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WOODSTOCK
L E T T E R S

WINTER 1968

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INTRODUCTION

The future of Fordham University looks to "an educational revolution whose excitement and potential are unlimited." Fordham's future, however, has its groundwork in the thought and energy of many educators who worked and taught there. Francis X. Curran, S.J., a professor of history at Fordham and author of *Major Trends in American Church History*, traces one of Fordham's difficult periods when Archbishop John Hughes was at loggerheads with the New York Jesuits.

In the Fall of 1967, the Buffalo Province closed its novitiate, Bellarmine College, at Plattsburgh, New York. We commemorate the closing of this house, which foreshadowed the dissolution of the Buffalo Province and its re-unification into the new New York Province, by printing a lecture, delivered in 1958 at Bellarmine College, by James Brodrick, S.J., author of *The Origin of the Jesuits*, *The Progress of the Jesuits*, and *Robert Bellarmine: Saint and Scholar*.

Fr. Arrupe's letter on Jesuits and social justice received considerable attention in South America.

Charles P. Costello, S.J., the rector of Loyola High School, Towson, Maryland, shares his experiences of a recent trip to various Jesuit high schools in India.

Sister Maura, S.S.N.D., a poet and professor of English at Notre Dame College of Maryland; Edwin D. Cuffe, S.J., a professor of English at Fordham; and G. Michael McCrossin, S.J., a graduate student in theology at the University of Chicago, review John L'Heureux's latest book, *Picnic in Babylon*, an autobiography of four years at Woodstock.

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WOODSTOCK LETTERS solicits manuscripts from all Jesuits on all topics of particular interest to fellow Jesuits: Ignatian spirituality, the activities of our various apostolates, problems facing the modern Society, and the history of the Society, particularly in the United States and its missions. In general it is our policy to publish major obituary articles on men whose work would be of interest to the whole assistancy.

Letters of comment and criticism will be welcomed for the Readers' Forum.

Manuscripts, preferably the original copy, should be double-spaced with ample margins. Whenever possible, contributors of articles on Ignatian spirituality and Jesuit history should follow the stylistic norms of the Institute of Jesuit Sources. These are most conveniently found in Supplementary Notes B and C and in the list of abbreviations in Joseph de Guibert, S.J., *The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice*, trans. W. J. Young (Chicago, 1964), pp. 609-16.

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ARCHBISHOP HUGHES AND THE JESUITS

Fordham's prologue

FRANCIS X. CURRAN, S.J.

In 1845, the Province of France agreed to transfer its Kentucky mission to New York City. At the same time, it agreed to take control of (the then) St. John's College, the present Fordham University. A formal agreement was drawn up, but serious differences developed over what such "control" meant both concerning St. John's and various parishes in New York City. This article deals with the ownership of Fordham University and the corresponding autonomy of the parishes.

ON JANUARY 6, 1856, Fr. John Baptist Hus wrote to inform the Jesuit general, Peter Beckx, that he had arrived in New York City and taken up his office as superior general of the New York-Canada Mission.¹ Hus had been in New York before. When Clement Boulanger, his predecessor as superior general, had come to the United States as Visitor to the North American missions of the Province of France in 1845, Hus had accompanied him as his socius. He had been present at the meetings during which Boulanger

¹ Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu (hereafter ArchRSJ), Hus to Beckx, Jan. 6, 1856. Hus' appointment to office dated from Nov. 28, 1855; *Catalogus Provinciae Franciae, 1856*, p. 81. He had been in New York at least since Dec. 20, 1855, when he first assembled his consultors; Archives of the New York Province (hereafter NYPA), Acta consultationum Superioris Missionis Neo-Eboracensis-Canadensis, Dec. 20, 1855.

and John Hughes, then Bishop of New York, had negotiated the terms of the transfer of the Kentucky Mission of the Jesuits to the diocese of New York.² Hus had been summoned to his new post from the superiorship of the Jesuit mission of Cayenne in South America.³

When he arrived in New York, Hus found that the Jesuits were embroiled in a conflict with Archbishop Hughes. This dispute was to persist throughout Hus' period in office. The main sources of Jesuit discontent were mentioned in Hus' letter to the general. Apparently he had entered office with instructions to do what he could to remove these sources of irritation.⁴

The first problem was embedded in the convention signed November 24, 1845, between Bishop Hughes and Boulanger. According to the ninth and final clause of that contract, it was agreed that if the Jesuits withdrew from the diocese they were to restore the title of St. John's College at Fordham to the Bishop of New York.⁵ Over the course of the ensuing years, the Jesuits found this provision for reversion a cramping clause. While the clause was not mentioned in the deed of sale of St. John's College, and while the Jesuits were convinced that the proviso, absolutely without legal effect, also had no moral effect, they wanted the clause either revoked or given an interpretation by the Archbishop which would permit them freely to develop the college and, if advisable, sell or mortgage part of its lands.

The second point of contention was the ownership of the Church of St. Francis Xavier on 16th Street in New York City. Before construction of that church had begun in 1850, Archbishop Hughes

² See the present writer's "The Jesuits in Kentucky, 1831-1846", *Mid-America* 35 (1953) 242-243.

³ He had held this post since 1852; *Catalogus Provinciae Franciae, 1855*, p. 83.

⁴ ArchRSJ, Legouais to Beckx, Oct. 13, 1858. Thomas Legouais, S.J., had been with the Jesuit mission in Kentucky and later in New York from the earliest days. Before the end of his term of office, Boulanger had received similar instructions; NYPA, Acta consult., Sept. 9, 1855.

⁵ The original of this contract is in NYPA. The ninth clause is as follows: "Dans le cas où les Pères Jesuites quitteront l'établissement de New-York par le fait de leur propre volonté la propriété reviendrait à Monseigneur l'Évêque, qui devrait rendre aux Pères les sommes déjà payées sur leur dette de quarante mille dollars."

had demanded and received its legal title from the Jesuits. The fathers were dissatisfied by this development and continually sought to have the title restored to the Society of Jesus. The third major source of Jesuit discontent was their belief that the Archbishop had failed to implement the sixth clause of the contract of 1845.⁶ The Archbishop had promised to give the Jesuits a church and residence in New York City. He had, according to the Jesuit viewpoint, never carried out his obligation.

Property at Fordham

The incident which set off the long and bitter dispute was occasioned by the property at Fordham. When, in 1846, the Jesuits took over St. John's College, they also assumed the direction of the diocesan seminary of St. Joseph's. Both these institutions were located on the land Bishop Hughes had purchased in 1839 in the village of Fordham. By the deed of sale of St. John's College of July 15, 1846, between eight and nine acres of the original purchase were reserved as the property of the seminary: the boundaries of this seminary land were written into the deed. But the boundary lines were not marked.

In the summer of 1855, Archbishop Hughes removed the Jesuits from the seminary and substituted his own secular clergy. Shortly thereafter, the boundary between the seminary and college land was surveyed.⁷ The results were a bit surprising. Indeed, the boundary line cut immediately in front of the house on the seminary grounds occupied by the Archbishop's sister and her husband. If Mrs. Rodrigue stepped out on her front stoop, she trespassed on the property of St. John's College. According to the rector of St. John's College, the Archbishop heard the news with extreme bitterness and at once declared that the deed of 1846 was in error. The

⁶ The sixth clause is as follows: "Monseigneur a bien voulu promettre qu'il donnera à la Compagnie une église avec une maison dans New-York aussitôt que les Pères voudront y exercer le S^t ministère. Cette église ne sera point paroisse et les Pères n'auront point la charge de Curé. Ils n'y célébreront pas les mariages, enterremens, baptêmes . . . Mais ils prêcheront, feront le catéchisme, confesseront, donneront la bénédiction du très S^t Sacrament &c . . . recevront le produit de la location des bancs." The dots do not mark elisions; they are in the original.

⁷ ArchRSJ, Remigius Tellier, S.J., to Beckx, April 29, 1856. Tellier was Rector of St. John's College, 1854-1860.

Jesuits had no desire to deprive Mrs. Rodrigue of her stoop. They decided to rectify the boundary lines.⁸ The superior general, Boulanger, called upon the Archbishop and informed him that the matter would be arranged to his complete satisfaction.⁹

But the Archbishop did not wait for the Jesuits to act. On November 14, 1855, the Board of Trustees of St. John's College convened for a regular meeting. When the college had been incorporated before the arrival of the Jesuits, its Board of Trustees was composed of five secular clerics and four laymen. It was planned that these trustees should gradually resign and be replaced by Jesuits. In 1855, four non-Jesuits still remained on the Board. They were Fr. William Starrs, vicar general of the Archdiocese, Mr. Thomas James Glover, the Archbishop's lawyer, Mr. Terence Donnelly and Mr. Peter Hargous, president of the Board.

At the meeting, Glover, declaring that he was acting at the request of the Archbishop, proposed the following resolution:

That a committee be appointed with the power to appoint a surveyor in concert with the Most Rev. Archbishop to survey the property described in the deed from the Archbishop to St. John's College and to ascertain & agree upon the true description thereof according to the intentions of the parties and that the president and Secretary be authorized to affix the Corporate Seal to such document as shall be agreed upon between the Archbishop and said Committee.¹⁰

A committee was appointed, consisting of Fr. John Blettner and Messrs. Hargous and Donnelly.

The Jesuits were greatly disquieted by this demarche of the Archbishop. They believed that Hughes should have applied for a rectification of the boundary line not to the Board of Trustees, created and maintained to satisfy the laws of incorporation, but to the Society of Jesus, the real owner of the property. By this move, it would appear that the Archbishop was calling into question the Jesuit ownership of the College of St. John's.

A memorandum dated December 30, 1855 shows Jesuit thought at that time on the problem of their relations with the Archbishop.¹¹

⁸ NYPA, Acta consult., Nov. 15, 1855.

⁹ NYPA, Tellier to Hus, April 24, 1856.

¹⁰ Archives of Fordham University (hereafter FUA), Minutes of the Board of Trustees of St. John's College, Nov. 14, 1855.

¹¹ NYPA, Questions concerning the property at Fordham, Dec. 30, 1855. The

It noted that the Archbishop had failed to implement the sixth clause of the convention of 1845. He had indeed offered a church, but never a house. And the church was so burdened with debts that it had been refused. This offer, in the opinion of the writer of the memorandum, could not be considered the offer of a gift. Instead of giving the Jesuits a church, the Archbishop had deprived them of the title of their own Church of St. Francis Xavier.

The memorandum recalled Bishop Hughes' pastoral letter of February 10, 1847. That letter stated that the Jesuits had received St. John's College as a gift and that they had assumed the debts of the college, which amounted to \$40,000. It went on to declare that if the Jesuits did not carry out the terms of the gift the property could be reclaimed by the Bishop of New York. The memorandum reflected the unceasing Jesuit uneasiness about that last statement. It maintained the constant Jesuit contention that the Society had not received the college as a gift, but had purchased it. And the writer declared:

Now, to my knowledge, (and, I believe, I am well informed about the matter) no mention was ever made of accepting the debts of the College; we never accepted them nor were ever applied to by any creditors of the former owners. We simply consented to pay \$40,000, and we paid of that sum 14,000 d., to the Bishop himself, and to no one else.

First attempts at settlement

In the Spring of 1856, Hus, about to leave to inspect the Jesuit houses in Canada, paid a call on Archbishop Hughes.¹² At the meeting, Archbishop Hughes advanced the idea that the difficulty at Fordham could be settled if the Jesuits purchased the seminary buildings. Tellier, the rector of St. John's, who reported this meeting declared that the Archbishop has shown at the meeting his obvious disgust with the Jesuits. He passed on to the Jesuit general Mr. Hargous' advice that the best thing for the Jesuits to do was to give the Archbishop a year's notice and clear out of the diocese. Tellier declared that the conflict in New York was due but to two causes; all the other reasons advanced to explain the trouble were simply pretexts. Archbishop Hughes badly needed more priests. While many vocations came from the Jesuit colleges, the fathers

author of the memorandum was probably Thomas Legouais.

¹² ArchRSJ, Tellier to Beckx, April 29, 1856.

would not, to the great displeasure of Hughes, turn their colleges into minor seminaries. And the Archbishop has "*un esprit extraordinaire de domination; il a besoin de dominer.*"¹³ He was enraged by the fact that the Jesuits had a majority on the St. John's Board of Trustees and could thus curb his autocratic rule over that institution.

Soon after Hus had departed for Canada, Archbishop Hughes made a new demarche. His lawyer sent a letter to the rector of St. John's delineating the boundaries desired by the Archbishop and requesting the Jesuits' approval.¹⁴ Tellier immediately informed the superior general in Montreal. In response, Hus instructed Tellier to inform Glover that the Jesuits would willingly make a gift of the desired land to the Archbishop.¹⁵ He further offered to give the prelate a strip of land, suitable for a road across the college property to the land of the seminary.

Before Hughes had transferred the Fordham property to the Jesuits, he had given to the New York and Harlem Rail Road a right of way along the western boundary of the property. This right of way, comprising about eight acres, had isolated a few strips of property to the west of the railroad; it had further cut off access to the seminary from the west. The seminary lands, in the north-western corner of the original purchase, could then be approached only from the south, and that meant over the college lands. No easement permitting access to the seminary over the college property was written into the deed of sale of 1846; but the practice was allowed to the seminarians and their professors. Several years after the Jesuits took possession of St. John's, the Archbishop had made the chapel of St. Joseph's Seminary a parish church. Consequently, the college lands were now used, not by a handful of seminarians, but by hundreds of parishoners. To get rid of this annoyance, Hus

¹³ It would appear that Tellier's view was just. According to Orestes Brownson, the Archbishop declared: "I will suffer no man in my diocese that I cannot control. I will either put him down, or he shall put me down." And Brownson believed the Archbishop. "The Most Rev. John Hughes, D.D.," *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, Last Series 2 (1874) 84, cited in Henry J. Browne, "Archbishop Hughes and Western Colonization," *Catholic Historical Review*, 36 (1950) 284.

¹⁴ NYPA, Glover to the "Rev. Gent. of St. John's College," March 30, 1856.

¹⁵ NYPA, Hus to Tellier, April 19, 1856.

offered to the Archbishop a strip of land twenty-five feet broad immediately to the east of the railroad. He asked, in exchange, that the prelate pay half the cost of a fence to separate the college lands from the proposed road.

But when Tellier received these instructions, he hesitated to pass them on. Instead, he called together his consultors and discussed the letter with them.¹⁶ They agreed that to offer the Archbishop as a gift what he demanded as his right would only anger Hughes the more. But if the Archbishop could be inflexible, so could the superior general. He instructed Tellier to reassemble the consultors, read them the rebuke in his new letter, and then carry out the instructions in his first letter.¹⁷ Soon thereafter, Tellier reported to Hus that his directions had been fulfilled.¹⁸

There the matter hung in abeyance for several months. As the regular meeting of the St. John's Board of Trustees approached, Hus drew up his instructions to the Jesuit members of the Board.¹⁹ The fathers were not to consent to a new deed of sale to replace the deed of July 15, 1846. Instead, they were to propose that a codicil be added to the original deed, and that the codicil should state that the Archbishop had requested more land and that the Jesuits had consented. If the Archbishop objected to receiving the land as a gift, the fathers were to propose that an exchange be made. Part of the college lands was used as a farm, connected with the college buildings by a road that ran over the southeast corner of the seminary property. The Jesuit trustees were to propose that the land occupied by this road be exchanged for the land the Archbishop wished to add to the southern boundary of the seminary lands. And the Jesuit trustees were to raise another point. According to the deed of sale of 1846, the Archbishop had transferred to the Jesuits the lands lying west of the railroad. The Archbishop claimed these strips of land. The trustees were to advance the Jesuit claims.

The Board of Trustees met on September 11, 1856. The minutes inform us:

¹⁶ NYPA, Tellier, to Hus, April 24, 1856.

¹⁷ NYPA, Hus to Tellier, April 20, 1856.

¹⁸ NYPA, Tellier to Hus, May 13, 1856.

¹⁹ NYPA, Hus, Directions to Jesuit Trustees, Sept. 7, 1856; another draft, dated Sept. 10, 1856, gives the same instructions.

On motion of Thos. J. Glover, the committee appointed in the last meeting were called upon to give their report. But the committee from various circumstances, not being prepared to give a report, and not being in number for further action, two new members were proposed, Wm. S. Murphy, as trustee and as member of the committee, in lieu of John Blettner, resigned; and Terence Donnelly as member of the committee in lieu of Thos. Legouais, absent.²⁰

The effort of the Archbishop to attain his ends through the Board of Trustees had met a setback. Glover tried to retrieve the situation by a motion that the Board should reconvene within a month. The motion was seconded by Fr. William Gockeln and passed unanimously.²¹

But according to the minute-book of the Board, that meeting was not held. The Board did not meet again until November 7, 1857 when "it was decided by majority of votes that the Committee, who have not yet (been) enabled to report on the matter of the Survey, be declared a standing committee."²² Glover was conspicuous at this meeting by his absence. He never again appeared, though duly notified each year, at the meetings of the Board. Finally, in 1863, his seat was declared vacant and a successor elected.²³

Displeasure

The Archbishop was not pleased at this repulse. He angrily told one of the Fordham fathers that the Jesuits were trying to cut off his access to his own seminary, and that he was not going to stand for it, if he had to take the Jesuits into every court in the United States.²⁴

Towards the end of 1856, Hus called together his consultors to review the situation and to see what could be done to put an end to the dispute.²⁵ The fathers consulted were not inconsiderable men: Remigius Tellier, William Stack Murphy, John Larkin and Isidore Daubresse. They agreed that an approach to the Archbishop should be made by the superior general. The approach should not be made

²⁰ FUA, Minutes of Board, Sept. 11, 1856.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*, Nov. 7, 1857.

²³ *Ibid.*, Dec. 10, 1863.

²⁴ NYPA, Hus to Tellier, Oct. 29, 1856. The priest to whom the Archbishop spoke was John Larkin, S.J.

²⁵ ArchRSJ, Hus to Beckx, Dec. 3, 1856.

by letter; past experience had taught them that a letter would probably only anger the Archbishop the more, and would remain unanswered. In a personal interview, the superior should bring up the question of the sixth article of the convention of 1845, and note that the Jesuits, through the failure to implement this article, had lost an income that over a decade would have mounted to an appreciable sum. If the Archbishop expressed himself as not bound by the sixth article, he should be asked to agree with the Jesuit contention that they were not bound by the ninth clause.²⁶

But if the interview was ever had, it was without success. In the early Spring of 1857, Hus reported to the Jesuit general that the fathers in New York were under heavy pressure.²⁷ The Jesuit offer to the Archbishop to make him a present of the land he desired or to exchange it for a portion of the seminary land had been met by an angry rejection. "*C'est un caractère inabordable! Il faut que tous plie sous ses volontés suprêmes.*" So desperate did the situation appear that Hus thought it necessary to prepare a statement of the case and send it on to the general, so that it might be presented, if necessity demanded, to the Roman Congregation of the Propaganda, or to the Pope himself.²⁸

Since Hus informed the general that the statement had the approval of his consultors, it may be accepted as an official Jesuit view of the controversy. The document declares that Bishop Hughes had purchased the land at Fordham in 1839 for \$29,000, and had spent another \$10,000 in preparing the buildings there for use as a college. Of the 106 acres, Hughes had disposed of eight, worth \$5,000, to the railroad, and had reserved another nine, worth \$6,000, for his seminary. The Jesuits had paid him \$40,000 for what had cost him \$28,000—and Archbishop Hughes had retained the free disposal of the money he had collected for the college.

Jesuit assumption of the burden of the college had brought the prelate a number of advantages, which the document lists.

1. Archbishop Hughes has the title of the founder of the College of St. John's.

²⁶ NYPA, Acta consult., Dec. 4, 1856.

²⁷ ArchRSJ, Hus to Beckx, March 7, 1857.

²⁸ ArchRSJ, Hus, Situation materielle des deux Etablissements de la C¹e de Jésus à New York, March 5, 1857.

2. He has full and free use of the money given for the purpose of assisting the college.

3. He has made a net profit of \$12,000.

4. He has an annual income of \$2,000—the 5% interest on the mortgage of \$40,000 assumed by the Jesuits to pay for the college.

5. He has acquired the benefits of a Catholic college, and none of the worries.

6. He is freed of the tasks of administering the college and recruiting a faculty.

7. He has obtained a substantial number of Jesuit priests to assist in the works of his diocese.

8. The secular priests who constituted the college faculty have been released for service in the diocese.

9. He had secured a trained faculty for his seminary.

10. Other bishops would gladly underwrite the expenses of establishing a Jesuit college in their dioceses. Archbishop Hughes secured the services of the Jesuits without cost to himself,—indeed, at a large profit.

11. And the Archbishop has all these advantages guaranteed, or he recovers full possession of his college, developed and enriched.

Other side of the coin

The statement then looked on the other side of the coin. It found that the Society of Jesus had not profited from the removal of its Kentucky Mission to New York.

1. The Jesuits had, in the service of the archdiocese of New York, used up the financial resources they had brought to New York.

2. They had not been able, during their eleven years in New York, substantially to reduce their debts.

3. They found their work at St. John's College crippled by the cramping clause.

The statement noted that Archbishop Hughes had not carried out his obligation to make the Jesuits a gift of a church and residence in New York City. On the contrary, when the fathers were planning their church on 16th Street, the Archbishop, as a *sine qua non* for his permission to take up a collection in the diocese, had

demanded the title to the church and the land on which it stood. The Jesuits felt constrained to agree. Consequently, the Archbishop now had title to a church worth over \$60,000, which had cost him only a permission to take up a collection.

In the Spring of 1857, the Archbishop made another move. In reporting the action to the general, Hus noted that these demarches occurred only when the superior general was out of New York City.²⁹ It had happened under Boulanger. Now, when Hus was in Canada on his regular visitation of the Jesuit houses there, Hughes had sent Glover, his lawyer, to the Rector of Fordham with a new deed, "*avec sommation de l'accepter tel quel.*" By letter, Hus had instructed Tellier to reply that he could do nothing in the absence of the Jesuit superior general. On Hus' return to New York, he arranged a meeting with Glover on neutral ground. After keeping Hus waiting an hour, Glover finally appeared, only to put forth the Archbishop's demands "*en termes d'un absolutisme ridicule.*" To Hus' representations, Glover answered with disdainful expressions; a dozen times he declared that the Jesuit knew nothing about the management of affairs and that he did not want to discuss the matter with him. Finally, Hus proposed that the Jesuits delegate their lawyer to negotiate with him. Glover agreed "*d'un air triomphant.*"

The Jesuits' lawyer was Charles O'Connor, one of the outstanding members of the American bar. He made a careful examination of all the documents and had several conferences with the Archbishop's lawyer. At a conference with O'Connor and Glover, Hus asked O'Connor, who was a personal friend of the Archbishop, to seek means of conciliation and to make suggestions to end the strife. Hus proposed that, if the Archbishop agreed, both parties would accept O'Connor's proposals. Glover expressed the opinion that Archbishop Hughes would accept O'Connor's arbitration.

O'Connor thereupon drew up a statement of the case and appended his suggestions for an amicable and just solution.³⁰ He found that in the deed of sale of July 15, 1846, the Archbishop had reserved, from his original purchase of 106 acres, only the eight or nine acres for the seminary. No mention had been made of the grant of eight acres to the railroad, nor had the bishop reserved, as

²⁹ ArchRSJ, Hus to Beckx, Aug. 4, 1857.

³⁰ NYPA, O'Connor, Statement of case, May 7, 1857.

he claimed, the strips of land west of the railroad, nor had a right of way over the college lands to the seminary been stipulated. Now it was claimed that there were several errors in the deed, due either to the surveyor or the scribe. The southern boundary of the seminary land should have been drawn forty links (twenty-five feet) further south; the land west of the railroad and a right of way over the college lands should have been reserved.

O'Connor's opinion was that, if the matter were taken to the civil courts, the decision would give the Archbishop the additional forty links and the right of way, but would confirm the Jesuits' title to the land west of the railroad. O'Connor proposed that, since a public road had recently been constructed west of the railroad, an access to the seminary over the railroad be constructed, and the Archbishop surrender the claim to a right of way over the college lands. He further proposed that the Jesuits deed over to the prelate the additional forty links south of the seminary and the lands west of the railroad, while they received from the Archbishop that portion of the seminary land occupied by their farm road.

Two reservations

Hus, once more in Canada, expressed his willingness to accept O'Connor's solution.³¹ He made but two reservations: he would prefer to have the changes effected, not by a new deed, but by a codicil to the original deed; and he would like something done about the fancy-fence which the railroad, in exchange for its right of way, had agreed to build, but had failed to do so.

O'Connor had not sent a copy of his proposals to the Archbishop or his lawyer. As he informed Tellier, he had not been established as umpire, nor was he Hughes' legal adviser.³² He had received a request from Glover for a copy of his statement, and he wanted Tellier's instructions in the matter. The rector of St. John's told O'Connor he might send a copy to the Archbishop's lawyer, with the notation that, since the prelate had not agreed to be bound by O'Connor's decision, neither were the Jesuits.³³ O'Connor sent the desired copy to Glover.

³¹ NYPA, Hus to Tellier, May 15, 1857.

³² NYPA, O'Connor to Tellier, June 1, 1857.

³³ NYPA, Tellier to O'Connor, June 3, 1857.

The upshot was an uproar. Archbishop Hughes sent a letter to Tellier stating:

I have understood that the Jesuits in my diocese have been making appeals to some of our lay-Catholics in the way of seeking redress or securing sympathy on account of real or imaginary grievances which your Society have had to suffer at my hands. This appeal to the laity is a new feature in our ecclesiastical discipline.³⁴

The letter went on to charge that the Jesuits "have selected umpires without my knowledge or consent," and that these umpires have not heard the prelate's side of the case but only "your very absurd and unfounded charges." As a consequence, the lay Catholics must now consider their Archbishop "as a prelate deficient in honor, in veracity, in honesty and in candor." The letter ended with a demand that the Jesuits submit a list of their charges to the Archbishop that he might know of what he was accused and be able to defend himself.

The rector of Xavier also received a letter, requiring him, if the practice were not being followed, to keep separate accounts of all the income and expenditures of the parish church on 16th Street.³⁵ The Archbishop also demanded a written account of all monies received and disbursed since the date when the church was first planned.

Tellier acknowledged receipt of the Archbishop's letter, and informed him that it had been forwarded to the superior general.³⁶ The rector of St. John's expressed his grief at the accusations of the Archbishop and declared that he did not know of any basis for the charges. If laymen had been introduced into the dispute, they were first introduced by the Archbishop himself, through the proposal made to the Board of Trustees in November 1855. When the committee demanded by the Archbishop had been selected by the Board, Glover refused to serve on it, alleging that he was Hughes' legal adviser:

That a Trustee of our Board could be at the same time the counsel that might be called upon to uphold interests at variance with our claims appeared again very strange to Father Hus and to us all. . . . It is then, *and then only*, that for the first time we applied to another counsel than to Mr. Glover.

³⁴ NYPA, Hughes to Tellier, June 24, 1857.

³⁵ NYPA, Hughes to Michael Driscoll, S.J., June 24, 1857.

³⁶ NYPA, Tellier to Hughes, June 25, 1857.

Only then did the Jesuits apply to a counsel other than Mr. Glover.

No freedom to lie

While this matter was still hanging fire, a delegation of Jesuits from Fordham waited on Hughes to extend the customary annual invitation to preside at the commencement of St. John's College. Judging by the report of a member of the delegation, the interview was stormy.³⁷ The Archbishop declared that he would accept no more Jesuit invitations. "How *dare* you, continued he, assert that I had *sold* the land to the railroad, and pocketed the money?" He castigated the impudence of Hus "to tell me in my own house that he could cut off all access to my seminary." He said that the Jesuits' freedom of speech did not extend to freedom to lie. He demanded that the Jesuits call together their Board of Trustees. "If I do not succeed [in] convincing you of the injury you have done me, all the world shall know it. You have done your best to *de-grade* me."

A few days after this meeting, the Archbishop once more demanded that the Jesuits send him a list of their accusations against him, and summon their Trustees to a meeting at which the Jesuits' lawyer was to be present.³⁸ "Things cannot remain long in their present position, and the sooner I know the worst that has been said of me by the Jesuits in regard to the relation between them and me the better." Tellier's answer opened with a declaration of sorrow that the Archbishop had been put to the trouble of a second communication.³⁹ He informed the prelate that Fr. Hus was still absent, but would take care of the matter on his return in the near future. The letter ended with a repetition of the invitation to preside at the college commencement.

But the Archbishop was not willing to wait. He demanded that Hargous, the lay president of the Board of Trustees, call an immediate meeting, and request Charles O'Connor to be present.⁴⁰ Undoubtedly, Hargous felt compelled to comply with the Archbishop's demand, and the trustees were notified by letter,—at least,

³⁷ NYPA, Murphy, Account of the Archbishop's reception of the Jesuits, July 9, 1857.

³⁸ NYPA, Hughes to Tellier, July 12, 1857.

³⁹ NYPA, Tellier to Hughes, July 13, 1857.

⁴⁰ NYPA, Tellier to Hus, July 21, 1857.

some of them. The rector of St. John's was surprised that of the three Jesuit trustees at the college, only William Murphy received a notification; neither he nor William Gockeln received summonses to the meeting. From the silence of the minute book of the Board of Trustees, it appears that this meeting was not held.⁴¹ Again frustrated in his attempt to obtain his desires through the Board of Trustees, the Archbishop again tried a step that had previously failed. Once more, through his lawyer, he sent to the Jesuits a new deed of transfer of St. John's to replace the original deed of 1846.⁴²

A day or two after this last move of the Archbishop, the superior general returned to New York. Immediately he assembled his consultants to consider the situation.⁴³ Since the Archbishop's demand for a list of the complaints against him could no longer be ignored in the face of his repeated demands, it was decided to send him such a list. Several drafts were made before agreement among the consultants was reached.⁴⁴ Nor was unanimity reached. Legouais refused to approve the draft which was sent to the Archbishop; he agreed with every statement of fact, but insisted that words used were too strong.⁴⁵

Hus sums up his case

On August 17, 1857, the superior general sent a letter to the Archbishop embodying the Jesuits' complaints.⁴⁶ Hus denied that the Jesuits had introduced innovations into ecclesiastical discipline, and noted that they had consulted a lawyer, professionally bound to secrecy, only after the Archbishop had given them the example. He then listed the complaints.

1. Without any forewarning, the Archbishop had had introduced at a meeting of the St. John's Board of Trustees a motion to deprive the true owners of the land of some of their property, a motion that the Board was incompetent, in point of honor or of conscience, to act upon.

⁴¹ FUA, Minutes of Board. The Board did not meet until November 10, 1857.

⁴² NYPA, Glover to Tellier (?), August 11, 1857.

⁴³ NYPA, Acta consult., Aug. 13, 1857.

⁴⁴ NYPA, Acta consult. Aug. 20, Aug. 26, 1857.

⁴⁵ ArchRSJ, Hust to Beckx, Aug. 20, 1857.

⁴⁶ ArchRSJ, Hus to Hughes, Aug. 17, 1857. This was the copy Hus sent to the Jesuit general.

2. Ten years after the Archbishop had sold St. John's College on his own terms, he now wanted to nullify his own deed of sale.

3. The Archbishop now advances, as his rights, intentions he kept secret when he sold the college to the Jesuits.

4. The Archbishop wants arbitrarily to deprive the Society of its own property.

5. When St. John's was sold at its full price, it was with the understanding that the Archbishop would see to it that the railroad would fulfill its obligation to construct a fancy-fence between its right of way and the college property. This obligation has not been carried out.

6. The Jesuits purchased the land free of servitudes. It was understood that the seminarians would have right of passage over the college lands. Since then, the college chapel has been made a parish church, and hundreds of people trespass on the college lands.

7. The Jesuits have been unable to get possession of the strips of land they own west of the railroad. The Jesuits protest against the bishop's pastoral letter of February 10, 1847, in which their title of ownership of the college is called into question.

8. The Archbishop has never fulfilled his solemn promise to give the Society the gift of a church and a house in New York City. To serve the prelate and his people, the Jesuits moved here at their own expense. At their own expense, they have trained their men and paid their way from Europe. The Jesuits have carried out their part of the convention of November 24, 1845; the Archbishop has not. To serve the Church of New York, the Jesuits have spent more than \$60,000. Though these disbursements were made to serve the Archdiocese of New York, the Archbishop has not borne any of this financial burden.

9. Against all law and equity, the Archbishop exacted from the Jesuits title to possession of the Church of St. Francis Xavier which had been built at Jesuit expense.

10. The Archbishop has restricted the spiritual ministry of the Society, by ordering the fathers not to hear the confessions of men, save in the regular confessionals in their church, which are always besieged by women.

11. Finally, the Archbishop has ordered the Jesuits to convoke

their Board of Trustees and have their lawyer present. Nor has he given any reason for this unusual proceeding.⁴⁷

Apparently the Jesuits were justified in their belief that it was useless to write letters to the Archbishop. Though he must have received it a day or so after it was despatched on August 17, the Jesuits had received no answer in October⁴⁸ or even by the middle of November.⁴⁹

Counter charges

But the Archbishop did answer in November, not by writing to the Jesuits but by sending counter-charges in a letter to be read before the St. John's Board of Trustees.⁵⁰ He asserted that misunderstandings have grown out of "an irregular course adopted by the Jesuits themselves, in appealing to third parties." The Archbishop had desired to present his side of the case to the Board, but his request for such an opportunity "has been steadily denied and disregarded." The prelate expressed his opinion that the Jesuits did not deliberately intend to degrade him, but the effects of their actions have been to do just that:

They had charged him with attempting to abridge [sic] them of rights which were theirs, and by a process substantially equivalent to fraud. They had charged him with having denied them advantages which he had promised them on their coming to the Diocese. They have dogged his transactions in matters which had occurred before their coming to the diocese in order to find out in what particular they had been defrauded, in reference to many transactions with which they never had, have not now, and never shall have any right whatever to interfere.

On all these points, the undersigned wished to show them, in a private and friendly way, how mistaken and erroneous were the views which they took up and calumniously circulated, more or less, among the Clergy and laity of this Diocese, whilst they carefully concealed from him the process of investigations in which they were engaged.

⁴⁷ This final complaint is disingenuous. Although in his letter to Tellier and, apparently, to Hargous, the Archbishop did not mention the reason why he wanted the Board to meet, it is clear that he intended to appear at the meeting and have the Board listen to his refutation of the charges allegedly brought against him by the Jesuits.

⁴⁸ NYPA, Acta consult., Oct. 4, 1857.

⁴⁹ ArchRSJ, Hus to Ambrose Rubillon, S.J., Nov. 17, 1857. Rubillon was the French assistant to the Jesuit general.

⁵⁰ NYPA, Hughes to Board of Trustees, Nov. 9, 1857.

The Archbishop declared that he did not bring these accusations against all the Jesuits in his diocese, but against their officials and superiors:

The undersigned is prepared to prove that the Jesuits are unwarranted by truth, unwarranted by justice, unwarranted by right, whether by positive agreement or otherwise, in every calumnious charge they have made against the Archbishop.

The Archbishop then requested the Board of Trustees to appoint some of their members to study the prelate's case, not as judges of his conduct but as witnesses to the truth of his charges. He finished by declaring:

The Jesuits have placed themselves with regard to these matters, in such a position, that the Archbishop need only publish the truth to create a profound scandal among their best friends.

No mention of this letter is made in the minutes of the meeting of the Board of Trustees on November 10, 1857.⁵¹ The letter, however, was read to the Board by its president, Peter Hargous.⁵² After the Board adjourned, Hargous sought an interview with the Jesuit superior general. He informed Hus that, during the twenty-nine years he had known the Archbishop, he had never heard—nor ever expected to hear—Hughes admit he was in the wrong. He declared that the only way the Jesuits could get their rights was by an appeal to the Pope. Hus informed the general that he, too, believed that an appeal should be made, for he was convinced that the Archbishop would obey no instructions save those of the supreme pontiff. He went on to report that the Archbishop was speaking angrily about the Jesuits to anyone who would listen and stating that he was thinking about taking the title of St. John's College away from them.

A few days after the Board adjourned, some of its members held an unofficial meeting to explore avenues of possible reconciliation.⁵³ Hus and Murphy represented the Jesuits; Fr. Starrs, Hughes' vicar general, and Peter Hargous were the other persons present. The

⁵¹ FUA, Minutes of Board, Nov. 10, 1857. Glover, the Archbishop's lawyer, was absent from this and subsequent meetings of the Board.

⁵² ArchRSJ, Hus to Rubillon, Nov. 17, 1857.

⁵³ ArchRSJ, Hus to Rubillon, Dec. 5, 1857. This meeting took place on Nov. 23, 1857.

meeting, however, produced no results. It strengthened Hus' opinion that the only recourse left to the Jesuits was an appeal to the Pope. He declared that, save for the scandal that would result, he and a number of his consultors would like to move out of the archdiocese.

The Archbishop's letter to the Board could not be ignored. Hus called his consultors together to discuss what measures should be taken. It was decided that an answer should be made, and addressed to the president of the Board.⁵⁴ Hus forwarded a copy of this letter to Rome.⁵⁵ It followed the pattern of Hus' letter to the Archbishop of August 17, 1857. Once again, Hus insisted that the Jesuits had bought St. John's, not received it as a gift. Once again, he listed the advantages accruing to the Archbishop through the coming of the Jesuits to his diocese. Hus went on to compile another list of the Jesuit efforts for the Church in New York.

1. In leaving Kentucky, they had sacrificed large properties there.
2. They had spent \$60,000 of their own money in New York.
3. They had further incurred debts of more than that amount.
4. At their own expense, they had devoted to the service of the Archdiocese of New York, for over ten years, twenty priests, thirty brothers, and ten scholastics.
5. At their own expense, they had trained, for the service of New York, large numbers of scholastics—eighteen in France, ten at Fordham and fifteen in Canada.
6. They had served the glory of God in New York.
7. They had worked and saved to pay the interest on the debts on the College of St. John's and the Church and College of St. Francis Xavier.

To this letter, the superior general appended another list of the steps to be taken to restore peace between the Jesuits and the Archbishop.

1. Let the Archbishop be content with the seminary property as it is.
2. Let the Jesuits have peaceful possession of the rest of the land at Fordham.

⁵⁴ NYPA, Acta consult., Nov. 13; Nov. 26, 1857.

⁵⁵ ArchRSJ, Hus to Hargous, Nov. 26, 1857.

3. Let the Archbishop see to it that the fence between the railroad and the college lands be constructed.

4. Let the Archbishop give the Jesuits the promised church and residence in New York City, and further indemnify them for the dozen years of revenue they had lost through failure to implement the promise.

5. Let the Archbishop restore to the Jesuits the title of their Church of St. Francis Xavier. If he desires, the Jesuits will turn over to him the \$6,116 they had received from the collection taken up throughout the diocese to help defray the cost of construction of the church.

6. Let the Archbishop turn over to St. John's College the legacy left to it in the will of Mrs. Eliza McCarthy.⁵⁶

7. Let the Archbishop cease his criticism of the Jesuit methods of education.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ When Bishop Hughes was preparing to open the College of St. John, he had made an appeal for the college throughout his diocese. The Mrs. McCarthy in question had then made a will which included a legacy of \$10,000 for St. John's College. Though she died shortly after, the will was not probated until 1855. The fathers had not received the money by the end of 1857; ArchRSJ, Hus to Rubilon, Nov. 17, 1857. The lawyer in charge of the probate informed the fathers that since the will stipulated that the money was to be turned over to Bishop Hughes for the College of St. John's, the money had been delivered to the Archbishop. Fr. Starrs informed the Jesuits that the Archbishop was using the money, stipulated for the College of St. John, to pay the expenses of the students in the Seminary of St. Joseph; ArchRSJ, Hus to Rubillon, Jan. 20, 1858.

⁵⁷ The import of this complaint may refer to a number of incidents. Later the Archbishop was to admit that he spoke too strongly when he wrote to Boulanger asserting that the Jesuits in his diocese had done nothing to advance the work of education; ArchRSJ, Legouais, Procès-verbal, Sept. 28, 1858. It may also refer to the criticism of Jesuit education, as favoring the growth of infidelity and as inimical to the republican institutions of the United States, which had appeared in the *Freeman's Journal* in 1849-1850. Since the *Freeman's Journal* very frequently reflected Hughes' opinions, and since the prelate did nothing to prevent the publications of these strictures nor did he publicly reprehend them, the Jesuits were very much perturbed; ArchRSJ, Ignatius Brocard, S.J., to John Roothaan, S.J., Oct. 6, Dec. 15, 1849, Jan. 6, 1850. Brocard was then provincial of the Maryland Province, and Roothaan was the Jesuit general. As a result of these attacks, the fathers at St. John's College decided to cease the publication of the college prospectus in the *Freeman's Journal*; FUA, Acta consultationum Collegii Sti. Joannis, May 17, 1850.

8. Let the Archbishop not consider the ninth clause of the convention of 1845 as giving him the right to preempt the College of St. John's.

9. Let the Jesuits be free to mortgage their property at Fordham, or sell part of it, to get the necessary financial resources for further construction.

10. Let the Fordham College be freed of the annoyance caused by the trespassing of hundreds of people on their way to the parish church, formerly the seminary chapel.

Hargous later reported to Hus that he had passed on the letter to Starrs, and told the vicar general that, if he thought it advisable, he might show it to the Archbishop.⁵⁸

The Jesuit general intervenes

From Rome, Hus received the information that the Jesuit general had decided that the dispute would have to be brought to the attention of the Congregation of the Propaganda.⁵⁹ The superior general declared that the New York fathers approved of that step. But he suggested that the general might first intervene by a direct letter to the Archbishop.

The general may have been more inclined to follow Hus' suggestion after he read a long review of the situation from the pen of Thomas Legouais, one of the consultors of the New York-Canada Mission.⁶⁰ Legouais noted that the enrollment of St. John's College in 1858 was about 130, a notable drop from the high of 180 in 1856. He attributed the falling off to the hostility shown the school by the Archbishop and the secular clergy. How to handle the Archbishop, Legouais frankly confessed he did not know. Every attempt that had been made to mitigate his wrath had only made him still more angry and less inclined to conciliation. For some times, things had been fairly quiet, but the fathers apprehensively judged that it was the quiet before the storm. "*A longo tempore silet, quasi meditans. CC [consultors] non dubitant quin se paret ad fulmen subito feriendum.*" They believed it possible that the prelate would accuse the Jesuits in Rome, and more than probable that he would

⁵⁸ ArchRSJ, Hus to Rubillon, Jan. 20, 1858.

⁵⁹ ArchRSJ, Hus to Rubillon, Feb. 1, 1858.

⁶⁰ ArchRSJ, Legouais to Beckx, Feb. 12, 1858.

attempt to eject them from Fordham, for he had frequently expressed his regret that he had given the college to the Jesuits.

Though giving Hus full marks for good intentions, Legouais questioned his ability to settle the dispute. The problem of the seminary boundaries had been practically settled by Boulanger. But when Hus took office, he reopened the question and added conditions which would never be granted by Hughes. Instead of one bone of contention, Hus had dug up four or five. In the Archbishop's circle, it was asserted that the Jesuits were being difficult due to their anger at being expelled from the diocesan seminary. Legouais regretted the fact that Hus had brought forth the sixth clause of the convention of 1845 and, on that basis, had advanced a claim for a church and a house and a further demand for \$50,000-60,000 in lost revenue. These claims could not but anger the Archbishop the more. Since they had been brought forth, he had refused to have any communication with the superior general. Although Legouais had opposed these claims from the beginning, most of the consultors, he noted, approved Hus' stand.

But the thunderbolt apprehensively expected by the Jesuits did not fall. Although the superior general reported that the Archbishop was announcing that he had never promised the Jesuits the gift of a church and house,⁶¹ and was accusing Hus of discussing private matters with laymen,⁶² Hughes made no move.

Then the Jesuit general, adopting the suggestion of Hus, intervened by a personal letter to the Archbishop.⁶³ He expressed his regret over the dispute, the more regrettable in that it concerned only temporal affairs. If his subjects had carried frankness or their demands too far, the general asked the Archbishop's pardon. The New York fathers found the present state of tension unbearable. But the general was reluctant to appeal to Propaganda. He asked the Archbishop for any suggestions of measures to restore peace.

In his response, the Archbishop charged the Jesuits in New York of "calumnies secretly and stealthily uttered by them against me."⁶⁴ He accused them of having "traduced me to laymen, without giving

⁶¹ ArchRSJ, Hus to Rubillon, March 9, 1858.

⁶² ArchRSJ, Hus to Rubillon, April 8, 1858.

⁶³ NYPA, Beckx to Hughes, May 8, 1858.

⁶⁴ ArchRSJ, Hughes to Beckx, June 3, 1858.

me an opportunity of explaining." He requested that a conference be arranged in which he would confront the New York Jesuits and prove the falseness of their charges. He asked that the general appoint two of his subjects to attend the conference in the capacity of witnesses. These witnesses should not be members of the New York-Canada Mission. Hughes suggested two members of the Maryland Province, Charles Stonestreet, a former provincial of Maryland, and John McElroy, an intimate friend of the Archbishop and one of the outstanding Jesuits in America.

Both parties in New York were quite ready to accept the intervention of the general. Before the general's response to the Archbishop's letter had reached America, the consultors of the New York-Canada Mission had decided that no one in America could restore peace and that the general should intervene.⁶⁵ And the general's initiative notably changed the attitude of the Archbishop. Although he had refused the invitation to preside over the commencement of St. John's, he unexpectedly appeared at Fordham on commencement day.⁶⁶ From the pulpit of the seminary chapel, he announced that he never intended the chapel should be used permanently as a parish church, and offered the parish a site west of the railroad for their future church. Then the Archbishop attended the commencement exercises, addressed the audience, and afterwards inspected the college buildings.

Beginnings of arbitration

No doubt the general wondered how the conference the Archbishop wanted solely to justify himself could advance the cause of peace. But since Hughes obviously thought his proposal of importance, the general acceded to the request. Stonestreet and McElroy were instructed to attend the conference and report their impressions to Jesuit headquarters.⁶⁷ The New York Jesuits were told to attend and to bring their complaints as the Archbishop required.⁶⁸

Since it was the Archbishop who wanted the confrontation, the arrangement of details was left in his hands. He called the meeting

⁶⁵ NYPA, Acta consult., Aug. 26, 1858.

⁶⁶ ArchRSJ, Legouais to Rubillon, Sept. 17, 1858.

⁶⁷ NYPA, Beckx to McElroy, Aug. 14, 1858.

⁶⁸ NYPA, Hus to Tellier (?), Aug. 15, 1858.

for 10 A.M. on September 21, in the sacristy of the Cathedral.⁶⁹ Eight persons were to be present—the Archbishop, his vicar general, two secretaries whom the Archbishop would appoint, two New York Jesuits, and the two Maryland Jesuits as witnesses. The sole purpose of the meeting the Archbishop underlined in a letter to the superior general:⁷⁰

You are aware that imputations have been put more or less into circulation by the Society of Jesus in this Diocese (for I will not speak of individuals), well calculated to degrade me, both in my own estimation and in the estimation of others, if they were true. The examination of their truth will be the object of our meeting. If true, I shall have nothing more to say—if not true, I will expect that these imputations shall be frankly and fully retracted in writing.

The form of the proceeding will be framed exclusively with the view to test the truth of what has been alleged against me by your Society.

As he informed the general, Hus wrote to the Archbishop to request some changes.⁷¹ He asked that the Jesuits be allowed to name one of the secretaries; that before the prelate declare that the Jesuits spread calumnies, he prove that they uttered any; that he inform the fathers in advance, at least summarily, what the calumnies were, who said them, where and before whom; and, finally, that the conference be broadened to cover all the points of disagreement between the Jesuits and the Archbishop. Hus went on to report that McElroy, after he had visited Hughes, had expressed the opinion that if the Archbishop did not get everything he demanded, he would appeal to Rome—a fact which neither Hus nor any of his consultors would be inclined to doubt. He also reported an incident as indicative of the Archbishop's frame of mind. A Jesuit priest, Claude Pernot, had requested his discharge from the Society. Without waiting for his dismissal letters, he had left the Jesuit community and gone to New York. Although the Archbishop could not know whether or not Pernot was an apostate from religion, he at once appointed him pastor of one of the city churches. "*N'importe, il se separe de la Compagnie, donc il est digne de toutes faveurs.*"

Fr. William Murphy carried Hus' letter to the Archbishop, who seemed quite pleased with it.⁷² Hughes agreed that the Jesuits

⁶⁹ NYPA, Hughes to McElroy, Sept. 4, 1858.

⁷⁰ NYPA, Hughes to Hus, Sept. 4, 1858.

⁷¹ ArchRSJ, Hus to Beckx, Sept. 10, 1858.

⁷² NYPA, Murphy to Hus, Sept. 9, Sept. 10, 1858.

should appoint their own secretary. He promised to send the Jesuits the list of his complaints and requested that they send him theirs. He found the other points suggested by the superior general were also acceptable. The Archbishop notified Murphy that, since McElroy could not be present in New York on September 20, the date of the conference had been shifted to September 28. He told Murphy that he had no legal right to the land west of the railroad or south of the seminary property. But he wanted that land, and in exchange he would give the Jesuits the seminary land occupied by the Jesuits' road to their farm. Murphy's hopes for some substantial good from the conference were raised by the Archbishop's declaration that "the talk among priests and laity about our dispute had happily died away"; "that occasionally carried away by his feelings and under a sense of indignity done to him as a man and as a prelate, he had expressed himself somewhat harshly."

In the interval before the confrontation, the Jesuits busied themselves in drawing up the list of grievances to be presented to the Archbishop. Before they were satisfied, they considered a number of drafts.⁷³ The drafts, however, agreed on essentials. The Jesuits denied they had spread calumnies against the Archbishop. They had discussed their difficulties with only two laymen—one the president of the Board of Trustees, who could not help but know of the dispute, and the other their lawyer, a man of the highest reputation and professionally bound to secrecy, whom they had consulted only after the Archbishop had given them the example. Both men had been consulted in confidence, and neither had violated the Jesuits' trust. All the drafts contained special mention of the three major Jesuits complaints—the cramping clause, the title of the Church on 16th Street, the unfulfilled promise of a church and a house. A number of minor complaints were considered, but not mentioned in the draft to be presented to the Archbishop.

And the Archbishop, too, had drawn up the list of his grievances. They were presented to the Jesuits in a document entitled "Mode of proceeding in the investigation of topics controverted between the Society of Jesus in this diocese, and the Archbishop."⁷⁴ Hughes

⁷³ ArchRSJ, *Plaintes des Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus contre Msgr. John Hughes, Archevêque de New York*, undated; 2° *Project d'Exposé de nos griefs*, Sept. 10, 1858. NYPA, *Draft of difficulties . . .*, Sept. 12 (?), 1858.

⁷⁴ NYPA, Hughes, "Mode of proceeding . . ." Sept. 14, 1858.

proposed to open the meeting by expounding a simple history of the facts, which would be open to correction or emendation by the Jesuits. Then the Jesuits should be called upon to prove or to retract:

1st. They have said that the Archbishop wished to deprive them of property on the west side of the railway which was theirs . . .

2nd. That he must have received pecuniary compensation from the Harlem Rail Road Co. for the right of way through their ground and that this compensation properly belonged to them . . .

3rd. That they are entitled to a bequest made by the late Mrs. Eliza McCarthy, several years before they came to the diocese, and which the Archbishop withheld.

4th. That in a survey of the ground, the Archbishop has attempted to claim more than belongs to him.

These four charges were the sum total of the grievances that the Archbishop complained of.⁷⁵ If the Jesuits did not prove these charges at the conference, the Archbishop expected to receive a written apology.

Plan of reconciliation

Apparently encouraged by the progress Murphy had made in his interview with the Archbishop of September 8, the superior general decided to see if some further progress could not be registered in another interview. On September 22, 1858, Hus, accompanied by Murphy, called at the Archbishop's residence with what he considered a plan of reconciliation. While the plan made no mention of any Jesuit concession to the Archbishop, it requested that Hughes revoke the cramping clause, give the Jesuits the title of the Church on 16th Street, make a free gift to the Jesuits of a church and house in New York City, and further indemnify the Jesuits for the loss of revenue they had sustained through the failure to implement the promise over a period of twelve years. Since the Archbishop was absent at Saratoga, Hus sent his plan with a covering letter informing the Archbishop that he would wait on him on his return to New York.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ It may be noted that the present writer has seen no Jesuit document which gives any basis for the Archbishop's second grievance. The other three complaints are based on claims which the Jesuits did make.

⁷⁶ NYPA, Hus to Hughes, Sept. 22, 1858.

The results of this communication could have been foreseen. The superior general received no answer to his letter.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, on September 27, the day before the conference, Hus, again accompanied by Murphy, called on the Archbishop. After keeping the Jesuits waiting for an hour and a half, the Archbishop appeared in the parlor, blasted Hus in French for demanding "his pound of flesh," declared he would have nothing more to do with him, and then made a point of speaking in English, which Hus did not understand, to Murphy.⁷⁸

Hughes' version of the controversy

The conference was held as scheduled on the morning of September 28 in the Cathedral sacristy.⁷⁹ Archbishop Hughes was present with his vicar general and Fr. McNerny, the secretary he had chosen. McElroy and Stonestreet were there. For the New York Jesuits appeared Murphy and Larkin, with Legouais as their secretary.⁸⁰

The Archbishop opened the meeting by reading a long document he entitled "Statement of the facts connected with the introduction of the Jesuit Fathers into the diocese of New York."⁸¹ This statement contained a survey of the early history of St. John's College—how Hughes purchased the land, collected the necessary funds, engaged a faculty. In 1844-45 the bishop had applied for a charter from the Regents of the University of the State of New York; at that time, he had collected evidence that the property at Fordham was worth \$129,000. When the Archbishop decided to turn the college over to a religious order, the superior general of the French Jesuits and he had quickly reached agreement. Before that event, the prelate had given the Harlem Rail Road a right of way over the

⁷⁷ ArchRSJ, Hus to Rubillon, Oct. 6, 1858.

⁷⁸ ArchRSJ, Legouais, 3^e note sur les affaires de N.Y., Oct. 4, 1858; Hus to Rubillon, Oct. 6, 1858.

⁷⁹ ArchRSJ, Legouais, Procès-verbal de la Conférence du 28 Sept. 1858 tenue dans la Sacristie de la Cathédrale de N.Y. . . . An English draft of this report is in NYPA.

⁸⁰ They had been selected at a meeting of the Mission consultors. NYPA, Acta consult., Aug. 30, 1858.

⁸¹ ArchRSJ, contains the copy of this statement sent to the general by Archbishop Hughes some time after the conference.

college land in exchange for a free pass on the trains for the college and some other trifling conditions.

The Archbishop managed, before the Jesuits took over the college, to get a charter, not from the Regents but from the State Legislature. When the Board of Trustees was constituted, it was with the understanding that the trustees would resign, one after the other, until the Jesuits had a majority of the Board. When the Archbishop was ready to transfer the college property, he and the superior general decided that there should be two documents, the first a deed of conveyance, "as if the property had been sold in fee simple, and paid for," the second, not intended for public record, which specified the uses and purposes for which the property was transferred. Unfortunately, the prelate went on, several mistakes had been made in the deed of conveyance, whence the present conflict arose.

The Jesuits, the Archbishop insisted, had assumed the debts of the college, which amounted, he believed at the time, to \$40,000. After the Jesuits had taken over, another \$6,000 in debts were discovered and paid off by the prelate. Since the Jesuits declared they could not raise the \$40,000, Hughes "agreed to stand between them and those depositors for a certain time, until they could pay it off by degrees." The unspecified depositors were to receive 5% interest on their money, and the Jesuits agreed to pay these charges. Since Boulanger believed it might be difficult to raise the 5%, the Archbishop proposed that the fathers staff his seminary and use their salaries to work off the interest, at least in part. The Archbishop noted that, to the present, the Jesuits had paid off only \$17,000 of their debt, while on the other hand, to support the seminary, "I have paid them about \$50,000."

He then turned to other topics. It was mutually understood that the Jesuits had come to New York "exclusively for the purposes of Catholic education, that is, they were not invited for the purpose of missionary duties." To encourage them to open schools in New York City, Hughes had offered them a church, "the only one then at his disposal." The superior agreed, but when the Archbishop later made the actual offer of the church, the Jesuits declined the proffered gift, on the plea that the church was in debt.

When the superior general later approached the Archbishop with the proposition that the Jesuits buy or build a church, the prelate readily gave his permission. The fathers did buy a church. Al-

though it was agreed that "in this diocese the Jesuit Fathers should never claim the privilege of a mendicant order—should never make a collection or appeal to the faithful for alms—except with the previous knowledge and consent of the Ordinary," the Jesuits, in violation of the agreement, did take up a collection for their church. The Archbishop knew of this violation, but said nothing.

Permission to rebuild

Subsequently, the church was destroyed by fire. The Jesuits then asked the Archbishop for permission to take up a collection to rebuild, which permission they received. Had the prelate known the methods the Jesuits would use, he would have refused. For they solicited "almost from door to door through both cities (New York and Brooklyn), at least, and especially, in the city of New York." And in a sermon soliciting for the collection, a father declared that the Jesuits had purchased St. John's College for a price. When the Archbishop told the Jesuits that they must terminate their collection on a specific date, they approached him "with very polite threats and menaces, not indeed frankly expressed." "The Archbishop understood these menaces and treated them as they deserved."

Although the Jesuits had collected on the plea of rebuilding their church, they never rebuilt. Many subscribers later complained with bitterness that the fathers had obtained money under false pretenses. After some time had passed, the Jesuits collected the insurance money, sold the site of their church and moved their school to another section of the city. They neither accounted for the money they had collected, nor used it for the purpose for which it was given. Later, the Jesuits approached the Archbishop about building a new church. The results of these negotiations is the Church on 16th Street. That church now has an annual income, as reported by the pastor, of \$10,000-\$12,000, "whilst the only credit given for collections to build the church is scarcely equal to the amount which the organ cost, say \$7,000."

Boulanger and Hughes had agreed that, if any dispute arose between the Archbishop and the Jesuits, it should be settled quietly by the prelate and the superior general. When the Jesuit church went up in flames, the Superior asked the Archbishop that the priests serving the church be assigned to rectories about the city. The Archbishop at once agreed. But he soon heard reports that the Jesuits

were working only with the most pious members of the parishes to which they had been assigned, "as if those required to be converted anew," and among the pious, only with the richest. For the poor, the fathers had no time. Further, "it became whispered all about that the Jesuits received nothing for their ministerial toil." Other reports reached the Archbishop: a Jesuit was seen in a public theatre, another at the opera during Holy Week. The prelate requested the superior general either to exercise direct supervision over these men, or place them under the authority of the Archbishop, "who would take upon himself to see that at least they should not attend theatres or opera." The result of the prelate's representations was that the superior withdrew the offenders from the city. Within a few days, the laity were "in a state of fermentation against the Archbishop," who was accused of expelling the fathers from the city. The prelate summoned the Superior and rebuked him for violating "the secret and sacred understanding" to keep any differences quiet. While the superior only shrugged his shoulders, his companion declared that the Archbishop had separated penitents from their confessors, and declared that St. Ignatius had predicted that the Society would never lack persecutors, even among popes and bishops. "From that period to the present," Hughes concluded, "the Archbishop has not known any one member of the Society of Jesus in the diocese of New York with whom, altho' he has made repeated efforts, he could hold official communication."

The reading of the "Statement of the facts" occupied the greater part of an hour. It was followed by discussion which lasted for another several hours.⁸² Murphy noted that the man best qualified to speak for the Jesuit side, the superior general, was not present at the conference.

Good and useful Jesuits

The Archbishop declared that he was favorably disposed towards the Jesuits. They were good and useful men, and he did not want them to leave his diocese. Since they wanted a church, he would see what he could do to satisfy them. By offering them a church in 1847, he had fulfilled his obligation under the sixth clause of the convention of 1845. He went on to assert that the word "house" was

⁸² ArchRSJ, Legouais, Procès-verbal.

not in that document; he had never intended to make the Jesuits the gift of a house.

To the Archbishop's claim that the Jesuits had profited from the destruction of their original church, Larkin, who had been rector of the church at the time of the fire, was able to enter a rebuttal. He pointed out that the church had been heavily in debt. The money obtained from the fire insurance, the sale of the property and the collection in the diocese had been used to pay off the debt. But \$1,600 remained, which was used in the construction of the Church on 16th Street, which was owned by the Archbishop. Larkin went on to declare that the bishop's offer of a church burdened with very heavy debts could scarcely be considered the offer of a gift.

On the question of the title of the Church of St. Francis Xavier, the Archbishop brought out and read the correspondence he had had with Boulanger about the matter. He conceded that he had perhaps spoken too strongly when he wrote the Superior General that the Jesuits were doing almost nothing for education. Although he did not care a farthing for the title of the church, that was the arrangement between the superior and himself. The argument was adduced that, since Boulanger at that time had not brought up the sixth clause, this was a renunciation of that clause by the Jesuit superior.

Towards the end of the meeting, Legouais broke his silence as secretary to propose the major Jesuit demands. The Jesuits would transfer to the Archbishop what land he wanted at Fordham. Since Hughes did not at all care about the title of the Xavier church, let him give that title to the Jesuits. Let the Archbishop either annul the cramping clause, or so interpret it that the Jesuits might be free to develop the college. In response, the prelate once more denied that he had sold St. John's. He declared the fathers had full rights to mortgage its property, and that he would discuss the revocation of the cramping clause in some future conversation. Thereupon the conference came to an end.

McElroy and Stonestreet at once drew up their report of the conference for Fr. Beckx.⁸³ In their opinion, Hughes had completely answered all the complaints that were alleged against him. "In fine the A. B. [Archbishop] convinced us perfectly that our FF

⁸³ NYPA, McElroy and Stonestreet to Beckx, Sept. 28, 1858.

[fathers] were in fault . . .” “We are convinced that the A. B. is by no means unfriendly to the Society; that we regret to be obliged to say—that our FF have not acted as they should have done to Episcopal authority and the respect due to it.”

Later, McElroy sent a fuller individual report to the Jesuit general.⁸⁴ He put at the root of all the trouble the cramping clause and the title to the church at Xavier. When the bad effects of these agreements appeared, the Jesuits turned hostile to the Archbishop. Boulanger should never have agreed to these sources of troubles. He was a bad manager of affairs; the same is to be said of Hus, who should be replaced. McElroy and Stonestreet were of the opinion that an apology should be made to the Archbishop. At the conference of September 28, Hughes proved that he had carried out all his obligations under the convention of 1845. To his explanations, the New York Jesuits had nothing to say. In McElroy's judgment, the conference had been a humiliation for the Society of Jesus.

Reaction of the New York Jesuits

The reaction of the New York Jesuits was quite different from that of McElroy and Stonestreet. They believed that the confrontation was quite unfair, that the Archbishop had stacked the cards against the Jesuits.⁸⁵ Hus was the superior general of the New York-Canada Mission; he had been present at the negotiations of the convention of 1845; he was the best informed Jesuit on the problems to be discussed. But Hus was not allowed to attend the conference.⁸⁶ Not only had the Archbishop excluded Hus, but he prevented the two official representatives of the New York Jesuits from consulting one another during the conference by assigning them seats at different sides of the conference table.⁸⁷

As to the “Statement of facts,” Larkin characterized it as “*summa arte scripta—factis enumerandis, colorandis, exaggerandis*,” a “*ceram calumniam*” of the Society of Jesus.⁸⁸ The Archbishop had notified the Jesuits he would bring four accusation against them. These charges were the very basis of the meeting. But the Arch-

⁸⁴ ArchRSJ, McElroy to Beckx, Oct. 6, 1858.

⁸⁵ ArchRSJ, Legouais, 3^e note sur les affaires de N.Y., Oct 4, 1858.

⁸⁶ ArchRSJ, Hus to Beckx, Sept. 29, 1858; Larkin to Beckx, Oct. 10, 1858.

⁸⁷ ArchRSJ, Larkin to Beckx, Oct. 10, 1858.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

bishop made no attempt to prove them; indeed, he did not even so much as mention them.⁸⁹ Instead, he brought up all sorts of matters from the past. The fathers had received no forewarning, and were consequently unprepared to answer. As a result, they could speak only at random.⁹⁰ And the fathers balked at accepting several contentions of the Archbishop—that the convention he had signed and to which he had affixed his seal in 1845 was merely a simple declaration of the views of the two parties, that the words promising the Jesuits a house had not been in the contract he signed but had been inserted later.⁹¹

The Archbishop's "Statement of facts" was not available to the Jesuits till the prelate presented a copy for the general a year after the conference. The superior general did, however, have the impressions of the Jesuits who had been present and the notes of Legouais. He consequently wrote several letters to Rome to refute some of the prelate's major contentions. He rejected the Archbishop's views on the promised church and house, and on the problem of the title of the Xavier church.⁹² He went to some length to show that the debts of the College of St. John could not, on the evidence at hand, been \$40,000 in 1846.⁹³ He cited evidence against the Archbishop's contention that St. John's made a net profit each year of

⁸⁹ ArchRSJ, Hus to Beckx, Sept. 29, 1858; Larkin to Beckx, Oct. 10, 1858.

⁹⁰ ArchRSJ, Legouais, 3^e note sur les affaires de N.Y., Oct. 4, 1858.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* A study of the original contract in NYPA shows conclusively that the words "avec une maison" were part of the original text. By this assertion, the Archbishop, for all practical purposes, accused the Jesuits of tampering with documents, if not of forgery. The rather surprising thing is that the documents show that the Jesuit reaction to this charge was extremely mild—possibly because the Fathers were accused of so many things, in their view baseless, that another charge could not disturb them.

⁹² ArchRSJ, Hus to Beckx, Sept. 29, 1858.

⁹³ *Ibid.* The college had cost about \$40,000—\$29,000 for the land, \$10,000 for remodeling the buildings. Hus cites the letter of Hughes to Larkin, Oct. 8, 1845, in which the bishop said that of that sum he had paid \$5-6,000 from money on hand, had collected \$18-20,000 from the diocese, and had added sums from other sources, as subsidies of the Society of the Propagation of the Faith. Hus notes that the bishop, during the years 1840-1845, had received \$48,000 from the French Society. Consequently, the bishop could have paid off every cent of the \$40,000 before the Jesuits came to New York. There is independent evidence to show there is some justice in Hus' contention. In 1843, Bishop Hughes informed a Maryland Jesuit that the debts of the college

the prelate's administration of \$10,000-\$12,000.⁹⁴ And he rejected the valuation of \$129,000 put on the college by Hughes.⁹⁵

Shortly after the eventful conference, Thomas Legouais sent another thoughtful survey of the situation to the Jesuit general.⁹⁶ He would find neither side in the dispute free of fault. Shortly after the Jesuits had arrived in New York, an antipathy had developed between Bishop Hughes and Boulanger, who had sometimes spoken and acted imprudently. And the mode of action of the fathers during their first years in the city did more to alienate than to please the Archbishop. The poor administration of the diocesan seminary by the Jesuits further alienated the bishop and his clergy. On the seminary question, Legouais declared that the chief faults were attributable to the Jesuits.

All the major problems were in being before Hus arrived in New York, but they were dormant till he came. The new superior general quite rightly thought that the cramping clause should be removed and the title of the Xavier church restored to the Jesuits. He declared that he had been instructed to attain those ends, and he set out to do so.⁹⁷ The position of Boulanger towards the bishop had been, in Legouais' opinion, weak, undignified and humiliating for the fathers. It was true that Hus changed that, and inspired the fathers; but "*il vint ici, la tête montée, et elle ne s'est calmée*

were \$19,000. ArchRSJ, Anthony Rey, S.J., to John Roothaan, Nov. 27, 1843. In the three subsequent years, according to the bishop's statement of profits, the college would have cleared at least \$30,000, wiping out the debt. John Hassard, *Life of the Most Rev. John Hughes*, (New York, Appleton, 1866), 204, notes, that of the \$40,000 "A large part of the money was obtained in this way by voluntary subscription; a considerable sum was collected in Europe; and the rest was finally raised by loans in small amounts . . ."

⁹⁴ ArchRSJ, Hus to Rubillon, Oct. 6, 1858. He declares that the priest who had been the college treasurer during the years of Hughes' administration had informed the Jesuits that St. John's had lost money each year save one, when its net profit was less than \$1,000. Hus pointed out that, if the Archbishop's estimate of yearly profits were true, the Jesuits, in their dozen years at Fordham, would have cleared about \$120,000; instead, they were able to reduce their debt only by \$17,000.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* In 1843, the bishop had valued the college at only \$70,000; ArchRSJ, Rey to Roothaan, Nov. 27, 1843.

⁹⁶ ArchRSJ, Legouais to Beckx, Oct. 13, 1858.

⁹⁷ Hus had, in fact, introduced these problems at his first meetings with his consultors; NYPA, Acta consult., Dec. 20, 1855.

depuis." Within a few months, Hus had made the Archbishop much more hostile to him than he had ever been to Boulanger. The Jesuits had had two major problems with the prelate. Hus had multiplied them. He had, for example, brought up the sixth clause, and in a most abrupt and maladroit manner. Hus had begun his campaign over the miserable question of the seminary boundaries. He informed his consultors that he intended to take a strong position on this very minor question, merely to show the Archbishop that he could not intimidate the Jesuits. He hoped thus to force the prelate to be accomodating on more important matters; he only succeeded in enraging him. Legouais believed that nothing could be gained by an appeal to Propaganda. He urged the general to send a special emissary to conciliate Hughes, and then seek the major Jesuit demands. To attain those points, he suggested the sixth clause as a bargaining weapon.

Hus meanwhile sent to Rome reports of other incidents which showed, in his opinion, the Archbishop's unfair treatment of the Jesuits.⁹⁸ The fathers had begun, in New York, work among the neglected Negro Catholics, which Hughes had terminated by refusing a special church for the colored people. The Fordham Jesuits had built up a parish in Yonkers, which Hughes saw for the first time when he came to bless the church. A few weeks later, he ejected the Jesuits from the parish. For years, the fathers had been working in the prisons, without a word of appreciation or a penny of financial assistance from the diocese.

Beckx works for a settlement

With the evidence now at hand, the Jesuit authorities in Rome were considering the steps to be taken. Boulanger, now the superior of the Jesuit house in Nancy, was asked to clarify a number of points and submit his suggestions. The former superior general believed that the Jesuits should accede to Hughes' demands for more land at Fordham, and expressed his strong opposition to Hus' demand for a indemnity from the Archbishop for failure to implement the sixth clause.⁹⁹ He confirmed Hus' statement that Hughes had not requested the troublesome ninth clause, but that the

⁹⁸ ArchRSJ, Hus to Rubillon, Oct. 22, 1858.

⁹⁹ ArchRSJ, Boulanger to Rubillon (?), Oct. 20, 1858.

superior general himself had proposed it.¹⁰⁰ He had never believed that the prelate would make a gift, in the strict sense, of a church and a house to the Jesuits. But since the bishop had not put these buildings at the disposal of the Jesuits until they could establish themselves in the city, Boulanger believed that the fathers would be justified in demanding that the bishop reimburse them for the expenses to which they had been put. One step was quite clear to the Jesuit headquarters. Hus would have to be replaced. He himself had requested it,¹⁰¹ and the fathers in New York were sure that he was not the man to end the conflict.¹⁰²

In November 1858, the general communicated his decisions to the superior general.¹⁰³ An appeal to Propaganda was ruled out. Any accusations made against the propriety of the Archbishop's actions were to be retracted. The claim for the gift of a church and a house was not to be pressed, nor was a claim to the legacy of Mrs. McCarthy to be made. Beckx informed Hus that a negotiated settlement must be made. He proposed to send an emissary who was not a member of the New York-Canada Mission, and asked Hus' opinion on McElroy and Stonestreet for the office of peacemaker. He informed the superior general that when the settlement had been effected he would be relieved of his office.

That the general's decisions would receive ready acceptance among the New York Jesuits was indicated by a letter from Tellier which reached Rome after the general's missive had been despatched.¹⁰⁴ The rector of St. John's lamented the fact that the enrollment of the college had dropped to 124 students, due to the hostility of the Archbishop and his clergy. He believed his retention of his office was displeasing to Hughes, and he reported it to be the common rumor that the Archbishop demanded, as the price of peace, the official heads of himself and of Hus. He declared that, with the possible exception of Murphy, no New York Jesuit could negotiate peace and called for a Visitor to accomplish that end.

¹⁰⁰ ArchRSJ, Boulanger to Beckx, Nov. 5, 1858.

¹⁰¹ ArchRSJ, Hus to Rubillon, Oct. 22, 1858.

¹⁰² ArchRSJ, Legouais to Beckx, Oct. 13, 1858; Tellier to Beckx, Oct. 26, 1858.

¹⁰³ NYPA, Beckx to Hus, Nov. 2, 1858.

¹⁰⁴ ArchRSJ, Tellier to Beckx, Oct. 26, 1858.

Hus himself accepted the general's decision without demur.¹⁰⁵ But he found hard to bear the vision of the Archbishop's rejoicing over his triumph and the removal of the superior general. Despondently he predicted that the fathers who brought Hughes the news would get a warm welcome—but nothing for the Society.

