional considerations of particular trends and aspects.

Part I: 1539-1773

Pre-Sodality Organizations

As early as 1539, Brou tells us⁴, retreats given to just one person were found to be inadequate to meet the needs of the times. As a result we find Peter Faber and Lainez beginning to give group retreats, and these according to the diverse strata of society, e.g., priests, nobles, the bourgeois, women. Later on, this same technique of group and strata was employed in giving missions in towns and outlying districts.

Soon these zealous men discovered that the best way to preserve the new-found holiness and zeal of the retreatants

⁴ Alexandre Brou, S.J., *Les Exercices de St. Ignace de Loyola*, Paris, 1922, 56.

was to form them into permanent groups or clubs.⁵ These organizations also served the useful purpose of catechizing the ignorant or feeding and clothing the poor. Ignatius himself founded one such organization in Rome to care for the poor⁶ and by 1540 Peter Faber had already set up another at Parma. Soon we hear of Broet founding a congregation at Faenza in 1544; Nadal, one at the birthplace of St. Francis of Paula and three at Messina in 1549; Lainez and Domenech, one at Palermo. Then additional lay-organizations appear at Naples in 1553, at Ferrara and Florence in 1557.⁷ It would seem that almost all the first founders of the Society had a hand in this work.

The unanimity with which these men worked is very striking, and so too, is the structural similarity of the groups they founded. But even more remarkable is the collective likeness of these organizations to the first Sodalities. Villaret sketches this similarity for us as follows:

One already sees in the structure of these first organizations the principal characteristics which will distinguish all real Sodalities through four centuries of historical existence. Besides devotion to the Holy Virgin, there is the collaboration of the laymen in the activity of the priest, especially in those ministries in which the priest cannot or should not work directly. There is a specialized form of the apostolate in accordance with the age and class of the people involved. There is influence exercised on the crowd through an elite group. There is a formation of this elite to such a fullness of the personal spiritual life that it spills over into exterior works. There is that limitless variety of works of devotion, of charity, of zeal. Lastly, there is that delicately supple adaption of certain definite and firm principles to the most diverse and changing circumstances.⁸

Some additional characteristics mentioned by Villaret in the course of describing these pre-Sodality organizations are the recitation of the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin, frequent Holy Communion and confession, mental prayer, ex-amens, care of the poor, nursing the sick and dying, assistance for convicts and those condemned to death, and instruction

⁵ Emile Villaret, S.J., "Les Premières Origines des Congrégations Mariales," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, VI, 1937, 44-45.

⁶ Emile Villaret, S.J., *Les Congrégations Mariales*, Paris, 1947, I, 24.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 25-31.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 26.

of the ignorant in the faith.⁹ But a factor of particular note is that the vast majority of these groups were produced by the Spiritual Exercises, often merely the First Week preached as a mission. This will partially explain their close similarity to the future Sodality; for both the pre-Sodality organizations and the Sodality prescribed the living of the main principles of the Ignatian Exercises which their members had just undergone. These organizations were conceived of as prolongations of the Spiritual Exercises in everyday life.

John Leunis and the *Prima Primaria*

The pre-Sodality organizations form an important part of the milieu in which John Leunis founded the first Sodality, later to be known as the *Prima Primaria*. He had come into contact with the early confraternities at Parma, Florence, and Ferrara and with their directors such as John Nicholas de Notariis, Louis de Coudret, and Pontius Cogordon. It is no surprise then that Leunis should model his Sodality in the Roman College along the lines of its predecessors.

Encouraged by his success in gathering an elite corps of young students for instruction, prayer, and apostolic work, Leunis decided to stiffen the requirements of the group. This step was to be the actual founding of the Sodality in 1563.

He gave it some rules for its spiritual life and exterior activity, an adaption, scaled down for boys, of those rules which St. Ignatius, Faber, Broet, Lainez and others had sketched for their men's organizations: confession, and communion (frequent for those times), meetings in the tiny college chapel assigned to them, meditation, fraternal exchange of views in which each one recounts what he has done during the day and what he proposes to do the following day, visits to holy places and to the shrines of saints, care of the poor.¹⁰

All this was, of course, placed under the protection of the Blessed Virgin and dedicated to her. However, there seems to be no direct evidence that this first sodality is the result of an Ignatian retreat or mission, as its predecessors certainly were. Nevertheless there is some indication, especially in the rules and customs of the congregation, that the boys were formed at least by the principle of the Exercises if not by

⁹ *Ibid.*, 24-36.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 44.

the actual Exercises themselves; for not only do the above-mentioned activities have a distinctive Ignatian spirit, but Leunis himself was a strong believer in the efficacy of the Exercises. Early in his career he made very vigorous representations to superiors a number of times for permission to make the Exercises in a way which his shortened novitiate had made impossible.¹¹ Besides, when preparing the ground for his second Sodality at Paris in 1568, Leunis introduced the boarding students to the Spiritual Exercises and other practices which would later be Sodality customs. If Leunis' first foundation was not the direct fruit of an Ignatian retreat, his second at Paris certainly was.¹²

Francis Coster and Northern Europe

While Leunis was founding the Sodality in France and Italy and meeting many disheartening contradictions, Francis Coster, almost a cofounder with Leunis, was planting the Sodality all over Northern Europe and meeting only success. Here, again, we find the same pattern: confession, communion, and meditation are emphasized and made frequent; steady application to study is demanded of student-sodalists; a written report of the care given to the poor, ignorant, wanderers, sinners, and heretics is exacted; good example is so powerful that professors thank Coster for making discipline and teaching much easier. But what is most surprising, timid souls complain to Father General that there are too many general confessions to handle and that there will be too many vocations, so many that the Protestants will protest.¹³ These last items indicate the presence of the Spiritual Exercises whose First Week is geared to the general confession and whose Second Week throws a spotlight on choosing a state of life. Yet no direct documentary evidence for this conclusion was found.

Nobles' Sodalities of Naples, Lyons, Rome

Though the documentary evidence for the close cohesion of Sodality and Exercises is meager in the first Sodalities, it is much more abundant in the Nobles' Sodalities founded just

¹¹ Joseph Wicki, S.J., *Le Père Jean Leunis*, Rome, 1951, 21 and 54.

¹² *Ibid.*, 51 and 53.

¹³ Villaret, *Cong. Mar.*, 62-68 esp. 67 and 68.

a decade later. At Naples in 1582 we find Father Vincent Carrafa successfully making drastic demands on his sodalists; for example, that they care for the incurables and the lowest criminals. His secret?

As for the interior life, there was nothing Father Carrafa did not do to keep it intense and generous in the hearts of his Sodalists. The general communions, adoration of the Most Blessed Sacrament, and above all the Exercises of St. Ignatius which he gave them each year for eight days, reveal to us the secret of those prodigies of virtue.¹⁴

At Lyons in 1593 following a Lenten mission, the nobles brought their servants to the church of the Jesuits and had them formed into a Sodality. But the director of the Servants' Sodality was not satisfied; he wanted a real retreat for his men. So, both the nobles and the servants made the retreat at the same time in neighboring places.¹⁵

Meanwhile at Rome in the same year the Roman Nobles' Sodality was framing its candidate-rules in which a pre-admission retreat was recommended. Later in 1609 these rules were recast but the recommendation of a pre-admission retreat was retained. As for the main body of sodalists, "something of the nature of a retreat seems to have been made during the octave before the feast of the Assumption. Two or three hours of meditation were given to it by many and a good number made a general confession."¹⁶ This quasi-retreat is mentioned again in 1663 and 1664. But the Roman Sodality did not do this regularly each year, for "of regular retreats every year we do not hear until 1724. After this, the retreat seems to have been a regular exercise every year."¹⁷ The three Nobles' Sodalities just described are, then, explicitly motivated in their apostolate and interior life by the Ignatian Exercises—an annual eight day affair in at least one of them.

Lest a person get the idea that only the nobility and college students were interested in the Sodality, it might be well to consider the Sodality of convicts formed in Naples in

¹⁴ Augustus Drive, S.J., *The Sodality of Our Lady, Historical Sketches*, New York, 1916, 41.

¹⁵ Villaret, *Cong. Mar.*, 262-263.

¹⁶ Elder Mullan, S.J., *The Nobles' Sodality in Rome*, St. Louis, 1918, 127.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

1617. It seems that the guards smiled with indulgent irony when Father Ferracuto and two Scholastics came to the prison to prepare the prisoners for confession. This infuriated Father Ferracuto who decided then and there to form a convict Sodality. Having gathered a small select group, he got them to go to Communion once a month, hear daily Mass, make meditation, do spiritual reading, take corporal penances, study catechism in order to teach it to the other prisoners, patch up quarrels, take part in Wednesday and Saturday processions of penance down the corridors of the prison (What a triumph over human respect that must have been!), and take care of new arrivals by washing them, fixing up their cells, seeing that they got some hot food. Was it successful?

Soon the Sodality of Our Lady of Mt. Carmel was not enough and under the title of the Annunciation we see a second Sodality spring up for the better educated convicts who, in addition to the above-mentioned practices, made the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius every year and took care of their sick and dying companions.¹⁸

This somewhat strange beginning of the convict Sodalities cannot distract us from the source of their continued success—the Ignatian retreat.

The soldier Sodalities are another interesting aspect of Sodality history. It appears that in the majority of cases they were the fruit of an Ignatian mission. Since the soldiers were often transferred from place to place, they could not have a stable director, for the chaplaincy was not an integrated unit of the army as nowadays. The soldier Sodality of Zagreb is a typical one, sad to say. A Jesuit describes his experience this way:

There was much to do at the mission given at Corlovac. There they set up a Marian Sodality to the great joy of the whole garrison; but it had hardly started when the negligence of the clergy let the whole thing be whipped away into oblivion like smoke. The same thing happened at the fort of Cice.¹⁹

And yet out of these discouraging failures great men arose. For example, Tilly, Commander-in-chief of the Catholic League in its titantic struggle with the French-Swedish-North German combine, was a sodalist who said his rosary every

¹⁸ Villaret, *Cong. Mar.*, 501-502.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 257.

evening (and sometimes through the night before a great battle) and who kept a perpetual vow of chastity. A man such as this is not produced by one mission, one Ignatian retreat; he must have made the Exercises a number of times to have made the Sodality-Spiritual Exercise principles so much a part of his life.

St. Francis de Sales

What is more astounding than sodalist generals is the large number of saints who declare themselves products of the Sodality. Significantly, almost the very same people are listed as products of the Spiritual Exercises by Father Zacheus Maher, S.J., in his booklet on the Exercises.²⁰ Among these the most illustrious are St. Charles Borromeo, St. Alphonsus de Ligouri, and St. Francis de Sales, the last two being Doctors of the Church. Though all three men would make interesting studies of how the Sodality and the Exercises interact, we will consider here, for want of space, only St. Francis de Sales.

In 1580 at the age of thirteen he entered the Leunis-founded Sodality at Paris. Here during his six years of studies he became assistant prefect and then prefect, being re-elected again and again.²¹ At this time, with the approval of his director, he "prescribed for himself an hour's meditation each morning, confession and Communion every Sunday and feast day—frequent Communion then was very rare—the hair shirt Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday."²² With this background it is understandable that when Francis left the College of Clermont for the University of Padua, he sought out Father Anthony Possevino,²³ then director of the University of Padua Sodality, for his spiritual guide. Most probably Francis attached himself to this Sodality since Rule 12 of the 1587 Sodality Rules made law what was previously custom for transferring sodalists, namely, the obligation to enter the Sodality of that place to which they were moving by presenting

²⁰ Zacheus Maher, S.J., *Under the Seal of the Fisherman*, Los Altos, 1948, 51-53.

²¹ Drive, *A History of the Sodalities of the Blessed Virgin*, Boston, 1885, 243.

²² Louis Sempé, S.J., *St. Francis de Sales*, Milwaukee, 1933, 111.

²³ Louise M. Stacpoole-Kenny, *St. Francis de Sales*, London, 1909, 124-125.

credentials of good standing from the Sodality they had left. At any rate, it was under the guidance of the Padua Jesuits and later under the spiritual direction of Father Fourier that De Sales continued to receive instruction in Ignatian spirituality. He thought so highly of it that each year he made the Spiritual Exercises for ten days, and he died with the Jesuit Fourier at his bedside.²⁴

To appreciate the importance of St. Francis de Sales and his contribution to the spirituality of the Church, it is good to recall that at the end of the sixteenth century under the pressure of the Renaissance and the Protestant Revolt, the Church had been forced to yield her dominating position over culture. If great numbers of souls, therefore, were not to be lost, culture must be won for the Church. But how could this be done and who would do it? Both these questions were at least partially answered by St. Francis. The church historian Joseph Lortz tells us:

As time went on the necessity of a voluntary return of culture to the Church became ever more pressing. Together with many others St. Francis de Sales deserves special credit in this work. Its importance is not yet sufficiently grasped.²⁵

Popularizing Asceticism

What was this important work of St. Francis? The popularization of asceticism, the founding of our modern spirituality for the layman. And what is this? Père Sempé, S.J., explains it for us.

And now why does this spirituality of Francis de Sales merit the name of being modern? He was obliged to free it from monastic observances and to adapt it to the conditions of the world. Do not think that this is a small thing. Essentially, the spiritual life is the reign of God in the soul by the submission of our will to His; and that is a fact of the most intimate order. But in the religious state, devotion is bound more or less to a whole system of observances: effective separation from the world, abstinence and fasting, psalmody by day and by night, vows of poverty, of chastity, and of obedience, coarse costume, minute rule. St. Francis de Sales taught his disciples that these practices, impossible in the world, could be replaced for the people of the world by others more simple, which, when combined with the duties of their state, would have the most sanctifying effect. Mental prayer would take the

²⁴ Sempé, *St. Francis de Sales*, 111.

²⁵ Joseph Lortz, *History of the Church*, Milwaukee, 1938, 425.

place of psalmody, and would animate by its fervor the assistance at daily Mass and at the parish offices. Communion would return, little by little, to the frequency of the first centuries; the duties of state accomplished in a Christian manner, and the miseries of life accepted would supply for the austerities of the cloister; and spiritual direction for the monastic rule.²⁶

This was St. Francis' great contribution to the Church; he brought asceticism out of the cloister and into the modern market place by adapting monastic life to the layman's needs. And does not this revolutionary concept of a layman's life closely resemble Sodality life and rule?—a strange coincidence unless Francis got these ideas from the Sodality and the Exercises.

A particularly noteworthy fact is De Sales' emphasis on the performance of the duties of one's state of life. This is exactly the emphasis of Ignatius in the Exercises. The Sodality, having its origins principally in college life, also stresses duties of vocation when its Third Rule (Rules of 1587) states: "the end of this Sodality is Christian virtue and piety together with progress in literary studies." Because of its sensitivity to perfection of state of life, the Sodality strove for selectivity among its members and tried whenever possible to group them in Sodalities according to life-work, age, and stratum of society. It would seem highly probable, then, that St. Francis' inventiveness was rather an intelligent borrowing and popularizing of the Spiritual Exercises as he saw them lived in the Sodality.

Père Sempé, in endeavoring to crystallize for us the work of De Sales, supports this view.

Of modern asceticism, St. Francis de Sales, was without any doubt the most exact, the most brilliant, and the most gracious popularizer. In one word, let us say, he is, and he still remains, its Doctor. He is not, however, its creator. This method of sanctity was born with the Spiritual Exercises which are anterior to the *Introduction to a Devout Life* by at least three quarters of a century. He himself had lived according to this method with his instructors, the Jesuits, at Paris and Padua. He assimilated it then in a reflex manner with Father Fourier, his spiritual director, under whom each year he made a ten day's retreat.²⁷

²⁶ Sempé, *St. Francis de Sales*, 109-110, cf. Lortz, *Hist. of Ch.*, 425-427.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 111.

In this single paragraph Père Sempé has neatly fused together into one influential principle the Sodality and the Exercises when he states that St. Francis had lived according to the Exercises at Paris and Padua; for this life was the Sodality. But Père Sempé is not content with the above statement; he adds later on:

The *Introduction to a Devout Life* and the *Treatise of the Love of God* can be considered as a commentary on the Spiritual Exercises. I do not think that the author of the Exercises knows, outside of his own order, a disciple more authentic than the author of the *Introduction to a Devout Life* and the *Treatise of the Love of God*.²⁸

If it is true that through the influence of the Exercises St. Francis was able to show clearly not only that sanctity was possible for a layman but also how it was possible, may it not also be true that the living out of the Exercises by his Sodality friends helped De Sales very much to see the possibility of lay perfection and the detailed method of accomplishing it? This would be no small contribution to the Church, for from it would stem the mighty movement of twentieth century Catholic Action and modern lay spirituality.

The Sodality retreats thus far mentioned were mainly open retreats, that is to say, a time of special recollection during which there is a talk and meditation in the morning and another set in the evening, while in between these the Sodalist goes about his usual duties of the day with greater efforts at recollection. The weaknesses of such a retreat are evident, especially when contrasted with the silence, complete detachment from worldly affairs, and power of concentration possible in a closed retreat. Apparently there was a gradual realization of this fact. At Naples, for example, early in the seventeenth century, Father Pavone had so well organized retreats for groups of clergy and laity, that he even planned to build a special retreat house just for Bishops. Being the child of the Exercises, the Sodality took an active part in this work, and so "other centres were formed, particularly by the Sodalities of the Blessed Virgin, henceforth to be prominently associated with the work in many countries."²⁹

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 46-47.

²⁹ Charles Plater, S.J., *Retreats for the People*, London, 1912, 32.

It was only natural that this should happen, for Père de Guibert tells us that "among the Sodalitys the principal instrument of sanctification employed by the Jesuits were retreats, especially the closed retreats given in houses which were specially, and often exclusively, dedicated to this ministry."³⁰ It is well to note that in this instance Père de Guibert is concerned with the period extending from 1615 to 1758.

But such was not the case everywhere. In commenting upon the *Prima Primaria* Sodality at Rome, Father Mullan says, "Though individuals in the *Prima Primaria* doubtless made retreats from the earliest days on, there is no mention of a collective retreat until 1669."³¹ The *Prima Primaria*, then, would seem to have been far behind a good number of the other European Sodalitys in this matter, especially since its collective retreat was an open one. Villaret also mentions this fact concerning the *Prima Primaria's* 1669 retreat and generalizes concerning Sodality retreats as follows:

Retreats played an important role in the spiritual life of the Sodality: monthly retreats (weekly in the Sodalitys of the Gesu at Rome) with preparation for death and recitation or chanting of the office of the dead; the annual retreat of the Spiritual Exercises for three days, more often for four or five, and in some cases for eight. The solitary retreat goes back to the very beginnings, but the group retreats were introduced progressively, little by little, everywhere.³²

It is interesting to note that Villaret says nothing here of closed group retreats though the individual retreats he speaks of may well have been closed. Could it be that the collective retreats were not as widespread as Père Guibert and Father Plater seem to say, or is it that Villaret simply does not consider them at this point? It is significant that his book, *Congregationes Mariales*, is comparatively silent about them. However, it would be strangely unlike De Guibert and Plater to generalize the way they do unless they had a fund of facts to draw upon. Therefore, it can be safely said that the Sodal-

³⁰ Joseph de Guibert, S.J., *La Spiritualité de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Rome, 1953, 292.

³¹ Elder Mullan, S.J., *The History of the Prima Primaria*, St. Louis, 1917, 113.

³² Villaret, *Cong. Mar.*, 369.

ity contributed substantially to the closed-retreat movement and made frequent use of it.

Pageants and Jesuit Spiritual Writing

Some indication of the extent of Sodality influence on the Spiritual Exercises, and vice versa, is indicated by two interesting developments of the seventeenth century: the pageant-dramatization of the Exercises by Sodalities and the writing of spiritual books expressly for Sodalists.

The pageant is found as early as 1602. They say that at the end of the presentation of Bidermann's *Cenodoxus*, a number of the audience asked to begin the Spiritual Exercises immediately.³³ But perhaps the most famous of these productions was the *Theatrum Solitudinis Aceticae* directed by Francis Lang in 1717. In it, under the form of a series of scenes enacted by the Sodality of Munich, there appear the meditations and contemplations of the four weeks of the Exercises.³⁴ This was an auspicious opening for the eighteenth century, as we shall see later, and it symbolizes a keen interest in the Exercises among Sodalists.

However, a clearer indication of this interest is the fact that during the seventeenth century a notable part of the spiritual writings published by Jesuits was destined for and dedicated to the Sodality.³⁵ This was particularly true of Germany. There a sizeable number of these works, one running to five volumes, were commentaries on the Exercises—a certain sign that the Sodality retreat was a thriving thing, for we are told that “these manuals were, if not exclusively, at least primarily designed to maintain the piety of Sodalists.”³⁶

Women's Quasi-Sodalities

It was the brief of Benedict XIV *Quo Tibi* that opened the Sodality to women in 1751. However, the door was opened only a crack because the document reserved to the Jesuits the power to aggregate women's Sodalities and they were known to favor men's Sodalities. Thus it was that women's Sodalities did not become prominent in numbers until around 1824.

³³ de Guibert, *La Spiritualité*, 292, footnote.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 421.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 290.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 329.

However, there are a few such Sodality antedating 1751 and so they are called "quasi-Sodalities."

Their origin is interesting. In 1702 Father General Thyrus Gonzalez inaugurated simple retreats to married women in the Caravita oratory.³⁷ These women, who formed the aristocracy of Rome, were so impressed that they asked whether or not their households might not also share in their good fortune. As a result two confraternities were formed, one of the nobility and another of their attendants and servants. However, they were definitely not full-fledged Sodality since they met but once a month for a day of recollection, had no organized apostolate or spiritual direction, and were not aggregated to the *Prima Primaria*.

But at Marseilles Père Croiset directed a confraternity of women that lacked only aggregation to the *Prima Primaria* to make it a genuine Sodality, for each day its members made a morning and evening meditation of a half-hour, heard Mass, recited the Little Office and the rosary, made a visit to the Blessed Sacrament, fifteen minutes of spiritual reading and a particular examination of conscience. Besides monthly days of recollection, there was an annual eight day retreat of four exercises per day. Holy Eucharist was received on all feasts of Our Lord and Our Lady and a general communion was made on the first Saturday of the month. As for the apostolate, "they promoted love of the home, avoidance of useless visits, simplicity in dress (no small sacrifice in the days when elaborate dress was the fashion), submission to the divine will in trials, respect and kindness towards their husbands, the Christian education of their children."³⁸ In addition, every Saturday four ladies were appointed to accompany the Blessed Sacrament to the sick and another eight Sodalists visited the poor of the city's four hospitals while two others visited the sick poor in each parish. Once a week four of the ladies visited the women prisoners of the city. Here were an apostolate and a spiritual life the equal of anything hitherto seen, and powering them was the annual Ignatian retreat of four exercises per day, a stern and demanding schedule for women who had to run households at

³⁷ Villaret, *Cong. Mar.*, 276-277.

³⁸ Joseph Sommer, S.J., *Marian Catholic Action*, St. Louis, 1953, 14.

the same time. Again, the Spiritual Exercises demonstrate their efficacy, especially when they are prolonged into everyday life throughout the year by a way of life embodying their basic principles.

The Spreading Retreat Movement

It was said previously that the dramatization of the Exercises by Sodalists was a significant fact in the eighteenth century. This is what was meant: in this century evidence of the Sodality retreat movement becomes abundant and so do its fruits even if they are not fully appreciated until the Sodality has been suppressed in France and the Society of Jesus throughout the world.

In Father Mullan's account of some of these eighteenth century retreats, note the wide variety of classes represented and the continuity given by annual retreats.

An eight days retreat was also made by the Gentlemen's Sodality at Aix in 1697. The Innsbruck Students' Sodality made a three day retreat each year from 1734 to 1773. In 1739, the larger Sodality at Linz made its usual retreat in the last days of Lent; the smaller at Pentecost. The Louvain Students' Sodality retreats began in 1739. The Antwerp Sodality, in 1742, introduced a four days' retreat, with exercises morning and evening. The Munich Citizens' Sodality, in the fifties of the eighteenth century had its retreat every second year at the beginning of Lent. A retreat of five days was given to the Citizens' and Young Workingmen's Sodalities of Grenoble in 1750: 1200 attended. The Peasants' Sodality at Avignon had a week's retreat in 1753. After 1760, the Citizens' Sodality at Linz had its retreat in Advent.³⁹

Once again it is noticeable that the closed retreat is not evident among the retreats listed, though perhaps one or two of them may have been closed.

Collegiate Retreats

Yet there was a new movement afoot which, if it was not the closed retreat movement, certainly could lend itself to it. This was the collegiate retreat which seems to have found great favor by the middle of the eighteenth century. Apparently it was a retreat made on the college grounds; now, since many of these colleges had boarders, it would be a simple step

³⁹ Elder Mullan, S.J., *The Sodality of Our Lady Studied in the Documents*, New York, 1912, 135.

during vacation periods to house the retreatants in the boarders' quarters, thus eliminating the need for the exercitants to return home after the day's exercises. This is how Father Plater describes the movement:

By the middle of the eighteenth century what may be called collegiate retreats found general favor. The Sodalities of the Blessed Virgin gave a great impetus to the movement. At Rome the members of the *Prima Primaria* went through the Spiritual Exercises every year. So did the Sodalists of the Immaculate Conception, who were for the most part clerics. At Naples, Milan, Genoa, Turin, Parma, Bologna, Brescia, and elsewhere we find retreats established. Nor was the custom confined to Italy. It existed in the schools and colleges of France, Germany, Austria and other lands.⁴⁰

It would be natural that the Sodalities should give impetus to this movement since there were Sodalities in all Jesuit colleges and they would be the first to make collegiate retreats. If we may judge, however, from later records of Sodality activity,⁴¹ their interest was not confined merely to making retreats themselves but were extended to providing retreats for others. To make the sacrifices involved in such work, it takes a deep conviction that the Exercises are well worthwhile; to give a "great impetus to the movement" demands that the Exercises not only be appreciated but have so penetrated the life of the average Sodalist that he thinks in terms of them and makes them an important part of his apostolate. Perhaps this explains the marvelous fecundity of the eighteenth century Sodality.

Parish Sodalities

Nor by any means was Sodality retreat work restricted just to the colleges. An interesting picture is drawn for us of the average parish Sodality by such diverse personalities as the Curé of St. Michel at Dijon and Cardinal de Beausset. The Curé reports in 1761:

In my parish I know no better parishioners than those who are attached to the Sodalities established by the Reverend Jesuits and who derive profit from the retreats which the latter give each year with special adaptation for artisans. I am so impressed that very sincerely I would like all the workers in my parish to

⁴⁰ Plater, *Retreats*, 39-40.

⁴¹ Mullan, *Sodality in Documents*, 160.

follow or to be able to follow the example given by those few who are present for the retreats at Dijon.⁴²

Though the Curé's report reads somewhat like a patent medicine endorsement at the turn of the century, nevertheless it details well the usual familiar pattern: annual retreats, adaptation to life of retreatants, good example of the few drawing the multitude closer to Christ. The following picture drawn by Cardinal de Beausset complements the observations of the Curé since the Cardinal describes the effects of the exemplary life led by Sodality members.

People living in the leading commercial cities still recall that never was there more order and tranquillity, more probity in business matters, fewer bankruptcies, fewer foreclosures than when the Sodalities existed. Called to the education of the leading families of the state, the Jesuits extended their apostolate to the lower classes whom they maintained in a happy life based on the religious and moral virtues. Such was the useful goal of these numerous Sodalities which they created in all the cities and which they were accustomed to tie in with all the professions and all the social institutions. By means of simple, easy exercises of piety, by means of instructions fitted to each class yet not doing any harm to the traditions and duties of society, the Jesuits have served to maintain in different classes such regularity of morals, such a sense of order and of subordination, such a wise economy as preserves the peace and harmony of families and assures the prosperity of empires.⁴³

Despite its distinctly bourgeois caste this statement is a fine panegyric. The prayer-life of the sodalists, their works, their spirit, are worth little unless they change their very milieu in its institutions, social and professional. This, according to the Cardinal, they did. But they would never have done it, we can be sure, without the Spiritual Exercises to give them motivation, occasion for grace, and singleness of purpose.

Suppression of Society and Sodality

But a terrible tragedy was soon to wipe out this magnificent work. For some inscrutable reason at the seeming height of their achievement God determined to allow the suppression of the Society of Jesus throughout the world and the Sodality in France. To us looking back upon the event almost two centuries later, God's reasons seem a bit more evident than

⁴² Villaret, *Cong. Mar.*, 555-556, footnote.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 213.

to those living close to the suppression. Lamennais makes this sad report which shows what the Sodality meant to France, the first country to suppress it.

When in 1762 the Sodalities were for the most part destroyed along with the Jesuits who had formed and directed them with so much wisdom, in less than eighteen years the capital witnessed a fifty percent drop in the number of people who fulfilled their Easter duty. Around the same time and for the same reason we saw laid aside pious practices, daily visits to the churches, common prayer in the families—an omen, far too certain, of the annihilation of the faith.⁴⁴

Would it be too drastic a conclusion to say that, had the Sodality lived on in Paris and in France, the terrible fury of the French Revolution might have been somewhat abated and its energies channeled towards a truer *liberté, fraternité, and égalité* without the terrible bloodshed and the crazed anticlericalism which actually occurred? But aside from futile wonderings, it is clear that the Sodality had a powerful and widespread influence on public life, an influence based on its interior life fed by the spirit of the Exercises.

If there is one conclusion to be drawn from the first part of this Sodality-Exercises history sketch, it is this: at the beginning of every outstanding Sodality, no matter what the type, one finds almost always the Spiritual Exercises inspiring its growth and strength. This is true from the first pre-Sodality organizations of the Jesuit founding fathers to the great suppressed Sodalities of France.

A second noteworthy fact is that the basic principles of the Exercises usually radiate out from the Sodality in the form of saints such as Francis de Sales who popularized Ignatian spirituality for the layman, and in the form of Sodality-sponsored retreat centers and retreat pageants, and in the form of Sodality-inspired spiritual literature, which often enough took the shape of manuals dealing with the Ignatian Exercises.

A third fact to be considered is this: the basic principles of the Exercises, as analyzed previously in the introduction to this study, are seen in the everyday lives of the sodalists. Let us briefly consider each of the four principles.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 214.

The first principle, reserving the Exercises for willing and intellectually capable retreatants, is observed in the Sodality through a careful selection of candidates for its membership, through the rigorous probation given them, through the constant demand that consecrated sodalists live up entirely to the Sodality Rule (which embody the Exercises) or leave its ranks, through the care taken to form Sodalities according to the diverse vocations of society so that, by the consequent concentration of thought and effort, the sodalists may be spurred on to greater perfection in their special profession or job and thus may become more and more capable of deriving fruit from the Exercises and of Christianizing their milieu.

The second principle, thinking and acting in union with the hierarchy, is seen clearly in the way that the Sodality cooperated with the Holy See and the bishops to throw back the Protestant Revolt, starting from that first great encounter in Cologne against the apostate archbishop Truchsess⁴⁵ and continuing until the suppression of the French Sodalities for their too evident loyalty to the Roman Pontiff.

The third principle, choosing a state of life or perfecting a previously chosen state, is seen first in the remarkable number of clerical vocations nurtured by the Sodality (for example, at Naples in 1582 30 religious vocations and in 1584 21 more; at Rouen 30 in one year; at Avignon 45 in one year; at Antwerp in 1612 30, and in 1628 60).⁴⁶ This third principle is again seen in the number of canonized Sodality saints: 42.⁴⁷ It is also seen in outstanding sodalist popes, cardinals, bishops, kings, heads of government, generals, statesmen, artists, dramatists, and so on.⁴⁸ These men not only found their vocation, but attained some perfection in it through the Spiritual Exercises as embodied in the Sodality.

The fourth principle, using definite Ignatian means (such as spiritual direction, frequenting the sacraments, mental

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 126; also cf. 125-165.

⁴⁶ Augustus Drive, S.J., *Marie et la Compagnie de Jésus*, Uclés, 1895, 279-280; Also cf. de Guibert, *La Spiritualité*, 291.

⁴⁷ Joseph Sommer, S.J., *Sodality Challenge to Teen-Agers*, St. Louis, 1953, 37; also cf. Drive, *Sodality Hist. Sk.*, 148-151; de Guibert, *La Spiritualité*, 291.

⁴⁸ Drive, *Sodality Hist. Sk.*, 134-140.

prayer, devotedness to the Mother of God, examens) in working for the Church and in attaining sanctity, has been seen again and again in the prominent Sodalities and sodalists mentioned above.

Having seen the Sodality brought to high perfection by the Spiritual Exercises only to be crippled by the suppression of the Society of Jesus, we are now prepared to evaluate the second birth of the Sodality and her gradual growth to today's stature.

Part II: 1814-1955

Resumé of Part I

In the first part of this study, covering the era from 1539 to 1773, the roots of the Sodality were traced from the pre-Sodality organizations through the Leunis-founded Sodalities of France and Italy and the Francis Coster-Sodalities of northern Europe, up to the fine Nobles' Sodalities of Naples-Rome-Lyons and the Soldier and Servant Sodalities (with a pause to consider the great Sodality saints such as St. Francis de Sales) until we came to the great seventeenth and eighteenth century flowering of the Sodality in its retreat centers, its pageants of the Spiritual Exercises, its splendid women's auxiliary organizations, its collegiate retreats, its production of excellent spiritual books for the layman. Finally came the suppression of the Society of Jesus and the languishing of the Sodality. Three notable facts were discovered: 1. almost every outstanding Sodality was nourished on the Spiritual Exercises as a staple diet; 2. the Exercises radiated out from the Sodality in the form of saints, Sodality retreat houses, Ignatian pageants, specialized retreat literature; 3. the basic principles of the Exercises were incarnated in the lives of outstanding sodalists and in the achievements of good Sodalities. With this résumé before us, the intriguing history of the Sodality and the Spiritual Exercises can be studied in their second era, 1814-1955.

"The Suppression of the Society of Jesus struck a fatal blow at the Sodalities."⁴⁹ And this is just what the enemies

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 152.

of the Church had hopefully planned. However, Pope Clement XIV, after suppressing the Jesuits, tried his best to preserve the Sodality by means of his brief *Commendatissimam* which gave her at least legal life. But this would not be enough; for, though the *Prima Primaria* was saved by two zealous priests, Anthony Vittene and Septimus Costanzi, "elsewhere, with very few exceptions, the Sodalities, after having languished for a short while, ended by dying out."⁵⁰ Even before the suppression of the Jesuits the Sodality had been hit hard by the Society's expulsion from Spain, Portugal, and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and from their colonies throughout the world. But now with the world-wide suppression of the Society of Jesus the situation looked hopeless. Although intrepid bishops would place former Jesuits in charge of the now diocesan Sodalities, the aging Jesuit would be unable either to find or to train a successor. Another major difficulty was the average priest's unfamiliarity with the spirit of the Sodality because of his unfamiliarity with the Spiritual Exercises as a way of life. On account of the consequent lack of forceful direction, the apostolate tended to disappear from Sodality life and with it went spiritual vigor. Soon a good number of Sodalities became mere prayer-leagues and their members turned away to more interesting occupations. Although this decadence might be gradual, it was still fatal and could lead only to death.

Few Living Sodalities

What has been said is not meant to be taken as an affirmation that there existed no Sodalities of worth during this period. But the magnificent work of a Delpuits in Paris or a Chaminade at Bordeaux or a Louis Mossi at Bergamo or a Gaspard Bertoni at Verona could be wiped out, and often enough was, by a sudden decree of the civil authorities. The Sodality needs stability; this it lacked in the European uproar caused by the French Revolution and Napoleonic meddling. Besides, it needed the unifying influence of the two agencies which produced it, the Society of Jesus and the Spiritual Exercises. This it received in three decisive steps. In 1814 Pius VII restored the Society throughout the world,

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 153.

in 1824 Leo XII restored the Sodality to its former canonical status, and in 1825 the same Pontiff gave all necessary faculties to the *Prima Primaria* to aggregate to itself all other Sodalities, even those not directed by Jesuits.

On looking back to this period, one feels sadness at seeing how much good work had been destroyed during the Suppression period. Yet the fact that the Sodality issued from the combat as a Church-wide organization and not merely as a Jesuit organization may perhaps afford some consolation. What effect all this had on the Sodality and the Spiritual Exercises will be partially seen in the following pages.

The New Sodalities

Villaret describes the changes that had occurred in Catholic spirituality and, therefore, sodalist spirituality, during the four decades of the Society's suppression.

This progress [in Sodality spirituality] parallels that in Catholic spirituality, or to put it more exactly, is joined with it. Such progress is evident, for example, in personal spiritual direction, in a use of the sacraments which is more frequent than ever, in the custom of closed retreats and of monthly recollections.⁵¹

The last item in Villaret's enumeration, the custom of closed retreats, is especially interesting since he speaks of it as something almost new in Sodality spirituality yet calls it a custom. The roots of the closed retreat movement have already been found in the retreat centers and collegiate retreats sponsored by the Sodality. It would seem that these roots had sent up a sturdy trunk with great limbs and luxuriant foliage some of which had weathered the Napoleonic storms. In his history of the Society of Jesus in France, Father Burnichon, S.J., describes well the Jesuit part in this retreat movement as he endeavors to defend his fellow religious from the charge that they minister only to the rich.

One often hears it said that the Society of Jesus reserves its apostolate, or at least its preferences, for the upper classes of society. An inventory of the Sodalities founded and directed by her priests in the course of this century furnishes the perfect refutation of this charge. The Sodalities are one of the instruments which the Society of Jesus ordinarily uses to strengthen, develop and perpetuate the work begun in its missions and spiritual retreats.

⁵¹ Villaret, *Abrégé*, 248.

In every city which has received them the Jesuits have uniformly put forth every effort to organize Sodalities for the different classes of people. Now, it is a fact that the majority of the Sodalities are recruited from those of modest circumstances, even the humblest.⁵²

Since the writer is chronicling the 1814-1830 period, evidently the Jesuits quickly struck out into the turbulent stream of events and began setting up their Sodalities as islands of security. The fact that the Sodalities were being used to "strengthen, develop, and perpetuate the work begun in missions and spiritual retreats," the fact that these Sodalities were, in the majority of cases, for those of the lower classes, and the fact that they were organized according to strata of society and the group's principal interest, all this points to a Sodality tradition in God-sent continuity with the pre-Suppression Society of Jesus.

A Genuinely Ignatian Sodality

The following account is a good example of the new Society's Sodality when it is thoroughly inspired with the *Exercises*.

As a follow-up of a retreat given in January of 1815, Father Louis Debussi was eager to establish a Marian Sodality there (Seminary of Saint-Acheul near Amiens), but a genuine Sodality run according to true traditions. Here are some samples of the works that these young students and school boys undertook: visits to convicts, the sick, and the poor; care of chapels; conferences or discussions both doctrinal and apologetic; the apostolate of conversation, first communion preparation of children and adults, workers and soldiers. In two months' time they brought to confession sixty people who had been away from the sacraments for fifteen, twenty, and thirty years. In the hospital, where irreligion was dominant, out of four hundred sick persons, only one died in 1823 without the sacraments.⁵³

But it would be far from the truth to state that many of the new Sodalities were as excellent as that of Saint-Acheul. At this time even the *Prima Primaria* would not be found in the best of health if its hospital recovery-chart were plotted according to its use of the annual retreat. Entries such as these are made by its secretary: 1831, Retreat of Salone Sodality attended by the *Prima Primaria*; (next entry) 1837,

⁵² Joseph Burnichon, S.J., *La Compagnie de Jésus en France, 1814-1914*, I, xxv-xxvi.

⁵³ Villaret, *Abrégé*, 210.

same as in 1831; 1838, no longer any annual retreat; 1855, a program for retreat printed; 1862, invitation to retreat printed; 1865, new rule adopted: retreat for the *Prima Primaria* begins on Laetare Sunday and goes to Passion Sunday, it is to be held only afternoons; 1866 and 1871, retreats omitted because of concurrent missions; 1880, council decided not to revive the retreat which had fallen into desuetude because "it was easy to make a retreat elsewhere and only a few would come to the *Prima Primaria*."⁵⁴

There is no evidence of a special retreat in the *Prima Primaria* up to 1915, once the ruling of 1880 went into effect. Though for not a few Sodalitys the above entries might be a crown of glory, for the *Prima Primaria* they are certainly something less than that. Perhaps what was happening in the *Prima Primaria* was also happening in other Sodalitys despite the good example of those leading Sodalitys who drew their strength from the Ignatian Exercises. Both types of Sodalitys may well account for the long-awaited re-edition, in 1855, of the original Rules of 1587. It would pay us to consider the changes made and compare them with the later third edition of the Rules in 1910 because in the comparison we will likely see a reflection in miniature of the whole retreat movement within the Sodality from 1814 to 1910.

The Rules of 1857 and the Exercises

The first official Rules of the Sodality were those of 1587. Though they do not mention the Spiritual Exercises by name, they nevertheless contain a good number of the principles running through the Exercises. For example, obedience in will and intellect to the hierarchy is inculcated at least indirectly through insistence on obedience in Sodality matters to the officers, the prefect, and the director. Further, perfection in one's state of life, here student life, is demanded by the third rule stating that Christian piety and progress in literary studies form the aim of the Sodality. A definite Ignatian way of life is inculcated by Rule 4 urging a personal confessor, Rule 7 urging attendance at daily Mass, Rule 3 frequent Communion, Rule 8 nightly examen and frequent confession, Rule 1 devotedness to the Mother of God, Rule 8

⁵⁴ Mullan, *Hist. of Prim. Prmar.*, 226.

mental prayer and the rosary. Rule 9 insures selectivity, a basic principle of the Exercises, among those to be accepted by the Sodality as members. Rule 1 permits the making of local rules so long as they are consonant with the universal Rules of 1587. It is in these local rules that, as we have seen previously, there is frequently found a suggestion or stipulation of an annual retreat. As for the apostolate, besides progress in studies mentioned in Rule 3, the corporal works of mercy are demanded by Rules 8, 11, 13, and they are to be subject completely to the Sodality moderator and the superior of the college—again, obedience of will and intellect to the hierarchy through the local superiors.⁵⁵

The Rules of 1855 and the Exercises

The Rules of 1587 were used until their new edition appeared in 1855 under the aegis of Father General Roothaan who took a very active part in their careful editing.⁵⁶ (It is interesting to note that Roothaan, the very cautious editor of the Exercises, also played an important part in this job of editing.) Actually the Rules of 1855 were those, almost to the letter, drawn up by Father Parthenius (Mazzolari) in 1750 but never put into effect because of the disturbed times and the impending Suppression of the Society of Jesus. Though the Society came back into existence in 1814 and received some control of the Sodality in 1825, the continuing political ferment held off any re-edition of the rules until 1855.⁵⁷

A comparison of the Rules of 1587 with those of 1855 shows only minor changes, usually more detailed explanations of what had been previously stated in general terms. The one exception to this is the addition of the extensive Rule 9 concerning the Sodality retreat. The minor changes are principally the following: mention of the Society of Jesus is dropped from Rules 1 and 4 (because the Sodality is now Church-wide and not merely under Jesuit directors), greater emphasis is placed on having and staying with one confessor, spiritual reading is stressed more, the amount of time to be

⁵⁵ *De Congregationibus Marianis Documenta et Leges*, editor: Franciscus Beringer, Styria, 1909, 47-54.

⁵⁶ Villaret, *Abrégé*, 264.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

given to mental prayer is raised from *non nihil* to "at least fifteen minutes" per day, a special solemnity on the name day of each Sodality is urged. The very same selectivity is demanded in 1855 as in 1587. The candidate is to be carefully screened by director and prefect, then presented to a board of councilors for a vote of acceptance into candidacy, next handed over to a kind of master of novices for careful instruction and guidance, and after three months again presented to the councilors for a vote of acceptance or dismissal or prolongation of candidacy—a rigorous selectivity to be sure, but a basic tenet of the Exercises.⁵⁸

Rule Nine Demanding Ignatian Retreat

The one big change in this first re-edition of the Rules, then, was the official prescription of the Spiritual Exercises in an annual retreat: *Suum etiam sodalibus quolibet anno a moderatore praescribatur tempus, quo tempore spiritualibus S. Ignatii exercitationibus vacent.*⁵⁹ The Rule goes on to say that the length of the retreat may be three, four, or more days. Further, the sodalist should recall meditatively at home what he has heard at the place of retreat. To help him in this matter, written instructions are to be given to him concerning the content of the Exercises and the time at which they are to be made. Therefore, meditations at home are extremely important. The retreat master is to aim at helping the sodalists make good confessions. To this end he is to give them points on frequent use of the sacraments, on the obligations of their present state of life, and on the election concerning a future state of life or a current problem. The order of the day is to be strictly followed: spiritual reading on meditation matter, an examen by the retreat master on frequent use of the sacraments etc., as above, an examen of meditation led by the retreat master, and finally the Mass. The same order is to be followed in the afternoon.

Thus Rule 9 prescribes an annual retreat which is open. The biggest stride forward is the stipulation of a retreat, no mere suggestion. Not, however, until the next edition of the Rules in 1910 will the closed retreat be strongly recommended.

⁵⁸ *De. Cong. Mar. Doc.*, ed. Beringer, 120-129, esp. 129-130.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 123-124.

Consequently, the Sodality Rules themselves mirror the advance of the Spiritual Exercises to the front of the Sodality consciousness. But does this indicate that hitherto the Exercises were, comparatively speaking, neglected? Or was it rather that in the pre-Suppression Sodality they were so much an essential part of Sodality life that, like the dogma of the seven sacraments in the early Church, they needed hardly to be mentioned? The latter conclusion would appear to be much closer to the truth if the history of the pre-Suppression Sodalities is allowed to speak for itself.

Rules of 1910 and the Exercises

But the biggest advance in Sodality retreat legislation occurs in the 1910 re-edition of the Rules where the closed retreat is highly recommended and the open retreat is specified as six days in length. Because of this, it would pay us to take a look at the 1910 Rules while those of 1587 and 1855 are still fresh in the memory. Villaret gives a good estimate of the latest edition of the Rules as compared with the old.

This time, also, the substance underwent no alteration; the essential principles, the grand lines of life, direction, spirit, activity, remained unchanged. Because of circumstances already mentioned, the newness came from the concrete applications, the extension and the preciseness of the activities, the introduction of apostolic techniques, the pointedness of the rules dealing with frequentation of the sacraments, the use of the Spiritual Exercises in closed retreats, the intellectual and professional formation of the sodalists, the highly charged and organized work of the apostolate of the press and others, the fight against the enemies of the Church and against error and immorality, the mutual relations among Sodalities. Substantially all this was to be found in the old rules, but now it was formulated in a more explicit, more precise, less affective perhaps more juridical manner.⁶⁰

If it is true that the 1910 Rules differ from the previous editions mainly in their explicitness, concreteness, preciseness, and extensiveness, then it is equally true that these latest rules show the principles of the Spiritual Exercises more explicitly, concretely, precisely, and extensively.

Let us briefly take under consideration the four main principles of the Exercises as enunciated in Part I of this study.

The first principle, selection of only willing and intellectu-

⁶⁰ Villaret, *Abrégé*, 266-267.

ally capable men to act as leaders of the masses, is insured by Rules 23, 24, 26, 31, which provide for a stringent probation and for ways of expelling unworthy members.

The second principle, thinking and acting in union with the hierarchy—the ultimate end of the Exercises, is clearly stated in Rule 1 where the aim of all sodalists is declared to be the sanctification of self, the saving and sanctification of others, and the defence of the Church (notice how the Sodality has lifted her sights from the student milieu to that of the world-wide Church), in Rules 2, 15, 16, and 17 where the Sodality is clearly subject to the Bishops in the slightest detail, in Rules 22, 44, 49, and 50 where prompt obedience to director and his officers and of officers to the director is inculcated, and finally in Rule 33 where there is explicit stress on thinking and acting with the Church (evidently her Bishops if Rules 15, 16, and 17 are to mean anything).

The third principle of the Exercises, the choosing of a state of life or the perfecting of a previously chosen vocation—the proximate end of the Exercises, is exemplified in Rule 1 where sodalists work towards the sanctification of self and others each in his state of life," in Rules 4 and 29 where Sodalities are to be organized according to states of life so that emulation in and concentration on particular state-of-life ideals may be fostered, and in Rules 14 and 42 where special study academies and apostolic sections are formed to perfect the sodalist in his life's work—academies and sections in which he is under obligation to work if this is at all possible.

The fourth principle, use of definite means (fixed confessor, frequentation of the sacraments, mental prayer, exams, devotedness to the Mother of God) as a way of life leading towards the goals set up in principles two and three above, is carried out almost exactly as in the previous editions of the Rules, with the one exception that in Rule 39 daily Communion is urged strongly since Pius X had just a few years before recommended this practice.

Finally one may call attention to the fact that Rule 9 states that if the annual retreat cannot be a closed one, then the open retreat should "last six days, with at least two periods daily, morning and evening or night, with spiritual reading, medita-

tion, conferences, Holy Mass and beads as the principal exercises."⁶¹

There has been, therefore, rather striking progress made in concretizing the principles of the Exercises in the Sodality Rules. Further the closed retreat has been recommended strongly; while the open retreat has been extended to at least six days. It was no wonder, then, that the Rules of 1910 were welcomed warmly by the experienced and the successful among Sodality directors.

Background for Retreat-Rule of 1910

It is an axiom of social group thinking that the development of a social group's rules mirrors to a great extent its life. If the rules become not only more detailed but also more demanding in ideal, then the group's life while becoming more intricate is also becoming more successful in the attainment of its objectives. Thus, the more detailed retreat-rule of 1910 with its more demanding ideals of closed retreat or six-day open retreat reflects for us the inner life of at least the better Sodalities. Let us glance at the retreat emphasis in some of these better Sodalities.

The Sodality of Barcelona under the direction of Father Fiter began its magnificent work with a retreat which, repeated each year, animated this Sodality's highly organized apostolate of schools, retreat house, and recreation centers. Because this apostolate will be detailed later, it is sufficient for now to say that much of the groundwork for not only the retreat-rule of 1910 but even the whole revision of 1910 was done by the Spanish Sodalities under the leadership of Barcelona.⁶² They had discovered in practice the marvelous effects of the annual Ignatian retreat on sodalists and they felt a great urge to see these effects spread throughout the world by means of the Sodality Common Rules.

The Cracow Sodalities were justly famous, also. After explaining in detail the numerous apostolic works of these Sodalities, ranging from St. Vincent de Paul activities and workingmen-lectures to the editing of a Sodality quarterly,

⁶¹ *Sodality Rules*, The Common Rules of 1910, revised ed., St. Louis, 1943.

⁶² Villaret, *Abrégé*, 265-266.

Fr. Drive says significantly: "It is unnecessary to add that they all made their annual retreat."⁶³

In 1903, a year after the Cracow report, Mullan tells us that The Beyrouth workingmen made two fifteen day retreats a year, besides an eight day retreat at Easter, the Director very justly remarking: "The retreat is the principal nerve of the work." Similar is the report of the Valencia Children of Mary. This body has had a week's retreat each of the fifty years of its existence, with a morning and an afternoon meeting. The account adds: "We can truly say that to this annual retreat is due the prosperous life of the Sodality."⁶⁴

Mullan also lists about fifteen outstanding retreats made at the turn of the century by Sodalities who seemed very intent on keeping their retreats annual.⁶⁵ Needless to say, most of these were open retreats.

But the closed retreat was far from neglected as the following report, drawn up by Father Mullan, indicates:

Closed retreats are often made in our days by convent girls and by lady sodalists, who retire into a convent or other convenient house for the purpose. Thus the Lemberg Ladies' Sodality inaugurated their Sodality with a retreat made in the Sacred Heart Convent in 1896. The convent Children of Mary at Wexford, at Cork and at Dublin made theirs every year [1900]. An eight day retreat was annually made in the Strabane Convent [1903, Ireland]. In a similar way, a workingmen's Sodality in France had closed retreats for its members at a Trappist Monastery. At *Stella Viae*, Rome, the Children of Mary made a full closed retreat of six days, with 3 meditations and a conference daily, in 1909. Closed retreats for men sodalists were announced in the *Sodalen-Correspondenz* to be held at the retreat house in Feldkirch and to last three and a half days. That given at Stonyhurst to the Accrington Men's Sodality gathered 70 retreatants.⁶⁶

The same convictions which produced retreats like these were also the motivating force behind the retreat-rule of 1910.

Yet these convictions were not found solely among Sodality directors. Experienced retreat masters and directors of retreat houses, seeing the need of some organization to insure the preservation and increase of the fruits derived from closed

⁶³ Drive, *Sodality Hist. Sk.*, 96.

⁶⁴ Mullan, *Sodality in Documents*, 137.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 136-137.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 137-138.

retreats, turned to the Sodality. Father Charles Plater, S.J., an influential apostle of the retreat movement in England and a careful student of its history, has this to say after describing a number of European retreat houses:

It has been a matter of general experience that wherever retreats, however numerous and fervent, have not been followed up by some sort of organization for promoting the spiritual life of those who have made them, their effects had not been lasting. It stands to reason that the lessons of three days will be forgotten unless special provision is made for the recalling of them. Hence we are not surprised to find that in connection with nearly all retreat houses which have been described, there exist various types of sodality or confraternity for the purpose of keeping alive the spirit generated in the retreat.⁶⁷

Lest one get the impression that Father Plater is indifferent as to what organization is used to secure the continuing efficacy of the retreat he should be allowed to add these remarks to what he has previously said:

Mention has more than once been made of the part played by the Sodality of Our Lady in promoting the work of retreats in various countries. Something may here be added on the suitability of the Sodality as an organization for carrying on the spiritual work done in a retreat and for giving direction to the apostolic spirit which a retreat commonly generates. The Sodality, in fact, succeeds in forming that lay elite which, as experience shows, is the prerequisite for successful charitable and social work, no less than for the maintaining of a high standard of spiritual life in a parish. The Sodality is not, as some imagine, a mere confraternity of prayer for practicing a few simple devotions in common but rather a school of religious perfection for the laity. It thus forms a natural complement to the retreat, the influence of which it perpetuates and directs to every form of apostolic work.⁶⁸

In his book, *Retreats for the People*, Father Plater gives striking examples which prove his statements. One of these would be the justly famous Sodalities of Mexico City whose closed retreats are an old tradition.⁶⁹ Perhaps this explains the heroic actions of the Mexican Sodalists during the persecution of 1926 when the Sodalities' "Retreat and Missions Section helped prepare the faithful for confession and communion, the missions being preached by the Sodalists themselves."⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Plater, *Retreats*, 230-231.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 282-284.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 163.

⁷⁰ Sommer, *Marian Cath. Act.*, 31-32.

All this was done when death was the reward for such efforts.

Thus we see that the retreat-rule of 1910 was a natural outgrowth of experimentation; for the need of retreats was proved not only in the experience of Sodality directors, working from the Sodality back to its source in the Exercises, but also in the experience of retreat directors working in the opposite direction from the Exercises towards the Sodality.

Retreats for Others Sponsored by Sodalists

To show how much sodalists appreciate the Spiritual Exercises and their effects, one has only to point to the fact that sodalists have been active down through the centuries in securing Ignatian retreats for others. We have already seen the Nobles' Sodalities obtaining Ignatian missions (and eventually Sodalities) for their servants. We have observed St. Francis de Sales, and St. Vincent de Paul using the Exercises, so much esteemed by themselves, to change the lay spirituality of the Church. At Caen as early as 1699 we find that one of the chief practices of the men's Sodality was to provide a Christmas retreat for twenty-five young girls and women who seemed in particular need of such help.⁷¹ Mullan furnishes a list of such Sodality-sponsored retreats.

Retreats were given by the Priests Sodality of Naples from 1612 on. The University Students Sodality of Liege provided closed retreats for men at the retreat house of Xhovémont. The Sodality of the Instituto Sociale of Turin provided a like favor for university students at a house of retreats (1905). The Chieri Sodality inaugurated retreats for workingmen (1907). The Roman College Scaletta gave their personal services in preparing the house and serving at table for a workingmen's retreat in Rome (1900). The Men's Sodality of Bucharest got up a men's mission (1896).⁷²

About this same time in Sarriá, a suburb of Barcelona, a branch of the Sodality established a retreat-house and set up a committee to administer it. "In 1910 the house was enlarged and refitted. During the previous three years retreats had been given to over seven hundred men. This retreat-house is intended exclusively for the use of workingmen."⁷³ Thirty years later at Madrid a Sodality's retreat-promotion work was so successful that the diocese had to take over the

⁷¹ Drive, *Sodality Hist. Sk.*, 70.

⁷² Mullan, *Sodality in Documents*, 160.

⁷³ Plater, *Retreats*, 97-98.

too rapidly expanding work; during the first three years of its existence 289 retreats for about 10,000 retreatants were promoted.⁷⁴ And this was not the only Sodality which did such work in Spain.

Meanwhile in the New World similar events were taking place. For example, at Pittsburgh the Sodality union managed to sponsor twenty-one parish retreats or triduums in 1933.⁷⁵ A far more electrifying event occurred at São Paulo, Brazil from 1927 to the present time. It seems that the pre-Lenten Carnival there was particularly immoral and attracted large crowds from great distances. The Young Men's Sodality decided to do something about it. Going among the revelers, they tried to recruit for a closed retreat. Their courageous efforts netted 20 retreatants in 1927. They decided to make this an annual retreat and in 1928 70 people made the Exercises; in 1929 there were 82 retreatants. In 1930 the number dropped to 12, but in 1931 rose again to 130. In 1938 there were 4104 retreatants.⁷⁶ This is only one instance among a number of outstanding achievements in this field. Besides the sections of the Sodality dedicated to closed retreats, others are promoting open retreats for compact and homogeneous groups such as students, truck drivers, soldiers, intellectuals, and so on. Still other sections are organizing great urban retreats for the bishops; for example, at Alicante in 1946 twenty-eight preachers from six Orders gave the diocesan retreats in one program.⁷⁷

It is impossible to explain the willing sacrifices made by sodalists to spread the influence of the Ignatian Exercises, unless it is said that their interest springs from a strong conviction that the Ignatian retreat is one of the most worthwhile things in their lives. A very clear example of this deeply felt need to radiate the Exercises once they are imbibed is the recently founded Sodality of Aachen (1953) which "grew out of the Spiritual Exercises" and whose aim is "to be always and in every way at the beck and call of the Bishop in the

⁷⁴ Hugo Rahner, S.J., *A la Source des Congrégations Mariales*, Bruxelles, 1954, Introduction, 11.

⁷⁵ Sr. Florence, S.L., *The Sodality Movement in the United States, 1926-1936*, St. Louis, 1939, 109.

⁷⁶ Villaret, *Abrégé*, 240-241.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 241.

apostolate, but especially in promoting the Spiritual Exercises for young people."⁷⁸

Ignatian Retreats and the Early Midwest

Passing over the fine Sodality traditions of other parts of the United States, we confine our attention here to the Midwest development of Sodality retreats when we consider the contributions of the United States' Sodalities to the world retreat movement and search for the effects of the Exercises in their members.

The first Midwestern Jesuit to use the Sodality as an instrument of sanctification and apostolate was Father Arnold Damen, S.J., who in 1848 started a Young Men's Sodality among the alumni of St. Louis University "to keep the old students of the University together and to preserve their faith."⁷⁹ Soon the organization contained 300 of the best known Catholics of St. Louis, many of them professional men. Their enthusiasm not only produced exemplary lives but also the return to the Church of not a few fallen away Catholics. The Sodality "grew to be a strong religious force in the city for fifty years. From it finally, as from a nucleus and model, grew all the other Sodalities of the city of St. Louis."⁸⁰ But Father Damen was not satisfied. Perceiving a small group of especially zealous young sodalists, he invited them one by one to come together and make a retreat, a closed one, at the college. Damen himself gave the Exercises. The result: "Four of them decided to enter the Society of Jesus. And all of them became permanent influences for good in the Catholic life of the city."⁸¹ Father Conroy, Damen's biographer, goes on to say that this was apparently the first retreat of its kind in the West and that from it have come the West's retreat houses.

But Damen, who from 1857 to 1879 gave the Spiritual Exercises in 208 missions averaging two weeks in length and who made with his companion close to 12,000 converts, was not satisfied with just one Sodality. He frequently estab-

⁷⁸ "Nova Congregatio 'Cooperatorum'", *Acies Ordinata*, Rome, vol. xxiii, 1954, 94-95.

⁷⁹ Joseph P. Conroy, S.J., *Arnold Damen, S.J.*, New York, 1930, 42.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 43.

lished them at the end of a mission in order to make sure that parish life would continue on at a high level.⁸² Thus he tells us:

I established there a Sodality of which the Bishop became spiritual director. It is composed of judges, lawyers, merchants, etc. These gentlemen, who have been absent from the Sacraments for ten, fifteen, twenty years, are now faithful in communicating every month in a body and are seen sweeping the church, to the wonder and edification of the whole city.⁸³

Father Francis X. Weninger, S.J., another missionary, was asked to describe the techniques which had produced extraordinarily successful results. Among the hints he gave was this one:

The solicitude to be exerted for the continuance of the fruit of the mission after it is closed, and the practical working of its effects I have minutely dwelt upon in the *Practical Hints*. To this end, the erection of Sodalities for the various classes in the parish help very efficaciously.⁸⁴

Whether he realized it or not, Father Weninger was merely reiterating the advice and experience of Ignatius and his companions. He and Damen were also laying the foundation for a potentially great Sodality movement.

The U.S. National Sodality Service Center and Retreats

Just above it was said designedly "a potentially great Sodality movement," for by 1913 these first Sodalities seemed to have degenerated into mere monthly communion clubs.

The investigation which Father Garesché made of the existing Sodalities disclosed "an extremely discouraging condition in the Sodalities themselves". All the activities of the Sodalists were confined in most places to attendance at meetings, where some prayers and the Office of the Blessed Virgin were recited, and to monthly Communions.⁸⁵

Father Garesché, as the first national secretary of U. S. Sodalities, would certainly be in a position to estimate accurately the conditions of 1913 when he spoke. Clearly, there was no annual Sodality retreat if this was the total activity of Midwestern Sodalities; and clearly there was no activity

⁸² *Ibid.*, 129.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 92-93.

⁸⁴ Gilbert Garraghan, S.J., *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, New York, 1938, II, 59.

⁸⁵ Sommer, *Marian Cath. Act.*, 37.

because there was no annual retreat. Gradually, however, the National Secretariate at St. Louis tried to eliminate this discouraging state of affairs. Sister Florence, historian of the Sodality movement in the U. S. from 1926 to 1936 tells us that

in addition to the handling of Sodality affiliation and the publishing of the Sodality magazine, the *Queen's Work* staff has maintained a policy of assisting Sodalities whenever possible through personal visits and correspondence. Each year since 1926 the Jesuit members of the staff have conducted an average of twenty-five retreats in parishes and schools throughout the country. In the course of the majority of these retreats the priests met the Sodality officers and discussed with them their Sodality problems. Thus to the innumerable advantages of the retreat were added definite helps for the sodalists as a group.⁸⁶

So numerous were these retreats that in 1932 a priest was appointed to the *Queen's Work* staff solely for this work.⁸⁷

Summer Schools of Catholic Action and the Exercises

At Loyola University in 1927 a particularly far-reaching result of an Ignatian retreat was the formation of the Students' Spiritual Council out of the school's Sodality officers. This Council called together "the first Student-Sodalist convention to be held in the United States, and it initiated a long series of such meetings, which have since been held in every quarter of the country."⁸⁸ Often enough for many a Sodalist these conventions were his first introduction to the Spiritual Exercises and their principles. The latter were taught in regular courses labled, for example, "Theology for the Layman." The Exercises were also imbibed indirectly through motivation talks or through instructional lectures on the methods of mental prayer, the night examen, the particular examen (known as the "Character Builder"), and so on. Since these conventions, later developing into the Summer Schools of Catholic Action, were staffed principally by Jesuits, they have done very much toward spreading Ignatian spirituality, which is just another way of saying the principles of the Exercises. Perhaps this is why the Summer Schools have attained a measure of success and why slowly but surely the

⁸⁶ Sr. Florence, *Sodality U.S. 1926-1936*, 144.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 151.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 44, also cf. 42-43.

Sodality movement in the U. S. A. has begun to gather momentum.

Growth of Retreat Consciousness

Frequently retreats are directly mentioned in, e.g., the list of activities sponsored by the Student Spiritual Leadership Movement of the Sodality,⁸⁹ or the list of parish activities,⁹⁰ or the discussion at the Men Directors' Convention.⁹¹ One such discussion at the National Sodalist Parish Convention in 1930 is indicative of what was being done by Sodalities in retreat work.

The general subject for the afternoon was personal holiness. The subject was opened by a discussion of the importance of retreats. Mrs. E. P. Voll of St. Louis urged closed retreats, as did Miss Isabel Fogarty of Springfield, Ill., speaking especially for the Cenacle retreats. Miss Gallagher pointed out that the Bishop of Toledo felt the retreat so important that he has turned over retreat work to the Sodality as their most important diocesan enterprise.⁹²

To appreciate the effects of this gradual growth in retreat consciousness among American Sodalists, let us consider some of the latest developments in retreat work. An example of this would be the John Carroll University Alumni Sodality. One of its sodalists, after listing in a report an impressive number of apostolic and spiritual works, says, "Probably the most effective activity that resulted in real spiritual growth of the Sodality was the six day closed retreat we held at Christmastide and which we intend to make an annual affair."⁹³ Six months later in June of 1953, because of this example, seventy-five sodalists from Carroll's Student Sodality made an eight day retreat (closed) on the campus.⁹⁴ Meanwhile at Detroit University in August of 1953, seventy-five more sodalists, inspired by Carroll's Sodalities, made closed retreats of six days.⁹⁵ So impressed were they with the Exercises that several of the Carroll Sodalists asked to make the long retreat

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 66.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 91.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 128.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 116.

⁹³ Sommer, *Mar. Cath. Act.*, 50.

⁹⁴ "John Carroll University", *Chicago Province Chronicle*, 1953, XVIII, no. 1, 6.

⁹⁵ "University of Detroit", *Chi. Prov. Chron.*, 1953, XVIII, no. 1, 9.

of thirty days.⁹⁶ That this was no passing enthusiasm is proved by the fact that these same retreats were given in 1954 and 1955 to a larger number of retreatants.⁹⁷

Father Richard Rooney, S.J., Director of the National Sodality Service Center in St. Louis, gives an overall view of U. S. Sodality retreats when he states:

It is encouraging to learn from reports sent to this office that the popularity and effectiveness of closed retreats for sodalists is on the increase. In at least a half dozen Jesuit colleges and universities, not to mention a number of nursing schools, retreats of this sort are being conducted yearly in accord with Rule 9 and Rule 7. They run from three to five to eight days' duration. Of one thing we at the NSSC are convinced: the renewal of spirit called for by His Holiness will certainly come to those Sodalities who drink long and deeply each year at the spring of the Spiritual Exercises.⁹⁸

We see, then that though the fine work of Damen and Weninger had gradually lost its vigor, the staff of the Sodality Service Center did much to restore life to it. One of the most efficient instruments used to accomplish this feat was the Spiritual Exercises. As a result a few of the leading Sodalities are conducting spiritual and apostolic programs worthy of the great Sodalities of the pre-Suppression Society of Jesus, the six and eight day closed retreats being proof of this.

The Barcelona Sodality's Retreat Work

In Europe a modern Sodality outstanding for its retreat work is that of Barcelona. Because of the Suppression of the Jesuits the ancient Sodality of Barcelona, like so many others at that time, had simply disappeared. It was revived, however, in 1860 under directors who, in addition to the Sodality, were saddled with much other work. Consequently the meetings "were composed more of old men than of youths,"⁹⁹ and "the Sodality did no more than hear Mass and chant the Little Office."¹⁰⁰ This went on until 1886 when Father Aloysius

⁹⁶ Rahner, *Source de Cong. Mar.*, introduction, 10.

⁹⁷ "University of Detroit", *Chi. Prov. Chron.* 1954, XIX, no. 1, 14; "John Carroll University," 1954, XVIII, no. 5, 58; "Univ. of Detroit", 1955, XIX, no. 6, 86; "Jn. Car. Univ.", 1955, XIX, no. 5, 61.

⁹⁸ "Bits of News", *Action Now, Queens Work Press*, VIII, no. 7, April, 1955, 61.

⁹⁹ Ramund Amato, S.J., *Aloysius Ignatius Fiter*, trans. Elder Mullan, S.J., St. Louis, 1917, 72.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 73.

Ignatius Fiter took charge. His first step was to ask for complete freedom from other work in order that a genuine Sodality might be formed. When this generous permission was received, he speedily set to work. His day-by-day journal reads: "The membership list has been published for the first time. Also, the Spiritual Exercises have been given. Finally, everything indicates that the Sodality is going to have a notable and important development."¹⁰¹

Though the early Barcelona Sodality retreats do not seem to have been of the closed type, still they were gradually perfected year by year, e.g., after the first two years the retreat was reserved for sodalists only, the Sodality candidates received special instructions during the retreat,¹⁰² and the finest retreat masters were brought in even from great distances.¹⁰³ Father Sommer in his *Marian Catholic Action*, after describing the manifold apostolic works of this Sodality, tells us that there is an annual retreat to power all this activity.¹⁰⁴ Since he writes of conditions in the year 1951 as representing a tradition of long standing, we can safely say that the annual retreat has been a fixture in the Barcelona Sodality since the time of Father Fiter.

Now here are the results of this loyalty to the principle that the Ignatian retreat is the heart of Sodality life: first, an amazingly variegated and fertile apostolate composed of workers' centers, two catechetical teams, an evening school for adult workers, a day school for children, three teams of hospital visitors (one hospital being a leper asylum), a press apostolate, a municipal center for the poor, two recreation centers for young workers;¹⁰⁵ second, a retreat house, staffed by the Sodality, which in three years has given retreats to 700 working men;¹⁰⁶ third, a religious community of working men formed out of workingmen sodalists. These religious wear no habit, but, living in common and taking the usual three vows, devote three hours per day to prayer in addition to their usual working hours in the factories and in addition

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 82.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 131.

¹⁰⁴ Sommer, *Marian Cath. Act.*, 24.

¹⁰⁵ Villaret, *Cong. Mar.*, 235.

¹⁰⁶ Plater, *Retreats*, 97-98.

to the hours they consecrate to retreats for workingmen, courses on social topics, apologetics and just plain school work.¹⁰⁷ Such magnificent work forces us to seek out its cause and the cause is the same one found in all great Sodalities: the Ignatian Exercises motivating all.

World-wide Sodality Consciousness of Exercises

It would seem that this conviction of the Sodality's basic need of the *Exercises* is taking form in the minds of directors all over the world. We have seen this happening in the United States on the college level, in particular at John Carroll and Detroit Universities, and even on the high school level as at Loyola Academy in Chicago where a five day closed retreat was given to 35 upperclass sodalists in the past two years.¹⁰⁸ In Spain at Hogar del Obrero, sodalists are required to make a four day closed retreat. At Hogar del Empleado all members make a four day closed retreat their first year and a six or eight day one their second year. Officers' Military Academy of Seville has a four day closed retreat annually. Bilbao High School Sodality has five full days of closed retreat for all sodalists over 14 years of age. In Italy the Professional Men's Sodality of Milan requires all sodalists to make a three day closed retreat, but some make six and eight day ones.¹⁰⁹ Significantly enough when Fr. Joseph Sommer, S.J., of the U.S.A.'s National Sodality Service Center went to England for a three month tour of English Sodality organizations, he gave four three day closed retreats to sodalists amid all his other work of conferences and organizational meetings. The English sodalists and their directors wanted this. Such growing world-wide enthusiasm for the Exercises among sodalists points to the fact that they have found the principal source of their spirituality and apostolate and intend to use it now to the best of their ability.

¹⁰⁷ Sommer, *Marian Cath. Act.*, 27.

¹⁰⁸ "Loyola Academy", *Chi. Prov. Chron.*, 1954, XVIII, no. 4, 42; 1955, XIX, no. 5, 62.

¹⁰⁹ Nicholas Rieman, S.J., "Sodality and Retreat: The Perfect Pair", *Direction*, series of articles beginning in II, no. 2, 1955, Nov.; author's manuscript was consulted before its publication.

Conclusions

From the historical events we have just witnessed a number of conclusions should be drawn. First of all, if the suppression of the Society of Jesus proved nothing else, it at least demonstrated that the Sodality needs the Society of Jesus and the Exercises just as much as any effect needs its proper cause in order to exist. The fact that some few Suppression-era Sodalities were successful because of very saintly directors, some of them former Jesuits, does not mean that this causal relationship is an overstatement of the case. These Sodalities were the rare exception, not the rule, and their total power was pitifully weak compared to that of the 2000 Sodalities existing at the Society's suppression. This conclusion that there is an almost inexorable relationship of cause and effect between the Society and the Spiritual Exercises on the one hand and the success of the Sodality on the other throws a fearfully heavy responsibility upon the shoulders of many a mid-twentieth century Jesuit and not just on the back of the few Sodality directors.

On looking back over Sodality legislation since its founding a second conclusion stands out: though the Sodality Common Rules of 1587 showed forth the principles of the Spiritual Exercises and the Rules of 1855 showed them even more clearly, it was the Rules of 1910 that most sharply etched them for the sodalist. In addition, there was a progression in the explicit mention of a retreat for sodalists. The Rules of 1587 allowed local prescriptions to make this demand. The Rules of 1855 specified an annual open retreat of three or four days. Those of 1910 stipulated an annual open retreat of at least six days and suggested a closed one if this was at all possible.

A third conclusion to be drawn from the era extending from 1773 to 1955 is that the progressive awareness of the Exercises and their principles was not merely induced into the Sodality by Roman legislators, but rather arose from the convictions and needs of the sodalists themselves and of their directors. Apparently the "restored" Jesuits, gazing upon the sick body of the Sodality, saw only one way of reviving her: fill her with the life-giving vigor of the Ignatian Exer-

cises. This was done at once in Europe through the establishment of Sodality in every little town and city immediately after the giving of an Ignatian mission, the First Week of the Exercises. Under this impetus the Sodality, now a world-wide organization not limited to the Jesuits, began to grow quickly. Perhaps it grew too quickly, for continuity of direction is needed if the Sodality is to have a vigorous life and this direction must be the type derived from the principles of the Exercises.

At any rate, despite the overwhelming handicap of not having seasoned directors, a number of Sodalities discovered this principle of their life and became so dedicated to the annual retreat, often enough closed, that from their enthusiasm and hard work there came the retreat Rule of 1910 demanding at least an annual open retreat of six days and suggesting a closed one. And not only Sodality directors were aware of the close causal connection between the life of the Sodality and the Exercises; retreat masters and directors of retreat houses, working at the other end of this relationship, had come to the same conclusion and were loyal supporters of the Sodality. But the best proof for the Sodality's growing appreciation of the power of the Exercises is its arranging of retreats for others—a work involving thousands of retreatants.

Promotion of the principles of the Exercises in the U.S.A. through Summer Schools of Catholic Action and retreats under the aegis of the National Sodality Service Center at St. Louis, is a good example of how the Exercises have been traditionally brought to the minds of American Sodalists. A proof that the latter have gradually come to esteem the Exercises is seen in the growing interest in closed retreats of five or six or eight days among college students. But Europe affords the best example of sodalist-appreciation of the Exercises in its Barcelona Sodality where the annual retreat has produced not only an astoundingly rich apostolate but also a retreat house and a religious community of men dedicated to spreading the retreat movement and Ignatian principles among the working classes. And Barcelona is not alone in this. Father Rooney tells us:

Two young Jesuits travelled through Europe last year to make a study of the Sodalities there. When they got back here and got together to compare notes they found that there were two common denominators of the outstandingly genuine organizations they had come across. The first of these was faithfulness to the annual retreat, to the annual passage through the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius, and this for from three to eight days. The second was the carry-on of these Exercises by daily faithfulness to mental prayer.¹¹⁰

Never, since the suppression of the Society of Jesus, has there been such a flourishing of the Spiritual Exercises among Sodalities; and, it must be said, never has there been such a need of this. For, granted that the Sodality movement has never been bigger, it must also be added that "the Sodalities of our days, so far as many Christians are concerned, evoke nothing more than the very pale image of a pious prayer-league reserved especially for women."¹¹¹ It is true that there are a number of Sodalities which compare favorably with the eighteenth-century Sodalities, but they are very few when contrasted with the vast number affiliated with the *Prima Primaria*. It is these few which are the hope of the Sodality, for as Father Hugo Rahner tells us:

If the Marian Sodalities have kept their importance and their utility in the Church, it is because in the course of four centuries of existence and of an almost disquieting numerical expansion they have made it their constant care to go back to their life-source, the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius.¹¹²

Indeed, it is because of the loyalty of these few great modern Sodalities to their life-principle, the Exercises, that the retreat rule of 1910 was at all possible and that Pius XII could say in all truth: "In reality, the Rules of the Sodality are concerned only with expressing in clear formulas, and, so to speak, with codifying the way of life which she has raised to honor all through her history and in today's activities."¹¹³

If the modern Sodality is ever to recapture the eighteenth-century Sodality spirit which made the pre-Suppression Sodalities such potent forces for good within the Church and

¹¹⁰ "Make Your Retreat", *Action Now*, VIII, no. 6, March, 1955, 14.

¹¹¹ Rahner, *Source des Cong. Mar.*, 19.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, introduction, 5.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 21, Allocution of Pius XII, Jan. 21, 1945.

the number one target of her enemies, she will have to live her Rules with a heroism equaling that of the Old Sodality. But she will never do this unless she understands them deeply and feels with overwhelming force the need to live them to the hilt. This understanding and feeling will never come until the Sodality understands fully and is motivated deeply by the principles of the Spiritual Exercises. And where are these principles best learned but in the annual retreat? As the Belgian Secretariate of the Sodality has said, "After all this, is it not clear that the very first secret in revitalizing the Marian Sodality is a return to her life-principle, the authentic Spiritual Exercises?"¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, introduction, 12.

SACRED HEART RETREAT HOUSE, AURIESVILLE, NEW YORK
REPORT OF PRIESTS' RETREATS FOR 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956

	1953	1954	1955	1956
Number of 8 Day Retreats	2	2	1	1
Number of 8 Day Retreatants	20	24	20	14
Number of 5 Day Retreats	25	25	29	23
Number of 5 Day Retreatants	383	413	472	488
Number of 4 Day Retreats	—	—	—	6
Number of 4 Day Retreatants	—	—	—	89
Total Number of Retreats	28	27	30	30
Total Number of Retreatants	403	437	492	591
Number of Cancellations	—	—	—	45
Number of Dioceses Represented	45	51	56	61
Number of Religious Orders and Congregations	25	25	23	27
Members of the Hierarchy (Retreatants)	5	5	12	7
Number of Repeaters	213	220	295	319
Number of New Retreatants	190	217	197	272

Ignatius Loyola and the Counter Reformation

Edward A. Ryan, S.J.

There is a saying of Ignatius Loyola which might well serve as a subtitle for this lecture. Often it is expressed in the form given it by Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul, "We must work as if all depended on us, and pray as if all depended on God." Actually Ignatius expressed his thought in the following words, "In matters pertaining to God's holy service we should use every possible good means, but then put all our confidence in God and not in the means." Another and perhaps clearer form of the same idea in Ignatius' own words is, "I hold it an error to confide and trust in any means or in human efforts in themselves alone; and I do not consider it safe to commit the whole affair to God our Lord without trying to make use of what He has given me. Indeed it seems to me in our Lord that I must use both these parts desiring in all things His greater glory and nothing else." We shall see at the end of our study just how Ignatius' thought should be applied in the present instance.¹

Catholic Reform and Counter-Reformation

My title could be understood in various ways. "Ignatius Loyola" is a constant but "Counter-Reformation" can be defined in more than one way. For a long period it was applied to the whole movement of adaptation by which the Catholic Church of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries endeavored to meet not only the threat of Protestantism but also the challenges of the Renaissance, of modern science, and of the problems arising from the geographical discoveries of Vasco da Gama and Christopher Columbus. It is in fact so

This paper was one of a series read at Loyola Seminary, Shrub Oak, during the Ignatian Year.

¹ W. Elliott, *Life of Father Hecker* (New York, 1894). On p. XIII we have Archbishop Ireland's remark. It is not attributed to St. Ignatius. For a discussion of this dictum see *Woodstock Letters*, 71 (1942), 69-72, 195-199.

understood in the article in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. *Gegenreformation*, the German equivalent of Counter-Reformation, is a term created by non-Catholic historians who considered that the history of the sixteenth century Church was conditioned by the Protestant revolt. They had to admit that the Church was partially victorious but in their minds it was a victory of the politically superior papacy over an unpolitical Lutheranism and a politically isolated Calvinism. In addition many historians feel that the Counter-Reformation was responsible for all that shocks them in modern Catholicism: Hidalgoism or contempt for the poor, rejection of true humanism and modern science, search for effect at the expense of depth, illusions of grandeur, use of the Church by the state for its own purposes; not to mention the Inquisition, the Index of Forbidden Books, the burning of heretics and witches, the massacres of innocent Protestants, and the shameless treatment of Jews, Moors and Indians. To term Ignatius a hero of the Counter-Reformation, so understood, would certainly not be to praise him.²

Catholic historians reject this conception and brand it a product of confessional prejudice. For them the renewal of the Church in the sixteenth century came from inner sources of religious strength. Protestant Reformation is a misnomer. The movement should be styled the Protestant Revolt. The true reform was that of the Catholic Church and it was not a mere reaction to Luther and Calvin. It did not consist essentially in the forcing of consciences and in the triumph of politics over the spirit. Rather it was an independent religious revival of elemental power, one of the strongest in the history of the world. As a matter of fact some non-Catholic historians led the way in clearing up the confusion by their studies on the Catholic Reform.³ At the present time most historians have come to admit the justice of the Catholic claims, at least in part. Research has clearly shown that the Catholic Reform antedated the Protestant Reformation and was much wider in scope. As a result it has been considered either as a return to primitive Christianity or as the appear-

² H. Jedin, *Katholische Reformation oder Gegenreformation?* (Luzern, 1946), 9.

³ Jedin, *op. cit.*, 11 ff.

ance of a more modern, more personal form of Catholicism. From an external viewpoint, history makes it clear that the Catholic Church which was everywhere losing territory to Protestantism up to *circa* 1550 was winning back considerable portions of the lost ground by the end of the century. Not only did Protestantism not win all of Europe, it never won the major part. To this day there are more Catholics than Protestants in Europe; and that despite the Industrial Revolution which increased the population of the Protestant North far more than the Catholic South.⁴ From historians, Ignatius and the Jesuits receive a great deal of credit for stopping and rolling back Protestantism. We, of course, are concerned only with Ignatius in this paper. The importance and the durability of the Protestant movement must have been quite unknown to him. That his sons were destined to engage in a long and, at times, bitter struggle with the disciples of Luther and Calvin he could not foresee. That the sects arising in his day would still be strong four hundred years later would probably have seemed a fantastic assumption to him.

Ludwig von Pastor, the historian of the modern papacy, rejected the term "Counter-Reformation" and won for the term "Catholic Reform" general acceptance. At the same time he added and popularized another term "Catholic Restoration". For Pastor the inner regeneration of the Church in the sixteenth century was the Catholic Reform, whereas the reestablishment of the Church in regions where it had been wiped out or imperiled was the Catholic Restoration. He puts the turn from Catholic Reform to Catholic Restoration about 1575, a score of years after the death of Loyola. For Pastor the two movements progress side by side until about 1625 when for a time the Catholic Restoration dominates.⁵ Since the term "Catholic Restoration" is in many respects the equivalent of "Counter-Reformation", we see that Ignatius was, for Pastor, a precursor of the Counter-Reformation. As a Catholic Reformer he is, on the contrary,

⁴ *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* VIII (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1936), 791.

⁵ H. Jedin, *op. cit.*, 16 ff. It will be recalled that the failure of the Emperor Ferdinand II (1619-1637) to maintain Catholic preponderance led to the Peace of Westphalia and confessional truce.

one of the most prominent and, while not among the earliest, the one whose technique of beginning reform with the individual, marks him out as having given the impulse which led to the genuine inner renewal of the Church. It is not my purpose to study Ignatius as a Catholic Reformer in this essay. I limit myself to Ignatius as a Catholic Counter-Reformer, i.e., as an opponent of Protestantism. It must be noted, however, that any effort to separate completely the two qualities in Ignatius, or in anyone else, would be artificial and misleading. The reader must expect mention of much that was positive and interior to Catholicism. Indeed, most of what Ignatius did to stop Protestantism was positive in the sense that he worked to bolster up the faith of hesitating Catholics.

Founded to Combat Protestantism?

At the outset of our study we have to consider the statement often made that Ignatius founded his Order to combat Protestantism, indeed to wipe it out. If this means that the Society of Jesus was instituted to safeguard and propagate the Catholic Church, and as a consequence to defend it against opposing doctrines, it would be true that the Society was founded against Protestantism which is obviously a doctrine opposed to Catholic teaching. But in this sense the charge is vague. The Society could be said to have been founded to combat any heterodox views. If, on the contrary, this thesis is understood in the sense that Ignatius, when he founded his Order, had Protestantism in mind either solely or in a specific way, it is certainly false. There is no mention of any such purpose in the documents which contain the fundamental charter of the Order, the bulls of Paul III and Julius III of September 27, 1540 and July 21, 1550 respectively. In them it is asserted that the end of the Society is the defense and propagation of the faith and the progress of souls in Christian life and doctrine by preaching, teaching, retreats, catechetical instructions, by hearing confessions and administering the other Sacraments and by charitable works.⁶ In the *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* there is no mention

⁶ *Societatis Iesu Constitutiones et Epitome Instituti* (Rome, 1949), 9.

of Protestantism when the end of the Society is discussed or in any other connection. Protestantism is mentioned in the six or seven thousand letters of Ignatius and in the *Vita Ignatii Loiolae* of Juan Polanco which is based on them. But rather infrequently. When speaking of the end of his Society in his letters, Ignatius never mentions Protestantism.⁷ When Ignatius died in 1556 most of his followers were in Italy and Spain. There were three Italian provinces at that time and three in Spain. In addition Portugal and France had one each and there were two overseas in Brazil and India. Germany had two. In his last years accordingly Ignatius was concerned with Germany and with Protestantism. It cannot be said, however, that they occupied the principal position in his solicitude. Of the 1157 letters signed by Ignatius between July 1555 and July 1556, only seventy-four went to Germany, far less than ten per cent.⁸

The Roman Breviary, it is true, states that just as God raised up other holy men in other crises to oppose heresy, so He raised up Ignatius to oppose Luther and the other heretics of the sixteenth century. But the Breviary also lists other activities of Ignatius. The mention of Luther comes after it has been recalled that Ignatius sent Xavier and other missionaries to evangelize the heathen. Later on the Breviary speaks of Ignatius' efforts to advance the religious life among Catholics. This last is characterized as the most important of his endeavors. So if we take the lessons of the Breviary in their entirety, we find that they do not in any way contradict the facts we have established.⁹

Early Contacts with Protestantism

We now turn from these general considerations to the actual contacts which Ignatius had with heresy. They came late in life and were for the most part indirect. In the Spain in which Loyola grew up fidelity to the Catholic faith was taken for granted. For every good Spaniard abandonment of the Catholic religion was treason, a crime against the

⁷ B. Duhr, *Jesuiten-Fabeln* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1899), 2 ff.

⁸ *Stimmen der Zeit* 156 (1936), 242.

⁹ "Sed in primis inter Catholicos instaurare pietatem curae fuit." Lectio VI.

state as well as the Church. Having won back their country from Islam at the cost of much blood, it was natural for Spaniards to look upon enemies of religion as enemies of the established order. They recognized not only the right but the duty of their sovereigns to defend the faith with the sword. Moral disorders were not lacking in the peninsula but the faith was strong and the Inquisition was destined rigidly to maintain religious unity in the country. The suspicions aroused in Alcalá and Salamanca by the Exercises of Ignatius show clearly enough what meticulous care was taken to maintain the faith in Spain even before the Protestant peril was imminent. At the Spanish universities Ignatius was taken for an *alumbrado* or an Erasmian rather than a Protestant.