Hus called together the consultors of the Mission and read them the general's letter.¹⁰⁶ There was unanimous approval of the decision that no appeal should be made to Propaganda and that a negotiated settlement should be made.¹⁰⁷ The consultors agreed that the best man to attempt reconciliation was John McElroy. But there was some opposition to his appointment as an official Visitor, for fear of the effect on some of the younger men of the Mission who wanted to end what they termed the "French regime."¹⁰⁸ Hus ended his report to the general with the intimation that he expected Murphy, who was well liked by the Archbishop, as his replacement, and with the suggestion that a special superior—he recommended Stonestreet—be appointed for the New York half of the Mission. He vented his disappointment and resentment of Hughes, whom he accused of a long list of deceits, in a separate letter to the French Assistant.¹⁰⁹

McElroy's mission

On receiving the reactions to his decisions, the general immediately set about the arrangements for the negotiations. McElroy was informed of his special office and endowed with all necessary authority as the general's *alter ego* to settle the quarrel.¹¹⁰ He was instructed to accomplish three things—to placate the Archbishop, to obtain the title of the Church on 16th Street, to end the cramping clause. These three objectives secured, McElroy was empowered to renounce every other Jesuit claim on the Archbishop and to give him whatever he desired at Fordham. Hughes was to be informed that Hus would soon be replaced. If the prelate demanded a retractation, it should be made; but McElroy was to avoid, if

¹⁰⁵ ArchRSJ, Hus to Beckx, Nov. 29, 1858.

¹⁰⁶ ArchRSJ, Hus to Beckx, Dec. 1, 1858.

¹⁰⁷ NYPA, Acta consult., Nov. 29, 1858.

¹⁰⁸ ArchRSJ, Hus to Beckx, Dec. 1, 1858.

¹⁰⁹ ArchRSJ, Hus to Rubillon, Dec. 9, 1858.

¹¹⁰ NYPA, Beckx to McElroy, Jan. 2, 1859.

possible, a retraction in writing. The general also addressed a letter to the Archbishop, informing him of McElroy's functions.¹¹¹ Both these letters he sent to Hus, with instructions to forward them to McElroy. They were received in New York at the end of January, 1859¹¹² and forwarded to McElroy.¹¹³

On February 22, 1859, McElroy came to New York to accomplish his task.¹¹⁴ He met Hus and his consultors at Fordham and informed them of the general's instructions. He had several conferences with the Archbishop and was briefed by both sides.¹¹⁵ On February 26, McElroy, at a meeting with Hus and his consultors, proposed that the Jesuits apologize to the Archbishop, who demanded it, for any injury to the prelate's honor and veracity. But the superior general, declaring that in conscience he could not apologize, refused.¹¹⁶

Indeed, Hus' actions seemed designed to hinder McElroy's mission. He protested his actions, even objecting to the fact that McElroy, probably to emphasize his impartiality, chose to stop, not at a Jesuit house, but with a private family.¹¹⁷ He declared to the general that McElroy refused to tell the New York fathers just what power he had been granted.¹¹⁸ When Hus declared his readiness to make some excuses, but no apology, since he had spoken only the truth to the Archbishop, McElroy had claimed, but would not show Hus, authorization from the general to impose this obligation on the superior general.¹¹⁹

McElroy decided that the apology should be made without the superior general, and that the Archbishop should not be informed of Hus' refusal.¹²⁰ On February 27, accompanied by Legouais and

¹¹¹ NYPA, Beckx to Hughes, Jan. 4, 1859.

¹¹² NYPA, Acta consult., Jan. 27, 1859.

¹¹³ ArchRSJ, Hus to Beckx, Feb. 10, 1859.

¹¹⁴ ArchRSJ, McElroy to Beckx, March 14, 1859.

¹¹⁵ NYPA, Acta consult., Feb. 23, 1859. ArchRSJ, Un extrait très ample de ces informations, traduit en Anglais par un des CC a été lu et remis sur sa demande au P. McElroy avant il a [sic] du faire sa l^{re} démarche, Feb. 25, 1859.

¹¹⁶ NYPA, Acta consult., Feb. 26, 1859. McElroy to Beckx, March 14, 1859.

¹¹⁷ ArchRSJ, Hus to Beckx, March 3, 1859.

¹¹⁸ NYPA, Acta consult., Feb. 23, 1859, states that McElroy read the General's letter to Hus and the consultors.

¹¹⁹ ArchRSJ, Hus to Beckx, March 3, 1859.

¹²⁰ ArchRSJ, McElroy to Beckx, March 14, 1859.

Murphy, McElroy went to the Archbishop's residence. The Archbishop had the satisfaction of seeing the three Jesuits kneeling before him while McElroy apologized for their faults. At his demand, McElroy later wrote and presented a signed copy to the prelate.¹²¹

The written apology covers the background of the quarrel and then goes on to declare:

First, that every statement made against the Archbishop, as if he had been wanting in veracity, in candor, in honor, or in honesty, in his dealing with the Jesuit Fathers, has proved to be unfounded in fact, and to have resulted from misconception or misinformation on the part of the Fathers.

Second, That the Fathers were by an original agreement with their Superior, bound to make known, in the first instance exclusively to the Archbishop, the subject of their real or imaginary grievance in every case, so that he might explain, or, if possible, remedy the grievance complained of.

Third, That imprudently, instead of adhering to this agreement, the Fathers or some of them made their complaints to laymen, contrary to the usage and discipline of this diocese.

Fourth, That if these statements had been true, they would be calculated to degrade the character of the Archbishop in the estimation of the laymen to whom the complaints were made known.

Fifth & finally, . . . no statement derogatory to the character of the Archbishop has been or can be proved . . .

Every such complaint, therefore, made to laymen against the Archbishop is hereby revoked and regretted. The undersigned regrets especially the pain which these events must have given to the Archbishop of New York, and he trusts that this declaration will be accepted as a sufficient apology and reparation for the past, hoping at the same time that for the future nothing of the kind shall occur; and trusting as he has reason to do, that the Most Rev. Archbishop will forgive and forget whatever may have been said unjustly or injuriously to his prejudice, through the misconception or misinformation under which the Fathers labored.

Whether or not the statements of the apology can be justified, the apology did accomplish the desired effect of placating the Archbishop. A few days later, the prelate attended a lecture at St. John's College and, together with many other clergy and laity, remained for dinner with the Jesuits.¹²² As the party was taking its

¹²¹ NYPA, Acta consult., Feb. 27, 1859; Apology made to Arch B. [ishop] Hughes by Father McElroy on behalf of the Fathers of New York, March 1, 1859.

¹²² Hus did not greet the Archbishop, nor appear at the dinner, which appeared to McElroy worthy of note; ArchRSJ, McElroy to Beckx, March

leave, McElroy requested Murphy, Legouais and Tellier to come to a consultation at the college on 16th Street the following morning. According to Hus, McElroy instructed the fathers not to inform the superior general, but they believed it their duty to notify him.¹²³

Consultation at Xavier

The consultation held by McElroy on March 3, 1859 at the College of St. Francis Xavier was to discuss the settlement of the outstanding problems with the Archbishop.¹²⁴ The fathers unanimously agreed to give the Archbishop whatever land he wanted at Fordham. McElroy informed them that Hughes regretted that the Jesuits had not applied for the title to the Xavier church before the law on church tenure was passed by the New York State Legislature in 1853, for "he would have then most willingly complied with our wishes." "The FF [fathers] could and did not say anything to the contrary," but they urged McElroy to secure a written declaration of the Archbishop's expressed intention to give the church back to the Jesuits as soon as the law allowed.

On the problem of the cramping clause, the fathers pointed out that at the conference of September 28, 1858 the Archbishop had declared that the Jesuits had the right to mortgage their land at Fordham. But the prelate would not say that the Jesuits had the right to sell part of the land, nor would he put his declaration in writing. McElroy stated he had raised this question with Hughes. He too had failed to get a written statement. But he announced that the Archbishop was willing to raise the sum of money he would repay the Jesuits, if they left the diocese, beyond the \$40,000 stipulated in the convention of 1845. The fathers expressed their preference to see the ninth clause revoked.

At the consultation, the fathers from Fordham presented to McElroy a letter from the superior general. It was a protest which, as

14, 1859. Hus explained his absence, declaring it his usual practice, due to his lack of English, to avoid such gatherings; ArchRSJ, Hus to Beckx, March 3, 1859.

¹²³ ArchRSJ, Hus to Beckx, March 3, 1859. ArchRSJ, Legouais (?), Actual State of Our Relations with the Archbishop, Nov. 27, 1859, states that Hus was informed of the meeting, and was told that he might attend but that he was not invited.

¹²⁴ ArchRSJ, Legouais (?), Actual State of Our Relations with the Archbishop, Nov. 27, 1859, has a report of this consultation.

Hus informed the general, he believed he should enter.¹²⁵ Another copy was sent to the Archbishop by messenger. Hus told Beckx that if the Jesuit general disapproved his action, he would submit. But he considered his protest a politic move, inasmuch as it would lay the basis for a future appeal to Propaganda and could be used to put off ratification of McElroy's settlement.

The "Protest and Appeal" asserted that the Jesuit general, in appointing McElroy, acted on insufficient and incorrect information; that McElroy had excluded the superior general of the Mission from his councils; that McElroy had not stated, though summoned to do so, the powers he had received; that new documents, unknown to the Jesuit general, had been discovered. Consequently, the superior general entered his protest against any settlement made between the Archbishop, who had not answered Hus' letter of August 17, 1857, and the delegate of the Jesuit general.¹²⁶

This demarche of Hus had no effect on developments. He learned that McElroy believed it was not worth paying attention to.¹²⁷ Nevertheless, McElroy, fearing the effect of the protest on the Archbishop, had hurried to visit him. To his relief, he found the Archbishop undisturbed by the protest and quite willing to go on with the settlement.¹²⁸ And the protest tried also the patience of the consultors of the Mission; they expressed to McElroy their regret that the general's delegate had not the power to remove the superior general from office. But though no one in New York paid attention to his protest, Hus did his best, by a number of letters, to make sure that attention was paid to it in Rome.¹²⁹ In this attempt he failed, since the Jesuit general also repudiated the appeal.¹³⁰

With good relations with the Archbishop reestablished, McElroy went on to negotiate the other objectives set him by Fr. Beckx. The seminary boundaries were rearranged to Hughes' satisfaction. On this point, McElroy declared "I found the Archbishop perfectly correct and just in all he required, and that Ours were in error

¹²⁵ ArchRSJ, Hus to Beckx, March 3, 1859.

¹²⁶ ArchRSJ, Hus, "Protest and Appeal", March 3, 1859.

¹²⁷ ArchRSJ, Hus to Beckx, March 4, 1859.

¹²⁸ ArchRSJ, McElroy to Beckx, March 14, 1859.

¹²⁹ ArchRSJ, Hus to Beckx, March 4, 1859; Hus to Rubillon, March 6, March 7, March ?, 1859.

¹³⁰ NYPA, Acta consult., April 23, 1859.

and had misconstrued His Grace's intentions."¹³¹ The Archbishop was quite ready to give the Jesuits the deed of the Church on 16th Street, but the law of 1853 forbade:

The Archbishop has done all he could in this affair, and looks upon the church as *ours*, without any restriction whatever, save the *formality* of rendering an account annually . . . This affair I look upon as settled to the satisfaction of all parties.

On the complaint of the fathers that their ministry in the church on 16th Street was curtailed, McElroy wrote:

On the subject of the confessional, His Grace informed me that his Clergy in the City were a little jealous of their penitents going to St. Fr. Xaviers, and to conciliate and appease them he made the rule of three confessors, which he presumed were quite sufficient, but he says they have only to let him know at any time if more are necessary and he will willingly grant it.

When the discussion moved around to Fordham, McElroy announced to the general that he had made the discovery that St. John's College belonged to the Jesuits

which the Archbishop was not aware of until I found it out from the Lawyers. The reason of the Archbishop's error was that he thought the private arrangement made between him and Fr. Boulanger had been placed on Record (archives publiques) with the original deed . . . As this was omitted, this private arrangement has no force in law.

On the Archbishop hearing this from the lawyer, he wrote me a note in which I find these words "I have discovered that the qualifying clause [i.e., the ninth clause of reversion] has not been put on record, and that the Fathers can legally sell or mortgage the whole property." Still, the Archbishop thinks himself bound in conscience to secure as far as he can the property of St. John's for the education of Cath: youth, as the means collected for its purchase were given with that understanding, and having sent a copy of this agreement to the Cardinal Prefect.

But the Archbishop now agreed that, if the Jesuits left the diocese, they should recover not only the \$40,000 they had paid for St. John's, but the additional money they expended on the improvement and construction of the college:

This was looked upon by Ours as the greatest grievance the [y] had to complain of, and this clause is now inserted in a supplement to the said private agreement; so that our Fathers can build and improve as far as they have means to do so. This vexed question has been concluded satisfactorily, in my humble opinion, both to the interests of our Soc[iety] and to the approbation, and I may add, gratification of His Grace.

¹³¹ ArchRSJ, McElroy to Beckx, March 14, 1859.

Only on one point did McElroy believe he had failed to carry to a successful conclusion the general's instructions:

One thing only I could not obtain from his Grace, that is, not to commit the apology we made to writing. His Grace insisted that his honor, veracity and even integrity had been impeached in the Board of Trustees at their meetings, and that he wanted to vindicate himself before the three laymen members of the board of Trustees, and to no others would he ever show it.

The prelate had informed McElroy, to the latter's edification, that he had mentioned his dispute with the Jesuits to no one, save his vicar general. "This I admire very much, as he had great provocation, particularly since the appointment of Fr. Hus." McElroy concluded his long report with praise of the Archbishop:

I must say that his Grace is truly just, honorable, zealous and disinterested, seeking nothing, but the good of our Holy religion. . . . I may add that our Fathers were invariably in fault by forming conjectures in their own mind, from want of correct information, from misrepresentation of others or of ignorance of the real state of affairs between them and His Grace.

Before McElroy despatched his report to the Jesuit general, he received a letter from the Archbishop, congratulating him on the success of his mission.¹³² The prelate requested McElroy to inform the general that no public scandal had resulted from the misunderstanding. Hughes himself had told no one save his vicar general, and "the laymen to whom the Fathers appealed have with great prudence and charity kept the matter to themselves." The Archbishop expressed the hope that the settlement would be as satisfactory to the Jesuits as it was to him. For McElroy, he had words of praise:

I confess that if it had not been for the very patience and prudence exercised by yourself, in conducting the affair, I might have been tempted to exact more in the way of repairing the past than I have done.

In acknowledging the receipt of McElroy's report, Beckx thanked him for his good work in restoring peace in New York.¹³³ He made no mention of the instructions which McElroy had failed to carry through.

When the details of the settlement had been agreed on, but not yet implemented, McElroy left New York. Peace had been achieved between the Archbishop and the Jesuits. Murphy wrote to express

¹³² NYPA, Hughes to McElroy, March 7, 1859.

¹³³ NYPA, Beckx to McElroy, June 11, 1859.

his relief that the long contest was over.¹³⁴ He noted, however, that the cramping clause still remained, and the Archbishop's promise to turn the Xavier church over to the Jesuits was still only a vocal, not a written, one.

In the meanwhile, Hus, too, left New York to go to the Jesuit houses in Canada. By a letter of April 6, 1859, the provincial of the Province of France, acting under the instructions of Beckx, recalled Hus to France and appointed Remigius Tellier as vice-superior.¹³⁵ The appointment was only temporary. By a letter of April 16, 1859, William Murphy was appointed superior general of the New York-Canada Mission by the Jesuit general.¹³⁶ Murphy, however, was a sick man, and before the end of the year Tellier was once again appointed to the office of superior general of the mission.¹³⁷

During the few months Murphy remained in the office of superior general, things were at a standstill. A report written at the end of November 1859 declared that the situation in New York was exactly as it had been at the beginning of March.¹³⁸ It noted that since McElroy had left New York early in March, he had written only once. "It is all we have heard of him and of the affair in these last nine months." But in the interval there had been blessed peace.

During the interval there was brought to maturity at Jesuit headquarters a plan to appoint an official Visitor for all the Jesuit missions and provinces in the United States and Canada. By *Litterae Patentis* of September 20, 1859, the Jesuit general appointed as Visitor one of the outstanding Italian Jesuits, Fr. Felix Sopranis.¹³⁹ The new appointee spoke English, and had spent some time in the United States.

¹³⁴ ArchRSJ, Murphy to Beckx, March 22, 1859.

¹³⁵ NYPA, Acta consult., April 23, 1859.

¹³⁶ The news reached New York on May 7, 1859; NYPA, Acta consult., May 7, 1859.

¹³⁷ Tellier's appointment dated from Nov. 7, 1859; *Catalogus Provinciae Franciae, 1861*, p. 86. Murphy was sent South for his health, whence he was recalled in 1861 to be vice-provincial of Missouri. Cf. Gilbert J. Garraghan, *Jesuits of the Middle United States*, (3 vol. New York: America Press, 1938) I, 567.

¹³⁸ ArchRSJ, Legouais (?), Actual State of Our Relations with the Archbishop, Nov. 27, 1859.

¹³⁹ ArchRSJ, Beckx to Sopranis, Sept. 20, 1859.

A final settlement

The Visitor received instructions to put a definite end to the controversy with Archbishop Hughes.¹⁴⁰ The terms of the peace treaty were to be put down in writing. The boundary lines at Fordham were to be drawn so that the trespassing on the college lands would be stopped. The cramping clause was to be revoked. If the Archbishop refused to renounce that clause, Sopranis was to get Hughes' written permission for the Fordham Jesuits to mortgage their property and the prelate's written guarantee that the Jesuits would, if they left Fordham, recover the full amount of the money they invested in St. John's College. The Visitor was further instructed to obtain, in writing, the Archbishop's promise to turn the title of Xavier church over the Jesuits when the law allowed. And he was to see that the Fathers used every means to cultivate good relations with the Archbishop.

Sopranis arrived in New York on October 25, 1859, but went immediately to the Maryland Province, where he began his visitation.¹⁴¹ Towards the end of November, he interrupted this visitation to return to New York. There, in company with McElroy, he paid a call on Archbishop Hughes. In the interview, the Archbishop proposed that the boundary difficulty at Fordham receive a definite ending through the purchase of the seminary and its lands by the Jesuits.¹⁴²

A few days later, Archbishop Hughes wrote to McElroy to express his pleasure at meeting Sopranis and to renew the offer of the sale of the seminary.¹⁴³ He enclosed in the letter the copy of his "Statement of the facts" which he had promised to send to the general, and asked McElroy to forward it to Beckx, together with a covering letter. In his letter to the general, Hughes thanked him for the conference of September 28, 1858, and for his appointment of McElroy to negotiate peace. He declared the settlement was satisfactory to me, and, I trust, not humiliating to the Fathers at Fordham. Their mistakes—their erroneous impressions—their hasty measures to vindicate

¹⁴⁰ ArchRSJ, Notae circa missiones Provinciae Franciae, Sept. ?, 1859.

¹⁴¹ ArchRSJ, Benedict Sestini, Breve narrazione della visita di Maryland . . . , Aug. (?), 1860. For a time, Sestini acted as Sopranis' socius.

¹⁴² ArchRSJ, McElroy to Beckx, Dec. 16, 1859.

¹⁴³ NYPA, Hughes to McElroy, Dec. 11, 1859.

themselves in the estimation of laymen, have all been acknowledged and apologized for.¹⁴⁴

The Archbishop explained his tardiness in sending the "Statement of the facts" by his unwillingness to send what he knew would be unpleasant reading to the Jesuit general. To Beckx, Hughes repeated his offer to sell the seminary property at Fordham. He declared "it should be an absolute sale, without any conditions whatever. At the same time, with regard to the property already conceded to the Fathers, the conditions might be modified."

To negotiate the sale, the Archbishop proposed McElroy and Sopranis.¹⁴⁵ Apparently the Archbishop had no doubts that the Jesuits would be interested. The implication that through the purchase of the seminary the cramping clause might be cancelled could not but stir the fathers. Nor was the Archbishop mistaken. As soon as he received the letter, the Jesuit general sent instructions to the Visitor to negotiate, with the assistance of McElroy, the proposed sale.¹⁴⁶ The fathers in New York were more than ready to make the purchase; as early as 1856, they had decided that, if the Archbishop made such an offer, they would close with it.¹⁴⁷

At the end of March 1860, Sopranis reported to the general that he had discussed the matter with the Archbishop. It had been agreed that the Jesuits should purchase the property; only the price remained to be settled.¹⁴⁸ A future meeting had been arranged at which the Archbishop, the Visitor and McElroy would agree on the price to be paid. At this first interview, Sopranis wrote the general, the Archbishop had told him in the greatest secrecy, with the understanding that he would pass on the information to the general, two things: First, that the Archbishop was somewhat displeased that the general did not send direct answers to his letters. This "*delicatus admodum homo*," Sopranis noted, thought the general might have adopted this practise, since the Archbishop had sent his letters to Jesuit headquarters through intermediaries. The Visitor believed that the Archbishop would be pacified if the general

¹⁴⁴ ArchRSJ, Hughes to Beckx, Dec. 12, 1859.

¹⁴⁵ ArchRSJ, McElroy to Beckx, Dec. 16, 1859.

¹⁴⁶ ArchRSJ, Beckx to Sopranis, Jan. 21, 1860.

¹⁴⁷ NYPA, Acta consult., July 7, 1856.

¹⁴⁸ ArchRSJ, Sopranis to Beckx, March 31, 1860.

sent him a pleasant note. The second secret was that the prelate wanted Isidore Daubresse to be the first bishop of a new diocese to be created in New York State, and he did not want the general to oppose the nomination of his subject.

To this letter of Sopranis, Beckx wrote that he had sent a letter to the Archbishop; in the letter, however, he had informed Hughes that he would do everything in his power to prevent the nomination of a Jesuit to a bishopric.¹⁴⁹

Early in April 1860, Sopranis completed his visitation of the Maryland Province, and travelled to New York to begin the visitation of the New York-Canada Mission.¹⁵⁰ About the middle of the month, accompanied by McElroy, he met with the Archbishop and agreed to purchase the seminary lands for the price of \$45,000. The Archbishop, at long last, agreed to revoke the cramping clause.

A white elephant?

The consultors of the New York-Canada Mission agreed to the purchase, although they considered the price rather high.¹⁵¹ In France, Hus raised his voice against the purchase, declaring that the Archbishop was unloading a white elephant, which had been to him "a mountain of expense and an abyss of shame."¹⁵² The Jesuit general forwarded a copy of Hus' letter to the Visitor, with a notation that not too much weight should be given to Hus' opinion.¹⁵³ Beckx himself approved the purchase at the agreed price and the concomitant cancellation of the cramping clause.¹⁵⁴ As required by law, the St. John's Board of Trustees sanctioned the purchase.¹⁵⁵ At its meeting, one of the Jesuit trustees moved a resolution, unan-
imously passed the following:

That this Board cannot separate without placing on record some expression of the strong sense of gratitude which they entertain towards the Most Reverend the Archbishop of New York in return for the fatherly interest which he has

¹⁴⁹ ArchRSJ, Beckx to Sopranis, April 27, 1860.

¹⁵⁰ ArchRSJ, Sestini, Breve narrazione.

¹⁵¹ NYPA, Acta consult., April 17, 1860.

¹⁵² ArchRSJ, Hus to Michael Fessard, S.J., May ?, 1860. Fessard was provincial of the Province of France.

¹⁵³ ArchRSJ, Beckx to Sopranis, June 9, 1860.

¹⁵⁴ ArchRSJ, Beckx to Sopranis, May 19, 1860.

¹⁵⁵ FUA, Minutes of Board, May 3, 1860.

ever manifested for the welfare of St. John's College,—of which warm interest His Grace has given still further proof in a recent transaction.

The actual transfer of the seminary property to the Jesuits was a rather long and protracted affair.¹⁵⁶ The fathers still had a large portion of their original debt to the Archbishop still unpaid, and the prelate wanted a down payment of \$20,000 on the seminary property. A mortgage of \$30,000 with private individuals was at length arranged. Finally, the matter was done. The cramping clause was cancelled. The Archbishop received title to the strips of land west of the railroad.¹⁵⁷ And on July 16, 1860, the prelate signed the deed making over the seminary property to the College of St. John.¹⁵⁸ The long conflict over the tenure of the land at Fordham was finished.

In Rome, the general waited impatiently for the news that the matter had been accomplished.¹⁵⁹ At long last, Sopranis was able to inform him that the business was finished.¹⁶⁰ He noted, however, that the Archbishop would not reduce to writing his promise to turn the title of the Church of St. Francis Xavier over to the Jesuits. He urged that the general intercede by a personal letter. Beckx expressed his pleasure that the business had been brought to a successful conclusion.¹⁶¹ To avoid any recurrence of questioning of the Jesuit rights to Fordham, he urged Sopranis to secure from the Archbishop any documents that might be the basis for future claims and to destroy them. This request was put to the Archbishop. In September 1860, the prelate did, in fact, turn over a number of documents to Tellier with a request that they be destroyed.¹⁶² On

¹⁵⁶ NYPA, Tellier (?), Historical sketch of the transact. of the Sem., 1860.

¹⁵⁷ FUA, Minutes of the Boards, June 29, 1860, authorized this transfer. At a meeting later in the year, Starrs, obviously under instructions of the Archbishop, moved that Augustus Thebaud, the new president of St. John's, consult with the Archbishop about the fancy-fence, still not erected by the railroad; *ibid.*, Dec. 20, 1860. Thebaud did so, and reported that the railroad would at long last erect the fence in the Spring of 1862; *ibid.*, Nov. 4, 1861.

¹⁵⁸ ArchRSJ, Deed of sale of St. Joseph's Seminary, July 16, 1860.

¹⁵⁹ ArchRSJ, Beckx to Sopranis, Aug. 11, 1860.

¹⁶⁰ ArchRSJ, Sopranis to Beckx, July 28, 1860.

¹⁶¹ ArchRSJ, Beckx to Sopranis, Aug. 28, 1860.

¹⁶² NYPA, Tellier, Statement, March 2, 1861. Tellier did destroy them. But first he made copies in a note-book still preserved in NYPA. A study of this note book shows that, with the exception of the private deed confirming the

hearing this news, the general expressed his relief; he felt that now the problem was forever ended.¹⁶³

Title of St. Francis Xavier Church

The question of the title of the Church of St. Francis Xavier still remained. Sopranis, however, declared that both he and McElroy were confident that the Archbishop would turn over the deed to the church before the end of 1861.¹⁶⁴ To the Visitor's suggestion that the general write to request the title from the Archbishop, Beckx answered that he would wait and see what Hughes' reactions were to the letter he had sent him to express his gratification at the advent of peace and the settlement of the problem of Fordham.¹⁶⁵

It would appear that the general did not, at that time, request the title from the Archbishop. But in the summer of 1861, the question was discussed by Hughes and McElroy. In answer to a request from the Archbishop, McElroy listed his reason why the prelate should turn the title to the 16th Street Church over to the Jesuits.¹⁶⁶ The Jesuits feared that one of Hughes' successors as Archbishop of New York might replace them by secular priests; all the other Jesuit churches in America, as far as McElroy's information went, were possessions of the Society; the grant of the church's deed would increase Jesuit devotion to Hughes' service, and would be a recognition by the Archbishop of past services. Finally, McElroy requested the transfer of the title as a personal favor to himself, and as a consolation to the Jesuit general. He urged that if the title could not now be legally transferred, the Archbishop would give a written promise to the Jesuits to the effect that he would give them the title as soon as he could.

The prelate answered that the Jesuits already had a solemn document guaranteeing their rights in the 16th Street Church.¹⁶⁷ He further stated:

I never had occasion to require the title to the Church of St. Francis Xavier. It

ninth clause and signed in July 1845 by Boulanger, all the documents exist, in original or in copy, in one or other Jesuit archive.

¹⁶³ ArchRSJ, Beckx to Sopranis, Oct. 8, 1860.

¹⁶⁴ ArchRSJ, Sopranis to Beckx, Oct. 21, 1860.

¹⁶⁵ ArchRSJ, Beckx to Sopranis, Dec. 14, 1860.

¹⁶⁶ NYPA, McElroy to Hughes, Aug. 24, 1861.

¹⁶⁷ NYPA, Hughes to McElroy, Aug. 30, 1861.

was mine before the Jesuits moved to that neighborhood. It was not by their consent, but by their agreement and at their request, so far as the pastorship is concerned.

Nor could Hughes see his way clear to make a written promise of a future transfer. He ended by warning the Jesuits, "if they were wise they would be, for the present at least, quiet on this topic." The Archbishop's warning was heeded. Although in the Spring of 1862, Sopranis once more urged the Jesuit general to write to Hughes a request for a transfer of the title,¹⁶⁸ the suggestion was not followed.

In the course of the years following the reestablishment of peace with the Archbishop, relations between the prelate and the Jesuits became cordial. Hughes once more visited the Jesuit schools and presided at the St. John's commencements. In the Spring of 1863, for example, he was present at an academic exhibition at the College of St. Francis Xavier, and in an address to the audience expressed warm appreciation of the Jesuit school, regretting there were not another ten such colleges in his city.¹⁶⁹

In the Autumn of 1863, Father Beckx decided the time had come to send his request to the Archbishop for the title of Xavier church. Hughes was, at the time, on what proved to be his deathbed. Among the priests who came to pay their respects to the sick prelate were Pierre De Smet, the famous Jesuit missionary to the Indians, Felix Sopranis and John McElroy. To the general, Sopranis reported that the Archbishop had mentioned the general's request for the title of the 16th Street Church both to himself and to De Smet.¹⁷⁰ But to neither had the prelate given his decision. McElroy, however, reported that the Archbishop

said not a word to Fr. Sopranis who called, nor to the other Fathers on the subject. When I called, he told me at once and that he would make a Deed of the property &c., and that I might write to that effect to Rev. Fr. General, which I did.¹⁷¹

Though the Archbishop died before he could carry his resolution into effect, his successor, John McCloskey, was aware of Hughes'

¹⁶⁸ ArchRSJ, Sopranis to Beckx, May 14, 1862.

¹⁶⁹ ArchRSJ, Sopranis to Beckx, March 21, 1863.

¹⁷⁰ ArchRSJ, Sopranis to Beckx, Dec. 2, 1863.

¹⁷¹ Woodstock Archives, McElroy to Angelo Paresce, S.J., Dec. 12, 1863. Paresce was provincial of the Maryland Province.

desire, and as soon as he was possessed of the see of New York, he transferred the title of the church to the Jesuits.¹⁷²

And so, as the great Archbishop awaited his end, he sealed the peace between the Jesuits and himself by the grant of the last outstanding claim of the fathers. It was with regret that the Jesuits heard of the passing of their quondam antagonist.¹⁷³

So good men fought

It cannot be said that the history of the conflict between the Archbishop and the Jesuits is an edifying tale, or shows its chief characters in a flattering light. It was a struggle, not of principles, but of personalities. And the key to the struggle was the character of the great Archbishop of New York.

John Hughes towers above all other men in the history of the American Church in the mid 19th century. The Church then needed, above all things, a dominant leader, strong willed, resolute, inflexible. There came a man, sent from God, whose name was John. The times called for a great man, and a great man appeared. Hughes was not a man to take half-measures. Bishop Dubois was ailing and feeble; Hughes shelved him without ceremony. Trustees needed to be curbed; Hughes smashed them. Nativists threatened to attack his churches; Hughes promised that if a church was destroyed, New York, as a second Moscow, would go up in flames. It is the measure of the man that no one even suggested that he was bluffing. "I will suffer no man in my diocese that I cannot control. I will either put him down, or he shall put me down." Orestes Brownson did not question Hughes' claim. And the Jesuits, to their sorrow, learned its truth. Strong, self-confident, autocratic, Hughes had the defects of a dominant personality. He could not admit he had made a mistake. He could not brook opposition. He could not tolerate a dissenting opinion. If documentary evidence contradicted his statements, the documents were in error. His view was truth, and it must prevail. Prevail it did.

Before such a man, the actions, or rather the evasions, of the first

¹⁷² ArchRSJ, Joseph Loyzance, S.J., to Beckx, Dec. 19, 1864. Loyzance was Rector of Xavier. See the documents in John Cardinal Farley, *Life of John Cardinal McCloskey*, 248 ff.

¹⁷³ ArchRSJ, Sopranis to Beckx, Jan. 4, 1864; Beckx to Sopranis, Jan. 17, 1864.

Jesuit superior general in New York are understandable. In the first years in New York, Boulanger tested the temper of the Archbishop. Thereafter, he avoided conflict with Hughes. His fellow Jesuits considered him weak; he was more probably wise. Prudence is still the better part of valor.

But Hus strode into the arena, panoplied for war. He did not wait to measure his opponent, nor consider well the ground he chose to fight on. His maladroitness raising of dead issues made impossible, considering the character of the Archbishop, a conciliatory settlement of the problems the Jesuits had. His rigidity in pressing the Jesuit claims was met by an equal inflexibility, Hughes being what he was, on the part of the Archbishop. The results should have been foreseen. Battered and bruised, the superior general was forced to retire. His cause may have been just, but he was not the equal of the great Archbishop.

Even the peacemaker does not show up well in the story. McElroy is one of the greatest priests America has had. He used the only method possible to placate the Archbishop—complete and abject surrender. It would be understandable if McElroy had adopted that course as a matter of policy. But he believed it was a matter of justice. Blindly, he accepted the word of his friend, and rejected the testimony of his brothers. His dependance, almost sycophantic, on Hughes does McElroy no credit.

So good men fought. It was a bitter struggle. But when peace came, the contestants, as good men, renewed friendship. The fight left no permanent scars—a testimony to the soundness of both sides. Hughes was always a redoubtable opponent, but always a good bishop and a good friend. In peace, the Jesuits secured what they had failed to obtain through war. And the Archbishop and the Jesuits, having made peace with one another, went like brothers to offer their sacrifice at the altar of the Lord.

AN ADDRESS AT BELLARMINE COLLEGE

books and Bellarmine, purists and perfectionists

JAMES BRODRICK, S.J.

In the summer of 1967, Bellarmine College in Plattsburgh, New York, formally ceased operation as a Jesuit house of formation after a fifteen year career. Originally constructed as an exclusive resort hotel at the turn of the century, it was purchased by the New York Province of the Society of Jesus and in July, 1952, was opened as a temporary philosophy. When Loyola Seminary was completed in 1956, Bellarmine became the second novitiate-juniorate of New York, and, with the creation of the Buffalo Province in 1960, became the upstate house of formation. Ultimately, the high cost of maintenance and the decreasing number of vocations made its continued upkeep impracticable. In 1964, the juniors moved to Shadowbrook in New England and, in the Spring of 1967, the novices were transferred to Columbiere College in Clarkston, Michigan.

During its brief history as a Jesuit house, Bellarmine has served four American provinces: New York, Buffalo, New England, and Maryland. It has welcomed many distinguished lecturers to the North Country but few, if any, were more welcome than Fr. James Brodrick of the English Province, a man known to his audiences for his biographies of Robert Bellarmine, Peter Canisius, Francis Xavier and Ignatius Loyola, and for his histories of the early Society. After receiving the fourth annual Champion Award of the Catholic Book Club "for longtime eminence in the field of Catholic letters," Fr. Brodrick traveled from New York to Plattsburgh to give the following informal talk to the Bellarmine Community on May 17, 1958. We reproduce it here to commemorate the closing of this Jesuit house and to share with a wider audience, the thoughts of a renowned Jesuit scholar, the biographer of the community's patron.

JUST BEFORE I CAME ALONG to your fascinating college, one of the editors of the magazine *America* said to me, "Have you seen that article about something that happened at Bellarmine?" And I said, "No, I haven't. The issue of *America* is not yet out. It comes out on the twenty-fourth of May." And he said, "Oh, well, we'll have to give you a preview." So he gave me this preview, and it was a delightful article on an experience that you had here. "We Meet the Icons,"* I think it was called. And it was charmingly written, and was a very moving occasion. I was quite thoroughly delighted with it, and I felt, "I'm going somewhere good," when I read that article.

Now, I thought I would tell you some things that I myself have experienced in this writing career which I drifted into without any will of my own, or indeed without too much will of superiors, either. It just kind of happened. I "grewed" to be a writer, like Topsy in the book. And it was all a very strange world to me at first, and I couldn't get the hang of it, and the only method I could devise for writing a chapter was to write it about five or six times, over and over and over and over again. And to get it eventually to slide into the next chapter so that there would be a sort of continuation and a reasonable amount of artistic merit about the process, but it was a very dreadful one. Those two volumes on Bellarmine published in 1928 were written six times over, first in longhand in the ordinary way, and then typewritten with two fingers by me, and then when the chapter was finished, torn up, and started again. I had no facility at all in just rushing along with words, and I wonder whether Shakespeare ever had, whether his "Woodnotes Wild" were like that at all, or whether he didn't sweat with a towel around his head to give him inspiration far into the night, choosing his words. Because, sometimes, as you know (better than I do), he was careless: "To cleanse the stuffed bosom of its perilous stuff"[!] Would one of you say that? Well, William said it.

And the next thing I discovered, through hard labor and pain and tears, blood and sweat, and all the rest of it, was that if you are to write well you must know a great deal more than the subject you are writing about. You must be interested all around that

* Robert Muldoon, "We Meet the Icons," *America* 99 (1958) 257-58.—Ed.

subject, I believe. Because when you read the really great writers, the essayists, the biographers, the historians, you find that their art lies so much in analogy. They draw analogies from all quarters: chemistry, physics, and science of every description. They work out beautifully. And then the way that they glorify a very common word. The word "blanket" doesn't have very much poetry in it—the thing you put over you at night; you'll find it hard to make poetry of that. Then suddenly it comes: "Heaven peeped through the blanket of the dark to cry: Hold, Hold!" And there's your poem. Shakespeare at work. And it's so often the case. The real artist, the man with a dash of inspiration (no, no, I suppose every artist must have that or he wouldn't be an artist), he finds this analogy, or he finds the right word to go with the right adjective. "The whole excited town gloved like a shy, delicious noun that some great poet made to live at least beside its adjective." You get the two together, and then you get a thrill of the heart when you read the passage.

Well, I'm only an artist very much at secondhand by sheer slogging, and sometimes remembering brilliant things that other artists have said, perhaps stealing a bit, too, on the side. And there's a good deal of bluff about it. But I have found that as a principle you must read widely, not only in your own subject but in all sorts of subjects. You must have a broad mind and a willingness to take in all sorts of knowledge that comes along. If I ever see anything bright and to the point, I always make a note. Sometimes I have to hunt for weeks to find that blessed note, because I never learned how to file.

Filers and perfectionists

Fr. Herbert Thurston, who was really a brilliant man and a very great scholar, didn't file either, and he played the same game. He used to hunt and hunt through his room. He had a good memory, and he knew that he had copied out a particular note at the British Museum sometime or other. Where had it got to? I used to help him to try to find it. His desk was a sight, and sometimes right down at the bottom he'd come across what he wanted. He never learned to type, though somebody had presented him with a prehistoric typewriter made mostly of wood. All his countless articles and numerous books were written out in ink in his own hand.

Well, sometimes the people who do all the filing write nothing

at all. They are so brilliant at this filing that they make it an end in itself. Perhaps you've noticed that, too. I know we have a number of them in England, and you couldn't get finer filers in the world, but not so much as a pamphlet in the way of production. Well, we are all made different. A man who files gets satisfaction out of it.

Then there is the other person, the perfectionist, the purist, the man who wants to have everything just so, dot every *i* and cross every *t*; it can't be done in this imperfect world. And so they become stultified. I met an archivist, and he was a jolly good one, a Benedictine monk, a convert. He had been a parson. Before he became a Catholic, he had been through three of the county archives in England, and he really had an extraordinary knowledge. He could have written a fine book on what he had found there, which would have given the lie to most of the stuff on the sixteenth century you find in history books. He was a great worker, this man. So, I said to him, "Why don't you write, Father, why don't you write?" And his answer: he looked at me in astonishment, and said "Write? What about the other forty-five counties in England whose archives I've never looked through?" You might find some fact there that would contradict the archives of some other county—Worcestershire, etc. which he had been through. And so, never a line from him. I doubt if he ever wrote even an article, and yet his knowledge was formidable, and it's a pity, that! That we should get all cluttered up with so much knowledge that we cannot write.

The great Lord Acton himself, you know, was of that persuasion. He knew so much that he couldn't get it out. Because whatever he said, he knew that there was a contradictory fact that he could match against it, and he said, "What's the good?" Wait, and wait, and wait until all the knowledge is there. Well, it never will be, because this is an imperfect and extremely complicated world, and the business of history, of writing what human beings have done, thought, and so on, must always be just partial, provisional. You can't ever get the final truth. And you're foolish to want to get it. Be content with what you can manage, and you can manage quite a lot. When someone comes along later on, and proves that all your views were wrong, so much the worse for him, but not for you. You'll be dead and won't mind. Then new views will come along, and in their day, they will be refuted, too.

As for the things I have written myself, I know perfectly well that a lot of it won't last, because it is provisional. Not so much the documents, because they are straight from the archives in Rome, worked over by these almost martyrs, you might call them, the writers at the Curia. There are about twenty of them, and I consider it's about the hardest worked team in the Society. They have no let-up at all. They haven't even got an armchair. They have nothing, just a grind, grind, grind over dreadful documents of the 16th century which are sometimes to my eye, anyway, completely illegible. But they use the infrared methods, and so on, and they decipher them extraordinarily well.

A man with feeling

Take, for instance, our own St. Ignatius' *Diario*, that salvaged scrap of an extraordinary spiritual diary that he made for his own eye alone. Well, you look at a photograph of a page of it and see what you can make of it. It's just one great blot, and yet they deciphered it, and, of course, it's been an absolute revelation to the world of what a profound mystic our father was, and what a marvelous and lovable man, too. It gives us a new appreciation, for instance, of our rules and *Constitutions* to know how he wept over them when he was writing them, how he prayed to God for days on end over a tiny little point. As we know, he had the gift of tears in too great abundance, because it nearly blinded him, and he had to stop saying Mass as his eyes were giving out. He couldn't think of God at all without the tears beginning to flow. I suppose you would say he was the saint who shed more tears than any saint in history. That's a remarkable fact in itself, because he is so often considered a monolith, "the man without feeling." And yet he is so different, so profound in his feelings, so lovable in all kinds of ways.

Since I wrote that half of a life, *The Pilgrim Years*, I've got to love him passionately, and pray to him with all my might in the big and little emergencies of every day. When I get into difficulties connected with the writer's trade, I turn to your own dear patron and say, "Saint Roberto, will you kindly take this over?" And he does, too. I counted, once upon a time, laboriously, the number of words in the *Book of the Controversies* alone. It came, roughly, to two million. Well, that locust flight of words never got on top of

Robert; that's what I like about him. He was always kind of standing easy to his labors, and he labored like a giant.

You remember, maybe, that story of him, when an Englishman and Protestant came to pay him a visit. This man had come to Rome to see the monuments, he said, and above all, the living monuments, and, chiefest of all, Bellarmine, who was, really, very celebrated in England in the sixteenth century. He came (he was a brave man because the priests had gone round asking whether everyone had made their Easter duties. This scared the good Fynes Moryson who had a horse made ready for instant flight but he was determined not to leave Rome till he had seen Bellarmine). Well, Bellarmine's lay brother attendant told him that his master was out walking in the fields. That is typical again of St. Robert. He loved the fields and the flowers and the trees and all natural things. His favorite text was, "My God, Thou hast made me to be glad with Thy works." And we know, too, that he was a very glad, gay person; Bishop Camus, that sort of Boswell of St. Francis de Sales, knew Robert and reported of him that he was of a disposition very gay. He was known for it, and this Fynes Moryson noticed it as well. He said, "He didn't look a bit serious." The way he received Moryson! The way he said to him, as he was leaving, that he would be welcome back any time. And he had given instructions to his brother, who attended on him, to bring him in immediately, hereafter, even though he might be in the middle of some dreadful bit of the *Controversies* or some other book. It didn't matter what. He had the power of putting things to one side and remembering that the first interests of human beings are other human beings.

All the kind of learned work that we do is very, very subsidiary to this greatest of all works of helping and loving one another. And Robert showed it in such a shining fashion. He never refused anybody, never in his whole career. People were pouring in on him all the time just out of curiosity to see what a wonderful man was like, and to get information from him. Students from Louvain used to write to him and say, "Could you look up something for us?" And off he'd trot to the Vatican Library to look up some little point which this man wanted for the thesis he was writing. Well, this was when he was at the top of his fame. He treated the community so well when he was a superior, that he had to be checked by his

provincial, who reprimanded him, "You mustn't spoil those fathers." He used to have musical evenings, and he wrote the madrigals, both words and music, himself. He was quite a musician and he wrote poetry and he was a true humanist in the best Christian sense of the word.

He was a man of wide interests, and the book that our friends, the Anglicans, love best is his *De ascensione mentis ad Deum*. They have translated it, the Anglicans themselves, and published it by a non-Catholic publishing firm with an introduction by the biggest scientist that the Anglican clergy produced. The scientist spoke in the most warm terms about St. Robert, and I remember just a few words that he said. One of them was that Robert did not naturalize our prayer, but sanctifies and spiritualizes our work, which is precisely what we are all trying to do all the time, to turn the work into prayer.

A strong smell of turpentine

And it's not so easy. Above all when you're writing a book and that, because inevitably when you lie down to try to get a bit of rest at night great thoughts will arise, as they used to do for St. Ignatius. He treated them as temptations of the devil, because he knew he ought to go to sleep then. And these thoughts will arise, alas, I get them myself, and I always have a pencil and paper by my bed, but when you read the stuff you've written late at night, in the morning you're horrified and tear it up at once as rubbish. I think it was William James that tells in his *Varieties of Religious Experience* about a philosopher who also kept a pencil and a piece of paper by his bed, and in a dream this man had penetrated at last to the innermost secret of the universe, and in his dream he picked up the pencil and paper from the side (he was still asleep), and he wrote down this marvelous secret that would electrify the whole world. In the morning he remembered the dream when he awoke properly, and put his hand out to reach eagerly for the piece of paper, and on it he read these words: "The whole thing was permeated by a strong smell of turpentine." That was the secret of the universe!

And then inevitably you're going to get into a bit of trouble: censors, reviewers, all sorts of book-folk who take an ambivalent view of writers. Not hostile, but they're wary of them. And some-

times, it's a critic. I had myself quite a fight with a critic who took me up on the subject of a mosquito, which he insisted was really a flea. That kind of thing happens, and it can be a bit amusing at the time, but it also wastes time.

Another thing that always struck me and impressed me really deeply is the necessity of not being too much of a specialist. If you become too much of a specialist, a perfectionist, you become too dehydrated, dull, and uninteresting. Also, when you get on in years, you've only got the one old subject to interest you, and by that time, you'll have got past it, and have no subject. There's an awful instance of it in connection with a man you are going to hear a good deal about next year. That was Charles Darwin, because next year, 1959, is the centenary of the publication of the *Origin of Species*, and there will be a great hullabaloo about Darwin. Darwin was a singularly fine type of man; I always think of him as a saint of science.

Well, time went on, and he began to write his *Origin of Species*, and a change came over him. He turned, first of all, into a dreadful fundamentalist, and gave up reading the Old Testament altogether, which he had read devoutly every morning during the voyage of the *Beagle*: the Tower of Babel and Jonah and his whale stuck in his gullet and he wrote "That kind of rubbish! Who could ever believe it?" But that wasn't the worst of it. As time went on, he found a great change in his own inner nature. He was twenty years writing this *Origin of Species*, and then, after 1876, when he was sixty-seven years old, he wrote in his little *Autobiography* (it's a very revealing, very honest document):

Up to the age of thirty, or beyond it, poetry of many kinds, such as the works of Milton, Gray, Byron, Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Shelly, gave me great pleasure, and even as a schoolboy, I took intense delight in Shakespeare, especially in the historical plays. I have also said that formerly pictures gave me considerable, and music very great delight. But now for many years I cannot endure to read a line of poetry: I have tried lately to read Shakespeare, and found it so intolerably dull that it nauseated me. I have also almost lost any taste for pictures or music. . . . My mind seems to have become a kind of machine for grinding general laws out of large collections of facts, but why this should have caused the atrophy of that part of the brain alone, on which the higher tastes depend, I cannot conceive. A man with a mind more highly organized or better constituted than mine, would not I suppose have thus suffered; and if I had to live my life again I would have made a

rule to read some poetry and listen to some music at least once every week; for perhaps the parts of my brain now atrophied could thus have been kept alive through use. The loss of these tastes is a loss of happiness, and may possibly be injurious to the intellect, and more probably to the moral character, by enfeebling the emotional part of our nature.

That's a great warning to the specialists not to specialize too much, but to have other interests alongside and not to forget the aesthetic part of our make-up—the poetry and the music and the art. I do feel strongly that that's terribly important. And nowadays, in our schools in England, and I'm quite sure in the schools in America, too, they do stress art and music. It's not easy to get small boys to appreciate classical music. Well, you can lead them up by the more popular kind of music, and eventually some of them will really rise to the real thing. Then they've got something that will last them for life and bring them happiness in all sorts of circumstances. The same way with regard to poetry. I'm a firm believer myself in making boys learn by heart.

For centenaries and canonizations

And so, to go on from this point in a rather spiritual vein. The writing of books is not pleasant. I would avoid it like poison, if it were possible to avoid it. But after a year or two, people expect you to produce something. Then, I leave it off as long as I can, and then I make a rush at it, and get it out in time. But this time, you see, I'm in a very privileged position. Nearly everything I wrote before always had to be written to a date, the centenary in the offing, or someone was going to be canonized or doctored, and you have to have a book ready for that occasion, and every time that happened I spent about five or six months in the hospital after, with a break-down as a result of this rush of work. But now, there's no centenary for this half of the life of St. Ignatius, so it should be easy. And that's pleasant enough.

But the work, as for instance at Campion House in New York, where they issue *America*, they have a hard time of it. No sooner is one issue out, with an incredible amount of hard work put into it, than another has to be prepared. It is most tiresome work. And they have to stay up late at night. When press day comes, they might not get to bed till three or four o'clock in the morning. I found that they were a very devoted, wonderful group of men, and

they were serving God, because that kind of work, as in the case of St. Robert Bellarmine, was a very noble service of God. Robert must have hated writing those *Controversies!* He was by nature such a gentle and pacific person.

His spirit, by the way, will watch over the men here, and help them not to overspecialize, to be too great purists like that famous Professor Twist:

I give you now Professor Twist,
A conscientious scientist.

Camped on a tropic riverside,
One day he missed his loving bride
She had, the guide informed him later,
Been eaten by an alligator.
Professor Twist could not but smile,
"You mean," he said, "a crocodile."

Poor Mrs. Twist!

Robert, too, would teach us all not to let our work get on top of us; to keep it a bit, you know, at elbow's distance, and to keep that spot in our lives where it doesn't intrude at all, where only God can intrude, as was, indeed, so much the case with him. He led a life of marvellous recollection, considering the activities that he was pursuing all the time. He was always at the disposal of any chance visitor, and that in itself is proof of sanctity.

Question period

What's going to make the Church go ahead? Saints, all the time. And we know that there are saints by the score among our own fathers here in America, and some of the fathers in England, too; and they won't ever be canonized. But we want the official canonizable type as well. As Siegfried Sassoon, the convert poet, said, "Saints are trumps," even if they do nothing but pray behind their cloister walls. And they will always be trumps, and they will always win out on the enemy, totalitarian, Communist, whatever he may be, because their final trump card is love, and the other only has hate. Love always wins in the end.

JESUITS AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

A common consciousness of the problematic

PETER ARRUPE, S.J.

In 1949, John B. Janssens, who was at the time general of the Society of Jesus, directed a long and moving letter to the Jesuits of the entire world. In it he exhorted them to open their eyes to the tremendous social injustices at work in the contemporary world and to fight for the establishment of a new order, that is, for a just and really human one. This effort, more than works of aid or good will—not to discount their importance and relevance—was to give Christian inspiration to the very structure of human relations. It meant study and action, things that for him specifically made up the social apostolate and underlined its tragic urgency. The situation in Latin America took up Father General's attention in a special way. He wrote to the provincials on different occasions urging them to give first place to the social apostolate even at the cost of closing some high school or university. He sent a special visitor and succeeded in laying the foundations of CIAS (Centro de Investigación y de Acción Social) in many provinces, assigning not a few priests to special studies in the social sciences. Unfortunately Fr. Janssens' letters were exclusively for "internal use" and never got to the public at large.

Introduction and document translated by Gaspar F. LoBiondo, S.J., from *Mensaje* 16 (March-April, 1967) 126-30.

Following the path of his predecessor in a very clear way, the present general, Peter Arrupe, has just sent a letter (Dec. 12, 1966) to the Latin American provincials in which he reaffirms with no less firmness and courage the outstanding place which the social apostolate must occupy in Jesuit ministries. But this time the general wanted his voice to be heard publicly. A large part of his letter appeared in Informations Catholiques Internationales and in A. B. C. of Madrid. This gives his document the quality of being a consciously assumed commitment made not only before the Jesuits, but also before all those who in one way or another are fighting for more truth, justice, and brotherhood in the world. This, then, is certainly something new in the history of the Society. It marks the felicitous beginning of a stage that can have transcendent implications.

Given the importance which Fr. Arrupe's letter has in itself as well as the special importance which it actually has as a public document, we have decided to publish it integrally. The orientations and motivations that are given in this letter are far-reaching. Through the Jesuits of Latin America they reach the Jesuits of the entire world and above all those who are working in the Third World. And insofar as the problem of apostolic priorities is clearly brought out, they are of universal interest.

AS EVERYONE KNOWS, the first meeting of the Centers of Social Investigation and Action (CIAS) of Latin America was held in Lima from July 25 to 29, 1966, and was attended by directors and some of the members of the Centers. The importance I gave to this congress was such that I wanted it to be held at all costs, despite obstacles and difficulties. And I did not hesitate to have the Latin American assistants represent me. I also decided that the German assistant and some father from the Social Sciences Institute of the Gregorian University should be present to give a broader basis and more extensive perspectives to the deliberations. The purpose of the meeting was that the fathers might know one another, analyze together what they have done to date, create together a common conscious-

ness of the problematic as well as viable solutions in the social area, and that, as a result of their work, they might present me with their conclusions and responses.

The fathers who met thought it profitable to cut down the prepared agenda and to concentrate on the definition of CIAS which would crystallize its nature and function as a specialized organ of the Society, dedicated exclusively to the apostolate of social justice. For the great majority felt that the lack of a common awareness of such a definition had been largely the cause of misunderstandings as much among the members of CIAS as in their relations with superiors.

After five days of intensive work, they formulated the *Conclusions of the Lima Congress*. Based on the experience and reflection of everyone, these conclusions presented, after a prologue, the fundamental objective, program, internal organization, and autonomy of CIAS, and lastly, the necessity of a favorable environment. As a specific proposal, subject to the approval of Father General, they asked for the creation of a Latin American Council of CIAS (CLACIAS) which would replace the present Secretariat and be formed by various regional coordinators and an executive secretary. This new group would officially carry out the function of providing technical information and advice for the provincials, for Father General's Council (now being formed) and, finally, for Father General himself. The congress suggested the names of those who might serve as executive secretary and as regional directors.

All these conclusions were submitted to me in one document. Another document entitled "Adoption of an Official Position of the Society with Regard to Social Conflict in Latin America," requested of Father General a declaration which would go beyond the documents exclusively for Jesuits.

Both documents were sent to the fathers provincial of Latin America, to some former provincials, and to some *periti*, as soon as they were received in Rome, so that these men might give me their opinions. Then, after I received the replies, studied them, consulted with the assistants, and asked for light from the Lord of all, I decided to promulgate the *Statutes of the CIAS of Latin America* along with the document attached to this letter. These *Statutes*, which substantially incorporate all the conclusions of the Lima Congress, are effective with their promulgation.

Specific points

Now I will pass on to comment briefly on some points in the *Statutes* which, judging from the responses received, could cause difficulties. Afterwards I will discuss the adoption of policy.

1) In the prologue of the *Statutes*, a dynamic selection of texts taken almost verbatim from Vatican II's *Pastoral Constitution of the Church in the Modern World* is presented. These quotations underline the necessity of change of mentality and of structures aimed at correcting "The scandal of excessive economic and social inequalities."¹ Since these inequalities can not be reduced to mere monetary recompense for work, they cannot disappear by simply increasing the amount of recompense, for example by increasing salaries.² Father General Janssens did not hesitate to denounce all these inequalities as "contrary to the Gospel" and "intolerable."³ The Council, moreover, terms them "contrary to social justice, equality, human dignity, and social and international peace."⁴

2) Thus the fundamental objective of CIAS is justified.⁵ It was enunciated by the 29th General Congregation and confirmed by the 31st, when it demanded that we spare no efforts in establishing a just public social order.⁶ Though the primary mission of the Church and of the Society certainly tends to unite man with his Lord and Creator, it is no less certain that God has not merely desired to sanctify men individually, in an isolated way, as it were, but he has also established men in a society of temporal and interpersonal relationships which might acknowledge and serve him. It is also clear that the Church has a task in using the light and

¹ *Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World (Gaudium et Spes)* in *Documents of Vatican II* ed. Walter M. Abbot, S.J., (New York: Herder, 1966) 29, p. 227. Hereafter cited as GS.

² *Mater et Magistra* 82-83. Hereafter cited as MM.

³ *Acta Romana* XIII 874. Hereafter cited as AR.

⁴ GS, 29.

⁵ In accordance with the Lima Congress conclusions and the CIAS *Statutes* already approved by Father General, "the fundamental objective of CIAS (and consequently of the Social Apostolate) is the change of mentality and social structures into a sense of social justice, preferably in the area of *promoción popular* in order to make possible 'a greater dedication, participation, and responsibility' on all levels of human life." Cf. *Congregatio Generalis XXXI, De Apostolatu Sociali*.

⁶ AR, XI, 38-40. Cf. *Congregatio Generalis XXXI. De Apostolatu Sociali*.

energies which flow from her primary religious mission and that these qualities are suitable for the temporal structuring of society.⁷ Furthermore, it is an undeniable fact that the change of temporal structures as such, with respect to secular activity, is a job proper to the laity, while our task is centered rather on a change of mentality. We cannot forget, however, that the same secular activities are not exclusively the laity's.⁸ I therefore urge fathers provincial to reflect once more on this duty of humanizing and personalizing society, and of making this understood clearly even to those Jesuits who do not belong to the CIAS so that no one will block this seemingly less sacerdotal endeavor but that everyone may cooperate with it in whatever way he is able.

3) Since the CIAS program and its procedures for social action have been judged adequate by everyone, I will simply underline here the procedure of "seminars of preferably long duration," up to one month, and of an intensive nature, such as for six hours a day.⁹ The experience of different regions has proved that when they are organized in a suitable way, they turn out to have an unsuspected efficacy.

4) The organization of CIAS offers no great difficulty. I simply ought to point out that, although circumstances do not always permit the superior to be a member of CIAS, it will always be indispensable that he have a social sensitivity to cooperate wholeheartedly with the members. With regard to the financing of CIAS, the ideal is obviously that CIAS, as an autonomous community, support itself by means of the particular work of its members rather

⁷ GS, 42.

⁸ GS, 43.

⁹ The CIAS program is "faithful to the present magisterium of the Church, following the episcopal directives and confronting social doctrines with the historical situation as it is studied by means of scientific disciplines: 1) to contribute to the doctrinal elaboration of Christian inspiration in structuring Latin American society; 2) to elaborate, teach, and make known models of social progress and development in collaboration with other organs and groups, including international ones; 3) to form, stimulate, and orient persons who may be considered effective agents of social change; 4) to act as moderator for the Society and, if they should ask, also for the clergy as well as for public and private movements and institutions in their social action apostolates; and, besides, to encourage works and movements.

than by means of alms. Nevertheless, until the group is formed and established in its activities, it will normally need the help of the province and its benefactors for perhaps two or three years. I hope to be able to arrive at setting up a Center for the Promotion of World Social Justice here. One of its functions would be to cooperate in the financing of CIAS. Of course, we have to avoid the type of situation in our CIAS which would make it impossible for it to function as such in its own specialized way. The fathers provincial who consider the number of specialists required for CIAS, are justifiably concerned, above all in provinces where ample personnel is lacking. But I believe that we ought not easily excuse ourselves from making the effort to create at least a common CIAS with the collaboration of several neighboring provinces if there is no other viable solution. With respect to this detail and also the possibility both of combining CIAS during their period of formation as well as of transferring men who are suited for the investigation and action of other CIAS activities, I would like detailed information both from the provincials as well as from the Latin American Council of CIAS.

5) The paragraph concerning the favorable setting which should surround CIAS includes a point which has aroused clear-cut differences of opinion among the fathers provincial. Some felt that it was not only desirable but even necessary whenever possible to allow a member of CIAS to be a province consultor. On the other hand there were others who judged that this "preference" given to CIAS was not justified because there are also other specialized groups which could call for similar representation. This second argument however is inaccurate. It puts the term "technical work" with reference to CIAS (whose orientation is towards social justice and equality) on the same level as "technical work" whose importance and efficiency is undebatable but whose content and moral repercussions can not be compared with that of social justice. Of course, a member of CIAS who is appointed province consultor (something which is to be hoped for) is not a consultor as "representative of the CIAS." Naturally he will take into consideration both the problems of CIAS and those of the rest of the province. But he will try to see them in terms of an objective hierarchy of values against the background of social justice. We have to admit that we have not

gone very far in giving to social problems the place that corresponds to them in the hierarchy of values of the Society of Jesus. In general we have fallen short of this. I cannot help but recall Father General Janssens' eloquent firmness when he begged for "social sensitivity" in the Society. Here are his own words:

. . . since the majority [of Jesuits] have come from families of an economically comfortable class . . . few have been capable of an experiential understanding of the type of life lived by the day laborer, the farmer, the office worker and the maid or janitor. We ought to realize what it means to be humiliated all one's life; to live in the lowest social situation; to be forgotten or looked down on by many; not to be able to be seen at public functions for lack of clothing and proper education; to be aware that one is being used as a means for another's attaining wealth; to see even one's daily bread and one's future in constant jeopardy; to have to risk one's health, dignity and honesty in some work that is either beneath or beyond one's capacities; to find oneself without work for days and months and to feel tortured by inactivity and necessity; to be unable to provide a normal education for one's children and to have to expose them to wandering around the streets, picking up diseases and living in misery; to have to mourn the death of one's children because they didn't have proper medical attention; never to enjoy the psychological or physical repose that is proper to man and to see at the same time all around, that those for whom one is working are enjoying riches, comforts to the point of superfluity, that they are pursuing liberal studies, dedicating themselves to the arts, and are achieving praise, honors and triumphs. . . . Let the Jesuits be aware that they are among the privileged people of their countries as opposed to the miserably unfortunate people.¹⁰

In the light of these lines of Father General Janssens, describing the present inhuman social inequalities and in the light of his other similar writings, I invite the fathers provincial and their consultors to examine whether they have really used the proper hierarchy of values in considering the urgency of the various apostolic activities of their provinces.

6) Concerning the new Latin American Council of CIAS (CLACIAS), the provincials rightfully wanted those future characteristics of this Council to be explained, all of which they approved in principle as most useful. As is evident in its *Statutes*, the function of CLACIAS, excluding all jurisdiction, consists of informing the provincials and the general (and/or his consultors for social justice) concerning the needs, viable remedies, conflicts, etc., connected with the work of the social apostolate and of the CIAS,

¹⁰ AR, XI, 714.

and of co-ordinating the combined action of CIAS organizing inter-communication and mutual help, and facilitating the interaction of the different specialized activities. Since, of course, this informative function is an official one, each member of CLACIAS is authorized in his region to ask for or to receive whatever reports will be necessary or helpful for the carrying out of his work. They can discuss these reports among themselves in order to present a more solidly founded point of view to the general and the provincials. The executive secretary's special function and characteristics are very similar to those of CLACIAS and of the regional co-ordinators. His specific task is to give unity and efficiency to the whole team of social workers in Latin America. Their work will demand practically full time dedication of the executive secretary and normally the better part of the regional co-ordinators' time as well. Provincials should therefore facilitate the fulfillment of these functions and give whatever effective assistance they can.¹¹

7) At the conclusion of this brief commentary on the new *Statutes* of CIAS of Latin America which I am promulgating with the hope that the Lord will bless and make them fruitful, I cannot help but reflect for a moment along with all the Jesuits of Latin America, on the reasons why CIAS has not achieved the results that Father General Janssens had planned for it as a whole. The reasons can perhaps be reduced to three basic ones. First, the social apostolate is one which involves the great complexities, realities that are more difficult to resolve because of their pressure on people's consciences for social justice; whereas, on the other hand, other apostolates, including the scientific and educational, though they doubtlessly carry with them problems of the greatest importance, nevertheless have, in a certain sense, solutions and techniques which are more within our reach. Secondly, the Society is not in fact efficiently oriented to an apostolate which favors social justice. Rather it has always been focused on influencing the higher social

¹¹ The Latin American Council of CIAS (CLACIAS) proposed to Father General as one of the conclusions of the Lima Congress is already a reality. The four "regional coordinators" are: Frs. Nelson Queiroz (Brazil), Hernán Larraín (Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia, Peru, and Chile), Jaime Martínez (Ecuador, Venezuela, and Columbia), José Luis Alemán (Mexico, Central America, and the Antilles). The executive secretary is Fr. Hernán Larraín.

classes and on the formation of its leaders, according to a strategy that is justified fundamentally for historical reasons. It has not focused precisely on the agents of evolution which are today at work for social change. Thirdly, the insufficiency of men and indispensable means. The men who with great effort were being chosen and formed later found themselves practically isolated, misunderstood, not provided with the right means, and in a new apostolic venture. Perhaps not all of them possessed the energy necessary to overcome those extraordinary difficulties inherent in and consequent to rapid social change. It is certainly not possible for us to oversimplify an apostolate which is of its nature bristling with problems, tensions, and frustrations. But it is our inescapable duty to create new administrative strategy and committees of experts so that they will form a united front, that thus, with the support of the apostolic grace of our vocation, they might carry out their mission in Latin America. If, in our work for social justice, we are really establishing the just order which God wills and in the manner he wills it, we will not cease to experience his unfailing protection. It is up to us, however, to pick out the strategic means just as though the Lord had left things solely in our hands. I trust in him, that the constitution of this Latin American Council of CIAS will contribute in a definitive way to a unity and mutual support which go beyond provincial and national boundaries of the Jesuits dedicated to social action. Man can attain his own fulfillment only in the sincere commitment of himself to his neighbor.¹²

8) Finally, there remains one point which is by no means a simple one. I mean the rather delicate situation of the Society's "taking of a stand" regarding social conflict in Latin America.

On the one hand I do not hesitate to accept the spirit of the "taking of a stand" and even going beyond it. For I recognize the fact that the Society has contracted a certain moral obligation to make notable reparation, not just with regard to Jesuits themselves, for that which we as Jesuits have neglected and are neglecting to do for social justice and equality (an omission which has definite results against the poor). I would like to see this spirit of reparation more alive in everyone, beginning, naturally, with superiors themselves.

¹² GS, 24.

But, on the other hand, it seems more to the point that we not yet make any verbal declaration to people not in the Society. We should begin to act immediately in favor of social justice with the eloquence of our deeds. This way, when the day comes in which our unequivocal action for social justice demands a justification and a public explanation, then on that day, our "taking of a stand" will not only be capable of formulation, but it will have to be made without any hesitation.

Taking a stand

In the meantime, I have decided to begin by taking a stand internally, within the Society. And from this moment on I want this "taking of a stand" to be effective among the members of the Society. It is gravely distressing that still today there are those within the Society, even among those who hold positions of great responsibility, who have not understood the urgency and the primary importance of the problem of social justice. Without doubt those who give an equal significance to the authentic social apostolate and to the other specialized activities deceive themselves. Such a judgment is, in reality, without any meaning: it does not take into account the unique moral implications of the social problems.

Moreover, the possibilities which dispose the Society to respond to directives of the Church and to put into operation this social doctrine must cause us to reflect deeply. The purpose of the Society, pledged to the most universal and the most lasting values, our thirty-six thousand Jesuits distributed through all latitudes in the most diverse civilizations and social classes, even the level of human resources which are at our disposal, constitute a situation which obliges us to set aside our personal and collective responsibilities, and to recall with a new urgency that a response which might be sufficient for others, would not be so for us.

We have to realize that some socio-economic structures, given their mutual interdependence, constitute a bloc, a social system which forms a whole. With respect to establishing a just social order, the intrinsic insufficiency of certain fundamental structures expresses itself in a global insufficiency in function of the whole system which is in discord with the Gospel.¹³

¹³ *L'Osservatore Romano* (June 8-9, 1964), Paul VI to UCID"; Also, *ibid.* (November 25, 1965), "To the Latin American Hierarchy."

As a result the Society has a moral obligation to rethink all its ministries and forms of apostolates and to examine whether they really answer to what the urgency and the priority of justice and social dignity require. Even an apostolate to which the Society is so sincerely attached and whose importance is not doubted by anyone, such as education on various levels, must submit its concrete forms to actual reconsideration in the light of the exigencies of the social problem. One can think of certain high schools, by nature quasi-exclusive because of student selectivity and tuition rates, which seriously pose the question of their reason for existence or of their radical transformation. This consideration, extending through all the ministries in Latin America, led Father General Janssens to affirm categorically:

I know well that I often distress you when it seems that I impose new tasks on men already overburdened. Do not consider the works already undertaken as if you have an obligation to continue all of them. As a preliminary, analyze again with a new concern what you have and what you have not, as if today the question will be to re-think anew the province since its foundations. Courageously abandon what is of lesser importance, undertake what is in reality more important . . .¹⁴

A complete integration of this authentic moral scale of values in our daily life, weighs down with obligation and puts more pressure on the personal responsibility of every Jesuit each day. The provincials for their part should utilize all the elements of information and judgment in their comprehension among which the Latin American Council of the Centers of Investigation and Social Action (CLACIAS) plays a pre-eminent role by its very nature.

It is further evident that the Society is at the service of Jesus Christ, who loves all men, with a preference for the poor. Our effort and our immeasurable desire to establish a just social order and conform to the Gospel does not allow us to take sides with either group where there are disputing parties. We do not take sides in a dispute as such. But we are exclusively on the side of truth, justice, equity and love: their imperatives are our only law. We must avoid being offensive, harsh or demagogic, but we are not going to be surprised if "the truth is not pleasing to all."¹⁵ We

¹⁴ AR, XIII, 876.

¹⁵ AR, XI, 723.

must certainly be sensitive to others, but we must also be firm and without fear of losing human respect. This is our attitude in the face of the truth which will certainly displease more than a few and which will possibly have repercussions with respect to some of our present relations with those who have most power. Our rock and our strength is solely the Lord whose love urges us to cooperate for a better world than the one which we have received.¹⁶ Naturally a decisive attitude and doctrine demand the evidence and the support of a hard and austere life, like that of the poor Christ. Any other style of life and work for social justice will be vain.

Responsibility

In consideration of the more comfortable and fortunate classes we must ask ourselves with Fr. Janssens, if our students and our associates "have not received from us a confirmation of their class prejudices, inherited perhaps from their families."¹⁷ The love of Jesus Christ and of our neighbor does not allow us, naturally, to turn from them. We must ask ourselves if our relations with the rich "lead us to open a gap among them" . . . and provoke in them "a constant determination to tear out by the roots the enormous inequality of human conditions."¹⁸ We must remind ourselves that social justice is not satisfied simply by occasional grants of alms nor by conscience-soothing improvements of pay. The real social reform aims to give to each the possibility of accomplishing the perfection and fullness of the human person by the exercise of responsibility and initiative. It is an unjust social order which does not permit the exercise of the responsibility and the personal initiative conforming to human dignity even if this social order is of a nature that assures a just and equitable monetary recompense in itself.¹⁹ Nor may one believe today's more powerful classes can be the principal agents of the social transformation.²⁰ They never have been the agents of a radically more just restructuring and they can scarcely do it by themselves except in isolated cases.

¹⁶ Psalm 30:4.

¹⁷ AR, XI, 720.

¹⁸ AR, XII, 411.

¹⁹ MM, 82, 83; cf. 92, 96.

²⁰ MM, 144.

The re-establishment of society according to a more just, equitable model and a more human concern affects, more than anyone else, the poor, the workers, the peasants, all the social classes who find themselves held in restraint on the margin of society, unable to benefit equitably from its goods and services, or to participate in its decisions. Precisely in the measure that these decisions have a more direct effect on the interests of the poor and the downtrodden, they must not be made without the active presence of these people.²¹ No one can substitute for them in the vital decisions which affect their proper interests, not even under the pretext of doing it better than they would themselves. Counsel them, train them, guide them, especially their leaders, yes. Supplant them and decide for them without their proper consent, no. This usurpation—except always for the intervention of the state for the common good—does not harmonize with Christian social justice. After all, the new society which we are straining for is not merely a society in which each individual simply has more goods and more services, but a society in which each can achieve a progressively fuller realization of himself as human person and therefore where each will not only *have* more, but will *be* more.²²

The only thing left for me now is to bless, from the bottom of my heart, all those Jesuits who have committed their energies and are continuing to spend themselves for this great cause of social justice. If the Society in Latin America and all over the world reacts with love of neighbor and plunges itself into the work of realizing a social order that is more just and equitable both in the distribution of goods and in responsible participation in social, economic and political life, I hope that God our Lord will mercifully forgive our omissions and the scandal we have possibly given. For love covers a multitude of sins.