In Paris it would have been easier for Loyola to make contact with Protestants and Protestantism, had he so desired. Luther's pamphlets were being circulated in Latin translations. John Calvin was a fellow student at the University. But as Ignatius bore witness, he never frequented *alumbrados*, schismatics or Lutherans. He did not know them.¹⁰ No doubt he heard how certain sectaries had outraged Catholic feeling in Paris, while he was there, by smashing a statue of the Madonna, and by posting at night insulting placards against the Mass. There is even some reason for thinking that Xavier frequented circles in which Lutheran ideas were aired but such gatherings were not for Ignatius, nor for Francis Xavier once he had come under the influence of Loyola.¹¹

It was as founder and general of the Society of Jesus that Ignatius first came into contact with Protestantism, and that indirectly. This was not long after the time when the Roman authorities began seriously to occupy themselves with the novelties which had swept Germany away from its religious moorings. It is true that Leo X had condemned Luther's doctrine as early as 1520 and excommunicated him the following year, but both in Rome and Germany many refused to take the movement seriously, terming it a quarrel among monks. We should not blame the Roman officials too much. They were accustomed to disputes and squabbles. There are

¹⁰ A. Favre-Dorsaz, *Calvin et Loyola* (Brussels, 1948), 111 f.

¹¹ J. Brodrick. *St. Francis Xavier* (New York, 1952), 32.

in the world thousands of storms every day. Not many of them develop into hurricanes. Rome was inclined to think that the Protestant crisis would blow over. When, however, Paul III became pope in 1534 he called the Nuncio Pietro Paulo Vergerio from Vienna to obtain firsthand information on the situation in Germany. Vergerio, who was later to go over to Protestantism, was astonished at the ignorance of the Roman curia on the matter. His reports induced the careful and farsighted Paul III to take up the struggle in a systematic way. It was Paul III who first orientated the Society of Jesus, which in 1540 he approved, in the direction of Germany.

The Battle is Joined

The early Jesuits found evidence of Protestant workings in Italy, France, and even south of the Pyrenees but it was in Germany that in those days the real battle was being waged. The greater part of Germany, some say, not without exaggeration, nine-tenths of the population of the German-speaking countries, was lost to the Church. Ignatius was twenty-six when Luther raised the flag of rebellion (1517). Four years later came the conversion of Ignatius. But nearly twenty years were to pass between that event and the arrival in the person of Peter Faber of the first Jesuit opponent in Germany of the new teaching. During those decades priests and religious had abandoned the Church in droves. Many German princes had taken advantage of the turn of affairs to confiscate Church property, and German humanists were rejoicing in what they termed the breaking of slavery's chains. Isolated priests and religious remained faithful to the Church. More women than men religious were true to their principles. But the movement engulfed them. It was as if the earth had swallowed up the army of monks and priests who a few years earlier had led the German Church. In reality they had not been swallowed up. They had become Lutherans, had married and were busy propagating their errors.¹²

At the beginning of 1540, the Nuncio Giovanni Morone

¹² B. Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1907), I, 2.

reported that the religious situation worsened hourly, that the authority of the pope declined visibly and lacked all support. Germans thought it useless to look to Rome for help. Yet it was from Rome that assistance was to come. Of old, Rome had sent the Anglo-Saxon, St. Boniface, to evangelize the heathen and organize the German Church. In the sixteenth century too, at the word of the Vicar of Christ, Ignatius Loyola sent some of the first Jesuits to Germany where they were to play a notable role in stemming and eventually turning the tide of revolt. "That Germany remained true to the Universal Church and to her own past," writes a modern Catholic historian, "was due for the most part to the Society of Jesus."¹³

In the 1540's the Jesuits were but a handful and Ignatius could have used all his men to advantage in Spain and Italy, not to mention the foreign missions. But late in 1541 Peter Faber, at the word of Paul III, accompanied the ambassador of Charles V to Germany, where at Worms and later at Regensburg, he began to preach, hear confessions and give the Spiritual Exercises. Johann Cochlaeus, distinguished humanist and opponent of Luther, was one of those to make the Exercises. He rejoiced that "masters of the feelings" had appeared.¹⁴

Faber had to leave Germany in 1541 but during his absence he continued to pray for Luther and Melanchthon. Not long afterwards he was back working in the Rhenish cities. One April day in 1543, young Peter Kanis, now known as St. Peter Canisius, Confessor and Doctor of the Church, came down from Cologne to Mainz to keep a rendezvous with Divine Providence. He made the Exercises under the skilled direction of Faber and soon entered the Society, the first German Jesuit. Faber, aided by Canisius and others, continued to labor, particularly at Cologne, which at the time was in grave danger

¹³ K. Eder, *Die Geschichte der Kirche im Zeitalter des konfessionellen Absolutismus* (Wien, 1949), 76: "Wenn Deutschland den Zusammenhang mit der Grosskirche und mit seiner eigenen Vergangenheit wahrte, so ist das zum grössten Teil das Verdienst der Gesellschaft Jesu."

¹⁴ *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu I, Vita Ignatii Loiolae I*, (Madrid, 1894), 93: "Gaudere se diceret quod magistri circa affectus invenirentur."

of being lost to the Church. He left Germany in 1544 and died two years later. As is clear from his celebrated *Memoriale*, Faber worked in Germany in a spirit of mildness and charity. There was nothing of the heresy-hunter about him. Rather he relied on prayer for the dissidents and on instructions given in a spirit of love and kindness. He bequeathed this spirit to his disciple, Peter Canisius. Forty years after Faber's death, Canisius still recalled him as the model of spiritual workmen, "Not an eloquent preacher, but very devoted to God and the saints; while he lived, a marvelously efficient fisher of men."¹⁵

Ignatius sent other eminent men to Germany. Claude Lejay, like Faber a Savoyard, followed his countryman to Germany. At Regensburg he found heresy strong, and when his opponents threatened to throw him into the Danube, he cheerfully replied that one could go to heaven as easily by water as by land. Expelled from Regensburg, he travelled to Ingolstadt, Dillingen, Worms. Sickened at the sight of the defections from the faith, he was amazed that the countries remaining Catholic did so little for Germany. After attending the Council of Trent, Lejay returned to Germany in 1549 with Canisius and Salmeron to take a post as professor at the University of Ingolstadt. A few years later he was engaged in the foundation of a Jesuit college at Vienna when death claimed him. Lejay, who was loved and esteemed by the Catholic Germans, labored effectively for the faith in Germany in an hour of desperate need and he did much to advance the credit of the Society there.¹⁶

The third of the original group of Jesuits to labor in Germany was Nicholas Bobadilla. His six years north of the Alps were a series of mishaps. On one occasion he was robbed of his very shirt by bandits and on another nearly killed while performing the duties of an army chaplain. But he fell into disgrace when he wrote against the Emperor and was summarily conducted to the frontier and expelled from the Empire. Bobadilla caused the superiors of the early So-

¹⁵ "Non dissertus orator sed erga Deum et sanctos dum viveret devotus preceptor et piscator hominum mire fructuosus." O. Braunsberger, *B. P. Canisii Epistulae et Acta* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 19) VIII, 119.

¹⁶ Duhr, *Geschichte*, I, 15 ff.

ciety more than one heartache. It is doubtful, however, if anything this able but erratic man did grieved them more than the reputation which he made for himself in Germany. The fact that he was a good theologian and preacher did not balance in Ignatius' mind the lack of judgment and steadiness. It is true that Bobadilla did not like Germany and could not feel at home there. His attack on the Interim of 1548 can be explained and perhaps defended. At any rate it won for Bobadilla a more expeditious return to his beloved Italy than he could have foreseen.¹⁷

The first efforts, therefore, made by Ignatius through his disciples to save Germany consisted in direct exercise of the sacred ministry. Faber, Lejay, Bobadilla and their helpers preached, heard confessions and gave the Exercises. By persuasion they tried to stem the tide of Protestantism. We find them now here, now there, never long in any one place. This was the original plan of Ignatius: to go, as circumstances and obedience determined, from place to place, ever intent on the interests of Christ and His Church. If the Protestant Revolt had not come to disrupt religious unity in Europe, this plan might have been continued. But experience amidst the actual conditions of the century showed that some kind of continuous action was necessary at least in Germany. If a line was to be established and held against Protestantism, centers had to be formed. According to Lejay and Canisius, the German bishops and princes saw in colleges and universities the principal means for the preservation of the faith and the revival of Catholic life. As late as 1546, Ignatius and most of his early companions were against the establishment of Jesuit colleges even for the training of young Jesuits. But Ignatius learned from events in Portugal, Spain and Sicily as well as in Germany that the colleges which James Lainez, one of his ablest sons and destined to be his successor as general, was advocating, were a necessity. The initial steps taken at Coimbra in Portugal, Gandia in Spain and Messina in Sicily paved the way for the foundation of colleges in Germany.¹⁸

In 1549 Ignatius sent, as we mentioned above, Lejay, Sal-

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 24 ff.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 33 ff.

meron and Peter Canisius to the University of Ingolstadt as professors. Their lectures, however, were mainly to empty benches: they had fourteen pupils of whom only four were prepared for instruction on university level. Ignatius, disappointed in his desire to have a foundation for a college in which Jesuits could also be formed had drawn all three out of Ingolstadt by 1552. He had other work for them to do. The first Jesuit effort to better the educational situation in Catholic Germany had resulted in failure.¹⁹

In 1550 Ferdinand I had asked Ignatius for Lejay to found a college in Vienna. Here success was swift. Lejay arrived in 1551, to be followed in 1552 by Canisius and others to the number of a score or more. By 1554 there were three hundred students in the College of Vienna and by 1556 four hundred. One bastion of the Counter-Reformation and Catholic Reform had been established on German soil.²⁰

Authentic Spirit

At the other end of the future German Catholic line lay Cologne, which, as we have mentioned, was within an ace of falling into the Protestant camp since the Archbishop Hermann von Wied was known to be seeking an opportunity to apostatize and go over to Lutheranism. The Prior of the Carthusians at Cologne, Gerard Kalckbrenner, wrote to Ignatius that the situation was hopeless and that the friends of Christ should, according to the prophecy of St. Brigid of Sweden, abandon the West and go to the lands of the heathen. Although he esteemed Kalckbrenner, Ignatius was not a defeatist. According to the proverb, it is the first blow that breaks the vase. To crush the fragments is of little importance. Loyola saw things in a different way. He wanted to save the pieces. Or rather, perhaps, he recalled that Christ had prayed *ut sint unum* (John 17, 11) and that such a prayer must be answered. Those who jumped overboard from the bark of Peter did not disrupt the unity of the boat; they merely drowned themselves. Ignatius was willing to admit that every effort should be made to help the pagans. He himself was doing so through Francis Xavier and his other

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 53 ff.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 45 ff.

missionary sons. But equal efforts by prayer, word, example and every available means should be made to help the faltering West. Ignatius was determined to do so even though he felt himself a worthless instrument of the divine wisdom. He had many Jesuits and in the German College he had about fifty men who would soon be ready to go back to their country to perform some signal service as soldiers of Jesus Christ. This letter breathes the authentic spirit of the Catholic Reform.²¹

As his sources of information multiplied, Ignatius saw that at Cologne it was not enough to hear confessions, visit the sick, and preach devotion to the Blessed Sacrament. He, who had been so reluctant to undertake the work of running colleges, was now determined to have one at Cologne. To effect this he was willing to make an exception. Although a suitable foundation was not forthcoming, he named four Jesuits for the future college in 1556 and gave them as watchword "totally to forget themselves." This proved a wise move because Cologne became rapidly the Jesuit capital of Germany. Men trained at the college staffed many other German foundations. Francis Borgia was to praise its fruitful poverty because, second only to the Roman College, Cologne had furnished teachers and priests who showed themselves capable workers in the vineyard of the Lord.²²

In 1556 Ignatius again consented to take up the work in Ingolstadt since the Archduke Albrecht of Bavaria was now willing to found and endow a college. In June 1556 Ignatius despatched eighteen Jesuits to Ingolstadt, the beginning of permanent educational work by the Society in Bavaria which was to develop into a strong link in the chain of Catholic defense. So before he died Ignatius had, with the aid of distinguished subalterns, not only planned but begun to man a Catholic line which was destined to be held: Cologne in the Rhinlands, Ingolstadt in Bavaria and Vienna in Austria. As a subsidiary Prague was also the scene of a foundation in 1556. These colleges were the beginnings of an educational network which for two centuries was destined to cover Catho-

²¹ *Monumenta Ignatiana* I, VIII, 383 ff, "vilia divinae sapientiae instrumenta."

²² Duhr, *op. cit.*, 34.

lic Germany in somewhat the same way that our American Jesuit educational setup covers our country today. In this respect we can say with some truth that the German Assistancy was the American Assistancy of the Old Society. In Germany the Jesuits were in no wise the only ones who did valiant service for the cause. Just as in America today there are many, many outstanding Catholics in all spheres who are not Jesuits or Jesuit-trained. But the Jesuit spirit seems to have inspired the Catholic remnant in the Germanies to heroic efforts that probably would not have otherwise been made. The Society has no need to play this role in contemporary America where a victorious spirit inspires all. The effect of the early Jesuits in Germany was unique and may be compared to the action of General Phil Sheridan at Winchester, Virginia, in the Civil War. Sheridan met the Union Army in disordered flight before the confident Confederates. Courageously rallying the Union forces, he turned certain defeat into a glorious victory. The early Jesuits found the army of the militant Church in Germany yielding ground everywhere to the Protestant onrush and were able to give the few defenders the courage to continue their resistance.²³

Ignatius and Canisius

Looked at from a purely human viewpoint, the efforts of Ignatius Loyola in Germany must appear as blessed with a good fortune beyond the capacities of the man who set them in motion. It would have seemed quite impossible in 1521 that the uneducated soldier, wounded in an obscure campaign, should ever be able to take any considerable part in Catholic resistance to Protestantism even if Protestantism remained a more or less local phenomenon. When in 1540 the traditional cult was being abolished in much of Germany, any effective action on his part might have seemed even more remote—and that despite the fact that he had in the meantime acquired a

²³ H. Hauser and A. Renaudet, *Les débuts de l'âge moderne* (Paris, 1929), p. 267, "Ainsi se reconstituait rapidement, dans l'Eglise romaine, cette force de résistance qui lui avait étrangement fait défaut. Depuis la restauration du Saint-Office, les progrès des ordres réformés, l'apparition de la Compagnie de Jésus, elle n'était plus désemparée, comme pendant les années tragiques du pontificat de Clément VII."

good education and been ordained to the priesthood. He did not as yet have a single German disciple. And yet the little Basque with his absolute reliance on God and his mysticism of election was able in the sixteen years of life remaining to him to multiply himself in such a way that, without treading German soil, his spirit was most active in the contest being waged for the soul of Germany.

Most important for the future had been the winning of Peter Canisius for his Society. Peter Faber had brought him into the Ignatian orbit, it is true, but through the Ignatian Exercises. In 1547 Loyola called the young theologian to Rome for personal contact. Canisius was then sent to Sicily for a year before being summoned to Rome for solemn profession. It was on this occasion, September 4, 1549, that Canisius had the famous vision of the Sacred Heart of which he wrote, "Thou, my Saviour, didst invite me and bid me to drink the waters of salvation from this fountain. After I had dared to approach Thy Heart, all full of sweetness, and to slake my thirst therein, Thou didst promise me a robe woven of three folds, peace, love and perseverance, with which to cover my naked soul, one which would be especially useful in the keeping of my vows. With this garment about me, I grew confident again that I should lack for nothing and that all things should turn out to Thy glory." On June 7, 1556 Ignatius made Canisius Provincial of the Upper German Province. In the years after Ignatius' death, Canisius grew to such stature that a modern German university professor has said that he became "the Counter-Reformation in Germany".²⁴

Harsher Attitude?

Having treated of the work of Ignatius as an opponent of Protestantism in its external aspects, one final problem remains for consideration: the spirit of Ignatius in combating heresy. His disciples, Peter Faber and Peter Canisius, were, as we have seen, in favor of avoiding controversy, or at least all insulting and contemptuous references to their adversaries. Faber and Canisius had a deep conviction that God had sent

²⁴ *The Historical Bulletin*, 18, (1940), 55. Professor Heinrich Günther of Munich.

them to help the Germans in a spirit of love and forbearance. At first sight the attitude of Ignatius toward heretics and unbelievers seems much harsher. In 1542 he had intervened in favor of John III of Portugal who wished to use the Inquisition to control the Jews of his kingdom; and later on he was even willing that Jesuits should exceptionally hold the post of inquisitor in Portugal. In 1542 also he was one of those who urged Paul III to institute the Roman Inquisition. It has been asserted, probably with reason, that the intervention of Ignatius in these instances really did not carry much weight. Still the fact remains that Loyola was in favor of the Inquisition.²⁵

Still more damaging to Ignatius' reputation for tolerance is a document dating from 1554. In that year, Ferdinand I of Austria, soon to be Holy Roman Emperor, consulted Canisius on the choice of means for saving his states for the Church. Canisius turned to Ignatius who consulted Lainez, Salmeron and other theologians. The result was an instruction modeled after the repressive methods in use in France and Spain. It is true that it did not satisfy Ignatius. The formulae he used in sending it were less decisive than usual. Canisius is not given a formal order—only suggestions which must be examined with the Rector at Vienna, Father de Lannoy. Ignatius tells them to decide whether to present the memorial or let it drop. Whether presented or not, it has survived and is one of Loyola's productions best known to those who do not like him.²⁶

After enumerating the positive means usual with him, Ignatius turns to repressive measures. He advises Ferdinand not only to show himself a Catholic but also the determined foe of all heresy. Moreover the emperor should deprive those councilors, magistrates and administrators who are suspect of heresy of all dignities and of all important offices. In fact it would be more effective if he deprived some of them of life or condemned them to loss of property and exile, "*aliquos vita vel bonorum expoliationibus et exilio plectendo.*" Heretics should be eliminated from the University of Vienna and

²⁵ H. G. Sedgwick, *Ignatius Loyola* (New York, 1923), 359.

²⁶ O. Braunsberger, I (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1896), 488 ff.

other universities and schools. All heretical books should be burned or banished. Even books by heretics which treat of grammar, rhetoric or dialectics should be taboo. Heretics should not even be mentioned by name. "Preachers of heresy and heresiarchs and all who are found to be communicating the pest to others should be severely punished even at times by the death penalty." Still Ignatius was not in favor of execution by fire or of instituting the Inquisition in Germany. Things had gone too far, 'Sed de extremo supplicio et de Inquisitione ibi constituenda non loquor, quia supra captum videtur Germaniae ut nunc affecta est.'

It is not certain, as we suggested above, that this memorial was ever presented to Ferdinand. But it is a revealing document. Ignatius certainly does not qualify in it as a patron of tolerance. He counts a little too heavily on police protection for orthodoxy. He was of his time in this respect. It would, however, be wrong to regard this document as expressing Ignatius' personal opinion on the manner of treating heretics. When we think of Luther's inflammatory outbursts, Ignatius' program is mild in comparison. When we study it and the *Defensio fidei* by which Calvin, at the very time Ignatius wrote, was erecting intolerance into a principle and systematizing the hatred of Catholicism which Luther had taught, we must conclude that Ignatius could scarcely have recommended milder conduct to Ferdinand who seemed the last hope of Catholicism in Austria since his son and heir, Maximilian, was openly fraternizing with Lutheran preachers.

When there was question of the Jesuits only, St. Ignatius was in favor of mildness and charity. He was not one to see heresy everywhere or to call for extreme penalties. The heretics were erring brethren in whom he saw first the brother and only secondarily the error. If in writing to a ruler who wanted to protect the Church in a desperate situation, Ignatius recommended sterner methods, the temper and the circumstances of the times go far to explain the seeming inconsistency. Faber, Lejay and Canisius, his disciples, spoke and acted with such moderation that none could feel offended. Nadal the man whom Ignatius trusted perhaps more than any other summed up the attitude of his master when he said, "Let no one ever hear from the mouth of a Jesuit a word

which may be interpreted as offensive and insulting or spoken with an intention of dishonoring our opponents. We must be satisfied to present the truths of the faith with the greatest zeal and constancy, with complete sincerity and perfect love of the truth and with supreme freedom of spirit in the Lord."²⁷

Conclusion

To return briefly to the maxims on human effort and confidence in Divine Providence with which we began this essay—it is probable that Ignatius first came to the conclusion that all available means should be used to accomplish religious purposes when he was debating the question of undertaking belated university studies. This occurred in 1523 when he found the Holy Land barred as a place where he might dwell as a hermit. He said afterwards he had been taught about that time that he ought to use all natural means while putting all his trust in God. Certainly the long years of study by which he fitted himself to found an Order destined to contain many learned men are an example of the use of human means. He acquired as good an education as could have been acquired at the time. The result was that he reaped abundantly in Germany—the one field of his endeavors we have studied here—and even more abundantly elsewhere.

Ignatius' advocacy of the use of repressive measures against Protestantism should probably also be catalogued under the heading of using every available means. In his day both the contending parties looked upon the use of force as legitimate and he was a man of the times in this respect. Although we may regret it, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that force was effective both for and against the faith in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Catholic Church was wiped out, or practically so, in the Protestant jurisdictions; Protestantism suffered the same fate under Catholic rulers. France, where two creeds were tolerated after the Edict of Nantes, was one of few exceptions.

²⁷ *Epistolae P. Hieronymi Nadal IV* (Madrid, 1905), 228. When Bernardino Occhino, the General of the Capuchins, married and went over to Protestantism, Ignatius instructed Claude Lejay to get in touch with him and promise that the Society would, as far as lay in its power guarantee his safety. Favre-Dorsaz, *op. cit.*, p. 356.

The Juan Valadez Case

James D. Loeffler, S.J.

On January 11th of this year more than 17,000,000 viewers saw enacted on their television screen a somewhat garbled but basically true account of a "Big Story" brought to pass last June (1956) in El Paso, Texas. Paralleling in many respects the campaign undertaken just ten years ago in Miami, Florida, ("Esthonians Rescued," WOODSTOCK LETTERS, February 1947), the re-uniting of many Mexican families separated by harsh and inflexible immigration laws occasioned less national publicity than the dramatic Esthonian affair, but was more far-reaching in its consequences. Even the thousands of Hungarians since admitted to this country were enabled to enter through the application to them of the "parole system" that had its origin here.

It all started in April, 1956, when a good, quiet Mexican, Juan Valadez, the father of seven little girls, came to the Rectory with one of his daughters and laid a sheaf of papers on the desk before me. From careful perusing of them, I learned that a third appeal for the admission of his wife to this country had been rejected and she was held permanently excludable. Juan was American-born, though reared in Mexico, and four of his daughters were born here. The three youngest were living with his wife in Juarez; the rest were in school here. He was obliged to be father and mother to them and pay rent for two room homes on both sides of the Border. On Sundays all went over to Juarez to visit their mother, but the rest of the week they were forced to live apart.

The situation was obviously contrary to the public interest and the welfare of the little girls, so I called the immigration department and asked for a hearing of the case. The date was set and the lawyer who had represented Mrs. Valadez was notified. At the hour appointed, I interviewed the Special

Inquiry Officer assigned. He had presided at the previous hearings and his mind was made up. I was excluded from the hearing and only the lawyer admitted. But he used a brief containing the arguments I had prepared. The decision was negative and the results forwarded to Washington on appeal.

In the meantime, the advent of Mothers' Day provided a dramatic occasion to publicize the case in the newspapers and this was followed up by a public attack on the iniquitous law and the method of enforcement, and by editorials and articles supporting my stand. The latter were written by reporter Ralph Lowenstein who won the TV Big Story Award for his efforts. In interviews and pictures, it was shown that there were hundreds of such cases along the Border, and nothing could be done in their behalf except for an occasional act of Congress granting relief in particular cases. The files of local lawyers and of the N.C.W.C. Bureau of Immigration were crammed with hopeless cases that had piled up over a period of years. Congressman Francis E. Walters of Pennsylvania, chairman of the House sub-Committee of Immigration, and co-author of the McCarron-Walters Act, was in a position to stymie all efforts of Congress and the President to bring about a change in the law. This he continued to do.

Through the publicity given to the Valadez case, the matter came to the attention of President Eisenhower and to Immigration Director Swing in Washington. When the case came up for hearing in Washington, all was set for a vigorous fight: representatives of N.C.W.C. and the local Congressman were present. But the hearing was never held. In a precedent-breaking decision, it was decided that not only the Valadez case but all similar cases were to be reviewed by the local immigration director and, where it was in the public interest, he was empowered to grant an indefinite parole into the United States of any person hitherto excluded by the immigration laws. The local director had intended to do this personally in the Valadez case but was deterred by higher authority until authorization was received from Washington.

When the news broke, he was immediately informed by telephone and summoned me and the reporter to his office. He signed the parole immediately, and told me to have Mrs. Valadez at the International Bridge in one hour with her

children. Here, after the usual procedure, she was permitted to return to her home and family after four years of exile. The children on this side of the border were dismissed from school early to be present on the occasion.

Juan Valadez, returning from work at five o'clock, was overjoyed to see his wife and family re-united once again in their own home. Reporters and photographers were on hand to record the historic event. Mrs. Valadez had cleaned the house and prepared a Mexican supper. When that was over, all repaired to Sacred Heart Church here with many tears to thank that merciful Heart for an answer to their long years of prayer.

Since then, more than 80 families have enjoyed such reunions in this area alone, and the results have been extended the entire length of the Border, and even to aliens from overseas. Thus has ended one of the most satisfying and consoling experiences of a lifetime. Local lawyers, overjoyed, banded together to offer free legal service and advice to any who might need them, so that never again would it be necessary for a prospective immigrant to appear before an inquiry officer of the Immigration Department without competent counsel and direction. The history-making Valadez case may figure prominently in future Congressional debates and revisions of the immigration laws.

God, Who didst sanctify the first fruits of the faith in the vast tracts of North America by the preaching and blood of thy holy martyrs Isaac Jogues and his companions, grant us this grace: that through their intercession the worldwide Christian harvest may daily grow more fruitful; through Christ our Lord. Amen.

—from the Mass of St. Isaac and Companions, Sept. 26.

Father Francisco J. Rello

Teodoro Llamzon, S.J.

That rare combination, which is the dream of every missionary—the gift of tongues, and the ability to adapt oneself to local ways—Father Francisco J. Rello, S.J. possessed in a remarkable degree, when as a young Scholastic, he came to the Philippine Islands in 1905. Already fluent in Spanish (his native tongue), Portuguese, French, German, Italian and English, he began to pick up all the important dialects of the Islands. Ten years later, he could carry on a conversation in Tagalog, Ilocano, Cebuano, Bicol, Pampango, Ilongo, Pangasinan, Ibanag, Cuyunen, Waray-Waray, Chavacano and Moro. He even had smatterings of Chinese, Japanese and Russian, and when, towards the end of his life, someone asked him how many languages he knew, he gave the incredible figure of more than forty!

The key to a people's heart and mind is the knowledge of their tongue. Father Rello knew this, and he set about putting his linguistic talent to good use. It was not unusual to see him, as a hospital chaplain, trudge along from bed to bed, greeting each patient in the native-dialect, talk to him about his children and then proceed to the next bed, beginning all over again in an entirely different dialect. The invariable reaction of the sick man was, "I thought I was the only Moro, or Pampango in this hospital. That Father talked to me in my own language, and he speaks it very well, too!" Later, they were to find out that he was also a man of God, truly interested in their problems and dedicated to solving them. He was their father in every sense of the word.

The eldest of a family of four, Francisco J. Rello was born in Spain, in the Province of Oruña, where his patron saint, Francis Xavier, the famous missionary, had lived. After finishing preparatory studies in Tarazona Seminary in Tala Rosa, he entered the Society of Jesus in Zaragoza, on June 1, 1897. He completed his studies in philosophy at Tortosa, and

then sailed to the Philippines in 1905 to teach the classics at the Ateneo de Manila.

Here began his first contacts with the boys, for whom he had prayed and whose training in God's ways, he had carefully planned. Here began his friendship with those bright-eyed lads, who were later to grow up leaders of their people. A prominent intellectual in Manila, who now heads a University, and who sat in his classes thus writes of him with warm affection:

Although I was only in my early teens, I remember the good Father for three outstanding qualities. He was kind, understanding and fair.

At that age, I was a mischievous boy and my first real personal contact with Father Rello took place when he made me remain after class. I expected to be punished severely, but he simply talked to me in a fatherly manner, then, as punishment, told me to go to confession and communion.

During the first months, our after-class sessions were quite frequent, but he never showed anger or impatience. As I look back to those incidents now, I can say that I learned a lot about good conduct, studies and religion because of them. I was really getting special lectures on the subjects from a kind and wise teacher.

Even after I had reformed, he continued to call me for after-class sessions during which we would have a good talk. He realized, perhaps, that I was in my most formative years and that the counsel which he was imparting to me was producing the results he expected. I think the bedrock foundation of my character, such as it is today, was formed then, with Father Rello shaping it with his wise advice and kind words.

In addition to his qualities of kindness and understanding, he was fair and certainly knew how to handle boys. This was nowhere better observed than in his handling of our class rivalries. In those days, following the Spanish pattern, the members of a class were automatically divided into two rival intellectual bands. The boarders were called "Romanos," the non-boarders, "Cartagos." To stimulate intellectual effort, the brightest boys in each group were given titles.

In all these question-and-answer bouts, Father Rello was the ultimate judge of whether an answer was wrong or correct. In making his decisions, he was always fair, playing no favorites and inspiring the boys to harder efforts.

It was also during this time that Father Rello, seeing the crying need of the people for instruction in their faith, organized the Ateneo Catechetical Instruction League. It was

a desperate hour for the Church. In the wake of the Philippine Revolution, there was an exodus of Spanish missionaries from the Islands, and the handful of Jesuits and native priests were pitifully unequal to the burden of tending the flock. Besides, the faith was besieged by three powerful adversaries, seeking to tear away the sheep from the fold—the nationalistic Church of Aglipay, proselytizers, and Masonic propaganda. Something had to be done immediately if the people were to remain firm in their faith.

Father Rello, therefore, thought of bringing some of the students of the Ateneo to fill in the gap of instructions in the faith. For this work, he interested the sodalists, and brought them to the slums of Tondo. He saw the ACIL through countless obstacles, and went himself to the various centers. He had the privilege of seeing this organization celebrate its golden jubilee, and on this occasion, the school paper, GUIDON, ran a feature article on its accomplishments. Among the things mentioned was a glowing tribute to its founder: "As we look over the past records and present achievements of the ACIL, we can without the least reservation, tell Father Rello that he has done his part and that the ACIL will always function as long as the need for it exists."

After his regency, Father Rello went to the United States for theology. He studied at Woodstock, Maryland. To this day, his contemporaries remember him, and they brighten up as one mentions his name. He returned to Spain for his ordination to the priesthood, and remained there for tertianship.

The young priest returned to the Philippines in 1913. Three years later, he was assigned as chaplain to the lepers of the sanitarium at Culion Island, and it was here that he began his lifework. For twenty-three years, he climbed the steep stairways to the wards on the hillsides of the island in order to bring the patients the healing graces of his ministry. Here, he spent the best years of his life, and used all his talents to bring joy to the patients confined in that lonely hospital.

The Jesuit Fathers have been chaplains at Culion ever since it was established in 1905 by the American Government. William Cameron Forbes wrote that, when the call for volunteers for this service went forth, every Jesuit priest responded, including Father Algue, Chief of the Weather Bu-

reau in Manila. However, the Jesuit superior could only spare two men at the most for this work, and one of the lucky men in the year 1916 was Father Rello.

Perhaps it was because he realized his great privilege; perhaps it was just his zeal that drove him to heroic love for the lepers. In any case, he was totally devoted to them, and spared no effort to share their sufferings, and ease their trials. To him, no matter how disagreeable the odor of their sores, nor how repulsive their wrecked bodies, they were still his children, and he embraced them all in the charity of his heart. In vain did the doctors plead with him to be more careful. He would simply say, "They are my children, and I must treat them as such. Don't worry about me. I should have contracted leprosy long ago, had I been susceptible to it."

His utter disregard of the ordinary precautions of the hospital convinced the lepers that he was truly one of them. They warmed up to him easily and quickly. To him they took not only their personal problems, but also the problems of the whole colony. He was liked both by the doctors and employees as well as by the lepers themselves.

In 1952, the Philippine Government paid tribute to the good Father Rello had accomplished among the lepers. After a dinner party at the Malacañan Palace in Manila, the first lady of the land decorated him "for his unselfish work and distinguished service to the country." The medal came from President Quirino, and the old priest accepted it with tears in his eyes.

Nor did the lepers themselves forget his devotion to them. Seven years after he left Culion, he visited another leper sanitarium in Tala, Rizal, and when the lepers whom he had tended at Culion learned that he was in the hospital, they rushed out to meet him. He wrote to a friend: "Yesterday, I went 35 kilometers from Manila to see the lepers who were with me at Culion and are now at the Central Luzon Sanitarium. They were speechless for joy, when they saw me again after seven years. I heard their confessions for three hours in all the dialects."

In 1941, Father Rello was transferred to Zamboanga, on the island of Mindanao. Here, Father worked among the Moros and was chaplain to the prisoners of San Ramon Penal Colony.

When war broke out, he took to the hills, and did what work he could among the mountain tribes and refugees who had fled to the mountains.

After the war, superiors called him up to Manila in 1947, in order to give him a little rest. But his constant request for work brought him once more the chaplaincy of a hospital, this time the Philippine General Hospital, the largest in Manila. Even old age did not prevent him from walking down the long corridors to the patients who called for him. In his room, he kept a little statue of the Baby Jesus, and when he received a call either during the day or the night, he would meekly get up and say, "I'm coming, Baby Jesus!" The call of the patient was for him the call of the Divine Infant.

This devotion to the Child Jesus brought out a most attractive quality in Father Rello: simplicity. The patients and doctors knew that Father was like their own father. He was truly interested in them. His ready smile and his calm face made it easy for them to confide their troubles to him. He was always ready to listen, no matter how small their problems, and when walking became an agony, he had himself brought to their rooms in a wheelchair, in order to attend to them.

A good illustration of this wonderful simplicity of Fr. Rello in dealing with souls is brought out by one of his penitents:

For me, the distinguishing trait of Father Rello was his childlike simplicity. Perhaps, this was the offshoot of the tender love he had for the Baby Jesus. When presented a small image of the Divine Baby, he carried it inside his soutane, against his breast. He simplified everything to one major concern, doing the will of God. As a matter of fact, whenever he assisted the dying, he made them say with him, "Thy will be done."

The other trait which I found striking was his unchanging serenity, his consistent and constant cheerfulness no matter what happened—even when he was suffering physically or was forgotten or neglected. It was wonderful to pour out one's sorrow to him because he was such a sympathetic and consoling listener. And then, after the sorrow was told, he would always take one to God—either to Baby Jesus or to the Crucified. I remember once when he saw me crying, he took me to a crucifix and gently made me say with him, "Thank you, Jesus."

A favorite pastime of his was talking to his birds. Wherever he was, in Culion, Zamboanga or Manila, he kept a few canaries and *mayas* in a cage in his garden. He would request his friends to send him these warblers and would take care of them himself. He brought some sparrows to Culion, and years later, when he had a chance of visiting the island again, he wrote to a dear friend in the United States:

I would like to go back to Culion even for a few hours, to see the inmates and the sparrows which I brought in 1926. I am sure that they have multiplied. I would like to see the fruit trees also, and the pineapples and the houses and the church we built for about two hundred thousand pesos on the hill of the island.

When someone asked him whether the birds understood him, when he talked to them, he would say, "Surely, they have their own language and I learn many things from them!"

An interesting incident about his birds is recounted by one of his close friends:

The only time I saw him with tears in his eyes was when my mother gave him a couple of rice birds to take the place of his beloved parrot, *pikoy*, which died of drowning and cold when Father abandoned it in its bath, to minister to a dying patient. He was touched to tears that my mother understood how much he felt the loss of his birds.

Thus, even in his little interests, he did not lose his proper sense of values. For him, the sick came first, for that was his work as a priest of God. He promptly answered their calls, and left everything else to attend to them. At one time, a call came while he was shaving. Immediately dropping everything, he hurried to the dying person with half his face shaved.

A friend tells of his day's schedule at the Philippine General Hospital:

I don't know at what time he used to rise in the morning when he was with us. It must have been at a very early hour, because he distributed Communion to the patients in the wards before the 6 o'clock Mass. He kept this up faithfully even if during the night he had been wakened two or three times for the dying. The first year he was in the hospital, he did the rounds painfully on foot. The bones in his feet kept giving him trouble after his work in Culion. Later on, he went to the patients in a wheelchair.

But Superiors knew that the old man had finished his work, and that his long journey through the hospital corridors had

come to an end. They told him to retire to the Ateneo de Manila, and take his well-earned rest. Reluctantly, he bade good-bye to his patients, and like a good soldier, followed his orders.

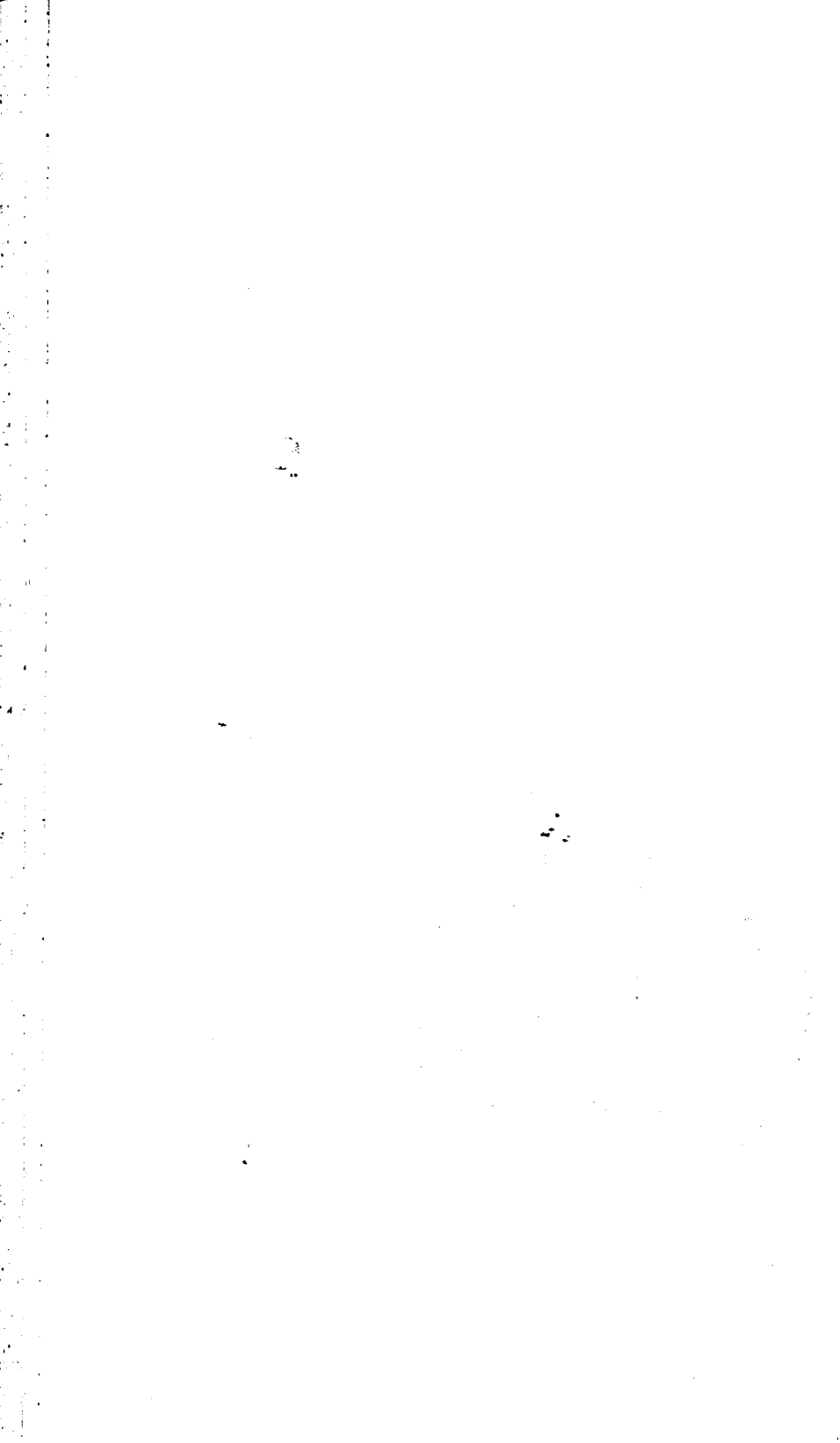
In 1954, he became bedridden and was taken to the infirmary at the Jesuit Novitiate in Novaliches. Here, he could find quiet, and the younger members of the Society could learn from him the shining virtues of simplicity and faith. The novices and the Brother Infirmarian constantly attended him and tried to foresee his needs. Often, they would ask him if he wanted anything, but he would shake his head and say, "I'm alright." Don't worry about me. All I want are your prayers."

One morning, as he rose from his wheelchair, he fell. X-ray revealed that he had suffered bone fractures and had to be brought to the hospital for treatment. The doctors said that he would have to be in traction for at least four months, and then in a cast for two months more. Although the injury was serious, there appeared to be no immediate danger. Yet it seems that this time Father saw more than the doctors did. A few days after the accident, he requested Extreme Unction which was administered, although death did not seem imminent. This was the only medicine he wanted, and shortly afterwards he died. His ears closed to the noise of the world to hear this beautiful invitation: "Come because when I was sick, you visited Me."

Before his death, he wrote to a dear friend of his in Philadelphia, whom he knew only through correspondence, but who was very close to him: "I have given myself completely to God and promised to live and die in these Islands, thus making my sacrifice to God more complete. I have been here in the Philippines since 1905, and I want to spend my last days here if God so wills it." God granted his prayer. It was October 1, 1955, when he passed to his reward. He was seventy-nine years old, fifty-eight years in the Society, and fifty years in the Philippines.



FATHER WILLIAM T. TALLON



Father William T. Tallon

James M. Somerville, S.J.

Born in Hoboken on February 9, 1881, Father William Tallon entered the novitiate at Frederick after completing his third year at old St. Francis Xavier College in New York. He distinguished himself very early as a classics scholar and was sent to teach in the Juniorate while as yet only a Scholastic. Returning to Woodstock after regency, he was ordained to the sacred priesthood by Cardinal Gibbons in 1912. During his fifty-eight years as a Jesuit he was successively Dean of the Juniorate at Poughkeepsie, Dean of Georgetown College, Socius to the Provincial, and Rector of St. Joseph's College in Philadelphia. His last years were spent at Fordham where he served as student counsellor and classics teacher in the Prep and, finally, as spiritual father to the Spellman community.

For nearly a quarter of a century Father Tallon composed the Latin text of the citations and honorary degrees awarded by Fordham to distinguished laymen and clergy. A conservative estimate would place the number of these scrolls at close to one hundred, including the one bestowed upon the present Holy Father when he visited the United States as Cardinal Secretary of State. Father Tallon had few equals in his mastery of Latin form. His citations were drawn in a terse, elliptical style that combined the sententious brevity of Tacitus with a sly and genial academic humor. Not a word was wasted, yet the total effect was one of grace and elegance.

It was characteristic of this modest, retiring man that although he had written scores of citations in praise of others, few were aware that he had himself received the honorary Doctor of Laws degree from Georgetown while he was President of St. Joseph's. Only after his death did his own brother and sister learn of the degree from the press. In this instance as in so many others, Father Tallon was quite incapable of attaching any importance to an honor paid to himself.

One of the more remarkable features of his last years was the manner in which he adapted himself to the high school boys as student counsellor at Fordham Prep. Naturally retiring and serious, he was nevertheless able to win the confidence and affection of many generations of prepsters who soon learned how authentic and unselfish his interest in them was. His office was always crowded with noisy teen-agers who swarmed around his desk—when they were not actually sitting on it. They knew that this was one place where they were always welcome and it was here more than anywhere else in the school that they felt at home. During these years Father Tallon made many lasting friendships and long after graduation his "boys" would return to ask his fatherly advice and guidance in their personal affairs.

It was not easy for Father Tallon in his old age to surrender his personal privacy and cultivated interests to engage in the apostolate to youth; his gravity and quiet dignity seemed better suited to the academic council chamber. Yet he carried off his assignment with success and often remarked that these were the happiest years of his life.

In all things and at all times Father Tallon was the soul of kindness and courtesy. This was due in no small measure to his instinctive refinement and family background, but it also had deeper roots in an overflowing supernatural charity. He loved to do favors for others, especially if he could do them without being found out. On the other hand, he was most appreciative of any small kindness done in his behalf, a quality which was most evident during his last illness. Even when he was uncomfortable and in pain, he would rarely give any hint of it, lest he inconvenience others. If relief was provided, he would thank his attendants with such humble gratitude that they were deeply moved. "He is such a gentleman; so priestly," remarked one of his nurses the day before he died.

Self-effacing and courteous to the end, Father William Tallon died quietly on October 13, 1956 at St. Vincent's hospital. May he rest in peace.

Father Martin Scott

Francis X. Curran, S.J.

On Sunday, November 28, 1954, at St. Vincent's Hospital in New York City, died Father Martin Scott. This grand old priest had completed seventy years in the Society of Jesus and was approaching his ninetieth birthday when he was called to his eternal reward.

Born in New York City when the last reverberations of the Civil War were dying away, on October 16, 1865, Martin Scott as a young boy moved with his family to Utica, New York. There, after his elementary education, he entered in 1880 the Utica Academy. Three years later he transferred to the College of the Holy Cross for the final year of his secondary education. On graduation in 1884, Martin Scott applied for admission into the Society.

On August 14, 1884, the young neophyte entered Manresa, the novitiate at West Park, New York. This house of training, opened by the New York Mission in 1876, became, after the union of New York to the Maryland Province, a rather superfluous luxury, since the combined province had only 200 scholastics. Consequently the house was closed and in August 1885 Brother Scott travelled with the other novices and juniors to Frederick in Maryland. There on August 15, 1886, Mr. Scott pronounced his first vows. After the completion of his Juniorate in 1888, he moved to Woodstock for his three years of philosophy. In 1891 began his years of regency. He had a normal period of teaching—two years at Holy Cross and three years at Xavier College on 16th Street. In 1896 began his years of theological studies at Woodstock. He was raised to the priesthood at the theologate on June 25, 1899 by James Cardinal Gibbons. After the completion of his studies, young Father Scott travelled West for his year of tertianship at Florissant in Missouri.

At the end of his year of third probation, Father Scott was assigned, in 1901, to Holy Cross as prefect of discipline. In

the following year, he transferred to St. Ignatius Church at 84th Street in New York City. Here he remained as curate, minister and—the work he remembered most fondly in his later years—director of the choir, noted for its boy sopranos. In 1915 Father Scott packed his bags and went off to the Church of the Immaculate Conception on Harrison Street in Boston. There he spent nine years in parish work. In 1924, for the last time in his life, Father Scott again shifted the scene of his labors. This time he moved to Xavier on 16th Street where he was to live for the remaining thirty years of his life. There he did parish work and, using his own popular volume, *Answer Wisely*, taught the boys of Xavier High School their religion. It was an impressive sight to see the venerable octogenarian, with an eager yet somewhat uncertain step, answer the bell calling him to class. When the ravages of advancing age—during his last years, Father Scott was quite deaf—indicated the advisability of his withdrawing from classroom work, Father Scott did not desist from teaching.

He continued the labor in which he had achieved notable success, that of instructing converts. He played a notable part in the establishment of the Xavier Catholic Information Center and acted for a year as its director. And he continued to write.

For as a writer Father Scott achieved his greatest fame and accomplished his most notable services for the Church. It is a rather surprising fact that this, Scott's greatest talent, remained hidden till he was of an age when most men are forced to admit to themselves that they are no longer as young as they once had been. On his transfer to Boston in 1915, Father Scott wrote a number of newspaper articles which were well received. At the age of fifty-two, in 1917, he issued these articles as a book entitled *God and Myself*.

As soon as the book was published, it was obvious that a major apologist for the Catholic Church had appeared. This, his first book, sold, it appears quite certain almost 250,000 copies. His publishers, P. J. Kenedy & Sons, informed the present writer that their records of sales before 1921 do not exist, but since that date 183,381 copies of *God and Myself*

have been sold. It will be to the point to quote from the publishers' letter:

"I think it is safe to say that better than a million copies (of Father Scott's works) were printed and in circulation since 1921. A further estimate would be pure conjecture as to what the sales were prior to 1921. It seemed, however, to be his most popular time, and I would venture a guess of about 100,000 during these first years of his popularity, when one considers that there were four books, one of which was his most popular one, then his third and fourth most popular among them. We could say that the average would have been 50,000 each."

It is impossible to say just how many copies of Father Scott's books were sold. And when one discusses his pamphlets, it is even more difficult to reach an approximate number, which must have been astronomical. To give an illustration—the Paulist Press informed the present writer that they had published but one of Father Scott's books and one of his pamphlets. The book, *Marriage*, finally reached a printing of 140,000, and the pamphlet, *Marriage Problems*, "sold approximately 300,000 copies." And how many pamphlets Father Scott wrote it is impossible to say; it would appear that the note on the program of his diamond jubilee in 1944 asserting that he had published over 100 is not too excessive an estimate. Just one of his publishers, America Press, issued at least fifteen of his pamphlets. Twelve of them are at the present date (1955) selling briskly. But the America Press office could not give the writer even an estimate of the number sold. It is interesting to note that the latest in the America series was the first published in 1951, when Father Scott was eighty-six years old.

Indeed, it is a bit difficult to say how many books Father Scott published. A page in his papers, dated 1940, shows that his books were issued by Macmillan, Benziger, and the Paulist Press. His major publishers, however, were always Kenedy, and their records show that they alone issued twenty-five of Scott's books, with a total sale, since 1921, of 939,654.

Nor was the good effect of Father Scott's writings restricted only to English-speaking peoples. A note on the diamond jubilee program informs us that Father's works were

published in Spanish, Italian, French, Chinese, and Hindustani versions. What the circulation of these translations may have been, no one can even guess.

Down to his last days Father Scott carried on his apostolate of the press. After his death there was discovered among his papers the first draft of a volume on which he was working—in his ninetieth year! But the great flood of his writings had, quite understandably, dwindled to a trickle in his ninth decade. To the last his mind remained clear, and the only notable impairment of his faculties was his deafness. Until a few months before his death, Father sallied forth for his daily stroll, impeccably dressed and carrying a cane on which he had to rely increasingly. During his walks he would smilingly engage children and passers-by in conversation. Proud of his age, (it appeared in his conversation that he intended to live to be the oldest Jesuit in the United States), he would challenge his chance acquaintances to guess his exact age. From his smiling reports to the community, few guesses came within ten years of his age. Indeed, among his papers there is a letter from Frank Hague, political boss of Jersey City, paying the dollar he had lost on his wager with Father Scott.

But time took its toll, and in the last months of his life Father Scott had to submit to the doctors. He was not sick, he was merely old and tired. After a first stay at St. Vincent's, the doctors released him. But soon he had to return to the hospital. To his visitors the exhausted old man expressed the hope that God would not delay his homecoming much longer.

Finally, on November 28, 1954, God called his faithful servant, who had written so well and so much about Him, to Himself. On Thursday, December 2, in the Church of St. Francis Xavier, crowded with prelates, priests, nuns, and laity, Cardinal Spellman pronounced the last absolution over one of America's greatest Catholic apologists.

Books of Interest to Ours

DESERVING HIGHEST PRAISE

Son of the Church. *By Louis Lochet. Translated by Albert J. LaMothe, Jr.* Chicago: Fides Publishers Assoc., 1956. Pp. xiii-255. \$4.50.

Father Lochet, formerly a professor of theology, has been pastor of a worker-parish in Reims for the past six years. Through this actual experience in the apostolate he has come to feel deeply "the enormous disproportion between the apostle's love of men and his own innate weakness to reach so few men and for so short a time." Certainly the author's experience is not an extraordinary one. It is the experience of any apostle. It is an experience which can lead to lassitude, to discouragement, even to despair. But it can also lead the apostle to reflect. That is what the author has done, and his book is the fruit of his reflection. As he states in the foreword, he offers it as "the testimony of a man who works in the Church, and who seeks to understand what he is doing by discovering what she is."

The book, therefore, is not a new attempt at furthering theological research. Rather, it seeks to take up truths long familiar to all of us and re-present them in such a way that we view them not as "stimulating speculations," but as the sole adequate explanation of our lives and our work within the Church. The book betrays its origins: it is the work of one who is to an eminent degree both theologian and apostle, of one who has come to realize that the Church offers us her theology not only as something to be contemplated but as something to be lived. The author is not the first to have come to this realization, nor surely will he be the last. But, more than others, he has given eloquent expression to a realization of which all of us must be constantly reminded. It is primarily for this reason that the book is deserving of the highest praise.

While every chapter will be read with profit, three at least seem to merit special mention: the first, in which attention is given to the more serious temptations that beset all apostolic activity; the fourth, in which the author seeks to show that all our activity will have meaning and value only when it is done within the framework of the Church; and the ninth, in which are discussed the qualifications necessary for the apostle of our age.

It is a matter of some regret that the English translation is at times rather too close to its French original, so that clarity and smoothness have suffered to some degree.

JOHN F. CURRAN, S.J.

CLASSICAL HUMANISM

A History of Education in Antiquity. *By H. I. Marrou. Translated by George Lamb.* New York: Sheed and Ward, 1956. Pp. xvii-466.

Histories of education are certainly not a rarity, but a history of this quality is. For a fascinating theme, the relation of education and culture, permeates Marrou's story of Classical humanism. This theme is the heart of an original synthesis of recent research material on an old subject which the author presents in a thoroughly delightful narrative style. A further technique of the publisher makes this volume more enjoyable to read. This is the arrangement of footnotes which allows for unobstructed reading as well as documentation, by placing the original citations to documents as paginal footnotes, while more detailed references constitute a substantial section, "Additional Notes."

The scope of Marrou's history extends from 1000 B.C. to 500 A.D. First, it watches the shaping of classical education principally in the hands of Plato and Isocrates, then analyzes its classical form in the Hellenistic age and finally, follows its propagation throughout the pagan and Christian world of Roman influence until its destruction by the invading waves of Germanic tribes from northern Europe. A continuous picture results: an initial athletic-militaristic training gives way first to an artistic and finally to an intellectual-literary education. Details of this sketch are filled in with information on methods, curriculum and institutions of each era and with other, perhaps more interesting, topics such as the impact of great masters of the Classical tradition.

This story of Western civilization's birth and growth will profit many of Ours but perhaps none more than those teaching and studying in the juniorate, high school and college. For it offers a deeper knowledge of humanism, the basis of our Jesuit system of education. It discusses methods, e.g. the idea of imitation (p. 84) and emulation (p. 272), values such as the mind-sharpening effect of mathematics (p. 73) and possible weaknesses, such as the danger of superficiality and unreality resulting from an overemphasis on humanistic culture (p. 57). These and other points together with a special chapter give further insights into the nature of Classical humanism.

L. H. LARKIN, S.J.

STIMULATING

The Mass and Liturgical Reform. *By Rev. John L. Murphy.* Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1956. Pp. xii-340. \$5.95.

The current in the literature today is a rather marked shift from the post-Tridentine emphasis on the hierarchical structure of the Church, to that aspect of the Church as a living organism which is designed to bring about an active, intelligent participation of the laity in the life of that Body. In this transitional phase which has already seen so many reforms in the liturgical life of the Church, Father Murphy has done a signal service for priests, religious and laymen whose time is at

a premium, and who lack ready access to sources. Within the small compass of this book, the author has competently delineated the meaning of Liturgy, as well as its relations with faith, with converts, religious instruction and everyday living. He has also given us an illuminating analysis of the doctrine of the Mystical Body, traced a comprehensive history of the liturgical development, and presented a penetrating and challenging exposition of the pastoral needs of the twentieth century. In defining exactly the current problems and proposing solutions, and especially while treating the use of the vernacular in the Mass, it is the author's avowed purpose to stimulate thought rather than give final solutions.

Richly documented by use of the monumental studies of Jungmann, first and foremost, and of Gregory Dix, Schmidt, Durst, Ellard, Klauser, Steuart and others, the author discusses and comments on various aspects of the liturgy and liturgical reforms. Moreover, he constantly makes use of the pertinent Papal encyclicals, *Mediator Dei* and *Mystici Corporis Christi*. This book should bring the reader abreast of developments and serve as a guide to the sources for anyone interested in a deeper and more intensive study of the Mass and liturgical reform. Certainly both lie at the very heart of the revival calculated to make the Church of tomorrow a force that will bring the neo-pagan world to the feet of Christ.

EMMANUEL V. NON, S.J.

DAWSON SYNTHESIS

The Dynamics of World History. By Christopher Dawson. Edited by John J. Mulloy. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1956. Pp. xiv-489. \$6.00.

While haunted by the memories of two world wars and nervously attempting to ward off an even worse cataclysm, the men of the atomic age are abandoning the search for historical facts. Men today strive to find the meaning in events. The metahistorian who offers the best explanation of history to Catholics is the convert, Christopher Dawson. His socio-religious point of view aids readers to unite the mass of historical data. For according to Dawson, religion and cultures ferment and fuse to produce historical vitality; historical epochs are categorized by the religious viewpoint held by the culture.

The Dynamics of World History, edited by John Mulloy is an attempt at a Dawson synthesis. Selections culled from his works which were penned between 1921 and 1955 present Dawson's thesis in his own words; the editor confines himself to an extensive "note." The book is divided into two main divisions. The second part, "Conceptions of World History", far outshines the other. Dawson writes lucidly in defense of his own metahistory. The recent dates of these metahistorical essays, however, make a reader wonder whether the first section of the book is as valuable. The first part, "Toward a Sociology of History", is not too well unified. Readers also realize that Dawson's views have sharp-

ened over the years. Yet the reader is made uneasy by the thought that a synthesis is only valuable if it portrays accurately the present opinion of the author. Would not a scholar of Dawson's caliber have utilized the research of a genius like Lewis Mumford? Yet the section on urbanization bears no date later than 1935; Mumford's research was published after that date. Dawson, also, would not have approved the spelling of Frederic Le Play's name as "Leplay" (p. 216); the French sociologist is too well known to Dawson. The assurance of the editor that the synthesis received Dawson's approval would be a mere shadow compared to an actual reworking of this valuable material by Christopher Dawson.

The editor's "note", moreover, which is actually a commentary on each section, is hidden disadvantageously at the end of the book. At the same time the two main divisions and the five chief subdivisions are introduced only by a change of format on the introductory page. Dawson is clear but even he would have provided a commentary to show why "Prevision in Religion" is followed by "T. S. Eliot on the meaning of Culture". The editor's commentary does link the disparate sections but its hidden location and essay form will not win accolades. The content of the "note" is excellent; the treatment of an "aesthetic approach" to history (p. 445) shows keen insight.

A second edition, more carefully edited, with the commentary readily accessible would be useful to Catholics; a second edition, reworked by Dawson, would be a windfall.

EDMUND G. RYAN, S.J.

INSPIRATIONAL

The Roman Catacombs and Their Martyrs. *By Ludwig Hertling, S.J., and Engelbert Kirschbaum, S.J.* Translated by M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1956. Pp. xiv-224; 48 plates. \$3.50.

For a knowledge of the miraculous spread of Christianity during its first four or five centuries, we must turn not only to the writings left by those early Christians but also to their "monuments," the material remains of that era which have been preserved down to our own day. Chief among these monuments, of course, are the catacombs of Rome, those eighty or ninety underground miles where Roman Christians buried their dead 1500 years ago, and in so doing left for us inspiring testimonies of the Faith they affirmed, even when it meant the laying down of life itself.

However, although the catacombs of Rome have always been held in special veneration by the Christian world, it is only since 1819 that these precious store-houses of Christianity have been studied with the care and scientific exactitude that they deserve, and so it is only within comparatively recent times that we have been able to use the catacombs as a means of gaining a fuller understanding of the persecutions and triumphs that Christianity experienced at Rome.

Because the catacombs do afford such clear insights into early Christianity, and because most Christians have rather nebulous notions concerning the catacombs and their origins, Father Hertling of the Gregorian and Father Kirschbaum, an archaeologist of renown, set about presenting the German Christian world with a "popular" yet pains-takingly accurate description of what the Roman catacombs are and what their history has been. So successful was their endeavor that Father Costelloe, a Fulbright scholar who studied under Father Kirschbaum, undertook translating their book into English.

Beginning with a general description of how the catacombs came to be, the authors then give the histories of the different catacombs, together with brief accounts of the individual popes and martyrs whose tombs are found there. Thus names we have often heard read from the Martyrology or have seen in the pages of the Missal become personages separated from us by a millennium and a half, yet closely united with us in the profession of "one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism." In a special chapter on the tombs of the Apostles Peter and Paul, Father Kirschbaum, one of the four men commissioned by the Holy Father to explore the tomb of St. Peter in 1954, tells us clearly and concisely all that has been discovered by the recent excavations beneath St. Peter's. However, interesting and inspiring though these chapters are, I am sure that for most readers the chapters on "The Eucharist," "Baptism," and "The People of God" will be even more highly prized because of the insight they give into the Faith lived by these "every-day" Christians of early Rome.

The intrinsic interest of the subject itself, the obvious enthusiasm of the authors for their work, the clarity of their presentation, the copious use of plates and diagrams—all go to make the reading of this book an eminently satisfying experience.

JOHN F. CURRAN, S.J.

CONTEMPORARY SCHOLASTICISM

Progress in Philosophy: Philosophical Studies in Honor of Rev. Dr. Charles A. Hart. Edited by John A. McWilliams, S.J. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1955. Pp. vi-216. \$5.00.

Progress in Philosophy can be conveniently assessed by pointing out three degrees of progress in its articles. The section on the philosophy of nature best manifests the first degree: new problems unfortunately treated like old ones. The Aristotelian method of Physics is applied to modern physical scientific method, apparently ignoring the distinctive methods and objects of philosophy and of science as understood by the practitioners of each today. Thus there is an attempt to illuminate modern relativity and atomic theories with Aristotle's treatment of the same: with verbal similarities, the formal differences born of two thousand intervening years appear to be glossed over. The same confusion of objects and methods in the following essay leads the author to reproach science for its failure to distinguish substance from accident.

Several highly competent articles, introduced by an essay on the tenets of Realism by the editor of the collection, exemplify the second degree of progress: new problems met by enriching the old answers with new data. In the realm of metaphysical psychology, Father Ignatius Brady, O.F.M., analyzes Saint Bonaventure's doctrine on the soul, emphasizing its intrinsic natural ordination to the body in spite of the body's mortality. Anton C. Pegis follows with a fine historico-philosophical presentation of the genesis of Saint Thomas' notion of soul and, in the light of his proximity to the Aristotelian Averroes, its surprising closeness to Augustine. In the domain of Ethics Father Gerald Phelan states a natural law credo in challenge to currently popular pragmatic jurisprudence. Ignatius Smith, O.P., concludes the book with an interesting anthology of Thomistic thoughts on the social nature of man, and the function of government and authority.

Finally, most stimulating and creative are the inquiries into the proper object of metaphysics by Father W. Norris Clarke, S.J., and Elizabeth Salmon. Father Clarke draws out the implication of the recent Existentialist thrust in Thomism with its emphasis on the actually existent. Since, unlike possible being, actually existent being alone can lead to the existence of God, it alone should be the primary object of metaphysics. Elizabeth Salmon's essay traces the false problems that arise from the substitution of a Cartesian clear and distinct idea of being, for an analogous notion of being that preserves being with all its mystery. Thus being itself won't be considered contradictory because one's inadequate concepts of it are contradictory. In the other articles in this section, Jacques Maritain refines his idea of the proper effect of subsistence on essence, and Father Francis X. Meehan presents with critical comments the present status of the Neo-Scholastic proof for the existence of God from contingency.

Clearly the good far outweighs the less good in this illuminating cross-section of contemporary American Scholasticism. The tribute of its publication in honor of Father Hart is expressed in James D. Collins' dedicatory encomium of Father Hart's years of devoted service as priest, philosopher, and apostle.

EDWARD V. STEVENS, S.J.

TRANSITION

An Introduction To Philosophy. By Daniel J. Sullivan. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1957. Pp. 288. \$3.75.

The express purpose of this introduction is to help the modern American college student to make the transition from his literary studies to the philosophical realm. The transitional aspect is emphasized throughout by the method of approach, the order of the book, and the stress placed on the moral and social implications of philosophy. Not until the last chapters is the reader introduced to metaphysical analyses and their applications in our knowledge of God.

The first seven chapters of the book treat of the ancient Greek

philosophers, culminating in Plato and Aristotle. The brevity of these chapters and their concluding summaries will greatly encourage the timid "beginner". Moreover the manner of describing the early Greeks is provocative rather than detailed, arousing the reader's interest by sketching in broad strokes the dilemmas confronted by the Greeks and the gradual elaboration of their answers.

The author then chooses to treat the concrete problems with which philosophy has dealt, concerning man himself, his reason, passions, personality and final end. In comparison with standard scholastic manuals, there is a greater proportion of space devoted to these questions, ethical and psychological for the most part. However, this is an introduction to philosophy, not a manual. It proposes to awaken in the student a real interest in philosophy by showing its pertinence to his everyday personal and social life, and to the life of the community and state in which he lives. And it is questionable whether such a departure from the more traditional manualistic method of presenting scholastic philosophy to college students, needs any apology.

This is a good introduction, brief, clear, disarmingly fluent. It reads so easily that the reader has to take care not to miss the full import of what is being said. Some perhaps might object to its consistent Spartan terseness, preferring to see less matter and greater amplification. However the advantages afforded by a more universal description of the field of philosophy, would seem to outweigh the danger of possible superficiality and ambiguity. And the excellent references provided throughout the book by the author, as well as an extremely up-to-date reading list of recommended and advanced readings which is appended, effectively supply the depth which is inherently lacking in any true *introduction*.

JOSEPH L. ROCHE, S.J.

IGNATIAN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Le Récit du Pèlerin, Autobiographie de saint Ignace de Loyola. Third edition by André Thiry, S.J. Louvain: Museum Lessianum. Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer, 1956. Pp. 152. 63 B. fr.

One more fruit of the Ignatian year: a new edition of the first French translation of the Autobiography of Saint Ignatius, first published thirty-five years ago by Father E. Thibaut. This translation, however, has been entirely revised by Father Thiry, and enriched by numerous annotations and references which faithfully reflect the progress of Ignatian studies in the past three decades. A remarkable sketch of St. Ignatius' spiritual itinerary opens the book, which is attractively presented and contains four original maps. An appendix in which the similarities between the Spiritual Exercises and the Autobiography are carefully listed and classified, will prove of special interest to all students of the Exercises and to retreat directors. In short, a precious little volume which deserves a place in any Ignatian library.

P. LEBEAU, S.J.

CLEAR, FAIR ANALYSIS

Religion and the Psychology of Jung. *By Raymond Hostie, S.J.* Translated by G. R. Lamb. New York: Sheed & Ward, 1957. Pp. 249. \$3.50.

The author's intention is to examine the empirical character of the method proper to analytical psychology in order to appreciate the fundamental insights of the science at its true value. In the light of the conclusions reached, he endeavors to determine what Jung means by "religion" or "religious attitude" and then investigates what function is ascribed to religions, in the sense of "confessions". Finally, the implications of analytical psychology, which extend into the fields of dogmatic and pastoral theology, are evaluated.

In order to accomplish his task Hostie uses all of Jung's works and his personal interviews with the psychologist himself. The result is a clear and orderly presentation of Jung's work with a corresponding evaluation of his system and its implications. Father Hostie, admitting Jung's sincere desire not to trespass in the sphere of philosophy and theology, asserts that the reason behind Jung's contradictory attitudes is his admixture of theory on the one hand, and on the other, practice which ignores the well-defined limits of the psychic.

In his chapter on spiritual direction, the author tries to reduce the antagonism between psychotherapy and spiritual direction. Actual sin, he says, does not lead to neurosis; and confession, as the sacramental forgiveness of sins, is incapable of curing neurosis even in its mildest form. Analysis has no use for formal sins: it only becomes interested in sins when ignorance or repression of them causes some sort of psychic dissociation. Father refuses to accept any identification of psychic analysis with confession, but he believes that there can be some collaboration between priest and therapist, if these two ways of treating the soul can be clearly defined.

People who judge Jung by his theoretical attitude will agree with him. People who concentrate on his practical application will criticize him. Father Hostie counsels taking a broad view of Jung's work, acknowledging how much he has given as well as his deficiencies. Though this is the author's first book, it is notable for its clarity of analysis and fairness of criticism. This reviewer recommends it unconditionally to all students of psychology and spiritual directors.

FRANCIS SCHEMEL, S.J.

NEW PHILOSOPHY 'TOOL'

Summary of Scholastic Principles. *By Bernard Wuellner, S.J.* Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1956. Pp. 164. \$2.00.

In a companion volume to his *Dictionary of Scholastic Philosophy* (Bruce, 1956; see THE WOODSTOCK LETTERS, vol. 85, no. 4, pp. 474-475) Father Wuellner has incorporated all the major principles of scholastic philosophy under forty-five general categories, such as "act

and potency", "habits", "truth", "will", etc. The principles are numbered consecutively, totaling 569, due to the frequent repetition of many principles according to their different applications under various headings. Cross references are constantly supplied. Pertinent detailed references to modern periodicals, general philosophical works and the better, modern textbooks, as well as to the important *loci* in Thomas and Aristotle, are also provided at the conclusion of each of the categories. The relevance of these principles to certain particular fields is briefly sketched by means of twenty exercises which are dispersed throughout the book.

The chief usefulness of this new "tool" for the budding philosopher, and for his professor as well, is that it provides a conspectus of the scholastic approach to all the major fields of philosophy, as this approach is epitomized in scholastic principles. By means of cross references, the constant repetition of basic norms is brought graphically to light. There may be some who might take exception to a book of this type for a college student. It may seem too neat a summary for the all-too-facile memory of the students,—a manual providing all the "answers" before giving the problems, or perhaps more accurately, affording a complete list of "majors" to which the student need but add his "minor" to come out with the conclusion. However, it is doubtful whether a summary of this type is open to such an abuse. Even its immediate profit for the student would be negligible. On the contrary, a judicious use of this book by a competent teacher can avoid the pitfalls of such short-cuts and over-simplifications. It can furthermore help to develop that sense of the unity and inter-relationship between the various branches of scholasticism, which is so often missed by the undergraduate, and lost forever by the post-graduate.

JOSEPH L. ROCHE, S.J.

CLEAR AND HELPFUL

Glossary of Sociological Terms. *Compiled and edited by: Clement S. Mihanovich, Ph.D., Robert J. McNamara, S.J. and William N. Tome, S.J.* Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1957. Pp. iv-36. 85¢.

"This is an attempt, assuredly not a definitive attempt, to remedy a vital need in sociology, at least in part. All sociologists will not necessarily subscribe to all these definitions. However, the sociological concepts as here presented are, at least, generally acceptable to sociologists." Thus Dr. Mihanovich in the preface to this short but extremely useful work. These definitions are the result of five years' work in both the graduate and undergraduate sociology courses of Dr. Mihanovich of St. Louis University. Fathers McNamara and Tome organized and synthesized the definitions, and the completed manuscript was submitted to experts in the various fields. Dr. Mihanovich checked all and revised some of the definitions after the manuscript was completed. The sociology and social science student will find this pamphlet very helpful

for a clear and critical understanding of the many books he must necessarily read.

R. EUGENE MORAN, S.J.

PLEASANT READING

The Lively Arts of Sister Gervaise. By John L. Bonn, S.J. New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons, 1957. Pp. 227. \$3.50.

As is evident from the title of the book, the story relates the trials of Sister Gervaise as play directress of St. Rita's Parish High School. But her woes are not only confined to the stage and her charges. She also finds herself involved in verbal clashes with the Reverend Pastor over sugary hymns. She is later caught in a family squabble. All these and many more amusing and heart-warming incidents add up to a very enjoyable novel. The author has a good style and the story moves along smoothly with periodic touches of pathos. But the most winning quality of the novel is Sister Gervaise herself. In spite of her wimple, her ankle-length skirt and her defects, we get the picture of an ordinary woman trying in her own little way to do the Will of God. A novel of this kind is most welcome indeed. The incidents seem so real that it could happen to any Sister in any parish school, and that Sister could be a Sister Gervaise. If you want a couple of hours of pleasant reading, then let Sister Gervaise and her lively arts entertain you.

OSCAR A. MILLAR, S.J.

ECLECTIC SYNTHESIS

General Metaphysics. By John P. Noonan, S.J. Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1956. Pp. ix-273. \$2.90.

Those of Ours who have used Father McCormick's *Scholastic Metaphysics* will welcome the appearance of this new text in general metaphysics. For the plan of development and philosophical point of view are much the same. Father Noonan's aim is "to clarify and simplify as far as possible the basic ideas of philosophy." The fundamental idea of Being is derived by subjective precision (ascending the Porphyrian tree) and the resultant concept is the narrowest in comprehension ("that which is not nothing") and the widest in extension. Such an abstracted concept of Being does, of course, face the apparent dilemma that Hegel posed: a concept of being which is the concept of no-thing is identical with the concept of nothing. The author is aware of Hegel's pretended identification and argues skillfully against it. Real being is of two kinds: the actual (physical) and the possible (metaphysical). It follows then that existence is a "state of being" and not an intrinsic constitutive note. Consequently too, the real distinction between what-a-thing-is and its act of being is denied as an unnecessary complication (Occam's razor is sedulously applied). The truth of the distinction is at best problematical and on it no other philosophical truth of any great importance rests. The Thomists, to be sure, are

given their innings in an extensive quotation from Cardinal Mercier in support of the real distinction. But "from the very definitions of the terms it seems clear that existence is a state of being and not a being in itself."

As is probably clear too, this approach to the philosophy of being is not Thomistic, save in the wide sense in which St. Thomas forms but part of the scholastic tradition from which the author has fashioned his synthesis, an admitted eclecticism for which he makes no apology and believes none is needed. And for one who accepts the fundamental premises—the point of departure and the methodology—there will be no difficulty in accepting the rigorously deduced conclusions.

The text is clearly written and the language is always apt and fresh. To that extent the author has achieved his secondary aim of expressing philosophical ideas in good idiomatic English rather than in the Latin-English jargon which mars many other texts. One would question, however, the value, or need, of Latin phrases as parenthetical expressions. A Glossary of Terms and an Appendix are added.

H. R. BURNS, S.J.

HIDDEN HEROISM

Héros dans l'ombre, mais héros quand même. By *Alphonse Gauthier, S.J.*
Sudbury, Ontario: La Société historique du Nouvel-Ontario,
1956. Pp. 43.

The glory that surrounds the memories of the North American Martyrs might lead us to underestimate the achievements of those who resumed their work after the restoration of the Society. This brochure does justice to three of those dedicated pioneers of the 19th century: the Jesuit Brothers Jean Véronneau, Joseph Jennesseaux and Georges Lehoux, two Frenchmen and a Canadian, who labored among the Indians in Canada. Their hidden heroism certainly justifies the enthusiasm of their biographer, and gives a moving testimony to the loftiness of the vocation of temporal coadjutor.

P. LEBEAU, S.J.

BREATH OF SCRIPTURE

The Window in the Wall. By *Ronald A. Knox.* New York: Sheed & Ward, 1956. Pp. ix-130. \$2.75.

What characterizes this collection of sermons on the Eucharist is Monsignor Knox's ability to adapt his subject to a topic uppermost in people's minds at the time, and to penetrate deeply into the spiritual needs of his hearers. The sermons take us through the periods of the early years of the Second World War, the advance of the allied armies toward Rome, the cessation of hostilities in Europe, the Nüremberg trials, and the coronation of Queen Elizabeth. For each sermon the Scripture text, whether from the Old or New Testament, is aptly chosen and well developed with the use of vivid pictures. "The Window

in the Wall" (the title of the first sermon), for example, paints a scene from the Canticle of Canticles. In the comparison Christ becomes the Beloved calling through the window, which is His glorified Body veiled in the Host. The window in the wall of our corrupt nature belongs both to this world and to eternity. With our modern Christian world becoming more Bible-conscious, and with our Holy Father urging the greater use of Sacred Scripture both in teaching and in private reading on the part of the faithful, Ours might profit by studying how Monsignor Knox makes the Bible live. The principal themes of these sermons are: personal union with Christ in Holy Communion, the oneness of all the faithful in Christ, and the ardent desire of Christ to give us the Bread of the strong, so that we may make His life ours.

THOMAS H. CONNOLLY, S.J.

SUPER-INTELLIGIBILITY

The Silence of St. Thomas. *By Josef Pieper.* New York: Pantheon, 1957. Pp. 122. \$2.75.

Josef Pieper has written a series of three essays with a single theme. The theme can be stated as a double paradox: Creatures are knowable because at root they are ultimately unfathomable, and they are ultimately unfathomable because at root they are known. Or in Pieper's own words: "One and the same factor explains both why things cannot be entirely grasped and why they can be known." The inscrutability of things is almost the same as their knowability: their status as creatures thought-created by God.

It is St. Thomas' awareness of this surplus of intelligibility in things that accounts for his silence. He had pursued the ways of creaturely knowledge to the very end, to the boundary where *omnia exeunt in mysterium*. It is not death that took pen from his hand: the *Summa Theologiae* is unfinished, but of set purpose. Compared to what he had seen and what had been revealed to him, his work seemed as straw.

This same awareness of the mystery of God-Fathered thoughts in things is what Pieper calls the negative element in the philosophy of St. Thomas. Its presence explains why St. Thomas at times speaks in a fashion that scandalizes many of the textbook compilers, who omit such references as: "*Principia essentialia rerum sunt nobis ignota.*" Or again: "*Hoc est ultimum cognitionis humanae de Deo; quod sciat se Deum nescire.*" The reason is never lack of intelligibility in things, and certainly not in God. But rather as the eye of the bat is dazzled by the noon-day, so is human intelligence when faced with what is intelligible in itself; and even when that intelligibility is concretized in created things, there remain depths of meaning which escape us.

This negative element likewise excludes a closed system, and therein lies the timeliness of Thomism. St. Thomas, says Pieper, has a corrective word for the modern thinker, particularly the existentialist of

current vogue who so fears the rigidity and smug sureness of systematized verbal formulas. The modern thinker feels only the anxiety of continuing "to be" in the face of the inscrutable and unintelligible. The corrective of Thomism is to show that the "unintelligibility" is really super-intelligibility, and that anxiety should give way to hope in the presence of mystery. St. Thomas does not dispel mystery but gives the mystery why at length it must be mystery; and why mystery does not mean "nothing to be known" but "more to be known than we know or can ever have hoped to know."

Josef Pieper would add but one final note: this stress on the negative does not deny that positive answers are possible. They are. But they are likewise inadequate, and must be if we understand created reality as it is. Hence that inadequacy requires as much balanced emphasis as the positive achievement. In sum, his book is filled with much insight and wisdom.

H. R. BURNS, S.J.

COMPLETE, SCHOLARLY EDITION

John Henry Newman, *Autobiographical Writings*. Edited with introductions by Henry Tristram of the Oratory. New York: Sheed & Ward, 1957. Pp. xi-338. \$4.50.

This volume contains all the autobiographical material which Cardinal Newman left behind him in his room when he died. It comprises the following documents: an Autobiography in miniature; the two autobiographical sketches, together with a continuation covering the later years of his life, contributed by the Editor; the autobiographical memoir; "My Illness in Sicily"; three early Journals; the Journal, 1859-1879; "Memorandum About My Connection with the Catholic University".

Here is a very convenient tool for the serious student of Newman and yet one which the ordinary reader will page through with real interest, as he sees a great personality reveal the intimate workings of his mind and heart. The chief value of this edition lies in the fact that these documents are here published for the first time in their original form. Strictly speaking, they cannot be assigned to the category of unpublished matter. Anne Mozley had access to all the relevant papers for her *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman* and Wilfred Ward based his biography on the private journals and correspondence. As a biographer Ward inevitably had to select but Anne Mozley as an editor appears to have suppressed more than was necessary even in the light of Victorian convention. Newman certainly had no objections to their publication in whole or in part and simply left it up to the discretion of the parties who after his death would come into possession of his papers.

Fortunately, Father Tristram saw the need for a complete, scholarly edition and finished the major part of this work before he died. His careful introductions help the reader to appreciate the complicated life

of Newman "without varnishing, assigning motives or interpreting Lord Burleigh's nods". He has done a genuine service to his brother Oratorian in trying to stimulate a deeper interest in one of the major intellectual forces in the Catholic Church of the nineteenth century.

JOHN J. GOLDEN, S.J.

BLEND OF FACT AND FICTION

The King's Achievement. By Robert Hugh Benson. Edited by Francis X. Connolly. New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons, 1957. Pp. xiv-368. \$3.50.

Come Rack! Come Rope! By Robert Hugh Benson. Edited by Philip Caraman, S.J. New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons, 1957. Pp. vi-377. \$3.50.

One need read no further than the opening paragraph of *The King's Achievement* to see why Msgr. Benson enjoyed such a reputation at the beginning of the century. To a remarkable degree he achieves the perfect blending of fact and fiction that makes the successful historical narrative. Dr. Connolly speaks highly of Msgr. Benson's "acute sense of historical complexity," yet it is in Benson's vivid characterization and boldly romantic style that the story finds its greatness. Thomas More, Henry VIII, Cromwell and Cranmer move in the background, but it is in the conflict of a house divided against itself that the story really lives.

The second of the two novels looks at Elizabethan England from a slightly different viewpoint. In the opening passage Msgr. Benson writes: "There should be no sight more happy than a young man riding to meet his love." From that moment until the last page of the book when that same young man dies on the gibbet for his priesthood and his faith, the book is admittedly romantic. Indeed, that gallant romanticism is obvious in Campion's defiant cry "Come Rack! Come Rope!" which Benson has taken for his title. *Come Rack! Come Rope!* does not have the historic sweep of *The King's Achievement*, but in its narrower compass it gives, perhaps, a sharper picture of the period of persecution—sharper because it is more personal. By judicious editing, Father Caraman has given us a worthy companion piece to his *Autobiography of a Hunted Priest*.

The editors of these two novels have done an excellent job. Some readers may look in vain for favorite passages of the originals that have been omitted, but there is no doubt that the plots have been sharpened and quickened in the process of editing. These two novels with their story of persecution in 16th Century England have a certain pertinence in our own age. Kenedy and Sons are to be thanked for these new editions which will give the younger generation the opportunity of becoming acquainted with Msgr. Benson's works. We earnestly hope that they will add a third volume to the present pair by re-issuing that other strangely prophetic novel of Msgr. Benson, *Lord of the World*.

JOSEPH A. GALDON, S.J.

CONTROVERSIAL

The Meaning of Christian Perfection. By *Jordan Aumann, O.P., & David Greenstock.* St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1957. Pp. 162. \$3.25.

This book is an exchange of correspondence occasioned by a critical review by Father Aumann of Father Greenstock's book, *Be Ye Perfect*, published in 1952. The controversy is about how Christian perfection is to be conceived. Does it consist mainly in the possession of sanctifying grace, while the development of grace remains accidental and in a sense exceptional? Or is perfection to be conceived as the full and natural flowering of the life of grace, while the mere possession of sanctifying grace is perfection only inchoatively and in seed? Father Aumann maintains the second fuller interpretation that not only the life of active asceticism but also the passive purgations of the faculties caused by and leading to infused prayer all make up a natural and organically united growth of grace in the soul. Father Greenstock's more limited emphasis is based on the fact that few souls ever actually attain the heights of Christian perfection or any form of mystical prayer. Father Aumann contends that the full flowering of grace is natural albeit rare; Father Greenstock, that it is exceptional and accidental.

The protagonists agreed to develop their controverted points according to the doctrine of St. Thomas. This decision unhappily tends to cloud the issue in a welter of technical scholastic terminology. Moreover, the preoccupation with adapting the Angelic Doctor to their own interpretations overshadows a presentation of the issue on its own merits. This, together with the supposition of the reader's familiarity with Father Greenstock's original book, considerably limits this book's general appeal.

One cannot follow a debate without asking oneself who won. Father Aumann strove manfully to keep terminological quibblings to a minimum. The question, of course, is not a new one. However, as the book progresses, Father Aumann's arguments, presented with a sense of realization, gradually break through the more speculative and system-centered arguments of his confrere. The question still remains open. But as discussed in this book, though at the end difficulties remained which had not been ironed out, as this reviewer saw it, they remained in the position of Father Greenstock, not of Father Aumann.

EDWARD V. STEVENS, S.J.

OF DOUBTFUL VALIDITY

Hamlet's Mouse Trap. By *Arthur Wormhoudt.* New York: Philosophical Library, 1956. Pp. 221. \$3.50.

I question this psychoanalytical study of the drama on two points—the general principles upon which the author bases his conclusions and the practical applications he makes of these principles to the

Shakespearean play. First, with regard to the general principles, Mr. Wormhoudt maintains that human beings have the ability to produce the variety of sounds which form the basis of speech and writing because this is a way of denying an unconscious reproach of conscience that we wish to be denied food. He explains other parts of his theory as due to conflicts between conscience and self-destructive tendencies, the evolutionary shift from four-footed to two-footed locomotion, and the evolutionary *fact* (italics mine) that human beings have not yet fully adjusted to the shock of upright posture. And I fail utterly to see the relationship he postulates between the toilet training of the child and his sound producing ability.

The author does not pretend to give the clinical evidence of psychologists, psychiatrists and psychoanalysts, but he does give what he calls the other type of evidence for these theories, found in the language of great poets and artists. Yet this literary evidence seems to consist largely of unwarranted conclusions from the obviously and intentionally unscientific language of literary authors. For example, he finds linguistic evidence for conscience and inhibition in the fact that the most commonly used words in drama are short, have multiple meanings and many synonyms. I do not see what this proves other than the fact already supposed—they are words that are used most commonly. Likewise, Mr. Wormhoudt asserts that Shakespeare's division of the plays into five acts is due to the five layer structure of sublimation; Act I of Hamlet contains scenes near a body of water which symbolizes the pre-natal state of the infant; the suicidal tone of the "To be or not to be" soliloquy is due to the fact that Hamlet is the visual projection of self-destructive tendencies. I find it hard to believe that Shakespeare, great genius that he was, either consciously or unconsciously, put all this so-called psychanalytical theory into the play.

I cannot see how the author has proved anything by the use of highly doubtful principles and dubious applications to a piece of literature. What intends to be a psychoanalytical study of the drama ends up, it would seem, by being questionable psychoanalysis and poor drama. If these defects can be overlooked, the author's obvious diligence in working out the intricacies of his theory is to be commended.

JOSEPH A. GALDON, S.J.

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A Basic Ignatian Concept

Some Reflections on Obedience

KARL RAHNER, S.J.

The German original of this article: "Eine ignatianische Grundhaltung", appeared in *Stimmen der Zeit*, 158 (1955-6), 253-267. The present translation was made collectively under the direction of Joseph P. Vetz, S.J., and the supervision of Gustave Weigel, S.J.

In contributing to a periodical which is commemorating the fourth centenary of the death of St. Ignatius, the founder of the Jesuit Order, what theme should a writer choose? If he prefers not to speak directly of the Saint himself and still wants a fitting topic, he could choose nothing better than the concept of obedience. Jesuit obedience—some like to call it *cadaver* obedience—is a well-known and even notorious tag. It is also something which is poorly understood. Ignatius stressed the importance of this virtue for members of his Society, since it is a matter of great moment for an order engaged in the active care of souls. But in reality Jesuit obedience does not differ from the obedience found in the other religious orders of the Catholic Church.

In choosing obedience for his topic this writer does not flatter himself that he is rediscovering a long neglected subject. In the last ten years, in Middle Europe alone, at least fifty books and articles have been devoted to this theme. In attempting to say something on the subject of obedience the writer is troubled by a suspicion that possibly he merely wants to be numbered among those who have had something to say on the point. Besides, in a short article like this, one can scarcely hope to say anything that is at all comprehensive or conclusive. Hence these few lines do not pretend to be more than marginal notes, and the writer is resigned to face the possible accusation that he was incapable of conceiving a livelier topic for discussion.