Rome, December 12, 1966

²¹ *MM*, 97, 99, and *passim*.

²² *GS*, 35.

CALCUTTA, CASSOCKS, AND CHERROOTS

a trip to India

CHARLES P. COSTELLO, S.J.

For years, American Jesuit missionaries have felt a need for greater communication with their home provinces. The conference of mission superiors which met in Syracuse in January, 1966, emphatically recommended such communication. In particular, they authorized visits of several months' duration by missionaries to their home provinces at regular intervals. They also encouraged each American province to work out co-operative programs between the province's own educational institutions and those in their dependent missions. As a first step in the development of such programs, each high school in the Maryland Province "adopted" one of the high schools in the province's missions in India and Chile. Loyola High School in Towson, Maryland was assigned Loyola School in Jamshedpur, in the north Indian province of Bihar. This past summer, Charles P. Costello, S.J., president and rector of Loyola High School, traveled to Jamshedpur to determine how the two Loyolas, one in Maryland, the other in Bihar, might best assist each other. During his three week stay in India, Fr. Costello spoke with both the faculty and students at Loyola School, observed classes there, and toured the mission stations of the Jamshedpur Vice-Province. He also kept a journal which WOODSTOCK LETTERS is happy to print here for the light it sheds on the fine work being done by Maryland Province Jesuits in extraordinarily difficult circumstances, work that is duplicated by Jesuits from every American province in mission areas around the world.

IT IS JULY 23, 1967. The time is 3:30 P.M. at Friendship International Airport. Mike Burch, a scholastic at Loyola, has driven me from Blakefield and stayed for about a half-hour. Shortly after he left, my good friends, the Jeffersons, appeared. We sat in the restaurant and had a drink. The Eastern airline flight took off at 4:10 and arrived at Kennedy at 5:11. What a traffic maze at this place; it took twenty minutes to get from the Eastern terminal to Irish International.

At Irish I found that my flight had been delayed two hours. It left the terminal at 8:15, but even then had to taxi around for an hour while 30 other planes took off ahead of us. The pilot conveyed this happy bit of news: that we had used up 720 gallons of gasoline in that hour, costing the company about 80 dollars a minute. All I could think of was whether we had enough gasoline to get us across the Atlantic. Finally we swept into the air at 9:15 in our Boeing 707 with about 175 passengers aboard.

On the transatlantic trip I sat next to Mr. and Mrs. Ed Walsh. They are natives of Ireland. Ed teaches at V.P.I. Had next to no sleep; guess I was wondering about a few other things at the time. There was a beautiful dawn about 6:30 (Dublin time) over a magnificent terrain of clouds. Arrived at Shannon 7:55 A.M. through a thick overcast which suddenly broke to reveal the Emerald Isle and its fields, all 'plotted and pieced'. Most of the passengers disembarked at Shannon. On to Dublin where we arrived at 9:15 with some more good landscape sights of the blessed island.

I took the terminal bus into the bus center in Dublin; took a taxi from there to University College where I met Fr. Lee Jaster, who was expecting me. Lee, who was studying in Ireland for the summer, will join our community at Blakefield in September. I celebrated a votive Mass of the Holy Spirit in the University chapel, and after this had a fine breakfast with some real Irish tea and baked bread—delicious. Lee and I then went to rent a car at Murray's in Dublin. Got a Mini-Minor. Lee and I had an exciting ride through Dublin traffic (and it's incredible), letting me get used to driving on the wrong side of the car, on the wrong side of the street and with the stick shift on the floor to my left. Somehow

we made it to the outskirts of Dublin with no catastrophe; Lee left me to my own devices at that point to return to center city.

So I took off on my own along the road to Derry—about 150 miles to the north. Departure time was 1:00 P.M. and I arrived in Londonderry at 5:15. The trip was a fantastic delight for a second-generation Irishman—the green fields, the hedgerows, the lovely town squares, the Irish cottages, a fair number of cyclists and a sprinkling of rain and sunshine (the sun came out, by the way, when I got to Northern Ireland, although my cousin was quick to assure me there was no connection). I even got caught behind an Irish funeral with the mourners walking behind a horse-drawn caisson right through the center of the town.

Not knowing my cousin Leo's address, I checked the phone book; called the operator for an explanation of the shillings and pence. Leo was unfortunately not home. So I with a will went in search of his house, made a few wrong turns, but finally got on the right route. As I waited at a corner, much to my surprise a woman asked me for a lift to Culmore. So I took her and on the way discovered Talbot Park, the place where Leo and Maureen live. After dropping my hitchhiker off, I returned, located the house, only to find them out. Maureen was golfing and Leo was visiting. I went next door to Dr. Mac Farland's and found they would return shortly. Well, we had a grand reunion (the last time I saw Leo was back in 1956 when he came into Baltimore as captain on an English freighter). He has failed a good bit; just recently he had a colostomy performed. But he is still the most gracious relative. A good scotch drink with Leo relaxed me wonderfully. After chatting a bit, we had a lovely dinner with some more good Irish tea and bread. I spent some time showing Leo pictures and talking further. But when I began to fall asleep as we talked, we both realized I had had it. The thought of what had happened in just twenty-four hours was enough to create immediate sleep. I took a hot bath and slept like a top.

Maureen woke me at 7:15 with breakfast in bed. Then Maureen and I went to St. Patrick's where I celebrated Mass. It is a lovely old Church—no altar facing the people. Young John Gill served my Mass and, since I was leaving Northern Ireland, I gave him all my English coins. On returning to Talbot Park, Leo was up and

about, and we had another round of tea. Took a solo walk to the River Foyle, a river whose name frequently crossed my mother's lips. It is the essence of peace and placidity. Then we headed for our round of visits in their car.

Cousins, uncles, and aunts

First off we visited Leo's sister Anna, a second cousin, in Moville—another name I often heard. Her niece Ann (O'Donnell) Morrison was also there on vacation. Another round of tea. Then Maureen, Leo, and I took a stroll along the lovely village green which rolls down into the Loch Foyle. Our next stop was at a little butcher shop in the corner of the town square where Charles Crumlish, another cousin, and the owner of the shop, lives. After chatting a bit with Charlie and his wife Winnie, we went upstairs to visit Charlie's sister, Nora, another cousin, who is an invalid in bed. I felt like I was a blessed vision from heaven from her reaction to seeing me. For lunch we went to Keaveney's in Moville. Had a drink and a delicious lunch. In my mom's day, this was the old Alexander Hotel. As we walked through the town square, Leo pointed to one lovely tree—larger than the rest—which he explained: there used to be a tavern on the corner and the owner always made a point of pouring the half-emptied glasses of Guinness' stout on its roots.

Now we were on our way out the Moville road. The Loch Foyle was on our right and the sweeping hills of Donegal on the left with patches of farm all along the route, flocks of cattle and sheep. It was the winding "upper road" we took through the hedgerows. The Ballybrack Church was our first stop. This is the Church where mom and her sisters and brothers were all christened. There is a cemetery surrounding the Church, completely overgrown and filled with hidden drainage routes. The bushes and grass were shoulder high; Leo fell a couple of times while making his way in search of some family headstones. The weather created a "Wuthering Heights" atmosphere; there were heavy overcast skies and a strong cold wind coming down off the hills. As we forged our way about, we came upon the tombstones of my great-great grandfather which read "Erected by James Hernan of Shrove in memory of his father Charles Hernan who died 3 July 1871, aged 80 years"; of my great grandfather which read "Pray for the soul of Dennis Hernan who

died 11 February 1889, aged 70 years, and of his daughter Bridget who died 23 July 1884, aged 21 years.”; and finally of my uncle Neil, one that Leo had not seen before. My grandfather Charles had no tombstone. You can imagine how weathered the stones were with age and the elements. Grays and browns of the stones and the gray of the Church—all against the gray skies of Donegal. It becomes clearer where the mixture of melancholy and gaiety in the Irish take their origins—the weather can be the grayest and the brightest.

Following the visit to the cemetery, we went on for another few miles to “Charlie’s Road,” named after my grandfather. The English Rover, Leo’s car, made good speed up the hillside to the farmhouse where we found Winnie Hernan, the present proprietor of the place. It is indeed still primitive—stone floor and rugged furniture. The only concession to the age seemed to be a heating stove. Winnie was as delighted to meet me as I was to meet her. She held my arm and looked into my eyes for a good time. Her son, Charles, who is a lighthouse keeper in the extreme northwest, had just returned to work that morning so I missed seeing him. Winnie gave me a “wee bit of the creature”—and it was a good wee bit indeed.

From the front of the farmhouse looking down to the Loch Foyle with the mountains and sand beaches circumventing the placid water, I had the urge to sit down and stay there forever. Memories of mother’s stories of a fabled beauty along the Atlantic Coast were now certain facts. One quite unfortunate thing was that this inexperienced cameraman managed to take 20 pictures—all wrong and the whole roll was a loss. What a disappointment! We sat and chatted with Winnie for about 20 minutes, and I was able to tell her how my two aunts, her sisters-in-law, were doing in Philadelphia. Winnie had a very difficult time bidding farewell; it was quite clear that she was on the verge of tears and she didn’t want this to be seen so she hurried into the cottage very quickly.

From Winnie’s place, we went a stone’s throw away over to “Pat’s Road,” named after my grand-uncle. Up the road again and through a very narrow gate to the cottage of Mary and John Hernan, some more cousins. John was away haymaking for the day, but Hannah (Hernan) Lavery, the sister of John and Mary, was there with Mary. Hannah lives in Derry and golfs a good bit with Maureen. Mary’s place, in contrast with Winnie’s, is fixed up quite

comfortably, although it is just as small. A good bit off to the side of their cottage is the original homestead where mom and the rest were born. It is now a home for the pigs. The original windows were exceptionally small because the people used to be taxed by the size of their windows (you were being taxed for God's good daylight, it seemed). Of course, we had an afternoon tea—a meal in itself (I was storing up for my Indian experience with all this eating and drinking). As 4:30 approached, Leo, Maureen and I began to make our move toward Derry. After farewells and the barks of the dogs (they had four there), we headed for the "lower road" on the route back. Along this road I saw the Great White Bay, the lighthouse, and the Greencastle Golf course, the place where Maureen plays. As we moved out of Shrove, there was no question (perhaps a prejudice comes in here) that this was one of the most beautiful sections of country I had ever seen.

Back to The Moorings

Back to Leo's lovely home, The Moorings, with its large beautiful gardens. Maureen and Leo both seem to have green thumbs. I have never seen such an array of mammoth rose bushes anywhere. Then I had to have a cup of tea for the road. Maureen led me back through Derry city to the Strabane Road across the Foyle, and I was on my way back to Dublin. Left at 6 P.M. and arrived at Dublin Airport at 11 P.M. It was interesting—and helpful—to have daylight until 10:30 or so. Despite a few wrong turns, one for a 24 mile stretch, that was pretty good time. After returning the rented car, I thought I could get a room near the airport, but the motel was completely full. Went, then, to the Adelphi Hotel (?) in Dublin where a young man by the name of Bill Arrigan (a former seminarian in Washington, D.C.) was the maitre d'hôtel. The room I got reminded me of some of those ridiculous places we put up with when we wanted a weekend in Ocean City. Some drunk tottered in during the early morning and, with the paper-thin walls, he created a sensation.

At 6:30 A.M. I rose and caught the airport bus; arrived there about 7:30 and took off for London at 8:30. Had a clear and exciting view of London as we came into Heathrow Airport. The airport itself is quite a place, extremely well-organized and handsome.

Couldn't venture about since my flight to Geneva came up in a few hours, so I sat and wrote a few postcards and watched the assorted humanity hurrying by.

Swissair took me to Geneva. It was a Caravelle jet; have to admit that the Swiss stewardesses were the loveliest I encountered on my long trip. Saw some of France as we made our descent into Geneva. In flight I sat next to a charming young Indian girl who lives in London and attends St. Godric's College there. I later met her whole family on the flight to Bombay; they were going there for the older daughter's wedding. The father, Ticam Chulani, owns a watch and camera store chain in Jamaica. He controls 70 to 90% of the business there. During the flight to Bombay, we were to have an enjoyable chat together.

As the plane approached Geneva we got a brief glimpse of the majestic Alps. This was the first country in which I expected to run into difficulty on language, but there was none. Most of the gracious people of Geneva spoke several languages. You begin to feel a bit how we make other people accommodate to us. On the advice of the Indian family I met on the plane, I took a taxi to the Hotel Richemond where I stayed for my twenty-four hours in Geneva. This was gracious living. I had a fine room with shower, a delicious dinner (reported to be the best cuisine in Europe), and a hearty breakfast the next morning—all for 20 dollars.

I was unable to celebrate Mass on Wednesday with all the travel. In the afternoon in Geneva, I walked to Notre Dame Cathedral to see if I could make arrangements for Mass the following morning. Met one of the priests at the rectory who directed me to the Jesuit House in Geneva which I did not know was there—St. Boniface—about 6 or 8 blocks away. This is a hostel for young working men and women—a very fine building. A group of nuns take care of the place, and one made arrangements for me to say Mass at 7:30 the next morning. The walk through the city gave me a good picture of Geneva. The number of sidewalk cafés is striking; the stores and office buildings are impressive. Got back to the magnificent Lake Geneva, a few blocks from the hotel. There I discovered they had cruises and so I went out on the lake for an hour. It was a bit choppy. The sight of hundreds of sailboats with their brilliant, vari-colored spinnakers bellying out in the strong wind was exciting.

After my cruise I returned to the hotel, took a shower, and then had dinner. After the meal, I decided to take another walk around the lake area. The lake front with its many manicured garden parks, lights illuminating the trees, the touring boats moving back and forth across the lake, all the promenaders—an enjoyable sight. On returning to my room, I relaxed with some reading and good music.

Rose at 6:30 on Thursday and prepared for the good hike to St. Boniface. Saw another view of Geneva in the morning sunlight. My Mass was finished about 8:00, and I returned to the hotel for breakfast on the terrace. Took a final stroll along the lakefront, making a second effort with the camera (these did turn out). The fountain at the city end of the lake is a remarkable thing. It is a pressurized stream which shoots about 500 feet straight up into the air.

Signed out of the Richemond about 11:30 and took a taxi to the airport in Cointrin outside Geneva. There I confirmed my ticket and got my baggage set for the 3:00 P.M. Air India flight (it is interesting that the only place thus far where I have had to pay for 8 lbs. overweight baggage was at Friendship in Baltimore). I watched the passing parade at the airport—quite an international scene. Had a drink to screw up my courage for the long flight to India and some lunch; then I bought a bottle of scotch, and a box of cigars for the men in India (that is the quota you are allowed to bring in). My pockets were now filled with assorted coins from Ireland, England, and Switzerland.

Miles logged so far in flight—about 4,500. By the time I reach Calcutta, it will be 9,900 miles, and the trip to Jamshedpur will bring the total to 10,000. I settled down in the Air India 707 Boeing Jet. Next to me sat a former High Commissioner for India in Ottawa, Mr. C. L. Venkatachar, from Bangalore in the south of India. We had some enjoyable conversation, and I was very pleased to hear from him, despite the fact that he was a Brahmin, that he knew a great deal about what the Jesuits had contributed to India. He was especially impressed by the work of Robert De Nobili and the great mathematician, Matteo Ricci. The Chulanis, mentioned previously, were also on board, and I had a long chat with Mr. Chulani.

Beirut and Bombay

After losing another five hours in the time change, we landed

in Beirut, Lebanon around midnight. A layover of 40 minutes at the airport gave me a chance to see this city by night—from the vantage point of the airport terminal. Mr. Chulani who had lived in Beirut for 8 yrs. gave me a bit of commentary on the place. The mountainsides were sparkling with lights. Most of the city dwellers move to the mountains for the summer months, because the heat is so intense on the plain at this time. Just to the right of the airport was the Mediterranean. We took off then for Bombay and, after a meal on the plane and a little snooze, we came into the Bombay airport through a driving monsoon rain. The approach was the bumpiest part of my whole flight so far. Much to my chagrin, it was 6 A.M. in this Indian city. There was a noticeable change of treatment of foreigners in this first stop in India, despite large signs at the airport parading the slogan "Tourists are our most honored Guests". We also had to make a change of plane here which was unexpected. We were shepherded into a waiting room at the terminal, and after an hour or more delay, we finally boarded another Air India flight. As we flew off from Bombay, the dawn was breaking, and still there was a downpour of rain. It was a bit bumpy again until we got over the clouds. The rest of the flight to Calcutta was fine. My companion this time was a young Indian mother, decked out in a lovely sari with her young baby in her arms. She was on her way to visit her in-laws in Calcutta.

As I disembarked from the plane and entered the terminal in Calcutta, it was a real pleasure to spy Fr. Larry Hunt, headmaster at Loyola School, Jamshedpur, waving in the midst of the crowd, decked out in his white cassock—the missionaries wear them everywhere in India. Health inspection came first, then the check through at Customs. Despite a long wait for service, they did not even request the opening of my bags (maybe we were their honored guests, after all). Larry and I grabbed a coke at the airport restaurant, and I had there my first glimpse of the poor Indian workmen serving table. We then took the airport bus from Dum Dum Airport (that is really the name) into Calcutta. What an incredible baptism to Indian life this was! As we bumped along in the battered bus, the view from the window was simply unbelievable. It seemed as though people filled the whole landscape, and where there were empty spots, the sacred cows flopped about like owners of the land.

The people were in varying stages of undress, dirty and utterly poor, moving about with an obvious air of hopelessness. Hundreds and hundreds of people per block, some driving a few head of cattle, barefooted men pulling rickshaws, dilapidated shops of every assortment, women carrying small bloated babies in their arms, little children scrounging in the dirt for scraps of food, car horns constantly honking away in an effort to move the cars through the dense throngs (the companies making car horns must do a fabulous business; when you drive your hand has to be on the horn constantly). Even this description does little justice to the reality. Larry commented wisely that all the bishops at the Vatican Council should have taken a week's tour of Calcutta and perhaps some of their decisions and conclusions would have been more far-sighted and pertinent.

Finally we arrived at St. Xavier's College—our Jesuit school, established in 1852 (the same year as Loyola High School incidentally) with grades from kindergarten to senior year in college—something like 4,000 students. Here I met a number of the fine Belgian Jesuits who have done so very much throughout India; had lunch; took a nap and then a shower; said Mass. After this, Larry and I took a two hour walk through the heart of Calcutta. Larry again ushered me along the streets, teeming with people.

Remarkable contrasts

It was the rush hour and the trolley cars were bulging with people hanging onto the sides and back and out the windows. Constantly we were surrounded and besieged by people begging. For example, a mother and her small children would be making an effort to get a bit of money. The mother would deploy a small child in our direction and he would hound us for a whole block (not knowing Hindi and not having any Indian money, I was safe). A horrible bit of information I picked up in connection with this phenomena: many parents will purposely maim their children when they are infants in order that they may more effectively beg when they are older. I saw a woman huddled by a battered shop, one small child behind her, and in her arms another little bloated baby which could not have been far from death. Hundreds with little coal fires were cooking some meagre fare right in the street, or sitting on their haunches (they have a fantastic ability at this—for hours on end)

in doorways and along walls. The results of unemployment were blatantly obvious with small groups of men sitting on their haunches in a circle, staring or mumbling to one another. Vendors of every conceivable trinket were plying their wares through this maze of humanity. Occasionally, amid ramshackle and dilapidated stores, you could spot a nicely appointed place with air-conditioning. The contrasts are remarkable, because there seem to be so few good things among so many bad. Eventually we made a circuit back to St. Xavier's.

We stayed at St. Xavier's for dinner. (I should mention here that, shortly before our walk, we happened upon Fr. Sig Laschenski, a former professor at our seminary in Rangoon, whom the Burmese government expelled from the country two years ago along with hundreds of other foreign missionaries. Sig was just in from the south of India and on his way to Burma for a 24 hr. visit before taking up residence in Thailand. Here is a Jesuit who is a missionary to his fingertips.) Much to the chagrin of Larry and myself, we had reading at table all through the meal, along with Latin graces. I went a bit easy on the eating with the hope that the preventative medicine against dysentery plus an easing into the different food out here might keep the disease away. After dinner I got my first introduction to the "coffee-klatch" which is the conclusion of the meal but always in the recreation room. Interestingly, they have compulsory rec for a half hour after dinner. I was beginning to sense some characteristics of the "old world Society." I also noticed as I puffed on an Indian cigar that I was alone in my efforts—no one was smoking.

To Jamshedpur

Since we had dinner at 7:30 P.M., their regular hour, we left recreation shortly because we had to be out of St. Xavier's by taxi no later than 9:15 P.M. Our train for Jamshedpur was scheduled for 10:00. It was a very short distance in mileage to the station, but you have to figure on the horrendous mess of human, animal and mechanical traffic, especially in terms of the one bridge, the Howra, the world's second largest "some kind or other" bridge, and the only one across the river. Getting across was another unique experience. There is absolutely no concept of lines of traffic. How the bridge has stood so long is amazing, considering all the weight that

is concentrated on it at one time. As we neeled our way with the horn honking every two seconds, we passed huge trucks, stopped in the middle of the whole menagerie with the driver underneath repairing something or other. I was told that things were relatively quiet and light on this particular evening, letting us get to the station at 9:40 in plenty of time. The baggage was fought over by four or five barefooted Indians; it's a sin against society to carry your own bags. As we entered the station I was reminded of an Indian novel I read, *Nectar in a Sieve*, the story of a couple who were forced to find their night's lodging in places like railway stations. It was early and already hundreds of people were asleep on the main floor of the station.

The missionaries treat you very generously. Although they usually ride the third class compartments when they travel, they have mercy on us—we well-accommodated Americans. So we had an air-conditioned compartment on the train. You could not help noticing the other class compartments, especially the third class, jammed with people sitting on wooden benches, lying on the floor or in the baggage racks. Larry and I chatted for a short while; then hit the sack. During the night we managed some good hours of sleep, although on a few occasions I suspected that the railroad ties were unduly high and were passing immediately under my bed.

About 6 A.M., we disembarked from the train in Jamshedpur, at the Tata station. It was already obvious that Jamshedpur was quite a different city from Calcutta. This is a company town with buildings, roads, etc., sponsored by the philanthropic Tata family, owners of the famous steel mills frequently referred to as the "Pittsburgh of the East." The route from the station to Loyola school was relatively clear of overcrowding and animal maneuverings. The drive took us about 15 minutes.

On arrival at Loyola School, I was given a most gracious and cordial welcome; had a fine breakfast and shaved in readiness for the "March Past" which the students presented in my honor. The monsoon rains appeared shortly and curtailed the presentation. Larry introduced me to the student body and I spoke to them for a few minutes. It was now Saturday, July 29th, close to the noon hour.

After lunch and a bit of conversation, I took off for bed. Later in

the afternoon the rector, Fr. Ken Judge, took me for a drive around a part of the city. We stopped at St. Joseph's Cathedral, the residence of Bishop Lawrence Picachy, S.J., a native Indian (he was away on retreat). Met Fr. Casanovas and Fr. Packy McFarland, two of the priests assigned to the Cathedral. Then we drove through Jubilee Park, a lovely spot, given to the people of the city by the Tata family on one of the anniversaries of the town. On to Mercy Hospital, a scattering of make-shift buildings where a group of 5 Mercy nuns from Philadelphia do a remarkable job of caring for accidents, doing surgery (one of the nuns is a surgeon), and treating other illnesses, especially TB. Sr. Regina Mercedes is the sister of Mr. Otto Hentz, a theologian at Woodstock, and from Jenkintown where she was in school with my brother-in-law. She is a real extrovert, jovial and affable—qualities almost necessary for this mission life. We had a look at their convent which was very nice. She informed us that jackals come right up to their doorstep during the night.

A welcoming show presented by the Loyola faculty (there are about 10 Jesuits and 35 or more laymen and women) was scheduled for 6 P.M. We arrived back just in time. There were about 12 different presentations of songs and drama—very enjoyable, although, as Larry Hunt put it, the Hindi songs did not “turn me on” too much. I was called on to say a few words. That this would become a regular routine became more and more evident. Fortunately I said just the right things in my two minute address—so the Jesuits told me. The Indians are a very sensitive people, and it does not take long to pick this up. Apparently there had been quite a buildup to my visit. All the Indian teachers were treating me like we treat the Middle States Evaluation team that visits our school.

Xavier Labor Relations Institute

In the evening Larry took me for my first of several visits to XLRI (Xavier Labor Relations Institute) where Fr. Bill Tome is superior. It is only a five minute drive from Loyola, and quite an impressive building with beautiful landscaping, especially the rows of weeping Ashoka trees on either side of the main entrance. (To keep lawns and gardens beautiful here is not difficult since labor is so incredibly cheap and plentiful. Men and women cut the lawns by hand, believe it or not. They then can sell the grass to others

for feed for their cattle.) Our get-together in their rec room over a few drinks of gin was most enjoyable. Frs. Ed McGrath, Jim Collins (a New England Jesuit), Herb Covely, and a native Indian priest, P.C. Anthony, along with Bill, constitute the staff. Their influence on the industrial scene there is great; perhaps some indication of this is the fact that the Vice-President of India will be there this September to present a lecture to the students. Much of our conversation late into the evening centered on the changes in the Society in the States with some special inquiries about the "younger men." I brought over with me two records of the Tijuana Brass and one Simon and Garfunkel record. They thoroughly enjoyed them. I also delivered the moisture-proof salt shakers which Fr. Cy Dawson, a Jamshedpur missionary back in the States for a visit, sent to his confreres. These are very welcome additions during the monsoon season which lasts for about six months of the year. About midnight Larry and I headed back to Loyola. That I was pretty pooped at this stage of the trip was patently clear.

The morrow was the 11th Sunday after Pentecost and July 30. My rising time was about 8 A.M. Most of my initial days in India, I celebrated Mass in the afternoon. About 11 A.M., I was invited to inspect the hostel where about 100 Catholic boys reside—all living good distances from Loyola. It is another very fine building, about 50 yards from the school. These boys, incidentally, constitute most of the Catholic population of the student body of 1100. Everything seemed ready for the inspection. It reminded me of the Sunday morning inspection tours of senior corridor at Georgetown Prep. The age range in the hostel is about 5 to 19, and this in itself is enough to keep Joe Lacey, the one scholastic at Loyola, a very busy man (he has much more besides). The shades of skin color are from very dark to white and, interestingly enough, those with lighter skins are considered the more blessed. They all have handsome features. When inspection was over, I was asked to judge the winner of four plaques which each of the "houses" in the hostel had made. The winner was Gonzaga House. Joe later told me that this one had been started and finished just the day before, and at least one of the others had been a month in the making (well, I think I would still judge the same way). Had to "say a few words" again, of course.

In the afternoon, a number of alumni moderators from Ranchi

and Patna came for an "Old Boys" (the British term for alumni) meeting, the first of its kind. It was an idea inaugurated by Fr. Joe Kennedy, former rector at Loyola. Prior to the get-together, all the Jesuits met for a discussion of what could be expected from such a session. The American observer, of course, was called on for his observations. They had about 100 of the Jesuit school graduates for the meeting, which was very good for a first effort—an encouraging sign.

The next day was Monday and the feast of St. Ignatius. In the morning at 9:00, there was a staff vs. student soccer match in which the students bested the staff 3 to 0. Fr. Ed Graham was the goalie for the staff. A good crowd of onlookers enjoyed the contest on the rain-drenched field. Following the soccer match, the students had arranged a show. In the absence of TV, these kids are blessed in being forced to entertain themselves. Larry and I would not be able to stay for the whole performance, as we told them at the beginning, since we had received an invitation from XLRI for lunch. Had a very enjoyable lunch there and sat around talking again for a few hours.

A Mass for the hostel boys was set for 6 P.M. Joe Lacey had arranged a concelebration (not too much of this is done in India). I was the principal concelebrant; also Mike Love, the minister, Larry Hunt the headmaster, Fr. Stiller, a visitor from Katmandu in northern India, Ed Graham, the treasurer, and Gene Power, an English teacher at Loyola. At the offertory, Joe asked me to present crosses to the "Crusaders", a sodality-type organization in which the younger boys participate. About 20 of the boys received them after I blessed the crosses in a brief ceremony. I gave a short homily. It was a fine celebration of the liturgy with the students singing with great gusto, making up their own intentions for the Prayer of the Faithful. Joe Lacey has done an excellent job with the boys.

On Tuesday, Joe invited me to a few of his classes and a short story seminar. The young boys are quite capable and have surprisingly fine vocabularies although artificially expressed at times. Following their quite rapid speech is difficult for one not quite used to it. On Wednesday, Larry took me on a whirlwind tour of some of the lower standards. Having these boys from kindergarten on enables the staff to accomplish far more than would be possible if

they limited themselves to the high school standards. The majority of the Lower Standard classes are conducted by Indian women, a very bright addition to a school in their gaily-colored saris. Many of the ladies are fairly well off, and they have taken this position in order to have something constructive to do. A number of them have developed into excellent teachers. In the afternoon, I had a two hour conversation with Fr. Tony Roberts, the vice-provincial, and it was an enjoyable session, with an exchange of views and some good discussion.

Since afternoon tea is a ritual here in India (another British trace left behind), a few comments are in order about this. No matter where you travel or where you are, you can be assured of a good spot of tea. It is far more grandiose than our afternoon haustus; it resembles more a fourth meal. Generally there is hot and cold tea, sandwiches, biscuits and other assorted tid-bits. If one is travelling by taxi or bus, I am told it is by no means unusual that the driver and occupants of the vehicle will stop at a tea-shop (and these shops are available in the humblest of villages) for their "tea-break."

An evening of luxurious texture

As evening was moving in over the hills of Jamshedpur, I noticed that it was a particularly clear scene. I grabbed my camera and went on the roof of the school which affords a sweeping view of the surrounding countryside. The cloud formations, the interplay of darkness and light against the heavy greens of the hills, darkened here and there by the clouds over them created a luxurious texture which I hope I captured with my camera. Joe Lacey accompanied me to the rooftop and indicated a number of points of interest visible from this location. After I finished my shots of the countryside, Joe and I chatted for about an hour before dinner. Joe is the only scholastic presently at Loyola, which creates difficulties for him since there is always a consolation to be derived from the support and teamwork of other scholastics. Because of the problems with visas and the entry of men into India, there will be an unfortunate dearth of scholastics in the schools there.

Thursday morning I attended the "Tables Competition" presented by the 3 classes of the 5th standard. The previous day I had received a charming, hand-painted invitation from the 5th standard C. Ten boys had been selected from the 3 classes and they were

lined up on the stage. Three of the teachers then ran them through some very tough drills on the multiplication tables, all the way to the 16x table. Multiplication, division, fractions and ratios. They had remarkable skill in all these areas. For the ratios they had printed cards shown to them, e.g., $6/42$ is as $?/168$, and they produced answers within seconds. It was all oral, no paper work allowed.

In the afternoon, Larry had selected 15 good students from the four upper standards. I spent about 50 minutes chatting with them and listening to their views about a number of things, prompted by a set of general questions which I posed to them. After this enjoyable exchange, I talked with Larry for half an hour about my impressions. I did not try to pick up their names, for that would have taken me the whole 50 minutes. The names are incredible; aside from the Anglo-Indians such as John Smith, there are the many Hindi names such as Anirban Banerjee, or Mohinder Shah Singh, or Gautram Mitra, etc. It's hard to get one's tongue around some of them.

Friday morning I had a get-together with the upper standards English teachers, and presented some observations which I had gathered during the much-too-brief period of a week; offered some suggestions and entertained some questions. Fr. Gene Power had invited me to his English literature class during the period after lunch. They were in the midst of an analysis of Dickens' *Great Expectations*. This was an 11th standard class, and the piece of literature they were studying was one of the required works for the Cambridge Examination which they would take in December. These are the British school exams and, having had a chance to peruse some of the previous exam books, I know they are most demanding. Our students would have problems with them. There is this difference, however. I think in our study of literature we cover a great deal more material. For instance they devote two years to studying two Shakespearean plays and two novels. As a teacher I think I would find this a much too boring prospect. The performance of the boys on a question of character relationship and development was quite good. Immediately after the class, Gene and I went to the dining room and had afternoon tea together and talked for about an hour. Some thoughts I had on teaching a novel were shared with

him along with some observations on the class which he requested. To retrogress a few hours, I should have mentioned that Larry took me to see three classroom exhibits in the 4th and 5th standards—two were on art, one on social studies. He has done a great deal to encourage classroom displays which are quite good. Some of the boys have done remarkable art work.

Barbers' Row

While Gene and I were chatting, I mentioned that I was going to the Bazaar in town to get a haircut. Since he also wished to get one, he offered to drive me in. We went to "Barbers' Row", a series of wooden shacks, about seven or eight together, each with a couple of chairs. This was a unique experience—the old style hand clippers, much dusting of powder, and unexpressed doubts in my mind as the job proceeded. As the barber kept snipping away at the back of my head, I began to envision a large number of bare spots. Then the shaving about the ears and neck began with a straight razor and water (no soap). I thought large segments of skin were being scraped off. Then came the head massage, Indian style, with heavy thumping of hands on the head in a rhythmic pattern and rubbing and twisting of the neck and shoulders. This last part was the greatest—I would go back to India just to get another haircut—tremendously relaxing and invigorating. Then he took a large bottle with a spray on it, levelled it right in front of me, and blasted my face with the contents. Finally a wet towel gently rubbed over the face and neck and it was done. It turned out to be an excellent haircut. All this for one rupee—about 15 cents.

While I was waiting for the other barber to finish Gene, I sat watching three women beggars sitting at a curve in the lane outside the shop—a sight so very terribly typical of India. One of the three stood up with a stick for a cane or crutch. Her foot was grotesquely bent and bandaged with an incredibly filthy rag. She hobbled across the lane to a fence where a bandage replacement was hanging to dry, and with painful effort sat down again to change the bandage on her foot. The fifteen minutes or so that I watched, only one meagre contribution was dropped in their cups. A second of the three women had no hands at all. This scene and these circumstances could be multiplied *ad infinitum* throughout the land. The very commonness seems to foster unconcern.

We drove back to Loyola and arrived in time for a big basketball game between Loyola and a local boys' club. The court is a rather makeshift affair outdoors, and the rains had provided a goodly share of puddles for the encounter. During the pre-game warmup I tried my hand at a few shots (even put a couple in). Loyola trailed 16 to 4 at half-time, but the final score was 25-24. Loyola lost. Their great comeback missed in the final seconds. I was very much impressed when, after the game, one of the Loyola players came over to thank me for watching the whole game.

Dinner occurs at 6:30 on Fridays, an hour earlier than usual. Following dinner, I was invited to a show presented by the Hostel boys. Fr. John Guidera, who was resting at Loyola from his work at Chakradharpur, Larry, Joe Lacey, and I attended. Again I was struck by the ability these boys have to entertain themselves, to get up before an audience and perform. This is certainly an excellent preparation for developing poise and self-expression, something we need a good deal more of in the States. Some of the acts were pretty awful, but the general entertainment was good.

Unbeknownst to me, following the show there was a planned presentation of gifts from each of the "houses" of the hostel. I was asked to come on stage and accept the gifts. There was a representative from each house waiting in the wings and, when his name was called, he came out with a big smile and a brightly-wrapped package to give me. There were five gifts in all—a cigarette holder, a wood-carved book stand, a wood-carved set of sacred cows, a couple of knives in leather, hand-ornamented cases, and an embroidered shoulder-bag. I made the suggestion that I open them on the spot which the boys thought a good idea. It was a wonderful gesture for the boys to have done all this, and I tried to express my gratitude as adequately as possible with another "few words." I suspect that Joe Lacey was the mastermind behind the gifts.

As of today, my Indian experience was a week old and most pleasurable. Thanks to Milibis, the preventative drug, dysentery had still not struck. I was moving through a number of rolls of film which I hope will give some concreteness to this whole venture. Today was also the eve of the tour of the Vice-Province. Tony Roberts had carefully arranged this with Bill Tome. Bill took XLRI's little car, a Herald, and arrived at Loyola around 11 A.M. Larry Hunt

and also Dick Norman, who had been at Loyola for a week recuperating from another attack of amoebic dysentery, were to accompany us.

So we set out on a trip that was to cover over 300 miles. Our first stop was to be Lupungutu where we have St. Xavier's School. Lupungutu is a village on the outskirts of Chaibasa (which also looks like a village), and the entry off the main road is a dirt lane alongside a canal, now quite swollen by monsoon rains. The road, too, required some clever handling of the car to avoid puddles which could well have covered potholes as much as a foot or two deep. Our arrival at St. Xavier's was about 1 P.M. We were greeted at the faculty wing of the compound by Fr. Larry Dietrich, the headmaster, looking very much his old self, in great shape physically, crewcut and all. There were also a couple of Indian scholastics, plus about five dogs. As we moved into the building to locate a room we met the Rector, Fr. Dick McHugh, as hale and hearty as ever with the same look of devilment in his eye that I remembered from Wernersville. Then we saw Robbie Currie, a scholastic from Philadelphia in his second year of regency, who looks fine.

While the rest of the journeymen siesta-ed, Larry Dietrich and I talked for a couple of hours about old memories, mutual friends and current concerns; then we had afternoon tea with the crowd. Following this, I had a guided tour of the installation. Larry Dietrich took me first to the hostel where about 300 boys—all about our high school age—lived in a barracks-style arrangement. Most of them were sleeping after a tiring morning working at seeding a field so that their very good soccer team might have a place to play. The triple-decker bunks were intriguing—with only a pipe framework to begin with, the boys weave their own matting for their beds in a very fine and durable design. I was also intrigued by an Indian game they were playing, called "Caroms"—a flat board with a rim around it and a small hole in each corner. Something like small-sized poker chips are used with one chip as the shooter. The object was to hit the other chips into the holes. In reality, it was a form of pool, using the principle of angles and reactions off other chips to maneuver the objects into the holes. There were about four of these games in session.

All the boys here are aboriginals—Adivasi or Ho in origin, so that English is virtually unknown to them except for the excellent course they receive at the school—Robbie Currie has done a great deal in this area. Of the 300 plus boys, about 120 are Catholics. We moved on then to see the chapel, a lovely spot, built by Bro. Guy Ames who is now at Loyola School. From the chapel, we moved on to the school building which is completely separate from the H-shaped area where the hostel and faculty quarters are. It is a fine building which looks in need of some tender-loving care right now; to be dressed up a bit with something along corridors and in the classrooms, but the sheer requirement of trying to keep the place clean does not allow time for such niceties. On to the rooftop, where the clear impact of the utter isolation of this educational oasis struck with full fury. In a large pond about 200 yards away, the students who were not sleeping were swimming and washing their clothes. It was wash day—the only means available to clean clothes—and on the grass in front of the school were pants and shirts and wrap-arounds which the Indian males wear.

“On Wisconsin”

It was near supper time so we headed back. There was good banter at table and joshing over my reactions to papaya—an Indian dessert. I found it inedible, but most then admitted it took them about six months to get used to it. After dinner, we adjourned to the rec room and began a conversation which went well into the night, lubricated sporadically by a “bit of the creature.” Much questioning was directed toward me; a good bit of the time centered on the new dimension of community life called dialogue. The five dogs provided interim distraction as they caught bugs and other creatures that flew into the room. Shop closed around 11:30. But before leaving this point, much delightful background music had been provided for us by Larry Dietrich, who was rehearsing between 8 and 9 with the boys. It was Xavier’s new school song, just composed that morning—to the tune of “On Wisconsin” with a dash of the Southern California marching song. We could hear the clear refrain “On St. Xavier’s, On St. Xavier’s” with the strange accent. Their soccer team has done quite well this season, and with this song they should go all the way.

It was not difficult to sleep well in an air-conditioned room—the

only one they have—and so graciously given to the visiting father. Quite obviously, as the days went on, their great pleasure in having a stateside visitor could not be indicated clearly enough. There was no end to their display of charity. I awoke in the morning around 7:30, and Bill Tome and I concelebrated Mass. Following Mass, we sat around the breakfast table for more conversation, and on to the rec room for some relaxing. Shortly after this I went to my room and wrote a letter on recent events to the Loyola Community in Baltimore.

Following lunch, we took up a bridge game—I've played but a couple of games in ten years—with Bro. Merlin Pereira, Larry Hunt, and Dick Norman. Larry and I got soundly trounced by about 3000 points. My rustiness at the game came through clearly, but it was enjoyable. Then on to afternoon tea; we said goodbye to Dick McHugh and Larry Dietrich, who were heading in to Chaibasa for a soccer match between St. Xavier's and some local team. These farewells would not be final since all the men would be coming to Loyola for the province education meeting on August 14th and 15th. As we drove off, a heavy monsoon cloud drew near and the downpour started, so in driving back along the road, we faced more puddles than when we came in.

It is now Sunday P.M., August 6th, and our little Herald under Bill Tome's dexterous hands bounced along toward Chaibasa and to a visit with John Deeney who has been at this spot for years, doing a magnificent job among the Ho people of his parish. The main street (?) of Chaibasa was a monumental mess. Again the dirt, the dark and lopsided shops, hundreds of milling, disheveled people and children, and, of course, the lords of the land, the cattle and water buffaloes, strategically placed in the middle of the road, just lying there or lackadaisically moving along. All this plus a downpour of rain from heavy, gray skies. What a sight to behold!

The rectory was located and John was there to greet us. Fr. Carl Dincher, his companion there, was in Jamshedpur that day. It was a dismal place, discolored and run-down with the bare necessities of life in evidence and not much more. We drew up some chairs and chatted for a bit. John gave me some history and background on the place. An encouraging statistic: in 1951 the parish diary recorded 35 communions of a Sunday; there are now over 500 per Sunday.

Conversions among the people are great in number. Generally, a whole family will move into the Church together; John said there are at least two families a week. And no pressure is being exerted. As a matter of fact, any pressure would create a turmoil with the government; they are dead set against these conversions.

There are close to 200 boys who eat and sleep and attend school in the parish compound—in rather primitive conditions. We went out to watch them in the chow line and Dick Norman talked with them in their Ho language. Before we left, John showed us some of the pagan sacrifice materials he had taken from converted families—leaves in which they fold up charms to appease the gods of the harvest and rain, some monkey skulls, etc. He also showed us a large trunkful of index cards on which he is recording his dictionary of the Ho language. It looks to be an almost impossible job. A typical example I picked up: *sab-baragur*, a verb meaning “to let something round slip from your hand while picking it up from the ground.” Would you believe it? What a contribution this will be when the work is finished!

A new church

The church they have used lately is a large hall which is also the classroom for the boys. Carl Dincher has a new church under construction, about 3 minutes by car from the original sight—on the edge of Chaibasa. John suggested that we be sure to see it. Two years have already gone into the construction of it. It was designed by a Jesuit priest-architect from Ranchi in northern India. There is no doubt that it will be a showplace for miles around when it is completed. The interior is fan-shaped with the altar in the center, facing the people. The windows are large and unique in design; the brick work is excellently done. Detached from the church is a huge bell tower which will undoubtedly be the highest building in all of north Bihar. At the base of the tower is the baptistry. Building is slow, but they build well. Most of the work is done by hand. To see the scaffolding many stories high, all made of bamboo poles which are interlaced and appear as curvy lines going up many stories high—I don't think I would even place a foot on it, but apparently it is quite strong. It will be a magnificent church for India, attractive, tasteful, and beautifully executed.

Now it was around 5:30 P.M., and the next stop would be

Chakradharpur. As you travel along the open roads beyond the villages and towns, it is a beautiful sight to view the magnificent trees lining both sides of the road—one of the permanent vestiges of British rule in the land. The trees were planted to give shade to the British troops during their long marches. In many areas, they constitute the only refreshing relief in a barren landscape. On the way to Chakradharpur (or CKP as most of the men call it—abbreviations help with some of these long Indian names), there were flatlands with acres and acres of rice paddies—a beautiful shade of light green, prospering in the monsoon rains. The fields are terraced to hold the water. Frequently a man would be guiding a team of oxen through the rice-paddy. No one seemed to quite know what the purpose of this was. Countless people were working at gathering bunches of the young rice shoots, binding them so they would be ready for transplanting to other fields for the second stage in the growth process. Mostly women were engaged in this—bent double for hours gathering the rice, some wearing a characteristic covering made from large leaves interwoven to protect them against the torrential rains. With the thousands on thousands of rice fields, you can see why rice appears with remarkable frequency on the dining tables of the land. Herds of goats and sheep, cows and water buffaloes added patches of life to the landscape—or, it would seem, more frequently to the road. Countless times the car would move toward a cow wandering down the road and, most of the time, a stop was necessary until the cow had made its decision on which side to move.

Our conversation as we proceeded centered a good bit on the beginnings and development of our mission stations. Dick Norman, who has had experience in almost all locations, offered a fine commentary along the way. Much indeed has been achieved by our men in a period less than twenty years in duration—an excellent school system: three thriving schools educating over 2000 boys; about seven fine parishes, many of which have schools linked with them; the Institute of Industrial Relations.

A good case in point is CKP where we arrived about 7 P.M. Again a wonderful welcome from Fr. Jack Blandin, the former Provincial, and Fr. John Bingham, just a month back from the States. This is Fr. John Guidera's charge and he has accomplished

a great deal (thanks to some very wonderful support from many friends in Baltimore). Their new living quarters, which vaguely resemble a small American motel, is *totaliter aliter* from the rat-infested cottage they had lived in up to a year ago. Seven or eight good sized living rooms are set off on an L-shaped verandah. Jack Blandin got us settled in rooms; then we washed up. Another larger room is a combination dining room and recreation area. We let ourselves relax for a most pleasant evening. Some pre-prandials before dinner helped a good bit. For dinner, we had some tasty canned food from the states—corn beef and spaghetti. Fully satisfied, we left the table to continue our discussion until 11:30.

One of the rooms toward the front of the compound is for about 60 Ho youngsters who spend all their day at the parish. Before dinner, John Bingham brought us into the room where they were studying, sitting on mats on the floor—in perfect order and quiet. John spoke to them in Ho and told them where I hailed from, adding a comment about my size which they got a good laugh out of. Before we retired, we returned to the room where they were all fast asleep on the mats. It was really something to see as we shot a flashlight over the group. John Guidera later told me there were another 100 boys in the Church. These youngsters bring their own supply of rice from home, and on a rare occasion the Fathers try to supply them with some kind of meat.

John Bingham showed us on a map the extensive range of mission stations which they care for. Jack Blandin works with the people on a fine cooperative system run by a Belgian Jesuit out of Ranchi. According to John Guidera, it has done more to help the people than anything else. Each year this cooperative makes a handsome profit, all of which is poured back into buying fertilizer or building storage places for these poor farmers.

My sleep that night was not too good since a mosquito had hidden in the mosquito net and continued to ambush me through the night. In the morning, all four of the travellers concelebrated Mass in the church; we made some intentions at the Prayer of the Faithful which centered on the work of the missionaries. After a good breakfast, we got ready for departure. As we moved about, the opportunity to watch John Bingham in operation with some of the parishioners presented itself. John is entertaining to watch, but it

is obvious that the people feel this is a place of refuge in their troubles.

It was now about 9:30, Monday, August 7th. The next chunk of mileage would be a big one—up to Ranchi, and then over to Dhanbad where De Nobili School is situated. On the way to Ranchi, we passed through the famous Ghat, which is the entry way to the plateau area of Ranchi. The hills there are really small mountains and the road twists and winds its way through verdant countryside—very green and gorgeous in the monsoon season. As we approached the top, we stopped for a breather and took in the panoramic view of the sweeping valley we had just passed through. There are supposed to be elephants and monkeys in the area, but they were not showing themselves for us that day. Once through the Ghat, the road to Ranchi had a sameness to it. Here and there along the way were sets of buildings called “block developments,” intended as centers of operation for districts. They appeared very much in a state of non-use, yet they were probably the finest buildings for miles around. I noticed a number of such attempts in India which, either through poor planning or complete misunderstanding of the real needs of this country, took on the semblance of futile “gestures”, a word which Bill Tome liked to use in reference to this predicament. There were such “gestures” in buildings, in people’s actions, in the administration of towns, in town planning, etc. This was just another dimension of the contradiction and contrast so prevalent in the land. Perhaps with the fantastic scope of problems India faces, “gestures” are the only possibilities.

Government

The government of the country is in utter turmoil. Any day the whole land could burst at the seams, and total riot and revolution develop. The Congress Party lost control in the last election. This is the party which had been giving some kind of balance to India since they achieved their independence. The Communist Party of India grew in strength and along with a number of other groups have presented a movement called “The United Front” to the electorate. The Jan Sangh party, desirous of having the Hindi language and nothing else, is picking up strength. There are all forms of protest riots—sit-downs on railroad tracks, blocking off traffic with mass marches, students stoning the homes of college

presidents, and the famous "Cherao" treatment which the labor force is now using against management. Huge numbers of workers will surround the home of a manager and keep him and his family completely cut off from all supplies and communications for days. And when they corner them in other places outside their houses, they may be forced to sleep in a small room, have no food (to the point of death by starvation), and be forced to take care of their natural functions in the same place.

Back to the Ranchi Road. We arrived in Ranchi about 12:30 P.M. and, to break our trip a bit, we decided to have lunch at the BNR restaurant, run lately by the railroads. It was a very nice spot and the meal was delicious. My ability to take some highly seasoned Indian food was proven successful. The preventative medicine was still working effectively. After our leisurely lunch, we took to the road again, heading through the heart of Ranchi. The usual scenes of confusion, milling throngs, roaming cattle, hodge-podge of shops, tea houses, and stores were much in evidence. We passed through the "Catholic quarter," where for three or four blocks run a series of Catholic establishments. The Ranchi Mission under the guidance of the Belgian Jesuits has been one of the most successful in all of India. There was a Jesuit college, a Jesuit high school, the Archbishop's residence (a Jesuit) and the Ranchi Press (another Jesuit operation).

Soon we were out in open country again and heading for DeNobili. This segment of the journey took us about four and one-half hours. It was not too long before we hit some of the best roads in India. They were wide and well paved—a good bit of this stretch ran beside the fields where the American bomber installations were located for the flights into Burma during World War II. Remnants of some of the buildings were still dotting the landscape. Eventually we came to the outlying areas of Jairia and Dhanbad. Massive iron structures bridged the road. They supported a pulley system which transported iron buckets of sand. You could see these moving back and forth all over the countryside (we were to find one right in the back yard of DeNobili. Once, when the boys were playing soccer, the ball landed in one of the buckets and was carried off). Coal mining is the big industry in the area and we passed through rows and rows of incredibly miserable hovels where

the miners lived. Returning from their day's labors, they were coated with coal dust—the very picture of despair. Is this living as a human being? A frightening question which forces itself to the forefront of the mind with inexorable frequency as you travel through this country.

Mercifully the turnoff to DeNobili School appeared shortly. Again the impression of an oasis in the middle of a desert of dirt and confusion. The school is painted a light grey with crimson trim, St. Joe's Prep's colors, reminding me of my old Alma Mater. Three floors of veranda-style classrooms and living quarters. The grass and gardens around the front entrance were colorful and carefully manicured. Now it was 7 P.M. or thereabouts. We were greeted by Fr. Joe Kennedy, the rector, and Fr. George Hess, the headmaster, Ed Martin, an American scholastic whose home is in northern Virginia, and a number of Indian scholastics and brothers. Rooms were provided immediately and a welcome shower freshened us up.

In the fine rec-room, we gathered for cocktails and conversation, then a buffet-style repast. All the while we were enjoying the very fine stereo set which George Hess had lugged back from the States just a week before. At one point in the evening, Larry Hunt, after watching Fr. Dick Lane-Smith show off his pet python, gathered the courage to have the python put around his neck like a necklace. I took a picture of the event—hope it turns out. Then I got the nerve to try the same thing and my picture was also taken. That night I had one of the best sleeps I have had since arrival in India. The gracious concern of the hosts took care of putting a mosquito net on the bed and spraying the room before I retired.

On Tuesday morning, August 8th, Bill, Larry, and I celebrated again. After breakfast, George Hess took me on a tour of the school. Out in the front of the building it was interesting to see about twenty women in their gay saris working at leveling a field which was to be the main soccer area. They were wielding mattocks, scooping dirt into large pans and then carrying the pans on their heads to a less level spot where it was dumped. The Jesuits have picked up a good bit of property around the school. The original lot was quite small. About 300 yards in back of the school, another school for the lower standards is under construction—a part of DeNobili—and about 300 yards to the front, living

quarters for the lay staff are being built. Joe Kennedy took me on a tour of these areas. As we moved about, I managed to step on a nail which pierced right through my sandal but fortunately did not break the skin.

Swerves

Along the route home, there were some narrow stretches of road with wide shoulders which the rains have turned into large mud puddles. This presented real problems since trucks and taxis are masters of the road (as they are everywhere), and our little Herald was pushed off the road a number of times. We got adept at picking out spots that were not too soggy. Some of the most striking scenery of my stay occurred during this ride. We were riding on the edge of a monsoon cloud for about an hour and it was around the sunset time. In the distance to our right, the streaks of downpouring rain, the heavy cloud suffused by orange and pink from the setting sun, in front of us brilliantly clear skies with white puffs of clouds, also reflecting the colors of the sun, and all the hills and landscape visible with the clarity and sharpness which we have on a clear, cold winter's day. It was a breathtaking sight.

Darkness had fallen by the time we hit the new road into Jamshedpur—another fine road (how little we appreciate our American road system!). Speed could be increased on this road, but some of the usual obstacles were still there as we came suddenly upon two mammoth black (to increase the problem) water buffaloes walking in the road. We missed them with a nice swerve.

When we reached Loyola School, I realized that it had been a great tour, most enjoyable and profitable. It afforded me a much broader realization and appreciation of the make-up of the country. Poor Bill Tome must have been terribly tired for he drove every mile of the way—and driving in India is a feat of the first order.

It is now Wednesday, August 9th. Another aside here—as I write, I am puffing on an Indian cheroot, a cigar that might well cure my addiction. And the matches here are absolutely the quintessence of frustration. They have no such thing as book matches. They are all wooden and in boxes. There is an absolutely unpredictable character about them. To strike one ten times on the side is not unusual, but I have already been burnt by one that popped off just as I touched it to the side. There is also the overhead fan, present

everywhere, and a remarkable help in dispersing the Indian heat. (They seem far more effective than our floor or table fans.) But in order to light a cigar or cigarette, one has to move off into a distant corner to escape the competition of the fan with the unpredictable matches.

More visits

It was back to work at Loyola on Wednesday. I was asked to be a judge for a lower standard elocution contest. Twelve boys competed. These youngsters seem to have remarkable memories and also that amazing ability for appearing in public with poise and aplomb. This was over around 11 A.M., and with the twelve boys there was not one slip of memory in their five minute presentations. The rest of the morning was spent trying to catch up on this diary. At 2 P.M., Fr. Ken Judge wished to chat for a while, and we did for about two hours. Finally, at 5 P.M., Gene Power came in and we discussed guidance and extra-curriculars for over an hour. The rest of the day, I continued on the diary. I was beginning to catch up with the present.

On Thursday, John Guidera drove me over to see Little Flower School which was built by the Telco Co. and has been handed over to the Mercy nuns from Philly to administer. Among them are Sr. Mary Virginia (from St. Benedict's parish) and Sr. Tomasina, the principal, whose brother, Fr. Mike Kavanaugh, presently stationed at our parish in Dhanbad, I had met just a few weeks before coming to India at the affair which Bill Howe ran for Larry Dietrich. They are a great duo. It is a beautiful school, looking like—very much like—a nun's school in the states. There is that touch which goes with them no matter where they are. All was sparkling and bright. There are 700 students from kindergarten to the 7th standard. After a brief tour during which we visited a couple of classes and received the chorus of "Good morning, Fathers. You are most welcome" and "Goodbye Fathers. Please come again"—all with bows and curtsies, we enjoyed a cup of coffee together and we talked for about a half hour.

John then drove me to the Bazaar in Jamshedpur where I purchased some gifts for my relatives and friends, among them some lovely handmade things which were quite inexpensive. The day before Fr. Barney Murray had invited me into his class for the next

morning, so we hurried back for this at 11:50. Barney (67 yrs. of age) asked me if I would like to ask a few questions on a Paul Horgan short story, "The Surgeon and the Nun," so I took over the last twenty minutes of the class and enjoyed it immensely. There is an incident in the story about acute appendicitis, and I was flabbergasted when I asked how many had their appendices out to learn that none of the thirty-five had. Apparently it is a most uncommon occurrence throughout the country. Maybe living is too rich over here?

In the afternoon I took my first siesta of the trip for about an hour. Said Mass around 5:30 P.M. Then at 6 P.M. I attended a sodality meeting in the hostel to which Joe Lacey had invited me. Since a large number of the usual Thursday evening dinner crowd was with Bishop Picachy for a concelebration and dinner in honor of his feastday of St. Lawrence, our gathering at Loyola was quite small. After a buffet dinner we had a bridge game—Gene Power, Ed McGrath, Mike Love and myself. On the second hand I managed to go down 6 tricks doubled—a trick in itself.

Friday, August 11th, was a busy day. I was invited to Standard 5-C to view an exhibit of their work. This was at 9:20 A.M. At 10:20, there was a gathering in the teachers' room to say farewell to Steve Buttlng, a British Volunteer Service Organization man (a VSO as they call them) who has worked at Loyola since last January, teaching 27 periods of math a week. (The VSO is a group in Britain comparable to our Peace Corps.) At 11:50, there was the installation of the new officers and a farewell by the students to Steve and to me, since they would be on holiday from now until next Wednesday. Naturally I was called on to speak another "few words." Then the ball point pens which I had brought with me from the Loyola Bookstore were distributed by me to the students who had achieved honors in the last marking period. Before presenting the pens, I explained the figure of the Don which was on the pen. After this came an exchange of gifts. I presented a Loyola High School banner which Dick Schmidt, the assistant headmaster there, had given me to the President of the Student Council, Aninda Bose, then he presented me with a beautiful wooden serving tray with inlaid ivory and wood.

At 1:15, I attended Mr. Derrick Ward's 8th standard class and

was presented with one of the student's art pieces. Then Larry asked me if I would give some kind of summary report to the entire faculty at 3:30. So I spoke to them for a half hour until about 4:00. We adjourned then to the teachers' room for tea and I said goodbye to many of the lay teachers, a very impressive group of men and women.

Now it is Saturday morning, August 12th (my sister Alice's birthday). The men from the Vice-Province are beginning to move in for the education meeting on Monday. Dick McHugh, Ed Martin and Joe Kennedy are here. At 10:00 A.M. I met with Mrs. Suri, the guidance counselor at Loyola for about an hour and a half. She is a very impressive person in whom Larry places great confidence. The whole idea of guidance is quite an innovation in India. I was able to get a good bit of reading done for the next few hours. Then, about 3 P.M., I had another talk with Ken Judge. Shortly after that, Ken and I went to visit an American woman, Mrs. Cherian, who is married to an Indian. She is a Jewess and what a talker. We had some tea and some enjoyable conversation for about an hour. On our way here, Ken and I stopped at a store in Jamshedpur to purchase some "mild" cigars.

Dinner was early this evening. Just before dinner, I met H. Cornell Bradley, a theologian, who had just arrived from Kurseong for the education meeting. He looks a great deal thinner than the last time I saw him, several years ago in the States. He has another year to go before ordination. Following dinner there was a movie, "Cheyenne Autumn," which was scheduled for last night but due to some delays caused by the squatters on the railroad tracks, it arrived only today. It was awful but diverting. Following the movie, John Guidera, Joe Lacey, Ed Martin, Larry, and I had a good bull session in my room.

On Sunday, I woke at my usual time—7:30 A.M. Did some reading of Sylvia-Ashton Warner's *Teacher* for about an hour or so after breakfast. Around 10:00, Larry arranged a meeting with some teachers. Took another siesta this afternoon; am really feeling bushed as I come to the end of my jaunt to India. For dinner that evening, I had received another invitation from XLRI—my last visit before departure. Left there about 10:30 P.M. When I got back to my room, Larry, John Guidera, and H. Bradley were there,

so we sat for another hour or so and talked about Kurseong and other things (ships and shoes and sealing wax; cabbages and kings).

This morning, the eve of the Assumption, August 14th, the province education meeting began at 8:30. Over 30 Jesuits were in attendance. The morning session was rather lethal, too scattershot—it seemed that the agenda was too extensive for worthwhile treatment of any point. In the afternoon H. Bradley presented a very fine paper on in-service training of teachers, a program developed by a Jesuit in a school near Kurseong, and in which Joe Currie, another theologian and Robbie Currie's older brother, and H. are key figures. The paper prompted much worthwhile discussion.

Later in the afternoon, George Hess drove me into Jamshedpur to pick up a few items for the folks back home. Got a couple of good color shots of the loitering cattle. After dinner we had a practice for the concelebrated Mass for Bro. Oscar Rodericks' final vows tomorrow at St. Mary's, N Road. I spent a bit of time after this reading *Meditations on the Church* until 10:30 when John Guidera and Larry Hunt dropped in for an hour or so.

On Tuesday, August 15th, I awoke the earliest hour since I've been here—5:30 A.M.—in order to concelebrate Brother's vow Mass at 7 A.M. The Mass went quite well with the five concelebrants: George Hess, Dick Lane-Smith, Tony Roberts, Joe Rodericks, Oscar's brother, and myself. We returned to Loyola School for a first-class breakfast. I couldn't help but reminisce that this was the 17th anniversary of my first vows as a Jesuit.

Today in India is also Independence Day. The flag-raising ceremony is the big feature of the day (the Indian flag can be flown only on two days during the year). Loyola had its own ceremony with the Scout troop of Loyola and the one from St. Xavier's in Lupungutu. They have a lovely custom of folding flower blossoms inside the flag and when the cord is pulled—in this case it was perfectly done by Larry Hunt—the flag opens and the flower blossoms flutter to the ground. I got a color shot of this which I hope turns out well. Immediately after this, the last session of the education meeting took place. The discussion centered on the question of quantity or quality in our mission schools. There was some good exchange, concluded by some excellent comments, perceptive and emphatic, by the Provincial, Tony Roberts.

After lunch, Larry Hunt, John Guidera, and I went to Lake Dimna, a beautiful reservoir outside Jamshedpur. It is situated in the high hills there. The heat was very stifling as we walked about for fifteen minutes along the edge of the lake. I was really exhausted. The temperature was close to 100. It gave you an idea of how insufferable the hot season must be when temperatures often soar to the 130 degree mark. Later in the afternoon, I wrote a thank-you note to the community and another to the school staff.

Beginning at 6 P.M., there was an excellent first-class buffet dinner with drinks in honor of the Assumption and Bro. Oscar's vow day. During the course of the festivities, Larry Hunt kindly expressed the thanks of all for my coming and, to end things fittingly, I was called on "to say a few words." I couldn't help but take the opportunity to thank all of them for their most gracious hospitality—all around the province, and to emphasize to them what an impact and impression one receives when he views the terrific amount of work that has been accomplished in a relatively short time. After dinner we all went to see the movie arranged for the day, "Hud."

Last minute preparations for departure began after the movie—around 9:30. There was a crowd in my room wishing me well for the trip back and profusely thanking me. As I said before, their appreciation in seeing a statesider knows no bounds. Joe Lacey drove me to the station in Jamshedpur. Larry Dietrich, Merlin Pereira, and Ed Martin also saw us off (Ken Judge very kindly would accompany me to Calcutta). The train was scheduled to depart at 11:35. It finally left at 12:45. While we waited, we managed to procure two spots on the air-conditioned car. So we barged in on two Indian men who were already asleep in the lower berths. I have to admit I had a bit of difficulty maneuvering in that upper berth. The train was scheduled to arrive in Calcutta at 6 A.M. We crept into Calcutta station at 12:30 P.M.—not bad, only 6 and half hours late.

Calcutta did not seem as bad as it had three weeks before; it's amazing how much you can get used to. The taxi drive from the Howra station to St. Xavier's still beats any New York City taxi ride by 100 miles. We grabbed some lunch; then I took a two-hour snooze, since the rest on the train last evening was fitful and I was thinking of the twenty-eight straight hours of plane flight ahead of

me. I awoke around 4 P.M., and Ken and I concelebrated Mass. Tea followed, then a shower, and off to do some last minute shopping at the Cureo Palace in New Market, the famous market place of Calcutta. An intriguing spot. We held onto the taxi so that we would be sure to have one for the airport ride. They can be impossible to get during the Calcutta rush hour. After shopping, we returned to Xavier's and packed and dressed. The taxi drive to Dum Dum Airport was another hair-raising excursion. And people? Everywhere and in between everywhere too.

Heading for home

Had some trouble with my bags because they were overweight again, but they finally got through with no trouble and no added expense. The customs checkout was at Calcutta instead of Bombay, which made things easier. The flight on the Air India Boeing 707 left Calcutta at 9 P.M. Ken and I sat for about twenty minutes, chatting about my three incredible weeks in India. It certainly flew by and I think I saw much and did much in that time. The only Maryland mission man that I failed to see was Fr. Dick Neu, whose parish was up near De Nobili, but time did not allow for a visit. One has to be impressed with the generosity of our Maryland Province in the men they have contributed to the Indian mission. They are the cream of the crop, and have done a fantastic job for the Lord in a country not at all familiar with him. The bus to bring the passengers to the plane drew up; I bid my farewells to Ken and was soon soaring over the night lights of Calcutta.

On the flight to Bombay, I sat next to a Hindi man and we had a long conversation about our respective religions. He was very perceptive, but he had difficulty in seeing the Jesuits as part of the Catholic Church; he thought it an heretical offshoot or something. All I could think of was that famous question: "Are you a Catholic priest or a Jesuit?" Got to Bombay at 11 P.M.; had a two hour layover here for the London flight. From Bombay on, the time gets all jumbled up. The flight to Beirut took us 5½ hours; we stopped here for an hour, as we had done on the way to India. Then on to Rome where we landed after a three hour cruise at about 7 A.M. (Rome time). It was a bright sunny day. The Leonardo Da Vinci Airport is quite an impressive place; unfortunately, that was all I saw of the Holy City. Perhaps there is some distinction in being

able to say that I simply passed over Rome and not through it? We took off for Frankfurt after an hour layover. On the flight north, we had a clear view of the island of Elba, Napoleon's place of exile. Then the Italian Alps covered with snow; they were magnificent. Got a camera shot of them through the plane window. At this point I have been flying pretty steady for about 16 hours; not much solid sleep and periodic stomach cramps besides. Arrived in Frankfurt, Germany at 8:30 Central European time (my watch now reads 1:30 P.M.).

The flight from Frankfurt to London was pleasant, a bit over an hour. The London airport was jammed, but in my discomfort I did not feel much like enjoying the spectacle. Did get a laugh from watching a large group of teenagers who had themselves a songfest in the middle of the terminal. They were composing a song about the delays of TWA which was very clever. The TWA Silver-stream jet took off from London about 12:30. According to New York time, we landed at Kennedy at 3:30, but the flight was over seven hours in duration—a bit interminable to me after all my travelling, now about 20,000 miles, plus the stomach cramps, etc. There was a young couple sitting next to me, but I just wasn't in the mood to chat with anyone. We passed a few comments back and forth and that was it. As you looked out the window of the jet, you could see two other jets heading for New York also, and a few jet streams besides. The traffic is quite heavy; we had to switch our altitude by 300 feet after we got up because of this.

About a week before I left India, I had written to my cousin in New York that I would be getting in on an Air India flight at this time. There had been a last minute switch to the TWA. When I arrived I saw no one there; I thought they would come to the customs dismissal point (which they did), and I would catch them there. Somehow or other we missed each other. I waited for an hour, then I called their home. They had returned home. My cousin Al left immediately; arrived in about 15 minutes and picked me up. It was very good to see someone you know after 28 hours coming around the world by yourself. At his mother's we had a delicious dinner and relaxed. When I checked the trains to Baltimore, I found the next was at 2 A.M., so I decided to stay at my cousin's overnight. That was a blessing.

WOODSTOCK LETTERS

Woke the next morning around 9:30. It was August 18th. I went in to Penn Station with Elizabeth; she was going to meet her daughter and her husband in the city. Met Fr. Thad Burch in the station, and so I had company on the train ride to Baltimore. This was without any doubt the worst part of my whole trip; it was well into the nineties and the air-conditioning unit in the train was broken. The old Pennsy always comes through to remind you that there are still some difficulties connected with travel. Mike Burch left me at Friendship at the start of the trip, and it was Mike who picked me up at the train station on my return.

That's it.

HISTORICAL NOTE: THE COUNCIL OF SCHOLASTICS OF THE BUFFALO PROVINCE

ON APRIL 22, 1967, nine delegates, partly elected and partly appointed, arrived at Canisius College to set up the Council of Scholastics of the Buffalo Province. Meeting with Rev. Fr. Provincial Cornelius Carr, the delegates formulated the basic purposes and structure of the Council. From the first, the Council was conceived as an independent body within the usual provincial structures springing from the interest and approval of the scholastics. The delegates saw it as serving the interests not just of the scholastics but of the whole province, since the scholastics constitute a large and integral portion of the Province and since they will inherit present problems and apostolates. Final crystallization of these views was left to a committee of three, which submitted the first draft of the *Constitution* to all the scholastics of the Province for comment and revision. Scholastic meetings at Cazenovia, Auriesville, and Clarence Center resolved specific problems concerned with the Council's functioning. Finally, a fifth and last draft received the two-thirds vote of approval on September 18, 1967, and election procedures were immediately initiated.

Already the Council has issued a number of reports on *informations*, norms for choosing the individual's course of studies, and recommendations on the Province merger. No doubt, the Council will undergo further radical revision upon unification of the Buffalo and New York Provinces, but certain basic insights have been explicitated and precedents set.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COUNCIL OF SCHOLASTICS OF THE BUFFALO PROVINCE

I

A STATEMENT OF PURPOSE, FUNCTION, AND SCOPE

The Council of Scholastics is an advisory board for the Province. Its function is:

- 1) To secure information and opinion necessary and helpful for deci-

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sions in matters pertaining to scholastics. The Council and its representatives are constantly available for consultation by the provincial and province consultors.

2) To facilitate communication both within the Province and between provinces. The Council will seek to act as an effective channel facilitating the exchange of ideas among the scholastics of the Province, and between the scholastics and any person or body within or outside the Province. (*Documents of the 31st General Congregation*, 9, I, 10.)

3) To formulate questions and make specific recommendations concerning Province policies, particularly in matters pertaining to scholastics.

4) To appoint delegates to other consulting bodies of the Province. (*Documents of the 31st General Congregation*, 17, IV, 6.)

II

COMPOSITION

A) Members

1) The Council of Scholastics will be composed of one elected delegate from each of the following:

- a) Novices of the Buffalo Province
- b) Loyola Seminary
- c) Canisius High School
- d) McQuaid Jesuit High School
- e) Canisius College
- f) LeMoyne College
- g) Weston College
- h) Woodstock College

i) One elected delegate who is a scholastic in special studies and resident in the New York City-New Haven area. He will represent all scholastics in special studies and those living outside the Province who are not otherwise represented.

2) For each delegate elected, an alternate will also be elected who will replace the elected delegate in the event the elected delegate cannot attend a meeting of the Council. The alternate has the same powers as the elected delegate at the meeting.

3) Upon the election of a chairman by the Council, the alternate from that house will become the regular delegate representing that house.

4) The election of the delegate and alternate will occur within the above named houses during the month of September. The term of office

of the delegate and his alternate is for one year. Each delegate has one vote.

B) Council Officers

1) The chairman will be elected annually by a majority vote of the Council. He will preside at Council meetings, and appoint committee heads and the individual members of these committees with the majority approval of the Council. He will also preside at the open forums of scholastics and with the approval of the Council call for and preside at special meetings. He will also be the representative of the Council at province consultors' meetings whenever matters pertaining to scholastics are discussed. Further, the chairman will report in person on the activities of the Council to province consultors.

2) The secretary will be elected annually by a majority vote of the Council to take the minutes and distribute them to various houses of the Province. He shall also submit a summary of the minutes to the *Jesuit Jottings*. It is the responsibility of the secretary to publish committee reports.

3) In the event of the absence of the chairman or the secretary or both, the Council will elect an officer for that meeting with all the powers of the office he assumes.

C) Non-members

1) Experts: With the approval of the majority of the Council, non-members may be invited to Council meetings as *periti* with the power to speak but not to vote.

2) Council Committees may be composed of members or non-members of the Council who are appointed by the Council chairman with the majority approval of the Council. Each committee, however, must have at least one Council member in it.

III

MEETINGS

A) Meetings of the Council

1) The Council will meet four times a year for a full day. These meetings will occur on a Saturday in the months of October, December, February and April. The meetings will be held alternately at Shrub Oak, Rochester, Syracuse, and Buffalo. A quorum will consist of six members.

2) Regularly scheduled meetings of the Council are open to anyone who wishes to attend. Non-members may speak at the discretion of

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the chairman. The approval to speak at these meetings extended to a non-member does not entitle him to vote.

3) The meetings will consist of a morning and afternoon session. The provincial will be invited to be present at the afternoon session.

B) Open Forums

In addition, the Council will hold two forums each year which are open to all scholastics to discuss matters of general concern. At these forums every scholastic has the right to speak. One of these open forums will be held at the spring triduum or during the Easter vacation.

C) Communications

Any scholastic can submit matter he wishes to be considered by the Council through his representative or directly to the chairman. On special problems, however, the Council will actively solicit the opinions of the scholastics.

IV

THE CONSTITUTION

A) Ratification

The final draft of the *Constitution* will be proposed to all scholastics of the Buffalo Province, and will become effective when ratified by an approval of two-thirds of these scholastics. This *Constitution* will remain in effect until revised in the light of the unification of the Buffalo and New York Provinces.

B) Amendments

The procedure for amending the *Constitution* is the following:

a) Any scholastic can propose an amendment in writing through his delegate or through the chairman of the Council.

b) With the approval of a simple majority of the membership of an afternoon meeting of the Council the amendment may be proposed to the scholastics for a vote.

c) The Council will determine a reasonable length of time within which the ballots can be returned. The proposed amendment becomes effective upon the approval of two-thirds of the scholastics who have responded by that date.

ROBERT D. COURSEY, S.J.

WILLIAM T. IVORY, S.J.

THREE VIEWS OF AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Fr. John L'Heureux's recently published *Picnic in Babylon* (Macmillan, \$6.95) is primarily a history of himself during his residence at Woodstock College from 1963 to 1967. But person and place have a way of intertwining, and so *Babylon-Woodstock* lives on in these pages as Fr. L'Heureux writes of his four year captivity beside the streams of the Patapsco.

1963-1967. These years marked the proclamation of the Age of Change for the Church. In *Picnic in Babylon* the reader finds this era internalized in the response of a Jesuit poet; sometimes happy, sometimes sad, his response plays inside a bright prose written in the meticulously concrete mode of his best poems.

Since Woodstock in 1967 is contemplating a move to its own Zion, it is good that *Picnic in Babylon* is published now, a diary for future generations of "what it was like in the old days." To celebrate the publication, WOODSTOCK LETTERS has asked three reviewers to comment on the diary: Sr. Maura, S.S.N.D., English Department Chairman at Baltimore's Notre Dame College and a poetess in her own right; Rev. Edwin D. Cuffe, S.J., Professor of English at Fordham University and the Chairman of its Honors Program; and Rev. G. Michael McCrossin, S.J., a graduate student at the University of Chicago and a member of Fr. L'Heureux's own year.

I

Every poet says what he is. Modestly, he is a "sayer." Sweepingly, he is a seer. The poet is a man girted with language. The poet is a person who writes poetry. Kenneth Rexroth says "the poet is one who creates the sacramental relationship that lasts always." At the least, the poet is a person for whom life will not "slip by like a field mouse/not shaking the grass."

John L'Heureux is a poet with the witness of his poems to speak for him. But *Picnic in Babylon* speaks in other ways about his poetry and about him. In keeping a journal that records his creative approach to the priesthood, and his creative approach to communication, Fr. L'Heu-

reux has chosen a patently difficult work. Not only is he the person who sees, hears, and feels, but he is the poet who makes use of his responses: out of them he makes an artifact. But the keeper of the journal must write down (remembering the editorial suggestion followed by the publisher's contract) *how* he had used his responses. He watches himself respond to stimuli, and then switches on another high-powered self-awareness to watch himself responding. To a certain extent, he must try to make himself insensitive to the reaction which his report may bring from those who read his journal. If he is not free to report honestly, he hardly has the freedom to be fully a person.

It is difficult enough for most men to keep a private journal with integrity. It is a formidable task to keep a journal knowing that the pages will be read by anyone at all.

Recording his experience as a writer, Fr. L'Heureux is generous in giving not only—from time to time—the incentive for the writing, the incident, encounter, but the complete poem as well. The reader finds more than fifteen poems in the journal. Contemplating poems like that—recorded in their setting—a good reader can have the same pleasure he has at hearing the poet read. There is always the possibility that the background will give him a clue, a direction which will lead him—more surely to share the poet's experience. More—he may sometimes almost *hear* the tone. And to sense and respond to tone is, in many cases, a singular delight.

Irony, wit, and marginalia

As a marginal on the making of the poem there is the phrase, word, a few lines, perhaps, that share with the reader the ease or the difficulty of the act of making. Some wonderfully sharp poems are so framed for the reader: the ironic and witty "Compliance," part of the *tour de force* "An Investigation into the Nature, Function, and Attendant Circumstances of Radiators." The outline of the plan for the long poem in memory of John Kennedy is here. When one has listened to the poet delivering the rich rhetoric of that poem, response is deepened by the knowledge of the ideal, the beginnings and the development of the poem.

Fr. L'Heureux remarks on the writers who stimulate him, Virginia Woolf and Edward Albee; the artists whom he has met, Carolyn Kizer, Reed Whitemore, Muriel Spark. His comments italicize his awareness of himself as a writer in the contemporary world. There are accounts of poetry readings, lectures, writers' conferences which will make gossip reading for the uninitiate, and wry reminders of the human condition in the arts for the initiate.

There is talk of the publishing trade, acceptances and rejections (more

of the former); reviews; the acid word; the honest praise. Fr. L'Heureux's rush of words, and swift output of poems (only rarely does he comment on a period of dryness) could make the unwary feel the lure of the writers' magazine advertisements—"You, too, can be a successful writer. . .," though he, of course, knows creative achievement is hard won. For Fr. L'Heureux, even while the poet wrestles with the angels, the simple truth remains: God is patient with his poets.

The crux of the poet's problem is not—how many books do I get off to the publisher, not even how am I received by the public. The deep question is—what, before God, am I? Given a call to creative action with words, and given the call to be Christ in the world as priest—he asks—does the one call negate the other? is the one call more insistent than the other? is it true—as Karl Rahner suggests—that they may blend perfectly in the priest-poet?

Fr. L'Heureux is naturally hesitant to accept Karl Rahner's thesis totally, though it is an ideal answer. He writes of the problem gravely and honestly; he hopes for answers, but he knows that *waiting* for answers is the greater part of living.

To read the book will probably be "good" for readers who are poets as all men who wonder are poets, or for poets who work at the craft. It may be "good" for the poet who wrote the book, too, but good in a painful, cleansing way. He will have the record at his hand three months from now, two years from now, ten years. Most writers find it difficult to look at their early work after a period of time, because growing continues and the writer is willing enough to put aside the initial heady, "Here is what I wrote. I think it's pretty good."

Perhaps the prayer that unriddles these problems is the courageous one Fr. L'Heureux devised for his ordination card:

Lord,
Make me your bread.
Then break me up
And pass me around.

The things that are deepest: holiness, joy, suffering are only hinted at in poems and journals. But they proclaim the mystery and the Lord of mystery who hears prayers and passes around bread.

SISTER MAURA, S.S.N.D.

II

Will the real John L'Heureux please stand up?

The John L'Heureux image projected in the poems of *Quick as*

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Dandelions and *Rubrics for a Revolution* is one thing. The John L'Heureux one hears about from his friends is another. But the image that steps from the pages (or peeks out from between the lines) of *Picnic in Babylon* is something else again. Something less likeable.

One might as well come right out with it now and say that the present reviewer is not very happy about *Picnic*, regards it as a tactical error, and is somewhat at a loss in deciding what to say about it.

Goodies and absences

The book is a diary or journal of four—well, really of three—years of a man “doing” theology at Woodstock. Not my Woodstock, nor yours, but a Woodstock very much in a state of transition, and the Woodstock of Gus Weigel, of Courtney Murray, of Avery Dulles, of Felix Cardegna. The journal is full of goodies (the style of the book, if not Augustan, is contagious), a net full of various fish: aphorisms, a limerick (brought back from Vatican II by Gus Weigel), some poems, some pieces of poems, a sermon, anecdotes, a parody (of Updike), opinions of books, some dreams, an experimental canon, epitaphs from a country cemetery in Maryland, an account of a visit to Albee's apartment (but not to Albee), *et cetera*.

The writer's interests are far ranging, and yet there are certain things you would expect to find in a Woodstock diary of the years 1963–1966 that aren't there. I don't remember even once coming upon the name Viet Nam, or Selma, or, except for one incidental mention, Pope John. Dan Berrigan is mentioned, but only as the winner of the Lamont award.

Writing a diary for publication is a very ticklish thing. The ground is mined, the booby traps everywhere. John L'Heureux is not unaware of this:

. . . writing something that somebody is going to read induces a certain formality, a certain persona, and then you're just playing a part. (January 11, 1964)

The notion of a very personal journal gives me the willies. This one seems already too naked and I don't like walking around naked in a room full of clothed people. I'm not like Merton, you know; I have to go on living with people, teaching, studying, etc., *after* the damned journal appears in print. (July 27, 1964)

The temptation will be, I imagine, to let these pages in on the story of “what's really going on.” And then I'll find myself writing things that ought never to be written and making myself ashamed. On the other hand it might be a good thing to embarrass myself a little. (August 31, 1964)

It's all very well to be wide open about people you love and what their love means and what Christ has to do with all this. It's quite another thing to publish your lucubrations on these matters. Isn't it an awful lot like undressing

in public? Admittedly, you may undress to show the teeth marks where you were bitten by the tiger; nonetheless you're still naked. Further, why show your tiger scars? I like to think people should know that priests are people and have emotions and experience personal crises. But should people know? Is it possible to let them know without terrible misunderstandings, without their being scandalized? Maybe this whole month should be dropped right out of the journal. (January 12, 1966)

The difficulties are recognized and the proper rhetorical questions asked. Lines of defense and justification are suggested: people should know that priests are people; it might be a good thing to embarrass one's self a bit. Public relations for one thing; therapy for another.

Any journal, I suppose, written with absolute candor would be fascinating, and probably frightful. Only a cad would publish one. (Sam Pepys was not writing for publication.) John L'Heureux, no cad, must have omitted a world of event for reasons of prudence and charity. One couldn't demand or expect from him anything other than a partial and radically pruned relation of events.

But his book might have profited had it included more of the "objective" delight in things that is evident in some of L'Heureux's best poems, in leaves, cats, sunlight, wind . . . and had it excluded some of the over-intense and not always very penetrating self-regard. More windows and fewer mirrors. The genre itself—if journals constitute a genre—contains a built-in danger, the temptation to the writer to become over-emphatic, self-dramatizing, and self-conscious to a paralyzing degree:

I'm not bitter, only deeply scarred, and that accounts for the fact that I look at things differently from most men. It is as if I had in some mysterious way passed through the Second World War in Europe, seen prison camps, worked in the underground. As if existentialism . . . were my kindergarten. Why do I think this . . . ? (October 10, 1965)

The reason why he thinks this can be found on page 219 of *Picnic*, but let's not bother now. He does have a sense of humor that sometimes saves the day ("Aren't we being cosmic this morning?"), but not often enough.

Contagious

Sometimes parody can say what straightforward comment can't. The style of *Picnic* is contagious, the temptation overpowering, the flesh weak. So—hang on; what's good enough for Updike . . . (The following presented with the proper apologies):

Friday, 1 April

My birthday; seven birthday cards and twelve of my zany and delightful friends going out of their way to wish me a happy day. Why do people like me so? *Joie, joie, pleurs de joie!* Love is the only thing that makes sense.

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Tuesday, 2 April

A large wet cat asleep in my head, also two dark butterflies. Nerves all raw ends. Why am I so unlikeable? Restless and floppy. Rain. Why does the world keep going around?

Wednesday, 5 April

All my friends are mad and delightful. I know now what makes the world go round. Rahner is right; so is Schillebeeckx; so is Victor Herbert. Matt dropped in for tea (Matt Arnold, the Oxford type); showed him the six most recent book reviews I'd written. He tells me that my spelling is pretty good but that I lack something that he calls "high seriousness". Try *that* one on, Ambrosiaster!

Tuesday, 10 April

Shakespeare: Shakespeare is *good*. Period. I mean, really. I *love* Shakespeare. Or do I, really? Question mark.

Wednesday, 14 April

A Hamlet without feeling is a fine body and a brilliant mind without a soul. Period. I wonder does *Woodstock Letters* pay for book reviews? Maybe they'll send me a check. God accomplishes his will in funny ways. Relax, Ambrosiaster. Go to bed.

Monday, 1 May

Quel nerves! Like naked wires. And all those old tiger scars—how they ache! It's just that I *do* understand the horrors of contemporary existence: all those suicides, genocides, fratricides, regicides, pesticides . . . Grief!

Friday, 10 May

Nerves all out at the ends of my fingers. Fingernails all gone. Unbelievable, blinding pain in my earlobes. With all that, how can I castigate a world gone mad with self-indulgence? Inadequacy, thy name is Ambrosiaster! Later. Took walk; read some tombstones; feeling better. The maple trees are lovely—or are they Norwegian spruce?

Saturday, 12 May

Adelaide writes that Edmund Wilson was overheard saying: "When Ambrosiaster reviews a book, it stays reviewed." Blah! He said much nicer things about Ernest Hemingway.

Saturday, 18 May

All my friends are zany and wonderful. Why do they all tell me I'm so 'alive', especially when I'm ready to drop in my tracks from self-pity and these earlobes? That, Ambrosiaster, is called 'life'.

Saturday, 20 May

Death is a terrible thing. God works (mostly) through secondary causes. There is no love without involvement. Allen Ginsberg is a hollow man. Muriel Spark is OK. Later. Terrible depression; shattering pain in the earlobes.

Friday, 21 May

Reading a book called *Picnic in Babylon*, and came across: "perhaps my vocation as a writer is not to be a poet or a dramatist but merely to spend the

rest of my life passing comment on what real writers are writing. What a dreary possibility." OK, Ambrosiaster, try *that* one on! Howdya like *them* apples?

Enough!

When Robert Browning's "Pauline" was published (1833) it was sent for review to John Stuart Mill. Mill's review was not published but later fell into the hands of the young poet. The effects were traumatic, but, probably, in the long run beneficial. The intense self-consciousness that Mill discovered in Browning's work was not altogether different from what a later and lesser reviewer finds in *Picnic*. Should this review ever fall into the author's hands may the effects be, if not traumatic, at least helpful.

The enterprise under review is, it seems to me, to put it briefly and bluntly, a mistake. This is not L'Heureux's *métier*. The distancing and transformation of experience that he manages in verse is perhaps not possible in a journal. I imagine that he will regret publishing *Picnic*. As it stands, however, it *is* an indication and a proof of that energy and that boldness that a creative writer must have and which so many of his fellow Woodstock alumni, all those mute, inglorious non-writing writers have so sadly lacked.

EDWIN D. CUFFE, S.J.

III

Reading John L'Heureux's *Picnic in Babylon*, feeling those years during which we were both preparing for ordination at Woodstock College come alive again, is an experience both pleasant and strange. Pleasant because once-familiar people and places, now already beginning to grow dim, are vividly recreated. Ice on the swimming pool and walks down country lanes, bats in the recreation room and God knows what in the room next door, teachers and friends and the people whom one met but never knew, like sections in the library passed by on the way to one's own area of study. And strange. Strange because of the chance the book offers for seeing an environment through another's eyes. There is the shock of recognition ("That's just the way it was!") and the hint of understanding ("So that's what you were thinking!") and the more frightening awareness of failure in vision ("But I never thought . . ."). Or perhaps it is only a part of what Joseph Sittler calls "the total dubiety of the real"—rather as if our common ophthalmologist has, for reasons unknown, given us glasses ground to similar but not quite identical specifications.

At any rate, there is a similarity in our experience of Woodstock. That has the disadvantage of making aesthetic judgments questionable (and personal ones perhaps even more so). But it has the advantage of allowing comments which could be, for others, only surmise. There is, for instance, the question of what light *Picnic in Babylon* sheds on the education of a priest. What kind of place was Woodstock? *Picnic* is a very personal record, as a journal ought to be. As a source of information on seminary life it is perhaps as important for what it doesn't say as for what it does. The years 1963 to 1967 were, after all, rather momentous years in the life of the world and of the Church. An increasingly bloody and embittering war in Vietnam, the hope and disaster of the civil rights movement (our first summer was the time of the March on Washington, our next to last the time of Watts), the shifting movements of Vatican II ("Hopes very high, expectations very low," Gus Weigel said at the beginning), the death of a President.

A world of its own

Alone among the public events of the period, John Kennedy's death looms large in the book. It had its profound impact on the author as man, poet, and Christian. Of the other events, little or nothing. Nor can it be said that L'Heureux's concerns were elsewhere, that he was not interested in "public" events, only in private ones. There is evidence enough that he was conscious of and reacted to whatever was largely present in the environment. The sad fact is that the world outside of Woodstock did not establish itself significantly within that invisible *cordon sanitaire* that enclosed the seminary mentality. Others have noted the "total institution" structure of the seminary, something it has in common with prisons and asylums. Well, it is true, or was so. Woodstock was a world of its own in the early sixties. It could and did manage to exist free-floating, a place where the laws which govern life elsewhere were apparently held in abeyance. Apparently, I say, because it is changing; the "old Woodstock" is breaking up from pressure within and without.

And that is all to the good; but it does not alter the fact that the lack of influence from the world without the gates is a difficulty with *Picnic*. The book is about a great event: the making of a priest. But this event is played out against a background, an environment which was unreal, even trivial in its dimensions. The message of God—to whom? A priest forever—for whom? And what did it all have to do with war and civil rights and curial maneuvering, with life and death in the world past the front door where, after all, even priests must live? There were discussions of this aplenty at Woodstock, but too many, too often,

were held in an atmosphere from which the air of reality had already been removed. If L'Heureux does not take much notice of that sort of talk, it is a good thing. But what is missing in the book is not awareness or sensitivity; what is missing is a whole side of human life: the public side. This lack of weight in the life of Woodstock cannot help being felt in the book. The private side of man, his interiority, needs to be spun out in the midst of larger and coarser material.

That for the negative side. It is not a criticism of the book, which has, I think, revealed the situation all too well. It is a criticism of the seminary as it has existed and still exists in many places. The criticism is called forth by the book, however. But other things are called forth by the book as well, things more positive and pleasing.

Picnic in Babylon is a journal about the growth of a man. That has its disadvantages. It means, for instance, that there is a good deal of immaturity present, especially in the earlier parts of the book. It is just the reverse of Ogden Nash's couplet, "The only trouble with a kitten is that/ It becomes a cat." Here the endpoint is splendid, but the movement towards it can be funny or irritating or occasionally sad. But human beings do develop; occasional glimpses of unpleasant clumsiness are the price we have to pay if we want to see the breath-taking process as it really is.

The early parts of the book are filled, for instance, with self-conscious efforts to be and sound like a Christian. Talking about a show which was put on at Woodstock mid-way through first year, L'Heureux says: "The show was staged in only two weeks, brilliantly done, with an expenditure of imagination that was Christianly lavish" (p. 39). That, to my mind, has a forced ring to it, somewhat like those dreadful cautions to "keep recollected" that were hurled about in the novitiate. If you're trying, you're not. It is, however, something that L'Heureux recognizes. Eight or nine months after the comment above, he discovers a note he had written in the late 1950s: "We do not think of Alexander Pope as great or magnanimous; he was unquestionably maladjusted to society, bitter, small, spiteful. That is the privilege of the artist. Only the critic can afford to sit back and peck at the foibles and idiosyncrasies of genius. Generally the artist is too occupied with creations to do much self-evaluation. That his genius should cost him the title of 'perfect normality' is understandable. The two are not compatible. Every artist is queer to some degree." And L'Heureux's 1964 comment: "Listen to the tone: I sound like Moses giving a performance of the Ten Commandments. Reading the note now, I can't help wondering in which direction I was working: trying to excuse my foibles by a plea of genius or—more likely—trying to appear a genius because of my too evident foibles. In

any case the note is funny and a little bit sad" (p. 130). Right you are, John.

But there is more complexity at work here than a simple recognition of one's faults. Take, for instance, the following which, in late 1965, L'Heureux quotes with approval from the *National Catholic Reporter*: "The sign of the Spirit is not agreement, but rather the love that is strong enough to support diversity. Where Christ's love is concretely effective in persons who live together, all are accepted, all are trusted, all are listened to, all are taken seriously as unique members of Christ" (p. 232). That is a splendid statement; but its very splendor can serve to cover the danger it contains. There are those who, in their effort to trust all, listen to all, take all seriously, lose the capacity to be themselves, to make judgments, to respond as men who are not themselves cosmic but only very limited things. In the process the people lose the knack of "sending the very best": themselves. It is, I suppose, the paradox of understanding the value and uniqueness of others (and oneself) only through a recognition of the limitations and failures of others (and oneself). Where John L'Heureux stood in 1965 on just this point is not entirely clear. Perhaps for that reason I prefer the following: "A friend is someone who leaves you with all your freedom intact but who, by what he thinks of you, obliges you to be fully what you are" (p. 208).

The last statement quoted above is, I think, more in keeping with the man who has come into being as the journal approaches the day of ordination. It is the L'Heureux who can say "I'm happy. To hell with grief. L'Heureux shall overcome" (p. 241). And he does. He overcomes not by putting on the mantle of Christianity, not by assuming a role, but by becoming a Christian and, thus, himself. One wonders if there is not evidence here applying to the dispute about forensic justification. A man limited, rather snappy on occasion, perhaps too worried still of his effect on others, but through and through a man and a Christian for all that. A friend once told him during the recovery period following an illness, "You're feeling better today, I can tell. The circle of your malice is extending to include other people" (p. 297). It is not malice, of course, which marks the priest who has come into being. But it is a man unafraid to judge others because he has learned to judge himself. It is no accident, I think, that the book is so much stronger at its end than at the beginning. The man who wrote it has become stronger. The talk about books is less precious; the views of self and others are less self-conscious. Life is lived here on a deeper level. It is the work of a man who has come to see himself and all others as existing under the sign of judgment. And it is this, finally, which makes *Picnic in Babylon* a success.

G. MICHAEL MCCROSSIN, S.J.

IGNATIAN SPIRITUALITY

A Modern Scriptural Approach to the Spiritual Exercises. By David M. Stanley, S.J. Chicago: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, in cooperation with Loyola University Press, 1967. Pp. xviii + 358. \$7.50.

THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES have a very large scriptural element in their make-up, and it is only natural that intelligent people who use them would rather not occupy themselves in their meditations and contemplations with the obsolete and antiquated notions that former generations of seminarians heard presented in their biblical courses. Persons interested in the *Exercises* also know that in the theory and practice of retreats, as in so many other matters in the Church today, there is a certain rethinking and refashioning in progress. Or it may happen that a priest who made his studies some years ago has to give a retreat now and would rather not betray an ignorance that would excite pity or mild contempt or subdued laughter on the part of younger and better informed hearers.

Fr. Stanley is Professor of New Testament Studies at Regis College, at Willowdale, near Toronto, Canada. For three years he did similar work as a professor in the University of Iowa. He has written considerably, and is one of the better known leaders among Catholics in biblical studies in the United States and Canada.

"The purpose of this book may appear to be a fairly grandiose one: to provide some exemplification of the way in which the twentieth century achievements of biblical scholarship may be pressed into service in giving the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius to men of the present day" (p. 1). In the introduction the author develops the principle that Sacred Scripture should serve us as a normative guide to religious experience. It is our foremost font of knowledge about God, his relations toward us, and his dealings with our whole race. Hence the stringent necessity of getting the best possible acquaintance with it. It furnishes us our great account of "the divine-human dialogue," revealing what God said or did, and what our response should be. More particularly, the Gospels are the indispensable treasure-store for those who wish to practice Ignatian contemplation. Scripture opens out for us what Fr. Stanley calls "biblical spirituality." A retreat made in the light of it, in view of the spiritual experiences of the prophets, the apostles, John, Paul, etc., could prove to be a magnificent stimulus to respond to God in just the same heroic way in which they did.

While making the *Exercises*, a person following Fr. Stanley's guidance

would incidentally learn much that might be new to him in scriptural problems. Especially interesting and illuminating should be the explanations offered, for instance, of the infancy narratives, of how the Gospels came to be produced, of history and apologetics, and of the Jewish *midrash*.

At the end of the book there is a very valuable and informative "Glossary of Terms." In it, technical expressions from the *Exercises* and from the scriptural sciences, many of them in Hebrew or Greek, are listed and explained. This glossary by itself is something like a little introduction to modern biblical learning.

Fr. Stanley's work grew out of a retreat given to Jesuit theological students at St. Mary's College, St. Mary's, Kansas, during Easter week in 1964, as ordination was approaching. These young men had already made St. Ignatius' *Spiritual Exercises* ten or twelve times, knew them well, had the book at hand, and could always consult it. Hence the author did not at all intend to write anything like a commentary or an explanation of the text. Instead of that, utilizing scriptural history, prophecy, and wisdom, and drawing on a profound knowledge of the biblical sciences as they exist today, he proposed material which one who is following the themes and general order of the *Exercises* could use in his meditations.

Thus, one who is endeavoring to renew and deepen one's life of commitment to God by the *Exercises* could at the same time be learning much about the literature of the Old and New Testaments. The emphasis of the book is to inspire a more profound union with God, to stimulate personal sanctity, and to fill one with apostolic zeal. In particular, the retreatant is always being invited to enter the ongoing salvation history as it pertains to him as an individual.

"Fidelity to the spirit if not always to the letter of the Ignatian structure has been a constant concern of the author" (p. 327). One exercise on the election of Israel opens the retreat. Corresponding to the "principle and foundation" there are two: one on the "prayer of the creature," and the other on "loving what you find," on choosing the better things, that is, those that are more conducive to the ultimate end. For the rest of the first week, there is no difficulty about presenting an abundance of matter from the Bible on sin and repentance.

St. Ignatius' "kingdom of Christ" is enforced with reflections on the events of Palm Sunday. The temptations of Jesus are developed so as to bring out the lessons of the "two standards." The sermon on the mount furnishes thoughts apt to illustrate the three degrees of humility and the true doctrine of our Lord. The final exercise, "To obtain love," is illuminated from the record of God's affectionate overtures to Israel. It

also suggests the characteristic Ignatian ideal of "finding God in all things." Fr. Stanley adds: "The optimistic, incarnational theology of a Père Pierre Teilhard de Chardin undoubtedly derives its inspiration from this source" (p. 331).

Certain notes appear to mark what one might term the author's spirituality. First of all, he insists over and over again on the importance of centering one's attention on the death and resurrection of Christ, and in a very special way on the latter, the victory and glory of the resurrection. This practice would give one's whole outlook and attitude a positive quality and an attraction that are missing when the emphasis is on the passion and death of Christ. A second characteristic, referred to above, is that we are constantly called upon to enter into the divine scheme of salvation-history, existentially, each one, individually, here and now, in his uniqueness. Every person has a peculiar role to play in it, not only for his own sake, but also for the common good of the whole body of the Elect. Again, besides being thoroughly biblical and liturgical, a disciple of Fr. Stanley would discerningly and earnestly attune his interior life and spirit to present day needs. The Scriptures were written with an eye to the exigencies of their time, so however that an intelligent reader can and should understand them as peculiarly applicable to his own contemporary situation.

The author gives considerable space to distinctively Jesuit spirituality. Thus there is Chapter XV, "*Simul in Actione Contemplativus.*"* This Jesuit ideal is clarified from St. Paul's prayer for the Philippians ("May your love grow richer . . .," Phil. 1:9-11), from his example as a suffering servant of God, and from "Pauline discernment." In general, much is also made of the discernment of spirits; this is proposed in another chapter as characteristic of Paul as well as of Ignatius. In one of the last exercises, in the fourth week, under the heading, "The Law of the Spirit of Life in Christ Jesus" (Rom. 8:2), it is shown what an identity there is between Paul's doctrine on freedom vs. law and Ignatius' "primacy of the spirit," the interior law of love and charity (pp. 308-15). A whole chapter is given to the devotion to the Sacred Heart. A diagnosis is offered of the difficulties this form of piety has had in the past, and suggestions are made as to how they should be remedied in the future.

Filling the Ignatian form with biblical matter, Fr. Stanley's work is heartily recommended to all who would like to make a retreat of that kind. The work should mark a major step forward in the history of the *Spiritual Exercises*.

AUGUSTINE G. ELLARD, S.J.

* Fr. Stanley has already stressed this, as well as some other points in Jesuit spirituality, in "The Liturgical Word, The Spiritual Exercises, The Jesuit Response," Woodstock Letters 93 (1964), 345-60.

TEILHARD DE CHARDIN:

A SURVEY OF THE RECENT LITERATURE

(Listing prepared and commented upon by Brian O. McDermott, S.J., who is currently teaching a course in the theology of Teilhard at Woodstock College, where he is a third-year theologian.)

EACH YEAR SINCE 1956 the *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu* has published a complete bibliography of all the works in all languages about Teilhard that have appeared that year. Between 1956 and 1965 the listing, which always forms part of the July-December issue, runs to almost one thousand entries. The composer of the bibliographies in the *Archivum* has done the public a great service in offering a selective bibliography of works by and about Teilhard. Ladislaus Pogár's *Internationale Teilhard-Bibliographie 1955-1965* (Freiburg and Munich: Verlag Karl Alber, 1965) closes at June, 1965.

The best bibliography of Teilhard's own writings, both published and unpublished, is to be found in Claude Cuénot's *Teilhard de Chardin: A Biographical Study* (Baltimore: Helicon, 1965). This massive work traces the stages of Teilhard's development and makes frequent use of his letters, many of which have not appeared elsewhere. For this commentator the most instructive aspect of Cuénot's book is the emphasis given to Teilhard as a member of a research team. For Teilhard a prime analogate of the kind of "unanimization" that planetary man is heading toward is the experience of the scientific research team working as one man to foster a common truth. When the reader finishes Cuénot's biography he sees Teilhard for what he primarily was: not the author, the speculative mind, but Teilhard the man of research, a leader in a community of leaders.

Works by Teilhard in English

Teilhard wrote three books; the third has not shared in the limelight accorded the two which preceded it in publication. *Man's Place in Nature: The Human Zoological Group* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966) was completed in 1949 and submitted to the ecclesiastical authorities in the following year. Unfortunately, its fate was the same as that experienced by *The Divine Milieu* and *The Phenomenon of Man*: because

it went beyond the bounds of science and Teilhard's "competence," it was not approved. Now that it belongs to the public it can serve as a companion essay for *The Phenomenon of Man*. Anyone who has tried manfully to fight his way through the first three sections of Teilhard's larger work will find all the basic themes of those sections (as well as those of the concluding section) given sharp expression in *Man's Place in Nature*.

Two large collections of Teilhard's essays have appeared in English recently. The first, *The Appearance of Man* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), is the more specialized, and of less importance for one who is interested in the "wider issues" in Teilhard's thought. Most of the articles first appeared in scientific journals, and a few in *Études*. While there are dated elements in these essays, their importance for the serious student of Teilhard is undeniable. For the reader with more general interests, however, *The Vision of the Past* (New York: Harper and Row, 1967) possesses greater value. These essays on the nature of evolution and the validity of its concept date from 1921 up to the year of the author's death. It is interesting to trace, on the one hand, Teilhard's defense of the transformist position in the Catholic world, and on the other, his defense of a kind of orthogenesis in the scientific world. The articles make abundantly clear what their author meant when he wrote in *The Phenomenon of Man*: "Is evolution a theory, a system or a hypothesis? It is much more: it is a general condition to which all theories, all hypotheses, all systems must bow and which they must satisfy henceforward if they are to be thinkable and true" (p. 219). "Evolution" in this sentence refers not to transformism but to the general framework in which science moves, the framework of a universe that is a system of interconnections into which everything is *born*. The articles in this collection are for the most part quite intelligible for the reader who is a layman (biologically speaking!).

Hymn of the Universe (New York: Harper and Row, 1965) is a small volume. While it does not contain an essay bearing the title of the book, it does offer moments of high lyricism in praise of matter as divinized by the presence of Christ. Here can be found the oft-quoted "Mass on the World" written by Teilhard in 1923, as well as three "stories" written during World War I. "The Spiritual Power of Matter" was written in 1919 while the author was in Jersey. A collection of *pensées* chosen by Fernande Tardival completes the volume. Even if it draws on sources that, for the most part, have already been published, it has the virtue of bringing together some of the more frequently quoted pas-

sages. The language in this collection of meditations and *pensées* is sometimes extreme, but N. M. Wildiers and Henri de Lubac have shown that here a virile orthodoxy is simply seeking a voice faithful to the vision.

Five essays and conferences written between 1931 and 1941 are gathered together in *Building the Earth* (Wilkes-Barre: Dimension Books, 1965). While the format of the book is objectionable (Teilhard *cum* snowflakes!), the essays are urgent in tone. Of paramount importance for Teilhard was the need for a "human energetics" whose mainspring would be hope. These essays are about that hope.

Teilhard's letters and essays

Since 1965 four collections of Teilhard's letters have appeared in English. *The Making of a Mind: Letters from a Soldier-Priest: 1914-1919* (New York: Harper and Row, 1935) is the best single collection of letters that has appeared. The most explosive period of Teilhard's theological life occurred right in the midst of World War I. During that time he wrote more than twenty essays of a theological and mystical character (see below) while at the same time maintaining an extensive correspondence. The letters in this collection are addressed to his cousin Marguerite, a woman of real spiritual stature, with whom Teilhard felt a deep affinity. In this correspondence Teilhard is revealed as a sensitive spiritual counsellor as well as a man of enormous faith. His assessment of the war as the birth pangs of a higher unification of man on earth was not a naive optimism but a severely tested hope. *The Making of a Mind* is highly recommended.

Correspondence: Pierre Teilhard de Chardin and Maurice Blondel (New York: Herder and Herder, 1967) is edited and commented on by Henri de Lubac. Although these two great men did finally meet, their correspondence in this volume is addressed to Auguste Valensin, S.J., who introduced Blondel to Teilhard's World War I essays. Both thinkers were deeply interested in expressing the Christian fact in such a way that a modern man could no longer remain indifferent to it; this similarity of intention, however, could not disguise real differences in method and approach. Père de Lubac's commentary is lengthy and succeeds in sharpening, without exaggerating, the agreement and disagreement between these giants.

The literature by and about Teilhard is vast. That is why it is an odd sort of pleasure not to have to recommend two other collections of letters to the reader who does not want to become acquainted with Teilhard in an exhaustive way. *Letters from Egypt: 1905-1908* (New York: Herder

and Herder, 1965) contains correspondence written by Teilhard the regent to his parents in France. *Letters from Paris: 1912-1914* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1967) is a translation of the second half of a French collection of letters written when Teilhard was a theologian in Sussex, England and a student of natural science in Paris, before he was drafted into the army. Valuable in certain respects, these collections are not indispensable for one entering *le monde teilhardien*.

In 1968 Harper and Row will publish a translation of *Écrits du temps de la guerre 1916-1919* (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1965). This collection is invaluable, for it contains the twenty surviving theological and mystical essays that Teilhard wrote while serving in the army during World War I. All the essays are important, but commentators have made the most use of *La Vie cosmique*, *La Lutte contre la multitude*, *Le Milieu mystique*, *L'Union créatrice*, *Mon Univers*, *Le Prêtre* and *Les Noms de la matière*. Many, but not all, of the theological themes of the mature Teilhard are first developed in these essays, written during the only creative period of his life in which he was not "under a shadow."

Science et Christ (Paris: Éditions de Seuil, 1965) is the latest addition to the *Oeuvres de Pierre Teilhard de Chardin*. The articles date from 1919 to 1955 and have a common theme: the relation of the Christian phenomenon to the scientific phenomenon, that is, the problem of the evangelization of the modern world. Hopefully, Harper and Row will soon publish a translation of this volume as well as of the sixth and seventh volumes in the series (*L'Énergie humaine* and *L'Activation de l'énergie*) which appeared earlier.

Léontine Zanta was a close friend of Teilhard and the first woman in France to become a doctor of philosophy. Teilhard's letters to her (*Lettres à Léontine Zanta* [Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1965]) were written between 1923 and 1939, for the most part in China. They reveal much about the feelings and thoughts of Teilhard the exile, his disappointment, impatience, and hope. Once again Père de Lubac offers an illuminating introduction which complements that of a former colleague of Mlle. Zanta, Robert Garric.

Theological studies in English

Surely the best single study of Teilhard's Christology and its role in his thought generally is Christopher F. Mooney's *Teilhard de Chardin and the Mystery of Christ* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966). Mooney exhibits a firm control of the sources, both published and unpublished. First he probes the importance of the problem of death in Teilhard's

search for an *issue* for evolution, then follows Teilhard as he constructs an hypothesis to render coherent the emergence of human consciousness in our entropized universe; the hypothesis, finally, is validated by the Christian fact: the Cosmic Christ, revealed in his universal import in the Christian phylum, the Church. Mooney's discussion of Johannine and Pauline themes is particularly striking in view of the fact that Teilhard developed his theological insights in relative isolation from the world of theologians; when he corresponded with a Charles, a Valensin, or a de Lubac he was in touch with the best, but it remains true that many of his ideas were born and preserved in theological solitude. One vital area in which closer discussion with theologians would have aided Teilhard's vision is his theology of the redemption. Mooney calls attention to the supreme irony of Teilhard's thought: his opinions on original sin "seem to have caused a mental block, which prevented him from seeing any relationship whatsoever between the success of evolution and the reparation made by Christ for the sins of the world." Perhaps there is a philosophical irony at work as well. Teilhard gave more and more emphasis to the personalizing forces present in the universe on its way to hominization, but, at decisive moments in his thinking, he preferred to treat sin only according to its "objective face," as an impersonal dimension of evolution. Yet the Noosphere is an envelope of thinking *centers* and thus an objective (i.e., coherent and full) consideration of evil on this level would have to incorporate consideration of the mystery of human freedom and sin. This is demanded by the exigencies of Teilhard's own personalism.

A briefer and generally reliable study of Teilhard's Christology is by an Ecuadorian, Francisco Bravo: *Christ in the Thought of Teilhard de Chardin* (Notre Dame and London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1967). The sketch of Teilhard's phenomenology is too brief to be a good introduction, but the later chapters delineate well the elements of the Jesuit scientist's Christology. An interesting parallel is drawn at one point between Teilhard and Karl Rahner's Christology. Recently, Rahner has put his central concept (*Selbstvollzug*, or self-transcendence) to work in a way that brings him very close to Teilhard's thinking. This reviewer would like to recommend Bravo's book, but it seems overpriced.

Robert L. Faricy's recent study, *Teilhard de Chardin's Theology of the Christian in the World* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1967) provides in three chapters a clear and reliable summary of Teilhard's methodology and problematic before moving into the specific question of the significance of the Christian vocation for Teilhard. Especially noteworthy

is the analysis of Teilhard's understanding of evil, both physical and moral. Faricy's discussion makes it clear that a universe conceived in Teilhardian terms necessarily involves disorder and failure on all levels, even the most spiritual (viz., man's freedom), although this necessity is expressible only statistically and not with reference to concrete individuals. It might be worthwhile for theologians to ask themselves whether Teilhard's "objective" view of sin is not the negative face of (and therefore only analogous to) the deep truth of our faith that God's victory in Christ was such that God's triumph will always "show up" in the living faith of the Christian community as long as history lasts, without the believer's freedom being jeopardized by the already-won victory in Christ. If someone was going to read but one book about Teilhard, this commentator would recommend Faricy's. Actually, the clarity of style and comprehensive nature of the treatment do the recommending themselves.

It is interesting to note that Henri de Lubac's *The Religion of Teilhard de Chardin* (New York: Desclée, 1967) appears in English translation five years after its appearance in France. It is most unfortunate that this helpful work was delayed from reaching the English-speaking world, apparently because of Curial pressures. The book is defensive and analytical. In a sense, its apologetic nature is the source of its shortcomings and its glory. Its shortcomings: Père de Lubac is compelled time and again to turn the reader away from a penetrating appraisal of Teilhard's thought in order to do him justice in the face of the (often unfair) criticisms directed at him. Its glory: by virtue of his intimate acquaintance with Teilhard's thought and his close friendship with the man, de Lubac is able to defend Teilhard's orthodoxy in a definitive way, while at the same time criticizing him when he feels that it is called for. In de Lubac, Teilhard meets the richness of the Christian tradition and he does not fare badly at all. One of de Lubac's most significant contributions is his defense of Teilhard's position regarding the relation of nature and grace. Where Teilhard's formulation is less than happy, de Lubac is able to re-insert the extreme expressions into the more fundamental, vigorously orthodox intention of their author.

De Lubac's smaller book, *Teilhard de Chardin: The Man and His Meaning* (New York: Hawthorne, 1965) is less ambitious than his great apologia. The book comprises two studies, the first of which sheds light on the fundamental dimensions of Teilhard's faith. Doctrinal considerations are of only secondary importance here. The second essay is frankly defensive in tone and intent. Teilhard's 1934 essay on apologetics (still

unpublished), *Comment je crois*, had come under heavy attack from several quarters. Some of the criticism, not content to remain with the essay, struck at the integrity of its author. De Lubac, alive to the difficulties inherent in Teilhard's mode of expression and the "experimental" nature of the essay, offers a fair defense of Teilhard's intentions and performance.

There is beginning to be an embarrassment of riches in regard to fair and illuminating theological analyses of Teilhard! Piet Smulders, S.J., formerly a professor at the Jesuit theologate in Maastricht, Holland and now a member of the faculty of the theological center in Amsterdam is the author of *The Design of Teilhard de Chardin: An Essay in Theological Reflection* (Westminster: Newman Press, 1967). It was unavoidable that much of the theological analysis contained in this volume coincides, more or less, with portions of books mentioned above. Particularly informative in this study are the sections dealing with evolution and original sin and the theological dimension of the question of monogenism versus polygenism. Finally, it would be useful to compare Smulder's treatment of creation in Teilhard to the discussions of the same issue in Mooney and de Lubac.

The relation of spirit to matter in an evolving universe is a key philosophical and theological problem in Teilhard's whole vision. In his *Teilhard and the Creation of the Soul* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1967), Robert North, S.J., addresses himself to this problem and several others as well. The erudition of this Scripture scholar and theologian is amazing. When not discussing Teilhard's phenomenology or the Biblical account of man's origins, he is discoursing on Neo-Lamarckism and Neo-Darwinism, or the Scotist-Thomist debate on the motive of the Incarnation, or Rahner's metaphysics of hominization. (Incidentally, Rahner wrote the introduction to North's book, and he promises a completely revised *Quaestiones Disputatae* monograph on the problem of polygenism and original sin.) Because of the style in which it is written and the wide range of ideas, North's book is not easy reading. Nor is it a handsome book. Among the indices one will find a list of all the articles by Teilhard that have appeared in collections together with a listing of his published books and letters.

Teilhard has found a sympathetic Anglican commentator in Michael H. Murray, whose *The Thought of Teilhard de Chardin: An Introduction* (New York: Seabury, 1966) is meant to be a primer for those who are unfamiliar with Teilhard. It is a good book, but not exceptional, and it exhibits a tendency of the author to move from a consideration of Teil-

hard's thought to reflections which are more the author's than the Jesuit's. While this has the merit of revealing an affinity between Teilhard and some basic convictions of non-Roman Christianity, it might have been better if he had brought out more fully the substance of Teilhard's ideas. The last chapter on Teilhard's methodology is very interesting for the comparison it offers between the Jesuit paleontologist's views regarding the relation of science and faith and those of Michael Polanyi (*Personal Knowledge*) and Thomas Kuhn (*The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*). The heuristic passion which led Teilhard to move out beyond the acquired and accepted boundaries of the specialized sciences (and the heuristic passion that inspires any creative scientist) finds an analogue in the Christian's "conquest" of truth in the surrender of faith. A sophisticated confrontation between science and faith in our contemporary world requires a confrontation of faith and science at their liveliest moments, for it is at that juncture that their affinities and differences are most important and interesting. Murray does us a service in initiating a dialogue between such men as Teilhard and Polanyi. Bultmannians *et al.* attend!

Teilhard and the Supernatural (Baltimore: Helicon, 1966) is Eulalio R. Baltazar's contribution to the growing literature inspired by Teilhard. This commentator found his ambition admirable, his execution a bit less, and his "style" of thought and expression distressing. There is no doubt that we do not have a semantic in which to express the gratuity of God's definitive presence in an evolving universe. Baltazar tries to develop such a semantic in terms of a metaphysics of process (the metaphysics proper to a "3-D universe," as distinguished from the pre-evolutionary "2-D universe"). By giving primacy to God's absolute offer of himself the author tries to maintain that the Cosmic Christ is the sole finality of the evolving universe. In this perspective (and in that of Genesis as well) creation is itself a "covenantal" act that establishes the finite creature on its way to union with God himself. Baltazar marks his position off from that of the "moderate intrinsicists" ("moderate extrinsicists"?) such as Karl Rahner, but it is interesting that he compares his view with that of Rahner's earlier discussions of grace. The Rahner who wrote "Christology Within an Evolutionary View of the World" would have provided a more challenging counter-position for Baltazar and it would have forced him to clarify further the issues at stake. What Baltazar does achieve is worth his effort: there is hope that in stressing the primacy of creation in and toward Christ, the entire "language game" of the nature-grace problem will be transformed without any loss of the traditional values.

Additional studies in English and French

Paul Chauchard, a French neurophysiologist and convert to Catholicism, has written a fascinating study of Teilhard's phenomenology from the point of view of one who is sympathetic to Teilhard, aware of the Catholic philosophical and theological tradition as represented by Thomistic thought, and, finally, who considers his own science to be a kind of "proving-ground" for some of Teilhard's basic intuitions regarding the relation of physical to psychic energy. The first several chapters of his *Man and Cosmos: Scientific Phenomenology in Teilhard de Chardin* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1965) offer a distinctive contribution to the scientific assessment of Teilhard. A briefer volume of Chauchard's, *Teilhard de Chardin on Love and Suffering* (Glen Rock: Paulist-Deus, 1966) comprises two essays that, while short, make clear that Teilhard is drawing on much more than a "biology" of consciousness when he confronts the twin mysteries of man: his power to suffer and his power to love.

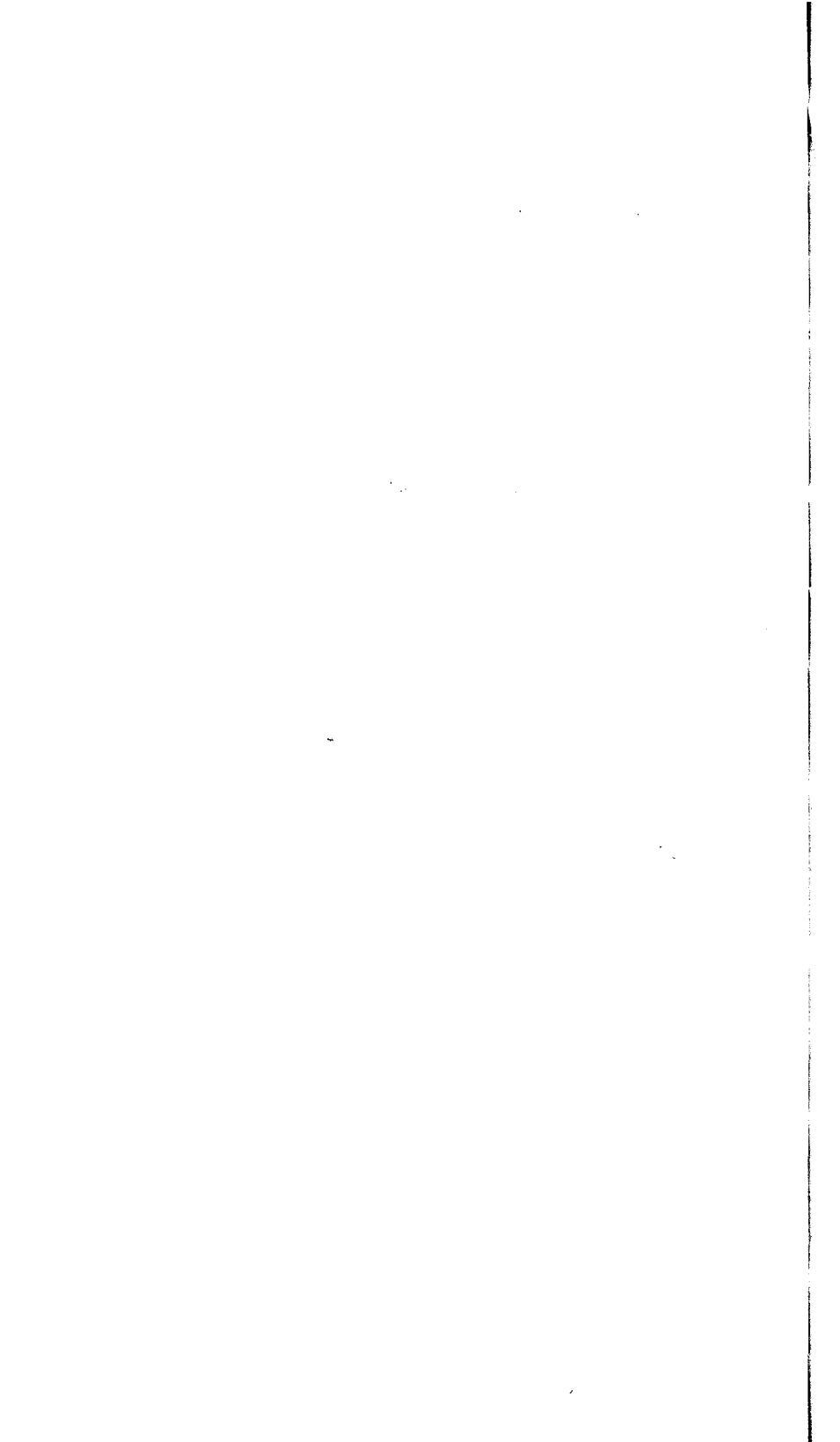
George B. Barbour has contributed the viewpoint of a Presbyterian co-worker in his *In the Field with Teilhard de Chardin* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1965). A geologist who worked in close association with Teilhard in China and who was in contact with him in South Africa and the United States, Barbour highlights the Jesuit's aspect as a man of research.

The text of the colloquium held in Venice sponsored by *Pax Romana* has been edited by Claude Cuénot in *Teilhard de Chardin et la pensée catholique* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1965). The discussion ranged from the problem in methodology in Teilhard to his notion of Christogenesis. The roster of participants is a litany of European Teilhard scholars: Cuénot, Wildiers, Chauchard, Grenet, Leroy, de Lubac, Barthélemy-Madaule, Russell, Smulders—to name the best known in this country. The discussion is warm and the disagreement sometimes sharp, yet all the participants share the same admiration and respect for Teilhard's project and intention.

Jeanne Mortier, who knew Teilhard very well and was greatly responsible for Teilhard's thought becoming public, has brought out a book of her own, *Avec Teilhard de Chardin: "Vues ardentes"* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1967). Besides offering reflections on Teilhard's thought she provides an appendix containing hitherto unpublished material on original sin, the evolution of chastity, and Christ as the agent of evolution.

La Pensée du Père Teilhard de Chardin (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1965) is a nearly six hundred page treatment of all of Teilhard's thought. The author, Émile Rideau, S.J., has attempted (and with great success) to discuss in a systematic way all the dimensions of Teilhard's world: influences, the intuition and its project, the phenomenology of history, cosmology, anthropology, theology and spirituality. An appendix on Teilhard's vocabulary and modes of expression concludes the work. (A recent Blackwell's catalog announced the translation of Rideau's study under the title, *A Guide to the Thought of Teilhard de Chardin*.) No analysis of Teilhard's thought-world can match Rideau's in comprehensiveness.

We have not tried to be exhaustive in our listing of studies of Teilhard since 1965. We have completely omitted the periodical literature and have omitted books which a more thorough treatment would have discussed. The assessments are subjective and consciously so, but it is hoped that the interested reader will find some helpful handholds as he begins to ascend the bibliographical mountain that Teilhard de Chardin has bequeathed to us, his brothers.



WOODSTOCK
LETTERS

SPRING 1968

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FOR CONTRIBUTORS

WOODSTOCK LETTERS solicits manuscripts from all Jesuits on all topics of particular interest to fellow Jesuits: Ignatian spirituality, the activities of our various apostolates, problems facing the modern Society, and the history of the Society, particularly in the United States and its missions. In general it is our policy to publish major obituary articles on men whose work would be of interest to the whole assistancy.

Letters of comment and criticism will be welcomed for the Readers' Forum.

Manuscripts, preferably the original copy, should be double-spaced with ample margins. Whenever possible, contributors of articles on Ignatian spirituality and Jesuit history should follow the stylistic norms of the Institute of Jesuit Sources. These are most conveniently found in Supplementary Notes B and C and in the list of abbreviations in Joseph de Guibert, S.J., *The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice*, trans. W. J. Young (Chicago, 1964), pp. 609-16.

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IGNATIUS' OWN LEGISLATION ON PRAYER

Ignatian and post-Ignatian concepts

MIGUEL A. FIORITO, S.J.

Evolution in law and custom can imply either creative adaptation and development, or loss of the original clarity of vision, or, as is generally the case, a combination of both. Such is the case with the concept of Ignatian prayer. In recommending change in our traditional methods of prayer, Jesuit scholars have had to return to the original Ignatian sources and, from an understanding of the mind of Ignatius, evaluate subsequent modifications in Jesuit practice.

Following the spirit of the 31st General Congregation, Fr. Miguel A. Fiorito, S.J., published an exhaustive study on the development of Ignatian prayer, "La ley Ignaciana de la oración en la Compañía de Jesús," Stromata 22 (1967), pp. 3-89. The text and notes were translated and edited in their entirety by Fr. Aloysius A. Jacobsmeyer, S.J., with the assistance of Fr. George E. Ganss, S.J., who had worked with Fr. Fiorito in the preparation of the original monograph, and Fr. John R. Kelly, S.J. While retaining all the references to the sources used by the author, due to limitations of space, the editors have omitted the lengthy textual citations contained in the notes of the original version.

IN THE RECENT 31ST GENERAL CONGREGATION, the Society of Jesus has questioned herself, thus imitating in her own small measure the Church of Vatican Council II.¹ The Congregation devoted time to

¹Cf. J. M. Le Blond, "Compagnie de Jésus, que dis-tu de toi-même?" *Christus* 14 (1967) 269-277.

many studies concerning the origins of the order, and also to serious reflection upon the realities of its place in modern circumstances.

One of the subjects of study and reflection which the General Congregation undertook was the topic of prayer, especially in its legislative expression in the Society. In this matter also, the Society of Jesus has in its own way followed the example of the Church of our time. In two Constitutions, the conciliar *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy* and the post-conciliar one on penance, the Church has sought a new legislative expression which might foster the spirit of prayer and penance in men of our time. In both Constitutions, that of Vatican Council II and that of Paul VI, the service which the "new law" has aimed to offer to the permanent spirit of renewal of the Church has been the diminution of external prescriptions on rites or a clear opening of the door to personal adaptations in regard to fasts and abstinence. Such search for new legislative expression must obviously and necessarily be accompanied by the necessary study of the sources and by reflection on the realities of the present situation.

The study which we now offer, on the Ignatian legislation on prayer in the Society of Jesus, was composed in early 1966 amid those special circumstances of the Church and of the Society in which the latter, in the spirit of Vatican Council II, was preparing her renewal and her current legislative updating. Those circumstances are still present to some extent, and hence we believe it fitting to publish the study with minor corrections of detail. One of the characteristics of the recent General Congregation, is the fact of its being only a point of departure, an inspiration for post-congregational work.² In this effort, the study of the sources and reflection on their exact present value continue to be as necessary as they were for the editorial drafting of the new legislative documents. As Father General Peter Arrupe told all the Jesuits in a letter touching on the acceptance of the decrees of the General Congregation, the Society of Jesus will live in "a time of intense

² Pope Paul VI in his discourse at the end of the 31st General Congregation spoke to us of "all those things which you have so carefully done during this most important period . . . as though concluding four centuries of [the Society's] history just after the close of the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council, and beginning a new era of your militant religious life with a fresh mentality and with new proposals."

expectation, not of mere waiting but of hard work without prospect of immediate results; for it is only by effort and feeling our way that our essential and enduring values can be expressed, as they should be, in an idiom that has undergone some change. Our expectation should be serene and optimistic. Patient persevering effort will gradually develop new expressions better adapted to our times. We are certainly preparing for a new period of history in which there will be a fuller understanding of the personal, Christian and religious vocation."³ For this new phase of our history, a phase characterized by waiting for the new and more adequate expressions of our essential and perennial values, there must be many historical studies and simultaneously much reflection on the present. As Father General indicates in the same letter, this waiting ought to take place as something shared by all.

We believe that it was necessary to give the above introduction on the present plan of our study and reflection concerning the law of prayer in the Society of Jesus. With regard to the same study, we mention this in advance: both in the title of this study as well as in its development, whenever we speak of the law or legislation on prayer, we do not mean only the law which with mathematical precision, so to speak, prescribes the time to be employed by rule in prayer or the method of prayer. We also mean the legislation which exhorts us to prayer, or rather, which offers directives to improve prayer—by indicating, for example, its external conditions of silence, mortification, or control of the senses. Finally, we mean the law which lays down principles of a life of prayer based on revelation and on a sane psychology and sociology, in the measure that these sciences contribute to the grasping of revelation as the word which is directed by God to each man.

From all this rich content of the law concerning prayer in a religious order such as the Society of Jesus, it is of special interest for us to call the attention of our readers to the principles, by means of which the legislator—in our case, St. Ignatius—puts the spirit of prayer before our eyes. That spirit is the end of his legislative expression, while all the rest—prescriptions, directives, exhortations—are only means to attain that spirit more securely.

Moreover, we believe that it is those principles which in an

³ Letter of January 2, 1967, to the whole Society of Jesus.

original manner make the law on prayer developed by St. Ignatius for the Society of Jesus genuinely Ignatian, while many of the other elements of the same law may be common with other forms of spirituality, and may be copied verbatim from the legislation of other religious institutes. This has happened, for example, in respect to the "hour of prayer" or to its method being "mental," or to the performing of the prayer "in the morning." Within the Society, too, these elements may perhaps, through being incarnated in diverse social and cultural environments, change the spirit of the Ignatian law without their being by this fact changed themselves.

Consequently our study, although it assumes the ambitious title of "Ignatius' Own Legislation on Prayer" looks especially to the vital, intrinsic element which is the spirit of prayer. It pays attention to the other elements only in the measure which is necessary for the attainment of that primary goal. This is all the more necessary because the historians who have preceded us in the study of the law on prayer in the Society of Jesus have allowed themselves to be absorbed too much, in our opinion, in one or other circumstantial element of prayer, as appears, for example, from the very titles of their works. Fr. Leturia's own title serves as instance: "The Morning Hour of Meditation in the Society of Jesus." His study is a prototype of an historical orientation which has given attention almost exclusively to the element of the duration of prayer—a continuous duration, too. Moreover, with that observation made, we wish to keep free from a controversy which was begun at the beginning of the present century, or even earlier. For it has dragged along from the very beginning of the Society and was continued during the recent 31st General Congregation. History is the master of life. But whoever lives as one engaged in controversy is not a good master of history.

Nevertheless, we hope that by focusing our attention on the spirit of the Ignatian legislation on prayer in the Society of Jesus, certain elements of the law, such as the prescribed duration and method of prayer, may occupy their true place.⁴ On the other hand,

⁴ *Decree on Prayer*, 31st General Congregation: "The General Congregation wishes to remind every Jesuit that personal daily prayer is an absolute necessity. But the Congregation, recognizing the value of current developments in the spiritual life, does not intend to impose upon all indiscriminately a precisely

we also hope that other elements which have been practically forgotten may come into prominence in our study. Examples in point are the intervention of the local superior in adapting the law to each of his subjects and the responsibility and initiative of the subject in his personal prayer-life and its time schedule.⁵ To facilitate this new perspective, which holds great importance in regard to the practical consequences of our study, we shall endeavor to present the spirit of St. Ignatius' legislation on prayer, not in the abstract, but as something incarnated in concrete elements. That spirit is what imparts life to the elements.

Bibliography of Ignatian prayer

The controversy about the Ignatian law on prayer, with one side favoring it and the other favoring the present law introduced into the Society since the generalate of Borgia, has been going on for almost a century, if not for four centuries. For that reason we believe it useful to embody in the text itself of this article, rather than in footnotes or an appendix, the bibliographical antecedents of our historical study. The history of the Ignatian law concerning prayer in the Society of Jesus, begun at the beginning of the century, is still developing; we think that the recent legislative expression which was worked out painstakingly during the two sessions of the General Congregation of the Society of Jesus, May 7 to July 15, 1965 and September 8 to November 17, 1966, can give a new impetus to the innate curiosity of historians.

We limit ourselves here to the authors who devoted themselves

defined universal norm for the manner and length of prayer" (no. 11). Consequently, other elements of the universal rule have been able to occupy the principal place in this decree. *Ibid.*, no. 11.

⁵ "Our rule of an hour's prayer is therefore to be adapted so that each Jesuit, guided by his superior, takes into account his particular circumstances and needs . . ." But to each Jesuit the same decree states: "The charity of Christ urges us to personal prayer and no human person can dispense us from that urgency" (no. 7). In regard to the forgetting in practice which befell those elements of the legislation (intervention of the local superior and responsibility of each subject), it is symptomatic that the best and most complete study on the subject of prayer in the Society, that of Leturia in *AHSJ*, III (1934), 47-108, scarcely and only in passing refers to those elements; and only in reply to a later criticism does he speak about them a little more, but always without great length (Cf. *Estudios Ignacianos*, ed. Iparraguirre, [Rome, 1957], I, 379).

expressly to the Ignatian law, and pass over those who studied other laws on prayer in other religious orders and congregations, in which work they are still engaged.⁶ This latter fact implies that a "spiritual evolution" is going on in our day, as the recent General Congregation mentioned,⁷ and also that this evolution, spiritual in its origin and aim, finds a vehicle of expression in historical study. This is all the more reason for insisting on our purpose indicated above, of attending primarily to the spirit which found expression in the more original elements of the Ignatian law on prayer in the Society of Jesus, and of leaving to other historians the detailed study of its other secondary elements, or the study of the legislation on prayer in other religious institutes in the Church.

Each one of the authors whom we cite in succession as explicit bibliographical antecedents of our study has his own peculiar value, and has made his own contribution to the clarification of the subject, no matter how much they may contradict and even try to displace one another. We shall not state precisely what we take or reject from each author, because that would provoke among our own selves and among our readers the same controversial spirit which till now has considerably impaired the history of the Ignatian law concerning prayer in the Society. On the other hand, to keep our bibliographical list from being a mere citation, we shall say something positive about almost all these authors, or at least about those who are better known:

P. Bouvier. "Les origines de l'oraison mentale en usage dans la Compagnie," *Lettres de Jersey*, 1922, pp. 594-613. This author, who published his work twenty years after having written and distributed it in mimeograph, is the first and almost the only one who presents St. Ignatius within the tradition of the great lawgivers of religious orders who have been rather parsimonious in their legislation on prayer.

P. Suau. *Histoire de St. Francois Borgia* (Paris, 1910), pp. 389-392. He portrays Father General Borgia as resisting the "contemplative" exaggerations within the Society.

J. M. Aicardo. *Comentario a las Constituciones de la Compañía de Jesús* (Madrid, 1920), Libro VIII, cap. 3, pp. 386-409. He presents the

⁶ A. de Vogüé, "Le sens de l'office d'après la Règle de S. Benoît," *RAM*, 12 (1966), 389-404; 13 (1967), 21-33.

⁷ See the text cited in footnote 4.

- continuous duration of prayer as a method or manner of prayer, and not as a mere prescribed duration of prayer.
- O. Karrer. *Der Heilige Franz von Borja* (Freiburg, 1921), pp. 249-274. He carries to the extreme the pejorative interpretation of Borgia's intervention in the change of legislation about prayer in the Society after the time of St. Ignatius, by isolating his interpretation a little from the subsequent historical context. This called forth the complementary and corrective study of Leturia.
- A. Astráin. *De oratione matutina in Societate Jesu* (1923), 84 pages.
- P. de Leturia. "La hora matutina de meditación en la Compañía naciente," *AHSJ*, III (1934), pp. 47-86; "Documentos," *ibid.*, pp. 87-108 (Cf. *Estudios Ignacianos* [Rome, 1957], II, pp. 189-268). This author's treatise is and continues to be the best on the post-Ignatian period of the legislation on prayer (Borgia, Mercurian, Aquaviva) in the Society. In regard to what pertains to the Ignatian period properly so called, Leturia's treatise can only be supplemented, improved, and corrected in the sense to be explained below.
- P. Dudon. "S. Ignace et l'oraison dans la Compagnie de Jésus," *RAM*, XV (1934), pp. 254-257. He proposes certain subtle objections, not always felicitous, to the previous work of Leturia. The latter answers him in the following article.
- P. de Leturia. "De 'Constitutionibus collegiorum' P. Ioannis de Polanco ac de earum influxu in Constitutiones S.I.," *AHSJ*, VII (1936), pp. 1-30. (Cf. *Estudios Ignacianos*, I, pp. 355-387). Here Leturia includes, at least in passing, important elements of the Ignatian law (for example, the personal intervention of the local superior) which he had neglected in his former work, and which the criticism of Dudon obliged him to take into account at least in passing and in a few words.
- I. Iparraguirre. "Para la historia de la oración en el Colegio Romano durante la segunda mitad del siglo XVII," *AHSJ*, XV (1946), pp. 77-126. He brings in personal documents of early Jesuits, whereas the earlier writers confine themselves to the study of the public and official documents. In this sense Iparraguirre supplements our knowledge of the post-Ignatian period of the legislation on the hour of prayer in the Society of Jesus.
- P. de Leturia. "Lecturas ascéticas y lecturas místicas entre los Jesuitas del siglo XVI," *Archivo italiano per la storia della pietà*, II (1953), pp. 3-34 (Cf. *Estudios Ignacianos*, II, pp. 269-331. What he says of the refectory reading, on pages 282-283, is partly on the law of prayer in the Society and is of interest to us. Our citations are from the

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text which is reproduced in *Estudios Ignacianos*. On the same topic, see Aicardo, *Comentario*, II, pp. 222-228, 536-537, and V, pp. 466-472); on private reading, pp. 283-286; on Nadal, Mercurian, and Aquaviva, pp. 295-311.

- J. de Guibert. *La Spiritualité de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Rome, 1953). In the English translation by W. J. Young, *The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice* (Chicago, 1964), see the index, s.v. "prayer, the time to be given to it," on page 673, and especially ch. 2, pages 85-96, on the means of formation, and ch. 14, pages 544-565, on mental prayer.
- I. Iparraguirre. "La oración en la Compañía naciente," *AHSJ*, XXV (1965), pp. 455-487.
- I. Iparraguirre. *Estilo espiritual Jesuitico* (Bilbao, 1964), 279 pages. In chapters VI-VIII he treats of the same theme, but more fully than in the previous study.
- B. Schneider. "Der Konflikt zwischen Claudius Aquaviva und Paulus Hoffaeus," *AHSJ*, XXVI (1957). See pp. 11-12, where he produces a new document of that period which takes on significance for the present day.
- H. Bacht. "Zur Frage nach den Anfängen der täglichen Betrachtungsstunden in der Gesellschaft Jesu." This study, still in a manuscript of 29 pages, bears no date. In the light of Leturia's treatises of 1934-1953, Bacht best brought up to date Bouvier, who had written in about 1902.
- Anonymous. "De iis quae S. Ignatius de formali orationis exercitio sensit atque statuit." Documentum praeivium 26 for the 31st General Congregation. This study of early 1965 synthesizes in 11 tightly typed pages the principal studies issued up to that time. It takes the same line of interpretation as Leturia.
- R. McNally. "St. Ignatius: Prayer and the Early Society of Jesus," *WOODSTOCK LETTERS*, 94 (1965), pp. 109-134.
- J. M. Demske, "The Wisdom of a Change," *ibid.*, pp. 135-138.
- S. Egusquiza, "El tiempo de oración en la primitiva Compañía." A study still in manuscript, 73 pages. 1966.

The hour of prayer

As one might observe in reading these authors, the historical sources on the law of prayer in the Society of Jesus, especially in the post-Ignatian period, that is, from the generalate of Borgia to

our own time, do not limit their consideration to the so-called "hour of mental prayer in the morning." Instead, they also treat of the other "hours," moments, or methods of prayer: visits to the Blessed Sacrament and examens, litanies and rosary, spiritual reading and domestic exhortations, and also the annual Spiritual Exercises, the days of weekly or monthly recollection, the renovation of vows, and so on and so forth. But, for the sake of brevity, we restrict ourselves to the study of the aforementioned hour of prayer. On the one hand, it is something so characteristic of the modern Society that the 31st General Congregation devotes to it the two most discussed paragraphs of the recent decree concerning prayer in the Society.⁸ On the other hand, that celebrated hour of prayer appears as the origin of the other hours which are its natural consequences. Thus, if we study more exactly the history of the hour of prayer, we shall, as it were by rebound, have a better knowledge of this history of the hours of prayer in the Society of Jesus, and that without distracting ourselves greatly about details. By this we do not mean that we do not take these into account; on the contrary, they have been an indispensable clue for us to distinguish the Ignatian law from the law which was working itself out little by little after the death of St. Ignatius, and especially after the generalate of St. Francis Borgia. Although for practical reasons we center our attention on that daily hour of prayer, yet we never lose sight of the context of the other hours; they are more characteristic of the whole post-Ignatian period than the hour itself.

Having established this first comparison, we shall divide the whole history of the law on prayer into two large periods: the first, in which the only preoccupation appears to be a daily time of prayer; the other in which there is a discussion about the various

⁸ *Decree on Prayer*, nos. 11 and 12. No. 11 is for Jesuits in general, but especially for those already formed, and no. 12 is more particularly about Jesuits in formation. The 31st General Congregation speaks then of the rule of the hour of prayer (no. 11), and of the Society's custom or usage which prescribes an hour and a half for prayer, Mass, and thanksgiving (no. 12, 2°). Meanwhile it does not speak of the other "hours," although it does treat of the different traditional manners of prayer, such as the so-called examens of conscience (no. 13), the "lectio divina" (no. 14 and parallel passages), the prayer in common, in addition to liturgical prayer (no. 15), the annual Spiritual Exercises (no. 16); but practically and without a precise determination of time.

times and methods of prayer, with each method having its own measure, which is almost always delimiting. In this period, too, the legislation endeavors at all costs to maintain the method as something different and distinctive. These two periods are also found in the life of the Church; the Society of Jesus, as a faithful daughter, reflects them in her own interior life. Let us think, for example, on the history of the breviary or the directive and prescriptive rubrics of the Mass, and we shall understand what we mean when we speak of periods in the law on prayer in the Society of Jesus.

With a little simplification, these two periods are the following:

1) The first period extends from 1539, the origin of the Society, to 1564, the death of Laynez. We call this the Ignatian period because in it the legislative conception of the founder prevails, in law although not always in execution.

2) The post-Ignatian period extends from 1565 to 1965. Thus it embraces all the time after the generalates of Borgia, Mercurian, and Aquaviva. Within this post-Ignatian period these three generals form, as Leturia indicates, a decisive bloc for implanting the morning hour of mental prayer in the Society of Jesus, as well as the other hours and delimiting methods of prayer.⁹

Concerning the second period, and especially its nucleus established by the three fathers general mentioned, we rely on the magnificent study of Leturia, based on first hand documents. The only objection that can be made to this work is, as we said, that it restricts itself to the "hour" of prayer, and does not pay sufficient attention to the other hours, such as litanies and the like, which by reason of the same post-Ignatian legislative spirit were being gradually introduced. So we shall not directly expound this historical period of the present law or rule on prayer in the Society, but give our chief attention to Leturia's conclusions and data.

In regard to the first or Ignatian period, however, we shall permit ourselves not to accept Leturia's conclusions, for they appear to us to be influenced by a partial view of the data, and by a point of

⁹ This is the period which was brought within the scope of the decree where the 31st General Congregation states that it, "recognizing the value of current developments in the spiritual life, does not intend to impose upon all indiscriminately a precisely defined universal norm for the manner and length of prayer" (*Decree on Prayer*, no. 11).

view too favorable to these three fathers general. Perhaps Leturia's viewpoint is a reaction to the viewpoint of other historians who are too adverse to those same three generals. Be that as it may, in our opinion it is risky to devote so much attention to the duration of prayer imposed by law or rule, or to fail to distinguish between the time imposed which is mere time, and the time which is itself a method of praying (for example, when there is an order that the prayer be made for an hour without interruption, or in the morning), or to fail to see other elements equally or more important in the *Constitutions* of St. Ignatius, and in his correspondence on the topic of prayer (such as the personal initiative and responsibility of the subject, and the authoritative direction of the local superior). Such procedure is, in our judgment, to read the documents of the past with partiality and, unconsciously, to interpret them in the light of a later personal experience which has almost completely forgotten those elements of the life of prayer in the Society of Jesus.