Various Misconceptions

Considered in its essence, obedience in religious life has nothing to do with the obedience which children owe to their parents and to others who are in authority, supposedly equipped to care for their upbringing. The reason is that this latter type of obedience has as its very aim its own eventual transcendence. By means of this training in obedience, the obedience of childhood later becomes superfluous, since the adult, having achieved liberation from the domination of blind instinctive drives, is able to command himself. On the other hand, in the case of obedience in religious life, we assume that the subject is already an adult. But we do not assume that the person who commands is necessarily more intelligent, more gifted with foresight or morally more mature than the person who obeys. If such an assumption were in order, the relationship of superior to subject would be an educational relationship. The one obeying would be a child or a man of infantile character, who is not yet responsible for his own behavior. Human nature being what it is, there are such persons even in religion. Still their percentage should not be greater than that found in other walks of life. And I suppose that, generally speaking, it is not. After all, childish persons can find too many havens to which to flee from their unfitness for life without having to seek out religion as their only refuge. One conclusion that can be drawn from these rather obvious considerations is this: Superiors should not act as if by nature or by reason of their office they are more intelligent, more clever persons, more morally steadfast, more provident and wise in the ways of the world. This may be true in individual cases, for the world is not so constructed that only the more stupid become superiors. But it should be soberly stated (for subjects, lest they demand too much of superiors, something which would be unjust and show a lack of charity; for superiors, lest they delude themselves): the higher the office, the smaller the possibility, humanly speaking, of fulfilling it as well as in the case of a man faced with a lesser post. For we may reasonably presume that the degrees of variation in mental and moral gifts among men are less than the degrees of difficulty found in the manage-

ment of various social enterprises. From this it follows that, as a rule, more important duties will unavoidably be more poorly performed than lesser ones. No judgment is passed here on any particular case. As a matter of fact, sometimes people do grow in stature in performing more difficult tasks. But for the most part, the opposite takes place. Along with the assumption of a more important responsibility comes the painful realization, felt both by the superior and those about him, that the man is far from being equipped for his task. The defective fulfillment of higher obligations cruelly lays bare the shortcomings of a man's capacities which previously escaped our attention.

Let us repeat once more: obedience in religious life is not the obedience of children. Therefore, the religious superior should not play the role of an Olympian papa. In the life of the cloister (even in orders of women) there are still to be found age-old rituals governing the etiquette of superiors, involving demands of respect from subjects, secretiveness, manifestations of superiority, appeals of superiors to a higher wisdom, displays of condescension, etc. All this should gradually be permitted to wither away. Superiors should cast a long and quiet glance at the world around them: those who are truly powerful and influential, who receive a great deal of unquestioning obedience, place no value on ceremonial of this sort. They find no need of concealing their weakness, anxiety, and insecurity behind a pompous front. Superiors should quietly admit that in certain circumstances their subjects know more than they do about the matter at hand. Given the specialization of modern life with its need for countless types of ability to cover its many areas, present-day superiors can no longer act as if they can understand any and every matter that falls under their authority. In the good old days a superior could do everything that he commanded his subject to do. He had previously done the very thing himself. He had distinguished himself (otherwise he normally would not have been made superior) and so had given proof that he understood at least as much as his subject. At least this was the rule in the past, though naturally there were exceptions to it even then. Today it is quite inevitable that what formerly was the exception should become the rule.

Every religious superior has many subjects who necessarily possess a knowledge of science, of pastoral functioning, of current affairs, which the superior (who can be a specialist himself only in a single limited field) cannot possess. He finds himself or ought to find himself, in the same position with regard to the knowledge of others as Eisenhower does with respect to the mysteries about which his atomic experts advise him. The superior, therefore, is dependent upon the information of counselors to an extent not required in the past. The advisors, usually provided for superiors by the constitutions of an order, today in many ways possess an utterly new and more urgent function than in former times when they were in practice only a democratic check on an excessively authoritarian and uncontrolled government of one individual. It would be well, therefore, if superiors would always seek the information they need in a spirit of objectivity and concreteness, for they must give commands for objective and concrete situations, no matter what be the value of obedience to an objectively erroneous command. This is not always done. A secret-cabinet policy may often be a well-intentioned means of acquiring such objective counsel, but it is not always effective. In religious life, on final analysis, there can be no real democratization of obedience, as will later be shown. But there can be objective and clearly determined methods of procedure for achieving the counsel and information needed for decision. Unfortunately this is not always the case. Once again I insist, mostly for the benefit of the secular opponent and hostile critic of religious obedience: the people in religious life realize that religious obedience is not the obedience of children. It does not presuppose children, but mature adults. And only in the measure that it can legitimately presuppose this can it be at all true to its own proper nature.

Again, religious obedience is no mere "regulation of traffic". Certainly where men live together in a community there must be order. That there be order, the power to command must be present. Not everyone can do as he pleases, and moreover, not everyone can discover for himself just what is required by the total whole. Command, however, implies obedience. When obedience is conceived merely as a rational or rationally pre-

scribed function of order for the life of a community and for the coordination of its organs and activities toward a common goal, then perhaps the pattern has been discovered which can intelligently explain civic and national obedience. But in this concept the peculiar nature of religious obedience has not been grasped, even though it cannot be denied that in religious life this aspect of obedience is also present, and necessarily so. Religious obedience is no rational and inevitable regulation of traffic, by which every sensible person submits himself to the traffic policeman, and in which a coordinating agency takes care that everything moves without friction toward the common good. At times attempts have been made to explain religious obedience in this merely rational fashion. But this explanation is too easy and cannot reach the real roots and depths of religious obedience. And yet the obedience entailed in the rational regulation of traffic and of the sensible coordination of work in a common effort is part of religious obedience, though it is not the most characteristic nor the most profound element of the evangelical counsel. For the daily functioning of obedience in religious life it ought to be noted that this element of obedience is present; yes, that it is almost identical with the superficial tasks of quotidian obedience. For day-to-day life, therefore, a certain de-mystification of obedience should quietly take place, perhaps to a greater extent than is now permitted in some parts. In the many small details of daily life, obedience is in reality nothing else than a rational method by which rational beings live together. Therefore, the superior should not try to give the impression that he stands under the immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost, but should be courageous enough to seek approval for his commands by giving reasons for them. It is incomprehensible how such an approach to mature and much-loved brothers or sisters in the Lord should be a threat to the authority of the superior, who, according to the command of Christ, should see in the authority of his office only the greater obligation to serve. This does not mean that there should be long debates and discussions over every small decree of a superior. That was the folly of the Parliaments in the past. This would be irrational and childish (although unfortunately it does occur). The

problem can be met and overcome by an appeal to higher ascetical motives. Without irritating himself or others, the subject should calmly and maturely consider the many unavoidable regulations of daily life in a religious community for what they really are: inevitable burdens of earthly life which weigh upon people in the world just as much as they do on people in religious life. Much irritation among religious persons caused by details of common life flows solely from immaturity which does not comprehend that a person does not prove his independence and personal integrity by rebelling against communal rules and regulations. And yet it still remains true; religious obedience, according to its own proper nature, is more than a merely rational regulation of traffic.

There is a third consideration which will preserve religious obedience from misconception and excess. It is not true, even in religious communities, that all initiative should take its rise from superiors. Nor should we be too quick to consider this statement a mere platitude. To comprehend it really, we must make use of metaphysics, a metaphysics which consists in pondering with wonder on the commonplace and the obvious and then drawing some conclusions. Human authority (even when exercised in God's name) must not be conceived as adequately and exclusively competent to monopolize all initiative, all effort and all personal decision. Nor does it imply that subjects are called to initiative and decision only when authority gives the signal.

One frequently gets the impression, both in religious orders and in the Church in general, that initiative, action, militancy, and the like, are indeed considered necessary and desirable in subjects, but only on condition that the go-signal be given "from above", and only in the direction which has already been unequivocally and authoritatively determined by superiors. Unconsciously and spontaneously a tendency is vigorously at work to make the subject feel that he is so built into his order or the Church that only the total structure through its hierarchy is capable of initiative; that opinion or enterprise find their legitimacy only in the express, or at least tacit, approval from authority.

Unless we wish to absolutize the community, the principle of subsidiarity has application not only between smaller and

larger societies, but also between individuals and their communities as well. Yet there can be no subordination of the individual to a community and to the authority representing it, if it tries to make the individual an exclusively dependent function of the community and its authority. We need only put the question in all simplicity: may one propose a wish to a superior, or, with due modesty, propose an alternative policy? Everyone will answer: "Obviously, yes." Hence it is unnecessary first to ask the superior whether he wants the request to be presented or the alternative proposed. Yet this request, this alternative suggestion is also initiative, in which one must take the responsibility of deciding whether it is to be presented or not. For even when with all obedience and modesty the decision is left to the superior, the suggestion alters the situation of the superior in making his decision. It broadens or narrows the field of choice. Indeed even when the subject shows the greatest discretion, the superior is "influenced", whether he likes it or not, whether or not he would have followed the suggestion on his own. In the whole world there is no autarchic human authority which is pure activity and in no way passivity. To command absolutely is proper only to the Creator who is not faced with opposing structures and unavoidable initiatives, because He Himself in the strict sense makes everything out of nothing. All other authority, even in the Church and in religious orders, is not the only determining initiative but is one force in an immense network of forces, active and passive, receiving and giving. Authority has and should have the function of directing, coordinating, overseeing, and planning the whole interplay of human initiatives. It is not, to speak strictly, even in the ideal order, so representative of God that it alone is the autarchic planner and designer of all human activity. This would be the hybris of a totalitarian system which cannot exist, and, more significantly, should not exist.

Hence, authority, even in religious orders, in practice needs, calls for, and puts to use the initiative of subjects. Even in the abstract, there can be no *absolute* ruler and director of it. Independently of authority there exist initial sparkings of forces which cannot be controlled by authority. Because this is so and cannot be otherwise, it also *should* be so. That

is to say, in no community or society, not even the Church or religious orders, *may* authority act as if all good initiatives originated from it, so that every execution of plan, command, and wish originated in authority alone. Even the most laudable initiatives of the Holy See often are only the reaction to an action which originated elsewhere, and this is important. The same is true in the case of authorities of religious orders. Subjects are not mere receivers of commands, because that is simply impossible. The aim of obedience is not to make merely passive subjects. This is not even an "asymptotic" ideal, but a chimera and the usurpation of the creative power reserved to God alone, which He can delegate to no one. Only God has "all the threads in His hand", and He has empowered no one to act in His fashion.

Consequently the superior cannot be a god in the fulfillment of his office. Not to prevent his subjects from assuming initiative is not enough for a superior. He must positively count on it, invite it; he must not be irked by it. He must, to a certain degree, recognize himself also as only *one* of the wheels in a heavenly mechanism whose ultimate and comprehensive significance is directed by one only, by God and no one else. The superior always remains something moved. In an ultimate sense, he does not know exactly to what end evolution is moving. In spite of all the authority given him, and in spite of all the supervision he is charged with, he acts in trust and ventures into the unknown. He too never knows exactly what he is doing or starting when he commands or refrains from doing so. He must remember that authority is not the only source for heavenly impulse, direction, and stimulation. He must realize that God never took on the obligation first to advise the authorities selected and authorized by Himself about God's own activity in the Church for the salvation of souls and the progress of history. The superior has no exclusive vision of the divine will with the mission to pass it on to his subjects. There is no God-given warrant for such a process of communication. Rather the superior must also be an obedient man, a hearer. The formal correctness and juridical validity of his commands does not guarantee that they are likewise ontologically guaranteed. If the subject must obey in order not to be disobedient before

God, this fact is no proof that the command given was the command which, according to God's antecedent will, should have been given. It can be the product of a permitted fault in the superior. It can proceed from dead traditionalism, from human limitations, from routine, from a shortsighted system of uniformism, from a lack of imagination, and from many other factors.

There is in the world a plurality of forces which can in no way be hierarchically subject to authority—though such forces cannot contradict authority as far as the latter succeeds in bringing them within the field of direction and command. This latter task, as has been said, can and should be only partially achieved. Hence the subject in religious life has no right simply to take refuge behind obedience, as if he could thus be free from a responsibility which he himself must bear, the responsible direction of his own personal initiative. We often hear apologies of obedience which praise this supposed advantage. It does not exist. At least not in the sense that the religious can thereby escape from the burden of personal responsibility. He himself chooses obedience; otherwise he would not be in religious life. He must then answer for the consequences of his choice.

The received command is a synthesis of elements. One is the superior's personal and original activity, the other is the external condition for that activity. This condition is constituted by the subject himself: his mode of being and action, his capacities and incapacities (perhaps culpable), his approach and attitude to the superior. This conditioning is prior to the command and makes the subject co-responsible for the command itself. Certainly the religious can often say to his own consolation that the superior has to answer for this or that decision and not the subject. But the extent of this consolation is not great. Taken as a whole, the religious cannot escape the responsibility for his own life, down to its last details. He simply hears in the command the echo of his own character and activity. There does not exist in this world a control-center of action from whose uninfluenced motion all else in existence originates. A human being cannot relinquish his personality to a representative, not even in religious life. That is in no way the purpose of obedience.

True Obedience

To provide a positive definition of religious obedience is by no means a simple matter. We could immediately and without further examination maintain that religious obedience is an abidingly vibrant obedience to God and the fulfillment of the Divine Will. But if we were to do that, we would have to determine how it is possible to know in what sense it can be said that that which is commanded is the will of God. For the fact remains that there can be commands which the subject must obey, provided that the things commanded be not sinful, but which in the objective order, are wrong, and which, in given circumstances, have been commanded with real culpability on the part of the superior. In cases of this kind it is no simple task to say why and in what sense the fulfillment of such a command could be the will of God. Nor should we over-simplify the matter by praising without qualification the "holocaust" and "renunciation" which obedience entails. For it is obvious that pure subjection to the will of another who is not God has no value as such in the realm of morality. In itself, pure dependence of self on the will of another is amoral, not to say even immoral, unless some further element be added to it.

We might add that if religious obedience is subordination of one's own will and decisions to those of another who holds the place of God and is the interpreter of the Divine Will, we must at least determine how we are to know how this other person received the divine commission to be the expositor of the will of God. This question is a difficult one; even more so than that of poverty and of the evangelical counsel to renounce the blessings of conjugal love. For these two evangelical counsels are recommended directly in the words of Holy Scripture and by Our Lord Himself. As far as these two counsels are concerned, it is always possible to fall back on this recommendation, even when we do not succeed in achieving a crystal-clear understanding of their inner meaning. In this matter it can be said that the religious is walking in the way of the Gospel. And to him who has set out on this path in unquestioning surrender, the meaning of these counsels will be more and more fully revealed. He can always say that he is imitating Christ. And hence he needs no further argu-

ment over and above the fact that the disciple does not wish to be above his master, and that love understands what it recognizes as a fundamental characteristic in the beloved Lord.

Concerning obedience, however, the problem is not as simple as all that. As a matter of fact, we see that in the days of the early Church, in which a continuous procession of ascetics and virgins was already a fact, there was as yet no mention of religious obedience. Nor can any direct affirmation of this concept be found in the pages of the Gospels. The early ascetics lived the life of solitaries, and so there was no stimulus to the evocation of a notion of obedience. And even for a long time afterwards, obedience was not praised as a third vow. The religious accepted a celibate or monastic life in any form, and obliged himself to remain in a definite community which lived such a mode of life. It is clear that we will have to proceed carefully if we are to specify the content and arguments for religious obedience.

Before we proceed in the question of the meaning of obedience precisely as it exists in a religious community, we must be clearly warned against another simplification which superficially gives a quick and easy solution to these questions. We cannot simply refer to the example of Christ. Beyond a doubt He was obedient. Obedience to His Father, according to His explanation, was the form, the driving power and the content of His life. We must by all means imitate Christ. But this is precisely the question: how do we know that in subordination of self to human authority we exercise the deepest obedience to God? Christ did not do it. Certainly the Apostle knows that there are human authorities which in some fashion take the place of God as far as we are concerned, and whose decrees ought to appear to us as the will of God. But Paul is speaking of the authorities which are not freely chosen nor created by us, but exist prior to us and prior to our will, namely parents, masters, and the civil governors. Can we extend and complete this Divine Will imposed on us by subordinating ourselves to new régimes of our own making? If we answer that religious superiors have ecclesiastical authority because they are appointed by the Church, this reply alone does not lead us to any clear-cut doctrine. Subordina-

tion to the authority of religious superiors is not imposed on men by the Church without their own free and deliberate consent as implied by the vows. Hence the question remains: why is it meritorious to submit to the authority of another, when it has not been imposed on us by God Himself? Should we not safeguard the freedom that God has entrusted to us as much as our function of personal responsibility, since, as we have already said, an absolute surrender of innate responsible freedom is in no way possible or reasonable?

Hence the argument from the Gospel in favor of religious obedience is not so simple, nor can it be proved immediately or without further examination. Our problem could be expressed succinctly in the following question: is religious obedience a concrete prolongation of obedience to the will of God, either in general, as it finds expression in the commandments of God, or in particular as it is manifested in God's direction, inspiration and providential disposition of the lives of men?

Religious obedience should by no means be considered primarily as obedience to individual commands, nor is it even the abstract notion of a general readiness to fulfill such commands. Primarily it is the permanent binding of oneself to a definite mode of life—to life with God within the framework of the Church. It involves the exclusive dedication of one's energies to those things which are the concern of the Lord and to what is pleasing to Him. We accept as a form of life the expectation of God's coming Kingdom of grace from on high. Obedience is concerned with the sacrifice and renunciation of the world's most precious goods; the renunciation of the right to erect a little world of our own as a field of freedom through the acquisition of wealth; the renunciation of the right to one's own hearth and the felt security to be found in the intimate love of another person through the conjugal bond. It is concerned with prayer, and with the testimony to God's grace which is to be found in what is commonly known as the care of souls and the apostolate. Beyond this we need no further description nor argument for this life of the evangelical counsels. Obedience is a permanent life-form giving man a God-ward orientation. It does so ecclesialogically because by it the religious manifests

the peculiar essence of the Church. It is the manifestation of God's other-worldly grace beyond the reach of earthly merit, to be accepted by faith alone in spite of all human impotence. In this manifestation the Church achieves her existential visibility and becomes historically tangible through doctrine and sacrament. This is the life to which the religious immediately and primarily pledges himself. His obedience, with reference to the individual commands which a superior may enjoin, is specified by this life-form giving it its definite religious significance. Otherwise there would be no sense to vowed obedience. It would not be a religious matter at all. It would rather be perversity to praise this kind of obedience in any other field of life; for instance, if one were to vow obedience for the better functioning of a center of chemical research in which one is employed as a research collaborator. If we suppose that a permanent vowed obligation to a religious life is of positive value in the moral order (and this is presupposed here), and if we further assume that it is proper and reasonable, though not necessary, to lead such a life in a community, then it follows that obedience to the directors of this community is justified and meaningful in the concrete pursuit of this permanent way of life.

Hence we are not trying to canonize an abstract notion of obedience as the execution of another's will as such. Such abstract obedience is due to God alone permitting no transfer to another. Beyond this case we cannot obey purely for the sake of obeying or of not doing our own will and determination. Something like this, considered abstractly in itself, would have no positive significance in the realm of morality. It would be downright absurd and perverse. The fact that this sort of thing would be "difficult" and "a perfect holocaust", hard and troublesome for him who is obedient at all times and in all things, can scarcely be itself an argument for the meaningfulness of obedience. The implied presupposition of this argument, namely that the more difficult and repugnant thing is always better and more pleasing to God, just because it is a renunciation difficult for man, cannot be the legitimate starting point of discussion.

Our concept of obedience also explains why religious obedience has its place exclusively in a religious society approved

and sanctioned by the Church. The content of obedience must be guaranteed, if such obedience is to possess moral value. It is not enough that commands be morally indifferent. They must be morally good in their total context. The totality must represent for the Church and to the world the content of the evangelical counsels. One can vow only that which is better. Thus one cannot vow directly and as an end in itself to do something which under certain circumstances (even if not sinful) is less prudent, less good, less significant. Whence it immediately follows that the proper and essential object of religious obedience is an abiding way of life according to the evangelical counsels. For in accord with the teaching of the Church this is certainly the better thing, but in what this superiority consists will not be further explained here. Obedience is not at all to be conceived as the "heroic" (or almost foolhardy) concession of a *carte blanche* to a superior, so that the religious simply does not do his own will, either because this is always pleasing and hence its renunciation especially difficult, or because it is fraught with danger and hence to be avoided. Thus it is that obedience is always specified with reference to the constitutions of the given Order, and the superior can only command within the framework determined by the constitutions. In seeking the real essence of obedience, the most important point is missed if only the particular command of the superior is primarily and abstractly considered according to the formula: I declare myself ready to execute the command of another, if this command be not evidently immoral. This is not the case. Obedience is the acceptance of a common mode of religious life in imitation of Christ according to a constitution, which the Church has acknowledged to be a true and practical expression of a divinely oriented existence. By virtue of this acceptance and obligation the vow explicitly or implicitly includes the carrying out of the just commands of the authority necessary in any society, when they are directed to the concrete realization of the life-form of religious commitments "according to the constitutions." Such realizations cannot be determined *a priori* once and for all. Whoever, therefore, is critical of the notion of religious obedience, is really attacking the wisdom of the life of the counsels in the

Church. He is attacking, moreover, the wisdom of a life that is not primarily concerned with the tangible realizations of worldly objectives, but which through faith makes the expectation of hidden grace the ground of existence, and translates this faith into act. Without such an act, faith itself would be meaningless. This act is representative of the Church and bears the Church's witness to the world. If this mode of existence is to have meaning, then it must inspire a willingness to carry out in any given instance the concrete actions, undertakings and renunciations, which in the judgment of competent authority are deemed necessary for the concrete realization of this way of life.

This is why obedience is connected with the teaching and example of Christ who was obedient even to the death of the cross. Whoever enters into a religious community, whoever perpetually and irrevocably makes this way of life his own, chooses for himself an unforeseeable destiny. For the consequences of such an election and dedication to the community and its rationale of action cannot be foreseen in detail. And these consequences can be difficult and painful. But this gamble (considered in its formal structure) is involved in every human obligation, whereby another person with his own proper will becomes an inseparable part of one's own life. We find it in marriage, acceptance of the duties of citizenship, the responsibility of office, and so forth. Hence if the religious community and its basic ideals are justified and meaningful (which in our case we legitimately assume to be true), so too is the obligation toward all its consequences which cannot be seen in advance. A human mode of life which consists in the free subordination to something higher than itself cannot exist without this element of risk. And without such a surrender the individual will remain in his own egotism behind the defenses of his own existential anxiety, which is the surest way to destruction. But the man who gives himself to what is higher and nobler, who takes the gamble, knows that he is only doing what Christ Himself did in His obedience.

Under this aspect, that which in a given instance is irrational and indefensible but actually unavoidable really becomes the will of the Father. In this way the cross of Christ,

a crime of the Jews and the pagans, "had" to be; it was the will of the Father who had planned it, even though it came about only as the result of the shortsightedness and guilt of men. The permanent dedication to the ideal of the counsels in imitation of Christ, who was poor and self-denying, the crucified legate of God, consecrated to prayer and atonement, is lived all but exclusively in a community professing the same ideal. Hence the obedience which it entails must be regarded as the will of God, even if a particular command appears to be senseless (just as death, failure and the other tragic circumstances of human existence appear), provided of course that what is commanded is not immoral in itself. Religious obedience is thus a real participation in the cross of Christ. Nor should one protest that the irrationality of a mistaken command frees the subject from his contract, and cannot be considered as a share in Christ's mission. We must realize that religious obedience is more than a rationally accepted agreement governing "traffic-arrangements" in a common enterprise. This, of course, is included, for life in any community demands obedience, though in our case community life is directed to God. Obedience in any other society, in the event of an unwise command, would be justified only by the rational insight that such unavoidable eventualities must also be reckoned with in the original bargain. Otherwise, obedience, which is always to some degree necessary, would end, for it would be left to the discretion of the subject to obey. But in religion the imitation of Christ is practiced. There the cross of Christ is considered not merely as something inevitable, or as the misfortune of life, by and large to be evaded, but rather as the embodiment of grace and its acceptance through faith, as something which "must" be, "so that the scriptures might be fulfilled", since only "thus" can one enter into one's glory. There the command, judged unwise according to its immediate historical context, will be seen as something which in the framework of religious life is worthwhile, even desirable. This of course does not justify the superior in issuing such a command. Yet such an order can be understood in the same way as the saints in their imitation of Christ understood failure, shame, the shattering of cherished plans, martyrdom, and thousands of other unjustifiable

contingencies. They secretly longed for them as the embodiment of their faith in God's grace now reaching its perfection.

It might here be in place to recognize that morality and spontaneous moral judgment have a greater function than is ordinarily supposed. The command of a superior may be objectively sinful, and if recognized as such by the inferior it should not be put into execution. Everyone will agree that a superior, even with the best intentions, can issue an order which is objectively wrong. If one does not consider as sins only those things which are expressly labeled as such in confessional manuals, then it will be hard to deny that that which is materially false can also very often be objectively immoral. What is more, it is not easy to explain why this is not generally so. Let us offer a fictitious example. A higher superior instructs the principal of a boarding school that he must under all circumstances make the boys go to confession once a week. Let us suppose that the subordinate, in this case the principal of the boarding school, clearly realizes what the superior in his idealistic remoteness cannot comprehend, namely that such a demand will eventually prove very harmful to the spiritual life of his charges. Question: have we here merely an inept pedagogical practice, which must be "carried out" because commanded, or have we in fact an innocent but unjustified demand which, since it is actually a serious threat to the genuine spiritual development of these youths, should not be carried out by the subordinate? The very ineptness of the practice offends against moral principles. Must the subject now declare that he cannot square it with his conscience, and ask to be relieved of his office? Reading the older moralists one gets the impression that they were more concerned with such cases than we are today. Have we today become more moral, or has the principle "an order is an order" gained foothold even in such holy quarters as religious communities? Do we avoid talking about such possibilities out of fear of evils produced by the conscientious objector, and so act as if something of this kind practically never occurs? But is not the consequent evil caused to conscience greater than the utility of a frictionless functioning of external government requiring of subjects a literal obedience to commands? Even the subject has the duty in con-

science of examining the moral admissibility of what has been commanded. The just "presumption" that the command of a superior is not only subjectively but also objectively morally unobjectionable does not constitute a simple dispensation from the essential obligation of every man to attain to moral certitude respecting the moral liceity of a free action before it is undertaken. This action is no less his own and no less one for which he will be responsible, simply because it is commanded.

As a religious grows older he asks himself with a deep and secret anxiety whether he has done anything in his life which can stand judgment in God's sight. Nothing of course can so stand, except what He has given out of pure mercy. What is worthy of God comes from God's grace alone. For this very reason what one does is not indifferent. There is an absolute difference between man's potentialities when God's grace is accepted and when it is rejected. God has told us, and He is greater than the human heart, that there are deeds of selfless devotion, obedience to God's holy will and self-forgetting dedication. Yet we always discover in ourselves, if we are not stupid, naive or conceited, things which always make us afraid that there is nothing in us but open or disguised egotism. Are we sure that God's grace was ever operative in us? Such an event should have been life-transforming. Yet was there ever a moment when we did not seek ourselves, when success was not the fruit of egotism, when our love of God was not anxiety, when patient prudence was not really faintheartedness? The divine achievement of miraculous sanation takes different ways, giving us the right to hope that not everything in our life was open or covert self-seeking. Nor need painful anxiety about it be another manifestation of self-seeking or secret self-justification before God. Whoever is so concerned has made his life essentially simple and easy. We act on our own but the last and most important deed will be effected in us by God Himself operating through the bitterness of life itself. The individual can always do one thing at least. He can give himself over to something greater than himself. He can also see to it that this greater Reality be more than an ideal or a theory, which on final analysis is under his own control, and can be con-

structed according to his fancy, so that it can no longer be distinguished from the mere idols of the heart. The individual can strive to make this nobler Reality actual. This Reality must make demands on us, when we do not desire to be constrained; must act even when we do not wish it; must cause us suffering when we ourselves would rather avoid it. This happens when the greater Reality to which we dedicate ourselves becomes a tangible force of incomprehensible greatness, whose word of command is directed towards us—and we obey. This means to obey silently, and in the true sense, unquestioningly; to serve, and to submit to a demand we have not ourselves invented. When this happens we have too little time and too little interest to defend or develop our personal integrity. The self has lost its importance. We might even be so fortunate as to become a true person, who exists in so far as he forgets and sacrifices self, in so far as he obeys. But we must remember that life's good fortune is God's grace. In order to become obedient, and in transcendence lose ourselves—the only way of ever really finding ourselves—we must perhaps see nothing at all extraordinary in obedience, hardly ever think of it reflexly. We should rather think of the Reality which we serve as a matter of course. That Being is worthy of all love and service, because ultimately it is no mere cause, but *the Person*: God. Perhaps the truly obedient man is simply the lover, for whom the sacrifice of self-surrender is sweet and a blessed delight. Perhaps we should not speak so much of obedience, for it is already threatened when we praise or defend it. Either tactic is only meaningful as an encouragement for the young in order to strengthen their wills to embrace in silence a matter-of-course service of God in the Church through a life of prayer and witness. They must learn that this is meaningful even though the heart shudders and the wisdom of this world panics at the thought of losing self in the loss of freedom. The ultimate obedience, that which demands and silently takes everything, will be exacted by God alone. It is the command to die the death which overshadows every minute of our life, and more and more detaches us from ourselves. This command, to move on and to leave all, to allow ourselves in faith to be absorbed in the great silence of God, no longer to resist the all-

embracing nameless destiny which rules over us—this command comes to all men. The question, whether man obediently accepts it, is decisive for time and eternity. The whole of religious life grounded in obedience is nothing more than a rehearsal, a practical anticipation of this situation, which more and more envelopes human existence. For the religious it is the participation in the death of Christ and the life concealed in Him.

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MODERATION

Superiors and Spiritual Fathers should exercise that moderation which we know was usual with Father Ignatius and which we judge proper to the Society's Institute, namely: if they judge in the Lord that a man is making progress in prayer in the way of the Good Spirit, they shall not set down rules for him or obstruct him in any way. Rather they should encourage and strengthen him to advance in the Lord quietly and firmly. If there is someone, however, who is either making no progress at all or not as much as he should, or who is led by some illusion or error, they should try to bring him back to the true way of prayer in Christ Jesus.

JEROME NADAL

OUR OWN KIND

Since through the bounty of God we have received our own kind of vocation, grace, institute and end, everything should be regulated accordingly. And so it proves nothing, as far as we are concerned, if someone says: "This is the way the Dominicans act, or the Franciscans, and therefore we should do the same." For they have received their own grace, their own Institutes, and so have we our own, through the grace of Jesus Christ.

JEROME NADAL

Woodstock, Howard County, Maryland

JAMES J. RUDDICK, S.J.
JAMES J. HENNESEY, S.J.

Nine miles due west of the Baltimore City line, Old Court Road dips down into the narrow Patapsco River Valley, crosses the stream and the tracks of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad on the opposite bank, and climbs a steep hill to the rolling table land of the surrounding countryside. Near the tracks stand a post office, a tavern and a few other small buildings. More houses are built on the hillside and others line the road as it continues in a general southwesterly direction to the Old Frederick Road. This little settlement, bounded by the Patapsco and the Frederick Road and bisected by Old Court Road, is the village of Woodstock, Howard County, Maryland. In 1957, its inhabitants, including approximately 260 at Woodstock College on the northern or Baltimore County bank of the river, number about 500.

A Clearing in the Woods

No one seems to know who gave Woodstock its name. There is no plat of the town on record with the Commissioner of the State Land Office, and, since the place has never been incorporated, there is no clue in the legislative proceedings of the State.¹ The best source of early information is in the records of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. By November, 1831, the old main line of the B & O had been extended west from Ellicotts Mills to the Forks of the Patapsco,² approximately twenty-four miles from Pratt Street, Baltimore. About a mile short of the Forks, the tracks passed a place called Davis's Tavern, at the site of the present village of

¹ John P. Hively, Junior Archivist, Maryland State Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md. to Rev. James J. Ruddick, S.J., April 4, 1956. (Woodstock College Archives I R 9).

² Edward Hungerford, *The Story of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad 1827-1927* (New York: G. E. Putnam's Sons, 1928) I, 119.

Woodstock.³ The name "Woodstock" first appears in 1836. On May 27 of that year, a United States Post Office was opened at "Woodstock, Anne Arundel County, Maryland."⁴ The available evidence indicates, therefore, that a settlement grew up around the tracks at Woodstock within a year or so of the coming of the railroad in 1830-1831. We also know that several of the contractors who built the railroad began to put up houses and develop small factories in the area during this period.⁵ At first called simply "Davis's Tavern," perhaps after its most prominent structure, the village was dignified by the name "Woodstock" at least by 1836. The first use of the new name in official county records occurs in 1838, when it appears in three land transactions. After that, it becomes quite common in the records of Anne Arundel and later of Howard Counties.⁶

There is another somewhat enigmatic account of the naming of the town which should be mentioned. In the *Baltimore Sun* for December 13, 1908, there is a long article on Woodstock College. The author states that: "The name Woodstock had already been conferred on the straggling little hamlet by a handful of loyal Jacobites who wished to perpetuate their leader's memory."⁷ No authority is given for the assertion, nor is there any indication as to who the Jacobite leader may have been. Since there is no report of any such group in the region, it may be that the author of the article in the *Sun* is confusing Woodstock, Maryland with the estate of Woodstock, Virginia which was granted in 1687 by King James II to his loyal supporter, Captain George Brent of Woodstock, England.⁸

³ *Annual Report of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad* (1832).

⁴ Victor Gondos, Jr., Industrial Records Branch, NARS, Washington, D.C. to Rev. James J. Hennesey, April 13, 1956. (Woodstock College Archives I R 9).

⁵ Charles M. Pepper, *The Life and Times of Henry Gassaway Davis 1823-1916* (New York: The Century Co., 1920, 10 and J. D. Warfield, *The Founders of Anne Arundel and Howard Counties, Maryland* (Baltimore: Kohn & Pollock, 1905), 371.

⁶ Hively, *loc. cit.*

⁷ Margaret Brent Downing, *The Sun* (Baltimore, Md.: Sunday A.M., December 13, 1908).

⁸ Margaret Brent Downing, "The Old Catholic Chapel and Graveyard near Aquia, Stafford County, Va.," *The Catholic Historical Review*, New Series IV (1924-1925), 561-3. Captain Brent's estate is not to be confused with the town of Woodstock, Shenandoah County, Va. The

Although there seems to be no connection between our Woodstock and the English town—except the one just suggested—a note on Woodstock, Oxfordshire may be of interest. The Borough of Woodstock is located on the River Glyme, between Oxford and Chipping Norton. Its history goes back to Anglo-Saxon times, if not earlier. The name is Saxon: Wudestoc means a clearing in the woods. Alfred the Great is supposed to have lived there when he was translating Boethius' *Consolations of Philosophy*. Ethelred the Unready was another royal resident. Woodstock is listed as a demesne forest of the king in the Domesday Book and the park of Woodstock Manor was the scene of the love story of Henry II and "the fair Rosamund." A long succession of English sovereigns held court at Woodstock, which was also the residence of Edward the Black Prince and, at a later date, the prison of the Princess Elizabeth during the reign of Queen Mary Tudor. Among the courtiers who visited the Manor were Geoffrey Chaucer and St. Thomas More. After the battle of Blenheim, the Manor of Woodstock was granted to the first Duke of Marlborough and magnificent Blenheim Palace was built there for him. It was in this palace that Sir Winston Churchill was born.⁹ A further tie between Woodstock, England and Woodstock, Maryland is the fact that Woodstock Park was at one time the home of Lord Baltimore.¹⁰

Indian Times and Trails

But to return to Maryland. The earliest recorded inhabitants of the Woodstock area were the nomadic Susquehannock Indians, who lived between the Bolus—or Patapsco—and the Susquehanna Rivers.¹¹ The Susquehannocks were of Iroquois

fact that the article in the *Sun* and that in the *CHR* were both written by the distinguished historian of the Brent family suggests that there may be more to the story of the "Jacobite leader" than appears on the surface.

⁹ *Official Guide to the Borough of Woodstock* (Oxford: Alden & Co., 1951), 4 ff. For a copy of this guidebook, the authors are grateful to Dr. A. H. T. Robb-Smith, Chaucer's House, Woodstock, Oxon., whose inquiry about Woodstock, Maryland gave the initial impetus to this history.

¹⁰ "Calvert Memorabilia," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 10:273.

¹¹ Data on the Susquehannocks has been taken from J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland from the Earliest Period to the Present Day* (Baltimore: John B. Piet, 1879) I, 6 ff. and 82-97.

stock, but had separated from them after the southward migration of the tribes and were counted among the fiercest enemies of the Five Nations. Their main settlements were along the banks of the Susquehanna, but, as game grew scarce, their hunters moved about in search of it. In spring and summer, they would make visits to the salt water and these visits were usually attended by inroads on the Algonquin fishing tribes, who lived to the south of them. By the time the first white colonists arrived in 1634, the Susquehannocks were already well established in Maryland and were a terror to their neighbors.¹¹ Father Andrew White mentions them in his report on conditions in America: "The Susquehanoes, a warlike nation ravage the whole territory with frequent invasions and have forced the inhabitants by the dread of danger to look for other homes."¹² Our first description of the tribe comes from Captain John Smith, who met them on his voyage up the Chesapeake Bay in 1608:

Sixty of these Sasquehannocks came to us with skins, bowes, arrows, targets, beads, swords, and tobacco pipes for presents. Such great and well-proportioned men are seldom seene, for they seemed like giants to the English, yea and to the neighbours, yet seemed of an honest and simple disposition, with much adoe restrained from adoring us like Gods. These are the strangest people of all these countries, both in language and attire; for their language, it may well become their proportions, sounding from them as from a voyce in a vault. Their attire is the skins of beares, and wolves. Some have cossacks made of beares heads and skins, that a mans head goes through the skinnes neck, and the eares of the beare fastened to his shoulders, the nose and teeth hanging down his breast, another beares face split behind him, and at the end of the nose hung a pawe; the halfe sleeves coming to the elbowes were the necks of beares, and the arms through the mouth, with pawes hanging at their noses. One had the head of a wolfe hanging in a chaine for a jewell, his tobacco-pipe three quarters of a yard long, prettily carved with a bird, a deere, or some such devise at the great end, sufficient to beat out ones brains: with bowes, arrowes, and clubs suitable to their greatness.¹³

¹² Scharf, *op. cit.*, 94. Father William McSherry's *ms.* of White's *Relatio Itineris in Marylandiam* is in the Maryland Province S.J. Archives, Woodstock College. It has been published in translation by the *Woodstock Letters* and, in 1874, by the Maryland Historical Society.

¹³ Scharf, *op. cit.*, 12. The citation is from the "Second Book" of Smith's *The General Historie of Virginia*.

On his map of Virginia—which includes Maryland—Smith pictures a Susquehannock chief. He says of him:

The calfe of (his) leg was three quarters of a yard about, and all the rest of his limbs so answerable to that proportion that he seemed the goodliest men we ever beheld. His hayre, the one side was long, the other shore close, with a ridge over his crowne like a cocks comb.¹⁴

While we may have to allow for some exaggeration in Captain Smith's account (the chief would be ten feet tall!) his description of these "first inhabitants of Woodstock" is generally confirmed by later writers, who remark upon the height, the sonorous voices, the proud and stately gait of the Susquehannocks. In 1666, George Alsop describes the Indians' battle dress:

The warlike Equipage they put themselves in is with their faces, arms and breasts confusedly painted, their hair greased with Bears oyl, and stuck thick with Swans Feathers, with a wreath or Diadem of black and white Beads upon their heads, a small Hatchet instead of a Cymetre stuck in their girts behind them, and either with Guns, or Bows and Arrows.¹⁵

The Susquehannocks lived in palisaded villages along the River which bears their name. Within the walls of the village, or *Connadago*, "the houses were low and long, built with the bark of trees, arch-wise, standing thick and confusedly together."¹⁶ In the late autumn of each year, the best hunters went off into the forests where they set up temporary camps and remained for about three months until they had killed enough game to provide for the summer months. Among the animals which they hunted were bears, elk, deer, wolves and wild turkey, while streams like the Patapsco provided shad and herring.¹⁷ In the course of these journeyings, the Indian

¹⁴ Scharf, *op. cit.*, 13. A print of Smith's map with the drawing of the Susquehannock chief faces p. 6.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, The citation is from George Alsop, *The Character of the Province of Maryland*, which has been reprinted (Cleveland: The Burrowes Brothers Co., 1902), 79. Alsop's history has also been reprinted as a Fund-Publication of the Maryland Historical Society (Baltimore: 1880).

¹⁶ Scharf, *op. cit.*, 87. The description of the Indians' settlements and methods of hunting is Alsop's (Burrowes Brothers edition, pp. 83-84).

¹⁷ Scharf, *op. cit.*, 7, 87 and *The Ellicott City Times* (Ellicott City, Md.: Monday, March 17, 1941), B-4.

hunters created a network of trails through the forests. Since they marched in single file, the paths were often no more than eighteen inches wide, but "they were the ordinary roads of the country, travelled by hunters, migrating bands, traders, embassies and war parties."¹⁸ One of the most important of the old Indian trails in Maryland crossed the Patapsco at the site of Woodstock. This was a road which probably connected the Potomac on the south with the Susquehanna and the Conestoga Path on the north and west.¹⁹

The Susquehannocks reigned supreme in the northern part of the colony of Maryland until the latter part of the seventeenth century. In 1661, with the help of the Maryland authorities, they carried on a successful war with the Cayugas and the Senecas, but by 1673 smallpox had reduced their effective warriors by more than half, from seven hundred to three hundred, and in the following year they were driven off to the south by the Senecas.²⁰ Scattered remnants of the tribe eventually returned to their ancestral lands on the Susquehanna, where they continued to live for about a century.²¹ By the end of the eighteenth century, there were few Indians left in the Woodstock area.²² But by that time, the white settlers had already come.

The Patuxent Ranger

Not long after 1634, occasional trappers, hunters and explorers began to push northward, up the Severn and Patuxent to the Patapsco and beyond. The initial transients were soon followed by permanent settlers whose land grants extended from Herring Creek on the south to the Patapsco on the north. In 1650, the Maryland Legislature established these northern territories as "Annarundell" County.²³ A quarter of a century later, Baltimore County was organized and its southern

¹⁸ William B. Marye, "The Old Indian Road," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 15 (1920), 108, quoting from *The Handbook of American Indians*, Bulletin 30, Bureau of American Ethnology.

¹⁹ Marye, *loc. cit.* In a series of three articles, Marye traces the path of the old Indian road and conjectures as to its ultimate destinations.

²⁰ Scharf, *op. cit.*, 96-97.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 97.

²² *Ellicott City Times*, *loc. cit.*, B-4.

²³ *Archives of Maryland* I (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883), 292.

limits set at two miles south of the Patapsco.²⁴ The natural boundary of the River was ignored in order that there might be enough ratables in the new county to support its administration. The area which we now know as Woodstock was thus included in Baltimore County. This arrangement lasted for fifty years, but the southern bank of the Patapsco was returned to Anne Arundel in 1727 at the request of the region's plantation owners. The reasons given for their request provide us with an interesting commentary on conditions in the Patapsco Valley in the early 1700's. One point made was that the Baltimore County seat at Joppa was so situated that even moderate rains made the rivers and creeks of the section impassable. The second reason alleged was that the land south of the Patapsco was so worn out that many settlers were moving into the virgin territories to the north. Baltimore County should now be able to manage its own finances without the contributions of the southern plantations.²⁵

The first settler of the Woodstock area was Thomas Brown, who was appointed Ranger of the Patuxent region in 1692. His duties were to survey the land and to keep an eye on Indian activities.²⁶ Brown surveyed about thirty tracts along the Patuxent and sometime after 1692 established a plantation called Ranter's Ridge, running roughly southwest from what is now Woodstock. His cabin on this property was the only white habitation in the country until 1701, when Charles Carroll's 10,000 acre manor of Doughoregan was surveyed.²⁷ The boundaries of Doughoregan are given as extending "from the Patuxent by a blind path to Thomas Brown's plantation and to four Indian cabins and thence to some oaks."²⁸

Thomas Brown's son Joshua inherited Ranter's Ridge and disposed of it in three parcels. The upper part of the ridge was sold about 1740 to John Dorsey for his son Nathan. This was Nathan's homestead, Waverly. In 1786, Waverly became the property of Colonel John Eager Howard, who was elected Governor of Maryland two years later. It was afterwards the residence of his son, George Howard, also a Governor of

²⁴ *Ibid.*, XV (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1896), 39.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, XXXVI (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1916), 594.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, VIII (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1890), 339.

²⁷ Warfield, *op. cit.*, 164 ff.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 336.

Maryland.²⁹ Also about 1740, a second portion of Ranter's Ridge was sold to Thomas Davis, Sr. for his son Robert. Except for several years in the early eighteenth century, Davis's Manor remained in the possession of the same family until about 1950. Finally, the third tract of Thomas Brown's original grant was purchased by a namesake, Benjamin Brown. This latter estate, called Goodfellowship, is on the Old Court Road and is still in the possession of descendants of Benjamin Brown.³⁰ With the passage of the years, the tiny cabin has been enlarged by a frame addition and supplemented by the usual outbuildings of a Maryland plantation—granary, milk house and barns—but the present mansion still encloses Thomas Brown's original rectangular stone house.³¹ Standing on an eminence in the fields to the southeast of Goodfellowship is another Brown family home, Mount Pleasant. Part of this home still retains the woodwork and highly polished floors of the early building.

Development of the Maryland Piedmont

From the beginning, Maryland was a one crop Province. Although Indian corn and wheat were raised for domestic consumption, the only article which the colonists exported in any great quantity was tobacco. The settlers of the Patapsco Valley followed this trend and there is no reason to suppose that Thomas Brown and his successors on Ranter's Ridge were any exception. At the same time, the needs of the economy dictated the early development of roads in the area. Tobacco was commonly brought down to Elkridge Landing or to Balti-

²⁹ Heinrich Ewald Bucholz, *Governors of Maryland from the Revolution to the Year 1908* (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Co., 1908), 26-31 and 114-118. Colonel John Eager Howard (1752-1827) was the fifth Governor of the State (1788-1791). His son, George Howard (1789-1846) was the twenty-second Governor (1831-1833). "Goodfellowship" was made over to Christopher Randall in 1728. His son Roger joined with Joshua Brown in selling it to Benjamin Brown. Randall's property ran to the river and was secured to him for the annual payment of 21 shillings on the feast of the Annunciation and on that of St. Michael.

³⁰ Much of the information on Davis and Brown land holdings in the Woodstock area was supplied by Mrs. Frank deSales Brown of "Mount Pleasant." Mrs. Brown is a daughter of William Davis, one of the descendants of Robert Davis.

³¹ Pepper, *op. cit.*, 6. Information on "Goodfellowship" was supplied by Mrs. William Howard Brown, Sr., the present holder of the estate.

more on a series of rolling roads. The dried leaves were packed tightly in hogsheads and these hogsheads were then rolled over and over again, by hand, to the port. Narrower bridle paths connected the various plantations and settlements. The only road of any considerable importance was the old one which led from Baltimore to the German colony at Fredericktown. This road passed over "Ranter's Ridge" and the plantations there were thus located on the first main highway to the west.³² The Woodstock planters also had good connections to the north. In 1730-1731, Old Court Road from Gwynns Falls to the Patapsco was laid out on the bed of the old Indian trail. Near the present location of Pikesville, this road joined the Court Road to Joppa, which was at that time one of the most thriving of the Chesapeake Bay ports.³³

The first notable change in the tobacco economy of the Maryland piedmont came with the arrival of the Quaker Ellicott brothers who purchased lands and mill sites on the lower Patapsco in 1772. Within a few years, they had built several grain mills, and, as trade began to prosper, they were able to persuade the wealthy planters of the vicinity to add corn and wheat to their output. Charles Carroll of Doughoregan Manor was one of the first to see the wisdom of the idea. To further their plans, the Ellicott Brothers built a road from Baltimore through Ellicotts Mills to Doughoregan. The road was soon extended to Frederick and it became a public highway in 1792. A dozen years later, this road was authorized by the Maryland Legislature as the Baltimore-Frederick Turnpike and by 1821 it joined the National Road at Cumberland in western Maryland. The new highway bypassed Ranter's Ridge, but the farms in that area were linked to it by connecting roads.³⁴

While all this road-building was going on, the plantations

³² The developing economy of the Patapsco Valley Region is described in Martha E. Tyson, *A Brief Account of the Settlement of Ellicott's Mills*, Fund-Publication No. 4, Maryland Historical Society (Baltimore: John Murphy, 1871). As early as 1755, there was some kind of road between Baltimore and Frederick.

³³ Marye, *loc. cit.*, 228.

³⁴ Tyson, *op. cit.* and George R. Stewart, *U.S. 40 Cross Section of the United States of America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1953). Stewart gives the history of the Frederick Pike and its connection with the National Road, which later became Route 40.

up on "Ranter's Ridge" had developed to a point where they could compare favorably with the best in the entire piedmont. Governor Howard's Waverly is said to have rivalled even Doughoregan. Lumbering garden trucks carried produce three times a week to Baltimore, and the fact that much of the heavy farm labor was done by slaves enabled the prosperous landowners to enjoy a certain measure of social life.³⁵ Nearly all the families of the region—the Dorseys, the Browns, the Davises and others—were related to one another. Family gatherings, featuring a dance, a card party and a grand dinner, were frequent occurrences. For added diversion, there would be horseback parties, sledding parties, and perhaps skating on the Patapsco. The larger original holdings had been subdivided among succeeding heirs who located on adjoining tracts and the social life of the country planters was centered in these small communities of relatives.³⁶

The quiet life of the Patapsco Valley was twice interrupted by war. Although no battles of the Revolution or of the War of 1812 were fought in the immediate vicinity, the rolls of the Maryland Line carry the names of many Browns, Dorseys and Davises. Colonel John Eager Howard, who purchased Waverly in 1786, was a trooper in the famous Maryland Flying Camp and saw service at Cowpens and at the Battle of White Plains. Four of his sons fought in the second war against the British. During the Revolution, Vachel Dorsey lost a leg while in the colonial army and Captain Samuel Brown, the owner of Goodfellowship, was an officer in the Elk Ridge Militia. During the War of 1812, we find the names of Lieutenant John Riggs Brown and of Caleb Davis among the defenders of Baltimore. Maryland's proportionate contribution in terms of men was greater in these early wars than that of any of the other states, and the planters on

³⁵ Warfield, *op. cit.*, 518-519. A favorite at the large family dinners was "Maryland Biscuits," made as follows: "A section of tree was firmly and permanently placed in a corner of the kitchen and the dough placed upon it and usually hammered or beaten until both the dough and the block were blistered. Then the latter was fashioned into round, chubby shapes, like unto small, flattened oranges, pierced with a fork and placed in a dutch oven with live coals above and underneath, whence they came forth golden in color. These were not raised with baking powder, nor as hard as stone, but light, beautiful and wholesome."

(*Ibid.*)
³⁶ *Ibid.*

Ranter's Ridge helped materially to swell the ranks of the Free State's forces.³⁷

The Coming of the Railroad

Once America's independence was secure, the country began to push westward. New York's Erie Canal and a projected railroad through Pennsylvania challenged Maryland's National Road. The worried financiers of Baltimore realized that some dramatic action was needed to avert the threat to their city's growing prosperity. So was born the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, which was incorporated by the Maryland Legislature on February 26, 1827.³⁸ With the building of the railroad, the history of Woodstock as a village begins.

Plans for the B & O called for a line with two or more sets of rails which would run along the narrow valley of the Patapsco to Ellicotts Mills and then, following the course of the river, through Anne Arundel County and on to Frederick.³⁹ By the summer of 1829, the tracks had reached Ellicotts Mills. The railroad's directors announced that trains would not run past that point until the entire line to Frederick was completed. Feverish activity characterized the effort. There were accidents, as once when a high bank of earth caved in and killed four workmen, and there were brawls. Liquor was sold freely and cheaply—whiskey was three cents a glass—and riots were the order of the day. Some of the contractors solved the problem by hiring German teetotalers from York County, Pennsylvania, but violence continued to flare up in the valley. On one occasion, a sheriff's posse was summoned to quiet the disturbances. A contemporary account tells us that the sheriff had no trouble in recruiting volunteer deputies, but he did have trouble in keeping them under control, "for, having come out to see a fight, they did not want to be disappointed."⁴⁰

Labor troubles reached a climax in the summer of 1831, when serious riots occurred at Sykes Mills, the present Sykesville. The rioting strikers were finally pacified, but not until

³⁷ Pepper, *op. cit.*, 6; Warfield, *op. cit.*, 490-491; Bucholz, *op. cit.*, 26-31.

³⁸ Hungerford, *op. cit.*, I, 3-27.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 10 and 25.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 65-67.

Brigadier General Steuart and over a hundred militiamen had been despatched to the scene. They came by train and so Woodstock, which was on the route, witnessed what was probably the first troop movement by rail in history.⁴¹

In one way or another, the problems of securing workmen and materials were overcome and by the autumn of 1831 a double track had been laid to the Forks of the Patapsco, twenty-four miles out from Pratt Street and a mile above Davis's Tavern at the site of Woodstock. The line to Frederick was at last completed in December, 1831 and regular service began after that. All transportation of passengers on the new road was by steam locomotive, an innovation which had been introduced in the summer of 1830. The first engine, Peter Cooper's *Tom Thumb*, was an odd looking contraption, something like a modern handcar with a vertical boiler added. It weighed about a ton. A second engine, the three-and-a-half ton *York*, was put in service in 1831 and it was joined by the *Atlantic* in 1832. Two years later, five small locomotives—all with upright boilers—were hauling freight and passengers past Woodstock to the west.⁴²

The Village of Woodstock

The actual work of building the roadbed of the Baltimore and Ohio had been let out to various contractors. Two of these men were most prominent in the area around Woodstock, Peter Gorman and Caleb Davis. Gorman's section of the work ended at a place on the river just below Goodfellowship. It is probable that his workmen's shacks provided the nucleus around which the village of Woodstock grew. Peter Gorman married a daughter of John Riggs Brown. He later leased some property near the tracks and he and his family settled in a stone house built against the hillside. This house, which was just back of the old railroad station, was torn down some twenty-five years ago when the State widened Old Court Road. It was the birthplace of Gorman's son, United States Senator Arthur Pue Gorman (1839-1906), who was long a power in Maryland politics.⁴³

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 116-124.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 109 and 143.

⁴³ For two unfavorable treatments of the career of Senator Gorman,

The second builder of the railroad around Woodstock was a member of a family long resident in the section, Caleb Davis. Caleb had been for some time a merchant in Baltimore, but he moved back to the family farm in 1830 and invested heavily in factories and houses along the route of the railroad. His wife was another daughter of John Riggs Brown and one of his sons, Henry Gassaway Davis (1823-1916), was for a number of years a Senator from West Virginia. Henry Davis was born in Baltimore, but he grew up in Woodstock and received his education in the free country schools of the county.⁴⁴

It does not seem that the village ever amounted to very much. No early map shows more than a dozen or so buildings in the little hollow back of the tracks. The United States Post Office was started in 1836, and four years later Peter Gorman and Henry G. Childress were granted retailer's licenses, but otherwise the official records are a blank.⁴⁵ In 1837, financial panic swept the nation and brought disaster to the commercial dreams of Caleb Davis. The valley was long plagued by serious floods; that of July 24, 1860 finally destroyed any usefulness the Patapsco might have had as a waterway.⁴⁶ One exception to the general commercial decline was the granite industry. The B & O had taken steps in 1848 to acquire land for a station at Woodstock and for many years granite from the quarries of the neighborhood was shipped

see Paul Winchester, *Men of Maryland Since the Civil War, Sketches of United States Senator Arthur Pue Gorman and His Contemporaries and Successors and Their Connection with Public Affairs* (Baltimore: Maryland County Press Syndicate, 1923), Vol. 1 and Frank Richardson Kent, *The Story of Maryland Politics* (Baltimore: Thomas & Evans, 1911). A more definitive approach is that of John R. Lambert, *Arthur Pue Gorman* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953). Lambert evaluates the works of Winchester and Kent rather severely.

⁴⁴ Senator Davis' biography has been written by Charles M. Pepper (*op. cit.*) Various printed sources give Woodstock as his birthplace. But in a letter to Henry Hall, business manager, *New York Tribune*, Dec. 31, 1895, the Senator's private Secretary, Charles S. Robb states definitely that Mr. Davis was born November 16, 1823 at Baltimore. Writing in *Harper's Weekly*, *n.d.* (1904?), pp. 1206-1207, Melville Davison Post says, "Henry G. Davis was born in Baltimore (and not in Woodstock, Maryland, as the newspaper sketches give it)." Information on Senator Davis was graciously supplied by Charles Shetler, Curator, West Virginia Collection, West Virginia University Library, Morgantown, W. Va. in a letter to Rev. James J. Hennesey, S.J., April 19, 1956. (Woodstock College Archives, I R 9). The Davis papers are on deposit in the West Virginia University Library.

⁴⁵ Hively, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁶ Ellicott City *Times*, *loc. cit.*, I-6.

to Baltimore and other cities from the Woodstock loading platform.⁴⁷

Apart from the now insignificant granite quarries, the countryside around Woodstock has maintained an almost purely agricultural economy. Wheat and corn are grown and Howard County supplies the entire world with wormseed oil—described by the *Ellicott City Times* as “a vermifuge for man and beast.”⁴⁸ The area has been fairly prosperous. By 1838, the northern part of Anne Arundel County had been given its own organization as the Howard District and in 1851 it became a separate county.⁴⁹ In luxuriant turn-of-the-century prose, local historian J. D. Warfield describes Howard County:

Bordered by the rocky profiles of the Patapsco on the north and by the rich levels of the Patuxent on the south, this gem, set in a frame of rushing, tragic waters, with a lustre as brilliant as the patriotic career of the Revolutionary hero for whom it was named, now adorns the glittering diadem of Queen Henrietta Maria's crown.⁵⁰

The village of Woodstock is located in the Third—or Cross District of Howard County, which is at present (1957) represented in the Maryland House of Delegates by a member of the Brown family of Goodfellowship.⁵¹

Civil War

The tension generated by the breakup of the Union in 1861 was nowhere more keenly felt than in the border states. Maryland soldiers fought in both Federal and Confederate armies. Pro-Southern sentiment ran particularly high in the slave-holding country areas, and among them Woodstock made its contribution to the Army of Northern Virginia. In the post-war years, the town's leading citizen was Brigadier General James Rawlings Herbert, a veteran of the Valley

⁴⁷ Hively, *loc. cit.* and *The Jeffersonian*, vol. 21, no. 46.

⁴⁸ *Ellicott City Times*, *loc. cit.*, E-5.

⁴⁹ Warfield, *op. cit.*, 36 and 522.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 337.

⁵¹ Howard County's Third District is called the “Cross” District on an old hand-drawn map in the Woodstock College Archives (I R 7). Mr. W. Howard Brown, Jr. of the House of Delegates very kindly supplied much of the background material on his family.

campaigns and a wounded hero of Gettysburg.⁵² During the war itself, Union soldiers and supplies moved continually along the main line of the Baltimore and Ohio, a fact which made the railroad a major target for marauding bands of Confederate cavalry. Large Southern armies were in the vicinity on several occasions. General Robert E. Lee occupied Frederick in September, 1862, before marching on to Antietam. Not quite a year later, Major General J. E. B. Stuart's ill-fated excursion before Gettysburg took him to Hood's Mills, a few miles above Woodstock on the Patapsco. While Stuart's troopers were tearing up the tracks at Hood's Mills, a detachment under Fitzhugh Lee made a vain attempt to burn the bridge at Sykesville.⁵³ Finally, in July, 1864, Lieutenant General Jubal A. Early led his II Corps east from the Monocacy in a desperate attack which brought him within sight of the National Capital. On Early's northern flank, Brigadier General Bradley Johnson's cavalry reached the outskirts of Baltimore and ranged up and down the Patapsco Valley, destroying highway and railroad bridges.⁵⁴ The Confederate soldiers, many of them Marylanders, were operating in friendly territory. This was especially true of the country east of the Monocacy.⁵⁵ An instance of the co-operation which the invaders could expect occurred at Woodstock on one occasion. Colonel Herbert's Maryland Regiment was in the vicinity, bogged down for lack of transport. The Woodstock farmers rallied to his assistance and supplied enough wagons to enable Herbert and his men to rejoin the main body of the Confederate Army. The Federal authorities naturally took a dim view of such proceedings and Beale Cavey, who had

⁵² General Herbert lived in the large house at the end of Cavey's Lane. He is mentioned several times in Douglas Southall Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944), III, as a lieutenant colonel commanding Maryland units in the Confederate Army. The General also served as Colonel of the Fifth Regiment, Maryland National Guard, Police Commissioner and Commanding General, Maryland Militia. (Warfield, *op. cit.*, 159 and 364).

⁵³ Freeman, *op. cit.*, III, 51-72. Stuart rode through Hood's Mills on his way to Gettysburg. The one day delay (June 29, 1863) at Hood's Mills and Sykesville was a costly one for the South. The cavalry was not ready for action at Gettysburg until July 3.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 559 ff. General Johnson was a Marylander.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 560.

recruited the rolling stock, had to hide out for a time in the wilderness known as Soldier's Delight.⁵⁶

Post-War Years

Eight months after General Early's withdrawal from the Washington front, Appomattox ended the Civil War. For a place like Woodstock, 1865 marked the end of an era. The slaves were freed and the old southern plantations became country farms. The tiny village on the bank of the Patapsco looked then pretty much as it does today. In 1871, an English visitor sent home this description of it:

The river is like the Hodder at Stonyhurst, and it flows through the hollows of high wooded hills, wild and picturesque. The Baltimore and Ohio railroad runs along its winding course; and, at a distance of twenty-three miles from Baltimore, but only sixteen miles in a straight line, the little village of Woodstock nestles in a crevice between two hills. Indeed, a poorer apology for a village, or a feebler aspirant for municipal dignities could scarcely be imagined: for its sum total of constituents is a railway station, a post office, a few shanties and a county bridge over the Patapsco.⁵⁷

A Canadian visitor in 1873 was somewhat more kindly disposed. He remarks that:

The hills on either side of the river are abrupt and in many places precipitous, crowned with cedar groves, or woods of oak, maple, hickory, the tulip poplar, the gum, the fragrant sassafras and the more humble dogwood whose profuse white flowers in the full blossom of spring are in striking contrast with the crimson blossoms of the Judas tree, and whose blood red berries in the glow of an Indian summer show even brighter than the brilliant hues of our American forests in autumn.⁵⁸

As for the sluggish Patapsco, it has probably never been more lyrically described than by the same writer:

⁵⁶ "Soldier's Delight" is a huge tract in the "Great Barrens," just above the new Liberty Dam. An account of its history will be found in "Soldier's Delight Hundred in Baltimore County," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 1-144 ff. The story of Beale Cavey and his help to Colonel Herbert was told to Rev. James J. Ruddick, S.J. by Beale Cavey's grandson, Mr. John Herbert Cavey of Woodstock.

⁵⁷ "Woodstock College," *Letters and Notices* (Roehampton, England: Typog. S. Josephi, 1871) VII, 50-51.

⁵⁸ Arthur E. Jones, S.J., "Woodstock—Its Surroundings and Associations," *THE WOODSTOCK LETTERS* (Woodstock: Woodstock College Press, 1873) II, 44.

The serpentine course of the Patapsco, so far down beneath us that the noise of its waters as they dash over the rocks at the ford is toned down to a gentle murmur, the vista between the hills whose rough contour is softened by the woodlands on their slopes, the strip of fertile meadow at the margin of the stream, the island with its rank growth of reeds and willows, the stream itself silvered by the distance and the play of light, the pearly mist hanging veil-like midway down the valley, and the haze at the horizon which, with more than artist's skill heightens the atmospheric perspective, the stark piers of the broken bridge, suggestive of scenes of violence amidst one of peace and beauty, such is the rough outline of a charming picture.⁵⁹

As a final touch to the picture of Woodstock in mid-nineteenth century, we may add a last line from the same Canadian pen:

The unpretending hamlet of Woodstock, consisting of scarcely half a dozen houses, nestles snugly in a fold of the hills halfway up the southern slope, seemingly unconscious that it lies within a score of miles of one of the great centres of American civilization.⁶⁰

The College

A great event took place in the sleepy village in the late 1860's. On September 23, 1869, Woodstock College of Baltimore County opened its doors as the first permanent scholasticate of the Society of Jesus in North America. The College is built on a high bluff overlooking the town from the north. Although it is located in the town of Granite,⁶¹ the presence of such a large institution has necessarily affected the history of the village across the river which serves as its post office address. Men like Brother Theodore Vorbrinck, who for over forty years supervised the College farm, and the late Brother Charlie Abram were familiar figures in the countryside, and did much to gain the goodwill of the neighbors. One instance of the warm welcome given the Jesuits occurred three months after the opening of the College, when seventy-five farmers of the region gathered to raise the roof of the first barn on the property.⁶² These good relations between the Jesuits on the

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁶¹ Actually Granite has no more legal claim to existence than does Woodstock. Properly speaking, the College is located in no smaller circumscription than the Second District of Baltimore County.

⁶² Patrick J. Dooley, S.J., *Woodstock and Its Makers* (Woodstock: Woodstock College Press, 1927), 45.

hill and the people of the valley have continued through the years.

Woodstock College's greatest contribution to the local area has been the part that its faculty and Scholastics played in the development of the Catholic life of the section. Before 1869, the nearest Catholic Church was the chapel at Doughoregan Manor. The Jesuits immediately set about remedying this situation and, within ten years, they had opened churches at Harrisonville, Elysville and Poplar Springs. Catechism missions were established at Woodstock, Granite, Marriottsville, Elysville, Dorsey's Run and Sykesville. Closer to home, the College Chapel was opened to the laity in October, 1869 and served as a parish church until the Church of the Holy Ghost (now St. Alphonsus') was opened in 1887.⁶³ In recent years, the Jesuit pastor of St. Alphonsus has also acted as chaplain of the sanatorium at Henryton.

"The More Things Change"

Apart from the presence of the College, Woodstock has not changed very much in the years since the Civil War. Electrification has come, and tractors to the farms. Old Court Road—the ancient Indian highway—has been straightened somewhat and paved. Old Frederick Road is now the more prosaic Route 99. A railroad station built during the 80's was torn down in 1951.⁶⁴ One year before that, the B & O had discontinued passenger service over the old main line. It was just 120 years since Woodstock had first seen the *Tom Thumb*, the *York* and the *Atlantic*. The flight to suburbia has not yet affected the village to any great degree. There are new houses along Old Court and a few late-Victorian homes on the hillside to the right of the village, but that is all. The Patapsco still flows through the valley. Generally it is brown and peaceful, although still capable of an occasional rampage.⁶⁵ Fifty

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 235 ff.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 193. According to Fr. Dooley, a telegraph station was installed at Woodstock in 1889 at the request of Mrs. General William Tecumseh Sherman, who had taken a home in the area to be on hand for the ordination that summer of her son, Fr. Thomas Ewing Sherman, S.J. The railroad station, again according to Fr. Dooley, followed soon after. Other accounts say that the station was built in 1883 at a cost of \$7000. (*The Jeffersonian* [Towson, Md.] vol. 21, no. 46).

⁶⁵ A flood in the summer of 1956 reached the floor of the Woodstock

or a hundred years ago, floods on the river were a disastrous affair. Acres of debris piled up at every bend. One flood left a wheelbarrow hanging twenty feet up in the branches of a tree. Woodstock's wooden bridge was swept away at least three times and had to be replaced by an iron structure. Whole sections of the railroad were often completely washed out.⁶⁶ At such times, the only way to cross the river was by flat-bottomed scow or perhaps on Jim Cavey's granite wagon, once the waters had abated. There was also a swaying foot bridge just above the town, at the place now called People's Beach.⁶⁷ The recent creation of a state park in the Patapsco Valley and the erection of Baltimore City's new Liberty Dam on the North Branch of the river will, it is hoped, help to control the floods which have done so much damage in past years.

Epilogue

Such is the history of Woodstock, Howard County, Maryland. In capsule form, it is the history of the development of the Maryland piedmont, from the time of the Susquehannocks and the coming of the Patuxent Ranger down to the present. Woodstock had its share in the Revolution and in the War of 1812. It was even more intimately involved in the War between the States. The story of Woodstock is part of the history of American railroading and of the National Road to the west. The new Patapsco State Parkway—if it ever materializes—will travel through country which has been a part of the American scene almost from our earliest days.

bridge and inundated the meadow on the north bank.

⁶⁶ Jones, *art. cit.*, 52.

⁶⁷ Dooley, *op. cit.*, 41. The foot bridge appears on a map drawn in 1872 by Father Arthur Jones, S.J. (Woodstock College Archives I L 7.1 b).

Table-Reading During the Retreat

GREGORY FOOTE, S.J.

The reading at table in a religious community during the annual retreat can be a great help or a not inconsiderable hindrance to the success of the Spiritual Exercises. There can be reading so heavy as to tire the earnest exercitant. There can be selections so scatter-shot as to dissipate his concentration. There can be matter apparently following the scheme of the Exercises, yet so foreign to their spirit as to dilute their powerful effect. St. Ignatius tells the exercitant in the sixth addition,¹

"I should not think of things that give pleasure and joy, as the glory of heaven, the Resurrection, etc., (when) I wish to feel pain, sorrow, and tears for my sins, (for) every consideration promoting joy and happiness will impede it. I should rather keep in mind that I want to be sorry and feel pain. Hence it would be better not to call to mind death and judgment." (#78)¹

This wise counsel of the Saint refers, as it stands, to the exercises of the First Week, that is, from the start of the meditation on sin until the start of the meditation on the Kingdom of Christ, ushering in the new mood of the Second Week. The book of the Exercises is at pains to have the exercitant follow the mood, thought, and spirit of each meditation as it comes. The second addition brings this out: "When I wake up, I will not permit my thoughts to roam at random, but will turn my mind at once to the subject I am about to contemplate." (#74)

Again in the first note following the Nativity contemplations, we find another reminder of the necessity of staying in the mood of the retreat as it proceeds, step by step: "Throughout this Week and the subsequent Weeks, I ought to read only the mystery that I am immediately to contem-

¹ All translations taken from the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius translated by Louis J. Puhl, S.J.

plate. Hence I should not read any mystery that is not to be used on that day or at that hour, lest the consideration of one mystery interfere with the contemplation of the other." (#127)

Finally, in the fourth Nativity note the above quoted sixth addition is adapted for the Second Week: "The sixth will be to call to mind frequently the mysteries of the life of Christ our Lord from the Incarnation to the place or mystery I am contemplating." (#130)

The plain conclusion from all of this is that the exercitant ought always to follow the retreat as it comes but never to anticipate what is to come later, not even the very next exercise.² What is allowed is that he look backwards, thus satisfying his mind and heart in the possession and enjoyment of what he has gained so far in the progressive experience of his thought and prayer.

We perhaps wonder from time to time why the Exercises of St. Ignatius don't seem to come up with the results that formerly made them such an outstanding success. They do not seem to be producing all that they could. All of us know, even without the assistance of the many available "arguments from authority," that the Exercises are as potent for good now as they ever were. If they are not living up to their past and not achieving their potential, the difference must be accounted for somewhere. Among the contributing causes (leaving aside the obvious requirement of holiness and experience in the one who gives the Exercises) must we not include inept choice in the selection of table-reading?

There is a difference between adaptation and departure. The Exercises have adaptation written right into them. Few of us can say that we have given the Exercises for thirty days to a single retreatant in some secluded place and where the succession of meditations was not rigidly plotted out weeks (or years) in advance. But those of us with the time to devote

² There would seem to be two reasons for not anticipating: first, lest one fail to reap all the fruit at the place where he is; second, that in ideal conditions only the one giving the Exercises will know what the "next" exercise will be, since this depends entirely on his judgment of the present state of the exercitant. Cf. #4, 17.

to the annual retreats of religious communities can still say truthfully that we are giving the Spiritual Exercises.

Departure is another thing. And is it not a departure to be careless in the selection of table-reading during the retreat? Surely it goes against the plan of the Exercises to allow reading at table that anticipates the meditations. It is still worse to distract the mind and heart of the exercitant with reading that bears only a remote connection with the spirit of the retreat at any given meal. Would it not be preferable to take all the meals in silence rather than burden the mind and annoy the spirit of the exercitant with a multitude of considerations irrelevant to the psychology of the Exercises?

Why, we might ask, has the important element of table-reading been somewhat neglected? One reason, no doubt, is that some superiors may feel that certain important documents must be read to their subjects, and the retreat is the time when they will be at their receptive and docile best. Another reason is that not all retreats are the Exercises. Perhaps when the Jesuit appears on the scene, he does not make it clear enough that the retreat he will give is so planned as to be highly dependent on the most apt use of creatures, including reading, for the next eight days.

A certain Jesuit, formerly connected with the spiritual development of young religious, referred to the Ignatian Exercises as a series of spiritual squeeze-plays. But to work the squeeze play, the minds and bodies of the manager, coaches, batter, and runner must all be intent on one thing only.

Perhaps another reason for the incomplete realization of the potential of the Exercises is that we are in the "pre-fab" age. The retreat, too, may become stereotyped and utterly predictable. When the retreat takes on the look of the lecture course, well-planned and never changed, who would not infer that the added religious information gained from listening at table will actually supplement the work of the eight days?

What Ignatius does is try to clear a path for the Holy Spirit to enter by. Has not the exercitant himself sufficiently cluttered the landscape without our blocking the way with pious extras and clouding the atmosphere with unnecessary con-

siderations? We can more justly expect the Holy Spirit to descend when the sky is clear and the entrance open.

A more careful attention to the table-reading may mean choosing several selections from many different books for one eight-day retreat. This is added work, but for those who have cultivated the habit of listening to what they hear, it is a *conditio sine qua non* of their getting what Ignatius intends.

Physician, cure thyself. The *tantum-quantum* and the *magis* of the Foundation can be applied to the reading at table just as well as to any other creature.

The danger involved in inappropriate table-reading during the retreat does not appear at once. It is subtle. It is the trap of using a good at the wrong time or in the wrong way. Ordinarily, we do not view table-reading as an indifferent thing, achieving its communicated good from the good it subserves. Rather, we tend to take for granted the selection of good reading, at least as a habitual situation. That is why table-reading can mask a typically Ignatian danger, just as, for instance, the danger we are more ready to recognize in indiscreet devotions, long prayers, overdoses of vocal prayer, injurious bodily penances, overloaded curricula, record-breaking enrollments, and so many other things. But in a retreat, even more so than at other times, we must be discerning to select from the good only that which is more conducive to the end proposed; even more so in the retreat because the Exercises are more than a prayerful consideration of the truth we live by; they are themselves a training period in which we are constantly applying the attitudes and habits we desire to carry into our daily life. The *tantum-quantum* and the *magis* are universal, and it is according to their greater or lesser application to all matters where we are free to choose, that we judge the vigor of our spiritual life.

We are generally very careful to remind our retreatants that they have not come to a series of sermons, but are entering on a course of spiritual self-activity. We tell them that this is not a time to catch up on back correspondence, not a time to make up spiritual reading that was lost during the past year, nor, worse, a time to get in some extra study. We tell them it is God's time and no place for special little side-projects that will detract from the all-important goal. We

sincerely hope that the religious making the retreat are not using their "free time" to prepare classes for the coming semester and that summer house-cleaning in the convent does not coincide with the annual retreat. We tell them that the retreat is a time to seek God and live, and that all other activity, eating, sleeping, walking, reading, thinking, working, or writing, or anything else is to be used or not used according to its connection with the goal of the eight days. The retreat is no time to excel as Marthas, but the one time of the year when they should choose with Mary the better part, knowing that but one thing is necessary. And until they can all repeat it in their sleep, we do not cease to insist that "it is not much knowledge that fills and satisfies the soul, but the intimate understanding and relish of truth." (#2)

About all these things we are careful, but not nearly so anxious about the table-reading. It is clear that the exercitant who destroys his own silence, interior or exterior, is working against the success of his own retreat. But a book unwisely selected (or allowed) for table-reading has much the same destructive power. Even subject matter pertaining to the same Week can be out of place if it is thrust upon the attention of the exercitant on the wrong day. This is especially true in the First and Second Weeks. The introduction at table of such topics as sin, sorrow, punishment, and the like, before the exercitant has left the consideration of the Foundation, is to prevent the latter from sinking in. In the Second Week, moralizing or lesson-drawing studies of the Gospels, tending arbitrarily to channel the interior movements of the exercitant, can leave scanty footing for the true movements of grace.

Of the four Weeks in the Exercises, it would seem to be the First that calls for the most rigid selection of reading. There the spirit of the Exercises is, perhaps, the most exacting. That this part of the retreat will prove something of a work-out seems hinted at clearly enough in the third note after the Nativity contemplations where we read, "If the exercitant is old or weak, or even when strong, if he has come from the First Week rather exhausted, it should be noted that in this Second Week it would be better, at least at times, not to rise at midnight." (#129) The only other Week that would com-

pare to the First in intensity would be the Third, but even there it is mitigated in this sense, at least, that contemplation has taken the place of meditation. Iparraguirre mentions this precisely: "Less time is usually required for the exposition of subjects which are concrete and appealing to the sensibility, such as the Passion."³

All in all, it is in the Third Week that there should be the least problem about selecting the table-reading. In any Week the chief norm will be to avoid any anticipation of the coming exercises. In the Fourth Week the problem ought not be much greater, if only for the reason that it occupies only one day in the great majority of eight-day retreats. Of course, the underlying principle for the whole retreat is to choose what best subserves the aim of the Exercises and the actual needs of the retreatants. For example, where the retreatants are relatively young and making a thirty-day retreat, and where there are four periods of prayer plus a conference daily (rather than three and a conference), it might not be out of place at all to devote all the table-reading to (non-moralizing) hagiography.

To return to the First Week in the eight-day retreat. Since there must necessarily be a great deal of telescoping (or omission) in this shortened form of the Exercises, the selection of reading could be made to fill in those notable elements not fully treated for lack of time. This would be neither anticipating nor distracting.

The shift of mood on entering the Second Week is considerable. It takes many adjectives to describe it. Let us say that, in general, it is characterized by expansion, freedom, generosity, and enthusiasm. Knowing what he has done, Ignatius gives us some very illuminating help in the matter of reading for the Second Week. In the second note after the meditation on the Kingdom, he says, "During the Second Week and thereafter, it will be very profitable to read some passages from the *Following of Christ*, or from the Gospels, and from the *Lives of the Saints*." (#100)

³ A *Key to the Study of the Spiritual Exercises*, Ignacio Iparraguirre, S.J., tr. J. Chianese, S.J., Hibernian Press, Calcutta, 1955, p. 17.

It will be easy enough to find fitting chapters from the *Imitation* and there are, indeed, many lists in circulation with just such leads. As for the Gospels, here again, following rather than anticipating should be the norm. As for the *Lives of the Saints*, Ignatius knew personally how much they challenged him, how they inspired and encouraged him, how they gave him consolation at seeing the devoted love that others had shown toward his King and Lord. May they do no less for His followers today!

As a final consideration, let us turn to a point merely mentioned above, namely that it would be better to have no reading at table at all at certain meals rather than to have poor reading, not in line with the psychology of the Exercises. This suggestion need not be viewed as outlandish. Ignatius speaks of reading as something that can be used or laid aside, nor does he even consider table-reading in the book of the Exercises. For him the retreat is primarily a time of prayer, discernment, and resolution. When he does mention reading at all, it is only as a means to *further* his end. Every retreatant must find himself at certain meals wishing to be left un-bothered by even the best of reading.

But even here, it need not be a question of all or none. There is every reason to believe that at certain times the very best arrangement would be to have reading for a part of the meal and then to finish in silence. Obviously this would be the case when there is only one good selection available but not long enough to fill out a whole meal.

There is another and much more valuable reason in favor of introducing such a practice. If it happens that the thoughts proposed in the reading appeal to the mind and touch the heart of the listeners (the purpose of the reading) then this reading can be a powerful stimulus, a practical help, and a needed training toward prayer. The active recollection achieved at this point of the meal can be abused by plunging directly from a fruitful topic into a new subject, and the grace of the moment is lost. Certainly the earnest exercitant in his own private reading does not lay down one selection only to turn immediately to another. How many of us have not wished to be left in peace at that point during a meal where a particularly appealing passage has just been concluded?

At such a time, is that not a moment of grace when the reader announces, "The end of the selection"? We have been led to a point where a very peaceful and fruitful form of recollection could take over. The spade-work has been done; all the heart asks is to be left alone. This is one of those times when outside help amounts to a hindrance. What Ignatius says with a view to the Election has its bearing here also. "But while one is engaged in the Spiritual Exercises, it is more suitable and much better that the Creator and Lord in person communicate Himself to the devout soul, . . . that He inflame it with love of Himself, and dispose it. . . ." (#15)

Ignatius makes no mention of table-reading. But where he speaks about eating at all, he is concerned that some consideration or reflection occupy the mind.

"While one is eating, let him imagine he sees Christ our Lord and His disciples at table, and consider how He eats and drinks, how He looks, how he speaks, and then strive to imitate Him. . . . While eating one may also occupy himself with some other consideration, either of the life of the saints, or of some pious reflection, or of a spiritual work he has on hand." (#214, 215)

These are suggestions the exercitant ought to try during the retreat so that, having experienced their fruits, he will have added motive for carrying them into his daily life whenever the body is being refreshed. This tends to confirm our belief that the primary purpose of table-reading is not the gathering of more religious information, good as this is in itself. Rather, the Saint is trying to train us (see that we understand and value the motives) to pray always, to find God in all things, to be contemplative in all our action.

Father Peter Masten Dunn

JOHN B. MCGLOIN, S.J.

Father Peter Masten Dunne, ever a model of geniality, was admittedly in good form as he rose to introduce the main speaker at his Golden Jubilee dinner which was being held in the spacious Phelan Hall on the campus of the University of San Francisco. It was Sunday, July 22, 1957 and over one hundred of the brethren had journeyed from all over the northern part of the California Province to honor a scholar, an exemplary priest, and a thoroughly respected religious of the Society. Father Dunne had wanted Doctor John Donald Hicks to be his special guest that night for, as chairman of the History Department of the University of California, Doctor Hicks had formed a close friendship with Father Dunne, his "opposite number" at USF. The Jubilarian's introduction of Doctor Hicks is quoteworthy because of its studied nonchalance: "Stand up now, John, and tell the Fathers how much you have enjoyed all this fine food!" And stand up Doctor Hicks did but, after a few droll pleasantries which are his trademark in class and everywhere else, he remarked how very unusual it was for the son of a Methodist minister to eulogize a Jesuit Jubilarian. "However," he added, "It now behooves me in such a gathering of the clergy to show my earlier and solidly Protestant training by offering a text as a preface to my remarks. I do so, and it is 2 Timothy, 2:15: 'Carefully study to present thyself approved unto God, a workman that needs not to be ashamed, rightly handling the word of truth.'" And then, with a quiet eloquence which illustrated his sincerity, this outstanding American historian delivered a touching tribute to the fine qualities of Peter Masten Dunne, Golden Jubilarian and priest of the Society of Jesus. "He is a man of complete integrity," said John Hicks, "And that is why he is respected by those of us who know him from outside Roman Catholi-

cism, but who admire him for all that he represents in solid scholarship and for his never failing urbanity and gentility."

When Father Dunne had gone to the altar in St. Ignatius Church of the University campus that morning to offer his solemn Mass of Jubilee, his "Introibo" had been heard with considerably mixed emotions on the part of many who so loved and respected him. Many knew that Father Dunne had submitted to imperative surgery several months before, and that his stomach had been removed in an attempt to stem the progress of a malignant condition which had suddenly manifested itself. A few days later, he who had always been so strong and in such excellent health, had been prepared for death by his Father Rector and, when told that he was to be anointed, he had remarked quite simply: "So I am now going to receive this wonderful Sacrament! Thank you, Father Rector." But Father Dunne made a comeback and, though doctors called it almost miraculous, there he was singing his Mass of Golden Jubilee in San Francisco's beautiful St. Ignatius Church. It was my appreciated privilege to have preached the sermon on that day, and I thought that Father Peter would be pleased if I selected a text closer to home than usual. The warm words of Peter to Our Lord at the scene of the Transfiguration came to mind and so my remarks about this other Peter found their inspiration in Matthew 17:4: "And Peter, turning, said to Jesus: Lord, it is good for us to be here." The three tabernacles which Peter wished built on the Mount of Transfiguration seemed to provide a natural development, and so mention was made of how Father Peter Masten Dunne had built in his fifty years a tabernacle of outstanding scholarship, a tabernacle of a singularly dedicated Jesuit life, and a tabernacle of a truly priestly life modelled after that of the High Priest, Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. As I spoke that morning, I knew that Father Dunne was yet building another tabernacle, and events were to prove that it was to be his finest: It was that of his complete and serene acceptance of the will of God in the matter of his going forth from this world as a victim of incurable cancer. Many others shared my unspoken thoughts of that day.

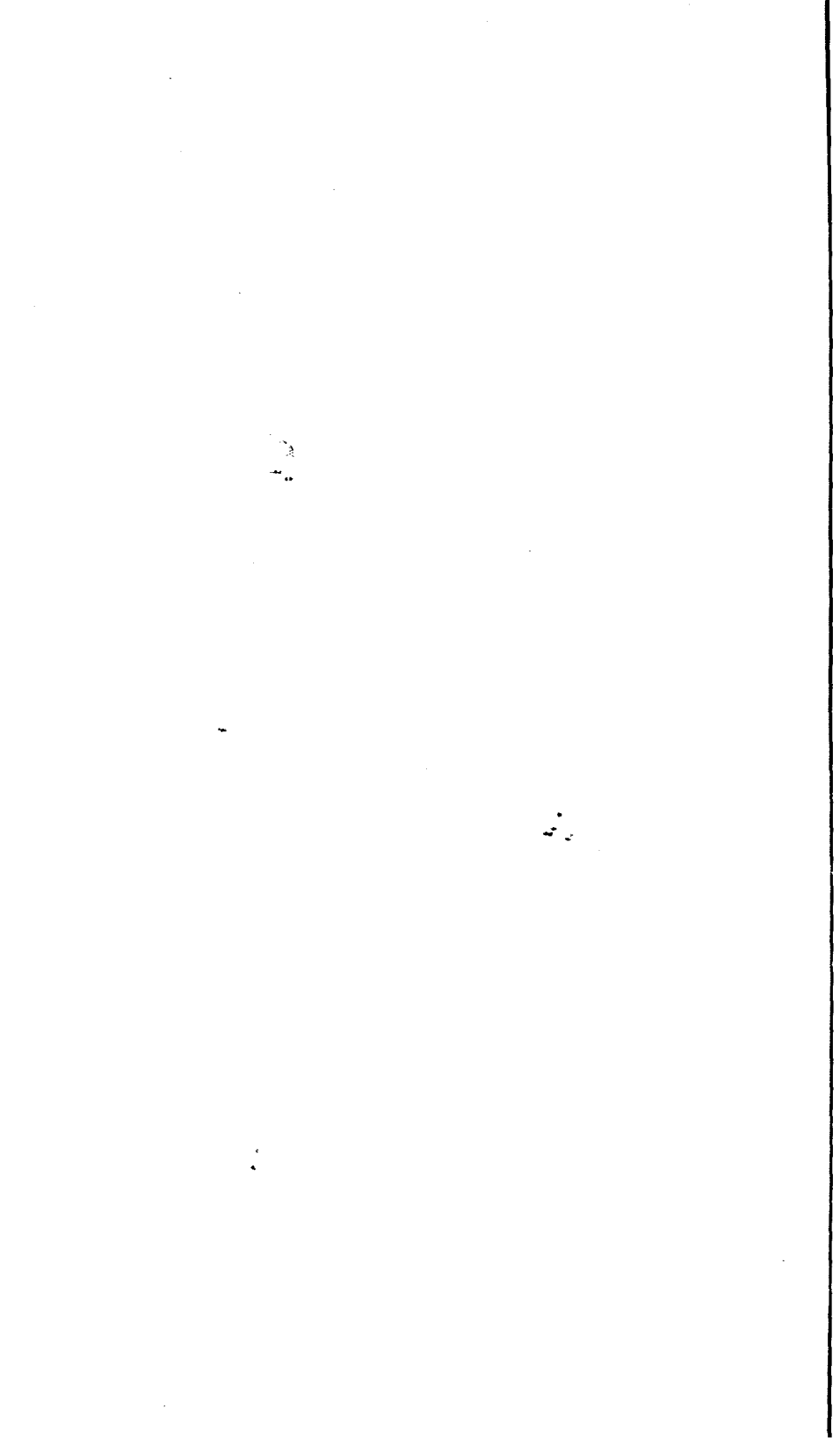
Peter Masten Dunne was born in San Jose, California, on April 16, 1889. He was the only boy among six children, and

all his five sisters, one a Sister of the Holy Names, survive him. There was both wealth and property in the Dunne family, and a modern map of California lists a Dunneville near Hollister which was named after his grandfather who held large ranch acreage in the area. It was both desired and expected, especially on the Masten or maternal side of the family, that Peter Dunne, to the manner born, would to the same manner live. As had his father before him, he entered Santa Clara College after preliminary schooling in San Jose and then (on July 20, 1906) though not entirely to the liking of all in the family, Peter Dunne entered the Novitiate at Los Gatos. He once told of the events of that Friday afternoon when two young men emerged from the fine old ancestral home on The Alameda in San Jose. With him was his closest personal friend, Eugene Ivancovich, who died in 1951 after a fruitful priestly apostolate in the Society. On the old red cars, without benefit of parents, the two newest recruits rode over to Los Gatos that afternoon and together they walked up the hill to the Sacred Heart Novitiate which, by 1906, had greeted such as they for eighteen years. Together they paused momentarily at the front door, completed a pact already arrived at as each placed a finger on the doorbell and thus, together, they entered upon religious life. The usual training of the Society followed and Father Dunne used occasionally to reminisce on those happy years when he was, to use his own expression, "a young and very happy Jesuit." His five years of teaching saw him at St. Ignatius High School in San Francisco and at his own Santa Clara College and, during his stay as a regent in San Francisco, he began his career of writing under circumstances which he later included in a published autobiographical sketch:

The first time I wrote for publication was during my first year teaching in San Francisco. It was 1915, the year of the Panama-Pacific Exposition. I was intrigued by the Chinese exhibit of the then infant republic and described it in an article which I sent to *America*. It was rejected and an unsympathetic superior said that this would teach me a lesson. I suppose that he thought that I was being too ambitious for a young Jesuit. I remember vividly my, perhaps pardonable, satisfaction when, in the early summer of 1919, I first broke into the pages of *America*. It was while at our summer camp by Manresa looking out over the curving



FATHER PETER MASTEN DUNNE



beaches of Monterey Bay, there where Irvin Cobb said Neptune spilt his blueing pot. We were sitting under cypress trees after lunch amidst the tents when the day's mail was delivered. The week's issue of *America* was there. I had been waiting for it. Would it have my article? Eagerly I reached for it; I got it first and saw my first published effort. . . . This was for me a good moment.