For these and other reasons we shall limit our study to the first period, the period we have called Ignatian even though it includes the generalate of Laynez. Passing over all except the highlights of the post-Ignatian period, we shall take account of what the 31st General Congregation called "the contemporary spiritual evolution," or, if you wish, the present climate in the Society and the Church. This climate appears above all in the two great ecclesiastical "laws" on prayer and interior life: the conciliar *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy*, and the apostolic constitution of Paul VI on penance. After discovering—or rediscovering—the spirit of the Ignatian legislation on prayer, we propose to treat its contemporary relevance for Jesuits, who are men and Christians, in the post-conciliar world. If the objection should be raised that we are preoccupied by the present circumstances, and that we too run the risk of distorting history and of falling thus into the same fault of partiality or favoritism which we imputed to Leturia, we would at once answer briefly: first, the history of the past can be constructed only from the present viewpoint of the observer, and to claim a history entirely "objective" is the worst of all subjectivisms.¹⁰ Second, the

¹⁰ Cf. M. A. Fiorito, "En homenaje a Karl Rahner," *Ciencia y Fe*, 20 (1964) particularly pages 153-154. Also, H. I. Marrou, "Qu'est-ce que l'histoire," in a collective work entitled *L'Histoire et ses méthodes* (Paris: Gallimard, 1961), pp. 26-30.

present time resembles much more the time in which St. Ignatius lived than that immediately after him during the generalates of Borgia, Mercurian and Aquaviva. Therefore, still looking at St. Ignatius from the present and not from the years of his successors, as Leturia did, we are able to be more accurate in our historical interpretation. For the interpretation proceeds more from a sympathetic understanding and personal experience than from the cold observation of historical documents.¹¹

A chronology of Ignatian prayer

Nevertheless, we do not wish to make this leap from the time of St. Ignatius to our time without offering at least a panoramic view of the combined whole. We present this immediately by pointing out the more important dates and outstanding facts:

1539. *Deliberatio Primorum Patrum*. This is, as it were, a first "Summa" or Conspectus of the Society of Jesus, which sketches its first characteristic features as a new religious order.

1540. The first *Formula of the Institute*, the Bull of Paul III, *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae*, which is the juridical expression and confirmation of Ignatius' spiritual intuition concerning his new religious order. From the *Formula* as a basis, St. Ignatius begins on his own account the editing of the Rules or Constitutions of the Colleges (that is to say, the colleges of formation), to which are soon added the first Rules of some colleges for externs.

1547. Polanco's work as secretary begins, and from that time on the previous legislative work is accelerated, and the work of the correspondence involved in government and spiritual direction of the growing order increases in parallel manner. This task of legislation is directed not only to the colleges or to Jesuits in formation, but to the whole Society.

1548. St. Ignatius' correspondence about the prayer of Jesuits, written in a manner characteristic of him, is intensified. This correspondence becomes antecedent material for the respective parts of the *Constitutions* which treat prayer. As in the first rules, the time and method of Jesuit prayer were entrusted to the superior, the

¹¹ Cf. F. Van Steenberghen, "Directives pour la confection d'une monographie scientifique," (Louvain: Nauwelaerts, 1961), p. 53.

superiors consulted Ignatius, and he served as the "living rule" on prayer (and also penance) in the infant Society.

1549. Text *a* of the *Constitutions* is drawn up. It was written by Polanco, but may correspond more closely than others to St. Ignatius' original views.¹²

1550. Second *Formula of the Institute*, that of Julius III, *Exposcit debitum*, which came to be the definitive one. Text A of the *Constitutions* also belongs to this period, where the hand of St. Ignatius is frequently observed correcting Polanco, and where what refers to prayer is entirely from the hand of St. Ignatius. There does not seem to be the slightest indication here of any interpretation whatever by his secretary.

1553. The promulgation of the *Constitutions*, entrusted to Nadal, begins. They are in Text B, and this is the text which continues to be the object of minor retouchings by the hand of St. Ignatius himself until his death in 1556.

1556. Death of St. Ignatius, which as a matter of fact establishes the definitive stability of the present text of the *Constitutions*.

1558. The 1st General Congregation elects Laynez as general, and promulgates the *Constitutions* just as St. Ignatius left them at his death. We add that from the time shortly before the death of St. Ignatius to the death of Nadal, the latter is the principal interpreter of the Ignatian spirit in the *Constitutions*. It is Nadal, thanks to his continuous journeys, who introduces his interpretation in the whole Society by means of his theological writings on spirituality and his instructions. Nevertheless, as we shall see later on in a concrete case, it appears that Nadal allows himself to be influenced in his interpretations by his new superiors, or rather, by Borgia, as General; also, that he corrects his earlier writings to bring them into line with the legislative changes introduced after the 2nd General Congregation.

1565. The 2nd General Congregation elects Borgia as general of the Society, and entrusts to him the framing of a new decree concerning the time of prayer in the Society. The Congregation first

¹² F. Roustang, "Sur le rôle de Polanco dans la rédaction des *Constitutions S. I.*," *RAM*, 54 (1966), 193-202. This Text *a* could have been copied by Polanco from an earlier Ignatian text.

discussed the subject, and when the assembled fathers failed to reach agreement, requested the new general to decide what was best in respect to the matter, while keeping in mind places, persons, and the like. Thus the new law or rule on prayer in the Society, that of the post-Ignatian period, began in an atmosphere of compromise. We shall point out only the most important dates of this post-Ignatian law, as follows:

1573. The 3rd General Congregation elects Mercurian general. In spite of the fact that he came from the northern provinces, in which the resistance to the Borgian decree was stronger and the desire to return to St. Ignatius' *Constitutions* was more frequently reiterated, Mercurian continues in the line of Borgia and prepares the intervention of Aquaviva.

1581. The 4th General Congregation elects Aquaviva as general.

1615. Aquaviva dies. His generalate, the longest of this whole post-Ignatian epoch, succeeds in establishing definitively the legislation of the integral hour of mental prayer in the morning, although not as yet in these express terms.

1923. 27th General Congregation gives this law its definitive legislative expression.

1946. First mitigation of that iron law, in the letter of Father General Janssens. It gives a more benign interpretation of the "mental" method of performing the prayer which the rule enjoined.

1957. Second mitigation, in the 30th General Congregation. It gives permission to distribute the hour during the day. (This is also a mitigation of the method, since prayer through a continuous hour is a method of praying.)

1965. The problem of the return to the *Constitutions* in what refers to prayer in the Society arose again, after it had lain dormant since the time of Aquaviva except for one or two instances of discussion. In the first session of the 31st General Congregation three solutions were presented. In the time between the sessions data of every kind were studied and put together. In the second session discussion took place and the voting established the present decree on prayer, in which the return to the Ignatian *Constitutions* has been tempered with respect for the post-Ignatian tradition of the "hour" of prayer. We shall see later on in what manner or measure

the two tendencies, which some considered opposed and even contradictory, were able to be reconciled. In reality, an intelligent agreement between them is possible only if the characteristic elements of the trends in the two traditions are very clearly distinguished. That is precisely what we are endeavoring to do in our study concerning the Ignatian period of the law on prayer in the Society of Jesus.

The Ignation Period of the Legislation on Prayer

Before we enter upon the genuinely historical study of our subject, it serves our purpose to give the precise meaning of certain terms. In the first place, the distinction between formal prayer and virtual prayer has already been made by different authors. We shall not discuss the advantages or disadvantages in this distinction, but we point out in advance that we always refer to formal prayer. It seems to us to be the only object of the law on prayer which we are studying, for that distinction does not appear to have been in St. Ignatius' mind when he was legislating. Yet by this remark we do not wish to reduce formal prayer to the prayer which is made in one's room or in the chapel, at an hour determined beforehand and made known by a bell, and so forth. Such conditions are not formalities of prayer, but mere circumstances of formal prayer; and even though we are accustomed to consider them as monastic customs, they do not pertain to the origin of monasticism. Cassian, for example, does not so materially interpret the words of Matthew 6:6 ("When you pray, go into your room, and shut the door and pray to your Father . . .") but purposely observes: "We pray within our room when, with our heart separated from the din of thoughts and cares, we disclose our desires to God in a certain manner secretly and familiarly. We pray 'with the door shut' when without opening our lips and in silence we supplicate him who understands hearts no less than words. We pray by ourselves when with intent heart and mind we simply manifest our petitions to God, so that the very devils cannot know what we are asking."¹³

¹³ Collatio IX, c. 35 (édit. Sources chrétiennes, Cassien, *Conférences*, II, 71-72), PL 49, col. 816-817, where the commentator Alardo refers to a Pauline text, "I wish that man pray in every place . . ." (1 Tim 2:8) in order to insist that the words of the Gospel ought not to be understood in a material

We know, moreover, that St. Ignatius used to practice, in the midst of his occupations, this formal and not merely virtual manner of praying, especially under the form of the examen; we shall see further on that, because it is a more formal method of prayer which can be made frequently during the day, he would prefer it for his own men, without failing to praise, for others, a more material manner of making formal prayer. We shall also see that Blessed Peter Faber preferred this manner of formal prayer which springs, so to speak, from action, and returns to the action anew, in a circle of action and prayer a little distinct from that which others propose. But we shall return to all these matters later, and for that reason let it suffice for the moment to have stated precisely the meaning which we give to formal prayer as the object of the Ignatian law, since this object will become a little different in the post-Ignatian period of the law on prayer in the Society. That is, this formal prayer will become more material.

Another point of precision which should be made refers to the distinction between public prayer (or prayer in common) and private prayer (which we are reluctant to call personal, because the prayer that is made in common is also personal). For the sake of brevity, we shall center our attention more expressly on private prayer, although we think that there is not much difference in regard to what refers to the spirit of the Ignatian law—and that spirit is our concern, as we said in the beginning. Furthermore, this rivalry or opposition between public and private prayer which has been going on, particularly in our own time, is something entirely outside the perspective of St. Ignatius.¹⁴ As we shall see shortly, he imposed upon those who were in formation the recitation of the Little Office or the Office of the Virgin because it was the private prayer which more resembled the breviary which they would later have to recite as ordained priests.

Sufficiently bound up with the distinction just made from which we wish to prescind is another distinction from which we shall completely prescind: the distinction between mental and vocal prayer. In our opinion, St. Ignatius does not allow himself to be

sense.

¹⁴ Cf. J. Nabuco, "O livro de orações do padre," *Rev. Ecles. Bras.* 2 (1942) 839-851.

influenced by the "*Devotio Moderna*" in such a way as to fall into an exaggerated spiritualization of mental prayer, as did some of his successors in the application of the legislation for the Society.¹⁵ Just as in the *Exercises* he distributes the prayer, by means of his preludes, into deeds and words, so also as legislator he embodies it into some external text or context. And without being in this respect as explicit as St. Teresa, who directly states that if vocal prayer is not mental, it is not prayer, St. Ignatius, as a director of souls and as a founder, pays no attention to that difference between mental and vocal prayer, a difference which is merely extrinsic and of little practical importance. Consequently, in the future we shall always refer to prayer without further concern about its form, whether more or less mental, more or less vocal.

Formed and formation

Hitherto we have noted one series of distinctions (between formal and virtual prayer, public and private prayer, mental and vocal prayer) which have been introduced and accentuated within the Society after Ignatius, and which therefore do not interest us in the study of the legislation on prayer in its Ignatian period. One last distinction remains, which St. Ignatius did take into account, but which we will make: the distinction between formed Jesuits and Jesuits in formation.

The following is the brief legislative history of this distinction. We should attend to it now, because later on we shall dwell on it at greater length in our historical study of the law of prayer for those who are in formation.

1) Text *a* of the *Constitutions*, of 1549, is written in the hand of Polanco, but is perhaps a mere copy of an earlier draft of St. Ignatius himself.¹⁶ It says nothing about the formed Jesuits in the matter of prayer. Nor does Text A, of 1550. In both texts the delimiting law or prayer looks solely to those who are in formation.

2) Text B already says that, in reference to prayer, the formed Jesuits are only under the law or rule of discreet charity. Or, perhaps this consequence is explicitly derived from the earlier

¹⁵ Cf. H. Bacht, "Meditatio in den ältesten Mönchsquellen," *GeistLeb* 28 (1955) 360-373.

¹⁶ Cf. the recent study of Roustang, cited in footnote 12.

silence and is explained by the long formation or probation. But at times the personal providence of the local superior is extended to those formed Jesuits.¹⁷ This providence, as we shall see later, is the most characteristic note of the law on prayer for those who are in formation.

3) The distinction between the formed and those in formation is maintained purposely in the 1st General Congregation, which elected Laynez general in 1558; and the same reason is given and the same providence is assumed.¹⁸

Up to this point the Society's law in the Ignation period remains the same. But did that distinction perdure in fact? Leturia wishes to prove, perhaps to minimize the distance between the Ignatian and post-Ignatian periods, that in fact, in the houses of the early Society, such difference between the formed and those who were in formation was not made. As evidence for his view he uses a testimony of Nadal in his *Scholia*.¹⁹ At first sight the text appears definitive, because Nadal says expressly that "up to the moment, the professed have been subject to rules, not only in the colleges but also in their houses, and in the same matters about which we are treating here," that is, about prayer and penance.²⁰ But Leturia failed to take notice that the text he cites is a later correction which Nadal himself made in his earlier text during the generalates of Borgia and Mercurian, after the juridical situation had changed. Nadal's earlier text, on the contrary, read as follows: "And so the professed, we understand, ought not in their private exercises to be either urged on or restrained by rules, in those things of which there is question here."²¹ But later he added, at the end of the paragraph, the text cited by Leturia.²² This kind of correction, made by Nadal in his writings, is wont to be found after the generalate of Borgia; it is very likely that this correction may be one of them, since it favors the change introduced in the law or rule on prayer in the Society after the 2nd General Congregation.

¹⁷ *Cons.* (583), Text B, p. 6, c. 3, lines 21-27 in *ConsMHSJ*, II, 546.

¹⁸ Decree 97 of Congregation I, in *InstSJ*, II, 177.

¹⁹ P. de Leturia, *Estudios Ignacianos*, II, 215-216.

²⁰ H. Nadal, *Scholia in Constitutiones*, "in Tertium Caput Sextae Partis" (Prati, 1883), p. 132.

²¹ *ArchRSJ*, Inst. 207, f. 70.

²² *Ibid.*, f. 71.

Consequently, and contrary to what Leturia claimed, no proof has yet come in support of the opinion that the difference between the formed and those being formed, which is so clearly present juridically in the Ignatian legislation, was non-existent in fact. The mere change made in Nadal's own hand in his earlier testimony seems to be a sufficient proof that the earlier testimony was correct. For it had been written when he was not yet influenced by the change in the legislation concerning prayer in the Society of Jesus.

For the future, then, we ought to consider that difference as intrinsic to the law on prayer in its Ignatian period. Consequently, we should perhaps study separately the law properly so called (which for those in formation establishes a time and to some extent a method of praying) and the "rule of discreet charity" which, properly speaking, is something intrinsic in the law, not external to it.

Nevertheless, it will not be necessary to study both these aspects of the Ignatian law or, if we may call them such, these watersheds which gave rise to two currents of opinion later on. For on the one hand, the "discreet charity" is rather well known, thanks to the study of the *Spiritual Exercises* as a "school of discernment" or election; and on the other hand, as we shall see at the proper time, the law of prayer for those in formation is a kind of incarnation of the "discreet charity" and gives this law a pedagogical orientation, as the 31st General Congregation expressly acknowledged in its recent decree on prayer.

Therefore, in spite of our ambitious title, which announces a historical study of the Ignatian legislation concerning prayer in the Society of Jesus, we shall limit ourselves to the direct study of the one part of it which expressly has reference to those who are in formation, the scholastics and brothers. We shall allow the "rule of discreet charity," which pertains to those already formed, to remain on the horizon as an ideal to which the Ignatian law for those who are in formation leads, in the manner which we shall explain later.

Furthermore, we shall try to place in clear light the elements of the Ignatian law for those who are in formation. Sometimes these elements are easily recognized, as, for example, the responsibility and initiative of the subject himself, and the personal direction of the local superior. At other times they appear, at least often, as

elements proper to the Ignatian law for those already formed. An example is the option it permits among different manners or methods of fulfilling the duration which is prescribed. But we must never forget the elements which are obviously diverse for those formed and those being formed, for example, the daily duration or time of prayer quantitatively imposed by law.

In other words, the more our historical study will be limited to the law on prayer which St. Ignatius elaborated for those who were in formation, the better will it serve, to some extent, to improve our understanding of the "rule of discreet charity" proper to those already formed. Thus too, in turn, a deeper understanding of this interior law helps to the comprehension of the external law proper to those who are in formation.

Finally, the recent decree of the 31st General Congregation can make this approximation of the one law to the other more intelligible. This Congregation, maintaining to some extent the difference between formed Jesuits and Jesuits in formation, has made these two groups similar in various important aspects.²³

Ignatian elements

With the object of our study thus determined upon, we can begin our presentation of this study, issued to all the delegates of the recent General Congregation between the two sessions as a preparatory document for the second session. In that document we had a complete list of letters, early drafts of legislative texts, and definitive texts which had a bearing on this study, and which we used in working out our historical interpretation.²⁴ These documents were numbered for easy reference. For practical reasons of space we must omit that list here and in ordinary footnotes refer merely to the most expressive texts.

With this introduction now completed, we enter upon our study proper. We have personally read all these documents, and this led us to detect in St. Ignatius' mind, when he legislates on the subject of prayer in the Society of Jesus, the following three elements which we consider fundamental. In these elements his spirit as

²³ *Decree on Prayer* of the 31st General Congregation, nos. 11-12.

²⁴ We mean all the texts which are found published in the series of the *MHSJ*.

legislator is embodied, and also his spirit as spiritual director of his sons of all times:

1) The relation between the superior and subject in regard to prayer; or rather, the superior as the "living rule" on prayer for each subject in particular;

2) The method or manner of praying, which the superior suggests or recommends or prescribes to the subject;

3) The time or duration which the subject should devote each day, as a general rule, to prayer.

Not only is the order in which these three elements are placed important in the mind of St. Ignatius, but it is also the chronological order in which they are presented in the legislative texts of the Ignatian period which we are studying. By contrast, in the post-Ignatian period the first element will gradually disappear; the second will be reduced to the manner of praying, namely mental, morning, and continuous; the third element will come to occupy the first place of importance and will be turned into the crucial point of all the discussions.

Therefore as we proceed we shall look for these three elements, separately and in the order indicated above, in the mind of St. Ignatius and in the Ignatian documents.

Superior and subject

It is with full deliberation that we place the superior and subject together as a primary element of the law on prayer in its Ignatian period. They are inseparable. They are found in a direct relation, and no one should think that the one has more right to intervene than the other. The greater the responsibility of the superior as father and master, the greater to the same degree is the co-responsibility of the subject as spiritual son and disciple. That which is a general truth in the government of religious²⁵ is equally or more true in regard to the prayer-life of the subject: prayer as such is an interior act which can be practiced by obedience, but which before all is a personal response to the call of God, and a fidelity to the law of charity which the Holy Spirit writes in our hearts.²⁶

²⁵ Cf. Paul VI, Allocution of October 5, 1966.

²⁶ These are words of the text of the 31st General Congregation's *Decree on Prayer*, no. 7.

This accounts for the fact that the first legislative texts on the prayer of a Jesuit mention, as the only rule of prayer, the person of the local superior: "No one, in addition to the obligation which he has and to which holy Mother Church obliges him, ought to perform more meditations or contemplation or prayer or abstinence than that which the superior will order him."²⁷ Let us mention, for now and further on, that whenever we speak of the superior, we mean that what the superior does in virtue of his office, the director or confessor may do or ought to do by delegation.²⁸

This also explains the fact that in the early Society, before any fixed law or rule concerning the time and manner of prayer was imposed, the correspondence of the generals, St. Ignatius and Laynez, with the local superiors concerning the prayer of the subjects was so abundant. While St. Ignatius was still living, the letters which treat of prayer are more numerous than the legislative texts! By contrast, the later fixed law or rule brought as its immediate consequence the steadily diminishing importance of this primordial element in the Ignatian legislation.

But here there is more than a mere consideration of quantity. We mean that, because of the large number of letters of the superior general concerning the law on prayer, St. Ignatius' correspondence with each superior is a source of legislative interpretation. Further still, it is a more important source than other documents which, though legislative in character, were simply preliminary drafts and never gained the force of law in the Society. We are referring to the preliminary drafts of Polanco as secretary of the holy founder in the preparation of the *Constitutions*. Other historians consider them a decisive argument. To us, however, they do not appear to be such, both because of what we suggested above about the different mentality of Ignatius and Polanco,²⁹ and also

²⁷ "Constitutions of the Scholastics of the Society," in *ConsMHSJ*, I, 175.

²⁸ So Nadal understands it: *MonPaed* (1901), pp. 137-138; cf. *ConsMHSJ*, IV, 481.

²⁹ An example of this diverse mentality is found in the objection which Polanco makes, after Ignatius' death, in a still unpublished text beginning with the words "Quaedam quae aliter videntur dicenda ex Exam., Const., et Decl.," to words in the text of *Constitutions*, (340), that study can be "immo magis Deo . . . gratum": "Vel addendum de prolixis orationibus . . . vel simpliciter moderandum. Videtur tollendum tō magis quia nimis haec verba favent studiis

because St. Ignatius is clearly responsible for the letters which he sends although he may not have written them, while he does not consider to be his those documents which Polanco prepared but which were never promulgated.³⁰

For that reason we have given so much importance in our work to the correspondence of St. Ignatius; and we admit the documents called antecedent and not promulgated, of the time of Polanco, only insofar as they coincide with that correspondence. In both cases St. Ignatius made use of the hand of Polanco, and perhaps more generously in his letters than in his laws. But he sent the letters while he held back the antecedent legislative documents, sometimes indefinitely.

We think of Nadal in a somewhat similar way. He was as it were the voice of St. Ignatius for the promulgation of the *Constitutions*; but not all that he said at that time was in keeping with Ignatius' mind, as we know from the severe judgment which St. Ignatius made of his visit to Spain in what referred precisely to prayer.³¹

Leturia presents Polanco as one of those who represent "a bond of spiritual continuity that . . . unites . . . both periods" (the Ignatian and the post-Ignatian).³² But to us it seems rather a bond which does not exist, because, in the first place, it is concerned with Polanco, and in the second place, because Leturia trusts too much in the antecedent documents not promulgated by St. Ignatius, although written by his secretary. We would say the same of Nadal and his explanations of the Institute, especially those which he obviously corrected after the death of St. Ignatius. For we have already seen the influence which the founder's successors in the legislation and government of the whole Society seem to have exerted upon Nadal.

et derogant orationi, nec facile putandum est gratiora esse Deo studia coeteris paribus; tolli ergo potest comparatio." From an unpublished manuscript, cited in *Relatio Congregationis Generalis* 26, ad Patres CG, XXXI, 19-23.

³⁰ *EppIgn*, I, 19-23.

³¹ *MonNad*, II, 32; *Memoriale P. Da Câmara*, no. 256, in *SdeSI*, I, 278, and *FN*, I, 676-677; also no. 196 in *SdeSI*, I, 250-251 and *FN*, I, 644-645.

³² *Estudios Ignacianos*, II, 242. Leturia presents that opinion as a conclusion of his whole study.

The local superior

After this clarification on the value of the Ignatian correspondence as a source of interpretation more secure than the preliminary legislative sketches which were not promulgated, we shall return to our subject, that of the primary role which the superior has by reason of office, and the spiritual director or confessor by delegation, in the Ignatian legislation on prayer. And it is of interest to call attention especially to the complementary role, merely indicated above, which the subject himself has in that Ignatian legislation. Or better, there is not merely an understanding of the subject's psychological, cultural, and social temperament, but, as St. Ignatius said, of his devotion, grace, and any special need he might have at the moment. In the earliest documents, and also in some of the subsequent ones, the superior's intervention appears to be as absolute and entire as it is in the question of dress and diet.³³ But gradually the part of the subject himself becomes more explicit—his initiative, his devotion and graces,³⁴ of his spiritual necessity.³⁵

It is in the *Constitutions* that we more clearly see this interest of St. Ignatius for the part which touches the subject in his own prayer. In Text A of 1550 he makes additions in his own hand to the preliminary draft of Polanco, such as the following phrases: according to each one's devotion, for the true devotion of those (scholastics), that the scholastic might be helped more by means of divine grace, with greater attention and devotion.³⁶

We insist upon this aspect of the Ignatian legislation, namely the intervention of the subject, because it is historically related with the intervening of the local superior; and also because in the post-Ignatian law both the superior's part and the subject's part were replaced by the universal and excessively delimiting prescrip-

³³ *ConsMHSJ*, I, 58-59.

³⁴ *EppIgn*, II, 236, letter to Borgia: that prayer "is better for each individual in which God our Lord communicates Himself more by showing forth His most holy gifts and spiritual graces, because He sees and knows what is more suitable to the individual, and as He knows all, He shows him the way; and to find that way it helps us much, with the aid of His divine grace, to seek and experiment by many ways in order to travel along that one which is more manifest. . . ."

³⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 502.

³⁶ Cf. *ConsMHSJ*, II, 410-414.

tion of the duration and manner of praying. In other words, it seems that every excessively delimiting prescription seeks to take the place of the will, not only of the weak subject but also of any local superior whatsoever. For St. Ignatius too supposed that the subject could be weak in regard to prayer and penance and vacillating in spirit. But the solution he hoped for was the solution from the will of the local superior, and not one from a universal law.

The Ignatian law on prayer does not suppose, as some historians favorable to the post-Ignatian law do, that the Jesuits will be indiscreet only by excess and never by defect. In no place does St. Ignatius say that he believes the excesses of fervor will be more frequent than the deficiencies in it. On the other hand, he points out expressly that in any case whatever, whether one of excess or of defect, the local superior who is nearby ought to supply the remedy, and not a legislator from afar who gives one prescription for all without distinguishing between fervor or relaxation. For that reason, in the *Constitutions*, before stating the legislation about those in their studies, St. Ignatius asserts that this double danger exists equally for either direction: "Just as care must be taken that through fervor in study they do not grow cool in the love of true virtues and of religious life, so also during that time mortifications, prayers, and long meditations will not have much place."³⁷ A little further on he points out that in both dangers the local superior ought to apply the remedy, by so intervening that "in the case of some the period of prayer could be lengthened or shortened."³⁸

Without prejudging which may be more frequent, he points out the same double danger for those already formed, when he tells them, also at the beginning of the section which he devotes to their interior life: "On the one hand, the members should keep themselves alert that the excessive use of these (spiritual) practices may not weaken the bodily energies and consume time to such an extent that these energies are insufficient for the spiritual help of the neighbors according to the Institute; and on the other hand they should be vigilant that these practices may not be relaxed

³⁷ *Cons.*, (340), P. 4, c. 4, n. 2.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, (343), Decl. B, P. 4, c. 4.

to such an extent that the spirit grows cold and the human and lower passions grow warm."³⁹ Here too it is the local superior who ought to exercise personal care "to keep them from being either excessive or deficient in their spiritual exercises."⁴⁰

Nadal, underlining in almost the same words the importance of the role which the superior plays in the spiritual life of his subjects, says that "the superiors and prefects of spiritual things ought to use the same moderation which we know to have been familiar to Father Ignatius and which we say is proper to our Institute. Hence, if they judge that someone is making progress in the Lord with a good spirit in his prayer they should not prescribe for him nor interrupt this progress. . . . But if there is one who is not advancing or progressing well, or is carried along by some illusion, let them try to lead him back to the true path of prayer and to true progress in Christ Jesus."⁴¹

Arguments

Therefore the hypothesis that Ignatius' law on prayer is parsimonious in prescribing duration because he supposes Jesuits who fail only through excess and not through defect has no support in the text itself of the *Constitutions*. There remains only a recourse which is elaborated later and outside the text in search of a means to justify the change of this Ignatian legislation into another which universally imposes more time of prayer. This hypothesis is defended only among those who wish to defend the change of the Ignatian law into the post-Ignatian one. By what arguments? It is worth the trouble to look at them one by one, for they aid much toward our understanding of the Ignatian law itself on prayer.

1) The first argument does not originate from the text itself of the Ignatian law concerning the prayer of the formed, which, as we saw, is impartial to excess or deficiency in the spirit of prayer. Instead, it springs from the context or beginning of the chapter: "Since those who are incorporated into the Society wait through a period of time and approval of their lives before admission to the profession, and also before admission among the formed co-

³⁹ *Ibid.*, (582), P. 6, c. 3, n. 1.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, (583), Decl. A.

⁴¹ Nadal, "In Examen Adnotationes," in *MonNad*, V, 163.

adjutors, it is presupposed that they will be spiritual men sufficiently advanced to run in the path of Christ our Lord."⁴²

Our first reply is that according to the official Latin translation, made by Polanco, the text does not say "on the hypothesis of their being spiritual men," but rather is a way of showing confidence in all the Jesuits, present and future. Polanco translated the Spanish phrase *se presupone* into Latin by "tanquam certum ducitur."⁴³

Secondly, we deny that from that "hypothesis" there follows, in the mind of the legislator, a mitigated or delimiting law in regard to the duration of prayer. Or rather, we would not deny the mere hypothesis, as we did before, but the consequence which the defenders wish to derive from it. What should follow in the mind of St. Ignatius from such a hypothesis is that the local superior ought to intervene quickly and according to the need of each case, without awaiting or necessitating universal laws!

The fact that this is St. Ignatius' intention in his legislation is proved by some thought of Laynez. For Laynez gives the following answer on two different and successive occasions:

a) "If someone in a particular case should have need of increasing his penance, the door is not closed to the superior to ordain what discreet charity should dictate. But to give a general rule, it is not expedient that those matters should be increased much."⁴⁴

b) "The reason which your Reverence touches on, which also moved the consultors, about the special need of some, leads to no conclusion greater than this, that a dispensation should be granted to some individuals so that they may devote an hour and a half (or even more) to prayer because of the special need perceived in their cases to increase its duration. This need will not be the same in all others."⁴⁵

⁴² *Cons.*, (582), P. 6, c. 3, n. 1.

⁴³ Nadal, commenting on this Latin phrase of the *Constitutions*, says "si aliquo casu, vel negligentia vel aliquo mentis vitio, aliter eveniret, esset tunc alia disciplina utendum . . ." (*Scholia* (Prati, 1883), p. 130. Italics supplied.) The term *disciplina* turns out a little ambiguous for us; but perhaps it is applied more to the local order than to a universal law.

⁴⁴ Letter to Bustamante, *MonLain*, IV, 579-580.

⁴⁵ Letter to Quadros, *MonLain*, V, 357. It is a commentary for "the understanding of the *Constitutions* on the hour of prayer . . ." The "dispensation" spoken of in the cited text is the superior's "power" of giving more time for

Therefore it is not necessary for us to deny that a hypothesis may exist in the Ignatian law, because we can always deny that anything follows from it except the need of the local superior's personal intervention. Or rather, we deny that according to the mind of St. Ignatius (and of Laynez) recourse to a universal law is necessary if that hypothesis of great fervor is not verified. For the intervention of the local superior is enough to solve such a problem.

Furthermore, it is clear to us that St. Ignatius preferred not to resort to a universal law to solve these problems of prayer. Laynez expressly mentions this in the letter cited above: "But to give a general rule, it is not expedient that those matters should be increased much." The letter in which this occurs is treating expressly about penance.⁴⁶

Da Câmara, in his *Memoriale*, considers this Ignatian preference as "the reason why our Father Ignatius so often refers in the *Constitutions* to the opinion of the superior; because he saw that it was impossible to give a general order in things that are moral."⁴⁷ Da Câmara also points out that St. Ignatius did not wish, as universal legislator, to limit the power of the individual superiors, because then these superiors omitted to do what belonged to them, and did what did not belong to them. Now, this is precisely what happened little by little in regard to the prayer of the subjects, once the post-Ignatian law was established. Through the transformation of this universal law, excessively delimiting time and manner of prayer, into the role which the *Constitutions* entrusted to the superiors in regard to subjects less fervent, the local superior gradually ceased to act as father, and turned insensibly into an administrator, into one who merely executes the laws in the eyes of his immediate subjects. In large measure, although not solely, through this law, the government, especially the local government, ceased to be predominantly spiritual and became too "bureaucratic" in the sense of a mere fulfilling of laws and prescriptions. The 31st General Congregation, on the contrary, in trying to return not only in this decree on prayer but also in other decrees, such as those on

prayer to one who may need it, without the necessity of relying on a universal law which prescribes it for all.

⁴⁶ Cf. Letter of Suarez to Father General Laynez, *MonLain*, V, 64-66.

⁴⁷ FN, I, 687.

the office of the general, on the provincials, and on other matters, to the moderation of the *Constitutions* and rules,⁴⁸ has at the same time insisted that the government of the Society is above all spiritual.⁴⁹

2) There is a second argument which defenders give to support their hypothesis, that hypothesis which holds the following: the Ignatian legislation is so minimal in prescribing the duration of prayer because it presupposes fervent Jesuits somewhat prone to go to excess in prayer! Hence, when these Jesuits ceased to be fervent in this manner, the Society had to change the Ignatian law into another. This hypothesis is based entirely on the same Da Câmara whom we just used in our favor. There is question of the comment he made on Nadal's visit to Spain to promulgate the *Constitutions*, and on the displeasure which St. Ignatius showed to him for having increased the time of prayer for the Spaniards.⁵⁰

A question of texts

Let us note that we do not wish to enter upon a discussion as to whether or not the hypothesis of fervor explains the parsimony of the Ignatian law in prescribing the time of prayer. Rather, our interest is to prove that even if this whole hypothesis of excessive fervor or deficiency should be right, St. Ignatius gives truly great importance to the local superior in the solution of these personal problems. Nevertheless, now that we have already entered on the subject, let us pursue it to the end.

Our first reply is one "ad hominem." When Leturia depends on Da Câmara, he uses in turn now the Spanish and now the Portuguese text of the *Memoriale* in order to make the argument in favor of the hypothesis stronger. But this is not permissible in this case. There is a great difference of time between the one text and the other, and the Portuguese text was written under the influence of a controversy in which Da Câmara represented the severe opinion asking for more austerity in the formation of Jesuits.⁵² In these

⁴⁸ *Cons.*, (822), P. 10, n. 10.

⁴⁹ 31st General Congregation, *Decree on Obedience*, no. 8.

⁵⁰ *Memoriale of Da Câmara*, no. 256, in *SdeSI*, I, 278, FN, I, 676-677; no. 196, in *SdeSI*, I, 250-251, FN, I, 644-645.

⁵¹ *Estudios Ignacianos*, II, 212-213.

⁵² *Memoriale*, no. 257, in *SdeSI*, I, 279, FN, I, 678.

circumstances, it is Da Càmara's advantage to attribute to St. Ignatius the hypothesis of his imparting a good formation; and for that purpose he attributes to that hypothesis the Ignatian restraint in legislating on prayer in the Society. Therefore it is not licit to argue, as Leturia does, by using indiscriminately now the primitive Spanish text and now the later Portuguese text of the *Memoriale*.

There is a second reply. If we give more attention to the Spanish text which is contemporaneous with the occurrences recounted, we see that Da Càmara gives here, in addition to the well known hypothesis of fervor, other reasons:

a) "The other day, when the Father was talking to me, he told me that in his opinion, there could be no greater error in spiritual matters than to try to guide others as oneself. He was speaking to me about the long periods of prayer he had practiced." To the words "to guide others" we would add "or to legislate for them."

b) "He then added that out of a hundred men who give themselves to prolonged prayers and severe penances," Da Càmara continues, "the majority expose themselves to great harm. The Father was referring especially to stubbornness of judgment."

c) "And thus he (the Father) was placing the whole foundation in mortification and abnegation of the will. When he told Father Nadal that one hour of prayer was enough for the scholastics, he was placing the chief stress upon this mortification and abnegation. Thus it is clear that the Father constructs a strong foundation from all the things of the Society, such as the indifference which is presupposed, and the examination after a candidate has passed through his probations and obtained the necessary favorable testimony, and not from prayer, except for the prayer which springs from these things. Thereupon the Father praised prayer highly, as I already mentioned many times, especially that prayer which is made by keeping God always before one's eyes."⁵³

We have quoted almost the entire Spanish text, because it treats directly of the Ignatian legislation on prayer, while the later Portuguese text is a commentary on the esteem which St. Ignatius had of prayer. And we see in this Spanish text that in addition to the hypothesis of previous mortification with which the text begins

⁵³ No. 256, in *SdeSI*, I, 278 and *FN*, I, 678.

in which he narrates the visit of Nadal to Spain, Da Câmara gives two other reasons.⁵⁴

A resume

We have no interest in delaying longer in this argument advanced by those who wish to defend the change in the legislation on prayer in the Society, because it has no direct bearing on our purpose. For our study is not to discuss whether good or harm was done by abandoning the Ignatian law and passing into the post-Ignatian legislation. We suppose that good was achieved, and that the Society of that time gained something by it. But our aim is to penetrate into the spirit of the Ignatian legislation. Toward this purpose, we can now say in resume:

1) In what refers to the personal prayer of the subject, it is more important for St. Ignatius that the subject rely on the spiritual and discreet personal intervention of the local superior, rather than on a general law which, precisely because it is a universal law, can become indiscreet or too "legalistic" at times of change in the subject's mentality or environment.

2) In regard to spiritual matters such as prayer, for St. Ignatius in his capacity either as a director or as a legislator, there is no greater error than to try to guide others along the same path as some one person, in what pertains to the duration and manner of praying.

3) In what refers concretely to prayer, St. Ignatius judges it more important to legislate concerning the presuppositions or conditions for good prayer than upon the length of continuous time devoted to it.

This is, point by point, what the 31st General Congregation has just been doing in regard to the hour of prayer, without depreciating thereby the value of the tradition introduced by the post-Ignatian law. The Congregation has restored to the local superior his place of privilege as a "living rule" of this discipline of prayer and of all external discipline.⁵⁵ But rather than guiding all along

⁵⁴ FN, I, 676.

⁵⁵ Referring in general to all that constitutes external discipline, such as daily schedules and the like, the 31st General Congregation states in its *Decree on Community Life and Discipline*, no. 10: "These rules pertain to the whole

one same path by imposing "upon all indiscriminately a precisely defined universal norm for the manner and length of prayer,"⁵⁶ it has abounded in declarations which motivate and stimulate the search of one's own personal path of prayer. Finally, with its decrees on the religious life, on each one of the vows, one the common life, and the like, it has created the ideal conditions for a renovation of both personal and community prayer in the Society of Jesus.

With this we finish our exposition of the first element of the Ignatian legislation, the correlation or co-responsibility of subject and superior in what refers to the subject's life of prayer, and we pass on to the other characteristic elements of that legislation. Here too we observe something original in the Ignatian spirit and which, just like the previous element, is intimately related with the *Spiritual Exercises* of the founder and legislator of the Society of Jesus. Therefore it should be interesting to advance the following observation. Although it is true that the entire preoccupation of the legislators of the post-Ignatian period, especially since Aquaviva, is to find the inspiration for their laws in the *Exercises*, they saw in these *Exercises* the external rules which refer to the "continuous hour" or to the "mental manner" of praying, rather than the interior presuppositions of personal direction and spiritual discretion. And for that reason—that is, not through fault of these legislators but because of circumstances in their environment—the balance between some elements and others, which is characteristic of the *Exercises*, has not been preserved in the religious life of the Society; the preponderance of the continuous time of prayer or of the mental manner of praying issued into a diminution of direction and spiritual government in the society, above all in what referred to the formed members. But we shall observe this better by treating directly and separately both elements of the Ignatian legislation, the duration and the method of prayer.

The Manner of Praying in the Ignatian Law

St. Ignatius, who speaks so copiously about different methods of prayer in the *Exercises*, is, on the contrary, very sparing on this subject in the *Constitutions*. Moreover, the different methods of

vital range of religious obedience, and their application to individuals is subject to the living rule of a superior."

⁵⁶ *Decree on Prayer*, no. 11.

prayer which are in Text *a*⁵⁷ disappear in Text A, and in their place appear, in the hand of St. Ignatius, words less expressive.⁵⁸ To corroborate the difference, let us note that the words of Text *a* are highly similar to the words which Polanco uses in the "Constitutions of the Colleges,"⁵⁹ while those of Text A are more like the words that St. Ignatius used in the "Regulae Collegii Romani,"⁶⁰ and in his letter to Fr. Brandao,⁶¹ so that the parsimony in legislating on the method of prayer is really proper to St. Ignatius.

The definitive text of the *Constitutions* maintained the same restraint in what referred to the method of prayer of the scholastics and brothers in formation: "Consequently, in addition to confession and Communion . . . and Mass . . . they will have one hour. During it they will recite the hours of our Lady, and examine their consciences twice each day, and add other prayers according to each one's devotion until the aforementioned hour is completed, in case it has not yet run its course. Furthermore, they are to do all this according to the arrangements and judgments of their superiors, whom they oblige themselves to obey in place of Christ our Lord."⁶² Further, this prescription of the Office of the Virgin is understood in such a way that "in the case of the scholastics who are not obliged to recite the Divine Office, that hour can more easily be changed at times to meditations and other spiritual exercises by which the hour is filled out. This holds true especially with some who do not advance spiritually by the one method, that with the grace of God they may be helped more by the other, with the permission or through the order of their superiors . . ."⁶³ Still further, "Others (for example, some of the temporal coadjutors who do not know how to read) will have in addition to the Mass their hour, during which they will recite the rosary or crown of our Lady, and they will likewise examine their consciences twice a day, or engage in some other prayers according to their devotion, as was said about the scholastics."⁶⁴

⁵⁷ *ConsMHSJ*, II, 178.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, 219-222.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 410-412.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 251-253.

⁶¹ *EppIgn*, III, 508-509. This letter is almost contemporaneous with the text of the *Constitutions* indicative above, corrected by the hand of St. Ignatius.

⁶² *Cons*, (342), P. 4, c. 4, n. 3.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, (343), Decl. B.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, (344), n. 4.

In reality, the only point that is determined is the length of time, and even that is subject in the last analysis to the local superior, on whose discretion it depends that "in the case of some the period of prayer could be lengthened or shortened."⁶⁵ With regard to the method, although the Office of the Virgin is proposed as a point of departure, the liberty is greater. Even the Office of the Virgin remains subject to the local superior, who can change it "at times into meditations and other spiritual exercises, by which the hour is filled out."

Methods of prayer

It may be interesting to reflect upon the different methods of prayer which are expressly found in the Ignatian legislation for those who are in formation, without our losing sight of the fact that these methods are prescribed with less precision. We shall pursue these methods briefly, referring to them one by one.

First of all, let us pay attention to the place which the Ignatian law gives in general to vocal prayer. It is, or appears to be, paradoxical that the saint who is regarded by many as the principal promoter in the whole Church of mental prayer, legislates for his men only about vocal prayer.⁶⁶ This paradox will appear greater to one who, contrary to the tradition of the great spiritual masters, makes too great a distinction between mental and vocal prayer, and especially to one who depreciates vocal prayer. But the paradox will turn out much less striking if it is kept in mind that the great founders of religious orders, in legislating on prayer, never imposed pure mental prayer but at most vocal prayer or spiritual reading.⁶⁷ Thus St. Ignatius in legislating directly on vocal prayer, the Office of the Virgin, and in leaving the superior free to change it into mental "meditations and other spiritual exercises by which the hour

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, (343), Decl. B.

⁶⁶ Cf. J. Nabuco, "O Livro de orações do Padre," *Rev. Ecles. Bras.* 2 (1942) 839-851.

⁶⁷ Cf. P. Bouvier, "Les origines de l'oraison mentale un usage dans la Compagnie," *Lettres de Jersey*, 1922, pp. 594-595. He cites, as an example of religious Founders who did not legislate directly on mental prayer, St. Benedict, of whom Dom Martene has affirmed: "He has not prescribed meditation which consists in the contemplation of divine things, which we generally understand by the name of mental prayer . . . because in the ancient rules of monks we read that no hour for mental prayer was ordered . . .," cf. PL, 66, col. 414.

is filled out," is found in the category of the great founders and of the subsequent reformers. He is also in line with the Church, which has legislated on the Mass, the sacraments, and the Divine Office, but not on prayer purely mental at a fixed time.

Another original detail of the Ignation legislation is that in it, from the first drafts to the last, vocal prayer is found joined to the grateful remembrance of the founders or benefactors of the colleges.⁶⁹ The first time that the Office of the Virgin is mentioned as specifically prescribed, it is stated that "it should be recited by all . . . with continual subordination and commemoration" of the founder of the house and of other benefactors.⁷⁰ In the definitive text of the *Constitutions*, in the same manner as in its earlier texts, the change of the Office of the Virgin into another method of prayer is permitted by the superior while "keeping in view the genuine devotion of the subjects [i.e., scholastics] or of the founder and also the circumstances of persons, times, and places."⁷¹ This explains the fact that neither Ignatius nor his first companions ever depreciated vocal prayer, nor did they consider it inferior to purely mental prayer. The Office of the Virgin is an essential part of his experience in Manresa, and it appears that then he recited it at "its canonical hours,"⁷² or according to the proper time of each hour, as Vatican II recently recommended in regard to the breviary or prayer of the hours.⁷³ Furthermore, it seems that the Office of the Virgin was the starting point of the seven daily canonical hours which then obtained, a practice which appears to have engendered a high regard for this so-called "breviary of the laity," and which still further justifies the place given to the Office of the Virgin, from the time of the first legislative texts to the definitive text of the *Constitutions*, in their legislation on prayer for those who are in formation.⁷⁴

⁶⁸ Besides the reformers cited by Bouvier (*ibid.*), as for example St. Theresa, St. Charles Borromeo, cf. Remigio ab Alosto, "De oratione mentali in Ordine Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum," *Collect. Franc.*, III (1933), 40-67.

⁶⁹ "De collegiis . . . fundandis," in *ConsMHSJ*, I, 58-59.

⁷⁰ "Constitutiones scholasticorum, 1546," *ibid.*, p. 175.

⁷¹ *Cons.*, (343), P. 4, c. 4, Decl. B.

⁷² *SdeSI*, I, 733. Cf. Nadal, *Scholia*, (Prati, 1883), p. 79.

⁷³ *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy*, no. 94. 31st General Congregation has done the same, *Decree on Prayer*, no. 10.

⁷⁴ Cf. Leturia, "Libros de horas, Anima Christi y Ejercicios Espirituales de

It seems then that the Office of the Virgin was for St. Ignatius a very special vocal prayer. It truly consisted in reading which was in a certain way not only liturgical but also biblical. It was the only biblical reading widespread at that time in which the Bible was not in the hands of all. Moreover if the Office was recited at its canonical hours, as Ignatius had done in Manresa, it was introducing a prayer that was frequent and distributed during the day, a practice which St. Ignatius preferred, as we shall see later, to the protracted prayer made at one sole period of the day. Further still, the same book of the "Hours of the Virgin," which was perhaps in the hands of all the scholastics of the Society,⁷⁵ generally contained other liturgical prayers and even readings of a more doctrinal nature.⁷⁶ Finally, as this reading, if it was recited prayerfully and well, could take an hour of time, the mere performance of the prayer by reciting it at different periods of the day gave to the one praying an assurance, without the need of ringing a bell or looking at a watch, that he had fulfilled the daily measure of prayer which the *Constitutions* imposed in addition to Mass. This was especially the case since the two examens could be made at the time when Sext or Compline, the hour corresponding to the time of the day was being recited. Or they could be joined to other more personal prayers.⁷⁷

The use of the Office of the Virgin was a help toward the easy fulfillment of the prescribed hour. But it is of interest to us to underline the profound reason for the preference which St. Ignatius as legislator manifests for it. We think that this reason is, in addition to his personal experience, the liturgical and biblical character of this small and precious book. We already mentioned that it was regarded as "the breviary of the laity." We today rely on other books which are more biblical and more liturgical. We have the whole Bible and not merely one somewhat arbitrary selection of passages

San Ignacio," *Estudios Ignacianos*, II, 102-103, 114-117, 120, 121-125.

⁷⁵ *Constitutiones Collegiorum*, in *ConsMHSJ*, IV, 223.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 221, note 10; and Leturia, *op. cit.*, in note 74, pp. 121-123.

⁷⁷ The *Constitutions*, in saying: "with the definite hour or a little more or less for the recitation of the Hours of our Lady" (343) seem to indicate that with the sole recitation of the Hours at their canonical times, the hour prescribed for those in formation was satisfied.

from it. But if we do not give much importance to the traditional Office of the Virgin, we ought not for that reason fail to understand the importance which men of the 16th century gave it. Nor in this respect is St. Ignatius the only one who thought and legislated about this Office. St. Peter Canisius, among his last private resolutions shortly before his death, lists "the recitation in the course of the day of the Hours of the Virgin."⁷⁸ As superior he never ceased to urge its recitation.⁷⁹

Law of the Church and Society

In pursuing our rapid review of the methods of prayer which St. Ignatius proposes in his legislation on prayer, it is fitting that we mention the Divine Office or breviary. It is well for us to treat it after the Office of the Virgin, because as we said it was the "breviary of the laity"—, and because the Ignatian law supposes and includes a fortiori the law of the Church for all priests.⁸⁰ Already from the year 1546 St. Ignatius asked for his men the express permission to use, in place of the common breviary, the new breviary of Cardinal Quiñones, which was shorter and simpler, and therefore more adapted for the active life and for the Jesuits who did not sing the office in choir.⁸¹ The first documents concerning prayer in the Society place its recitation of the breviary entirely or partially within the prescribed hour,⁸² while other later documents, all from Nadal, always add something to the obligation

⁷⁸ *P. Canisii Epistulae et Acta*, (ed. Braunsberger), VII, 850.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, V, 294-295; VIII, 733. The attitude which Aquaviva, for example, takes in regard to the Office of the Virgin is noticeably different (cf. Leturia, *Estudios Ignacianos*, II, pp. 262-263). Our study has already carried us into the post-Ignatian era when, we think, the exaggerated spiritualization of personal prayer was already beginning, and when the way was being prepared for the disturbing opposition between private and personal prayer, and also between community and liturgical prayer. Only now is that opposition beginning to dissolve.

⁸⁰ *Cons.* (343) P. 4, c. 4, Decl. B, where mention is made indirectly of those who are obliged to the Divine Office. Nadal, in his *Scholia* (Prati, 1883), p. 78, remarks that its recitation could not last less than one hour.

⁸¹ *InstSJ*, I, 11. Among other faculties, Paul III grants that of reciting the new breviary. Cf. *P. Canisii Epistulae et Acta*, I, 194-197.

⁸² Nadal, "Instructio de Oratione," *MonNad*, V, 26-27; cf. *EggIgn*, III, 508-509.

of the Divine Office.⁸³ Finally, the *Constitutions* seem to consider the Divine Office, for students who were obliged to it, as a way of fulfilling the obligation of the Society.⁸⁴ A contemporary letter of St. Ignatius makes the same supposition where he says that "for a priest in studies the obligatory hours and the Mass and examens suffice; and he may take a half hour more, should his devotion be great."⁸⁵

Thanks to Nadal, we also have a proof that this was the mind of St. Ignatius: to add nothing to the obligation of the Church for his priests, whether they be formed or still scholastics. In the first draft of his *Scholia*, written when the Ignatian legislation was still in force, Nadal permits the priests who are still students to retain their hour over and above the Divine Office, but he does not impose that hour upon them;⁸⁶ however, under the post-Ignatian law, which proceeds from a different mentality, he corrected the text and left it as we read it today, enjoining that the priests in studies, just as those who are not priests, should have their hour of private prayer in addition to the Divine Office.⁸⁷

It has seemed proper to us to dwell on this preoccupation of St. Ignatius, as legislator, of not separating too much the obligations of the prayer of the Church and those of the Society, because the 31st General Congregation appears to us to manifest the same preoccupation. Its decree on prayer is a true effort to integrate the tradition of the hour of prayer of the Society with the liturgical and biblical prayer-life of the post-conciliar Church.⁸⁸

Another method of prayer much akin to those just indicated, namely the Office of the Virgin and the Divine Office, is spiritual reading, that is, the reading of spiritual authors. In the documents preliminary to the *Constitutions*, all except one by Polanco and

⁸³ "Orationis Ordo" (for Spain, 1553-1554), found in *ConsMHSJ*, IV, 488, adds a half hour to the ecclesiastical obligation (cf. Leturia, *Estudios Ignacianos*, II, 254-255); but in an *Instructio* for France, there is already prescribed an hour in addition to the Divine Office (*MonNad*, IV, 574); and the same is deduced from a more particular *Instructio* (*ibid.*, 358-359) which mentions a custom of Italy.

⁸⁴ *Cons*, (343), P. 4, c. 4, Decl. B.

⁸⁵ Letter to Brandão, *EppIgn*, III, 508-509.

⁸⁶ *ArchRSJ*, Inst., 207, f. 43.

⁸⁷ Nadal, *Scholia* (Prati, 1883), p. 79.

⁸⁸ 31st General Congregation, *Decree on Prayer*, nos. 5, 6, 10, 14.

one by Nadal, such reading has a place among the methods of prayer.⁸⁹ This reading also figures in Text *a* of the *Constitutions*, which as yet is in the hand of Polanco.⁹⁰ But, by successive corrections in the hand of St. Ignatius, only one mention of it remains, and this rather through distraction,⁹¹ so that, when Polanco adverts to this distraction, the mention of spiritual reading disappears from Text B of the *Constitutions*, and from its definitive text.⁹²

Until now we have been speaking about spiritual reading as a method of prayer, or rather, of that reading which the Ignatian legislation would list within the other methods of prayer which can be used during the hour of prayer enjoined on the scholastics. For, if we consider spiritual reading as a preliminary aid to prayer, we find it mentioned in the *Examen* for candidates⁹³ and in the *Constitutions* for novices;⁹⁴ and, moreover, for novitiates as reading during meals.⁹⁵

It should not cause surprise that we mention the reading in the refectory here. For, like Benediction, it was a spiritual exercise. In that reading, the reading of the Bible occupied a principal place, and all were expected to listen to it with attention.⁹⁶ At times some reading proper to the liturgical season was added.⁹⁷ Furthermore, if the reader felt inspired, he could express proper spiritual sentiments which came to him as he went along reading for the others.⁹⁸

⁸⁹ *Industriae* (prima series), *PolCompl*, II, 736, no. 12: "Regulae Collegii Romani," *ConsMHSJ*, IV, 222, no. 17. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 286 and 557; and also *MonNad*, IV, 290.

⁹⁰ *ConsMHSJ*, II, 178.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, II, 410, line 67.

⁹² *Cons.* (342-343), P. 4, c. 4, n. 3 and B.

⁹³ *Exam*, (46), c. 3, n. 10.

⁹⁴ *Cons.* (277), P. 3, c. 1, n. 20: Here the hand of Polanco is observed proposing the idea to St. Ignatius. Cf. *ConsMHSJ*, I, 188, n. 8.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, (251), P. 3, c. 1, n. 5: This Part III of the *Constitutions* refers to the houses of "probation," i.e., novitiates, and not to houses of formation in studies, about which Part IV speaks. Therefore, it seems that reading in the refectory was not a rule in all the houses of the Society, as it was later, but only in the houses of probation or novitiates.

⁹⁶ *SdeSI*, I, 485: "Scriptura legebatur aperto capite et stando; alii libri sedendo et capite tecto legebantur."

⁹⁷ "Regulae conimbricenses," *MonBroet* (et Roderici), p. 838. Cf. "Responsio P. Manarei ad P. Lancicium," *ibid.*, pp. 517-518.

⁹⁸ "Regulae conimbricenses," *ibid.*, p. 839; "Regulae communes Romanae," *ConsMHSJ*, IV, 162, and note 5.

Here we should add some data which we possess about a type of spiritual reading of St. Ignatius which was more private and personal. Although this kind of reading does not figure expressly in his legislation for those who are in formation, it may help toward understanding the method of prayer which he recommended the most, that is, as we shall see immediately, the prayer which is frequent and distributed during the different hours of the day. We mean the reading of the *Imitation of Christ*, and perhaps that of the New Testament.⁹⁹ His esteem for this type of reading, necessarily brief but for that very reason more frequent, did not carry him to the point where he legislated on it expressly. But we must keep it in mind in order to interpret better his spirit as a legislator who preferred to recommend rather than prescribe. And it is obvious that he recommended it to others, although he would not impose it on anyone, according to that golden principle of his as legislator and superior, not to seek to lead all the others along the same path which he was travelling or had travelled.¹⁰⁰

Daily examen

Let us pass now to the other method of prayer, the one called the examen of conscience. It is perhaps the spiritual exercise of which the Ignatian documents speak more, although not always in the same manner with regard to the daily frequency or the duration ascribed to it. At times it seems prescribed once a day,¹⁰¹ at other times twice;¹⁰² and at times neither one prescription nor the other

⁹⁹ "Chronicon," *MonNad*, I, 19, n. 57; "Responsio P. Manarei ad P. Lancicium," *SdeSI*, I, 516, n. 18; Memoriale of Da Câmara, nos. 97-98, in *FN*, I, 584.

¹⁰⁰ *EppIgn*, II, 705, no. 5; "Chronicon," *MonNad*, I, 19, no. 57.

¹⁰¹ The documents are so numerous that we shall cite only the first and the last which we have in view: "Constitutions which are observed in the colleges of the Society," *MonPaed*, p. 78; in the margin, we find "in those of Bologna and Padua there is one examen a day, no more;" "Regulae Collegii Romani," *ConsMHSJ*, IV, 220, no. 12: "without the examination which is made in the sacramental confession, let each one examine his conscience once a day before retiring to sleep, after the manner that is taught in the *Exercises* . . . If the Rector thinks that someone ought to make two examens a day, one after dinner, the other after supper, he will make them."

¹⁰² Let it suffice to cite one document, perhaps the oldest, from "Regulae conimbricenses," *MonBroet*, p. 74: "before dinner for a quarter of an hour, and before supper for half an hour, on hearing the bell, let all gather to make their examens."

is clearly seen.¹⁰³ One time it is hinted that the examen before noon does not ordinarily last a quarter of an hour,¹⁰⁴ and more than one time Nadal, interpreting St. Ignatius, affirms with entire certainty that the examen is joined to other prayers with which it shares its time.¹⁰⁵

On their part, the *Constitutions* never speak expressly of a quarter of an hour of examen of conscience, but they only state, about the scholastics and brothers in formation, that "they will have one hour. During it they will recite the Hours of our Lady, and examine their consciences twice each day, and add other prayers according to the devotion of each one until the aforementioned hour is completed, in case it has not run its course."¹⁰⁶ This is the definitive text; while Text *a*, which is the first draft, says nothing of the examens of conscience, but in general points out that they will divide up the prescribed hour in the best way, with the advice of the superior or confessor.¹⁰⁷ Only in Text A does it appear expressly, and from the hand of Ignatius, that "they will examine their consciences twice each day, and add other prayers according to the

¹⁰³ There are documents which speak of "examen" in the singular, e.g., "Estatutos para Boloña" (1548?), in *ConsMHSJ*, p. 259: "che ogni di si faccia l'examen . . ."

¹⁰⁴ "General Order for the Colleges," by Nadal, cited by Leturia, *Estudios Ignacianos*, II, 254-255: "an examen before dinner, and because this examen is not ordinarily a full quarter of an hour . . ."

¹⁰⁵ Nadal, *Orationis ordo*, *ConsMHSJ*, IV, 487-488: "And thus ordinarily the time of prayer will be an hour beyond the hearing of Mass; and in that divided hour two examens are to be made briefly, and in the rest of the hour they can occupy themselves in their meditation or vocal prayer as best they can." We find the same in the visitation which Nadal makes at Venice and Padua, *MonNad*, IV, 316; and in his comments on the *Constitutions* in his *Scholia* (Prati, 1883), p. 79; and in his "Instruction" to Father Manareo, Commissary of France, *MonNad*, IV, 573 (cf. Leturia, *Estudios Ignacianos*, II, 254). Hence, the response of Father General Janssens was ill advised, when he indicated that it was not according to the spiritual tradition of the Society that the examen should be made during the recitation of Compline of the Divine Office, as the conciliar *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy* recently recommended. (Cf. *ActRSJ*, XIII, 877).

¹⁰⁶ *Cons*, (342), P. 4, n. 3.

¹⁰⁷ *ConsMHSJ*, II, 178. This Text *a* treats of one examen daily (*Ibid.*, p. 163, n. 21); but in Part III, reference is made to those who are in probation, or to the novices (*Ibid.*, p. 150).

devotion of each one," but without any reference to the exact duration of each time.¹⁰⁸

From the above we can, anticipating a little what we shall say later in treating the third element of the Ignatian legislation, draw a conclusion. Although St. Ignatius has in view different methods of prayer as being possible when he is legislating, at no moment is he preoccupied with a prayer-timetable to determine the duration for each method, but he leaves that entirely to the subjects. The method and timetable are covered when he states that those in formation "are to do all this according to the arrangement and judgment of their superiors, whom they oblige themselves to obey in place of Christ our Lord."¹⁰⁹ In other words we should say that St. Ignatius legislates for the life of prayer, and leaves to each one, in touch with his superior, to propose his own prayer-schedule. If this procedure had always been followed in the Society and in the Church, the present conflict between the life of prayer and its time-schedule would never have arisen.

In treating the method of praying, other historians have devoted attention almost exclusively to that method as being mental, as even the titles of their works indicate. But we have set this topic of the method as mental aside till last. The truth is that we are doing nothing more than keeping close to St. Ignatius' own practice. In his legislation on prayer, as we saw, he speaks sparingly of the method which has been termed mental. He mentions it as an option always free for the scholastics. In his correspondence, on the contrary, he speaks of it more frequently and at length, yet always, if there is question of giving to it much uninterrupted time, with caution and even suspicion. St. Theresa used to say that vocal prayer was either mental or it was not prayer. A somewhat similar point should here be noted well: St. Ignatius shows himself cautious, not in regard to the mental method of prayer, but in respect to the duration of all mental prayer, and to continuous duration through a long period. We are speaking here of prayer in the ordinary life of a Jesuit, and not of prayer during the time of the *Spiritual Exercises* or of prayer in other religious institutes. Let us examine this in greater detail.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 410.

¹⁰⁹ *Cons.* (342), P. 4, c. 4, n. 3.

In regard to the method of vocal prayer as contrasted with mental, the first thing to which we call attention is that St. Ignatius, differently than others such as Miró,¹¹⁰ does not manifest the pejorative idea of "vocalization" of prayer which arose later and which will be found in the Society, and that above all in the same measure as the Ignatian laws is replaced by the post-Ignatian.¹¹¹

Nadal goes farther in this direction than St. Ignatius. Not only does he manifest no preference for mental prayer and no disdain for vocal prayer, but he also defends the possible superiority of vocal prayer over prayer purely mental.¹¹² Perhaps the reason for this is that after St. Ignatius' death Nadal saw himself obliged to defend the text of the *Constitutions* which prescribed a daily vocal prayer delimited to about an hour, the Hours of the Virgin, and the principal argument which he uses is that the prayer imposed by the Church is also vocal.¹¹³ Furthermore, Nadal comes to say that vocal prayer is more proper to the Society and that the spirit of prayer in the Society ought to incline just as much to vocal prayer as to apostolic action.¹¹⁴

In respect to the method of mental prayer taken in itself and not merely in comparison with vocal prayer, St. Ignatius refers at times to an easy method of meditating which he distinguishes from another difficult method which is not made without labor and fatigue.¹¹⁵ He also speaks of a mental prayer which does not last a long time but which is made in a short time;¹¹⁶ and of a method which is not so abstract,¹¹⁷ and which can be united with daily activities themselves.

It is worth the trouble to fix our attention well on that difference of ease and difficulty in St. Ignatius' manner of speaking when he treats of mental prayer in his correspondence with superiors and subjects, while he is almost entirely silent on the subject in the

¹¹⁰ *EppMixt*, I, 415.

¹¹¹ Cf. Bacht's study, already mentioned in note 15, on the exaggerated spiritualization of mental prayer (*GeistLeb*, 28 [1955], 360-373).

¹¹² *MonNad*, V, 478.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, V, 478-579.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, 673.

¹¹⁵ Letter to Theresa Rejadella, *EppIgn*, I, 108; cf. *Industriae* (prima series), *PolCompl*, II, 740, no. 7.

¹¹⁶ *EppIgn*, XII, 651-652.

¹¹⁷ Letter to Brandão, *EppIgn*, III, 510.

Constitutions. St. Ignatius' highly intensified facility in one certain method of mental prayer is, in our opinion, intrinsically related with its relative brevity of duration and, consequently, with the possibility of making that prayer as something mingled with apostolic action, and that at any moment of the day whatever. For that reason we believe that when the post-Ignatian law of a full hour of morning mental prayer was imposed, it entailed the loss in the Society of that Ignatian tradition, namely, that method of praying mentally which is proper to the Jesuit in action, although the tradition of prayer in solitude for an hour a day was acquired. But about this we shall speak more to the purpose when we treat the third and last element of the legislation on prayer in the Society, that is, the duration prescribed for prayer.

Nevertheless, we wished to anticipate, by giving a preliminary hint, in order to make this point clear: although we treat separately what we call the three elements of the Ignatian law (the co-responsibility of the subject and the superior, the method or manner of praying, and the duration of prayer), in St. Ignatius' original legislation they compenetrate one another. A consequence is that the concept of each element colors or influences that of the others.

Time in the Ignatian Legislation on Prayer

The discussion on the subject of the time of prayer by rule or constitution is as old as the Society itself. A large number of persons have entered into the discussion. Persons of undeniably good will have taken opposite positions. None of them debated or called into doubt the importance of prayer, but only a distinct method of making it or of imposing it on others.

We wish to say that, at root, perhaps the discussion centered more on time which was considered qualitatively, as a method or manner of praying, than as mere time considered quantitatively. Perhaps this may have been the case because, when one takes into account those four centuries, and the quality of the persons who were discussing during that whole time, one can imagine that there was an ambiguity in some of the terms used in the discussion. That ambiguity can be the one indicated in the central term or "time of prayer."

We shall take as a working hypothesis, then, that distinction

between the time which is mere time, and the time which is method of prayer. We are moved to this procedure by the desire of seeing that very old discussion come to an end, and of not taking sides in favor of some or others. For, first, the discussion has no meaning, since the 31st General Congregation has given us a decree on prayer which merits our complete respect; secondly, the taking of sides in the old discussion has no major interest for us, short of reflecting that that was the psychological motive which some of the historians had who have preceded us in the study of the subject.

Before we study the Ignatian documents, let us explain our working hypothesis. We call time, quantitatively considered, the mere imposing of a daily time of prayer which can be fulfilled at whatever moment of the day and by any method whatever: (mental or vocal; by separating it from other obligations of prayer or by employing it in fulfilling those other obligations better, for example, more slowly, and so on). We call time, qualitatively considered, when a continuous time is imposed (such as a full hour), or a determined moment of the day (such as prayer in the morning), or in one exclusive manner (such as mental and not vocal or reading; examen of conscience and not other prayers at the time, and so on). In other words, we distinguish between time that is open to different manners of fulfilling it, and time imposed exclusively for one certain manner of employing it in prayer.

With this hypothesis made, for a while let us not think about it but rather examine the Ignatian documents themselves.

Examining the texts

St. Ignatius praises the entire and continuous hour of prayer in the *Exercises*,¹¹⁸ but he does not impose it expressly in any legislative text of the Society. As we already saw earlier in treating the different methods of prayer in the Ignatian legislation, although it assigns an hour to those who are in formation, it only prescribes that in that hour they say the Hours of our Lady, and examine their consciences twice daily "and add other prayers according to the devotion of each one until the aforementioned hour is completed, in case it has not run its course."¹¹⁹ Let us remember that, as we

¹¹⁸ Annotations 12, 13, and others. *SpEx*, (12, 13).

¹¹⁹ *Cons*, (342), P. 4, c. 4, n. 3.

saw before, the two methods of prayer which are mentioned here, the Hours and the examen of conscience, are understood precisely without any determination of continuous time. For the Hours are by their nature, so to speak, for recitation "at their canonical times" and not all together or at a time fixed beforehand for each one; and the examen, in the mind of St. Ignatius, and also according to the repeated interpretation of Nadal even in the time of the post-Ignatian law, did not have a fixed duration assigned. And the final phrase of the Ignatian text, in his own hand, ("and add other prayers . . . until the aforementioned hour is completed, in case it has not run its course"), says very clearly that St. Ignatius imposed a daily quantity, so to speak, of time of prayer for those who were in formation, but at no time does he specify its quality as being a continuous manner of praying.

And nevertheless, St. Ignatius praises what we now call formal prayer, and esteems "familiarity with God our Lord in spiritual exercises of devotion"¹²⁰ no less than in all actions.¹²¹ But it is one thing to give time to prayer, and another to give to it a continuous or "integral" hour. The first is necessary for man who is temporal and historical; the second is not necessary nor is it always possible.

Hence there is no contradiction between these two positions of St. Ignatius. On the one hand "he praises prayer highly,"¹²² on the other hand, he is sparing in legislation concerning the time of prayer, and when he does legislate, for those in formation, he limits himself to pointing out a daily time, and not a continuous or integral duration.

A prayerful hour

The full hour of prayer is for St. Ignatius a very good means, and in fact he imposes it in his *Spiritual Exercises*, during which he considers complete solitude during several days as a means exceptionally fruitful.¹²³ He also imposes it as an extraordinary means to which one must have recourse in certain necessities.¹²⁴ For, as legislators, even when he saw the necessity of fixing a daily

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, (813), P. 10, n. 2.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, (723), P. 9, c. 2, n. 1.

¹²² Da Câmara, *Memoriale*, no. 256, in *SdeSI*, I, 278; *FN*, I, 677.

¹²³ Cf. Annotation 20, in *SpEx*, (20).

¹²⁴ *ConsMHSJ*, I, 4-5.

time of prayer for those in formation, he did not consider an integral hour of prayer or a continuous time of prayer to be, in general, an ordinary means.

In other words, the continuous time of prayer, and above all the approach toward making it an integral hour, is a path. It is, moreover, a path which St. Ignatius had taken at the very beginning of his spiritual life, when he prayed seven times a day—perhaps, as we saw before, at every hour of the Office of the Virgin, and at its canonical times. But as legislator he did not wish to enjoin that path on all his sons because in his opinion, as Da Câmara observed in his *Memoriale*, “there was no greater error in spiritual things than to seek to guide others as oneself. He was speaking about the long prayer he had made.”¹²⁵ What he says about directing others holds true also of legislating for them. For legislation is a more permanent and universal method of directing.

The other Jesuits of the infant Society who began as local superiors and provincials to impose a daily time of prayer on their subjects, distributed it partly in the morning and partly in the afternoon.¹²⁶ And when in the generalate of Borgia the new daily hour of prayer began to be practiced, permission was granted in some places for the hour to be carried out at different separated periods of the day.¹²⁷ But outside the Society there existed from earlier decades a current of opinion which was willing to give the name of prayer, *oración*, only to that which lasted a long and continuous time.¹²⁸ That concept, moreover, was winning adherents within the Society,¹²⁹ and ultimately, although under a much more moderate form, the idea was imposed in the post-Ignatian legislation

¹²⁵ *Memoriale*, no. 256, in *SdeSI*, I, 278; *FN*, I, 677.

¹²⁶ “Constituciones que se guardan en los Colegios,” *MonPaed*, 78 (cf. *ConsMIHSJ*, IV, 140, which presents this as a resume of what was done in the colleges at the time).

¹²⁷ Nadal to Borgia, *MonNad*, III, 328 and 471; and Borgia to Nadal, *ibid.*, 461 and 478.

¹²⁸ Indications of that environmental opinion are found in the works of Fray Luis de Granada and St. Peter of Alcantara. Both books were published during the years we are treating (cf. Dudon, “Saint Ignace et l’oraison dans la Compagnie de Jésus,” *RAM*, XV (1934) 248), but are a result of an earlier atmosphere contemporary to St. Ignatius (cf. Leturia, *Estudios Ignacianos*, II, 204-205).

¹²⁹ *EppIgn*, XII, 651-652.

enjoining the integral hour of prayer in the morning.

If we remember what we said before, when we treated the manner or method of prayer in the Ignatian legislation, about the great founders of religious orders who do not appear to have legislated about the mental methods of prayer, we can perhaps observe that the beginning of the legislation on mental prayer is simultaneous with that of the religious legislation on the continuous duration of prayer, and legislation on both these matters together begins at the time of the reform of the religious orders.¹³⁰ Or rather, we can remark that the mentality of the founder who legislated concerning the prayer in a nascent order would be one thing, and the mentality of the reformer who endeavors to recapture the spirit of the founder and establish it anew in an old religious order would be something different; also, that this difference of mentality would be manifested especially in two conceptions of the time of prayer, the one concept being merely quantitative and open to being used in prayer according to any method, and the other concept more qualitative and being itself a method of praying. But let this be said in passing, and without an intent to enter deeply into a comparative study of the spirituality of the foundation and the spirituality of the reform of a religious order—even though we believe this to be of great interest in these times when the Society, like the Church, is returning to the sources and lives, not a “counter-reformation,” but a renewal and present realization of the spirit of its founders. Even a superficial reading of the conciliar *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy* or the *Decree on Prayer* of the 31st General Congregation would show which concept of time has found expression in the documents of our time.