Off to theology in Hastings, England, went Mr. Dunne in 1919. He was to tell later how very much he appreciated the privilege of living in a cosmopolitan Jesuit community which had, as its nucleus, the exiled Jesuits of France but which included representatives of twenty-three different nationalities. Father Dunne considered these years as quite precious in both his intellectual and spiritual formation; although he had always liked the study of history, it was during these years of formation at Hastings that he studied diligently in the field of ecclesiastical history as well as in the other disciplines and he thus recorded his recollections of the values received:

As a scholastic I came gradually to form the opinion that history, as I saw it taught in some of our colleges out in the west, was not taught properly. . . . Too much of only one side was given: the whole truth was not spoken, especially where the Church entered in. . . . At Hastings, I did my best through the reading of the finest Catholic historians and through conferences with learned and mature men of our Society to shape my opinions correctly according to the spirit of the Society and of the Church. Whenever I had the opportunity I conferred with my professors at Hastings and with Fathers Joseph Rickaby, Lucas, Thurston and Pollen of the English Province as well as with Fathers Delehaye and Peeters of the Bollandists and with others such as Father d'Herbigny, under whom I made a retreat in Brussels. I thought a great deal about these matters of the right presentation of history and could see my ideas taking shape. . . . Moreover, I foresaw that, when I should return to the classroom and endeavor to actualize my ideals in this matter, I should meet with a good deal of criticism from others. . . . I prepared for this criticism that I was sure would come by endeavoring to deepen my interior life through a close union with Our Lord Jesus Christ.

Those who later lived with Father Peter Dunne will bear witness to the undeniable fact that this union to which he referred was evident, and that it bore abundant fruit in the priestliness and devotion which he brought to his life. On August 24, 1921,

Peter Dunne was raised to priesthood by Bishop Peter Amigo of Southwark. At the successful conclusion of his theological studies, he returned to the United States and made his Tertianship in Cleveland with Father Burrowes as his instructor. Final Profession was made in 1925, and now Peter Dunne was ready for his finest years, and, as he remarked during his last few months of suffering, they were years of vibrant health and productivity for which he was completely grateful to Almighty God.

A brief bout with editorial work on the *America* staff is thus interestingly described by Father Dunne:

Editorial work on the staff of *America* (1924-1925) engaged my literary energies, even though by the indulgence of Editor Father Richard Tierney, I was able to take some courses in History in the graduate school of Columbia University. I slugged away at book reviews, turned out an occasional article, and helped in editing the *Catholic Mind*. Once Father Francis Talbot and I both agreed to write an article for the Christmas number. Our Colleagues would choose the better for publication. Frank Talbot won, of course. I was and have since remained unable to reach the luster of his golden pen. Nor is that all—I was a no-good journalist and a worse proof-reader. I was let out after a year.

Father Dunne returned to Santa Clara to teach history and, after one year, he was changed to the Juniorate at Los Gatos. There he spent four years which he would later call almost idyllic for he loved the peaceful and orderly atmosphere which there surrounded him, and he found ample opportunity to enrich his own mind with further historical readings while passing on some of those same riches to the young Jesuits in his classes. Many a Father who is active now in the California and Oregon Provinces of the Society will recall the decidedly good influence which Father Dunne had on the intellectual formation of his generation. He was not given to idle boasting, but, in later years Father Dunne was legitimately proud of the number of his former Jesuit pupils who told him that his views on history and on the integral presentation of historical truth had marked a treasured milestone in their intellectual formation. Later on he freely admitted that at times he had probably over-stressed the frailties of ecclesiastics in presenting the history of the Reformation, but he just as freely asserted that his mistake,

if it was such, was made out of an excess of zeal for the truth. Few would doubt this who listened to him then or later on. However this may have been at the time, in 1930, Father Dunne was changed from Los Gatos to the then St. Ignatius College in San Francisco (which in a few months changed its name to the University of San Francisco) and, in the already published account mentioned above, he has this to say about the matter: "Criticism, I feel, of my presentation of Reformation history was responsible for the move from Los Gatos." He continues in outlining the next important step in his career:

I had by now given up hope of satisfying the old ambition of achieving the doctor's degree in history. But in 1932 my provincial Superior, Father Zacheus Maher, desired that I become a doctor . . . I went to my old friend, Herbert Eugene Bolton, to guide me in the historical field . . . I was Bolton's fourth Jesuit student and being the most recent, I was a Benjamin at forty-five. He sent Father Jacobson and me down to Mexico to inspect old documents and to breathe an ancient atmosphere. We did both. After my companion left for home, I went far into the mission country, rode out over wild trails on horseback, pierced deep into Jesuitland.

The first of Father Dunne's numerous books had been a modest biography of the foundress of the San Francisco house of the Helpers of the Holy Souls. He had been asked by the religious to do this for them and he had complied: all of his later writings, however, were to fall into the more professional type of the trained historian. Thus, in 1940, six years after he had won the doctorate in history at Berkeley, and while actively engaged in an amazingly exacting teaching load at USF, Father Dunne published his *Pioneer Blackrobes on the West Coast*. This was followed, in 1944, by *Pioneer Jesuits in Northern Mexico*. In 1945, as a result of a sabbatical year which he spent in visiting all the countries of Latin America, he published his controversial *A Padre Views South America*. In collaboration with Father John Francis Bannon of St. Louis University, Father Dunne published a textbook in 1947 which was entitled: *Latin America: An Historical Survey*. The next year saw his prolific and scholarly pen issuing *Early Jesuit Missions in Tarahuma*. In 1951, Father Dunne had still another volume ready which he entitled: *Andres Perez de Ribas, Pioneer Blackrobe of the West Coast*.

The next volume he considered his best written, and others have found in its pages a mature exposition of its subject matter which mark it as a really superior work; this was his *Blackrobes in Lower California*. Finally, in 1955, Father Dunne published *Jacopo Sedlmayr, Missionary, Frontiersman, Historian*. At the time of his death, there were two unpublished manuscripts, one of which he had entitled *Northward the Padre*. This volume is a collection of the important by-products of his research, and one which will perhaps be published as a posthumous tribute to its author. Additionally, a critical edition of the letters of an early Jesuit missionary was partially prepared for the press while Father Dunne was supposedly on the convalescent list after his operation of early 1956. All in all, especially when one adds the total figure of over fifty articles contributed to various historical magazines and a positive abundance of book reviews, and when one adds the heavy class schedule maintained by Father Dunne for many years, it is a scholarly record of which one may be proud.

Yet Father Peter Dunne was not just a scholar. With his love of God and of men redeemed by Christ, he would have found a life of scholarship alone not completely satisfactory. He once remarked to a younger colleague in his history department and in the priesthood: "We must always remember that we are not just historians, Father. Occasionally there are confessions to be heard, and there are sermons to be preached, and we are wrong if we separate ourselves completely from these priestly privileges." And so it was with him for, as usual, when a belief or a conviction was enunciated by Peter Dunne, it was invariably followed up by consistent action. Past and present Father Ministers in San Francisco will concur in the assertion that Father Peter Dunne was very high up on the list of generous men, the special delight of our ministers, of course, and indeed he could be called upon—and was—in any emergency, and could be counted on to *deliver* with unruffled serenity. Time and again he mounted the pulpit in St. Ignatius Church as a last minute substitute, and he was never found wanting in a message couched, occasionally, in memorable aphorisms, for Father Peter Dunne was a phrasemaker par excellence. His legion of former

students, both in the Society and out of it, can testify to this fact from listening to his colorful English in the classroom.

If Father Peter Dunne will be remembered as a teacher of men, and this, among other things, I think, is what will cause him to be remembered longer than most of us, it will be in a broader sense than is usually attached to the phrase. One who endeavors to sum up the activities of his very busy life is struck with the thought that, along with the formal teaching of more than a quarter of a century in the classrooms of USF, Father Dunne was a teacher in many other respects as well. He probably did not give any special thought to the matter, for his was a singularly unselfish and uncomplicated life, and he was not at all self-conscious in the sense of taking himself or his work too seriously. Reflection will convince one, though, that Father Dunne taught not only through his books, his learned articles, and his many public appearances on the lecture platform in San Francisco and vicinity, but he also taught the members of his own religious community by the example of dedicated and industrious life which, in some of its features, at least, put him in a class by himself. For many years he rose well before five o'clock and, before that bewitching hour, was on his daily walk from Ignatian Heights to the Motherhouse of the Holy Family Sisters at Hayes and Fillmore Streets (a distance of about fifteen city blocks) to offer Mass at exactly five-thirty a.m. The Sisters knew that Father Peter would be there and he always was—so much so that it was a saying among the nuns that they could set their clocks by the exact regularity of his appearance on the altar. On Sundays, for many years he would vary the routine by offering the 8:30 Mass in St. Ignatius Church and his sermons at this Mass consistently attracted a good number of auditors. It was noticed, though, that he was in the confessional well before six o'clock on Sundays and that he remained there until time for his own Mass. Incidentally, any of the Fathers who took Father Peter's place in that same confessional must certainly have noticed that a little shelf in it invariably contained a history book or two and they would be correct in suspecting that not a minute was wasted if there were a dearth of penitents. One could multiply examples of the same kind of industriousness and of fidelity to priestly and religious

duties, but it is felt that the pattern has now been fairly well indicated: a cheerful and even sprightly service was always and ever the contribution of Father Peter Dunne to the many works of the Society in San Francisco. He taught the younger men by his example of an industrious, productive, and well-balanced life and was always encouraging if they approached him with questions or with requests for guidance in any field with which he felt conversant. And so, in retrospect, it is not exactly surprising that this outstanding teacher of men was destined to teach his greatest lesson in the manner in which he prepared himself for death. I well remember the nonchalant manner in which he told me, as a confrere in the history department of the University, that he was going to the hospital for a few days for some "minor surgery." The "minor surgery" proved to be a critical operation involving the removal of his whole stomach in an endeavor to halt the progress of an hitherto unsuspected cancerous growth in the area. A partial recovery resulted, as already indicated, but those close to Father Peter knew that he was never really well from the day of the surgery until his death almost a year later. Eating became quite a task and was always followed by a period of active discomfort, and thus it was that he began to be missed from the recreation room after dinner in the evening. This was especially noticed for Father Dunne had always enjoyed recreation with the community and he felt his inability to be with the Fathers during this last year of his life. But the strength of will which he showed all throughout these months was demonstrated in his desire to return to the classroom as soon as possible, and this he did for the summer session of 1956. He wished a full schedule for the fall semester and it took almost executive action on the part of a dean to persuade him that the time had now come for him to ease up a bit and leave some of the heavier burdens to younger men in the department. He finally acquiesced but then accepted a teaching chore at the Burlingame Novitiate of the Sisters of Mercy and, twice each week, he went there to teach European history to the younger nuns. It was evident, though, to those of the brethren and to many who watched from outside the cloister that Father Peter was building his fourth tabernacle—that of suffering and of an

uncomplaining acceptance of the will of God in his regard—and that he was, perhaps without knowing it, teaching his finest lesson to many who paused to watch and lingered to admire this completely devoted man. He now drove to his daily Mass instead of walking, but he was there each morning at the usual early hour and he was pleased when, last November, he completed a full quarter of a century as chaplain at his beloved Motherhouse. He missed no classes, even though it must have required almost superhuman effort to fulfill his teaching obligations, and those of his students who suspected or knew more than the others concerning his condition expressed their admiration at his determination to explain the material and to answer the questions involved in his various history courses. He remarked to a Jesuit friend that he thought he had learned much from his sickness for, as he said, "Previously, I have not known ill health at all and now, for the first time, I am learning what other people have had to put up with for so long a period of their lives. This is good for me, and I have a fine teacher—Almighty God!"

The University of San Francisco had rejoiced with Father Dunne when, in December, 1955, he was elected President of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, an honor which his richly productive career of scholarship had brought to him and to his University. With characteristic forethought Father Dunne had written his presidential address to be delivered at the University of Oregon in Eugene in December before submitting to surgery in February, 1956. When he was prepared for death after his operation—a preparation which happily proved premature—he told me that "If I can't make it, you will find my address all written out and on my desk, and you can go to Eugene and read it for me!" It is good to record here that he was able to go to Eugene, despite physical handicaps that would have completely discouraged another man, and there, with characteristic distinction and under poignant circumstances which were not lost on his auditors, Father Dunne read what he knew full well was to be his valedictory in matters historical. In less than three weeks, he was dead, and it would appear that he had saved at least a part of himself for this final appearance. It was not vanity but a statement of simple fact

that led him to say to a confrere on his return: "I think that I never received more spontaneous applause than I did after this talk. This pleased me!" For this address he had returned to his favorite field of historical research, that of the Reformation, and he had entitled it "The Renaissance and the Reformation, A Study in Objectivity: Legends Black and White." A Jesuit from another province who heard him said afterwards that the circumstances under which Father Dunne had given his address as well as the masterful presentation of his subject had combined to make him feel completely proud to be associated professionally with such a scholar and such a Jesuit.

Before going to Eugene in Christmas Week, 1956, Father Dunne had offered his three Christmas Masses at the Holy Family Motherhouse in San Francisco; despite great distress which had always accompanied his celebration of the Holy Sacrifice since his surgery, he had insisted on following the immemorial convent routine by singing the first Mass and following it with his two other low Masses. There was hardly any breakfast afterwards, for he had arrived at a state when physical nourishment of all but the simplest kind was almost an impossibility. His Christmas dinner with his married sister and her family consisted only of tea and soup, and he practically subsisted on such things from this time to the end, a few weeks later. On his return to San Francisco after his appearance at Eugene, Oregon, he reentered St. Mary's Hospital according to the prearranged plan: entering the room in the company of Fathers Rector and Minister, he turned to them and thanked them for their kindness to him and said, quite simply: "I shall not leave this room alive. This is the will of God for me, Fathers, and I accept it with great love." And completely accept it he did—as he had from the very beginning of his illness. In a previous stay in the hospital before Christmas, and after he had been fully informed of the fatal nature of his illness, he had chatted almost nonchalantly with a Jesuit confrere and remarked, again with a simplicity which was born of conviction and sincerity, "After all, life is changed and not taken away. I had not expected to go this way, but it is this way which God has chosen for me. We have the truths of the spiritual life to

strengthen and console us in this hour: we have faith, hope and charity and we need no more." He weakened quickly after his return to the hospital, and I shall not soon forget a visit which it was my privilege to pay him several days before his death; he was in evident and great distress and he admitted that there was "now no longer discomfort but real pain" but, in the midst of it all, he remarked very simply: "It will be good to see God!" He well knew, as did his doctors, that it would not be long before that end would come which was to be his beginning. And when death came on Tuesday morning, January 15, 1957, the soul of a Jesuit priest who surely loved God went forth to see God. One felt a certain amount of human sorrow but one rejoiced at the precious memories of the last year of Father Peter's life, as well as those which one could think of from former years of close association. He had remarked once that he didn't think that he had many friends, but the extent to which he was wrong was demonstrated in the constant flow of those who visited St. Ignatius Church for his wake and who assisted at the low Mass of Requiem which Father Rector, William J. Tobin, offered for the eternal repose of his soul on January 17th, 1957. Prominent among the mourners was that same Professor Hicks who had so appropriately eulogized him on the occasion mentioned above. In Sacramento the Senate and Assembly of the state of California adopted a resolution of sympathy on the passing of "this exceptional historian". An embossed resolution of the Board of Supervisors of San Francisco, introduced by the President of the Board who is among the legion of Father Dunne's former students, deserves partial quotation here because it is put so aptly:

WHEREAS the impact of the loss visited on the community by the death of Father Dunne is one which will touch not only the members of the faith to whose needs he administered, but all San Franciscans, regardless of creed, who reaped the benefits of his lifetime spent in unselfish devotion to the welfare of his fellow citizens,

WHEREAS the passing of Father Dunne takes from the community a citizen whose character and competence were of marked superiority and takes from the University of San Francisco an outstanding scholar, and a distinguished representative of this City,

WHEREAS the deep sorrow felt by those legions from all walks of life who were privileged to know, admire, respect and love Father Peter Masten Dunne during his lifetime will be tempered by the recollection of his unselfish productive career which brought great honor, renown and distinction to San Francisco and which may well serve as an inspiration to those who follow in his footsteps,

RESOLVED that the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco does hereby adjourn its meeting of this day out of respect to his cherished memory.

It may, perhaps, be allowed to finish this sketch with another reference to Professor Hicks: in a letter to Father Dunne which he has given permission to quote and which Father Peter seems to have read just a few hours before his death, these thoughtful and appropriate words are found:

Who am I to tell one who was never faint of heart how to meet the afflictions that come to mortal man? So I shan't try. But permit me to say this, dear Peter, that come what may, your immortality will not be confined alone to the next world. For you have invested your life in others. In them and in those who learn from them and from their successors, you will be with this world while time lasts. What a splendid legacy you will leave! I salute you!

If these lines of sincere affection and respect for the life and character of Peter Masten Dunne, priest of the Society of Jesus, have proved anything at all, they may, perhaps, be summed up as a conviction that his life was a fulfillment of those words chosen by the same Professor Hicks for his "text" at the Jubilee banquet already mentioned:

"Carefully study to present thyself approved unto God, a workman that needs not to be ashamed, rightly handling the word of truth."

These inspired words of St. Paul seem to sum up adequately the truly distinguished career of Peter Masten Dunne, scholar, teacher of men, and priest of the Society of Jesus.

Father George McAnaney

FR. JOSEPH E. O'NEILL, S.J.

Father George McAnaney was a man about whose life and character it is difficult to write at length. The reason for this is not that there was anything over which one would prefer to pass or that there was anything in his nature impossible to understand and explain. The reason lies in the plain fact that he was a simple man, an average Jesuit, who led an average, normal life, who never did anything in any way unusual, outstanding, or particularly brilliant. There were no high lights in his life, no sparkling years of dramatic activity to hold the interest. He was a good teacher who patiently and conscientiously taught high school for the three years of his regency and for eleven years as a priest. On the surface, at least, it was an uneventful, humdrum existence. But a Jesuit does not live wholly upon the surface, and the drama of Father McAnaney was played out very quietly, unheard, almost unseen, and certainly without fanfare and adulation of any kind.

The surface facts are quickly told. He was born on May 7, 1909, of parents of Irish extraction, and he grew up in Yonkers, New York. After the usual grammar school training he went to Fordham Preparatory School from which he graduated in 1928. A month later, on the eve of the Feast of St. Ignatius, he entered the Novitiate of St. Andrew-on-Hudson, received his first vows at the usual time, made the usual Juniorate studies and spent the usual three years of philosophy at Woodstock. After the three years of teaching in St. Peter's High School, he made the usual four years of theology at Woodstock, with ordination to the priesthood taking place at the usual time. This was followed by Tertianship at Auriesville, after which came his rather brief period of priestly activity. It consisted mainly in teaching high

school—at Xavier from 1943 to 1947, at St. Peter's from 1947 to 1950, and at Fordham from 1950 to 1954. There was a year as assistant student counsellor which was broken by frequent trips to the hospital, and during the entire period from 1943 to 1956, when he died, there were occasional calls, confessions, sermons, and the like, the usual activity of the average Jesuit. But in all that he did he was not outstanding in any way, nor was there anything particularly notable about the form of his ministry. He was not a preacher, a writer, an official. He was simply a good teacher, quiet, conscientious, and faithful.

So much for the surface facts. They are few and entirely unexciting. It is easy enough to write them down, and they are easier to read or hear. But reading or hearing them is not enough. Who can say that they present a full or even a true picture of the essential man? Who can decide that they reveal the unique quality of the spirit? Who can weigh the virtues and the faults of any man, and take it upon himself to announce the degree of merit? Who, in a word, can ever evaluate the goodness, the life of grace in any other soul, and strictly and fairly draw the lines of portraiture about the inner man itself? I believe that this can never be done fully and justly for any man, by any man. One can only go back in memory, reflect, and offer the version one knows. I happen to think the following estimate is a true one, and yet I know it is incomplete. Father McAnaney was my friend; I knew him well, perhaps better than most. But I do not profess to special insight and if I err in any way, it is entirely owing to human fallibility.

What were the dominant traits of Father McAnaney? I think I can say with certainty that George McAnaney had as his characteristic trait a quiet, unassuming steadfastness in the Faith that sprang straight from a simple love of Christ and His Blessed Mother, a love that was absolutely unshakable and absolutely without human respect.

Secondly, he had an unaffected humility that was based on a true knowledge of himself in relation to God. It was strong, unflinching, and it left him calmly unenvious of the talents and the successes of others. I believe I can say, again with certainty, that he never had a moment of unhappiness or even

of normal, grumbling discontent at the glitter and the gleam of the lives of those about him. He did not consider himself talented and he did not brood about it. He ambited no offices and coveted no honors. But this was not the supine indifference of intellectual or physical sloth; it was the ready acceptance of the Will of God in a simple and childlike way.

There are some people to whom the gift of Faith comes with difficulty, who must fight to accept and keep the pearl of great price. They are the natural sceptics, the doubters by instinct and temperament, the men who believe but who do so slowly, and almost with reluctance. There are others, however, in whom the will to believe rises as smoothly and easily as the silent stream that welled up over the cold rocks of the grotto of Lourdes where there had been no water a moment before. George McAnaney had such a will to believe. He had a mind naturally devout, and he stayed that way as long as he lived, completely unaware that he was presenting, to all who had eyes to see, a charming picture of simple and unaffected devotion to Christ and Mary that was as unobstrusive but as pervasive and wholesome as the very air he breathed.

In temperament he was slow and mild, but he could be aroused to indignant and even eloquent protest wherever and whenever he thought goodness was in peril. He had a genuine concern for the spiritual welfare of others but he was no officious meddler, no heavy footed intruder on the privacies of his neighbor. He did not look for faults in others and, in fact, he claimed to be unable to see them, including those that seem so obvious and irritating in the daily give-and-take of religious life. He was pleasant, affable and well liked, with the gift of making friends easily and retaining them once they were made. He had what I do not hesitate to describe as a good face, of the sort that clearly reflects the blessed quality of the soul living the life of grace.

He enjoyed life but he did not feel that God was obligated to sustain him in perpetual euphoria. That he loved God was evident, and in his unassuming way he was faithful almost to the point of scrupulosity in the matter of the vows and all the other obligations and duties of our state of life.

He was asked to bear two crosses. The first was the malignant disease that forced the life from him slowly but in-

exorably, like a great weight that cannot be shaken off or put down even for a moment, and that eventually must crush the bearer to death. He knew he had this disease and he knew he could not live long, but he accepted the fact with patience and with resignation. The other cross, as it seems to me, consisted in this, that in spite of his fatal disease, he looked well, even healthy in fact. Appearances, as usual, were deceptive. Inevitably, he was forced to cut down on his teaching and finally to give it up entirely, along with other jobs as well. It was quite easy for others, unaware of the pressure of his ever increasing illness, to make the mistaken judgment that here was a man either unwilling to work as hard as he could or, quite simply, a hypochondriac, not quite so ill as he thought. He knew this too, and he accepted it. But it hurt, and he felt deeply the fact that he could no longer go on teaching, student counselling, or hearing confessions. The feeling that he was useless was strong, but he accepted the pain of it in a way that was not very far from the heroic. It was not an easy way to live and it was truly a living death, a kind of slow martyrdom, inescapable and inevitable. The final months in the hospital were a period of progressive decline with the fact of death an ever more certain and almost visible reality. A room in a hospital was the setting for the quiet little battleground upon which he fought to the end his own particular fight, and won.

I think it sufficient tribute to say that Father George McAnaney was a typical Jesuit, who died as he had lived—courageously, steadfastly, and wholly in Christ.

Brother Claude Ramaz, S.J.

JAMES J. LYNCH, S.J.

On Fordham Road at Bathgate Avenue there is an imposing building which, like its nearest neighbor, Kohlmann Hall, could easily seem to passers-by to be part of Fordham University. These two buildings are an enduring monument to Brother Claude Ramaz, apostle of devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

The *Messenger* building is large enough to provide storage space for the business records and relics of many years; and, if Brother Ramaz had had his way, the collection would have remained complete and ever-growing. He was strongly inclined to preserve them all, lest any error in them be discovered some day; and so all justice could at least be fulfilled. Not so with personal records and reminiscences. There is almost nothing left of him in writing, with the exception of jubilee tributes.

Claude Ramaz was born on November 27, 1868, in Lyons, France. His father, Joseph Ramaz, was a silk weaver, a craft that suffered very much because of war with Germany. Before the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 broke out, Joseph Ramaz decided to emigrate to America.

When Claude was four, his father died and his mother returned to France. Conditions were still bad in Europe, and though she was a skilled seamstress, Claude's mother found it difficult to make ends meet. At the end of two years, just before mother and son returned once more to America, Claude remembered being in a Corpus Christi procession, wearing a surplice and carrying a candle. And he remembered religious brothers giving out candy to the children after the ceremonies were concluded.

If Brother knew he was a Catholic at the time, he was to forget it during the years to follow. Both his father and mother did not practice their Faith. In fact, when his mother

found out that brothers conducted the school, she withdrew Claude to save him from religious training. He remembered that she once said to him: "It is better to be a good civilian than a bad ecclesiastic."

After six years in America, the two returned to France, found working conditions there intolerable and, after six months, returned once more to America and rented furnished rooms in Union City, New Jersey. He was now twelve years old. One day he was at the window watching some boys at play with religious brothers. He said to his mother: "We're Protestants, aren't we?" His mother replied in a plaintive voice, "No, we're Catholics."

As a boy of thirteen, Claude, anxious to help his mother, obtained a job in a silk mill, issuing spools of silk to the weavers. His mother had instructed the employer that Claude was not to sweep the floor. When he was seventeen, he was made foreman of the spool department. By this time, their combined earnings had made it possible for them to buy a house of their own.

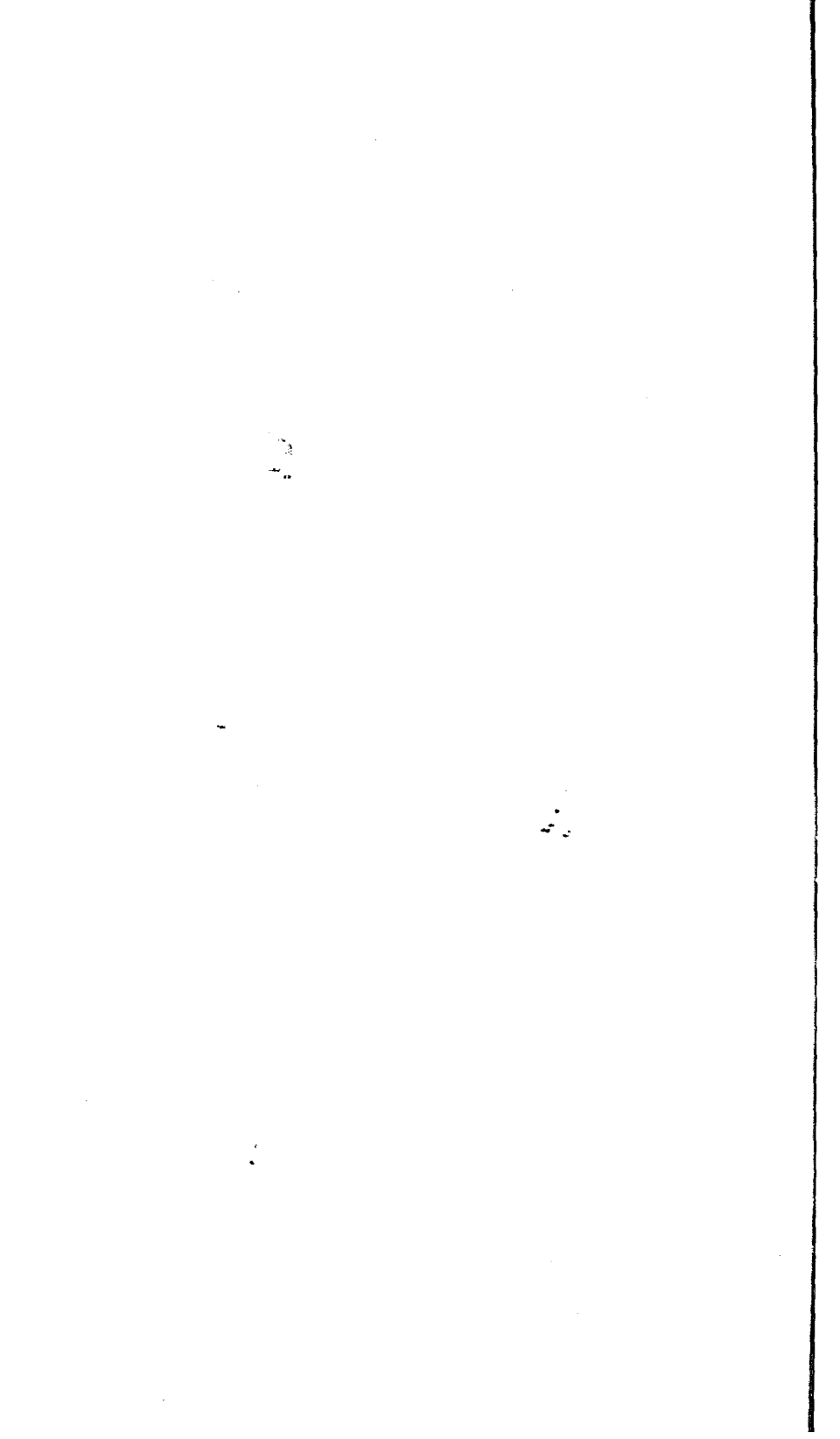
On Claude's eighteenth birthday, his mother died. After a period of mourning, he rented out the spare rooms in his house. In going through his mother's papers, he found his own baptismal certificate, which showed that he had been baptized at the cathedral town of Chazelles-sur-Lyon. He did not know whether the Abbé Ramaz there was a relative of his. It seems likely, since the town of Chazelles was twenty-three miles from Lyons, and the interest of this priest would explain both the fact of the baptism and the journey to Chazelles.

The discovery of the certificate must have made a deep impression on him. With him, when he found it, was one of the roomers, Audigier by name, a man of thirty-two, who had become a good friend and adviser. He instructed Claude in what it meant to be a Catholic, and gave him a life of St. Ignatius to read. He also made it his business to obtain the prayers of some pious old women who had said they thought Claude looked like one of the seminarians at the nearby Passionist monastery.

Claude began to attend Mass regularly, and was confirmed by Bishop Wiggers. He also began to meditate on the reflec-



BROTHER CLAUDE RAMAZ



tions aroused by reading the life of St. Ignatius. It was not long before his salvation seemed to him the most important thing in the world. He felt he would go to China, if that were necessary. The idea of a vocation was thus being formed; and his friend Audigier did everything he could to urge Claude to settle the matter. Claude decided to become a Jesuit Brother.

What Brother Ramaz thought of his kind friend Audigier is beautifully expressed in a letter which Brother wrote for publication in the March-April issue of the *Jesuit Seminary News* in 1948 on the occasion of his sixtieth jubilee as a member of the Society of Jesus. The excerpt will also serve as an example of Brother's literary style, which was cultured and courteous as well as deeply spiritual. The letter reads, in part:

As a commemoration of my Diamond Jubilee—sixty years as a Jesuit Brother—you wished me to tell you something of myself which may be of interest to our many friends who are readers of our *Jesuit Seminary News*.

I am afraid that I have nothing startling to say, except, perhaps that through the mercy and goodness of God it has been my privilege to spend over fifty-four of these sixty years in helping the Fathers to promote the devotion to the Sacred Heart through the Apostleship of Prayer and the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*. This has been a most consoling work in which I could never have taken part had I remained in the world. Now that I am nearing the end of my sojourn in this vale of tears and recall our Lord's promise, that those who promote the devotion to his Sacred Heart will have their names written in His Heart, never to be effaced, it is a source of great consolation, as you can well imagine.

The thought came to me of becoming a Brother when I was in my nineteenth year. My father died when I was four and my mother when I was eighteen. This left me alone as I had no relatives in this country. I was rather ambitious and animated by a strong desire to improve my condition in life. My mother left me some little property, and I have some recollection—my memory is somewhat failing me now—that with the savings I could make, I would probably have \$10,000 by the time I reached thirty, and could then start some enterprise and settle down in life. But Divine Providence intervened and changed my plans through the medium of a devout friend, a well-instructed Catholic, who was able to expound in a forcible manner the inestimable benefit of a vocation to the religious life, of living for God alone.

I was further impressed by reading the life of St. Ignatius, and wished that he was alive so I could ask him what to do. I began to

realize more and more the need of taking the best and surest means to save my soul, and that the most certain and direct way for me was the religious life, through the dedication of my entire being to God by the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. I realized this so vividly that I would, I think, have gone to the ends of the earth to become a religious.

Up to the present God gave me nearly eighty years of life. He extended me the extraordinary privilege of spending sixty of those years in his holy service as a Jesuit Brother. When I realize that time is given to us by God to work out our salvation and to merit for life everlasting, then nothing would pain me more at present than to look back over the years and see that I had done little or nothing for eternity, which probably would have been the case if I had not heeded the inspiration God in his goodness and mercy gave me sixty years ago.

There are many young men today who are favored as I was but do not heed the call or put it off. To them I would say: Do not delay; act promptly and with courage. The Sacred Heart of Jesus may not say to you a second time: 'Come, follow Me.'

Another indication of his enduring appreciation of his friend's spiritual guidance is seen in the fact that when Brother was preparing to take his final vows on the second of February, 1899, his renunciation assigned \$500 to Audigier, who had returned to France. This enabled Audigier to return to America with his wife, in accordance with her wishes. This seems to have been his last contact with Audigier.

On Thanksgiving Day of 1877, he went to the College of St. Francis Xavier in Manhattan to see the Provincial. He was referred to Fordham; on arriving there he was told to go to St. Ignatius Loyola, at Eighty-Fourth Street. At this last place, a man from whom he asked street directions turned out to be an ex-Brother. Discovering Claude's intentions, he advised him against the step, warning him that Brothers were mere servants of the priests. Claude paid no attention to him and obtained the interview he sought. His petition was granted and he was told to report to the novitiate at Frederick, Maryland, on the eve of the Feast of St. Joseph, March 19, 1888. This he did, and remembered how, during the Long Retraît, he wept tears of joy and consolation while he was sweeping the corridors.

After completing his novitiate, Brother Ramaz spent a year at Frederick as painter and bookbinder; then three more

years as infirmarian. Then the Provincial, Father Pardow, who had made his tertianship at Paray-le-Monial and who had been spiritual father of the Brothers at Frederick before his appointment as Provincial, asked Brother if he would like an assignment to the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*. Brother begged to be excused from answering, wishing to leave the matter entirely in the hands of superiors. The rector at Frederick, Father John O'Rourke, hated to lose such a good Brother, but was to be reunited with him later as editor of the *Messenger*.

On January 27, 1894, Brother Ramaz was appointed to the *Messenger*, which at that time was published in Philadelphia, and he began his long career of dealing with printers and other tradesmen, procuring office supplies, managing the office workers and taking care of all matters pertaining to circulation and advertising.

The Apostleship of Prayer was founded in 1844 by Father Gautrelet at the Jesuit scholasticate at Vals in France. In 1861 Father Ramiere started the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* as the organ of the Apostleship of Prayer. In 1866 the American *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* was inaugurated by Father Benedict Sestini at Woodstock. He continued to edit each issue until 1885, when he was succeeded by Father Dewey. Father Wynne became Editor in 1891 and welcomed Brother Ramaz as an assistant in 1894. During August of that year, the office was moved from Philadelphia to two houses opposite Xavier High School at sixteenth street in Manhattan, New York City. The magazine was published there until January, 1906, when the office was moved to 801 West 181st Street, New York City, where it remained until the end of 1922. Since 1923 it has been issued from its own permanent building, designed by Brother Ramaz, on ground purchased from Fordham University at 515 East Fordham Road, the Bronx, New York.

It was while the offices were at 181st Street that Mother Cabrini, now sainted, used to come in in order to obtain innumerable Sacred Heart badges and other Apostleship supplies. There was one office worker, Miss Josephine Weldon, whom she used to surprise by approaching from the rear, putting her hands over Josephine's eyes and saying: "Guess

who it is!" Josephine always knew and always remembered the holy nun who was so joyous of heart. Brother himself spoke to the saint only a few times.

Under the editorship of Father Wynne, Brother Ramaz saw many changes take place. In 1897 the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* became a magazine of general Catholic interest. The articles and departments concerned with the Apostleship of Prayer were published in a separate volume called the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart Supplement*. In 1902 the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* became *The Messenger*, and the *Supplement* regained its proper title, being henceforth known as the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*. In 1909 *The Messenger* ceased publication and was replaced by *America*, under the editorship of Father Wynne. In 1906, Father Anthony Maas was appointed Director of the Apostleship and Associate Editor of the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, until he became rector of Woodstock in 1907. Father John O'Rourke, Superior of the Community since 1907, became Editor of the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* from 1907 until 1911. Then, after a short period as vice-rector of Brooklyn College, he returned to the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* from 1913-1917.

Under Father O'Rourke, Brother Ramaz's efforts were rewarded with wonderful results. Father O'Rourke was a great preacher and a great spiritual writer for the *Messenger* audience. His books, *Under the Sanctuary Lamp*, *On the Hills with Our Lord*, and *Fountains of the Saviour*, are still on the active shelves of our libraries. He had very little interest in business details, and had the greatest confidence in Brother Ramaz.

However, Brother Ramaz had to devise little stratagems occasionally to win his point. For instance, a great deal of the mail used to be sent out with the help of school girls. Brother learned of a new machine which would address, stamp and seal mail very efficiently. Father O'Rourke considered the cost prohibitive, but allowed Brother to apply for the machine on approval. Brother knew he could not induce the Editor to come and watch the machine in operation. So he instructed his helpers: "In ten minutes, Father O'Rourke will pass by here. Have everything in readiness and, when I

give a signal, start the machine." He gave the signal, and Father O'Rourke stopped to watch, as anticipated. After a short time Brother said to him: "That is the machine I was telling you about. What do you think of it?" And the satisfying reply was: "Wonderful! Wonderful! Do we have the money to pay for it?" And Brother assured him that there were sufficient funds on hand. And so that matter, and many another like it, was settled.

Brother Ramaz thought that illustrations would help to increase the circulation of the magazine. Father O'Rourke gave him permission to arrange for some, but no money. There would be no need to pay young school girls. Brother Ramaz did not have young school girls in mind; but if that was his only recourse, he would begin that way. So the first illustrations were markedly unprofessional; but a beginning had been made.

The *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* was to become a pioneer in many forms of color printing. Long before other Catholic magazines followed the same path, the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* was using as many as six different types of color reproduction in one issue. This development was only begun under Father O'Rourke, but the popularity of *Messenger* covers, frontispieces and color inserts for many years was due to the enterprising genius of Brother Ramaz. The beauty and simplicity of appeal in the many fine pictures it has given its readers is one of its outstanding achievements. Consecration pictures of the Sacred Heart hang in hundreds of thousands of homes today, partly because Brother Ramaz had a wise sense of what would appeal to simple Catholic people and a French sense of economy in making the price right. His idea was to reach as many homes as possible. There was no marketing strategy that he did not somehow use to advantage. His first aim was to make the magazine itself colorful and appealing; his second was to get others interested in promoting its sale; and, finally, he realized that only by employing all the labor-saving devices of modern business would he be able to keep its standards high and its price low. His advice to a Spanish Jesuit who consulted him on the best means of promoting the *Mensajero del Sagrada Corazon* was this: "Make it good; make it cheap; make it known."

In 1911 the *Messenger* appeared with the cover and frontispiece printed in four colors. It was something never before tried in Catholic periodicals. Another innovation appeared in the golden jubilee issue of January, 1916. Some of the illustrations were printed in rotogravure and others in full-color offset. Both techniques were new in the printing field.

In order to increase the circulation of the *Messenger*, Brother Ramaz thought that there would be nothing better to use than the services of present subscribers. When a subscription expired, Brother was not content with merely sending a form for renewal. He would send five or ten subscription blanks, suggesting that the reader renew his own subscription and spread the devotion to the Sacred Heart by getting others to take the *Messenger*. As an added incentive, Brother conceived the idea of giving premiums for those who would get a certain number of subscriptions.

An even greater indication of Brother's success in business management is seen in the following figures: In 1907, before the time of Father O'Rourke, the circulation was 28,000. In 1908, when Father O'Rourke became superior, it rose to 50,000. In 1909: 83,500; 1910: 115,000; 1911: 150,000; 1912: 180,500; 1913: 200,000; 1914: 250,000; 1915: 280,000; 1920: 360,000. This was the maximum circulation ever reached by the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*. It decreased afterwards as raises in price became necessary due to wars and the depression.

The phenomenal advance in circulation which began in 1908 was due not only to the excellence of Father O'Rourke's spiritual writings (he wrote a good portion of the magazine, using various pseudonyms), but also to schemes conceived and carried out by Brother Ramaz. When he devised a League Emblem and a Promoter's Cross, the office was jammed with long lines of applicants and huge boxes of mailed requests.

The progress begun under Father O'Rourke continued under the long regime of Father Mullaly, from 1917 to 1941. By 1919, the financial situation was such that Brother Ramaz saw that a special building could be financed without the burden of any debt and that the project would be to the great

advantage of the work. He proposed the idea to superiors, including the Visitor of the American Provinces, the Very Rev. Norbert De Boynes.

Father De Boynes was to remember Brother Ramaz so well that, more than thirty years later, he wrote a most friendly note to Brother when he heard about the operation Brother had to undergo at St. Francis Hospital in Poughkeepsie in 1953. He mentioned how he had had to undergo a similar operation which had proved completely successful in his case, and he was sure God would grant the same favor to Brother Ramaz.

Brother Ramaz always attributed to Father De Boynes a great measure of credit for having interceded at Rome so effectively in favor of a *Messenger* printing plant and never forgot him in his prayers.

When Brother was informed that all the necessary permissions had been granted, he made a tour of inspection of large printing plants in New York and Philadelphia. From the Curtis Publishing Company he obtained much invaluable help. Then he explained the entire printing and distribution process to architects, and the building, completed in 1923, has ever since been a complete editorial, production and management unit. The first floor houses the presses, bindery and mailing equipment. The second main floor is used for executive offices and a clerical staff. A mezzanine serves as the national office of the Apostleship of Prayer.

Brother Ramaz wanted the latest and the best in machinery. He smilingly told the Catholic president of the R. Hoe Company that his firm had built many presses that were doing the devil's work, and that he should now do his very best to make one that would do God's work. He worked with representatives of the company in the designing of a special press which would print the magazine complete, with the exception of cover and frontispiece. It could produce a 144-page magazine at the rate of one copy a second. It required only four operators and three paper handlers. Eleven feet high and forty feet long, the Hoe Company pronounced it the best of its kind at the time. The press was in continuous operation until 1954.

He engaged the Meisel Company of Boston to design a press

that would produce monthly leaflets complete in sets of three forty-four page booklets, ready for shipment as they left the press. This machine still produces two million leaflets a month, and could produce millions more, if required. It is the only press of its kind.

He equipped the entire building with similar foresight, efficiency, and economy of design. As the famous Father Campbell said of him:

"His perfect knowledge of all the details of press work, the reproduction of pictures and the various qualities of paper, together with his alertness in availing himself of all of the most recent devices to expedite the work and diminish the amount of hand labor, as well as his shrewdness in devising means and methods to increase the circulation of the *Messenger*, are commonly regarded as the chief factor, after the blessing of God, of the remarkable progress made."

In the summers of 1925 and 1929, Brother Ramaz visited Europe. As he passed through his native Lyons, he inquired for people named Ramaz. He found only a rather unfriendly baker. Brother asked him if the Ramaz family were good Catholics and received a curt affirmative reply. Then he continued on his Holy Year pilgrimage to Rome, where he had the honor of an interview with Father General Wlodimir Ledochowski.

During the course of the second trip he was present at the beatification of his namesake and exemplar in spreading devotion to the Sacred Heart, Blessed Claude de la Colombiere. While in Europe Brother Ramaz was able to secure many of the pictures which have since appeared in the *Messenger*.

In 1941, on the occasion of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the *Messenger*, the Editor, Father Stephen L. J. O'Beirne, S.J., paid a sincere tribute to the work of Brother Ramaz in spreading the devotion to the Sacred Heart:

"But there is one whose name cannot be thus passed over in any account of the *Messenger* and its makers. For forty-eight years, through numerous changes of editors, policies, locations and methods, he has been a faithful and efficient member of the staff. More than to any other merely human factor, credit for the success of the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* is due to the splendid technical knowledge, the diligent

supervision and the tireless zeal for God's glory of Brother Claude Ramaz, S.J."

In 1948, the occasion of his sixtieth anniversary in the Society drew from Father General the following testimony of esteem and paternal affection:

"Six decades will have passed on March 19, 1948, since the day when, a young man of twenty, you entered our Society at Frederick, Maryland. From that sanctuary of prayer and probation you went forth after six years to the great work for which God had prepared you. You were assigned by obedience to the Apostleship of Prayer and the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*. And now as you complete sixty precious years as a son of Ignatius, you can look back upon fifty-four years during which you have been continuously and intimately associated with the spread of devotion to the Sacred Heart in the wide expanse of the United States.

"It is said that just as the modern and efficient printing plant in which the publications of the Apostleship of Prayer have been printed during these past twenty-five years was in great part the result of your planning and supervision, so, too, the remarkable growth in the circulation of the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, its continued improvement as a vehicle of inspiration for the Apostleship of Prayer, has been owing in large measure to your mastery of business details and the technical processes of printing.

"Since Our Lord Jesus Christ Himself has deigned to entrust to Our Society the most blessed work of establishing, developing and propagating devotion to his Most Sacred Heart and, since He has promised saving graces to all of Ours who will strive to gratify this desire of his (Epit. 851), it is consoling to contemplate the rich reward that you, dear Brother, will receive from the Divine Master. But in the name of the Society, too, I wish to assure you today of her abiding and sincere gratitude for your sixty years of quiet, efficient devotion to work and generous religious observance. I am happy to apply sixty Masses for your intention, with the fervent prayer that through the intercession of Our Blessed Mother and your patrons, Saint Joseph and Saint Alphonsus, 'the Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of Mercies and God of all Consolation' may fill your soul with his love and ineffable peace.

"I commend myself to your good prayers.

Sincerely in Our Lord,

(Signed) John B. Janssens, S.J."

The anniversary was celebrated at the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* with domestic pomp and circumstance, and Brother's reply to all the congratulations will give another

instance of his great felicity of expression and simple dignity. He said:

I am glad to have the opportunity of expressing publicly my sentiments of profound gratitude to Superiors for all they have done to make this commemoration of my sixty years in the Society most pleasant and most happy.

First to Very Rev. Father General for his Paternity's generous and gracious gift of sixty Masses, and for his most consoling letter, which was read to you.

Then to Father Superior and Father Minister, who have been most solicitous and spared no effort to make this day a memorable one for me. I do not know of anything they could have done and have not done..

The outpouring of the goodness of heart and charity as expressed by the comforting words spoken by Father Rector, Father Superior and Father McGratty relative to my endeavors during the years gone by rejuvenated and filled my soul with joy. It was like listening to the recording angels reading from the Book of Life.

My heart goes out also to the Fathers and Brothers of our little Community, and to all our guests: the Fathers and Brothers who are here with us this evening and who came to help me celebrate the occasion and to rejoice with me.

That his thoughtfulness for others went beyond the four walls of the Messenger building and beyond the list of subscribers is touchingly shown in a letter he wrote to a pastor in Bergenfield, New Jersey, during that same year, 1948:

Dear Father McGuirk:

There is an old lady in the parish, a fallen-away Catholic whom I knew some sixty years ago, before I became a Jesuit Brother. About fifty years ago she married a non-Catholic. I do not think she has received the Sacraments since. I enclose her name and address. The poor soul is now about eighty-six years old, hence not far from the end. I visited them a few times, years ago, in the hope that I might be of some spiritual help, but to no avail. Father Hillock also tried. The husband died about twelve years ago. Now that she is getting nearer the end and the husband has passed away, she may be more amenable to the grace of God.

If you do not know of her, you will be glad, dear Father, that I sent these few lines in the event that something can be done for this poor soul. Meanwhile my humble prayers go up to God for her.

In 1946, it was thought advisable to relieve Brother of the chief responsibility for business management and to introduce a successor who would have the advantage of Brother's

instruction and advice. When Father Faulkner was appointed, it was to their mutual advantage. The Father came to the highest esteem of Brother's methods and continued using them. And the Brother found the Father most patient and consoling when he most needed spiritual help.

In 1935 an operation had been necessary for the removal of one of Brother's eyes. Ever since the operation, a nervous temperament made his strict conscience tend toward scrupulosity. This condition worsened as the years passed and he was constantly in need of spiritual reassurance. Father Faulkner was perpetually patient and most kind, and never wearied of saying the necessary words as often as Brother appealed to him.

During Brother's last years at the *Messenger*, he would worry very much about whether lights were turned off at night, whether faucets were dripping, whether doors were locked and whether, in years past, all postal regulations had been strictly complied with to the letter of the law. He would get up in the middle of the night to check on such points as these until superiors decided it would be a relief for him to be sent elsewhere. He spent his last years in tranquil happiness at St. Andrew-on-Hudson, Poughkeepsie, New York.

When the news of his change of status reached the far corners of the earth, many missionaries, priests, Brothers and Sisters felt about him as did Father Reith in the Philippine Islands, who wrote him the following letter.

Dear Brother, P.C.

"What is the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* without Brother Ramaz?" That is what they are all saying, and the echo of it has reached this other side of the world and is being sent back to you. What is the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* without Brother Ramaz?" and I might add for you, "What is Brother Ramaz without the Sacred Heart?" You have so long been associated with the *Messenger* and the Sacred Heart has so long been associated with you, that it just seems that one can't get along without the other.

And now they tell me that you are running away from the *Messenger* in order to get closer and nearer to the Heart of Our Lord. So be it. I am sure that you have merited, labored for and won the right to a very close place, near and dear to the Heart of Our Lord. Under the circumstances that you have already been called away from the work that has been so dear to you through

all the years, I can only pray that it will not be too long when the great invitation will come to you to "Behold the Heart."

I think I have some personal obligations that I ought to straighten out with you before you are engulfed in the eternal love of the Heart. More than twenty years ago, I landed on the floor of the *Messenger* and told you, not in so many words, that I was about to take over the equipment and staff of the *Messenger* in order to get a fledgling *Jesuit Missions* on its feet. I went down into the pressroom and I took over the big folder to fold our little propaganda sheets; I took the addresser (and stole names from the files of the *Messenger*) in order to get JM out to the people. I used the office girls to make stencils; I begged money from them; I stole gifts for the missions from the prizes of the *Messenger*. I used up the time of the artist; I knocked Father Mullaly on his iron breastplate and asked for this and that; and every time I got into a jam or a difficulty, or needed this or that, I would be shouting, "Where's Brother Ramaz—" And that went on for some years; and even after I got over here, it did not stop. If I used the name of Brother Ramaz, I could get copies of the *Messenger*, I could get pictures, I could get prizes, I could get rosaries with missing beads or crosses, I could get a beautiful letter and, I am sure, even more beautiful prayers.

Well, Brother, I'm only trying to tell you how grateful I am for all the grand things you have done for me, and I hope and pray from your high place in heaven you will put out that long, charitable arm of yours and keep urging me along and making me a bit dearer to your old Friend, the Sacred Heart. You are included in my Masses, Brother, and ever will be. God bless you, love you, take you to Himself.

Brother Ramaz gave generously to missionaries and others, always with general or particular permission. A letter from him to the Editor will show how carefully he kept his accounts, and how he wished to have his books in order before closing them. In 1954 he wrote to Father Moore:

When I was at the office, you kindly continued a permission I had from previous superiors to send the *Messenger* to the following:

To Dr. Freeda, foot doctor, who treated me free.

Brother Albertinus, General of the Sacred Heart Brothers at one time, and friend of the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*.

Sister Loretto Bernard, Administrator, St. Vincent's Hospital, and former employee of the *Messenger*.

Sister Callista, nonagenarian and friend of the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*.

Shrub Oak Caretaker who was very kind to Kohlmann Hall Brothers on occasion of a visit years ago.

I am most grateful for having had the privilege of sending these complimentary copies to these various addresses in the past, but there is no longer any reason for me to do so.

During his latter years he was a wonderfully kind-looking old man, short and slightly stooped in stature, with a full head of gray hair. He dressed always in wrinkled black, and wore an old pair of shoes mercifully cut out here and there to accommodate his poor old feet, worn out from his eternal walking about the plant all day long, ever present yet always unobtrusive. He was always busy, always available.

No one who had any dealings with him could fail to note his quick intelligence, his unflinching courtesy, his ready wit and sly humor. Towards priests, he always acted with reverence and respect, with a dignified humility that was never obsequious. The *Messenger* workers loved him. He conducted all matters with dispatch and quiet efficiency. Visitors to the plant, whether they came on business or merely to inspect, found him completely at their service during the time of their interest.

Despite the multiplicity of details that engaged his attention, he was always rigidly exact in the performance of his spiritual duties and gave a perfect example of religious modesty and diligence.

During all his years in the Society, he faithfully observed a practice which testifies to his constant humility and charity. "Twice a day," he said to one Father, "during the two examinations of conscience, I thank God that he has called me to the Society of Jesus, and that as a Brother in the Society—which was the best for me."

In the case of one whose whole life in the Society had been spent in promoting devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, we might expect, even in this life, a great share in the peace of Christ. But Brother Claude always worried about whether he had fulfilled his duties as perfectly as he should. Nothing could reassure him. His clearness of vision in business matters, his firmness of decision, his understanding of human nature, his tact in dealing with people, his refinement and graciousness, his wisdom and charity, were gifts given him by God not for his own satisfaction and complacency, but for the service of others. His religious superiors, and all

those who worked with him and dealt with him, had a supreme confidence in him and an esteem for him that amounted to reverence. His judgment upon himself was so severe as to be a real cross, to be carried unto the bitter end.

His sufferings were not the result of his own sins, but the result of his intense love of God and his desire to serve God perfectly. His sufferings were a trial which gave great meaning to his daily Morning Offering. He offered all this for others. He lived the Apostleship of Prayer.

He died in the peace of the Lord on February 13, 1956. May his great soul rest in peace.

DAILY EXERCISE

After the Exercises have been made, prayer is directed and preserved and increased by perseverance in it and in the ministries of one's vocation. Especially the purgative way is daily exercised in the examination of conscience and in the practice of abnegation and mortification and the desire of opprobrium and suffering for Christ. It is also found in obedience, not only of execution and will but also of the understanding. It is practiced too in sacramental Confession and the ordinary exercises similar to those of the First Week, as of death and final judgment, the secret judgments and permissions of God, the misery of sinners, the vanity of the world, and similar matters.

The illuminative and unitive ways are practiced daily in the meditations to which time is ordinarily given, and for others in saying the Hours of Our Lady and the Rosary; in other mental prayer also according to direction, as well as the time of Mass and Communion. And briefly, in all the exercises peace and quiet and devotion should be found; for all should be directed towards the fire of charity and zeal for souls lest they be lost. And thus in everything one should find God Our Lord and his way of praying.

JEROME NADAL

Books of Interest to Ours

MASTERFUL THEOLOGICAL STATEMENT

The Image of God in Man according to Cyril of Alexandria. *By Walter J. Burghardt, S.J.* (Studies in Christian Antiquity, edited by Johannes Quasten, no. 14). Woodstock College, Woodstock, Maryland; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press, 1957. Pp. xvi-194.

Father Burghardt's monograph on Cyril's thought promises to open up an entirely new approach to patristic theology. For, focussing on Cyril's doctrine of the divine image, the work is nothing less than a phenomenological study of Cyril's teaching on the meaning of the Atonement. The author's approach is thoroughly scientific as well as openminded; and thus the study is not only a patristic contribution in its own right; it is also a theological statement with important implications for our own day.

Cyril of Alexandria's productive life is usually divided into three periods: the early period of his episcopate (A. D. 412-428), during which he wrote his great work on the Trinity and a vast amount of biblical exegesis; the Christological Period (428-431), made famous by his works against Nestorius; and finally, the last period (431-444), during which he wrote a number of Apologetic treatises, the *Contra Iulianum* and a number of other great homilies and letters. Burghardt covers Cyril's entire prolific output, although Cyril's most important works, for the viewpoint of this study, come in the first, or exegetical period. And one of the most valuable features of the book is the author's way of summarizing, at every important stage, the growth of patristic theology before the time of Cyril.

After developing Cyril's doctrine on the meaning of 'image and likeness' (*selem* and *d'mut*, Gen. 1:26), the dissertation advances through the various facets that must be grasped in order to appreciate what Cyril meant by the image of God in man before and after Sin, before and after the Recapitulation of Christ's act of Atonement. The first man (and woman, by participation) possessed the image of God in his powers of freedom and dominion, and, more especially in his holiness and incorruptibility. In this he was an image of the divine Archetype. By sin man lost only those facets of the image which were

due to the indwelling of the Spirit, holiness, incorruptibility and kinship with God; and he suffered a diminution in the perfection of his psychological freedom as well as in his power of dominion over the beasts of the earth. Whether one should say that the divine image was 'lost' or merely 'overlaid' and 'blurred,' destroyed completely or merely disfigured, is (in Burghardt's view of Cyril) merely a question of terminology. Actually Cyril reflects both streams of the earlier tradition. In any case, the complete state of pristine perfection ceased to be present, although distinctions must be made with regard to each aspect of the image. And, it would seem, Adam did not forfeit the gift of divine adoption; for adoptive sonship is the unique privilege of those who have been incorporated into Christ in virtue of the Atonement. Thus, for Burghardt, Cyril's image theology becomes a complete soteriology. The meaning of the Recapitulation in Christ is that the image of God (liberty, holiness and incorruptibility, *eleutheria*, *hagiasmos* and *aphtharsia*) is restored, even enhanced by the Incarnation. For in the restoration of the image, the features of Christ Himself are stamped upon the Christian, in a way that even Adam did not experience. The archetypal analogy of Cyril is now complete: woman an image of man, man an image of God; but now, by God's own redemptive act, man is restored in the image of Christ.

Cyril's image theology cannot, of course, be completely understood apart from the tradition that preceded him; and, for this reason, Burghardt's book is doubly valuable in setting Cyril's work within its historical context. Thus the book can be strongly recommended as a solid introduction to Greek patristic theology in general and as an initiation into the very difficult avenues of patristic theological speculation. How far Cyril's approach was original is not perhaps a meaningful question; in any case, his profound and extensive analysis of the implications of the *kerygma* became the matrix for much of later theological thought. At the same time, with his dynamic concept of *hagiasmos* and his Christocentric view of the restoration of the image, Cyril might well be a source of inspiration for modern theology. For Cyril's image theology does not stress the negative; it looks to the future and to the progressive development of man by increasing participation in the new, divine image of God gained through Christ.

One further point should be made. Cyrillic theology is a difficult and sometimes very forbidding field; the patristic terminology is very often obscure and the concrete doctrinal context in which many of the works were written is now very often irrecoverable. But under the author's light touch all seems somehow easier and accessible to all; again, the Greek is everywhere translated and the more abstruse points are handled at the foot of the page. In this way the most difficult areas of Cyril's thought can be readily grasped. And, it is to be hoped, by Father Burghardt's masterly exposition Cyril's doctrine can more and more become the permanent acquisition of modern theology.

HERBERT MUSURILLO, S.J.

BRILLIANT AND BALANCED

Joyce and Aquinas. Yale Studies in English. By William T. Noon, S.J.
New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957. \$3.75.

Every reader of James Joyce's *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* is aware he based his theory of literature upon St. Thomas' enumeration of the two constituents of beauty. Occasional references in Joyce's later works have led the academic critics to suspect that Thomistic ideas were deeper and more widespread than appeared to the general reader, and many very acute investigations have been directed towards unearthing them. But none of these critics had the wide and profound knowledge of the whole range of Thomistic thought and of the orientation and ethos of Jesuit education which are required of the scholar who would write the definitive study of this central element in the work of the pioneering genius who boasted of a "strength steeled in the school of old Aquinas." The task seemed providentially to have been reserved for the hand of a Jesuit, of a Jesuit with broad and accurate learning and a keen, sensitive intelligence. Such a hand it has found. Father Noon's book, like Father Gardiner's study of the last phases of the mediaeval mystery plays, which was printed in the same series of Yale studies, supplies a real need and supplies it perfectly. Every scholar of twentieth century literature will receive it with gratitude, to which we Jesuits will add a justifiable family pride.

Instead of expatiating on the sureness with which Father Noon has picked his way through the uncertain jungle of mediaeval and modern aesthetics, or on the freshness and charm with which he presents a rather forbidding subject, this review may close with a rapid summary of the contents of *Joyce and Aquinas*, so that teachers who are interested in aesthetical problems, or students who regard Joyce as incomprehensible when not a purveyor of cynical nastiness, may decide what the book may have for them.

Father Noon begins by enquiring when and where Joyce made his first real acquaintance with St. Thomas, and answers that it was not under his Jesuit teachers in school and university, but in independent reading at the Bibliothèque Nationale during his first years of exile. He next shows Joyce accepting the notion of reality as beauty which is expounded in the *Summa* and then applying it with serious distortions in an endeavor to explain the cognitive and affective elements in the aesthetic experience. The genesis and distinguishing property of the aesthetic or rather creative act Joyce then relates to the Thomistic *claritas*. Coming to closer grips with Joyce's masterpieces, the operation of the creative imagination upon the comic aspect of life, when this aspect is viewed in a Thomistic attitude or framework, is shown to be the key to *Ulysses*. Going with Joyce deeper still into the working of the creative imagination, Father Noon reveals a Sabellian Trinitarianism behind the discussion of Shakespeare and his relation to Hamlet, the fascinating and baffling discussion which may be the keystone to *Ulysses*. The analogy between literary and divine creation which follows

this is far from being the jejune treatise which unhappy experience may have led us to expect; and, crowning surprise, the punning portmanteau dialect of *Finnegan's Wake* is found to have a very direct relation to the etymological argumentation of mediaeval scholasticism.

All of us teachers know the feeling which comes once in many a blue semester when the perfect theme, the really brilliant essay, the luminous and balanced book report turns up among the heart breaking fumbles. Such a feeling came to this reviewer when he sat down to Father Noon's book. How to grade it? *Praeclare, optime*, and *A plus* have been used too often on creditable work which is after all not quite what was wished for. So when Father Noon's book takes its place beside Father Gardiner's on that special shelf, one can only relapse into silent gratitude, or at most sigh, "Ah, yes, that's it!"

JOSEPH A. SLATTERY, S.J.

PROFOUND AND PERSONAL

Insight. A Study of Human Understanding. By Bernard J. F. Lonergan, S.J. New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. Pp. xxx-785. \$10.00.

This monumental work is the fruit of many years of preparation and composition by a distinguished Canadian professor of theology now teaching at the Gregorian University. Though it is far from a perfect book, it is undeniably a great book. What the author has attempted to do is no less than to lead the reader through a grand tour of the human mind at work in its characteristic activity of insight on all levels and in all its main fields of application, as it is driven on relentlessly by the dynamism of its unrestricted desire to know.

This daring attempt to produce a modern *Summa* of the life of the mind comprises in broad outline first a phenomenology or description of human knowledge as an activity within the knower; then a critique of its claims to objectivity, which grounds in turn a theory of dialectical development of human thought both in the individual and in society; next a metaphysics of "proportionate being" (being as accessible to human experience); an ethics; a natural theology; and finally, a theory of the role of belief in human knowledge as an introduction to the supernatural dimension of knowledge through divine revelation. Quite a large order! And it makes proportionately exacting demands on the reader by its consistently dense, though rarely obscure style, and the wide range of background material it presumes the reader to be familiar with, from modern mathematics to psychiatry and philosophy of history.

The phenomenological section unfolds the essential structure of the dynamism of human knowledge as it moves upwards from sense presentation, through insight into relevant form, to the unconditional affirmation of objectivity in judgment. Insight into the basic realism of judgment is next achieved by studying the privileged instances of the knower's act of self-affirmation as knower. This in turn brings to light

the deep underlying dynamism of the source of all human knowledge, the unrestricted natural desire to know being.

From here the author moves into the most original and controversial phase of his dialectic. In virtue of the principle that human understanding must be isomorphic in general structure to what it can know by direct experience, he proceeds to deduce "by anticipation" from the structure of human knowledge both the notion of being and the general metaphysical structure of proportionate being. Thus to the unrestricted desire to know corresponds the notion of being as the totality of all there is to be known. To the three levels of cognitive acts correspond in the objects of experience a principle of concrete individual duality or potency, left behind as the "empirical residue" after insight, a principle of form grasped by insight, and a principle of act or existence affirmed in judgment. This rudimentary metaphysics leads us directly to the necessity of a supreme self-explanatory cause, and lays bare the basic structure of all proofs for the existence of God. "If reality is completely intelligible, then God exists. But reality is completely intelligible. Therefore God exists."

The author's descriptive analysis is the fruit of a profound, personal re-thinking of the essential elements of the Aristotelian-Thomistic theory of knowledge completed by judicious borrowing from Maréchal and other moderns. The main deficiency we find in it is its failure to provide an adequate explanation of the judgment of contingent existence with respect to beings distinct from the knower. The considerably more original and daring analysis of the metaphysical implications of human knowledge, especially the dialectic from knowledge to being, is much harder to evaluate. It does raise serious misgivings and leaves many difficulties unanswered. Yet, all things considered, the author's approach is so profoundly rooted in the springs of tradition as well as in rigorous personal reflection, and his case so carefully constructed and impressively reasoned, that I feel it is only fair to register at least a provisional affirmative vote in his favor. Only the sifting process of prolonged critical reflection and discussion will permit, it seems to me, a definitive judgment on this difficult, profound, but richly instructive work.

W. NORRIS CLARKE, S.J.

SOMBER PICTURE

Priestly Existence. By Rev. Michael Pfliegler. Translated from the German by Francis P. Dinneen, S.J. Westminster: Newman, 1957. Pp. xv-425. \$6.00.

Priestly Existence in the words of the author proposes "... to explain the modes of priestly existence from the data of the priestly experience itself, from the experience of tension, the necessary and unavoidable tension between the vocation to be a priest and the fact that such a vocation is given to a man who lives in this world." In this sentence from the foreword of the book the author summarizes the pur-

pose and method of his work and sets the tone which will pervade the entire book. He does not intend to sketch the general picture of the priestly ideal, but wishes to present an outline of the existential condition in which the diocesan priest actually lives. To this end the author makes extensive use of novels about the priesthood, which he feels are ". . . deeply grounded in real life," and from which there emerges a graphic picture of the priest's life from seminary to the final priestly type.

The nuclear theme of the book might be expressed in the triad: tension-crisis-type. The newly ordained priest, fresh from the idealism of the seminary, is faced with the manifold tensions involved in being a priest in the world. This context of tensions eventually produces a crisis, a time for decision, a time to decide how to react to these tensions. According to the decision made there will emerge a priestly type: the escapist, the saintly priest, the activist, to mention only a few. Around this theme Fr. Pfliegler has painted a word-picture of what he feels to be the actual priestly existence. It is an exceedingly somber picture, but nonetheless powerful, borrowing as it does the power of the popular novel.

This reviewer would, however, question the verisimilitude of this picture of the priestly existence, especially as a picture of the diocesan priest in this country. Perhaps the self-dramatization of the Curé in *Diary of a Country Priest* is a common phenomenon on the European scene; perhaps the anti-clericalism in *The Power and The Glory* is far more real in France and Italy than the American observer would expect. In any event, they are not the rule on the American scene. Tensions, it is true, exist in any priestly life; yet they are only a part of the total picture of that life, as experience with many American diocesan priests abundantly illustrates.

Furthermore, tension and crisis are not, as this book would seem to imply, the keynote of the priestly life considered theoretically. On the contrary, the keynote is the note of joy and security: joy over the marvelous fact that the priest is associated with the Incarnate Word in the work of salvation, in the task of re-incarnating the Word among men and in men through the administration of the sacraments and the preaching office; security in the realization that it is not the priest alone who must perform this superhuman task, but Christ as well who is one with him as the Father and the Son are one and who will be with him until the consummation of the world.

Fr. Pfliegler's approach to the priestly life is, in this reviewer's opinion, too negative, too much of a spirituality that consists in being on the defensive against the inroads of the world on the priestly ideal. Such a spirituality can and often does turn the servant of God in on himself to the extent that his efficacy is impaired. The priest must, on the contrary, be orientated to what is outside his personal problems, to Christ, the priestly ideal, and to the apostolate in which Christ's work is to be accomplished. The priest should realize that he is a living

affirmation of God's will to unite men to Himself in grace and glory, an affirmation which contemporary society is looking for. Thus the world is not a power to be feared like some monster which is poised to pounce upon the timid idealist; it is rather the arena into which the priest can confidently step to perform the momentous task that brought the Son of God into the human context. Tensions will arise, as they did for the sinless Christ who was in solidarity with sinful humanity, but they will be subsumed in the larger, more important context of God's salvific purpose. In this context they will not loom so large, nor will they destroy the joy and security that should be so characteristic of the priestly existence.

R. M. BARLOW, S.J.

THEORY AND PRACTICE OF KERYGMATICS

The Art of Teaching Christian Doctrine. By *Johannes Hofinger, S.J.*
Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1957.
Pp. vii-278. \$3.50.

What is the Good News and how should it be proclaimed? These questions are the object of this lucid and inspiring inquiry into the theory and practice of kerygmatics. Right at the start Father Hofinger seeks out and highlights the essence of the Christian message, the Mystery of Christ, so often lost midst the preoccupation with all the doctrines and commandments which the catechist feels must be covered. Having clarified the goal, the author shows how the hearer is first to be initiated into the mystery of Christ through Bible history. Thus on the individual level is reduplicated the progressive historical revelation of Christ made by God on the social level. Simultaneously, this knowledge is to be deepened by sacramentally living out the mysteries through intelligent participation in the liturgy. Finally, as the learner matures, his knowledge is to be structured and unified by catechism. Biblical and liturgical knowledge without catechism would be disorganized. Catechetical knowledge without the first two is devitalized knowledge without appreciation or real assimilation.

The traditional order of presenting Christian doctrine (God, the object of faith, demanding our duties in the commandments and precepts, accomplished by grace from the sacraments and prayer) has the advantage of clarity. However, this order (faith, commandments, means of grace) makes obligation the underlying theme of the Christian message. The author proposes a slight change by making a twofold division: God's gift to us (faith and the sacraments), and our gift to God (prayer and commandments). The change in order is slight, but it makes for a fundamental reorientation. The focus is now on value, not obligation; and emphasis on Love with reciprocal love replaces the highlighting of duty and the means to accomplish duty.

Part III of the book is an admirable proof that Father Hofinger is not merely theorizing. Here he undertakes to outline concretely thirty dogmatic and moral instructions, indicating the essential points of the

Christian message and how they illuminate the one central message: the Mystery of Christ. Each includes specific liturgical, biblical and catechetical hints for the teacher, together with the precise goal and particular viewpoint of the instruction and a doctrinal summary of its content. Of great help to the preacher would be a use of this section in conjunction with an appendix which lists apt kerygmatic topics suggested by the Sunday gospels of the year.

The final section treats the spiritual and intellectual formation of Christ's heralds. The sublimity of a vocation which demands such close union with Christ is persuasively demonstrated, as well as the necessity of cultivating the specifically kerygmatic virtue of fidelity to the Christian message. Fidelity implies a complete unselfishness complemented by the winning personality of Christ which must shine through the personality of the herald. Next, separate chapters are devoted to the peculiar emphases in the function and formation of catechists from the ranks of laymen, sisters, and priests. In a final very interesting chapter the author modestly and with eminent realism indicates how in the formation of the seminarian a kerygmatic approach can orientate and enrich the presentation of scholastic theology, even within the framework of current textbooks and course divisions. Besides the previously mentioned sermon appendix, there are appendices containing sample lessons from kerygmatically orientated catechisms and a similarly orientated three day retreat. As finishing touches, the book is indexed and there is a bibliography for each topic treated. A couple of typographical errors which the next printing should easily correct are slight blemishes on Father Hofinger's surpassingly readable and timely study.

EDWARD V. STEVENS, S.J.

KEEPER OF THE SANCTUARY

El Apostol de Nuestra Señora: Biografía del Padre Salvador M. Garcidueñas, S.J. By Antonio Dragon, S.J. Mexico: Buena Prensa, 1956. Pp. 149.

A man who truly lived the interior life . . . a Jesuit after the heart of St. Ignatius . . . a man solely occupied in the things of God: Mass, confessions, missions, the poor and the children—thus the life of Father Salvador Garcidueñas is summarized. Some fifty-six testimonies were gathered by the author from people who had known and lived with Father Garcidueñas. He lived no less a heroic life during the Calles persecutions than Father Pro, his contemporary. Unlike Father Pro, however, Father Garcidueñas stayed in one place throughout the persecutions. He had been assigned to the Sanctuary of Our Lady of the Angels, and there he stayed to the end of his life. He managed somehow to escape the soldiers who were supposed to stop his activities in the town of Los Angeles. He was forced to go into hiding when the Sanctuary was occupied by the soldiers, but he hid in his room within the Sanctuary, and continued his active ministry.

Like the famous Curé of Ars, Father Garcidueñas reformed the town of Los Angeles. The witnesses to his heroic life speak of his gift of reading the hearts of his penitents. He is even said to have exercised bilocation on several occasions to save souls. But above all, they speak of his kindness, his love of poverty, his mortified life, not the least of which was his silent suffering for ten years of a cancerous wound on his shoulder blades, ultimately reaching his lungs, and causing his death. To the end, when he was reduced to mere skin and bones, Father Garcidueñas was active in his spiritual labors. The people kept asking for him, especially for confessions. When he could do nothing else but hear confessions a laybrother was assigned to carry him back and forth to the confessional.

In this Spanish translation of Father Dragon's book, the same simple style that marked his famous life of Father Pro is once more in evidence. Father Dragon for the most part has allowed the witnesses to the life of Father Garcidueñas to tell the story of the Superior of the Jesuits in hiding in Los Angeles, and to give the account of his devotion to duty as the holy keeper of the Sanctuary of Our Lady of the Angels.

M. J. CASALS, S.J.

DEEPENING THE FAITH

The Year and Our Children: Planning the Family Activities for Christian Feasts and Seasons. By Mary Reed Newland. New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons, 1956. Pp. xi-328. \$3.95.

As Mrs. Newland reflects on her own religious education, she realizes how meager it was. Many of Ours probably feel the same way about their own. Our formal training was, for the most part, limited to learning the catechism, with little or no application to the world around us. But times have changed. The layman is taking his proper place in the Church, and his children are receiving both at home and in school that type of education which prepares them to live their entire lives in Christ.

An ever-increasing number of books are being offered to the layman to deepen his Faith. And, as Mrs. Newland tells us, by reading, praying, and thinking about the Faith, he is better prepared to teach his children. Mary Reed Newland, mother of seven children, has made her own contribution to the literature of the laity. *We and Our Children*, which appeared in 1954, has the sub-title *Molding the Child in Christian Living*. Here she mentioned a few of the family customs of the Liturgical Year, and left us with a desire to learn how the Newlands live the entire years. *The Year and Our Children* has amply satisfied that desire.

Beginning with Advent and the making of the Advent Wreath and ending with November and Mass on Thanksgiving, Mrs. Newland shows how all of creation is a symbol pointing back to God the Creator. "All things are yours, and you are Christ's, and Christ is God's." The author's children are filled with Christ; they find Him everywhere. Their baptismal candles are decorated with symbols of the Trinity, Redemp-

tion, etc., and of their patron saints. Each year on the anniversary of the child's Baptism the candle is lighted. Many projects, like the making of Mary Shrines and preparing a puppet show for the feast of St. Nicholas, become wonderful methods of education. Then there are the various blessings for fields, homes, etc., given by the lay priest.

The book contains a long list of liturgical symbols, and an excellent bibliography for parents and children.

Christian parents will find the book invaluable and well worth keeping for future reference. And Ours might find helpful suggestions for class or parish projects.

THOMAS H. CONNOLLY, S.J.

LOGIC COMES ALIVE

The Elements of Logic. By Vincent Edward Smith. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1957. Pp. xiii-298. \$3.50.

One might easily disagree with the proposed contents of a course in logic, but not at all that a course is needed. If for no other reason, logic must often supply for an imperfect grasp of the English language and the natural logic inherent in it. (Why Johnny can't read—or write, or reason—may well have a common cause.) Yet a highly formalized course in logic can (and too often does, I fear) cause grave misunderstandings about the nature of the judgment, for example, or of philosophical method. Logic seems in one sense to be too difficult to be taught first and yet too important to leave until last.

Dr. Smith's *Elements of Logic* is a fresh attempt "to make logic come more alive." The over-all emphasis is clearly that logic is not just a subject to be learned but a habit of straight thinking to be acquired. And the stress on a case-history method puts logic back into a context of real issues and problems. The author has not always, perhaps, used the case histories to the best advantage. A more valuable, though admittedly more difficult, procedure would be to present the cases, not merely as illustrations of the text, but as the raw material from which the student would derive principles and conclusions by induction and analysis. Be that as it may, the student will surely profit from the case work, and more from the guided awareness that even great men do extend conclusions beyond the premises. (On the other hand there is equal need of cautioning the student that William James, to cite but one usual instance, is not to be dismissed on the basis of one bad conversion. Would that "adversaries" could be so easily handled!)

This reviewer, of course, cannot vouch for the fact that the text, as presented, will accomplish all that its author planned and hoped for. But his purpose, namely to foster a dialectical exchange between student and teacher, seems unassailable. Not all (as he himself realizes) will agree with the deletions and de-emphases which considerations of space have forced upon him. Others may judge that some logical dead wood still remains and will prefer to expand those sections of the text that

the author has treated summarily, such as the various kinds of arguments or the special questions dealing with statistical reasoning and truth functions. My own preference makes me regret the omission of a more formal consideration of the various kinds of propositions—particularly the occultly compound—since I know from experience how little awareness there can be of what an English sentence is saying, especially when it does not say it directly.

But reservations and personal preferences aside, Dr. Smith's book is well worth a serious consideration by teachers of logic who, somehow or other, must simultaneously manage an introduction to philosophy and give some notion of philosophical method, but who all too often find student interest fast draining from all four corners of the square of opposition.

H. R. BURNS, S.J.

ENRICHING THE GUIDANCE FIELD

The Casework Relationship. *By Felix P. Biestek, S.J.* Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1957. Pp. vii-149. \$3.00.

As the director of field work and associate professor of casework in the School of Social Work at Chicago's Loyola University, Father Biestek has a unique vantage point to see both the essential importance of smooth casework relationship and the difficulty frequently met in mastering this technique. This book is his attempt to help meet that difficulty, by providing for the novice (and veteran) social worker a conceptual analysis of the casework relationship.

The author divides his discussion into two parts: the *essence* of such a relationship, and the *principles* governing it. In the first part, after a brief discussion of previous descriptions and quasi-definitions, he proposes the following formula: the casework relationship is the dynamic interaction of attitudes and emotions between the caseworker and the client, with the purpose of helping the client achieve a better adjustment between himself and his environment. The burden of the book lies in an amplification and discussion of this definition.

Seven basic human needs of people with psychosocial problems are listed as the pegs upon which the relationship hangs. These are: the client's need to be treated as an individual, to express his feelings, to get sympathetic response to his problems, to be recognized as a person of worth, to be free from having judgment passed on him, to make his own choices and decisions, to have his secrets kept confidential. These needs form the first direction of the dynamic interaction between client and caseworker. The second direction comes from the caseworker's sensitive understanding and appropriate response to these needs. The third direction is found in the client's awareness of the caseworker's response to his needs. This tri-directional interaction forms the basis of discussion of the seven "principles" which correspond to the above-mentioned needs of the client. Each principle receives clear and thoughtful treatment in a separate chapter of the book.

As Father Biestek points out in his introduction, such a conceptual analysis cannot replace the intuitive approach to casework in the classroom and in field practices. Nor does it attempt to do so. Its aim, rather, is to enrich such an approach and to help the caseworker make an accurate diagnosis of faulty relationships.

While this book is obviously intended primarily for social workers and social service students, it is suggested that student counsellors, priests in Cana work and other forms of counselling and all who have more than passing interest in the field of guidance will find much here that is both stimulating and helpful.

PAUL D. CAMPBELL, S.J.

WORK OF EXPERIENCE

The Cross of Jesus. Vol. I. *By Louis Chardon, O.P.* Translated by Richard T. Murphy, O.P. St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1957. Pp. v-304. \$4.25.

This work of a seventeenth century Dominican master of novices and director of souls is a compendium of spiritual doctrine on the suffering and purification which are necessary for growth in holiness. Father Chardon published this after many years of experience in dealing with souls on their way to perfection. It is his masterpiece, and we are fortunate that it has not been left unknown any longer. For the problem of suffering is an ever-present one and any soul that is striving to live closer to God must come to grips with it. And where find an answer but in Christ, Who voluntarily came to earth to do just that: suffer and die?

Father Chardon's treatise is divided into three parts, the first two of which are included in this first volume. The first part is on the relationship of grace and the mystical body to the problem of suffering. Father Chardon shows clearly that the inevitable effect of grace in Christ, Mary, and the members of the mystical body is the cross. Throughout these chapters, a reader familiar with the dogmatic tracts on the Incarnation, Redemption, and Mariology, will find them succinctly and forcefully woven into the writing. But at no time is the unfamiliar reader left confused or bewildered by technical terms. The second section treats, although the author does not explicitly state it, with the three stages of perfection. Here he stresses the phenomena of consolation and desolation. Perhaps this could be taken as a digression. Indeed the Introduction states that some critics have so termed it; still, it cannot but bring much enlightenment and encouragement to the reader.

A word of commendation should be given to the translator. There are not a few rhetorical flourishes, which must have been difficult to render into readable and idiomatic English from Father Chardon's seventeenth century French. But the task has been accomplished very successfully, and the entire book reads as if it had been written today, in English.

JOSEPH A. LATELLA, S.J.

AFFECTIVE PRAYER

The Virtue of Love. By Paul DeJaegher, S.J. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1955. Pp. xi-176. \$3.00.

This book, following *The Virtue of Trust* and *One With Jesus* by the same author, presents a series of Ignatian contemplations of the life of Christ. Between these contemplations the author injects short essays on difficult virtues such as the spirit of faith and spiritual fervor. Both the meditations and essays manifest profound familiarity with affective prayer and deliberate awareness of God's presence in our daily lives.

ARTHUR S. O'BRIEN, S.J.

CHURCH IN CHINA

Martyrs in China. By Jean Monsterleet, S.J. Translated by Antonia Pakenham. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1956. Pp. 288. \$3.75.

It is rare that we find a book which, though written some years previously, affords a clear insight into the ever-changing news of the day. *Martyrs in China* is such a book. For, in addition to accomplishing its purpose of presenting graphically the story of the Catholic Church in China during the first years of Communist rule, it enables the reader to understand the meaning of many of the recent news items emanating from Red China concerning the relations of the Catholic Church to the Communist State.

Father Monsterleet, who during his fourteen years in China worked in both a country parish and in Tsinku University, is eminently qualified to describe the plight of the Church in China. He writes not as an historian, but as a priest and missionary describing events which he either witnessed himself or heard from his fellow missionaries in exile. In so doing, however, he does make clear the pattern of Communist persecution and the aims of Communism in the world today.

The story of the Communist attempt to force the Church to endorse the Movement for Triple Autonomy in organization, finances and apostolate is traced as it affected both clergy and laity. The Government's attacks on the Church's educational system, the Catholic Action Movement, particularly the Legion of Mary, and the orphanages and other charitable works of the Church, all parts of a more fundamental attack—the attack on the mind, are described and illustrated by examples.

Perhaps the most impressive element in the book is the general picture of the heroism of the suffering Church in China. The modern history of the Chinese Church contains many lessons for us. Nor may we learn only from the martyrs and near-martyrs. There were some who succumbed to the pressure of persecution. The Marxist ideal in education, as proposed by Chiang Nan-Hsiang, namely that, "All teachers must be so steeped in Marxism that they reach a point where they are promoting the Communist ideal, no matter what subject they are teaching," certainly offers us matter for reflection.

Ours may find this work somewhat episodic. That it is a translation, too, is at times quite evident. *Martyrs in China* remains, however, an inspiring study of a great people and their priests who have endured and are enduring the new martyrdom of the mind. Their story, as told by Father Monsterleet, makes it possible for us to follow with new understanding and sympathy our fellow members of the Mystical Body in their struggle against the Empire of Mao Tse-Tung.

ROBERT T. RUSH, S.J.

SCHOLARY AND PRACTICAL

The Eucharistic Prayer. A Study of the Canon Missae. By J. A. Jungmann, S.J. Translated by Robert L. Batley. Chicago: Fides Publications, 1956. Pp. vi-55.

Four lectures on the Mass originally presented in a study week for priests of both zones in Germany are offered here in English. The approach is simple: it is as though the second method of prayer were applied to a few pithy expressions of the Canon by one who is at once a master of the history of the liturgy and a catechist acutely aware of the problems of men. For example, the phrase *unde et memores* is singled out. How is remembrance, thankful remembrance, related to the actual offering, to *offerimus*? Father Jungmann uncovers the original uses of the phrase, its echoes in other parts of the Mass, and the causes for shifts in emphasis through the centuries. Yet as one acutely touched by today's problems, he straightway suggests where present emphases fail to meet present needs. It is the prayer of one intent on finding fruit. The audience of the original lectures was an added spur toward practicality. Hence when singing and processions, vestments and architecture are discussed, it is not idly but with point. The interest of laymen in the liturgy is an accepted fact and to them much writing about the liturgy is directed. It is cause for joy then that their pastors too are given solid food by such lectures as these. Some religious and lay people will find them within reach and fruitful.

W. SUCHAN, S.J.