In order to confirm the existence of a concept of a time of prayer which, as integral or continuous, contains in itself a method of prayer, we shall not turn our attention now to its extreme defenders who say with Onfroy even that “prayer of one or two hours is not prayer and more hours are necessary.” Instead, we shall attend to those who more moderately limit themselves to stating that a direct proportion exists between the continuous time and the fruit of prayer.¹³¹ It is evident that these last consider continuous dura-

¹³⁰ Consult the studies cited in footnotes 67 and 68.

¹³¹ Letter of Oviedo to St. Ignatius (*EppMixt*, I, 437). See also De Guibert,

tion as a method of prayer. As such a method, they recommend it more than another method, such as the short but frequent prayer during the day could be. In such a case the difference between those who recommend one method or the other, prayer all at one stretch or prayer at its different canonical times, would not consist in the mere total quantity of daily time of prayer, for the total duration could be the same in either case. Rather, the difference would be in the quality of the duration as being all within one period of the day, or as being brief but frequent prayer distributed throughout the whole day.

With this, we believe that we have put the state of the question to be discussed into clear light without any ambiguity. This has been done through the hypothesis about time as mere time and time which is also a method or manner of praying, that hypothesis which we made just above when we began to treat the topic of time in the Ignatian legislation on prayer. We now wish to resume the treatment itself and to corroborate the hypothesis by the Ignatian documents.

Discretion and adaptation

First of all, we should make this observation. In the atmosphere of the reform of the religious orders and of the Counter-Reformation which encompassed St. Ignatius as founder, the idea was taking shape that there is a direct proportion between the continuous duration of prayer and the fruit derived from prayer. Nevertheless St. Ignatius, as legislator of the infant order, manifested his ideas clearly:

1) Concerning the ordinary law for the Jesuits, including those who are in formation, in regard to the fruit of formal prayer, a certain equivalent compensation may be granted among the different methods (continuous or interrupted) of employing the time of daily prayer. Without going so far as to say, as he does once, that a lesser time of prayer can be compensated with a greater fervor,¹³² St. Ignatius frequently hints that in short periods during the day it is

The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice, pp. 86-89, and Index, p. 673.

¹³² "Constitutiones Collegiorum," in *ConsMHSJ*, IV, 222: "If on some occasion the time is not fulfilled, let it be made up, if not in time, at least in devotion." Cf. *EppIgn*, I, 509.

possible to accomplish much time of prayer.¹³³ The name traditionally given to the Divine Office in the Church, the "prayer of the canonical hours," signifies nothing different than this.¹³⁴

2) A continuous duration of prayer cannot be imposed equally on all, because there are natural temperaments which do not stand this.¹³⁵ In this direction, the better universal law is one which, like the Ignatian, does not prescribe or prohibit a continuous time, but leaves it free to the discretion of the subject himself under the direction of his superior or spiritual director.

3) While the time open to different ways of fulfilling it has advantages, such as, for example, that of facilitating the adaptation to each subject, and that of giving a feeling of satisfaction from praying throughout the whole day and not only at one period of it,¹³⁶ the continuous time, especially if exaggerated concern is given to its measurement, has various inconveniences. To limit ourselves to those which St. Ignatius mentions expressly, such would be the loss of health, the neglect of the obligations of study or action, and even serious spiritual defects which would be encouraged in that exaggerated manner of performing prayer.

In regard to the loss of health, the information is interesting which Manareo gives us, in one of his exhortations, concerning a medical consultation which St. Ignatius had when he observed that many became sick and even died shortly after entering the Society. The result of that consultation appeared immediately in the measure of time of prayer which he set for those who were in formation, namely, the daily hour.¹³⁷ He enjoined even this without ordering that it should be made at one continuous time.

With regard to the neglect of the other obligations such as the obligations of study or of the apostolate, it is evident that this was one of the great preoccupations of St. Ignatius, who was so

¹³³ "Industriae" (prima series), *PolCompl*, II, 741, no. 11: "Also short prayers ought occasionally to be mingled with the study . . ." Cf. *ConsMHSJ* IV, 222, 16°; *EppIgn*, III, 75.

¹³⁴ *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy*, nos. 88 and 94.

¹³⁵ *EppIgn*, IV, 90-91.

¹³⁶ *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy*, no. 84; cf. nos. 88, 94.

¹³⁷ Manaree's "Exhortationes super instituto et regulis S.J.," (conferences which he gave during Aquaviva's generalate), pp. 613-614.

sensitive to the spiritual indiscretion which was at the bottom of that rivalry between prayer and action. Together with this, there were other spiritual defects joined to the indiscreet augmentation of the time of continuous prayer, apart from the cases of special personal necessity. These cases formed one of the strongest ad hominem arguments against those who were pressing for an increase, by law, of the time of prayer in the Society.¹³⁸ This also explains the firmness with which Ignatius opposed even persons who had the reputation of being virtuous, and whom he as superior would not have hesitated to expel from the Society if they had not yielded on this point.¹³⁹

It is of interest to us to delay on the first idea, especially on its second part which refers to that method of employing the daily time of prayer in brief but frequent prayer, because it throws light on our hypothesis to the effect that St. Ignatius was not opposed to a prayer-time taken merely quantitatively, but to that prayer-time which was simultaneously a particular manner or method of prayer, that is, the prayer of continuous duration. That first idea interests us also because St. Ignatius too, in his correspondence, has delayed more than once in order to recommend it as a method of prayer which can be united easily with the activity of a Jesuit, especially of a formed Jesuit. In order to recommend it he has used different expressions. He calls it, for example, prayer of desires,¹⁴⁰ prayer in the action itself,¹⁴¹ elevations of the mind to God,¹⁴² exercise of

¹³⁸ Besides the particular case of Oviedo and Onfroy (cf. *EppMixt*, II, 115; De Guibert, *The Jesuits*, pp. 87-88), we have here St. Ignatius' general opinion, communicated by Da Câmara in two versions in his *Memoriale*. One version is in no. 256 (in *SdeSI*, p. 278 and *FN*, I, 676-677); the other is in no. 196 (*FN*, I, 644).

¹³⁹ *EppIgn*, II, 494-495.

¹⁴⁰ Letter on Perfection, *EppIgn*, I, 509: ". . . and although study does not give us time to spend in very long prayers, the time can be compensated for through desires by one who makes a continuous prayer of all his activities, by undertaking them solely for the service of God."

¹⁴¹ "Constitutiones Collegiorum," *ConsMHSJ*, IV, p. 222, 16°: "In all things let them find God. Let them regard all their study and works as a prayer, by directing them to the sole service of God our Lord by trying to find Him in all their activities; and to renew this intention and obligation as well as to beg of God Grace to do in everything what is pleasing to His divine Majesty, they should employ the holy practice of making short prayers or elevations

the presence of God,¹⁴³ the search for and finding of God in all things,¹⁴⁴ the explicit offering to God of what is done for Him,¹⁴⁵ and so forth. The mere variety of these expressions is a sign of the importance which he gave to this method, of praying briefly but frequently every day.

Still further, this is a method of prayer in which he has preceded us by his example. (Of course, he has preceded us also by his own example of praying through long periods, but he has not endeavored as legislator or superior to make us follow this practice.) Let us recall, for example, his practice of examining his interior disposition, something he did every time the hour struck.¹⁴⁶ Let us also recall his custom, which we mentioned before, of opening a Kempis at any part whatever and reading one of its chapters.¹⁴⁷

Essentially apostolic

This is also a way of giving time to prayer which does not lessen appreciably the time destined to action; and this prayer is in one sense a fruit derived from the same action. For that reason, we should say that it is a method of prayer more proper to the Society, a religious order primarily apostolic and one in which, therefore, everything is "essentially apostolic" and nothing ought to be understood as "directed exclusively to our personal sanctification."¹⁴⁸ Therefore the relations between prayer and action can be

of the mind to God, mingling these prayers with their actions at home and abroad, and in all manners of occupations, now uttering some chosen words, according to the pleasure of each one, now speaking only with desires and pious aspirations." Cf. *Industriae* (prima series), *PolCompl*, II, 741, no. 11.

¹⁴² *EppIgn*, VI, 90-91: "Amid the occupations and studies, we can lift our mind to God; and through our directing everything to the divine service, all is prayer . . ."

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, III, 309: ". . . in prayer or meditation and the examens he [Oviedo] should not go beyond an hour . . . that there may be more time and attention to other things pertaining to the service of God, whose presence he can bring about in the midst of all occupations; and he can make his prayer continuous by directing all things to His greater service and glory." Cf. Da Càmara, *Memoriale*, no. 256, in *SdeSI*, I, 278 and *FN*, I, p. 677.

¹⁴⁴ *EppIgn*, III, 502.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 510.

¹⁴⁶ Da Càmara, *Memoriale*, no. 24, in *FN*, I, 542 (cf. Ridadaneyra, "De actis P. Ignatii," no. 42, in *FN*, II, 345). See also *SdeSI*, II, 561, no. 34.

¹⁴⁷ See the texts cited in footnote 99 above.

¹⁴⁸ 31st General Congregation, *Decree on Chastity*, no. 4.

understood, as Blessed Peter Faber said, in two ways which are at least different if not opposed: by seeking God in spirit through good works, in order to find Him later in prayer; or by seeking Him principally in prayer, in order to find Him later in action;¹⁴⁹ but Faber, and without doubt St. Ignatius with him when treating of Jesuits, preferred the first way, which goes from action to prayer and from prayer goes back afresh to action. This practice can be used precisely with those brief but frequent prayers about which St. Ignatius speaks so much, and not only with ejaculatory prayers.

Furthermore, this way of prayer, without failing to be proper to the Society, is traditional in the Church. For other spiritual masters have led their disciples along the path of short but frequent prayers, in order to bring them to fulfill more easily the evangelical precept that one "ought always to pray and not lose heart" (Lk 18:1). St. Ignatius too, in his well-known response to Oviedo and Onfroy, shows himself as a skilled expert of this tradition and conscientiously follows it: "This is perceived through the example of the holy hermit fathers who commonly performed prayers which did not take up an hour, as is seen in Cassian, who recited three psalms at one time, and so forth, as is practiced in the public office and the canonical hours."¹⁵⁰ At the end of this paragraph St. Ignatius again quotes this tradition which binds this manner of brief but frequent prayer with the evangelical precept that one "ought always to pray and not lose heart."¹⁵¹

Let us touch here a point which appears to us substantial in order to understand the manner of prayer which St. Ignatius hoped for from the Jesuit, whether in formation or not, although there can be a pedagogical difference between the one and the other. Here we are referring to the manner of prayer in regard, not to theory, but to practice. In theory, we should be able to admit the expression of Nadal, "a contemplative in action," as an expression of the Ignatian ideal of "prayer in action;" but in practice, it appears to us that that expression can divert us from our objective—unless we avoid giving too theoretical a meaning to contemplation and restore to it its practical and vital meaning.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Favre's *Memoriale*, no. 126, in *MonFab*, pp. 554-555.

¹⁵⁰ *EppIgn*, XII, 651-652.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, XII, 652.

¹⁵² *MonNad*, IV, 651-652.

The distinction between the theory and practice of contemplation which we just pointed out could merit a separate study, but we are not in a position to make it at present. But as we said at the beginning of this study, at the same time that we were studying the Ignatian legislation on prayer in the Society of Jesus, other authors were making their own study on the laws of prayer of their respective religious orders. One of these studies investigates, in the concrete, the meaning of the Divine Office in the Benedictine Rule. We mean the study of A. de Vogüé, entitled "Le sens de l'office divin d'après la Règle de S. Benoît."¹⁵³ It endeavors to express, better than has been done hitherto, the contemplative ideal not only in theory, but also and especially in practice. We shall, then, take advantage of some of this author's conclusions, now that we cannot make the separate study which would be so worth while in regard to St. Ignatius.

To resume while keeping in mind our immediate objective at this moment, De Vogüé would say that the place of the Divine Office has been accentuated too much as an ideal of the Benedictine monk, by separating it from life and concealing the true ideal of the monastic life, which should be the "prayer without ceasing" of the Gospel. This accentuation of the Divine Office, which changes the means into an end, has been going on for a long time. It was scarcely hinted at in the Rule of the Master but received some stress in the Rule of St. Benedict and was finally consecrated by the classical commentators up to the present.

If we turn back toward the origins of the Divine Office, the farther back we move, the greater is the prominence which we see (always according to De Vogüé) attributed to the gospel precept that one "ought always to pray." In regard to this evangelical ideal, the Divine Office is only one means among other equally or more important ones. Moreover, it is a means such that its true meaning is understood only if it is placed back into its context: the continuous effort the monk makes at every hour to reach the ideal of "praying without ceasing." "With respect to this ideal, the prayer of the hours offers the monk a first approach and is at the same time a help toward realizing it more perfectly. It is not, therefore, a particular occupation, singular in its kind and without a common

¹⁵³ See footnote 6.

denominator with the others, but rather the momentary actualization of a constant effort. The Divine Office is incorporated into life."¹⁵⁴

It would be of interest to follow De Vogüé in detail in his study of the parallel historical development of that primitive monastic ideal of "prayer without ceasing" and of the Divine Office, in order to see how this Office, which was initially one means among others, was finally transformed into the principal and only means and, consequently, into the characteristic end of the monastic life.¹⁵⁵ But much more interesting still, and more directly connected with our Ignatian theme of brief but frequent prayers during work as a practical means for "contemplation in action" is, it seems to us, De Vogüé's explanation of that historical development. To understand it, we should remind ourselves in advance that in early monastic writings the word "meditate" meant "to mutter" or "to mumble," and not what the word usually connotes to us today.

In primitive times there was a certain structural homogeneity between the Divine Office and the other daily activities of the monk. Over and above the common scriptural basis, which consisted especially of the Psalter meditated (that is, muttered) during his manual work and of the Psalter recited in public, there was a series of brief but frequent prayers which interrupted or intercalated the Office and the activities alike. These brief prayers constituted the more intense moments, stimulated by the word of God which had been heard, in the life of the man perpetually consecrated to God. Through this basis of structural homogeneity, the word of God to man and the response of man to God, the Office was woven into life and both the Office and the life of the monk were under the gospel law of "prayer without ceasing."¹⁵⁶

Two streams

Soon, however, two streams of evolution began, one in the Divine Office and the other in the monk's life of work. A common feature was injected into each stream: on the one hand, the abbreviation and even the gradual disappearance of the brief and

¹⁵⁴ A. De Vogüé, "Le sens de l'office divin d'après la Règle de S. Benoît," *RAM*, XLII (1946) 404.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 390-398.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 398-400.

frequent prayers hitherto intercalated between psalm and psalm; and on the other hand, the practical forgetting of the tradition of the brief and frequent prayers uttered in the midst of the daily tasks.¹⁵⁷ These two streams of evolution converged to produce a common result. There was the ever increasing heterogeneity between the Divine Office and the ordinary life of the monk and, consequently, the transformation of the Divine Office into the only "work of God" of the monastery. Further still, the Divine Office was elevated in importance so that its proper fulfillment became the ideal of the monk, instead of fulfillment of the gospel precept of "prayer without ceasing." But when the special moments of prayer disappeared from the Divine Office, and when the similar moments of prayer also ceased to be interwoven into the tasks of the day, something even more striking was introduced. It was something outside both the Office and the work alike and enjoined for a precisely determined hour of the day: the "half hour of prayer" of the moderns as a necessary compensation for all those short but frequent prayers which in the beginning had characterized both the Divine Office and the life of the monks. It was from these short and frequent prayers that the homogeneity of the Office and the monks' daily life had once sprung. From these short prayers had also once sprung the fundamental orientation of both the Office and the daily work toward the true ideal unifying the whole life of the monk, the gospel precept of prayer without ceasing.¹⁵⁸

Up to here we have been presenting that which is apropos to our purpose from what De Vogüé tells us about the simultaneous legislative and spiritual streams of evolution of the ideal of prayer for the monk and about its causes or historical manifestations in the Benedictine Rule of the *opus Dei*. Returning now to our subject of the Ignatian rule of prayer in the Society, we would say that something similar has happened in the case of the Jesuit ideal of "a contemplative in action." We would say further that its causes or the signs which manifest it in history are also similar. In one stream of evolution there was a forgetting, in practice, of the short but frequent prayers throughout the day, in all their possible forms such as desires, prayers intercalated into the apostolic work, eleva-

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 400-403.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 33.

tions of the mind to God, exams of conscience, and the discernment of spirits. In another stream, there was the legislative insistence on the hour or hours of prayer, each one of which had its own prescribed method of prayer, continuous and uninterrupted, mental or vocal, and litanies. To use the terms of the Benedictine historian, in the Society of Jesus, too, a kind of substitution occurred through which a schedule replaced life as an ideal. That ideal, prayer-life with vitality, can be concretized and facilitated in highly diverse forms, while the time-schedule imposed by a rule up to its last details implies as the only alternatives, its fulfillment or non-fulfillment. For in such a schedule there is question not merely of the time quantitatively taken but also of time in which the very method of praying is prescribed by the rule.

A further similarity might still be given. When the Divine Office is converted into the highest ideal of the written rule of the Benedictine monk and is separated too much from life; when the homogeneity of structure which the spontaneity and variety of the short but frequent prayers had formerly given to both "offices" of the monk, his liturgy and his work, is lost, the path is open to the grave danger of ritualism, and simultaneously of objective piety.¹⁵⁹ In similar manner within the Society of Jesus, when the time schedule of prayer by rule is separated too much from the life of apostolic action, the path is opened to the danger of legalism and also to another risk no less serious, that of conflict between the external law of prayer and the internal law of discreet charity, followed by an oversimplifying solution whereby a Jesuit abandons all scheduled formal prayer and becomes content with apostolic action as virtual prayer.

With these remarks finished, we have by now indicated a practical and contemporary solution which history, the master of life, offers us for all those false—or better, falsified—problems of conflict between prayer and apostolate or, to consider the matter more generically still, between contemplation and action. The solution is, not to sacrifice all legally prescribed prayer nor all formal prayer, but rather to bring about the greatest possible homogeneity between prayer and life, according to one's schedule. This can be

¹⁵⁹ Or rather, the way was opened for the conflict between liturgical piety, called "objective," and "private" piety (cf. *ibid.*, 403-404).

done through the practice of the short but frequent prayers, as lengthy as grace inspires, intercalated into the action itself. That solution further requires, when there is question of enunciating a rule or law on prayer or of commenting on one, a clear distinction between time taken quantitatively merely as duration and time taken qualitatively insofar as it is identified with a determined method or manner of praying, such as continuous, mental, matutinal, or the like. As is evident, every rule about prayer properly so called necessarily entails some time.

The Contemporary Relevance

We stated in our introduction that after making the historical study of the Ignatian period of the legislation on prayer, we would make a leap over the post-Ignatian legislation from Borgia to our own day, in order to pass directly to the post-conciliar climate in the Church, the atmosphere which the *Decree on Prayer* of the 31st General Congregation has characterized as one of peculiar "spiritual evolution." We also said that by passing over four centuries which separate us historically from St. Ignatius and by making that leap from the remote past to the present, we were endeavoring to ascertain the contemporaneous importance which the spirit of the Ignatian legislation (although not its mere letter) still has for us as men, Christians, and post-conciliar Jesuits. And this is what we shall now try to do in this part of our historical study. For, as we also stated in our introduction, one's contemporary point of view can never, in our opinion, be absent from the study or writing of history.

But this objective can be attained by two paths: either by comparing directly the spirit of the Ignatian legislation just studied with the present spiritual environment or climate, or by making this same comparison indirectly, that is, through the new *Decree on Prayer*. This Decree surely has contemporary relevance. In the first draft of this historical study, completed before Session II of the General Congregation, we followed the first path, direct study. Therefore it seems much better at present to take the second path, and use the *Decree* as a means. For the General Congregation is not something to be put aside by our regarding it as already a thing of the past, but instead it is a fact here in plain sight before our eyes, although

it is a fact not closed in itself but open to the future.¹⁶⁰

But before making this comparison, we wish to point out briefly what is most original and fundamental in this recent *Decree on Prayer*. Above all we observe that in our contemporaneous historical circumstances the recent Congregation has not wished merely to cite what St. Ignatius had legislated about prayer for a Jesuit whether formed or in formation. In other words, it has not returned literally, in regard to the formed, "to that [rule] which discreet charity dictates to them;"¹⁶¹ nor has it, in regard to those in formation, repeated verbally that text of the *Constitutions* which tells them that "in addition to confession and Communion, which they will frequent every eight days, and Mass which they will hear every day, they will have one hour. During it they will recite the Hours of our Lady, and will examine their consciences twice each day, and add other prayers according to the devotion of each one until the aforementioned hour is completed . . ." ¹⁶² But neither did this General Congregation merely cite the text of the post-Ignatian law, repeated and elaborated by virtually all earlier General Congregations since the 2nd General Congregation, with its different hours and methods of prayer strictly determined by a universal rule, whether for the formed or for those in formation.¹⁶³

We would say that this General Congregation has done something in our opinion more important than to return to the letter of the *Constitutions*. For it worked out a new letter or contemporaneous expression of the Ignatian spirit, that spirit which is embodied in the *Constitutions* and is manifested above all in the three characteristic elements which we have just studied in the first part of this article: co-responsibility of subject and superior in the prayer of the subject; and a method and time of the subject's prayer which are left open to personal adaptations under the personal direction of the superior. We would also observe, in regard to the discreet charity, that this is not only present expressly in this decree on prayer¹⁶⁴ and in many other decrees,¹⁶⁵ but it is also a

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Father General Arrupe's letter, cited in footnote 2 above.

¹⁶¹ *Cons.*, (582), P. 6, c. 3, n. 1.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, (348), P. 4, c. 4, n. 3.

¹⁶³ Cf. *Collectio decretorum*, 52, 55, 81.

¹⁶⁴ 31st General Congregation, *Decree on Prayer*, no. 11.

¹⁶⁵ Especially the *Decree on Spiritual Formation*.

background which inspires the whole *Decree on Prayer* upon which we are briefly commenting.

Highly original rule

We cannot extend our comparison of the Ignatian law on prayer with the present *Decree on Prayer* in all its aspects, such as its Christocentrism, its compenetration with the biblical and liturgical spirit, and its community dimension. We must limit ourselves, as we did in the first part of our historical study of the Ignatian law, to the three elements of it which we consider original in St. Ignatius, and which we wish to show to be contemporaneously relevant: the co-responsibility of the subject and superior in the personal prayer of the subject, the method of prayer left open to the most diverse personal adaptations, and the duration without any connotation of the method or manner of prayer and equally open to those adaptations. Only we would add, to facilitate the comparison with this recent decree, that those three elements have their unity and their way of complementing one another, since each of them requires and conditions the others. Thus the three compenetrating elements constitute one single and highly original rule or law on prayer. Since both the superior and the subject participate, each in his own manner, in a shared responsibility, room is left for some universal rule in regard to the duration or daily measure of formal prayer. This measure, however, should not entail a determined method of prayer, but should be a simple quantitative time, a time taken as a point of departure or universal reference for the personal dialogue involving the initiative of the subject and the responsible direction of the superior. But this rule about prayer, if it is made, ought to be a rule left entirely open to personal adaptation in regard to the method of prayer and the employment of the time designated for it.

As we begin to compare the Ignatian legislation on prayer with the 31st General Congregation's *Decree on Prayer*, the first thing that stands out, already in the introduction of the *Decree*, is the first Ignatian element, the co-responsibility of the subject and superior in the subject's prayer. For there we are told that amid the present post-conciliar circumstances of renewal in the Church, "the General Congregation considers that it must recall the importance of prayer and propose specific orientations on the forms and conditions of prayer in the Society, in order that both the superiors and individual

members may be able to ponder better their personal responsibilities in God's presence."¹⁶⁶ There it is seen that that co-responsibility of subjects and superiors stands out above everything else which in the *Decree* is referred to the forms and conditions of prayer, since that co-responsibility is their ultimate object. Moreover, the two following paragraphs of the *Decree*, the one on our religious and apostolic vocation (no. 2) and the other on the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius as a spiritual patrimony of that same vocation (no. 3), have no other aim than to awaken that responsibility in all Jesuits.¹⁶⁷

An important paragraph

The next paragraph of the *Decree* is very important for our purpose because it treats of the unity and necessary interlocking of prayer and action. That is, it deals with what we called the homogeneity between the life of prayer and that of action, characteristic of the ancient and Ignatian tradition of "contemplation in action." And although here a "continuous" prayer is spoken of as distinct from formal prayer,¹⁶⁸ there are also mentioned "praise, petition, thanksgiving, self-offering, spiritual joy, and peace which ought to penetrate simultaneously prayer and action, and confer on our life its definite unity."¹⁶⁹ We believe, then, that in this last phrase—and in the example of Christ who "was praying always to the Father, often alone through the night or in the desert" (no. 4), we find sufficient hints about the method of praying briefly but frequently during the action which St. Ignatius as founder and spiritual father of his men kept always before his eyes and in his letters, and which he described with a variety of expressions similar to those which the *Decree* uses here.

Moreover, this is corroborated, if we remember that that method is the more practical means characteristic of a spiritual tradition which is very ancient and also very contemporaneous. This tradition hopes to find both a renewal in the rules of religious on prayer and an understanding of the historical sources of these rules, precisely by starting from this vital unity or homogeneity of prayer and action. That is, it seeks the renewal according to the light of the gospel ideal of "praying always" and in every place, and not

¹⁶⁶ *Decree on Prayer*, no. 1.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 4.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, nos. 2-3.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

merely according to a clock or through mere obedience to a rule about prayer. For in the light of this highest ideal, everything, even a universal law about prayer, is a means which should be used precisely to the extent in which it is conducive, for each person and each community, to that ideal. From this an important conclusion follows in regard to the parsimony shown by the *Constitutions* and by the *Decree on Prayer* of the 31st General Congregation in prescribing any rule which is universal and which rather rigidly determines the method and duration of prayer. That parsimony does not sacrifice prayer to action or fall into the heresy of activism. Neither does it sacrifice apostolic action to a strict time-schedule which sets the time and method of prayer and which could become a kind of taboo. Rather, that parsimony endeavors, as the decree states, that we may be "strengthened and guided towards action in our prayer while our action in turn urges us to pray."¹⁷⁰

The next two paragraphs of the *Decree* refer to the liturgy (no. 5) and to Holy Scripture and tradition in our life of prayer (no. 6). This is an evident repercussion in the *Decree* of the contemporary liturgical and biblical movements in the Church, and it brings up to date and enriches the spiritual tradition of the Society of Jesus. The Society could not do otherwise if she wished to "think with the Church" of today.¹⁷¹ In what interests us now, it is fitting to note that one effect of those movements in the Church in this *Decree*, has been the amplitude and variety of methods of prayer which characterize it. This variety of methods was a characteristic feature of the Ignatian legislation, but it had almost been forgotten after such a long time of speaking almost exclusively about the hour of mental, morning, and continuous prayer. There is another effect on which we shall comment later when we treat the prescriptive paragraphs of the *Decree*. There we shall speak about the breviary as "a prayer of the hours" and its continuity with the Eucharistic prayer.

It is interesting to observe that the justification of this renewed interest of the present Society in the liturgy and the Scriptures is also apostolic.¹⁷² The spirit of this *Decree* is, therefore, like the

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ Cf. *SpEx*, (352). See also *ActRSJ*, XIII (1956-1960), especially pp. 641-646.

¹⁷² *Decree on Prayer*, no. 6.

spirit of St. Ignatius' *Constitutions*, a spirit primarily apostolic. It facilitates, as St. Ignatius also sought to do with his legislation on prayer, the homogeneity or vital unity of prayer and of apostolic action, by bringing us to see how apostolic action requires prayer and leads to it.

Paragraph 7 treats the responsibility of each Jesuit in his own life of prayer. It is, from our point of view, central and capital in the whole decree, because it attributes the primacy of importance not to any human law, but to "the law of charity towards God and men which the Holy Spirit has written in our hearts. The charity of Christ urges us to personal prayer and no human person can dispense us from that urgency" (no. 7)—although dispensation can be given from a human rule of prayer. To this first expression about the responsibility of each one in his life of prayer another is added here in respect to the method of prayer. St. Ignatius pointed out "how vital it is for each of his men to seek that manner and kind of prayer which will better aid him progressively to find God and to treat intimately with Him."¹⁷⁴ Then, in treating of time, the third element of legislation on prayer, the *Decree* adds in a third place and as a new emphasis on personal responsibility, its esteem of everyone's keeping "some time sacred in which, leaving all else aside, he strives to find God" (no. 7). If account is taken of what was said above concerning the personal search for one's own manner and kind of prayer, the passage must be interpreted to mean a time of prayer without any other connotation imposed by rule. That is, no rule requires that the time should be either continuous and at a single period of the day or several briefer periods distributed through the day. Therefore, the reasons are now clear which lead us to consider this paragraph of the *Decree on Prayer* as central and essential. In it are found incarnated and brought up to date the three elements of the Ignatian legislation on prayer—the co-responsibility of the subject and superior, the method or manner of praying left open to highly diverse personal adaptations, and the time left similarly open. Both contemporaneous relevance and Ignatian originality are clearly evident in this paragraph.

¹⁷³ Cf. footnote 149.

¹⁷⁴ *Decree on Prayer*, no. 7.

Conditions of prayer

Paragraph 8 treats of the conditions of prayer: abnegation, peace and interior silence, and spiritual discernment in exterior activities. This paragraph insists anew on the unity and vital homogeneity between the life of prayer and apostolic action in the Society, by indicating that the conditions for prayer are also those for action.¹⁷⁵ Let us mark here a relation between abnegation and the practice of brief but frequent prayers during the day which we scarcely hinted at in the first part of our study when St. Ignatius is presented to us in the *Memoriale* of Da Câmara as saying that abnegation and mortification bring it about that one mortified man "would easily accomplish more prayer in a quarter of an hour than another who is not mortified would do in two hours."¹⁷⁶ He does not recommend mortification for itself, but as a condition of a brief but genuine prayer, a prayer which moreover may be frequent. That is why Da Câmara concludes by saying that "with this the Father praised prayer highly, as I have mentioned many times, especially that prayer which is made by bringing God before our eyes."¹⁷⁷ But, turning to what the *Decree* tells us about the conditions of prayer as conditions of life, it is evident that at least two of those conditions, "peace and interior silence" and "the spiritual discernment by which a man is willing to listen to God" (no. 8), suggest to us rather the practice of a formal prayer which is frequent during the day and not merely concentrated in a single period of it. Without denying the value and necessity of "intense" times of prayer, the *Decree* insists on a life of prayer which coextends with the life of apostolic action. Thus, it suggests to us that other method of formal prayer which is equally esteemed and necessary for the lasting practice of the "intense" time of prayer, and also for a life of action which is more homogeneous with the life of prayer.

Paragraph 9, which closes this introductory part of the *Decree*, more expressly takes up the responsibility of the superior in the prayer of his subjects—a responsibility which is shared by superior and subjects alike. The *Decree* affirms that "superiors must actually lead the way in this matter of growth in prayer, inspiring by their

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 8.

¹⁷⁶ *FN*, I, 677.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

example, helping their men, encouraging them, and aiding their progress" (no. 9). Further, "it is the superior's function to promote the prayer life of the entire community as well as the individual's, and to promote those conditions which favor prayer" (*Ibid.*). It should be noticed, too, that by delegation the spiritual fathers share in this responsibility. For the *Decree* states: "Spiritual fathers, as well as superiors, show the true charity of Christ towards those placed in their charge when they guide them and aid them in this art of prayer, at once most difficult and divine" (*Ibid.*).

Here the introductory or declarative part of the decree ends. We have limited ourselves to pointing out in it the explicit presence of the three elements of the Ignatian law which we studied above: the co-responsibility of the subject and superior in the prayer of the former, and the method and time of prayer open to any personal adaptation whatever. In passing we have allowed ourselves to point out places in which the *Decree* can be interpreted in the line of brief but frequent prayers distributed throughout the day. But we have not done this in an exclusive manner, since that method of praying, so proper to our vocation, does not exclude the method which is more extended and concentrated in one period. Rather, in our opinion that method of short reiterated prayers both prepares the way for the lengthier prayer and supplements it.

A common prayer

The second part of the *Decree* is the preceptive section. It begins with the statement: "Liturgical celebrations, especially those in which the community worships in a group, and above all the celebration of the Eucharist, should mean much to us" (no. 10). It is recommended that this celebration be daily, "even if the faithful are unable to be present. . . ." Concelebration may be had "in our houses when allowed by the proper authorities, while each priest shall always retain his right to celebrate Mass individually" (*Ibid.*). Here it appears that even in liturgical prayer the Society does not wish to demand more of each one than the Church in regard to his manner of prayer. As is evident here, however, the Society has manifested the same preference as the Church of today for certain forms of liturgical prayer.

At this point and in the light of the study of the Ignatian legislation and in order to show its contemporary relevance, we cite

the next sentences of the *Decree*: "Priests themselves extend to the different hours of the day the praise and thanksgiving of the Eucharistic celebration by reciting the Divine Office (*Presbyterorum Ordinis*, no. 5). Hence our priests should try to pray attentively (*Sacrosanctum Concilium*, no. 90) and at a suitable time (*Ibid.*, no. 94) that wonderful song of praise (*Ibid.*, no. 84) which is truly the prayer of Christ and that of His Body to the Father (*Ibid.*). In one of the first drafts of the *Decree*, previous to those which were discussed and voted on in the hall of the General Congregation, it was stated that the different hours of the Divine Office could be integrated with the personal prayer and the examens imposed by rule. In the final text, nothing is stated about this procedure, but it is evident that it is one of the possible adaptations of the schedule of personal prayer which fits in perfectly with the explicit recommendation of the breviary as "a prayer of the hours" by which priests "extend to the different hours of the day the praises and thanksgivings which take place in the Eucharistic celebration" (no. 10). For this liturgical principle has an obvious application to personal prayer: it too ought to be extended to the different hours of the day. If we take the liturgy seriously in our life, it must be for us a school of continuous prayer. The liturgical principle just indicated ought likewise to be applied to our personal prayer and prevent us from considering it finished at the end of the period assigned to concentrated daily prayer by rule. If not even the monks, who are spoken of as consecrated to the liturgical *opus Dei*, can identify their prayer-life with their schools of liturgical life, much less can we, "contemplatives in action," identify our prayer-life with a schedule of prayer by rule. The monks ought to consider the schedule of liturgical services which the rule imposes, not as an end, but as a means; nor may they forget the other means of short but frequent prayers during the Divine Office as well as during their personal activity. Neither, then, ought we to forget this last means, so Ignatian, as we saw, of "contemplation in action." In other words, either liturgical prayer or personal prayer, when they are concentrated in one solitary period of the day, are still a means. And if either liturgical prayer or personal prayer are distributed into opportune periods throughout the whole day of personal activity, they still remain a means. The true end is the Gospel precept to "pray always" and in every place. This end is

so elevated that no one ought to neglect the means which tradition offers us to attain it. Much less ought anyone neglect that means of short but frequent prayers throughout the day which is precisely the more practical means, the means which approaches more closely to that ideal.

Necessity of prayer

Paragraphs 11 and 12, the next two in the definitive *Decree*, were the most discussed in the Congregation, even down to their last details, undoubtedly because they deal expressly with the rule or traditional usage which was introduced after St. Ignatius and from the time of Borgia: the prescribed hour of daily prayer. Because of this discussion, which began even before the first session of the General Congregation and lasted until the last moments of the second session, it will be best to begin by pointing out what is not said in these two paragraphs. We readily notice these omissions when we compare this *Decree* with the earlier post-Ignatian legislation. The first thing we observe in this negative line is the principal affirmation, one which characterizes the whole *Decree*: "The General Congregation, recognizing the value of current developments in the spiritual life, does not intend to impose upon all indiscriminately a precisely defined universal norm for the manner and length of prayer," although the Congregation expressly "wishes to remind every Jesuit that personal daily prayer is an absolute necessity" (no. 11). That is the reason why "our rule of an hour's prayer is . . . to be adapted so that each Jesuit, guided by his superior, takes into account his particular circumstances and needs, in the light of that discerning love which St. Ignatius clearly presupposed in the *Constitutions*" (*Ibid.*). Something equivalent is expressed in the following paragraph 12, which treats explicitly of the scholastics and brothers in formation. In order that "they will know how to apply the rule of discerning love which St. Ignatius prescribed for his sons after the period of their formation . . . the Society retains the practice of an hour and a half as the time for prayer, Mass, and thanksgiving. Each man should be guided by his spiritual father as he seeks that form of prayer in which he can best advance in the Lord."

Later on we shall treat of the difference of expression which the decree employs about the formed and those still in formation. For

the present, we continue our observations in the same "negative line" of pointing out what is not mentioned in the *Decree*, although it had been contained in the post-Ignatian law. This new *Decree* speaks of the examens of conscience (no. 13), spiritual reading (no. 14), community prayer (no. 15), and the remote preparation of prayer (nos. 9 and 12). But it always does this without precise determination of time or concrete manner. It does not give any determination such that it cannot be adapted to each one in the manner which has been indicated in regard to the rule about the hour of prayer or to the usage of the hour and a half. Consequently, General Congregation has been faithful to its own principle that it, "recognizing the value of current developments in the spiritual life, does not intend to impose upon all indiscriminately a precisely defined universal norm for the manner and length of prayer" (no. 11). For that reason, whenever it speaks of a time or manner of prayer, it avoids doing so in a manner that would impose "a precisely defined universal norm," as had been done in the post-Ignatian law which was in force until now. Instead, it speaks of a rule or traditional usage which is "to be adapted so that each Jesuit, guided by his superior, takes into account his particular circumstances and needs, in the light of that discerning love which St. Ignatius clearly presupposed in the *Constitutions*," so that each man may "be guided by his spiritual father as he seeks that form of prayer in which he can best advance in the Lord" (no. 12). There it clearly appears that the General Congregation has always in view the responsibility of the subject who seeks constantly his method and way of prayer and the responsibility of the superior who constantly discerns the results of that personal search and adapts any rule or universal usage of prayer to those results.

Given the importance of this principle of adaptation, which is not the long-known dispensation proper to every human rule but rather something peculiar to this *Decree on Prayer*, the General Congregation, "recognizing the value of current developments in the spiritual life," repeats the principle several times.

After stating that "The Society counts on her men after their formation to be truly 'spiritual men who have advanced in the way of Christ our Lord so as to run along this way,' men who in this matter of prayer are led chiefly by that 'rule . . . which discerning love gives to each one' (*Constitutions*, 582), guided by

the advice of his spiritual father and the approval of his superior,'” the *Decree* expressly reminds all that they “should recall that the prayer in which God communicates himself more intimately is the better prayer, whether vocal or mental, meditative reading, affective prayer or contemplation” (no. 11). We have seen that the Congregation also repeats the same principle of adaptation for the scholastics and brothers in formation.

Two reasons for adaptation

There are two reasons for this principle of adaptation. The first is the contemporary spiritual evolution in which the Society is involved just like the whole Church. The second reason, more proper to the Society, is that rule of discreet charity which, in its way, continues to be the spirit of all the rules and universal usages of the Society. The same *Decree* says that about those already formed, as we just saw; and in its own manner it repeats it about those in formation, when it says of them that “During the entire time of their formation they should be carefully helped to grow in prayer and a sense of spiritual responsibility towards a mature interior life, in which they will know how to apply the rule of discerning love which St. Ignatius prescribed for his sons after the period of their formation” (no. 12, 1°).

In this reason of discreet charity, there is a slight difference of expression, though it is of fundamental significance, between the adaptation of the rule of the hour of prayer in the case of the formed and the usage devoting an hour and a half to prayer, Mass, and thanksgiving in the case of those in formation, whether scholastics or brothers. For those already formed, there is a division supposing that the rule of the hour must be *adapted* to each one (no. 11), while for those in formation the rightful supposition is that the usage of the hour and a half must be preserved (no. 12, 2°), although without denying for that reason the more universal principle that “our rule of an hour’s prayer is to be adapted so that each Jesuit . . . takes into account his particular circumstances and needs,” without distinction of class or grade. The *Decree* gives the reason for this slight but fundamentally significant difference of expression about the formed and not yet formed members. It states that in this matter of prayer, the formed should be men “led chiefly by that rule . . . which discerning love gives to each one” (no. 11),

while it says of those in formation that "to foster this growth" toward mastery of that rule of discreet charity "the practice of an hour and a half as the time for prayer, Mass, and thanksgiving" should be retained (no. 12, 2°).

By expressing the Ignatian rule of discreet charity in its own way amid the present historical circumstances, the 31st General Congregation has worked out a genuine *aggiornamento* of it for the formed as well as for those in formation, although not in the same manner for both.

Personal responsibility

In what refers to the daily time of prayer, a certain difference is maintained, as St. Ignatius already did, in favor of those already formed; but this difference has been expressed in another way more in agreement with the present-day circumstances of renewal. Whether or not to retain the difference was a point discussed at great length, but in the end a way was sought to retain the sane tradition of the hour of prayer, by eliminating from it that which answered the needs of past epochs but was no longer timely now, and by making capital of all the good which it had given to the Society and to the Church. That tradition of almost four centuries had great weight in the Society, and in addition it had been followed by many other religious institutes and even by the Church.¹⁷⁸ But it was not so important that the 31st General Congregation should retain its obligation "as a precisely defined universal norm for the manner and length of prayer" (no. 11). Instead, from now on the rule of the hour of prayer for the formed or the practice of the hour and a half, including Mass and thanksgiving for those in formation can and should be adapted to each one and applied. The true aim is to favor among all the development of the life of prayer, and in particular among those in formation, to foster the sense of responsibility as something growing ever more personal.

The Congregation desired to facilitate in the best way this adaptation of that daily time "so that each Jesuit . . . takes into account his particular circumstances and needs, in the light of that discerning love which St. Ignatius clearly presupposed in the

¹⁷⁸ Code of Canon Law, canons 125 (for clerics), 595 (for religious) and 1367 (for seminarians).

Constitutions" (no. 11). Therefore it does not treat of time which is also qualitatively specified in regard to the method of prayer, such as mental, continuous, and in the morning. Instead of this procedure, which was used in the post-Ignatian law, the Congregation treats of time purely as time for prayer, without any connotation of a manner of prayer, not even that of its being continuous or integral. In this respect the Congregation has returned to what St. Ignatius' text allows. It even goes beyond him, since for those in formation he had specified the Hours of our Lady as a point of departure. This was, of course, easily dispensable or adaptable to each one. The *Decree* observes that the communities where those in formation live "are ordinarily more tightly structured and larger in number," and therefore it prescribes that "the daily order should always indicate clearly a portion of the day fixed by superiors within which prayer and preparation for it may have their time securely established" (no. 12, 3°). This statement means, not an imposition of a continuous and integral time within a determined period of the day, as the post-Ignatian law sought, but a mere margin of security for the whole, or a help for those who, in the large communities, need that external circumstance of silence and solitude.

In what refers to the manner of prayer, we have returned in fact and in law to the plentitude of the Ignatian concept. For the present *Decree* does not impose on anyone any determined manner of prayer. It expressly says that "the prayer in which God communicates Himself more intimately is the better prayer, whether vocal or mental, meditative reading, affective prayer or contemplation" (no. 11). Moreover, the *Decree* has gone a little farther than St. Ignatius, since for those in formation he did use a determined manner of prayer as a starting point, while the present *Decree* tells them that "each man should be guided by his spiritual father as he seeks that form of prayer in which he can best advance in the Lord" (no. 12, 2°). It should be observed, too, that if the 31st General Congregation has prescindend from mention of the Office of the Virgin, the reason was not one of lower esteem for vocal prayer or for the "prayer of the hours," as had been the case in the post-Ignatian legislation. For the Congregation has mentioned both these forms of prayer together and with esteem equal to that which

until now was shown for the prayer termed mental. Rather, the reason was that in this matter it has shown itself as especially "recognizing the value of current developments in the spiritual life" (no. 11). Thus those in formation have in this point been assimilated, in regard to personal prayer, entirely with those already formed. The only difference retained is that which the Church places between priests and those who are not priests.¹⁷⁹

Finally, in what refers to St. Ignatius' fundamental principle, the co-responsibility of the subject and superior in the subject's life of prayer, the 31st General Congregation has returned to it several times—not only in the decree on prayer, but also in many others, as for example, those on obedience, common life, and the selection of ministries.

We are able then to conclude our comparison between the Ignatian legislation on prayer in the Society of Jesus and the recent *Decree on Prayer* by affirming that the three typical elements of that Ignatian law, the co-responsibility of subjects and superiors, the manner or method of prayer left open to the most diverse personal adaptations (always under the spiritual authority and direction of the superior or of his ordinary delegate), and the time of prayer left similarly open, are seen as prevailing in the *Decree on Prayer* of this General Congregation. They also appear as contemporaneously relevant.

Conclusion

We think that we have been sufficiently clear in the course of our work, both in its first or historical part, which investigated the genesis and essence of the Ignatian legislation on prayer in the Society, and in the second part, when we treated the contemporary relevance of that Ignatian law in the light of the *Decree on Prayer* of the recent General Congregation. Hence we feel ourselves dispensed from making a resume of our conclusions.

But since we have prescinded, in general, from the post-Ignatian legislation which prevailed up to the promulgation of the recent *Decree*, we believe it opportune to refer to it at the end of our study on the Ignatian law, in order to see its place in the *Decree*.

¹⁷⁹ *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy*, no. 97.

Until a short while before the 31st General Congregation began, and also during its course almost until the voting on this theme of prayer which occurred on the very last days, many regarded the two laws, the Ignatian and the post-Ignatian, as irreconcilable—if not in their spirit, at least in their letter and in the mentalities they represented. Without reaching, like some of the historians whom we quoted at the beginning of this study, an extreme position of putting St. Ignatius and St. Francis Borgia in opposition, many delegates found themselves unable to see any way in which the two laws could be reconciled. Hence they thought it necessary to opt for one law or the other, to impose or not to impose a period of time.

In our opinion, the less insight there is into the substance of the one law or the other, the easier does it become to advance justifying support for an option so radical, if not an opposition. If instead of considering the spirit and original characteristic elements of St. Ignatius' legislation on prayer, attention is paid merely to its letter, it appears impossible to integrate his statement about the formed Jesuits, "it does not seem expedient to give them any rule other than that which discreet charity dictates to them" (*Constitutions*, no. 582) with a rule which does impose on them at least one hour of daily prayer. This impossibility sharply increases if attention is paid only to a rule imposing "upon all indiscriminately a precisely defined universal norm for the manner and length of prayer"—a rule accompanied, moreover, by so many other "rules" about other "hours" and other methods of prayer, such as litanies, spiritual reading, the rosary, and the like.

With the discussion based on terms of the duration of prayer, and a duration in which the method is prescribed as being continuous, integral, mental, and made in the morning, it becomes difficult indeed to escape from a radical option between one law, the Ignatian, which does not determine any time for the formed, and another law, the post-Ignatian, which determines that time to the last detail. In this form the tension is carried to the extreme because the option seems to be between "nothing" and "all." To this difficulty still another is added: he who chooses for no rule in prayer for the formed appears to choose for nothing of formal prayer. And he who chooses for a rule on formal prayer so determined and

luxuriant, appears to choose for another manner of living, one more contemplative and less active.

The General Congregation brought the first occasion when the proponents of these two extreme tendencies found themselves forced to carry on a dialogue about this problem in an exhaustive way and for a period of time relatively long—the two lengthy sessions and the period of over a year between them. As a result, the delegates came not only to a better understanding of the Ignatian law in its fundamental elements, but also to a true understanding of a post-Ignatian tradition of the daily hour of prayer, a tradition as worthy of being taken into account and respected as is the Ignatian law itself, and as presently relevant, too.

We should say that, in order to arrive at a positive result for both sides, it was necessary to overcome the over-simplification of characterizing the Ignatian legislation as being a mere negation of all time of prayer imposed by rule on the formed. It was also necessary to overcome reluctance to see, beneath the post-Ignatian legislation, a tradition which rose above the defects of expression in that later legislation and was another expression, historically different from the Ignatian, of the same discreet charity of St. Ignatius.

In our opinion, the rediscovery of the positive element of the Ignatian legislation has been what made possible the revaluation of the tradition of the hour of prayer. For this rediscovery has enabled us to make prominent in the interpretation of the Ignatian legislation, not a merely negative element, the non-imposition of a fixed duration of prayer for the formed, but the three positive elements: 1) the co-responsibility of the subject and superior in the subject's prayer-life, 2) the method of praying left open and adaptable to each subject, directed and governed by his immediate superior, and 3) the length of prayer left similarly open. From all this has also emerged the possibility of integrating the Ignatian legislation on prayer with the tradition of an hour of prayer, when that tradition is purified of everything which makes the aforementioned co-responsibility difficult or indiscreetly lessens it. For the fundamental Ignatian principle of the co-responsibility of the subject and superior does not exclude all law or rule of prayer, but only that rule which makes the persons of subject and superiors

infantile and irresponsible, or makes the subjects rebel at a prayer-structure which is merely juridical and little flexible to personal adaptations.

Toward a synthesis

The experience immediately before the General Congregation, with its multiple and varied defections, personal calamities, irresponsibilities, and rebellions against all structure, not only within the Society of Jesus, but in the Church itself and in human society, was an awakening; it demanded that we look at what was fundamental and not bog down in discussing what is merely accessory. The result has been our discovery, in the Ignatian legislation as well as in the post-Ignatian tradition of prayer, of the values both of which are contemporaneously relevant and can be integrated.

In this integration, the Ignatian legislation with its fundamental elements, co-responsibility of subject and superior, method of prayer open to the most diverse adaptations, and time of prayer similarly open, has displayed a very important role. For that reason we have made those elements the object of a special study. But also very important has been the working presence of that post-Ignatian tradition of the hour of prayer, once it was freed, in the light of the Ignatian legislation, from all that pertained to the past and made it outdated and unacceptable.

We believe that that is the positive judgment which the *Decree on Prayer* of the 31st General Congregation merits: after more than four centuries of discussion among many men of good will, it has integrated an Ignatian legislation opened to the future of the Society of Jesus with a tradition which was begun after the death of St. Ignatius and has only now reached its perfect expression.

We believe when all juridical preference for one manner of prayer (such as mental, continuous, matutinal, and the like) over any other manner disappears, a new era of prayer-life opens up for the Society, just as it did for the Church after the promulgation of the *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy* of Vatican Council II. It can well be an era "as though concluding four centuries of the Society's history just after the close of the Ecumenical Vatican Council II, and beginning a new era of your militant religious life with a fresh mentality and with new proposals"¹⁸⁰—if we may

¹⁸⁰ Paul VI, Discourse at the close of the 31st General Congregation.

thus apply to this most important aspect of the Society's prayer-life those words which Pope Paul VI spoke about the work of the General Congregation. Wherefore, as Father General Arrupe said to the whole Society, we should not think "that the 31st General Congregation broke with our past history and our living tradition, so that everything must be discovered afresh,"¹⁸¹ but neither should we look "for simple ready-made conclusions from the Congregation and a complete definitive solution to the serious problems put before it."¹⁸²

The work which awaits us all, and which the decree on prayer of the Society demands of us, is "the searching and testing by many manners" of praying,¹⁸³ whether privately or in the community, to the end of enriching and updating our already abundant tradition of prayer. For that reason we say that, in our opinion, a new era of a life of prayer has been opened for the Society of Jesus.

In this new era, thanks to the *Decree on Prayer* of the recent General Congregation, the Ignatian spirit will be present and operative in us, and also the post-Ignatian tradition. We have characterized it with this epithet, not in order to oppose it to the Ignatian spirit, but to indicate a real difference of time which nevertheless does not involve a spiritual discontinuity. We presuppose here, as we said above, that what is original and contemporaneously relevant in the Ignatian legislation on prayer in the Society is better recognized, and that the post-Ignatian tradition will be freed from whatever would "impose on all indiscriminately a precisely defined universal norm for the manner and length of prayer,"¹⁸⁴ a norm or rule in which that post-Ignatian tradition was embodied for many centuries.

¹⁸¹ Father General Arrupe, in the letter to the whole Society, cited above in footnote 3.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

¹⁸³ Letter of St. Ignatius to the Duke of Gandia, *EppIgn*, II, 236.

¹⁸⁴ 31st General Congregation, *Decree on Prayer*, no. 11.

JESUITS GO HOME: THE ANTI-JESUIT MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES, 1830-1860

in the bad old days

DONALD F. CROSBY, S.J.

"IF EVER THERE WAS a body of men who merited damnation on earth and in Hell it is the society of Loyola's." So wrote John Adams in 1816 to his friend Thomas Jefferson. Adams reflected a tradition of anti-Jesuitism which went back to the very foundations of the American nation. Fearing the subversive influence of the Jesuits, the Massachusetts General Court passed a law in 1647, a mere twenty-seven years after the establishment of the colony, which was designed to prevent the "secret underminings and solicitations of the Jesuitical order."¹ Entry of the Jesuits into the colony was strictly prohibited, with violators receiving severe punishment. Feeling against the sons of Loyola ran high throughout the Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary periods, reaching a climax in the years 1830 to 1860, an era sometimes called "The Age of No Popery."

The sectional and social conflicts which arose during the administration of Andrew Jackson (1828-1836) spawned a thirty-year period of religious antagonism unparalleled in American history. Anti-Catholic societies and publications flourished, as nativist and Protestant groups organized to break the power of Rome. At least nine anti-Jesuit tracts received wide publicity during this time. One

¹ Gustavus Myers, *History of Bigotry in the United States* (New York: Random House, 1943), p. 81.

of the first to appear was an anonymous volume entitled *Helen Mulgrave; or, Jesuit Executorship: being Passages in the Life of a Seceder from Romanism*, published in New York in 1834. The tale of the "ex-Jesuit" and "ex-Catholic" was a frequently repeated one which seldom failed to find a believing audience. In the following year there appeared a work of equal interest by Richard Baxter entitled *Jesuit Juggling: Forty Popish Frauds Detected and Disclosed*. Who were these Jesuits, Baxter asked? Answering his own question, he asserted that they were "Men who know no authority but the supreme pontifical mandate; who are united to mankind by none of the natural bonds of relationship; who have no motive of action but personal indulgence." In short, they were ". . . the enemies of all that portion of the human family who will not submit to their personal despotism."²

One of the most effective of the anti-Jesuit books was one written by a true ex-Jesuit, an articulate writer named Andrew Steinmetz. Steinmetz' rather melancholy (and evidently accurate) recollections of his Jesuit days appeared in a popular volume entitled, *The Novitiate, or a Year Among the English Jesuits*. Replete with detailed drawings of the Jesuits' instruments of mortification and a surprisingly accurate account of the Jesuit's daily life, the publication gave the reader the "inside story" of the life of the Jesuits. "The Jesuit is a *picked* man," Steinmetz concluded, and not one to be taken lightly.³ Steinmetz' work offered correct information about the daily order of the houses of formation, the recreational activities, the Novitiate readings, etc., but was marred by a tendency to find a sinister motivation behind every event, even the most commonplace.

At the end of the 1830's Isaac Taylor, the noted philologist, scientist, and philosopher, published a more restrained indictment of the Society entitled *Loyola: or Jesuitism in its Rudiments*. More intelligent and objective than most of the anti-Jesuit books in this Age of No Popery, Taylor's piece outlined the works and writings of the order as he understood them. He contended that the Jesuits

² Richard Baxter, *Jesuit Juggling: Forty Popish Frauds Detected and Disclosed* (New York: Craighead and Allen, 1835), p. x.

³ Andrew Steinmetz, *A Year Among the English Jesuits* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1846), p. 5.

were secret conspirators in a plan to capture men's minds; in developing this thesis he placed little emphasis on their supposed political machinations, viewing the order mainly as a spiritual movement.⁴

Lecturers and textbooks

Of the numerous anti-Jesuit lecturers who toured the land, only one deserves comment here. He was Joseph F. Berg, who lectured with success in the Eastern cities during the early 1850's. His best known address, given in Philadelphia in 1852, outlined the "subversive" and "cruel" history of the Jesuits. He characterized them as men with "a will strong as iron, and a heart as cold as marble and as hard."⁵ The speaker drew enthusiastic applause when he noted that Ignatius Loyola's broken leg "remained crooked; an apt representation and emblem of the crooked ways of his followers, from that day to the present."⁶

Even the textbooks of the period showed a strong anti-Jesuit bias. One of the most popular history manuals of the time, Charles A. Goodrich's *Outlines of History*, said that the Popes were using the Jesuits to persecute Protestants, capture Asia and South America, and eventually gain control of the whole world.⁷ It is interesting to note, however, that all the contemporary history texts, even those most hostile to Catholicism, had good things to say about the Paraguay Reductions.

Certainly the most famous and effective anti-Jesuit polemicist of the times was Samuel F. B. Morse, the inventor of the telegraph. A native of New England and raised in an atmosphere of anti-Catholicism, Morse nevertheless seems to have taken no notice of the No Popery movement until he became the victim of an unfortunate incident in Rome. In the Jubilee Year of 1850 Morse happened to be in Rome while making the traditional "grand tour" of the Continent. One day, while watching a papal procession, his

⁴ Isaac Taylor, *Loyola: Jesuitism and its Rudiments* (New York: Robert Carter and Bros., 1841), p. v.

⁵ Joseph Berg, *A Lecture Delivered in the Music Fund Hall* (Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson, 1850), pp. 16-17.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁷ Marie Fell, *Foundations of Nativism in American Textbooks* (Washington: Catholic University of America, 1941), p. 55.

hat was rudely knocked off his head by an arrogant Papal soldier who cursed and taunted him insultingly. Enraged, Morse vowed never to relent in his attacks on Romanism. His special target was the Jesuits, whom he castigated in the second most widely read anti-Catholic work of the period, *Foreign Conspiracy Against the Liberties of the United States*. Echoing the widespread fear of foreign domination so strong at that time, he contended that the Holy Alliance, led by Catholic Austria, was using the Jesuits to undermine American liberty:

She has her Jesuit missionaries traveling through the land; she has supplied them with money, and has furnished a fountain for a regular supply. [Austria's agents were the Jesuits:] They are an ecclesiastical order, proverbial through the world for cunning, duplicity, and total want to moral principles; an order so skilled in all the arts of deception that even in Catholic countries . . . it became intolerable, and the people required its suppression.⁸

The Jesuits, stated Morse, planned to gain control of the nation by cleverly manipulating the votes of the millions of Catholic immigrants then flooding the Eastern cities. In this plan, the Irish Catholics, of course, would be especially useful. What made the Jesuits especially dangerous in Morse's eyes was their opposition to freedom. For the present they found it useful to hide their tyrannical views, he said, but when they came to power, they would quickly destroy all human freedom. Morse was also suspicious of the methods he felt the Jesuits were using, methods involving the use of physical brutality, mob action, and "priest police." The author "proved" all his contentions by citing a number of remarkable letters supposedly written by Jesuits themselves.⁹ These letters showed how the Jesuits opposed freedom, plotted the overthrow of the government, and cynically took advantage of the generosity, liberality, and hospitality of the American people.

Morse's work was exceptionally well received, and was followed by a second opus, *Imminent Danger to the Free Institutions of the United States Through Foreign Immigration*. Strongly anti-Jesuit throughout, it failed to achieve the popularity of *Foreign Conspiracy*, probably because it repeated so much of the material con-

⁸ Samuel F. Morse, *Foreign Conspiracy Against the Liberties of the United States* (New York: Leavitt, Lord, 1835), pp. 21-22.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 73-76.

tained in that earlier work. The temper of the book, however, was even more severe than its predecessor. For example:

They [the Jesuits] have already sent their chains, and oh! to our shame be it spoken, you are fastening them upon a *sleeping* victim. Americans, you are marked for their prey, not by foreign bayonets, but by *weapons surer of effecting the conquest of liberty*, than all the munitions of physical combat in the military or naval storehouses of Europe. Will you not awake to the apprehension of the reality and extent of your danger? Will you be longer deceived by the pensioned Jesuits, who having surrounded your press, are now using it all over the country to stifle the cries of danger, and lull your fears by attributing your alarm to a false cause? Up! Up! I beseech you. Awake! To your posts! Let the tocsin sound from Maine to Louisiana. Fly to protect the vulnerable places of your Constitution and laws. Place your guards; you will need them; and quickly too—And first, shut your gates.”¹⁰

The middle 1840's witnessed a new form of anti-Jesuitism: the fear that the Jesuits were taking over the West. To understand this fear, one must keep in mind that the nation was rapidly expanding westward, and Americans of that day placed the highest hopes on the newly settled western lands. Any threat to the development of that area was clearly a threat to the good of the entire nation. When the Jesuits began a rapid expansion of their schools in the Mississippi Valley, many Protestants viewed the action as a menace to the nation's safety. A group called the “Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education in the West,” formed in Boston in 1843, devoted much of its time to stemming the westward advance of Jesuitism.¹¹ One clergyman told his congregation that the country's greatest battle with the Jesuits would be waged in the West. To counter them, “We must build College against College . . . All experience has confirmed our anticipation, that America is a field on which the open, manly, Christian discipline of a Protestant College must annihilate the rival system of Jesuitical education.”¹² The leading religious newspaper of the day, *The American Protestant Vindicator*, warned its readers that Jesuits in the West often travelled in subtle disguise:

¹⁰ Ray Billington, *The Protestant Crusade* (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1964), pp. 124-25.

¹¹ Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education in the West, *Second Annual Report* (New York: 1845), p. 23.

¹² *Loc. cit.*

WOODSTOCK LETTERS

It is an ascertained fact that Jesuits are prowling about all parts of the United States in every possible disguise, expressly to ascertain the advantageous situations and modes to disseminate Popery. A minister of the Gospel from Ohio has informed us, that he discovered one carrying on his devices in his congregation; and he says that the western country swarms with them under the names of puppet show men, dancing masters, music teachers, peddlers of images and ornaments, barrel organ players, and similar practitioners.¹³

The Jesuit threat was not confined to the West, however. Wherever freedom loving Americans established their domiciles, the Jesuits could be surely found, waiting to take away their constitutional rights. Even the halls of Congress were considered unsafe from the Jesuit threat; Representative Lewis C. Levin, speaking in the House on March 2, 1848, objected to a measure designed to establish an American Embassay in Rome, saying that he had been a frequent victim of "the paid agents of Jesuits who hang around this Hall and who swarm over the land." When the members of the House expressed astonishment, Levin countered by insisting that the Jesuits held the doctrine that Protestant governments which did not have the sacred confirmation of the Pope were illegal, a tale which, whether true or not, failed to prove his preceding contention. After repeating the now familiar story that the Jesuits were using the immigrants to gain ultimate control of the new states in the West, he ended with the ringing words, "How many Jesuit Senators shall we have in the course of the next twenty years!"¹⁴

Maria Monk

Uncle Tom's Cabin was the most popular book of the pre-Civil War period, but *The Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk*, first printed in 1836, ran a close second. The 300,000 copies it sold before the Civil War brought the cries of No Popery to their highest pitch. Maria Monk, so the book said, was an "ex-nun" who fled her convent in Montreal. Immediately after her "escape" (who can tell what really happened in this fantastic story—the versions, including her own, are so contradictory), Maria wrote down her recollections, under the persistent prodding of a group of anti-Catholics. She wrote that her Mother Superior told her she must "obey the priests in all things," meaning that she was to "live in the practice of

¹³ *American Protestant Vindicator*, December 25, 1834.

¹⁴ Myers, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-83.

criminal intercourse with them," a fate which she tells us filled "her with utter astonishment and horror." The children whom the hapless nuns subsequently bore were immediately baptized and strangled, because, as the Mother Superior sweetly explained, "This secured their everlasting happiness, for the baptism purified them from all sinfulness . . . How happy . . . are those who secure immortal happiness in such little beings! Their little souls would thank those who kill their bodies, if they had it in their power!"¹⁵ Maria's book enjoyed instant success, making Maria herself a celebrity. Her fame began to decline, however, when she gave birth to a fatherless child and then another a year later. At this stage, the Jesuits entered the story. *The American Protestant Vindicator*, coming to Maria's defense, stated that her second pregnancy had been arranged by the Jesuits to discredit her, although it failed to enlarge upon the "arrangements."¹⁶ Shortly afterwards a group of impartial Protestant clergymen examined Maria's convent in Montreal and concluded that her whole story was a hoax. The publishers of the *Awful Disclosures*, afraid of losing a lucrative item, insisted that the clergymen were nothing but Jesuits in disguise. Charges and counter-charges flew until Maria's mother gave her own version of the story, one that differed considerably from Maria's. The mother said that her daughter had never been in a convent in Montreal, and that the whole story was the product of a brain which had been injured in infancy, when Maria had run a pencil into her head! As a result of her wild behavior, so the mother's story went, Maria had been put into a Catholic asylum in Montreal, from which she escaped with the help of a former lover who was also, by the way, the father of her first child. A mere two years after the first publication of the *Awful Disclosures*, Maria's once brilliant star was fast fading away. In 1849 she was arrested in a brothel for picking the pockets of her male companion. She died in prison shortly thereafter.

With the Maria Monk affair ended, "No Popery" and "No Jesuits" declined until the 1850's, when the Know-Nothing party appeared on the scene. The "Know-Nothings," so called because they claimed to "know nothing" about their anti-Catholic activities, waged a

¹⁵ Maria Monk, *Awful Disclosures of the Hotel Dieu Nunnery of Montreal* (New York: 1836), p. 49.

¹⁶ *American Protestant Vindicator*, April 28, 1941.

systematic campaign to destroy the power of the Jesuits in America.

The secret rituals of the party were not known until 1856, when suddenly they appeared in print, causing great embarrassment to the members. Not surprisingly, the Jesuits figured prominently in these ceremonials. For example, the President of the local council was admonished to address the newly-initiated members as follows:

It has no doubt been long apparent to you, brothers, that foreign influence and Roman Catholicism have been making steady and alarming progress in our country . . . A sense of danger has struck the great heart of the nation. In every city, town, and hamlet the danger has been seen and the alarm sounded. And hence, true men devised this order as a means of . . . checking the strides of the foreigner or alien or thwarting the machinations and subverting the deadly plans of the Papist and Jesuit.¹⁷

The aroused leaders of the party, certain that the Jesuits had published the rituals, warned their followers:

The aroused malice of the sleepless disciples of Loyola, the foes of God, of man and of liberty, has been directed against us. Every means, however atrocious, will be adopted, and the spirit which has enchained the world and washed its fetters in gore, will be on the alert to discover your secrets, to thwart your action, and to destroy your fortune, your reputation (and, it may be done in cowardly security), your life.¹⁸

The Know-Nothings produced a host of anti-Jesuit novels, in most of which a Protestant "hero" and a Catholic "villain" (often a Jesuit) debated the evils and dangers of Rome. The Protestant always won decisively. The Harper publishing company, for instance, produced a book by Reverend M. Hobart Seymour entitled *Mornings Among the Jesuits at Home: Being Notes with Certain Jesuits on the Subject of Religion in the City of Rome*. Selling for seventy-five cents, the book described its author as one "thoroughly acquainted with those unscrupulous controversialists, the disciples of Loyola."¹⁹ In the year 1851, a novel was published entitled, *The Female Jesuit; or, the Spy in the Family*, by John C. Pitrot, a

¹⁷ Peter Condon, "Constitutional Freedom of Religion, and the Revivals of Religious Intolerance," *Historical Records and Studies, United States Historical Society*, 5 (1911), 432.

¹⁸ Myers, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-200.

¹⁹ Giacinto Achilli, *Dealing with the Inquisition, or Papal Rome, Her Priests, and her Jesuits, with Important Disclosures* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1851), back cover.

prolific anti-Catholic polemicist. The book told the story of a woman known only as "Marie" who belonged to a mysterious organization known as the "Order of Female Jesuits." A faithful and zealous member of the group, she took part in numerous Jesuitical deeds until she left the convent, for reasons made none too clear by the author. After her departure she refused to tell anything about her former life, thus casting suspicion on her actions.²⁰ Pitrot followed his successful work with another on the same theme entitled *Sequel to the Female Jesuit*. It too enjoyed success as did his final effort on the subject, *Carlinton Castle; a Tale of the Jesuits*.

The last important Know-Nothing publication dealing with the Jesuits was William Binder's *Madelon Hawley; or, the Jesuit and his Victim; a Revelation of Romanism* (1859). The tract told the heart-rending story of Madelon Hawley, a maiden of incomparable innocence, who was captured, kidnapped, and murdered by Fr. Heustace, a malevolent Jesuit, described graphically as one who could "rob the orphan without one remorseful pang."²¹ The scene in which Heustace murders Madelon is a classic of its genre:

Madelon had barely concluded her appeal [to be released from the Jesuit prison] when the now infuriated priest sprang towards her. Eternal Truth had pierced even his callous heart; but instead of deterring, it only urged him on to new scenes of violence. "Be that word the last you shall shriek in my ear, proud, defiant woman!" he shouted, terribly. There was a blow—a faint scream—a running of blood. The priest had stricken the girl with the heavy iron-key which opened the doors of the tunnel.

I looked on horrified, for my mind was not prepared for such a sight. For some moments I could scarcely comprehend what had occurred. At length the reality burst upon me.

With the yell of a madman I dashed into the room. The Jesuit turned and glared at me affrighted; Madelon fell quivering to the floor, her white clothes dyed with the purple stream.

"Mother—Frank—I come!" she murmured—gasped for breath—moaned, and died . . . I turned to the priest . . . "Fiend!" "Fiend!" I shouted, crazy with the scene—"behold another murder is committed—another victim is added to your long catalogue. The spirits of so many murdered are waiting to drag you down to hell. I hear their voices in the whispering air. They clamor for retribution. Come—come—come!" . . . Bounding upon him with all the

²⁰ Billington, *op. cit.*, pp. 349-69.

²¹ William Binder, *Madelon Hawley, or, the Jesuit and His Victim; A Revelation of Romanism* (New York: H. Dayton, 1859), pp. 19-20.

ferocity of a madman, I—bore him to the floor, and twisted my fingers about his neck.²²

Father Heustace was murdered, the narrator was later captured, but then escaped.

The Know-Nothings were elected to the state legislature and national congress, carrying their anti-Jesuit doctrine with them. Representative Bayard Clark warned his colleagues in the House of Representatives that the Jesuits were the allies of slavery,²³ while Senator Brooks, speaking in the upper house of the New York Legislature in March, 1855, stated that the Jesuits took an oath to destroy Protestants and heretics.²⁴

In the 1850's a number of "ex-priests" of questionable credentials toured the country, giving lectures on the evils of Romanism, with special attention placed on the Jesuits. The first of these was Fr. G. G. Achilli, an ex-priest from Italy, who warned the nation in 1851 of the part played by the Jesuits in the Inquisition. They were the right hand of the Inquisition, averred Achilli, for without their aid the twelve Cardinal Inquisitors would have none of the secret information so essential to their task. His book told how he had become the friend of one of the Jesuits working on the court. This man told Achilli all of the Inquisition's secrets—its subversive methods of gathering information, its torturing of suspects, its secret undermining of legitimate governments.²⁵ Two years later "Father" Alessandro Gavazzi toured the land, giving nine lectures, the burden of which was that the "Satanical Jesuits" (his term) would bring oppression to America. "The Jesuits throng to America to support and glorify the Popish system," he said in one address. The most sinister Jesuitical method was the practice of confession: "In astute hands . . . it has become a political instrument, making the priest master of the secrets, the conscience, the soul of his penitent."²⁶ Gavazzi enjoyed a brief but glorious reign as the lead-

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 269-70.

²³ W. Overdyke, *The Know-Nothing Party in the South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1950), p. 215.

²⁴ Patrick Dignan, *History of the Legal Incorporation of Catholic Church Property in the United States* (Washington: Catholic University of America, 1933), p. 185. See also Billington, *op. cit.*, p. 409.

²⁵ Achilli, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-19.

²⁶ Myers, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-91.

ing ex-priest in the country. Interestingly enough, he had tried to lecture in Ireland before coming to this country; his reception there has been described as "poor."

Another popular Know-Nothing orator was the "Angel Gabriel," so called because he always started his prayer meetings by blowing a loud horn. He preached wherever anyone would hear him, fulminating against "the infernal Jesuit systems and accursed popery."²⁷

Fr. Bapst

It was only in the Know-Nothing Era that anti-Jesuitism reached the point of violence. The most widely publicized incident was the tarring and feathering of Fr. John Bapst, S.J., at Ellsworth, Maine, on the night of Saturday, October 14, 1854. Fr. Bapst had been sent to the tiny community of Ellsworth in January the previous year. Maine was a center of Know-Nothing unrest, and Ellsworth was especially tense. Fr. Bapst suffered intermittent harassment all through 1853 and 1854 as riots flared up, gangs of Know-Nothing ruffians held stormy meetings, and the local Catholic Church was attacked. The situation worsened rapidly in June, 1854, when party members threw a bomb into the small Catholic school, causing extensive damage. Fr. Bapst, meanwhile, had been assigned to the parish nearby in Bangor, Maine, but when he visited Ellsworth one day he found not only a collapsing school but a resolution passed by the town meeting which said:

Resolved, That should the said Bapst be found again upon Ellsworth soil, we manifest our gratitude for his kindly interference with our fine schools, and attempt to banish the Bible therefrom, by procuring for him, and trying on an entire suit of new clothes such as cannot be found in the shops of any tailor and that when thus appalled, he be presented with a fine ticket to leave Ellsworth upon the first railroad operation that may go into effect.²⁸

Bapst ignored the resolution and came back repeatedly to Ellsworth. He returned once too often, however, for on the night of October 14 (all the contemporary accounts insist it was "wild and stormy") Father Bapst was dragged from the house where he was staying overnight and was taken to the driveway of the Ellsworth Machine Company. There he was stripped naked, tarred, and

²⁷ Condon, *op. cit.*, V, 454.

²⁸ Robert H. Lord, *History of the Archdiocese of Boston* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1944), II, 273.

feathered. The operation finished, his captors forced him astride a rail and rode him through the streets of the town, bouncing the rail violently to make the journey as painful as possible. The group was narrowly dissuaded from hanging the priest, and decided reluctantly to let him go. He was thrown unconscious to the ground.²⁹ Unbelievably, Bapst said Mass the next morning. His enemies threatened to kill him if he did not leave town, but the ever-bellicose Irish armed themselves to protect him. He finally left, without duress, one day later.

The incident received national publicity, and tolerant groups even in anti-Romanist Maine were touched by the priest's courage and endurance. The Protestant citizens of Bangor held a public meeting denouncing the Ellsworth affair and presented Father Bapst a purse of money and a gold watch. The inscription on the watch said: "Although not agreeing with you in the tenets of the faith you profess . . . we are unwilling to see any man proscribed for worshipping God according to the dictates of his own conscience."³⁰ James J. Walsh soberly informs us that Fr. Bapst received permission from the Father General of the Jesuits to wear the watch. He was, in fact, "the only Jesuit wearer of a gold watch anywhere in the world."³¹ Walsh hastens to add, however, that the modest Bapst never showed it off. -

The *Bangor Whig and Courier* stated that "an outrage of the kind perpetrated at Ellsworth admits of *no* palliation . . . It was not only a crime—but it was a stupendous folly."³² A folly it certainly was, for partly as a result of the bad publicity the Bapst incident received, Know-Nothingism in Maine would eventually decline, but not, however, until two more incidents occurred. The first was the destruction at Norridgework, Maine, of a statue com-

²⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 672-78. See also, "Father John Bapst: A Sketch," WOODSTOCK LETTERS, 18 (1889), 129-42, 304-19; John Kealy, "A Catholic Pioneer in Maine," *America*, 40 (1928), 61-63; William Lucey, *The Catholic Church in Maine* (Francestown, New Hampshire: Marshall Jones, 1957), p. 134; Theodore Roemer, *The Catholic Church in the United States* (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1950), p. 243; Francis Curran, *Major Trends in American Church History* (New York: America Press, 1946), p. 104.

³⁰ Lucey, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

³¹ James J. Walsh, *American Jesuits* (New York: Macmillan, 1934), p. 222.

³² Lucey, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

memorating Fr. Sebastian Ralse, a 17th century Jesuit martyr. The statue, originally paid for by both Protestants and Catholics, was not replaced, although both Protestants and Catholics gathered at his grave in 1907 to do him honor.³³ Finally, in November, 1855, there was a second incident when the laying of the cornerstone of a new Jesuit church in Bath, Maine, was prevented by an ugly mob.³⁴

Know-Nothing sentiment was also strong in Massachusetts, though less intense than in Maine. The Jesuits at Boston College had considerable difficulty, due to Know-Nothing opposition, in buying property for their new campus. From 1853 to 1857 they sparred with the Boston Know-Nothings, meeting every kind of legal obstacle. Finally the Jesuits were forced to buy property in a completely different, and to them less desirable, part of the city. Even then, the Know-Nothings attempted to interfere with the transaction. The affair was not settled until July 22, 1857.³⁵

Jesuits in New York ran into occasional difficulty with the Know-Nothings. In Troy, New York, a Fr. Thebaud reported in 1857 that he had been prevented from visiting the town poorhouse by religious zealots running the institution.³⁶ He further noted, however, that he had nothing to fear in the way of personal attack, because he "was surrounded by an army of Irishmen, mostly from Tipperary, and all the Know-Nothings of Troy combined would not have dared attack me in my fortress."³⁷

The Midwest

Know-Nothing operations in the Midwest were much less extensive than in the East. Nevertheless, St. Louis University found itself forced to give up its schools of medicine, law and divinity in 1855. The college, founded in the 1840's, had to restrict itself for a time to a small liberal arts course.³⁸ A Missouri Jesuit, described only

³³ Walsh, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

³⁴ Lucey, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

³⁵ David Dunigan, *History of Boston College* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1947), pp. 32-33.

³⁶ Augustus Thebaud, *Forty Years in the United States* (New York: United States Catholic Historical Society, 1904), pp. 188-89.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

³⁸ Raphael Hamilton, *The Story of Marquette University* (Milwaukee: Marquette University, 1953), p. 57.

as "Fr. Weninger," figured prominently in one of the most famous acts of the Know-Nothing Era, the violent reception given to Monsignor Gaetano Bedini, the papal nuncio sent from Rome to settle the trusteeism conflict. Bedini's visit was impolitic in the extreme, for his presence only added to the anti-Catholic sympathies of the Know-Nothings. The nuncio, who had angered American Protestants by taking the side of the conservatives in the European liberal revolutions of 1848, was escorted unceremoniously out of the United States, but not before he had been jeered at, insulted, fired upon, and burned many times in effigy. In one of the burnings, Fr. Weninger had the honor of being burned with the nuncio.³⁹ The event was described in detail by Fr. Weninger's superior, Rev. William S. Murphy, S.J., when the latter made his annual report to the General of the Jesuits, Fr. Roothaan. At the same time a letter supposedly written by an Italian Jesuit to the King of Naples, defending the concept of absolute monarchy, was being circulated throughout the country. It created a furor wherever it was reprinted, causing difficulties especially for the Missouri Jesuits.⁴⁰

Surprisingly, Know-Nothingism was weakest in the South, partly because of the South's growing preoccupation with the slavery question, and partly because of the area's traditional isolation from the North. A couple of incidents, however, are worth recording. In the lower Mississippi Valley the movement enjoyed favorable reception, though most of its leaders disavowed the religious issue, concentrating on political and economic questions. Some of the local councils, in fact, listed Catholics on their rolls. In Louisiana, however, one newspaper of prominence seems to have had second thoughts about Catholics. Said this journal: "The Pope is the *presiding general* of the army . . . the Archbishops, priests, and curates are the subordinate officers, and that includes the whole body of Catholic Irish, [which] could be moved by a nod and made to act in any manner by a wink of the *General*, the Pope."⁴¹ One notes, however, the relatively moderate tone of this comment.

In nearby Alabama one Jesuit priest, cited only as "Father

³⁹ Gilbert Garraghan, *The Jesuits in the United States* (New York: America, 1938), I, 563.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Robert Reinders, "The Louisiana American Party and the Catholic Church," *Mid-America*, 40 (1958), 225.

Nachon," was beaten by the Know-Nothings. The priest, a professor of note at Spring Hill College, was attacked by ruffians of the party while making a missionary foray near the village of Dog River. The mob beat him severely with bludgeons, leaving him for dead. Though covered with blood, he dragged himself to the Dog River Mission and managed to say Mass. When fully recovered, he resumed his trips to the Dog River Mission, experiencing no further difficulty.⁴² One wonders about the authenticity of this story, especially since the priest is supposed to have dragged himself a considerable distance, after which he said Mass in its entirety. No further sources are available, unfortunately, to check the accuracy of the narrative.

Like all third-party movements in American history, the Know-Nothing died. Their appearance on the stage of American politics was brief, brilliant, and colorful. Without question they contributed to the antagonisms of class and section becoming daily more apparent in American culture. But what is of special interest to us is the fact that they posed the most formidable threat the American Jesuits ever faced. Out of the writings of the Know-Nothings and their predecessors emerged a caricature which the Jesuits would find hard to live down. The American Jesuit was described as a formidable personage, possessed of extreme craft and cunning, highly trained in the arts of subterfuge, and unscrupulous as a matter of principle. Ever the adversary of human rights, he would take every means, assume any guise, to extend the kingdom of the Pope. Fundamentally opposed to American democracy, he would wave the flag with as much apparent conviction as the most energetic patriot, all the while plotting the overthrow of the Republic.

The anti-Jesuit crusade, a movement that ended with the Civil War, had begun in the earliest days of the colonies, though it hardly reached the proportions of an organized campaign until the 1830's, when the first anti-Jesuit tracts appeared. Chief among the early anti-Jesuit polemicists was Samuel F. B. Morse, whose caustic assaults on the order attracted a wide audience. Scarcely less troublesome to the Jesuits was that classic of anti-Romanism, *The Awful*

⁴² Michael Kenny, *Catholic Culture in Alabama* (New York: America, 1931), p. 180.

Disclosures of Maria Monk, whose pages haunted the Society until its unfortunate author was finally discredited.

The Know-Nothing movement, lasting roughly from 1850 until 1860, brought the Jesuits the greatest trials they were ever to bear in the United States. Skillfully organized, well financed, and enjoying a broad national following, the Know-Nothings deluged Catholics in general, and Jesuits in particular, with a flood of novels, scientific treatises, lectures, and newspaper articles. The crisis was reached in the mid-1850's, when physical violence, political harassment, and economic pressures brought misery to many American Jesuits. The Civil War ended the Know-Nothing movement by calling attention away from the religious issue, but in the years to follow, especially the Ku Klux Klan eras of the 1890's and 1920's, the Jesuit question would be raised again, and once more, the sons of Loyola would be told that they were not welcome in America.

THE INFANCY NARRATIVES AND THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES

a Scriptural basis for the second week

MICHAEL PETTY, S.J.

IN A 1962 ARTICLE J. Fitzmyer points out the difficulties that the recent gospel studies present when they are used in the meditations in the *Spiritual Exercises*.¹ As an initial solution to the problem he advises the use of a single evangelist each time for all the *Exercises*, emphasizing the theological focus and individual point of view of each inspired writing. This would tend to make the *Exercises* themselves more meaningful with more penetrating and personal insights of the Lord.

In this article I shall try to compare the intentions, central ideas or theological evaluations of Luke and Matthew in their infancy narratives, giving particular attention to the use of these passages for the *Exercises* themselves. Obviously a profound comparative study of the distinct theologies of Luke and Matthew considering all of their writings is necessary. But in this paper I shall limit myself exclusively to the study of the infancy narratives, because of the particular difficulty that the literary styles present and because of their use in the *Exercises*.²

Translated and edited by Charles Jeffries Burton, S. J., from *Ciencia y Fe* 20 (1964), 469-80.

¹ Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S. J., "The *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius and Recent Gospel Study," WOODSTOCK LETTERS 91 (1962), 246-74.

² St. Ignatius appropriately does not begin the time of the election until the

We will basically follow the method used by R. Laurentin in his important work on this theme,³ that is, we shall study details selected by the evangelist and then investigate the sources used, so as to understand the intentions or theological viewpoints of the author. This paper supposes an understanding of the Haggadic midrash literary style, which is a theological reflection on certain fundamental historical facts, where these same facts have been enriched by the comparison, generally implicit, with Old Testament passages. All agree that such a style favors both terms of the comparison and that it gives a greater margin of liberty to the author so that he may clothe his fundamentally historical truth with other more or less legendary passages of profound theological meaning.

Selection of Events

The difference between the events selected by one or other evangelist is very noticeable. A comparative study of the different structures of the infancy narratives will give us an indication of the intentions of their authors.

a) In St. Luke

In Laurentin we can find an extremely competent study of the basic theme of the infancy narrative in what he calls the author's plan or the static element of the work. In concluding his analysis, which he bases on his earlier investigations, he presents the two diptychs which we offer below:⁴

1. Diptych of the Annunciations (1:5-56)

I. Concerning John (1:5-25)

The parents introduced
Appearance of the Angel
Zechariah is troubled
Fear not . . .
Announcement of birth and mission
Question: How shall I know?

II. Concerning Jesus (1:26-38)

The parents introduced
Entrance of Angel
Mary is troubled
Fear not . . .
Announcement of birth and mission
Question: How shall this be?

retreatant has considered the entire Infancy Narrative and the hidden life; from this we can deduce the special value that these meditations have in the *Exercises*.

³ R. Laurentin, *Structure et Theologie de Luc, 1-2* (Paris, 1957), and the commentary of Miguel A. Fiorito, S. J., "Midrash Biblico y Reflexion Ignaciana," *Ciencia y Fe* 14 (1958), 541-44.

⁴ Laurentin, p. 33, slightly edited.

Answer: Angel's reprimand
 Sign: You shall be dumb
 Zechariah's forced silence
 Zechariah leaves

Answer: Angel's revelation
 Sign: "Behold, thy cousin . . .
 Spontaneous answer of Mary
 The Angel leaves

III. *The Visitation* (1:39-56)

Complementary episode: the visitation

Conclusion: She returns home.

2. Diptych of the Births (1:57-2:52)

IVa. *Birth of John*

Joy concerning the birth

Scrap of canticle

IVb. *Circumcision and Manifestation of John* (59-80)

Circumcision on the eighth day

First manifestation of the "Prophet"

Canticle: *Benedictus*

Conclusion: The child grew . . . (80)

V. *Birth of Jesus* (2:1-20)

Joy concerning the birth

Canticle of the angels and shepherds

Mary treasured . . .

VI. *Circumcision and Manifestation of Jesus* (21-40)

Circumcision on the eighth day

First manifestation of the "Savior" to Jerusalem

Canticle: *Nunc Dimittis*

Supplementary episode: Hannah

Conclusion: The child grew . . . (40)

VII. *Finding in the Temple* (41-52)

Complementary episode: the finding

Mary treasured . . . (51)

Conclusion: Jesus grew . . . (52)

This diptych clearly reveals the intention of establishing a comparison with the person of the Baptist, and even more, at first sight it seems to underestimate a little our Lord's role, since he is compared to an ordinary man. But on the other hand we are reminded of the meditation on the Kingdom (*Exercises*, nn. 91-93) where the strength of the argumentation lies precisely in the impossibility of comparing a human with a divine king: because even though the human personage is depicted as having the finest of qualities, the divine being always appears superior. It can also be seen here that the narration of the infancy of the Lord always goes beyond the form or the content of the more hieratic molds in which the birth of John is presented.

If we compare the protagonists of these scenes, we observe that in relation to the part played by Jesus' mother the parents of the Baptist have a secondary role in each stage of the drama and that the aim of this comparison is to show how the Lord towers over John. Furthermore, if we compare the missions, indicated by the

angels, in announcing the births of each one of the infants, we can see that the mission of the Lord surpasses that of the Baptist in as much as an eternal mission transcends one that is merely temporal and provisional.

So it is that the dialectic of these diptychs is composed of a rhythmical movement which finds its culmination in the personality of the child Jesus, pointing out his superiority at each stage. The authors differ with respect to the greater or lesser transcendency that the figure of the Lord presented here by St. Luke may have, as may be observed in the phrases which describe him: great, Son of God, etc. But at least we cannot doubt his relative superiority: the Ignatian ideal expressed in the formula "Deus semper maior" can easily be verified.

Besides this comparison with the Baptist, the mere selection of external deeds reveals in Luke an interest for centering these diverse episodes around the area of Jerusalem and the temple. Not only the message of the angel to Zechariah, but also the presentation of the Child and his discovery at the age of twelve take place in the temple. This effort to center his gospel around the events of the temple is characteristic of Luke. Keeping in mind that the temple is the place chosen by God for his people's worship and that for all practical purposes it was the focal point of the life of Israel, especially after the exile, Luke would logically consider it the place where the Lord was to manifest himself.

Finally, it is extremely interesting and profoundly theological to notice the contrast made between both the origin and superior nature of the Lord and the humble, poor, and hidden way in which he begins his life: the Lord is laid in a manger, the temple offering is that of the poor, his way of traveling is modest, he is adored by simple shepherds and the canticles of these chapters are all in praise of humility. This contrast forms the most profound theological nucleus of all the infancy gospels.⁵

b) In St. Matthew

Matthew's difference from the third gospel is noticeable. Most authors usually agree in counting five parts to this infancy narra-

⁵ Ignatius seems to have wanted to emphasize this same point in the meditation on the Nativity. Cf. Point Three: "to look and study what they do, as their journeying and toiling, all that the Lord may be born in extreme poverty . . ." (*Exercises*, n. 116).

tive. For some this would constitute a small pentateuch, and at the same time a preview of the five parts into which the entire gospel is divided. They are:

1. The genealogy of the Lord
2. The annunciation to St. Joseph and the nativity
3. The coming of the Magi
4. The flight into Egypt
5. The massacre of the innocents and the return to Nazareth

Two stages, however, can clearly be distinguished which together form a drama of noticeable unity. From the start Matthew pictures the Lord as rooted in the people of Israel, descending from David through Joseph. It is significant that the future birth of the Child at once provokes problems and difficulties for the holy patriarch. Undoubtedly the first struggle brought about by the Lord develops in Joseph's heart. But there is no doubt whatsoever that the two principal characters of this drama are Herod and Jesus himself, both truly historical and pictured with well drawn characteristics. The fight unto death that takes place between them begins with the birth of the Lord, and develops in the public and political sphere, for Herod announces to his people his wicked and previously well hidden intention in the slaughter of the innocents. Only a hard exile till the tyrant's death was to save the Child's life.

The gentle insinuation, expressed by Luke, of the people's opposition to the Child, when Joseph could not find shelter in Bethlehem, here gives way to Herod's intrigues, the hurried flights and the blood of the Innocents. This drama is provoked by some oriental Magi to whom the Lord manifests himself as King: the extension of the Christian message to the gentiles initiates the rejection of the chosen people. There seem to be no doubt that Matthew wishes to point out on the one hand the opposition of his people (led by Herod), and on the other hand, the favors granted the gentiles (headed by Magi) in God's plans.

Matthew writes for Israel and he offers them his personal image of the Lord and his plans. To accomplish his purpose he retouches and rethinks the facts he has available on the infancy of the Lord and he integrates them into a history which fits his purposes. Could we not anticipate the Ignatian meditation on the Two Standards in this dramatic struggle (*Exercises* nn. 137-147)?

Use of the Sources

In the literary style known as midrash, there are many references which are implicitly or explicitly made to Scripture. The hymns of Luke together with the characters and even the facts are presented as a mosaic of allusions, insinuations, and meaningful terms which would be too extensive to detail. We are only going to consider the parallelisms which indicate or initiate a specific literary structure in the gospels because we believe that these may more clearly point out what the evangelist has attempted to accomplish with his work.

a) In St. Luke

According to Laurentin the two fundamental texts which are most significant in the structure of these chapters are: Dan 9, with the appearance of the angel Gabriel and the prophecy of the seventy weeks, and Mal 3 which prophesies about the future of the Baptist. The application of the seventy weeks to the time between the announcement to Zechariah and the presentation of the Child in the temple is not convincing, although it is certainly mathematically possible to calculate a period of seventy weeks during this time. Even the reference to the angel Gabriel, mentioned by the prophet Daniel, would confirm the hypothesis. But I do not think that these two references should be considered as the core ideas for the makeup of Luke 1-2. Certainly one could question the omission of the finding of the Child in the temple in the seventy weeks.

It seems, however, that the study done by Muñoz Iglesias is more valuable.⁶ In this he compares certain elements found in the narratives of the births and vocations of Old Testament heroes with the births of Jesus and John. In the births and callings of Isaac, Moses, Gideon, Samson, John, and Jesus he finds the parallel elements of the angel's appearance, the fear of the beholder, the announcement, the objection, and the confirmation by a sign. This theory is generally accepted, since much of the dialogue pattern between the angel on the one side and the apprehension, objection and desire for a sign on the other can be clearly verified in all the passages quoted.

⁶S. Muñoz Iglesias, "El Evangelio de la Infancia en S. Mateo," *Est. Bibl.* 17 (1958), 243-73.

On the other hand, it is interesting to note the stylistic differences between Luke 1-2 and the rest of the third gospel: his polished and elegant Hellenistic style gives place at this point to a large number of rough Hebraic phrases. We can suppose that Luke had worked over some of the earlier Jewish writings, possibly narratives of the infancies of John and Jesus which would be known to the primitive community.

Besides these midrashic references which establish the basic structure of Luke 1-2, one can find many Old Testament echoes related with isolated passages of the gospel. Below we mention some of the more important ones which are less controversial:

Lk 1:32-33	...	(the mission of the Lord)	2 Sam 7:12-16
Lk 1:26-33	...	(the message of the angel)	Soph 3:14-17
			Joel 2:21
			Zech 2:14; 9:9
Lk 1:35	...	(the power of the most high)	Ex 40:35
Lk 1:42	...	(Blessed are you among women)	Jud 13:18-19
Lk 1:48	...	(He has regarded the low estate of his handmaid)	Gn 29:32; I Sam 1:11
Lk 2:14; 4-9	...	(the birth in Bethlehem)	Mich 5:1-5

One cannot deduce from these parallelisms any general structure nor any underlying dynamic element of importance in the infancy narrative. We can only affirm that they enrich our understanding of the particular mystery to which they refer.

b) In St. Matthew

The study of Muñoz Iglesias on the infancy narrative of Matthew presents the different motives pointed out earlier and their scriptural foundation. In the first place he indicates that the apologetic intention of the genealogy is quite clear: Jesus is the son of David and his ascendancy remains intact through Joseph, his legal father. The birth in Bethlehem can be considered as certainly prophesied earlier and can be found in legends and myths of the period.⁷ The warnings in dreams are no novelty in scripture (for example, the

⁷ Muñoz Iglesias, p. 253.

cases of Jacob and Joseph); and the murder of the innocents, besides being found in other cultures, bears a strong resemblance to the birth of Moses. The star theme can be found in a legend that seems to be dated after the Lord's birth that concerns the birth of Abraham, and also in Balaam's prophecy (Num 24:17). But in this case, as in later Judaic literature, the star appears as representing a person and not as an astronomic sign of an extraordinary event.

The adoration of the Magi attracted by the light of the star is related with Is 60:1-3, 5-6, and with Ps 62:10. Bruns⁹ sees here an allusion to the Queen of Sheba and to all the wisdom literature, even though she had come from the south and the Magi from the east. The flight to Egypt has its parallelism according to Iglesias in the flight of Moses to Midian. On the other hand, according to Bourke,¹⁰ it resembles the journey of Jacob-Israel to Egypt. On the basis of a paschal Haggadah, Laban would be the figure corresponding to Herod; it was from Laban that Jacob-Israel and his followers fled in view of an imminent massacre of innocents. In this context Jesus would resemble Jacob, or rather Israel and the chosen people. And so it is that we can better understand the quoting of Rachel, the patriarch's wife, in the prophecy of Jeremiah. That the same quoting should be in a prophetic context would establish a connection with the Babylonian exile. The return from Egypt would have a parallel in the Exodus, which confirms the quote on Hosea 11:1: "out of Egypt I called my son," which refers to Israel and not to Moses.

There is no doubt that the parallelism Jesus-Israel unifies to a large extent this entire infancy narrative and, what is more important, accentuates the opposition between Jesus and Herod with that of Jacob and Laban, the central point of the account. Nonetheless, it is difficult to decide in favor of either one of the two comparisons, as the first one, with Moses (as proposed by M. Iglesias) and the second with Jacob (Bourke) can both be viewed as serious arguments.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 259.

⁹ J. E. Bruns, "The Magi Episode in Matthew 2," *CBQ* 23 (1961), 51-54.

¹⁰ M. M. Bourke, "The Literary Genus of Matthew I-II," *CBQ* 22 (1960), 160-75.

Conclusion

In concluding this brief study of the structures and midrashic significances of the two infancy narratives, we can point out certain similarities as well as very noticeable differences in the accounts.

a) Differences

In the external configuration of their styles, Luke is more discreet in his way of quoting; Matthew is more explicit, but without fundamentally changing the literary style. Although in both narratives the historical facts prevent or make difficult any close bond to the literary structure employed, it is clear that Luke is bound to an earlier basic structure but can proceed freely in presenting the facts of his story, while Matthew, freer in his use of structures set up by others, seems to tie himself down to small formalities and quotations.

Luke attempts to write a meditation about the mystery of the origins of Christ, while Matthew's intent is more markedly apologetic: he wants to show that this character rejected by his people and accepted by the gentiles, is the promised Messiah.

Considering the theological content of both narrations, Luke is noted for his comparison between John and Jesus, taking into account their persons, messages, missions, parents and circumstances of their birth. The goal of this comparison is to point out the superiority of the Lord who mysteriously wanted to surround himself with poverty, obscurity, and sacrifice and thereby bring to the forefront even in his infancy a synthesis of his salvific work. Matthew on the other hand presents Jesus in the culminating moment of Israel's history.

The entire historic trend of the life of Israel finds its meaning, its goal and we could even say its completion, in the life of Jesus. He is the corner stone of his people's history, which is also verified in him. He is rejected by his own nation and proclaimed to the gentiles. Let us recall that Matthew's entire gospel ends with the mission to preach the gospel to the gentile world.

Luke on the other hand, does not go beyond the framework of Israel in those two chapters. The Lord's manifestation is not made to the gentiles but in the temple: it is the son of man who offers himself to God in the place destined by God himself for his worship.

b) Likenesses

Both narratives are distinct from the rest of the gospel, not only because of the difference of literary style, but also because of the absence of miracles as such. They are characterized by the intervention of the supernatural and the spectacular: Zechariah, Mary, Joseph, the Magi, and the shepherds come in contact with the world of the supernatural through heavenly messengers whose appearances and messages cannot be properly considered as miracles. The common everyday events, in Matthew as well as in Luke, are directed in extraordinary ways by angels and dreams, the carriers of heavenly messages.

Matthew and Luke, each in their own way, attribute great importance to the people of God. In Luke, Christ takes part in the life, norms and customs of his people and manifests himself in the very center of them all. In Matthew it is Jesus himself who somehow personifies this very people.

Both coincide in insisting on the beginning of an eschatological period rather than merely accounting for familiar or picturesque facts. It is also interesting to notice the sobriety of both evangelists in describing persons. In Luke they are almost symbolic, while Matthew, aside from the color and dramatic suspense of the narrative itself is not attracted by picturesque or typical scenes. Matthew prefers clear ideas and lapidary formulas.

Use in the *Exercises*

Fessard points out¹¹ that the infancy meditations have the dialectical purpose of bringing the retreatant down to reality, after the possibly lyric experiences in the meditation on the Kingdom.

But the infancy meditation is far more important: it not only introduces one to the life of the Lord and to a way of contemplating his life,¹² but it also presents a remarkably synthetic view of Christ's complete message,¹³ before going into the election. Moreover, on the third day of the second week, St. Ignatius considers the medita-

¹¹ G. Fessard, *Dialectique des Exercices Spirituels* (Paris: Aubier, 1956), p. 63.

¹² *Exercises*, n. 162.

¹³ *Exercises*, n. 116. The mention of the cross in this meditation reflects the intention of achieving a synthesis.

tions of Jesus in Nazareth and the finding in the temple, above all else as models of the different states of life from which the retreatant may choose.¹⁴ At this point he prescind from the order of the narration and first considers Christ's state of obedience to his parents and secondly the state of evangelical perfection or the finding in the temple.¹⁵

The Ignatian synthesis is fundamentally based on Luke: the Incarnation and Nativity meditations follow his structure, and these are the basic meditations. Nevertheless, this does not close the possibility of taking the fundamental meditations from Matthew (note the meditations on the Magi and the flight into Egypt, *Exercises*, nn. 267 and 269).

Saint Ignatius omits every reference to the Baptist in the Incarnation and Nativity. But from what we have already seen it would not be contrary to his way of thinking to consider him as a point of reference in order to emphasize more the person of the Lord. Ignatius also omits the genealogies and the revelation of the Incarnation in the visions to Saint Joseph.

Finally, taking into account the need to transmit to the retreatant the "real meaning of the history,"¹⁶ it seems important that the director of the *Exercises* enter into the very spirit of each evangelist, recalling what was said by Kempis: "all of holy scripture should be read in the spirit in which it was written," and so insist on the essential aspect of each account. Considering the retreatants, it might be more helpful to use one evangelist rather than another, depending on whether one wishes to stress more the meditation on the Kingdom or the Two Standards.

¹⁴ *Exercises*, n. 135.

¹⁵ *Exercises*, n. 134.

¹⁶ *Exercises*, n. 2; cf. Fitzmyer, pp. 257-58.

THE CONCEPT OF AUTHORITY

further reflections

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UNDERTAKING A CONSIDERATION of this nature, since it deals with a concept which has been so thoroughly considered on the theological and philosophical levels, may require some justification. I suppose my concern with the concept of authority stems from the overriding impression that many of the problems which confront the contemporary Church and religious organizations in particular are rooted, conceptually and emotionally, in difficulties related to the concept of authority. Not only the Church, but society in general, is agitated by what might be called a crisis of authority. What I propose to undertake, then, is an examination of the multiple aspects of the understanding and exercise of authority. In so doing, I am not at all concerned with the philosophical or theological implications of the concept of authority. I am concerned with the psychological and sociological implications. That is not to say that the theological and philosophical considerations of authority are not in themselves significant, or that they are not in many ways related to the primary focus of our present concern. They simply represent different approaches. It has been my impression that in many ways the "crisis of authority" is not really a crisis of authority at all, but rather a crisis in the usage of authority. While the concept of authority itself has been well worked out, little attention has been paid to its less conceptual aspects. Therefore we can concern ourselves in this present paper with some of the less traditional significances of the concept of authority.

The traditional notion of authority

The more traditional notion of authority had focused primarily on the definitional aspect of authority and on the moral or ethical justification for the use of authority either in the political organization, the state, or in the ecclesiastical organization, the Church. Thus Vatican II, for example, speaks of the pope's authority in the following words: "Hence by divine institution he enjoys supreme, full, immediate and universal authority over the care of souls. Since he is pastor of all the faithful, his mission is to provide for the common good of the universal church and for the good of the individual churches. He holds, therefore, a primacy of ordinary power over all the Churches."¹ The fundamental notion here is of a divinely instituted power, vested in the pope by reason of his office, which gives him authority to rule, guide, and teach the universal Church. A similar notion of authority, applied to the political realm, can be found in the *Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World*. Speaking of the goals of the political community, the decree reads:

Individuals, families, and various groups which compose the civic community are aware of their own insufficiency in the matter of establishing a fully human condition of life. They see the need for that wider community in which each would daily contribute his energies toward the ever better attainment of the common good. It is for this reason that they set up the political community in its manifold expression. . . .

Many different people go to make up the political community, and these can lawfully incline toward diverse ways of doing things. Now, if the political community is not to be torn to pieces as each man follows his own viewpoint, authority is needed. This authority must dispose the energies of the whole citizenry toward the common good, not mechanically or despotically, but primarily as a moral force which depends on freedom and the conscientious discharge of the burdens of any office which has been undertaken.²

The concept of authority employed here regards it specifically as a property of the group. Moreover authority in this context has a specifically paternal function. As Simon indicates in *Philosophy of Democratic Government*, the paternal function of authority is only one function among what must be regarded as a diversity of functions of authority. Thus authority is regarded as aiming at the

¹ Walter A. Abbott, S.J., ed. *The Documents of Vatican II* (New York: Guild, 1966), p. 397.

² *Ibid.* pp. 283-84.

proper good of the governed. It is needed for the survival and development of immature and inadequate persons. Consequently authority is made necessary, in this sense, by the deficiency of the governed. It presumes the inability or the incapacity of the governed to organize and direct their own activities toward their own proper good. The proper good here, of course, is not always the individual good, as distinct from the common good. The common good toward which authority directs the common efforts of the governed may indeed be equivalent to the proper good of individual members of the community. It is plain, however, that paternal authority has an essentially pedagogical aim. It seeks the attainment or maturation of the capacities of the governed to enable them to govern themselves effectively. Properly considered, then, paternal authority should really be aiming at its own disappearance, and, therefore, commits a fundamental abuse whenever it outlives its necessity.

Authority, however, also has the function of bringing unity into the action of the community. But unity of action requires unity of judgment. When the action or the means of action are unique and determined, authority is required only, insofar as the members of the community can be considered inadequate, either because of the weakness or perversity of their wills or the ignorance or incapacity of their intellects, to perceive and agree upon the unique means. When the means are multiple, and this is the usual case, unity of action requires a determination among the multiple means in order that the community can direct its efforts to a common action. This requires authority which is empowered to decide one of many courses of action. Thus, it is completely arbitrary whether cars drive on the left or the right side of the street, but it is essential to the community welfare that cars drive on the same side of the street. Thus, as Simon is quick to point out, while the paternal function of authority diminishes as the deficiencies of the governed are made up, the unifying function of authority becomes more significant. The more capable and understanding the members of the community, the more diverse and variable will be the courses of possible proposed action. Thus, the unifying function of authority does not originate in the deficiencies of the members, but really in the nature of society as such, and must, therefore, be regarded as an essential function of societal organization.

Simon also points to a third function of authority, namely achieving the volition of the common good in the community. Thus authority is necessary, first of all, for the direction of private individual members of the community toward the common good of the community. Secondly, authority is required for the direction of the variety of functional processes, each of which regards some particular aspect of the common good, toward the whole of the common good. Thus, the exercise of political authority has a variety of functions: it has paternal, unifying, and volitional aspects. Moreover, it would seem that among these various functions of authority, the paternal function has traditionally been more or less emphasized in the functioning of religious groups. This is valid not only in terms of the organization of the Church itself, but, by way of analogy to the Church as a divinely instituted organization, has application also to lesser religious groupings.

Social aspects of authority

In the context of social actions and interaction the concept of authority is very closely related to that of power. Power is essentially the capacity to influence the behavior of other members of the group. Authority is not just any kind of power, since it depends upon the recognition by the subordinate members of the group that the one possessing authority may legitimately prescribe patterns of behavior for the group to follow. Social power, in general, rests on more than one basis. In fact, French and Raven distinguish several bases: (1) *reward power* is based on the member's perception that others in the group have the ability to reward his behavior; (2) *coercive power* is based on the perception that others can punish his behavior; (3) *legitimate power* is based on the perception that others have a legitimate right to direct his behavior; (4) *referent power* is based on the member's identification with others; and (5) *expert power* is based on the recognition of a special knowledge or expertness in the other.³ Authority, then, as a form of social power is directly related to the exercise of legitimate power, but it is important to appreciate that the authority relationship can be contaminated by other forms of power.

³J. R. P. French, Jr. and B. Raven, "The Bases of Social Power," *Studies in Social Power*, ed. D. Cartwright (Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, 1959), pp. 150-67.

French and Raven have proposed several hypotheses about the bases of social power. For all types of social power, it holds that the stronger the power basis, the greater the power will be. The basis of power rests on the perception of the group or of any of the members of the group that the one in authority has this or that quality. It is not enough, for example, that an individual possess expert knowledge in order to exercise power; the group must also recognize him as possessing that knowledge and, therefore, accept him in the role of expert. It is important to appreciate that the range of activities within which any particular type of power can be exercised will vary considerably. Referent power, generally, will have the broadest range, i.e., the range of activities that can be affected or changed by reason of the individual member's identification with the superior or with the group itself is broader than that of any other basis of power. This basis of social motivation is probably most often applicable in religious groups.

Any attempt to utilize social power beyond its range will tend to reduce the effectiveness of that power. Thus, when the superior exerts power on the group beyond the range of that power, he is reducing by an equivalent amount the basis of his capacity to influence the group. Expert power, of course, is an obvious case of this: if the expert tries to use his special power to influence the group in an area where he exceeds his competence, he induces an attitude in the group which tends to disregard his special competence even in the area proper to it. Even in the exercise of legitimate power, the superior can exceed the range of his legitimate authority. The range of authority is established by the formal structure of the group, but it is important to remember that informal group norms of legitimacy are also effective. In general, in addition to the formal, established norms of the distribution of authority, the group itself evolves its own operating standard of what the superior can or cannot legitimately demand. When the superior exceeds the limit established by the group's informal consensus, he exceeds the range of his effective legitimate power and, thereby, reduces the power itself. It is important to realize in understanding the exercise of legitimate authority that the informal group consensus has nothing to do with the formal organization of authority in the group and takes place independently of it.

With regard to the exercise of reward or coercive power, any new state of the group's system produced by their influence will be highly dependent on the agent exercising the power. Moreover, the more observable the conformity of the members, the more dependent the new alignment will be. If a superior tries to reinforce external conformity by a system of rewards and/or punishments, external conformity will depend on his continued exercise of this type of power. Influence of the superior in virtue of his legitimate power would not be subject to this limitation. Thus, when a system of rewards and punishments, which often can be very subtle, has been introduced to reinforce external conformity, conformity is achieved at the sacrifice of more stabilized and internalized bases of group cooperation. The exercise of coercion results in diminished attraction of the member to the superior and a high degree of resistance to the superior. Reward, however, results in increased attraction and low resistance. Interestingly enough, the more legitimate the coercion, the less it will produce resistance and decreased attraction. Thus, when legitimate power is joined to coercive power, it mitigates the effect of the latter.

Bases of authority

Classic treatment of legitimate authority was that of Max Weber who defined "imperative coordination," as the probability that certain specific commands from a given source would be obeyed by a given group of persons.⁴ Obedience to commands can rest on a variety of considerations from simple habituation to a purely rational calculation of advantage. But there is always a minimum of voluntary submission based on an interest in obedience. Obedience to the superior can be based on custom, affectual ties, or on a purely material complex of interest, or by what Weber called ideal (*wert-rational*) motives. These purely material interests result in a relatively unstable situation, and must therefore be supplemented by other elements, both affectual and ideal. But even this complex of motives does not form a sufficiently reliable basis for a system of imperative cooperation, so that there must be added another important element, the belief in legitimacy.

⁴ Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, ed. T. Parsons (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1947).

Weber distinguished three types of legitimate authority. (1) Rational-pragmatic authority bases its claims to legitimacy on a belief in "legality of patterns of normative rules and the right of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands (legal authority)." In such authority, obedience is owed to a legally established impersonal order. The persons who exercise authority of office within this order are shown obedience only by virtue of the formal legality of their commands and only within the scope of authority of their office. (2) Mimetic-traditional authority bases its claims to legitimacy on "an established belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions and the legitimacy of the status of those exercising authority under them (traditional authority)." Obedience in this case is owed to the person of the superior who occupies the traditionally sanctioned position of authority and is, therefore, bound by the terms of that tradition. The obligation of obedience is not a matter of acceptance of the legality of an impersonal order, but rather as a matter of personal loyalty. (3) Charismatic authority bases its claims to legitimacy on "devotion to the specific and exceptional sanctity, heroism, or exemplary character of an individual person, and of the normative patterns or order revealed or ordained by him (charismatic authority)." The charismatic leader is obeyed by virtue of personal trust in him and in his revelation, or in his exemplary qualities as influenced by the individual's beliefs in the charisma.

It is immediately apparent, of course, that the Weberian categories of authority have a limited usefulness. They are, as he himself insisted, "pure" types of legitimate authority. They are most useful in the analysis of more bureaucratic types of social organization, and probably would find their primary application to such organizations as the army, business organizations, or bureaucracies organized along totalitarian lines. It is also evident that religious groups do not fall neatly into any one of these categories but in some sense participate in all of them. The religious subject obeys the religious superior on rational grounds insofar as he recognizes the superior as the representative of a properly constituted legal authority; on traditional grounds, insofar as he recognizes the traditional status of the superior; and on charismatic grounds insofar as the charisma of the superior can be interpreted in terms of the

grace of office or the guidance of the Holy Spirit. While this is not a personal charisma of the superior, it is also clear that on informal terms the superior may well exercise a personal charisma in relation to his subjects by reason of his own personal gifts and the measure of respect and trust which he can engender in them.

Weber's categories have also been criticized from the point of view of their cultural embeddedness and their applicability to more authoritarian types of organization. Thus Harrison has pointed out, that the organization of voluntary groups, particularly in the United States, tends to be structured along quite different lines.⁵ The ideology of such groups tends to be highly anti-authoritarian. They distrust centralization and resist further structuring of the organization in terms of authority relations. On the other hand, some degree of bureaucratic organization is necessary for the attainment of group goals. The inherent conflict heightens social tensions and makes problems in authority and power quite acute. Thus, Harrison concludes, the modes for legitimation of authority are significantly different in this kind of organization than those suggested by Weber's analysis of authoritarian systems. This raises the interesting question, of course, as to the influence of the democratic emphasis in our own culture in considering problems of authority and the exercise of power. It is important to realize that the exercise of authority, whatever its legitimacy and whatever its formal characteristics within the structure of the organization, is not exercised in a cultural vacuum. Culturally generated and derived attitudes towards the exercise of authority have important implications for the implementation and uses of authority within any formally organized structure. Thus, whatever the conception of authority one attributes to the religious organization, i.e., whatever the degree of one's commitment to the authoritarian ideal of religious authority and obedience, it must still be recognized that religious subjects who are born and raised in a democratic society and whose value orientation incorporate democratic ideals, carry within them conscious and unconscious attitudes which must inevitably influence the pattern of the exercise and response to authority within the religious group.

⁵ P. M. Harrison, "Weber's Categories of Authority and Voluntary Associations," *American Sociological Review* 25 (1960), 232-37.

Authority as power

Power is an essentially social phenomenon insofar as it refers to the influence of one individual over another or over a group. It is a kind of latent force. Authority, then, is really a form of institutionalized power. Social power, as constituted within the formally organized group, is expressed in and through authority.⁶

The concept of social power often carries within it an implicit treatment as being attributed to a person or a group. The most usual formulation of authority in religious groups, for example, suggests that the superior has the power to command, i.e., that the power of commanding obedience is somehow attributed to him by reason of his office. There is a tendency among social scientists, however, to view power as a particular type of social relationship in which one person adjusts his behavior to conform with a pattern of behavior communicated to him by another person.⁷ This is an interesting formulation of the power concept, since it implies the concept of power as a property of social relations which involves ties of mutual dependence among the members of the group. Thus, the power or the exercise of power resides implicitly in the dependency of other members of the group. As Emerson points out, the dependency relation of A on B is, first of all, directly proportional to A's motivational investment in goals which are mediated by B, and, secondly, dependence is inversely proportional to the availability of these same goals to A exclusive of any relationship to B.⁸ The power relation is really the converse of this, so that the power which B exercises over A can be measured by the amount of resistance of A which can be potentially overcome by B. In these terms, the reciprocal interaction of power and dependence within the group produces tensions which throw into operation balancing

⁶ R. Bierstedt, "An Analysis of Social Power," *American Sociological Review* 15 (1950), 730-38.

⁷ D. Cartwright, "Field Theoretical Conception of Power," *Studies in Social Power*, ed. D. Cartwright (Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, 1959), pp. 183-219. Also, R. A. Dahl, "The Concept of Power," *Behavioral Science* 2 (1957), 201-15, and K. F. Janda, "Towards an Explication of the Concept of Leadership in Terms of the Concept of Power," *Human Relations* 13 (1960), 345-63.

⁸ R. M. Emerson, "Power-dependence Relations," *American Sociological Review* 27 (1962), 31-44.

procedures which are calculated to reduce the tension. The characteristic balancing operations, as Emerson delineates them, are motivational withdrawal, by which the dependent person equivalently decreases his motivational investment in the goals mediated by the other person and thereby diminishes the other's power.

The group tension can also be decreased by increasing the extension of the power network or by the equivalent diffusion of dependency within the group. This would tend to dilute the power-dependency polarity and thus reduce tension. Another means of tension reduction is the formation of coalitions of two or more of the weaker dependent members of the group against the stronger power-wielding members of the group. In a sense, coalition can be regarded as a characteristic of all organized group functioning. One can conceive of authority as a power of the group itself exercised through an authorized person whose position is a function of group coalition. Thus, the legitimate power of authority is equivalently a directed power which can be employed only in those channels which have been defined by the norms set up by the group. The last, and very interesting, means of tension reduction in the group is the emergence of status. By reason of status, with its correlative ego enhancing implications, the motivational investment in the group situation in the more powerful member is increased. The more powerful person's motivational investment in goals mediated by the rest of the group is increased and, therefore, his dependence on the group is increased. By reason of the reciprocal relationship of power-dependency this increases the capacity or power of the weaker member to control the more powerful members.

The emphasis on relational aspects of power, while it may not serve the purposes of philosophical definition of authority, does serve the objectives of bringing into clearer relief the multiple aspects which must be brought into focus if we are to achieve any substantial understanding of the practicalities of the exercise of authority. It also emphasizes the fact that authority, narrowly defined in terms of legitimate social power, is made more complex, in reality, by the interaction of other forms of power which in fact have a wider distribution within the structure of the group. There is an interesting parallel here in the study of leadership. For a long

time thinking about leadership was dominated by the so called trait approach which tried to delineate those characteristics which both identified leaders and made them capable of functioning as leaders. It was soon found, however, that the bases of leadership were multiple, and that in varying situations different members of the groups showed leadership potentialities. Consequently, students of leadership began to focus their attention not on the traits of the individuals involved, but rather on the interaction between group members and on the kinds of situations in which different kinds of interaction gave rise to different forms of leadership. It is quite obvious, parenthetically, that the concept of the "superior" in religious setting is still operating in terms of a fundamentally trait approach.

Authority as communication

Another significant approach to the problem of authority puts it in terms of communication. Thus Barnard defines authority as "the character of a communication (order) in formal organization by virtue of which it is accepted by a contributor to" or "member of the organization as governing the action he contributes."⁹ The definition involves a subjective aspect, that is, the accepting of the communication as authoritative, and an objective aspect, the character in the communication by virtue of which it is accepted. Barnard goes on to say that if a directive communication is accepted by a member of the group, its authority is thus confirmed by him. Acceptance admits the communication as the basis of action, while disobedience is equivalently a denial of its authority. Thus the decision as to whether an order has authority or not lies with the inferior rather than with the superior. This conception of authority is a decided turnabout from more traditional notions. But it emphasizes the notion that even in the most absolute form of social organization, authority rests in some sense upon the acceptance of the consent of the individuals.

The essential point in this formulation is that the necessity of assent is required in order to establish authority for the individual. Acceptance of the communication as authoritative depends upon

⁹ C. I. Barnard, *The Functions of the Executive* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard, 1938).

four conditions: (1) The individual can and does understand the communication. A communication that cannot be understood can have no authority. Given a willingness to comply, the individual who receives a meaningless communication must either disregard the communication or follow his own course of action. (2) At the time of his decision he believes that the substance of the communication is not inconsistent with the purpose of the group. Equivalently, then, the group ideals and purposes serve to limit the range of authority. Communication of an order at cross purposes to the group purposes would necessarily create a situation of conflict. The intelligent person can be expected to resolve the conflict by denying the authority of the order which contradicts the purpose of the group effort as he understands it. (3) At the time of his decision, he believes it to be compatible with his personal interest as whole. The acceptance of the communication is involved in the complicated relationships between personal goals and personal interest and group goals and group interest. In general, the congruence of personal and group goals increases the motivation of the individual member to participate in and contribute to the group effort. Communication of an order which is against personal interest will necessarily reduce the net inducement of the individual to contribute to the group. (4) The subject is mentally and physically capable of complying with the order. Thus, any order to do that which is impossible, even though it be only a little impossible, is regarded as exceeding the range of its proper authority. Despite the emphasis on the acceptance of the individual in the exercise of authority, the proper functioning of authority is insured by the normal compliance of orders given in any effective organization with these conditions, and by what Barnard calls a "zone of indifference" in individuals by which orders are regarded as acceptable without conscious questioning of their authority. The presumption of legitimacy operates in favor of the authority structure. The zone of indifference is characteristically wider or narrower for different individuals and would seem to be related to their personal tendencies toward conformity or deviance within the group. Moreover, group involvement and group participation generally create an active personal interest in the maintenance of authority within the group. Thus, a more or less implicit attitude is generated by the

informal organization of the group which makes individuals loath to question authority as it functions within or near the zone of indifference. Barnard suggests that the formal statement that authority comes down from above, from the general to the particular as it were, confirms the presumption among individuals in favor of the acceptability of orders and enables them to avoid challenging such orders without at the same time incurring a sense of personal subserviency or a loss of personal status.

The more objective aspect of the communication has to do with the reasons or characteristics of the communication which induce its acceptance. In the structure of formal organizations, the authority has to do fundamentally with the potentiality of assent of those to whom the communications are sent. The authority imputed to communications from superiors is based either on position (authority of position) independently of his personal qualifications and abilities, or it may be based on superior ability and competence (authority of leadership). When the authority of leadership is combined with the authority of position, the degree of acceptance of the communication is greatly increased. The maintenance of objective authority requires commensurate capacities in those who hold high positions of authority. High position, not supported by the abilities of those who hold them, have weak authority as do highly competent men in minor positions. Authority thus depends on a cooperative personal attitude of individual members and on a system of communication in the organization. Communication, therefore, must be effective and relatively efficient, not only for the effectiveness of group adaptation and the normal functioning of the group process, but also for the maintenance and effective exercise of authority within the group.¹⁰

Authority as relationship

We have already noted the traditional emphasis in the concept of authority on the power dimension. The relationship between authority and power has been a dominant motif in almost all approaches to the concept of authority whether philosophical, theological, or social. A gradual shift has been taking place from the notion of

¹⁰ Y. Simon, *Philosophy of Democratic Government* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1951).

authority as power to the notion of authority as a relationship. Authority would thus consist in the relationship between two or more persons by which one party lays claim to the cooperation or subservience of the other party, and the other party accepts this claim. Obviously the relationship involves power, but the shift in emphasis also involves a shift in the concept of power from that of being a capacity resident in the power bearing person to the concept of power as a relational phenomenon. Thus, both the bearer of authority and the recipient of authority emerge as important contributors to the functioning of authority. There is a mutuality and reciprocal responsiveness which is inherent in the authority relationship. The relationship is dynamic and reciprocal, so that one cannot presume compliance with authority on the grounds that the bearer of authority possesses a certain amount of power or that he holds a particular office. Authority must, therefore, be regarded as a function of a particular concrete human situation. It should be pointed out that the communication view of authority as proposed by Barnard, is not really essentially different from the relational view. The former emphasizes the mechanism by which the relationship is implemented, the latter brings into focus the implicit relational aspects of communication as such.

It is my impression, however, that the relational point of view must be credited with adopting a broader and more flexible approach to the problems of authority. The approach in terms of power and power relationships has a tendency to emphasize the role of the superior in the power relation. This lends itself to an over-emphasis on the exercise of authority in terms of the formal, hierarchical structure of the group as well as in isolation from the dynamic processes going on concurrently within the group, which must inevitably modify and channel the influence of authority within the group. The communications view, and other such radically situational approaches to the problem of authority, form a sort of polar position, in which the more formal and structural aspects of authority tend to be dissolved. Thus, conceived on the communication model, authority tends to be thought of as derived from or constituted by the acceptance of the individual member. It seems rather more accurate to say that the effectiveness of the exercise of authority depends upon individual acceptance rather than that authority is derived from such acceptance.

The relational view, then, enables us to bring both of these polarities into a more balanced perspective. It enables us to respect the demands of formal hierarchically structured organization, as well as to bring into clear focus the dynamic processes, at both the conscious and unconscious levels, which are at work in determining the response of individual members to the authoritative directives of the power structure. Authority, then, can be defined as a dynamic and reciprocal relationship between two or more persons in which one claims to be a bearer of authority and at least one accepts the claim of the bearer to be authoritative in some area of his own existence.

The emphasis on relation makes it possible to consider authority as involving more than a relationship of power. From the point of view of the subject, the acceptance of authority rests on more than the inherent dependency of the power relationship. The subject may accept or reject the authority of the superior, even in the face of the threat of coercion. The acceptance of authority must be based on a broader more comprehensive view of the subject's motivation to obey. To return for a moment to Simon's consideration of the diversity of function of authority, the conception of authority as based only on power is adequate really only for considering the paternal or unifying functions of authority. There is also a volitional or motivational aspect of the function of authority which is not adequately explained on the basis of power. Moreover, if authority does stem from the nature of society, as we often claim, and if society is an outgrowth of the fundamental nature of man, it would seem reasonable to conceive of authority as being based not only on the human capacities for obedience (generous though they may be) but also in other basic human needs and capacities. In other words, the acceptance of authority cannot be ascribed merely to the power-dependence dimension but there must also be another dimension or dimensions which we can denominate diversely as gratification, or self-fulfillment, or self-enhancement. I am not so much concerned with the terms here as I am with the concept that the participation of the member of the group in the activities which are structured in terms of authority must ultimately be understood and must ultimately depend on a spectrum of motivations which make it psychologically rewarding and in some sense a fulfilling

for him to participate in the group action. Thus, the exercise of authority and the reciprocal response to authority are determined and conditioned by complex human motivations. I would suggest that it is these fundamental, often unconscious motivations, which are at work in disturbing and disrupting the function of authority and that we cannot adequately understand the operations that relate to the authority relation unless we bring these fundamental forces into view.

Personal interest

If we bunch these basic motivations under the rubric of personal interest, we can suggest that as a general rule personal interest is an essential component of the normal development to maturity of the individual. The successful execution of authority, therefore, must respect the demands of personal interest. It should be clear from the start that personal interest is not equivalent to personal wishes, for personal interest may not in fact have anything to do with personal wishes. Putting it another way, the exercise of authority must always respect individual freedom, but individual freedom does not imply license and must be understood in reference to personal responsibility as well as cooperate obligation. Moreover, the successful exercise of authority must not only respect personal interest but it must fulfill the demands and obligations of the exercise of power. Plainly the balance is a delicate and complex one, but the overemphasis or the underemphasis of either dimension that of power or of personal interest, will result in a distortion of the authority relationship. An overemphasis on the power dimension without concern for the personal interest and needs of the individual member may well result in rebellion. An overemphasis on personal interest to the sacrifice of the directive exigencies of power will result in the frustration of group goals and objectives.

We have tried to thread our way in this discussion through a multiplicity of approaches all dealing with a very complex concept. Our objective has been not so much to define as to bring into better focus for purposes of further discussion the multiple aspects and dimensions and implications of the concept of authority. We have tried to show that the trait-oriented, power-based concept of authority which has dominated so much of our traditional thinking

on the subject, while secure in its own right, has nonetheless deprived us of the opportunity of exploring the more human and more motivationally oriented aspects of the problem. The shift in emphasis really represents a shift from a question of what is authority to the question of how or why does authority work or not work as the case may be. Neither, of course, are easy questions. I suspect the problems that are involved in the "crisis of authority" are not really problems in definition so much as they are reflections of an operative model of the operation of authority which may have evolved in relative isolation from the understanding of the factors and conditions of that operation. We can humbly hope that the present discussion and the further extensions of it may help to correct that deficiency.

RELIGION AND THE WORLD

A Theological Anthropology. By Hans Urs von Balthasar. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1967. Pp. 341. \$7.50.

WHEN HARVEY COX, in *The Secular City*, accepted Dietrich Bonhoeffer's challenge to speak of God in secular fashion, he constructed an anthropology that demonstrated all too clearly the pitfalls involved in understanding the young Lutheran martyr too narrowly. Cox's hymn to secularization and his praise of man as pragmatic and profane were, for all their provocative ingenuity, inadequate as attempts to interpret modern man to himself. In order to appreciate Cox's limitations one does not have to read Hans Urs von Balthasar's latest book, but it helps. *A Theological Anthropology* rejects the twin extremes of the already discredited sacral society and the secularized Christianity that has lately attempted to supply a vision for man-come-of-age, and essays a synthesis of patristic writings, Scripture, and Greek and modern philosophy to provide a middle way. The result is a book that is always difficult, sometimes dogmatic, and often maddeningly obscure, but which yields occasional rich dividends to the reader who perseveres unto the end.

Von Balthasar is not trying to turn the clock back to an other-worldly, pre-Teilhardian vision of man, but he insists at the outset that

Man, as the epitome of the world, would be perfectible only if the world fulfilled itself with him and in him. But inasmuch as he transcends the world as spirit and is open to being in general, the fulfillment of the world is not enough to bring about his perfection. Man is personal, transcending the world and its being.

In effect, he accepts the dictum of Hegel that man is a "sick animal," not content to be what he is. To be sure, Cox's secular man shows no symptoms of the disease, since he professes to be content with an exclusively terrestrial view. But this is exposed as one more variation of a later integralism that seeks to resolve the riddle of man by ignoring

the "fragmentariness of existence in time." The author chides the sacralizers for seeking the real by denying time, and the secularizers for seeking it in an affirmation of time to the exclusion of an openness to the transtemporal. He then enlists the aid of Augustine in a difficult and involved reflection on the nature of time, the theology of history, and the relation between secular and sacred history. The Incarnation is, of course, the key:

Christ, living in time, is able to state his christological present: "Before Abraham was, I *am*" . . . His present is not only the abstract existence of eternity in time, but also eternity won from time: the planting of eternity through elective love in the heart of futile time running towards death.

If time is uninformed by eternity in the Incarnation, it remains man's mortal enemy because it is allied with death. Death mocks man's pretensions to wholeness and confronts him with absurdity. Other attempts to wriggle out of the net—a dualism of "body" and "soul," a refusal to grant the question relevance by branding it "impractical"—are doomed to failure. The only valid solution is the victory of Christ in the resurrection of the dead.

Eliade has shown us how primitive *homo religiosus* attempted to escape the terror of time and the threat of meaninglessness that it posed, by recourse to myth. Modern man, deprived of his myths, living in a world desacralized and alien to his psychic needs, attempts to resolve the problem by refusing to ask the question. For the take-over generation in the secular city, *l'angoisse est gauche*. The Christian follows a third way:

Now at last the aspirations of mysticism and of myth can be fulfilled by there being a true "appearance" of God as the salvation for man. As he pursues the way of salvation, he makes the world transparent for the divine to "appear" through it. This appearing is now no longer a turning away from bleak historical reality—as mystic negation of finitude or as its mythical translation into images of the imagination—no, reality is the place and the material within which the living God appears.

One of the most important issues raised by this book is found in von Balthasar's treatment of what may be called the scandal of particularity—the historic claim of Christianity to proclaim a singular event by a single person at a particular time and place—an event that cannot be subsumed under any relativizing or syncretistic wisdom. He sees the present thrust toward unity among men, the gradual blurring of lines of demarcation that is the hallmark of a certain kind of cultural and religious ecumenism, as a threat to the authentic proclamation of the Gospel. Like Daniélou, he fears such openness as a prelude to the kind of absorption that would in effect be a betrayal of the uniqueness of Christ.

He asserts, paradoxically, that the more unified the world becomes, the more difficult it is to be a Christian. And this is so because reason is a tolerant relativizer that always expects Christianity to understand itself in similarly relative terms.

And so, like Daniélou, von Balthasar is wary of Teilhard de Chardin's incarnationalism as perhaps proving too much. Does such integralism leave room for the scandal of the cross? Does it try to make Christ's kingdom too much of this world?

Do not misunderstand. This is not a reactionary diatribe against the great movements of ecumenism and Christian humanism; far from it. But it expresses an arresting *caveat emptor* for Christians who are trying to take seriously Bonhoeffer's challenge and speak intelligibly to modern, secularized man. A *Theological Anthropology* will not carry much conviction to the uncritical devotees of secularized Christianity. These will be unable to take seriously arguments based on Augustine and classical oriental philosophy; and the author frankly acknowledges this at the outset. But the book is valuable for the serious thinker who wishes to borrow from secular humanism with discrimination, and who does not resent challenges to an incarnationalist synthesis that is being accepted uncritically in some quarters. Von Balthasar is suspicious of what he calls a new Christian progressivism "which takes technological means of power and the so-called 'reflection of the noosphere', which those means made possible, and seeks to interpret and exploit them in a christological way." Can the cross, he asks, be reduced to an energy factor for the evolution of the world? Is Cox the only anthropologist who has proved too much?

The jacket warns that this is not a book for the intellectual dilettante. That is an understatement. But dilettantes are not the only ones who may be discouraged by its labyrinthine ways. At any rate, if you are a student of theology who wishes to steer a course between the Scylla of reactionary clericalism and the Charybdis of secular reductionism, this may be your meat.

JAMES J. DiGIACOMO, S.J.

Prayer as a Political Problem. By Jean Daniélou, S.J. Edited and translated by J. R. Kirwan. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1967. Pp. 123. \$3.50.

TWO FAMOUS AMERICANS have in recent times expressed concern over the loss of religious values in this country. One of them, Senator Everett Dirksen, has largely stayed on the periphery of the question, finding ominous linkages between no prayer in the schools and no peace in the streets. The other, the late Malcolm X, has penetrated to the heart of

the problem. Christianity has not influenced American culture very deeply. True Islam, he suggested in his *Autobiography*, might be the answer for the sinful divisions of modern America: "if white Americans could accept the Oneness of God, then perhaps, too, they could accept *in reality* the Oneness of Man." Fr. Daniélou's recent (1965) study of the civilizational importance of religion would serve to corroborate Malcolm X's negative evaluation of Christianity as practiced in the so-called Christian West. The trouble with Christian civilizations as they have historically evolved "is not that Christians have tried to penetrate civilization with the spirit of the Gospel, but that they have not done it sufficiently" (p. 48).

The basic thesis of Daniélou's newest little book may be summarized by saying that the world is not radically secular, religionless and all the other exciting things the theologians of Christian secularity crack it up to be, nor should it aim for such a distinction. But Daniélou goes further than this negative stance. He maintains that without a positive openness to religious values, real civilization is impossible. "Unless we relate all things to God," he writes, "neither man nor city can survive. . . . It is natural man who is directed towards God by the very fact of his nature" (p. 111).

Americans may find Daniélou's study of the interrelatedness of religion and civilization a bit puzzling at times. Daniélou directs many of his observations not at the classical American situation of the separation of Church and State (peaceful, for the most part, except when educational finances come into question) but at a type of European laicism less common on this side of the Atlantic. His intriguing title attempts to focus attention on prayer not as self-consciousness or as Christian act but as the interior aspect of all religions and as a fundamental element in all humanistic civilization. Civilization comes under his investigation for the most part as the emerging political problematic of today's technological culture.

But in Daniélou's first chapter, "The Church of the Poor," he does not immediately face up to the challenges of technological civilization for man's religious interiority. Without naming names, Daniélou launches into a rather intemperate attack on such theologians as Karl Rahner, J. B. Metz and Edward Schillebeeckx for their common tendency to extol the secularization of formerly sacral societies, the death of sociological Christianity and the growth of a purified, "diaspora" adherence to Christ in faith. Daniélou asks whether there will be any poor people in this purified Church of the secularized future, people who need the support of law, custom, art-forms and even superstition in order to be able to make some Christian commitment. In the concrete

Daniélou's version of God's poor turns out to be "this Christian people which exists today in Brittany and Alsace, Italy and Spain, Ireland and Portugal, Brazil and Colombia. It is this people which feels itself betrayed by those groups of Catholics, clerical and lay, whom it sees more concerned with dialogue with Marxists than with work for its defence and growth" (p. 12).

Peasant Catholicisms

Daniélou seems most retrogressive when he rhapsodizes about these peasant Catholicisms. The fact is that all these populations are either declining or will undoubtedly explode in revolution as their poverty and numbers increase. Daniélou envisions the pious poor by their hearth-sides, rejoicing in the liturgical wonders of the Rogation Days and the sanctoral cycle. It is more likely that they have long since departed for a dingy flat in the big city and find their religion at the movies, where new gods and goddesses have replaced the heavenly court.

Fortunately Daniélou does not stick too closely to this theme. Recognizing with Teilhard that a new terrestrial civilization is building up, the unifying element of which is technology, he asks how this civilization may be formed in such a way that there is room for an interior life. The new city of man must be a place, to quote LaPira, "in which men have their homes and God also has his" (p. 26). Daniélou, far from calling for a new sacral state, opts for a socialist state open to all truly human religions. Art and prayer will both have to be provided for by the future omniscient state. "Without art, the sacred cannot reach out to the mass of men. Without the sacred, art is swallowed up by technology. Together, they can give a reply to the cry put up by the world of technology when it asks for a vision that shall lead to a communion, a unity of spirit, a civilization" (pp. 80-81).

After examining the political necessity of prayer, especially in technological civilization, Daniélou branches out into the relationship between Christian faith and the higher religions. Once again he is dealing in controversial terms without naming his adversaries, who would seem to be Barthian missiologists like Hendrik Kraemer and secularization missiologists like Arend van Leeuwen. Daniélou rejects the Barthian notion of Christian faith as the abolition of purely human religiousness and the secularizationists' vision of technological development and scientific modernization as the only valid *praeparatio evangelica* among the cultures shaped by the higher religions. For Daniélou paganism is a human virtue which is baptized in Christ. The Christianity we are familiar with around the north Atlantic today is only the development of Greek, Roman, Gallic, Teutonic and Celtic paganism,—in something of a historical blend. Now we can look forward, in the modern perspec-

tive of universal history, to other unique forms of Christian faith. "It was the semitic way of paganism that was first to be saved, in Abraham. It was the turn of western paganism when Plato and Virgil were, in a sense, baptized. In the twentieth century it will be the turn of African paganism; in the twenty-first, of Indian paganism" (p. 87).

Daniélou is perhaps too optimistic about the work being done by missionaries. Journalists never cease to make much of the adaptations of Christian ritual and symbol that seem to flourish in Francophone Africa. They tend to play down the huge flocks of half-educated Catholics in Anglophone Africa who have lost their traditional culture and have gotten in exchange bankrupt Irish Jansenism. Both French- and English-speaking intellectuals in Africa also seem to become more and more like their educated non-African peers: secularistic. Only time will tell whether some of the pioneering experiments in liturgy and catechesis in Africa today will come to eventual fruition in a distinctly African variety of Christianity. Daniélou is very sanguine about this possibility, but the advances of Coca Cola and the electricity lines may prove more influential factors yet in the shaping of any future African culture.

Despite some overly enthusiastic effusions by the author, and some egregiously inelegant renderings by the translator, Daniélou's book as a whole is a most stimulating essay. Once again the price asked by the Sheeds and the Wards is a bit prohibitive, given the fewness of pages and the size of the print. Readers with poor eyesight will find this a joy.

PATRICK J. RYAN, S.J.

POETRY AND PRAYER

Poetry and Prayer. By William T. Noon, S.J. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1967. Pp. xi-354. \$10.00

IN HIS MOST RECENT BOOK, Fr. Noon tackles the slippery problem of being clear about the theory and practice of poetry and prayer. Others before him have made the same effort, many of them landing empty-handed in the mud. Noon, with years of preparation and a distinguished literary career behind him, with knowledge of the bruises and fractures that often result, challenges this dangerous foe with vigor and considerable confidence. I will make an effort to chart his procedure and to evaluate his success.

His book has ten chapters which conveniently divide into three parts: three theoretical chapters, five practical applications to modern poets (he considers Hopkins a modern), and two practical discussions of prayer in relation to literature. The first of the theoretical chapters,

"Introductory," indicates that he is seeking an approach that will avoid turning poetry into prayer and prayer into poetry. Each is an art, and each can be best understood, not in pat definitions, but in the light of what some poets and some men and women of prayer have said and done about the two quite different kinds of experience. In an illuminating discussion of two poets, Noon points out that Edith Sitwell, like Hopkins, seems to bring poetry close to being prayer; Whitman seems to carry poetry to the opposite pole—self-realization, not God-realization. Prayer, Noon acknowledges, may indeed lead to poetry. But poetry finds its completion only in conscious intellectual articulation, whereas prayer, finding its completion in union with another person, may transcend such articulation if it can. Both arts may indeed find images useful and even necessary. But poetry will use them as signs significant in themselves; prayer will use them as signs having significance beyond themselves—as pointers to Being, not as beings. Such symbolic articulation, however, always falls short of perfect symbolic aspiration, Noon notes. "The reality beyond remains ever inscrutable" (p. 29).

Chapter Two presents "Other Approaches." First, Bremond's notion that poetry is mysticism broken down, that a poem is an aborted prayer, receives a fatal karate chop. Bremond judged that poetry and prayer are basically the same thing, a seizure of God. Words, relatively unimportant to the poet, are in his view merely accidentally necessary. Noon well disposes of such illusion, places Bremond in his Romantic, anti-Classical context, and demonstrates that he does violence to reality in turning poetry into prayer. More active today, Noon observes, is the tendency to turn prayer into poetry. A most incisive and valuable criticism of Louis Martz's influential work demonstrates that Martz's overall argument tends to confuse prayer and poetry as modes of meditation.

Thomas Merton, to whose views I judge Noon does less than complete justice, is cited as holding, in early writings, that prayer and poetry are necessarily inimical. One can never be at all involved with the other, since they are based on the opposed achievements of reason (poetry) and intuitive vision (Merton's early notion of prayer). Merton's magnificent grasp of the question in recent writings should perhaps receive a bit more attention than Noon gives it. Maritain's view, on the other hand, sees that poetic intuition derives from reason. His position opposes not only the early Merton, but the full-blown Martz as well, in that the poetic impulse and vision might better be conceived as preceding those of prayer. Maritain does not turn the two spiritual creative experiences into one another, does not "identify the voice of poetry with the silence of prayer" (p. 51). Noon concludes that there is an intimate analogy between these two vital acts of the soul, and that, as in all

ideal unions, there can be no real divorce. Both can live best by "respecting the separate identity and integrity of the other" (p. 53). He wisely observes that poetry must be known and respected as such before anyone can find God in it.

In his third chapter Noon grapples with mysticism. Having stated that both poetry and prayer are grounded in mystery, that prayer, based in love of God, is most deeply personal and marked with reserve, Noon discusses the numerous meanings and contexts of the term "mysticism." He clarifies, largely in discussion of Hopkins' poems, the possible literary uses of the term; and, quoting many authorities, he indicates in most useful fashion some limits for both literary and theological discussion. In a beautiful paragraph (p. 84) on the function of sense and language in poetry, he says, speaking of the poet, "The discernible pattern of the world reflects itself for him in the vital kinesthetic energy of his patterned language." He concludes this section of the book by repeating that poetry is not prayer. Both are mysterious, both "surmount the limits of convention and self-centeredness" (p. 93). Some saints have renounced art, some artists have renounced prayer. But the two arts need not and should not be inimical. If only one recognizes the boundaries of each, both, each in its own way, can map the road and light the dark.

In his second section Noon chooses five poets for examination in the light of his theory of the relationship between poetry and prayer. In his somewhat pedestrian examination of Hopkins, Noon judges that while Hopkins used his response to ordinary Jesuit prayer—probably not mystical experience—as an inspirational source for many of his poems, he worked as every other true poet works, patterning in speech his personal response to reality.

In a much livelier and more objective study, Noon considers the work of Yeats, whose poetry, according to Yeats himself, is rooted in his human rage or lust. Noon sees this work as "major," mirroring the human efforts of Yeats to rely on some myth that would reflect his spirit's operation without constricting it. Yeats, in Noon's view, was no mystic at all. He attempted to construct for his art a human mysticism, and succeeded for his art, though he failed for himself—apparently Yeats's view too. Noon enunciates a deeply penetrating and moving conclusion. Well aware as Noon is of Maritain's careful (and valuable) distinction between a love which ends in another person and the love which ends in a work of art, Noon chooses not to depend on such Scholastic definitions, but to approach the problem on the basis of the thought and attitude of the artist he discusses. It is a difficult but rewarding attempt, and Yeats would, I believe, have read this chapter with admiring approbation.

Wallace Stevens, Noon judges, aimed at dealing with ultimate values and ultimate human aims. He thus approached the mystery where religious men find God. Whether he personally found God or not, he did find and did express in exquisite poems the human situation, the human confrontation with the physical world, and the human need for ultimate good transcending the physical. Yet his poems are not all all prayer. They concern themselves with the human, not (directly, at least) with the divine. They strain to escape human modes of knowing in reaching reality, while realizing the futility of the effort. Noon may fail somewhat in his sincere effort to sympathize with and to express the vision of a man without religious faith—he supposes Stevens to be referring to God in "Final Soliloquy," a not altogether convincing supposition—but he succeeds amazingly well in throwing light on the vision and poetic achievement of this excellent poet.

Robert Frost, as Noon sees him, faces the harshness and apparent chaos of life and responds with seemingly simple poems which reflect that chaos but "impose a measure of aesthetic control by color, shape, or sound" upon it. He "preserves a human record of value." Frost's poetry, centering in the human self, never overcomes "the gravitational pull of earth." Frost's poems, like Stevens', are clearly not prayers, though they are profoundly spiritual. Frost's lover's quarrel was with the world, Noon states, not with God. And he addressed himself directly only to humans.

The analysis in which Noon clearly takes most interest and in which his critical talents find their most original and challenging operation is that of David Jones' *Anthemata*. Noon begins by stating, with a flourish of academic birch, that those who do not appreciate Jones are either old-fashioned or ignorant and lazy. An illuminating outline of the eight sections of Jones' great poem follow, revealing its re-enactment of the history of the Mass throughout human history. Underneath these eight narrative sections lie four poetic actions: 1) the Grail legend, with Christ as Galahad (or Perceval) and Pellam as Adam; 2) liturgical symbols, based largely on the Roman Missal and on wine and water; 3) Scriptural passages, especially the Gospel of St. John, with emphasis on Calvary; 4) the Mass as sacrifice, according to de la Taille. Throughout it is suggested that "Jones' poem resembles the evolutionary thought of Teilhard de Chardin." Certainly Noon has here produced the most thorough and profound study of the poem that has appeared, and if Jones proves to be as great a poet as Noon proclaims him to be, this essay will tower as a pioneering critical achievement. The criticism does depend on the poem, however, and Noon sees soaring excellences there which so far escape me. But whether one can follow Noon all the way or not, it is an exciting and valuable experience in criticism.

In the final two chapters of his book, Noon stresses the consideration of prayer, first of the relation between the *Exercises* and modern literature, then of the nature of colloquy. In his ninth chapter he inquires into the influence of literature upon prayer. American indifference to religious history finds itself confronted, in Golding, in Albee, in Bolt, in Katherine Anne Porter and Flannery O'Connor and Muriel Spark, with the activity of that past in the present. Yet, Noon concludes, most modern literature cannot fit "under the already wide umbrella of Christian art."

While religion of itself cannot produce literature, literature cannot provide religious values. In five ways, however, the *Exercises* can be related to modern literature: 1) in concrete, existential quality; 2) in the appeal to the past; 3) in symbolic use of metaphor; 4) in intensely personal quality; 5) in imaginative tone and texture. Above all, "the best modern literature obliges one to share the basic human concerns of the present time," important for prayer as for literature.

In his brief final chapter dealing with colloquy in prayer, Noon suggests, by means of an extended analogy with Proust's work, that history can be bridged and the past brought into the present through memory, taken in the Augustinian sense. In such a process the symbolic action of the liturgy finds its essential function, he holds. And Ignatian spirituality, he concludes, finds one more valuable link with literature in its creative use of metaphor.

As I suppose is evident from this effort to disentangle a line of development from Noon's vast and complex tapestry, I judge that Noon the tackler (to return to my introductory image) has pinned down his opponent with impressive and relatively final thoroughness. He has clarified the murky issue, suggested valuable solutions for some of the most elusive problems, provided a generous amount of pointed and valuable literary criticism, and illuminated with brilliant insight both poetry and prayer.

That he would accomplish all this without human faults could not be expected, and it is not, to be sure, the case. There are numerous things at which malice might gnaw. Noon's style, for one thing, with its neo-Jamesian weavings, will irritate those who admire the brisk no-nonsense structures of our cybernetics-oriented age. The apparent irrelevancies, too, which start up in the midst of many paragraphs and swirl immediately off in the resumed flow of graceful logical rhetoric, will puzzle and distract some. In my own judgment, however, those who will consent to a leisurely and human relish in language dealing with all possible nuances of a complex subject, and those who enjoy the quick probings of a curious and eager mind will find both Noon's style and his occasional erratic thrusts into the void charming and illuminating.

As should be expected in those of us who have taught classes for many years, some academic crankiness takes brief charge now and then. The determined effort definitively to categorize artists as "major" and "minor," while sometimes useful in classroom comparisons, can become faintly ludicrous if taken too seriously, and particularly so if Hopkins ends up "minor" and David Jones "major," as they do in Noon's text. Some of Noon's readings are open to serious question, too, not only of a few portions of the literary texts he uses—though his balance of judgment and grasp of entire contexts is almost awesome—but of such peripheral matters as Maugham's critical judgments or MacLeish's meaning in "Ars Poetica."

But such trivial opportunities for disagreement and argument rather spice up his book than disfigure it. It is a beautiful book, both physically and in content, and a worthy product of a fine critic.

ROBERT R. BOYLE, S.J.

RELIGIOUS WOMEN

The Real Woman in Religious Life. By John J. Evoy, S.J. and Van F. Christoph, S.J. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1967. Pp. x-241. \$5.00

MANY PEOPLE TODAY ARE WRITING about fulfillment in the sisterhoods. Frs. Evoy and Christoph have again approached the topic in their latest book, a conversational-approach presentation of concepts and opinions originally formulated for a series of lectures given in the summer of 1965.

Primarily the two authors demonstrate a genuine interest in and understanding of religious women and their role in the church. They offer some rather encouraging insights into possible psychological difficulties and their related possibilities for growth. They set their comments against the background of the New Testament and find much of their material for discussion in the gospels themselves. The reader can sense a certain tradition of awareness in the two priest authors, with regard to sisters and the problems they face.

However, the book is disappointing on several counts. Perhaps it is an attitude shaped by the times, but the reader closes the book feeling that the problems and questions raised were neatly skirted in too many instances, that the fundamental issues to which the authors referred were given a once-over-lightly treatment and polished off with just a few too many generalizations. The chapters proceed with little evident awareness of the present day tensions existing in houses of religious women, tensions resulting not from personality differences among women so much

as from the searching re-evaluation of both structures and purposes. The authors strike the reader as unwilling to accept sisters as anything more than little girls who need guidance in getting along together, obeying happily, accepting the fact that religious life is a way of growing up gracefully, and doing a bit of good in the whole process.

The fact is that a revolution is taking place within religious sisterhoods, just as surely as it is taking place within the church and world society as a whole. The concerns of religious women are broader than a poverty which quietly accepts the poorer with the better, or an obedience which anticipates the desires of legitimately established superiors, or a chastity which understands the sacrifice of wifehood and physical motherhood. Sisters are facing the fact that there is a difference between a relevant and genuine life of co-suffering poverty and a comfortable, sometimes middle-class community of goods. They question the validity of a life of comfort for one who has professed poor-ness and dependence, and ask how the witness of love of God is seen and proven in a "poverty of spirit" which is protected from the guts-and-blood experience of the ghetto victim.

A list to be done?

Like many other authors, Frs. Evoy and Christoph admonish sisters to try to "envision our role in the apostolate to which we have committed ourselves." But the real truth is that today's sisters are questioning this commitment to an apostolate, to a set work, to a list of things to be done. In professing obedience sisters are not simply determined to henceforth "operate within the guidelines of what the superiors, under God, directed within the bounds of their proper authority." The thrust of religious obedience has brought religious women to an awareness that they are, in effect, vowing an openness to needs, an obedience of availability which demands a greater creativity, a greater independence, perhaps a restructuring of the total concept of religious obedience. Teilhard says that "the effort of mankind, even in realms inaccurately called profane, must in the christian life, assume the role of a holy and unifying operation. It is the collaboration, trembling with love, which we will give to the hands of God, concerned to attire and prepare us (and the world) for the final union through sacrifice." And this total response is the more meaningful understanding of the life in obedience.

It is no longer true that a sister needn't really worry about what she does, so long as she does it for a genuinely good intention. The day is past when the sister can trust that her faith and good will suffice. The needs and demands of her work require a professionalism with little margin for error and incompetence. And somewhere in the process of

creatively and responsibly living her profession the religious woman encounters the situations and opportunities and individuals which make her the total person which the authors hint at throughout their book, the woman "feminine to the fingertips," "capable of loving warmly," a "deeply honest person."

Throughout their book, the authors make positive suggestions which are sometimes vague, sometimes leaving the reader with the feeling that they have all been offered before. This is not so much a criticism of the present authors alone, but rather a comment on the overly simplistic attitude too many priests tend to take in speaking to and of sisters. It is no longer true that the sisters' inferiority to the priest makes them able and willing to accept his admonition without questioning, without desiring dialog. Many religious women would echo the editorial in *America* magazine (January 13, 1967): quoting the Immaculate Heart Sisters recent general chapter, the editorial said, "Women, perhaps especially dedicated women, insist on the latitude to serve, to work, to decide according to their own lights . . . to be in the mainstream. . . ." And in conclusion the editorial suggests, "In 1968, then, let the sisters be—themselves. In a world where men have to learn again that they are brothers, let the sisters be—sisters."

Perhaps the value of the present work by Frs. Evoy and Christoph lies in its calling to mind many of the fundamentals leading to the development of the total feminine personality within the life of consecrated virginity, poverty and obedience, and in reminding religious women of the potential that is theirs. In an age when the sisterhood is more and more coming under attack for its relevancy and meaning, it is encouraging to read and reflect on the comments of two men who very evidently believe strongly and care deeply.

SR. SHARON FEYEN, S.D.S.



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INTRODUCTION

We devote most of this issue to comment, past and present, on the interracial apostolate of the Society of Jesus. Besides Father General, six other Jesuits and a layman comment on what has been and has to be done. Copy Editor **Richard A. Blake, S.J.**, is responsible for the assembly and editing of the symposium.

In line with the interracial apostolate theme, we also present a biography of **John Markoe, S.J.**, one of the two great American Jesuits in interracial work. **Robert T. Reilly**, a friend of Fr. Markoe and a sixteen year administrator at Creighton in Omaha, narrates the remarkable life.

Analysis of last year's Santa Clara Conference on Total Formation as well as some personal reminiscence is given by **Justin J. Kelly, S. J.**, just finished Tertianship in Wales. A book by **Clement J. McNaspy, S. J.**, of *America*, another Conference participant, has been published; it uses Santa Clara as a suggestive guideline for religious renewal. **Francis P. Valentino, S. J.**, just ordained, reviews it in this issue.

Ignatian Survey: 1967, is ably edited by **WOODSTOCK LETTERS'** out-of-town correspondent, **Robert C. Collins, S. J.**, who is studying at Union Theological in New York.

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FOR CONTRIBUTORS

WOODSTOCK LETTERS solicits manuscripts from all Jesuits on all topics of particular interest to fellow Jesuits: Ignatian spirituality, the activities of our various apostolates, problems facing the modern Society, and the history of the Society, particularly in the United States and its missions. In general it is our policy to publish major obituary articles on men whose work would be of interest to the whole assistancy.

Letters of comment and criticism will be welcomed for the Readers' Forum.

Manuscripts, preferably the original copy, should be double-spaced with ample margins. Whenever possible, contributors of articles on Ignatian spirituality and Jesuit history should follow the stylistic norms of the Institute of Jesuit Sources. These are most conveniently found in Supplementary Notes B and C and in the list of abbreviations in Joseph de Guibert, S.J., *The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice*, trans. W. J. Young (Chicago, 1964), pp. 609-16.

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JESUITS AND THE INTERRACIAL APOSTOLATE

Edited by RICHARD A. BLAKE, S.J.

Jesuit involvement in race relations is not new; its history is marked by Peter Claver and John LaFarge. It is marked as well by slave holdings and segregated schools. Through the centuries our treatment of the Negro in this country has been conditioned by the times; we were no better and no worse—and this perhaps is a terrible indictment. Since World War II and the nightmare experience of Hitler's racism, the race issue has risen to the surface in our own country. Jesuits in committee rooms and coffee rooms have heard varied voices: threatened voices denouncing agitation and violence, cautious voices warning against moving too fast, and enthusiastic voices urging a sweeping revision of all our traditional apostolates in this country.

We have passed beyond the age of complacency and the age of enthusiasm. Integrating our schools, we have found, is scarcely an adequate response to the problem, since ghettos produce few students to meet our normal standards for academic excellence. A mass investment of men and money in the inner city cannot provide a solution, since our resources are insignificant when compared to the effort of the government. We Jesuits then confront a problem of immense complexity, involving perhaps a complete re-

structuring of the Society; clear answers and objectives have not yet appeared. In the midst of this confusion, Father General has endorsed a letter to the American Jesuits on The Interracial Apostolate.

Several Jesuits and their associates in interracial work were asked by WOODSTOCK LETTERS to comment on this letter. Their response both to the letter and to Jesuit interracial work in general is largely negative. Administrative directives, such as the decrees of Vatican II or our own 31st General Congregation, are seldom completely satisfactory to men in the field. Such documents are rather a summing up of where the organization stands at present; they are a summary of points that the rank and file can agree upon; seldom, if ever, do administrators canonize by directive the hopeful expectations of the most progressive elements of the organization. Further, our performance in the past has left grave doubts of our ability to switch tactics on a large scale—the endless procession of committees and discussions seems to leave our basic ministries untouched. Those who have experienced first hand the frustrations and delays of administrative machinery may be excused their emotion; their impatience is in itself an important element in their message.

Following these responses to Father General's letter is an edited memorandum from Fr. John Courtney Murray to Father Assistant, Zacheus Maher. Quite possibly the years since 1945 would have altered some aspects of Fr. Murray's thinking on interracial morality, but his memorandum, despite the limitations of its age, still provides a valuable analysis of the central issues; in many respects his thinking was quite prophetic.

This collection of statements was left completely open; in all cases the editing was minimal and consequently the opinions expressed are solely those of the contributors. The text numbers were added to Father General's letter to facilitate reference from the commentaries. In the interest of ongoing dialogue, our Readers' Forum invites further reflections on Jesuit involvement in the interracial apostolate.

THE INTERRACIAL APOSTOLATE

PETER ARRUPE, S.J.

1) THE GRAVITY OF THE CURRENT RACIAL CRISIS in the United States and its serious impact upon Christian doctrine and practice impel me to address this letter to you. I do so with a great sense of responsibility and after consultation with the American Provincials and other men knowledgeable in the field of race relations. The problem is urgent and complicated. It is not easy to put into writing what I would like to say to you, but I know you will read my words in the spirit in which they are written.

2) The racial crisis involves, before all else, a direct challenge to our sincerity in professing a Christian concept of man. Upon our response and that of like-minded men to this challenge will depend the extent to which the solution of the crisis will bear a Christian character. And this in turn will determine whether the crisis will develop into a great human achievement or a great human failure.

3) For the first time in their tragic history of constitutional slavery, of legal segregation, and now of social discrimination, the great body of American Negroes, with growing self-respect and self-reliance, are giving convincing signs of their determination to gain their rightful status as men and as full-fledged citizens. The successful pursuit of this objective will redound to the enduring credit not only of the Negro, but of all who struggle with him for the realization of human equality. On the other hand, if resistance on the part of a hostile white community, with extreme reaction on the part of more militant Negroes, defeats this effort, not only will an historic opportunity be lost, but a permanent fracture in the structure of national life will become an awesome possibility.

4) In the presence of such a crisis, the resources of upright men must be marshalled to insure that the rich potentialities of the movement for human rights be not squandered in destructive conflict. At this moment of desperate human need what is the role of

the Society of Jesus in her service to the Church and in her fidelity to the spirit of the Second Vatican Council? Is it not to inspire her sons so to labor, in cooperation with men of good will, as to make all phases of American institutions and practices an environment in which the human dignity and rights of all will be acknowledged, respected and protected?

Race and poverty

5) Race relations and poverty are not necessarily and everywhere two aspects of the same problem. But, as a matter of fact, in the United States the problem of racial discrimination can hardly be considered apart from the problem of poverty. For it is especially among the hundreds of thousands of racially exploited that the poignant description of the poor by my predecessor, Fr. John Baptist Janssens, in his *Instruction on the Social Apostolate*, October 10, 1949, is distressingly verified.

6) In that Instruction, Fr. Janssens pleaded with us Jesuits to understand:

what it means to spend a whole life in humble circumstances, to be a member of the lowest class of mankind, to be ignored and looked down upon by other men; to be unable to appear in public because one does not have decent clothes or the proper social training; to be the means by which others grow rich; to live from day to day on nothing but the most frugal food, and never to be certain about the morrow; to be forced to work either below or above one's strength, amid every danger to health, honor and purity of soul; to be unemployed for days and months, tormented by idleness and want; to be unable to bring up one's children in a decent manner, but rather to be forced to expose them to the common dangers of the public streets, to disease and suffering; to mourn many of them who, lacking the tender care which they need, have been snatched off by death in the bloom of their youth; never to enjoy any decent recreation of soul or body; and at the same time to behold about one the very men for whom one works, abounding in riches, enjoying superfluous comforts, devoting themselves to liberal studies and the fine arts, loaded with honors, authority and praise.

7) The poor are rightfully demanding fair participation in the benefits of scientific and technological progress. They are seeking earnestly for leaders who will enable them to secure their just share of the earth's bounty—leaders who will deliver them from the misery of perennial poverty and free them to live in the fullness of human dignity. If, in this revolution of rising expectations, they cannot find in the free world the sympathy and the help they

need, they may be tempted to turn to other leaders and to other systems inimical to Christian truths and democratic ideals.

American problem

8) The riots and bloodshed accompanying racial strife in the United States have given us grim forewarning of the danger lurking in the land unless effective measures are taken, quickly and sincerely, to eradicate racial injustice and grinding poverty.

9) The principal groups upon whom the pressures of discrimination and poverty bear most heavily are the Negroes in every section of the country, the Mexican-Americans in the Southwest, the Puerto Ricans clustered largely in such cities as New York and Chicago, the American Indians living for the most part on reservations in the West, and the migratory workers who follow the crops according to seasonal demands. Because the Negro minority is the largest and most tragic victim, and is at the center of domestic concern, I will place special emphasis upon Negro-white relations, conscious of the fact that much of what I say is applicable to other groups victimized by discrimination and poverty.

10) The United States enjoys an acknowledged position in the free world. The nation, therefore, carries a heavy responsibility to solve its problems of discrimination and poverty within its own borders in order that its efforts to contribute to their solution in other parts of the world be not mistrusted.

American ideals

11) Americans take justifiable pride in the political and moral philosophy enunciated in the *Declaration of Independence* of 1776: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The *Declaration* referred expressly to God, to the Creator, to the Supreme Judge of the World, and expressly committed the young nation to his Divine Providence. We rightly rejoice in this solemn deliberate affirmation of the politico-religious faith of the American people. But this politico-religious faith was not enough. These ideals were not self-executing. Racism spread throughout the body politic, both North and South.

12) In God's Providence, however, a new and hopeful era in

race relations has now dawned. The Supreme Court of the United States, in its justly famous decision in the school segregation cases, May 17, 1954, and in subsequent supporting decisions, has clearly and consistently held that compulsory racial segregation is irreconcilable with "equal protection of the laws," and that every statute, official policy or official act of racial discrimination is unconstitutional. In so deciding, the Court has manifested its humility, its courage and its perseverance in the relentless pursuit of American ideals.

13) Following the leadership of the Supreme Court, the national Congress has recently enacted a number of laws, within its federal jurisdiction, to protect civil rights against racial discrimination and to foster equal economic opportunities among persons of all races. Moreover, many of the States, within their own legislative competence, have enacted antidiscrimination statutes in the fields of education, public accommodations, employment and housing. These are all hopeful and heartening advances in the long and painful struggle for interracial justice and charity.

14) I have alluded to the difficulties in the progress of race relations, from the *Declaration of Independence* to the present day, to point out a vital historical lesson. Principle does not guarantee practice. And this is true, not only of political principle, but of religious principle as well. For racism in all its ugly manifestations, whether by compulsion of unconstitutional statutes or by force of un-Christian practices, whether in public life or in private life, is objectively a moral and religious evil. As such, it can never be solved adequately by civil laws or civil courts. It must also be solved in the consciences of men. American Jesuits cannot, must not, stand aloof.

Religious ideals

15) The ideals of the *Declaration of Independence*, of human freedom and equality under God, are contained in the theology of the Church Universal. The dignity of human personality, the unity of the human race and the equality of all men are of the very essence of the Christian Gospel, which proclaims our common origin, our common purpose, our common redemption and our common destiny. These fundamental truths of our Faith demand and inspire supernatural love for every human being as a son of

the Father and as a brother in Christ; and, therefore, our supernatural zeal for interracial justice and charity. Hence, if we make a distinction between Negro and white and, on the basis of that distinction, act as though we owe the Negro something less in justice and charity than the white man, we do violence to the Christian concept of man.

16) Certainly it is unnecessary for me, in writing to my fellow Jesuits, to dwell at length upon the teachings of the Church concerning interracial justice and charity. These teachings are well known to you. Pope Paul VI, on October 29, 1967, stated: "The Second Vatican Council clearly and repeatedly condemned racism in its various forms as being an offence against human dignity, 'foreign to the mind of Christ' and 'contrary to God's intent.'" The Holy Father was referring particularly to the following passage in the *Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions*:

We cannot in truthfulness call upon that God who is the Father of us all if we refuse to act in a brotherly way toward certain men, created as they are to God's image. A man's relationship with God the Father and his relationship with his brother men are so linked together that Scripture says: "He who does not love does not know God" (I Jn. 4:8).

The ground is therefore removed from every theory or practice which leads to a distinction between men or peoples in the matter of human dignity and the rights which flow from it.

As a consequence, the Church rejects as foreign to the mind of Christ, any discrimination against men or harassment of them because of their race, color, condition of life, or religion.

17) Concerning racial conditions in the United States, the American hierarchy in its 1958 statement on *Discrimination and the Christian Conscience* emphasized the fact that "the heart of the race problem is moral and religious." In concluding, the Bishops said:

For this reason we hope and earnestly pray that responsible and sober-minded Americans of all religious faiths, in all areas of our land, will seize the mantle of leadership from the agitator and the racist. It is vital that we act now and act decisively. All men must act quietly, courageously, and prayerfully before it is too late.

For the welfare of our nation, we call upon all to root out from their hearts bitterness and hatred. The tasks we face are indeed difficult. But hearts in-

spired by Christian love will surmount these difficulties.

Clearly, then, these problems are vital and urgent. May God give this nation the grace to meet the challenge it faces. For the sake of generations of future Americans, and indeed for all humanity, we cannot fail.

18) The truths of our Faith, the teachings of the Second Vatican Council, the statements of the American hierarchy, are clear and compelling. Wherefore a critical question immediately arises: has the historical reluctance of American citizens to implement the *Declaration of Independence* been sadly paralleled by a corresponding reluctance of our Society to implement the fullness of Christian doctrine?

19) It is chastening to recall that, before the Civil War, some American Jesuit houses owned Negro slaves. It is humbling to remember that, until recently, a number of Jesuit institutions did not admit qualified Negroes, even in areas where civil restrictions against integrated schools did not prevail, and this even in the case of Catholic Negroes. It is embarrassing to note that, up to the present, some of our institutions have effected what seems to be little more than token integration of the Negro. It is salutary for us to reflect upon these facts.

20) It is true, of course, that in the history of the American Assistance, Jesuits have distinguished themselves in laboring faithfully and effectively with many minority groups. We in the United States have a long and proud record of work with the American Indian, and with the Irish, the Italian, the German and the Slav immigrants of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. At the present time Jesuits are prominently identified with the Puerto Rican apostolate in the New York metropolitan area, and Jesuit activity for the Mexican-Americans in El Paso is worthy of special commendation.

21) Nevertheless, our record of service to the American Negro has fallen far short of what it should have been. Indeed of recent years, there have been great pioneers like Frs. John LaFarge and John Markoe, and others who followed them. These American Jesuits, despite misunderstanding and even opposition, sometimes within the Society itself, have accomplished heroic things in their work with the Negro. But unfortunately our apostolate to the Negro in the United States has depended chiefly upon individual

initiative and very little upon a corporate effort of the Society. In the era of mass immigration from Europe to the United States, our men gave outstanding service to the exploited poor, to whom they were bound by ethnic and religious ties. But in the intervening decades, as the immigrant groups advanced economically, educationally, politically and socially, the Society of Jesus tended to become identified more and more with the middle-class, white segment of the population.

Why so little involvement?

22) It would be wholesome practice for each of us, individually and as members of Jesuit communities, to examine our consciences and to inquire why so little of our effort in the past has been expended in work for and with the Negro. Permit me to suggest some possible answers: a failure to appreciate fully the practical implications of the Christian concept of man; an uncritical acceptance of certain stereotypes and prejudices regarding the Negro, acquired in youth and not effectively eradicated by the training in the Society; the insulation of far too many Jesuits from the actual living conditions of the poor, and hence of most Negroes; an unconscious conformity to the discriminatory thought and action patterns of the surrounding white community; an unarticulated fear of the reprisals sometimes visited on those who participate in the active Negro apostolate; the mistaken notion that, since other priests and religious are serving the Negro, we may exempt ourselves from the obligation of contributing a major effort to the struggle for interracial justice and charity; a lack of sufficient comprehension that, while the Society of Jesus is committed to the service of all mankind, it is especially committed to the service of Christ's poor. Other considerations will undoubtedly suggest themselves to you from your own study and personal experience.

23) At the present time, however, I am happy to observe among us a quickening pace of apostolic concern for the Negro. Opportunities now being provided, particularly for the younger men throughout the Assistancy, to become personally involved in direct action with the Negro, are heartening signs that American Jesuits are becoming more aware of their Christian obligations. Moreover, the frequent public lectures on the race problem by Jesuits, the

numerous articles on interracial justice in Jesuit publications, the growing stress on racial matters in the curricular and extra-curricular activities of Jesuit high schools, colleges and universities, are additional signs of this increasing awareness.

24) Nevertheless, when past and present accomplishments in the interracial apostolate are duly acknowledged, it remains true that the Society of Jesus has not committed its manpower and other resources to that apostolate in any degree commensurate with the need of the Negro to share in our services. The considerably less than sufficient social performance of our Jesuit scholasticates, parishes, retreat houses, high schools, colleges and universities, can be summed up in our past failure adequately to realize, to preach, to teach and to practice the Christian truths of interracial justice and charity, according to our Jesuit vocation.

The spirit of poverty

25) We must look to the future. First of all, our apostolate must be soundly predicated upon our personal and collective testimony to the real poverty of Christ. The needs of the world and the condition of the poor constitute a mandate and an incentive to remodel our own living standards. Ignatian love of poverty should inspire us so to act "that our entire apostolate is informed with the spirit of poverty."

26) Before turning to others for assistance, is it not time for us to reconsider ways and means of reducing our personal and community expenses and thereby to assist and to identify ourselves with Christ's poor? I am confident that your traditional kindness and generosity will not fail in this regard. It will be a test of our sincerity in loving the poor Christ. "What does it profit, my brethren, if a man says he has faith but has not works? Can his faith save him? If a brother or sister is ill-clad and in lack of daily food, and one of you says to them, 'Go in peace, be warmed and filled,' without giving them the things needed for the body, what does it profit? So faith by itself, if it has no works, is dead" (James 2: 14-17).

Jesuit policies

27) Lest my letter appear to be a mere enunciation of general principles and adverse criticism, I deem it advisable to draw up the following directives as indicative of the course which Jesuit

thought and action should take in attacking the twin evils of racial injustice and poverty in the United States.

a) In coordination with the sociological survey now in progress, the provincials with their consultors, and local superiors with their communities, should seriously reassess their ministries, manpower and other resources, in order to discover how their potential can be focused most effectively upon the grave problems of race and poverty. This potential should then be utilized, vigorously and courageously, in the service of Christ's poor.

b) All our younger brethren should be thoroughly trained, from the novitiate onward, in the principles of social justice and charity. Accordingly, with proper regard for the demands of their academic formation, priests, scholastics and brothers should be given the opportunity to gain personal experience in confronting the practical problems of the inner city and of racial discrimination. Superiors should bear in mind the necessity of developing genuine experts in race relations.

c) The fact that there are extremely few Negro Jesuits in the United States is a cause of concern. Negro vocations should not only be conscientiously fostered but, if necessary, special opportunities should be given to Negroes to prepare themselves for entrance into the Society.

d) In explaining Christian doctrine, we should teach interracial justice and charity as an integral and vital part of our Catholic faith and commitment. In all our ministries, practices reflecting a pattern of racial segregation or discrimination, however subtle or pragmatic, should be totally eliminated.

e) In high schools, colleges and universities, we should make increased efforts to encourage the enrollment of qualified Negroes, and the establishment of special programs to assist disadvantaged Negroes to meet admission standards; special scholarship funds and other financial assistance should be solicited for this purpose. We should use our influence to conduct or sponsor conferences, seminars, workshops, lectures and the like, concerning such problems as open-occupancy housing, equal-employment opportunity, merit promotion, health services, sanitation conditions, and urban rehabilitation. We should urge the establishment in colleges and universities of institutes of human relations and of urban affairs,

by means of which such institutions can become intimately involved, through research and action programs, with the renewal of the metropolitan areas in which they are located. As is being done in many places, specific programs involving students in personal contact with, and in personal service to the people of the inner city, should be promoted as recognized extra-curricular activities. Moreover, serious consideration should be given to the feasibility of permitting Jesuits to teach on the faculties of Negro colleges and of inner-city high schools. Finally, we should use our influence that qualified Negroes be recruited for services on the faculties and administrative staffs of Jesuit institutions.

f) In our parishes we should earnestly strive with our parishioners to make the Negro genuinely welcome, and to help him participate in every way in the fullness of parish life. The Christian doctrine of social justice and charity, with specific applications to the race problem, should be a frequent subject in our pulpits.

g) In our retreat houses the Spiritual Exercises should be conducted in such a way as to promote social as well as individual morality, and thus to inculcate integral Christianity. This approach is of great importance since many, if not most, of our retreatants are in a position to advance or to retard the development of social justice and charity in the professions, in business, in labor unions, in politics and in general public acceptance. It is hardly necessary to repeat that a racially segregated admission policy cannot be tolerated, for any reason, in any of our retreat houses.

h) In our sodality work we should make special efforts to inspire our sodalists with apostolic zeal to break down the un-Christian barriers of racial prejudice and discrimination, and to undertake specific action programs to deepen their commitment and to increase their effectiveness in this apostolate.

i) In the signing of contracts for the purchase of goods and services, we should take particular precautions to patronize only those business firms and construction companies which have adopted, and actually observe, the canons of fair employment practices.

j) We should seek to cooperate with the many efforts being made by sincere, intelligent and courageous people, Catholic and

non-Catholic, believer and nonbeliever, who are making substantial contributions to the cause of interracial justice and charity. Therefore, as circumstances indicate, we should be at the service of such organizations as the diocesan commissions on human relations, the diocesan interracial councils, and the various interfaith and non-religious groups which are laboring devotedly and effectively for this common objective.

Practical programs

28) In addition to these more general directives, and in order to increase their effectiveness, I wish to indicate a specific procedure. In the near future, the fathers provincial will appoint advisors in each province whose duty it will be to draw up, in the light of provincial and community discussions, specific recommendations as to how each province or region can best respond to the general directives above. The resulting recommendations should be submitted to the provincials before their 1968 Spring meeting.

29) Among these recommendations, I suggest, first, that there be a report on the practicality of establishing with ecclesiastical approval a separate Jesuit residence in a poor Negro section of one or more of the major cities in each province. Those who would live in such a house would be prepared to lead lives of poverty accommodated to their neighborhood, in order to make the humble and poor Christ present among those whom they serve and among whom they live.

30) Secondly, there would be a proposal on the feasibility of appointing a full-time Director of the Interracial Apostolate for each province or region.

31) Those who would be assigned to the interracial apostolate should be prepared for it by intensive training courses in the particular problems of the inner-city. Thus they would be conditioned intellectually and psychologically to meet with understanding and compassion the spiritual and material needs of the poor.

32) It would be my hope that such inner-city residences would be in actual operation before the end of 1968.

Conclusion

33) In closing allow me to assure you that I understand clearly the difficult challenge which faces us. I recognize that some will

have to re-examine their racial attitudes and bring them into conformity with the teachings of the Church. I realize further that the apostolate I have outlined may arouse adverse reactions in some quarters outside the Society. I am aware of the possibility of a lessening of financial assistance to the ministries in which we are now engaged. I know that the faithful exercise of this new ministry will require deep dedication and persevering zeal. Courage of a high supernatural order will be indispensable for the sacrifices we must make in realigning our manpower and resources to meet the crying needs of our brothers in Christ who languish in racial degradation and inhuman poverty.

34) But in the zealous and persevering labors of this apostolate there will be the great consolation of hastening a new era in which all men will have well-founded hope of living in the fullness of their God-given dignity. In meeting this challenge we will bear living and visible witness to the validity, the integrity, the credibility and the relevance of the Christian message, in a world increasingly skeptical of the sincerity of Christians, if not of Christianity itself.

35) Finally, we Jesuits must be convinced that our work in the interracial apostolate will be effective only to the extent that it is transfused with the spirit of Him who said: "By this will all men know that you are my disciples, if you have love, one for another."

Devotedly in Christ,

Peter Arrupe, S.J.
General of the Society of Jesus

November 1, 1967

I

RECTOR'S STATEMENT TO THE TRUSTEES OF MCQUAID JESUIT HIGH SCHOOL

ALBERT P. BARTLETT, S.J.

Rector

"SO, YOU'RE GOING TO ADMIT NIGGERS to McQuaid? Well, you can forget my contribution to McQuaid!" That was the first reaction I heard to the newspaper announcement that the McQuaid Jesuits will muster forces and resources to help the Negro in Rochester.

Perhaps that shallow, shrunken view comes from having known the Negro only at a distance—in a sentimental way—in the radio skits of "Amos n' Andy"—in the humorous scenes of Marc Connelly's *Green Pastures*, in the poignant melodies of Jerome Kern's *Showboat*, in the memorable lyrics of Stephen Foster's songs, in the pages of Mark Twain, Booth Tarkington, and Harriet Beecher Stowe, in the poems of William Blake and Langston Hughes, in the films of Sidney Poitier, or in the portraits of Grandma Moses. Perhaps we've sung the Negro's spirituals, but never shared his sorrows. It was Emerson who observed that the American who has made the greatest happiness from the least resources is the Negro.

The second reaction I heard to our resolve no longer to remain aloof, was, "There's a limit to what you guys can do. Priests are getting too involved." Involved in what? Involved in the challenge to American sincerity. Response to this challenge can result in the greatest American achievement. Rejection of it will result in the greatest American failure. We are faced with the fusion or the fraction of America. We can capture the rich potential of the Civil Rights movement, or, we can squander it in destructive conflict. We are on the verge of a vital decision—to choose between those two alternatives. Will we put a white man on the moon, before we put a Negro on the earth—where he belongs—in a climate of equality, not on the fringes of society?

Can we call ourselves Christian and ignore the equal dignity of the Negro? Can we call ourselves American, and ignore the *Declaration of Independence*, the supreme court decision, and Congressional legislation? The issues of racial discrimination and pov-

erty are no longer matters political and social. They are deeply moral and religious. They will be solved not in the courts but in the consciences of men.

We Jesuits cannot and will not stand aloof. It is time in this community of Rochester that lethargy yielded to leadership. That leadership will be marked by racism and agitation, or by genuine compassion and concern. We must act decisively, and we must act now.

We Jesuits are not newcomers to the life of the Negro. For to England belongs the credit for beginning the abolition of slave trade, in 1815. But to England also belongs the discredit, in the person of the 16th century Sir John Hawkins, of that sullied chapter of human history, the slave trade between Africa and America. But from the Spaniards, on whom the English looked as unscrupulous, buccaneering imperialists, or fantastically cruel inquisitors, came the Jesuit who became the greatest friend of the Negro, Fr. Peter Claver, S.J. This "Saint of the Slave Trade," as Arnold Lunn called him, devoted his whole life to the Negro victims of nefarious exploitation and diabolical indifference.

At Cartagena, Colombia, Fr. Claver watched Negroes, bought for \$1.50 and sold for \$150.00, land at the rate of 10,000 a year, living freight, unloaded, herded like cattle, and shut up in yards and sheds. One third of them had died in voyage. The rest Fr. Claver revived with brandy and bread he had collected. Claver spoke to them with his hands because he couldn't talk to them with his tongue. He taught them, 300,000 of them in 40 years, with simple pictures and with kindness. Pope Leo XIII, in the year of the great blizzard, 1888, canonized Fr. Claver, and made him patron of all work for Negroes. That was a glorious chapter in the Jesuits' compassion for the Negro.

Yet, it is chastening, as Father General Arrupe reminds us, to realize that Jesuits in this country owned slaves, and that Jesuit schools refused Negro students. Yet, the first president of Georgetown University, Fr. Healy, was a Negro. As late as 1945, when I was at St. Louis University, Frs. Dunn and Heithaus were removed from the University faculty because of their zeal for the cause of the Negro. Then the great Cardinal Ritter came to the city, and changed the course of history for the Negro in St. Louis.

The words of Father General are a ringing challenge to return to the mind of St. Peter Claver and his consuming love for the disadvantaged Negro: "We understand the difficulty of the challenge. We know our alliance with the Negro will arouse adverse reactions. We know it may lessen the financial assistance given to us. But, we accept that challenge. We will meet the crying needs of our fellow men who languish in racial degradation, and who live in sub-human poverty. We will meet this challenge in the face of those who in other countries, are increasingly skeptical of the sincerity of Americans" (33-34).

One of my former students made that historic trip to Selma, Alabama. He described for me his experiences. One remains fixed in my mind. Along the march, an eight year old Negro boy made a belittling remark to a white trooper. The trooper chased the lad, followed him into a Baptist church, cornered him, and gave him a choice: "Be bull-whipped, or leap through that stained-glass window." The trembling boy jumped through the church window, tearing his young Negro flesh to shreds, and there the trooper left him, in bleeding pain. That's how low America can stoop.

The time has come, to see how high America can rise, to see how well America can hear! "A man was beaten, robbed, ditched, and dying. Priest and levite passed him by. Then, someone stopped, first-aided him, horsed him, hotel-ed him. Lord, who is my neighbor? Who?"

II

MY PEOPLE THE SLUM

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MR. AND MRS. HECTOR RODRIGUEZ speak perfect English, as do their two children. They live on the ground floor because Hector is the building superintendent. Mrs. Rodriguez is active on the advisory board of the anti-poverty project on the block; she is expecting her third child. Above them live a wonderfully noisy family of farm people recently arrived from Puerto Rico. The father

now does seasonal gardening on Long Island. And so it goes, up to the sixth floor of the tenement. The living rooms are usually clean; the families keep a close watch over their children.

Down Eldridge Street live Mr. and Mrs. Jim Robinson. Originally from the deep South, they have no children. A walk around the corner, past the cooperative grocery store started by men of the community, and two flights up, finds us with Mrs. Emily Yong whose portly frame fills the threshold. Her apartment is smaller than most, but clean. Her daughter, Brigid, smiles with her oriental eyes and disappears into the tiny bedroom to do the homework which the sisters assigned her at Immaculate Conception School.

They typify the community, these Puerto Rican, Negro, and Chinese Americans. They and their children make the streets around Nativity Mission Center jump with life day and night. The playground swings never cease their groaning. The people are unified, of course, in their common problem: the men don't make enough money. Sixty dollars a week is average; eighty is considered good. Hector Rodriguez puts together two jobs and manages to bring home about \$120. He's considered one of the better off of the law-abiding. To make more he would have to break the law.

They live on several short blocks of Manhattan's lower east side. They are New York's poor. They are also today's political dynamite, powerful enough to create an Economic Opportunity Act, and to attract a group of Jesuits to their community. But let's not run ahead of our story. Let's not talk yet about the priests and programs brought down to the neighborhood to "help people in need," or about the "urban blight" of this "inner city slum." Let's not yet refer to Mr. and Mrs. Rodriguez, Mr. and Mrs. Robinson and Mrs. Yong as an "inner city slum."

Life in the neighborhood can be tricky. Parents have to keep the kids away from the dope addicts on Allen Street and the alcoholics across the playground on Chrystie Street and the Bowery. They also have to keep them interested in school. And they must guide the dating habits of the teenagers. Then, of course, some people in the community are a problem, like Mr. Maton who doesn't take proper care of his little Carmelo, or Mrs. Pavo who is so nervous herself and keeps such a terribly tight reign on her two daughters. People say it was the mother's fault that the daugh-

ter cut her wrists one day, but people are human anywhere you find them. Eldridge Street is no exception.

Sensational things occur from time to time. These are the kind of events that are written about when someone is asking for more anti-poverty funds or when a magazine needs an article on America's deteriorating slums. In two years time, for example, the residents of Eldridge Street learned that Bernie participated in a candy store holdup in which the owner was shot to death; that José died from a heroin overdose; that half a dozen of our teenage boys are facing rape charges because one of the neighborhood girls insisted on going up alone to the stag party where the boys were high on beer; that after Mr. Hassa passed away Mrs. Hassa became mentally unbalanced and the four children sometimes have to make their own corn flakes for supper; that young Jesús is being mistaken for a Negro now that he's begun looking for jobs; that Seward Park High School now houses three times its capacity in students and the extension building that was promised four years ago hasn't been begun yet; and that there are certain criminal careers available to bright and ambitious neighborhood people which pay very handsomely, even though they may involve you indirectly with the well-dressed gentlemen from Mott and Mulberry Streets. If you're not so bright but still have a spark of ambition, Mulberry Street might get you some boxing matches in Madison Square Garden, which you will lose, like Pedro, and if you're lucky you won't break your jaw twice, unlike Pedro.

My two years of regency at Nativity taught me that the lower class community has its own inner strength. They are not a deteriorating people, they are not in need of rehabilitation, they are not morally or psychologically sick. They are strong, vigorous, ambitious and desperately in need of legitimate avenues along which to channel their ambition. The brightest and best young men sometimes get so restless that they go into crime simply because it is the only occupation they see in which they have a chance of getting ahead and improving themselves. After working at Nativity, I can appreciate the uninhibited, self-confident pride of the Negro community today, with its Black Nationalist and Black Power exponents. Perhaps what we are witnessing is the suddenly activated potential of the Negro community to rejuvenate

itself. But a walk through Newark at night would convince most white men that the Negroes there neither need nor will accept emissaries from the white world who come to rehabilitate individual ghetto residents, even if those emissaries happen to work out of a parish rectory. Today's urban poor do not need more missionaries; they need new opportunities.

As seen through the eyes of the Eldridge Street community, then, the Jesuits came in several phases. The first phase began before anyone can remember and consisted of the parish priests whom the people saw as men baptizing the children, marrying the young couples, and occasionally helping to get a more reasonable price for a funeral when Mr. Ortiz wanted to charge too much. The second phase was Fr. Janer. Around him grew the Mission Center where the kids played pool and joined clubs and went to camp in the summer, and where the sisters taught catechism to prepare them for first communion. But that was all before the civil rights movement and Vatican II. Something happened to the Jesuits after those two events.

The people on Eldridge Street knew from television and the newspapers and from the Negroes in the community that the civil rights movement had started. Once there was an office run by CORE on Allen Street, which taught people to organize for their own interests. Some people did, but the CORE office soon closed. The people thought vaguely that Mobilization For Youth also had something to do with the civil rights movement. Whenever the Negroes in some city rioted, the Puerto Ricans talked badly about them. But in their hearts, they wanted to riot too; when it got the chance, "El Barrio" in the Bronx did riot, with much merriment.

Fordham-Nativity project

The third phase of Jesuits to hit the neighborhood consisted of a "team." The Jesuits of the team said they had a project called the Fordham-Nativity Project. These men were stirred by civil rights and by Vatican II, for they said they were going to start social action as well as a new form of parish life with all the new theology.

The people liked these men because they were friendly. Some said it was too bad that the Jesuits' project didn't work out. The Jesuits all seemed disappointed when the project stopped. Two

of them stayed for a long time to work at the Mission Center and one of these became the Center's director.

That, roughly, is the story as seen through the eyes of the Eldridge Street community. My experiences at Nativity cover twenty-two months from August, 1965 to June, 1967, beginning with the Fordham-Nativity venture and continuing at the Mission Center and its anti-poverty project for a year and a half after that venture's end.

Let's first ask, why did the Fordham-Nativity Project fail? Was it simply a clash of personalities between the project team and the parish priests? I only wish it were that simple, but I have an uneasy suspicion that the cause of the failure lies much deeper.

Parish work, as carried out at Nativity since the first half of the 19th century, had been an apostolate to the poor immigrants. As such, it involved the Jesuits in a complicated process of assisting minority groups to assimilate to the dominant American culture. The Jesuits were noted for their sympathy toward the minority cultures; they spoke the foreign languages and were conversant with the etiquette and values of the minority communities. But the Church itself, as an organization in the neighborhood, was seen by the Jesuits as occupying a place midway between the dominant and the minority communities. The function of Nativity was to allow the immigrants to pass through it on their way to more affluent parishes uptown. In the opinion of Nativity's parish priests, their function consisted of non-partisan mediation between the interests of the minority groups and the already available opportunities of the dominant society. A parish was not considered the proper organization for engaging in conflicts to restructure the shape of the dominant society.

If an opportunity for a job or an apartment was available in the dominant society, the Jesuits would urge the people to take advantage of it. Occasionally, when a competition was declared such as hearings of the housing commission or the budget hearings of the Board of Education, the Jesuits would encourage Nativity's residents to participate in the contest, fighting against other minority interest groups for possession of the limited goods and services which the dominant society was making available to the minorities. The Jesuits found themselves carefully choosing which

contests they would join in, and which were to be considered misguided brawls unsuited for the participation of a Catholic parish. This attitude grew as a defense against the many radical movements which were born on Manhattan's lower east side.

The civil rights movement can be said to have been born in 1954, with the Supreme Court's decision on school desegregation, as Father General mentions in his recent letter, *The Interracial Apostolate* (12). By the time the Fordham-Nativity project was begun in 1965, civil rights had been studied, planned, discussed and acted upon for a decade. Its proponents had evolved a philosophy and strategy unique to the movement. Opportunities in the dominant society, they decided, were too limited for members of the Negro minority. Needed were radical structural changes in the shape of society itself. Don't blame the poverty of America's Negro citizens on some imagined Sambo-like characteristics of Negro people, but rather, busy yourself by reading the racial breakdown of participants in apprenticeship programs of key labor unions, or the relative reading scores of youngsters in inner-city and suburban schools, or by studying the patterns of white panic occurring when educated young Negro couples place a down payment on their first home away from metropolitan congestion. Civil rights strategists decided that America's minorities were in desperate need of partisan advocates who would lead minority interest groups in conflicts to change the power and policy of the main institutions of America's social structure.

Aligned with this strategy there developed a philosophy expressing the dignity of the poor: don't make moral judgements about the worthiness of welfare clients, and don't assume that different mating and family patterns classify poor communities as morally inferior. Such moral judgments, civil rights leaders believed, must be kept separated from the issues of granting poor minorities their legal and just rights. For example, if a Puerto Rican youth conforms to the norms of his father and grandfather by marrying out of wedlock at age fifteen, it is not the place of New York City's Family Court to relegate the boy to a psychiatric case worker who will spend months of probation trying to change the boy's cultural values. The cultures of minorities, it was felt, must be respected at least to the extent of not allowing

cultural differences to influence decisions about the allocation of the country's opportunities for human development.

Assimilation or restructuring

Such ideas were shaped and sculptured into action programs throughout the country when New York's Jesuits initiated the Fordham-Nativity project in a parish which for years had considered its apostolate to be one of aiding immigrants in cultural assimilation.

The new project brought with it a knowledge of the civil rights movement as well as a knowledge of the problems of theology and Church structure raised by Vatican II, especially as they applied to parish work. At the outset, the project team refused to enunciate a definite program, but wished to put its knowledge at the disposal of the regular parish staff, and work out a program in cooperation with them, drawing upon their long experience in the neighborhood and their knowledge of its history and its people.

Trouble hounded the parish staff and the project team at every step. The first crisis proved to be, where would the team live? The second crisis, what are the lines of authority? Then, when will the Mass for the *Catholic Worker* and artist group be moved to the main church building and modified to suit all parishioners? Who is in charge of the Mission Center? Every decision turned into a traumatic experience for all concerned. Communications could not be maintained, and the atmosphere never allowed for a rational exposition of the issues at stake.

Deeper than personalities, the difficulty stemmed from differences in basic orientation and philosophy concerning the apostolate. Some believed in presenting the parish as a respectable, permanent establishment helping people to make the grade morally, culturally and economically. Others were oriented toward structural change in New York's social institutions and religious change in the forms of parish life; they presupposed that the neighborhood people already possessed a spiritual vigor which yearned for an expressive liturgy; they viewed the parish congregation pluralistically and did not expect every Mass to be liturgically the same; they saw problems in the structure of the public school system to which they were willing to address themselves; they spoke of nuclei of Christian groups dispersed throughout the parish, of theological meetings in

the apartment houses, of involving laymen in the work of evangelizing their neighbors and serving the social needs of the People of God; they spoke of decentralizing the buildings of the parish plant and of de-emphasizing monetary considerations when planning strategy for the new form of parish.

The project failed and was disbanded, although officially it was said to be temporarily suspended. The church eventually abandoned plans for decentralized smaller buildings in the parish, and embarked on a money-raising campaign whose goal is to tear down and rebuild the church edifice on its original site. New men came into the parish, and the Jesuits who were first involved in the tumultuous planning, discussing and experimenting scattered. I doubt that the Province has a complete written record of this episode, or that anyone is making the effort to study that experiment or the causes for its failure.

One thread of continuity did remain, however. Before the Fordham-Nativity project began, the priests and laymen of the Mission Center were preparing a proposal for an educational and community involvement anti-poverty project. This proposal was funded early in the Fall of 1965, after the Fordham-Nativity project's priests worked hard to see it through its final stages of bureaucratic red tape. That anti-poverty project was born, grew and is still in full vigor thanks to the patience and talent of the Jesuit director of the Mission Center and to the dedication of the laymen who run the anti-poverty project.

At the close of the Fordham-Nativity project, therefore, three structures remained at Nativity: the parish church, the Mission Center, and the anti-poverty project. Each had different goals and a different job to do. Parish work proved to be distinct from anti-poverty work, and the Mission Center's work was somewhat different from both of the others. Despite a turnover of personnel, peace never came to Nativity. The new men continued the old debates, and it was not until 1967 that plans for decentralizing the parish buildings were finally abandoned.

What interpretation can we give to these two years of Nativity's life? When Fr. Janer was at Nativity, his own dynamism and courage must have allowed him to absorb personally much of the impact of the crises occurring periodically in the Jesuit community

whenever the goals of Nativity as seen by the priests of the parish church conflicted with the goals at the Mission Center. Furthermore, Fr. Janer's talents allowed him to combine somehow social action and parish work into a single entity with neither element suffering neglect. When he was reassigned, the men who replaced him were told by the provincial that the age of courageous pioneers was passing into the time when ordinary Jesuits could engage in follow-up work, operating from the structures erected by the pioneers, so that men of Fr. Janer's caliber could move on to other tasks.

Two years later, the Mission Center and the church had moved no closer to agreement, the conflicts were no less frequent, and if anything had changed it was a lessening of the social action carried on by the Center and an intensification of the Center's "parish" characteristics. The separate goals of social action and parish work could not be successfully combined by Nativity's new staff. Inevitably, the priority of goals fell in favor of the parent structure—the church—which outweighed the Center in authority and financial resources.

The reality of what was happening was obscured by the anti-poverty project's success. The laymen operated this project in a separate building with independent funds and separate lines of authority, but retained the name of Nativity. The independence of this project meant that its funds and authority were well aligned with its own project-goals. This in no way denigrates the parish, for my point is that the goals of the parish, backed by its funds and the orientation of its authorities, lay in a different direction entirely from the anti-poverty project, and their mutual independence was a blessing to them both. The success of the anti-poverty project, however, tended to hide from view the ills of the Mission Center.

The Mission Center had limited financial resources of its own and limited authority over its own activities. It was dependent upon the parish in many ways. The goals of the Center, however, had traditionally embodied a greater emphasis upon social action than had the goals of the parish church. Under such circumstances, friction was inevitable. The structures at Nativity were poorly planned and as a result the apostolate to which Father General calls attention in his letter suffered.

A word must be said now about structural change within the Province. No honest man can read Father General's recent letter without feeling empty and somewhat helpless. Where have we gone wrong? If we can just get our hands around the Jesuit problem, we might be able to bend things into proper shape. This must be our honest response when one man in full possession of the facts about our province apostolates—Father General—tells us, When past and present accomplishments in the interracial apostolate are duly acknowledged, it remains true that the Society of Jesus has not committed its manpower and other resources to that apostolate in any degree commensurate with the need (24).

And he reminds us that this judgment is applicable not only in reference to Negroes, but also to "the Puerto Ricans clustered largely in such cities as New York" (9).

A part-time apostolate

What has happened in the provinces to "cool off" those voices which called for social involvement? How have our "young Turks" been satisfied and yet side-tracked from institutionalizing their ideas? Four years ago the New York Province held top-level conferences discussing our social involvements, at which papers were read and projects specified by experienced priests as well as by theologians and philosophers who represented ideas expressed after community discussions at Woodstock and Shrub Oak. Yet today Father General is again asking for "provincial and community discussions, specific recommendations" (28). Why?

Let us talk plainly and without jargon. There is a theory which holds that any structured group of people, proud of its history and traditions, likes to protect itself against extreme social change. The group which cannot ostracize its radical sons will find ways of harmlessly absorbing their impact, satisfying them, and cooling off their innovative ardor. Often this is done very sincerely in the interests of "reducing the visions of our prophets to practical implementation."

For example, the strategies by which a dominant society "cools out" its conflict groups—satisfies them without changing the system—are varied and subtle. How many energetic young Negro leaders in America have been diverted from criticizing existing structures by being handed funds for a Head Start project, and thereby kept busy writing governmental reports and minding the

children who one year later are fed into the jaws of an unchanged, unchallenged public school system? How many potentially profound theologians have been diverted from articulating new religious values in the Church because they were set to the task of turning altars to face the people? These strategies are as unconscious as they are effective for maintaining the status quo.

This interpretation, of course, does not apply directly to a Jesuit province's attempts to adjust to the needs of the social apostolate. Few in the province particularly relish the burdens of authority, and there are no groups anxious to wrest power in a province. But the theory does serve to highlight certain aspects of the response of a Jesuit province to its needs for social involvement. The first noteworthy aspect is that social projects have frequently been pushed back to our houses of formation. Scholastics observe or participate in poverty projects in their spare time, after their study assignments are finished. This has been done to train our men in social awareness, and it is evidence of the spirit of our young men. But it also has the side-effect of satisfying these men, and keeping them from taking critical looks at the province structures which await them as priests and regents in the modern world.

Once they are out in the apostolate, what becomes of the social prophet[s]? How are their visions made "practical"? Some are assigned to parishes, some to schools, some to retreat work. In short, they are fed into existing structures. Occasionally, they are isolated from any province structure by being placed individually in a secular agency or a public school classroom. If assigned to a province structure, they may succeed to a greater or lesser degree in individually engaging in socially relevant activities in their spare time. The ambitious teacher can tutor "underprivileged" youngsters after class or hold extracurricular discussions of social problems; the zealous parish or retreat priest can make a purely personal commitment of his time and energy to social action, after his door-duty is fulfilled or his retreat talk delivered. Yet he cannot ask for parish money for a "secular" project such as hiring a layman to organize a rent strike or a welfare group. Such projects do not fall within the goals of parish work.

And it is true. The goals of parish work are not the goals of the social apostolate. Nor do the goals of our schools presently include

teaching normal youngsters of poverty groups or the potential juvenile delinquent. Retreat work does not directly mean community work, and never will. The needs of the poor involve more than committees, discussions, and articles. One cannot work in this field in his spare time. I am sure that many Jesuits have lost their ardor for social work because they were kept too busy teaching high school. But where are our structures specifically for community action, for social work, for juvenile delinquent work, for dealing with housing problems, dope addiction, welfare problems, poverty-level education, job training and self-help projects among the Catholic and non-Catholic urban poor?

Community work of this sort is a field in itself. It has a long history encompassing the Schools of Social Work and of Sociology in cities such as Chicago and New York, and extending through techniques of casework and group work to the newly emerging strategies of community involvement in self-help and interest group projects. The study of one narrow category, such as the effects of broken homes upon poverty youngsters, takes us through volumes and uncovers intervention techniques as varied as is individual psychiatric casework from group involvement in a national heritage course or in conflict group formation. If the Jesuits choose to enter this field they must take it on its own terms, and immerse themselves in the issues, past experiments and present directions of the field.

Above all, we cannot assume that we have something unique to offer in this field simply because we've read the Gospels. We must not think that putting a religious interpretation on concepts like community spirit or social solidarity will automatically constitute a significant contribution to solving problems like juvenile delinquency, alcoholism, poor housing, poor education, underemployment, or dope addiction. We should not attempt to create a theory of "Christian community organizing;" religion already has its place in community studies and the function of the parish in a neighborhood is already appreciated by social workers and sociologists. We need not justify our existence in this field by relating our activities to the Gospel. Rather, we should enter the secular arena on an equal level methodologically and theoretically with its present practitioners, rising to the challenge of matching them in their dedication and expertise among the urban poor.

We must begin thinking structurally about province involvement in the poverty apostolate. Poverty projects have their own objectives and must have their own authority, funds and personnel. We cannot fulfill our responsibilities in this field by operating small, ancillary projects within other apostolates, which tax the time and energy of the personnel without affecting the main goals of the parent apostolate. Poverty work is not parish work. Likewise, if we are serious about a commitment to the education of the poor, we cannot rest content with extracurricular tutoring help to the better-than-average members of poverty groups. We must commit a school and its staff totally to the education of students residing in a slum area, and engage in whatever supportive social services and community work prove necessary for the education of these youngsters.

Province assimilation or restructuring

Neither can we rest content with releasing individual Jesuits for assignments in secular agencies. It would be futile to place an individual Jesuit in a public school classroom and expect thereby to have any noticeable impact upon the education of minority groups. Educational systems are not affected by individual teachers, nor can a Jesuit expect to succeed where equally dedicated and intelligent lay teachers attuned to the needs of minority groups have failed. If Jesuits have anything to offer large American cities, it is the competition which our educational systems could offer the public schools, in developing techniques for teaching the lower class youngster.

Placing an individual Jesuit in a secular social agency or in an anti-poverty project also seems to fall short of the commitment of province resources of which we are capable at this time. Does it not smack of "cooling off" tactics to place the men anxious for social work outside the regular province structures, isolated from each other, in a multitude of disparate governmental or private agencies?

We must not—indeed if we consider ourselves spiritually sensitive men, we dare not—allow our planning to be stymied by the fear that economic insolvency would reward our efforts to meet the needs of the city's poverty groups. Is the province's talent at grantsmanship at such a low ebb that we cannot hope for govern-

mental, private or archdiocesan support for our projects? Or does the conventional wisdom dictate that we not advance from the central economic tradition which has guided the province until today? Funds from whatever sources should be accepted and used in behalf of today's urban poor.

Finally, if the Jesuits assigned to the poverty apostolate will need anything, they will need the support of meaningful community life. This extends beyond community recreation after working hours; our men need more than a group with whom to watch television and drink beer. It includes the mutual support of men whose intellectual milieu and occupational pursuits are similar enough to create a spirit of common endeavor in the apostolate. While it is true that basically different people can meet each other in charity, this can only occur if they each come forth from their own supportive intellectual and spiritual communities and if they therefore are not dependent upon each other for approval or agreement. It is impossible to profit from a "community" of people who disagree on vital questions of apostolic commitment but who share a common interest in football.

These few ideas constitute one man's interpretation of Father General's letter on *The Interracial Apostolate*, an interpretation formed against the background of two years' experience in social work among Manhattan's urban poor. In response to their own needs, France once produced its *Action Populaire* and the Latin American countries, their *Centros Investigaciones y Acciones Sociales*. In the United States, other times and other needs called forth our labor schools and our Institute for Social Order on the local and national levels. Today, the problems of the urban poor are being felt by every part of the nation. Our response must be on an urban basis and must combine research with action.

III

THE ROLE OF JESUIT EDUCATION

EDWARD G. WINNER

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District of Columbia*

LET ME BEGIN by confessing that I went to school under the Jesuits, and returned to teach with them; in fact, I learned to teach the hard way—in a Jesuit high school. Several years ago I left my position on a Jesuit faculty to assume a similar position at an inner-city public high school a few blocks—and a few educational light-years—away.

I left to take that job because I was afraid that time was slipping by. My generation had been that indifferent one of the early Fifties, and as we arrived at the New Frontier I could not stand and watch while others in those exciting summers of the early Sixties went South for the first skirmishes of what is shaping up to be the war of our time. I moved into the inner-city and took on a new and difficult job because I felt that I was almost too late. If there was a sense of urgency at the opening of this decade, here is a sense almost of desperation as it begins to close.

Fr. Arrupe addresses himself specifically to the plight of the Negro in the cities of our country. One of many difficulties is that the Negro today is not that refugee from Harriet Beecher Stowe who still greatly influences much public discussion: the Negro as a simple but honest agrarian, with shining face and happy smile, looking for a hand to help him up, asking only for forty acres and a mule. We must be certain to understand that the Negro today is the same man who has lived in our cities and has been the very muscle of our urban development for over a century. The children in our schools today do not go home to pick cotton; they go home to watch television, to read newspapers and magazines, to view, at least, the same middle class picture of American life that every other American sees.

What is new in our day is that the Negro has finally given up waiting for the white man to do the right thing. He has de-

terminated by whatever way possible to do it for himself; to do it wholeheartedly, to do it completely. He needs help, but it can no longer be the gratuitous help of the Abolitionists.

What I hope is called for in Fr. Arrupe's letter is a determination and an ability on the part of all of us to play a secondary role, under a leadership not always the most experienced or the most skilled. Such a determination requires a sense of Christianity not as easy as that old missionary spirit.

Much of the crisis he recognizes is a crisis of young people, and this is a crisis in education. In my position I cannot help but see this crisis as one rooted in teaching itself, not in school plants, or textbooks, or bus schedules. And it is teaching which is the art at which Jesuits excel. I have therefore read Fr. Arrupe's letter for its implications for inner-city teaching. He suggests a lack of involvement; he feels that change is occurring and progress is being made without the full participation of the Society. But even more, I fear we are at a crossroads of change, and without such involvement we will not go forward, but will go down the tempting road of "law and order," with repressive change—stop and search laws, investigative arrests, anti-riot measures—and the great promise of education will be shelved again. Police already earn more than teachers, and our city fathers are buying tanks instead of textbooks.

The word "Jesuit" in the lexicon of this country is almost synonymous with education. It is on these grounds, then, that the Jesuits have the greatest contribution to make. Fr. Arrupe is likewise correct in his assertion that personal participation is not enough. For a hundred years we have seen personal concern and participation dissipated by organized indifference. If the Society is to follow the directions of its Father General, I believe that it must be directly in the field of education, and that it must bring to the effort its full organizational weight. Let us assume that the Society is about to make a full-scale, organized effort to participate in and influence the general education of the Negro in the urban centers of the United States. A pretty tall order, and not a moment too soon. From a very minor vantage point, I would like to make a few observations concerning immediate tasks to be undertaken.

The problem exists in the cities proper, not on their fringes. It

exists on street corners, in housing projects, often on the very doorsteps of some major Jesuit institutions. Many of these institutions are ideally located, so ideally that their current contact with the community they serve is carried on only through massive commuter efforts. One need only stand in the parking lot of a Jesuit school in most of our cities and watch the caravan of cars arrive from far-off suburbia, filled with students already tired from a long and arduous journey. This, then, is the "where" of our concern.

The problem is so great that a dissipation of effort is very easy. At the public school where I taught we surveyed the neighborhood and found that forty-eight distinct agencies were doing social work within walking distance of the school.

Any effort the Jesuits make must be first of all concentrated, and secondly must be related—perhaps at some cost to dignity—to the efforts of many other agencies. The most active agencies for change today are not very "nice." They are militant and often irritating; they are not very respectful. But as the kids say, "That's where the action is."

The Jesuits, in a catalytic role in the Church, must find ways of public participation. The old shibboleths of Church and State are real when parochial education is carried on for properly dues-paying Catholic children. What if the situation were to be reversed? What if the enormous resources of the Church were to go in the other direction, rather than State resources being sought for the Church? What if the object of our efforts were the "public" child rather than the parochial one?

The effort must involve all of the resources available to the Society: universities, high schools, houses of study, and parish residences must join together in a single effort.

Each of us must recognize the need for "re-tooling." Special training, such as that we give our young interns before sending them into the ghetto schools, is essential. I, and any other well-intentioned white liberal, must confess the exceptional difficulties of re-thinking and re-evaluating myself: my motives, my prejudices, my instinctive reactions. Too often those self-protective devices of each man's self place the blame for his personal problems on the environment, the home situation, society, the establish-

ment, the system. Such work will require something poorly titled "sensitivity training"; the Society's philosophers and psychologists have a major role to play.

And concerted effort to work with inner-city children does not by any means include the abandonment of the middle-class child. A truly effective program would educate everyone. Most particularly, it would bring the two disparate elements in our society into a single educational program. The middle-class parent places great trust in the Jesuits, and this very trust can be a tool by which the white parent and child—most in need of education—engage in a truly valid experience.

A complex of functions

Within any particular complex of Jesuit institutions I would envision such a program as a complex of many factors: teacher training, special education centers and facilities, particular work with youngsters of many ages and with many needs, and community school activities. To give a very specific example, in Washington we began, in 1964, a "College Orientation Program" for inner-city public high school students with low achievement but high potential. This program was centered at Georgetown University. Shortly thereafter we began a Higher Achievement Program, this time working with junior high school students, and centered at Gonzaga High School. Currently we are discussing the establishment of a Master of Arts in Teaching program at Georgetown. Each of these programs has direct lines into the public schools both in policy and finance. All of them are logically linked together and could easily conform to a single-minded and centrally directed Jesuit effort in the city as a whole.

At the heart of any major effort must be a carefully developed proposal for assisting in the training of the teachers and other professionals and paraprofessionals working in urban education. Needed are not merely bodies, but well prepared persons with particular skills specifically trained for the jobs they are to do. With the help of local school systems and recent federal legislation, Jesuit institutions are already equipped to train teachers, administrators, aides, and community workers. Such a role as a training agency greatly multiplies the effectiveness of any effort.

Many Jesuit institutions are in the heart of urban areas where

major efforts are now being made to involve the local residents directly in the operations of community agencies, and especially the public schools. The Bundy report in New York and the Passow report in Washington are but two indices of the potential for the immediate future. Most of these grass roots community organizations are becoming aware of the need for professional advice and help—but from outside the Establishment. In Washington, for example, George Washington University, Maryland University, and Howard University are working directly with parent groups in designing new educational programs. Antioch College is assisting a neighborhood in operating a model school. The search is on for new ideas and new relationships.

I hope that these items will be taken as casual observations rather than as specifics, for I see in Fr. Arrupe's letter an understanding of a need not for such specific ideas so much as for the full-time devotion of the faith, capacity, and intelligence of the Society of Jesus to the problems of urban life today. I sincerely hope the Society can find the vital and significant role which the letter has eloquently described.

IV

INTERGROUP RELATIONS AND
THE JESUIT APOSTOLATE

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THE FOURTH PARAGRAPH OF THE LETTER of Father General introduces a subject that must engage the attention of any Jesuit program involving intergroup agencies. It is the fact of conflict. It would be naïve to expect that our part in this apostolate will aim at eliminating all conflict. At the same time we must acknowledge that tensions can have a creative function if only we can somehow utilize them in the direction of constructive purposes. Dr. Dan Dodson, in an address delivered nine years ago to the 11th Annual Convention of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, pointed out that "the challenge to us is not to find a

utopia in which there is to be no more conflict. This would be stultifying and would be the last place most of us would want to live. Our problem is rather that of finding ways to use conflict toward creative ends in our social relationships."

The New York University sociologist is far from advocating a positive striving to bring about conflict! Rather he accepts the realism of the situation: as the Gospel warns us of scandal, "it must needs come." So too must conflict come, for the simple reason that all of us are born into groups and conflict is one of the normal ways through which peoples react to one another. Dr. Dodson says further, "It is next to impossible to restructure relations between groups without some hostility and conflict and prejudicial behavior of peoples toward each other on a group basis."

In the case of the Society in America, our response to the call of Father General for "thought and action in attacking the twin evils of racial injustice and poverty in the United States" (5) must be launched with full awareness of the truth that there are few ways in which group relations can be restructured except through conflict. Failure to appreciate this phenomenon of social life is what has led many people to misunderstand and condemn the work of leaders in our day who, like Fr. James Groppi of Milwaukee, have had the courage to align themselves with groups in the eye of the hurricane of race relations.

This is equally true when our efforts lie outside the field of the activist; we have to anticipate the condemnation of those who feel that the only attempt we should make is simply to reduce conflict. Because some intergroup agencies have been afraid of such condemnation, they have rendered themselves ineffective. As Dr. Dodson points out, "the major portion of our [intergroup] agencies are afraid of conflict. All too many of the agencies we represent were created by mayors and other responsible officials whose interest was in keeping conflict from occurring in their communities." This should be borne in mind when Jesuits are invited to serve on various committees in their civic communities.

To achieve a balanced program between creative and destructive conflict is of course the great art of the intergroup worker. When men like Fr. Groppi or Saul Alinsky step into a tense situation, they know the fur will fly. Must they therefore refrain from exercising their style of leadership? When Fr. John LaFarge in

June, 1942, addressed the Madison Square Garden rally called by A. Philip Randolph to lead a March on Washington for the purpose of demanding a Fair Employment Law of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, he was the only white man on the platform. This was true of many other occasions when Fr. LaFarge saw that it was necessary for a white clergyman to speak out. He paid the price of his apostolic courage, but he did so with conscious realization that the ensuing storm of criticism and hostility, even from his own religious brethren, was a necessary step toward the constructive effect of forcing issues to the surface. In no other way will there ever take place a showing of hands. Until everyone manifests complete understanding of what he signs up for in social conflict, we cannot tell the "do-gooders" and dilettantes from genuine apostles of social justice. "Too often," observes Dodson, "we are expected to placate conflicting interests rather than use such conflict to achieve creative goals in which relations between groups become restructured without destructive conflict."

Restructuring human relations

Father General shows his own awareness of this aspect of intergroup work when he declares toward the end of his letter, "the apostolate I have outlined may arouse adverse reactions in some quarters outside the Society. I am aware of the possibility of a lessening of financial assistance to the ministries in which we are now engaged" (33). We may even find ourselves the object of vilification and physical abuse as happened last October to the courageous Priests' Group in Newark who protested to their City Council the proposed use of police dogs to maintain order.

If we follow the reasoning of Dr. Dodson then, Jesuits should understand what is entailed in the restructuring of human relations. "Where the restructuring takes place such as happened in southern communities, it is understandable that there should be hostility and perhaps what the weather people would call 'turbulence' as the climate changes. It would be expected that those who have vested interests would give them up only reluctantly. It would be predictable that those who have been denied these privileges, who have been barred from them by legal procedure and by government power would get a new lease on life and aspire toward the breaking down of such barriers. It would be

taken for granted that this would bring hostility in its wake."

Two more quotations from Dr. Dodson may suffice to help us keep in focus this important feature of the Negro apostolate we are about to engage in. "There is a great danger that we may become placators or that we may become persons who use the status of our offices to keep change from happening, that is, to keep relations from being restructured rather than allowing conflict to run its course to the point at which restructuring takes place." Again, "It is not easy to interpret to the power structures of our communities this point of view. It is not easy to help them understand how these things operate. But the intergroup relations person who does a creative job must somehow help those with whom he works to understand the normal use of conflict in community relations."

The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights with headquarters in Washington, headed up by Roy Wilkins and Arnold Aronson, whose weekly bulletins are so informative these days, lists over a hundred participating organizations on their letter-head. These groups represent a wide variety of interests in all parts of the country, religious, civic, educational, labor union and others. With most of them we should try to maintain close contact; with some we would be well advised to collaborate circumspectly. Not all would be prompt to endorse the position taken by Dodson. Still, most can help us as we plan our strategy in the days ahead. With a good many we have already cooperated in ecumenical matters. In any event, Jesuit efforts to carry out Father General's recommendation (27 j) of "Jesuit Policies" must coincide with the contribution so far made by these organizations.

Indeed this view of "creative conflict" affords a yardstick for separating the men from the boys among various intergroup agencies. With this in mind, we should definitely cooperate with them because they have assets that can provide valuable assistance to our own apostolate such as: (1) they can keep us informed with their alert posts for gathering news; (2) they are an important guide to governmental and legislative activity; (3) they readily put their know-how at our service; (4) they can occasionally supply a platform for us to set forth our ideas; (5) cooperation with them manifests an interest on our part, always an important con-

sideration in community relations; (6) the ecumenical value is likewise present.

Hence, Jesuit planning should include sophisticated cooperation with intergroup agencies around the country. We must not expect too much from them, nor feel that by accepting positions on their committees we have done all that is necessary to fulfill the directives laid down by Father General. These groups are a phenomenon of American life like Rotary Clubs, Kiwanis and Chambers of Commerce. We cannot overlook the tremendous achievements of the older and better tooled agencies in the civil rights field like NAACP and the Urban League. To its everlasting credit the Legal Defense Office of NAACP made its most memorable contribution to the cause with its series of costly and time-consuming law-suits instituted in the Forties and Fifties which culminated in the Supreme Court decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in the public schools.

At the same time many Negroes regard as tokenism the financial support of these agencies by huge white organizations, like the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. Large contributions are of course appreciated, but their giving can leave donors quite uncommitted, safely removed from the real issues, complacent in their private attitudes toward Negroes and often patronizing toward them. Since the riots of the summer of 1967, the retreat of many white liberals from their once militant position in favor of Negro rights has brought to Negroes a measure of disenchantment about the degree of commitment they can expect from certain intergroup agencies.

We cannot however limit our apostolate to participation in the endeavors of the agencies just described, valuable as they undoubtedly are. Unless our expression of concern is accompanied by deep personal involvement, we run the risk of appearing to the Negro as willing to work *for* him but not *with* him. Father General terms this involvement "a direct challenge to our sincerity in professing a Christian concept of man" (2). But our sincerity is only as convincing to the Negro as our willingness to "put our bodies on the line." Otherwise we might just as well stay in the classroom and give forth our theories to students we know are already convinced more by the attitudes of their social environment than they are by our philosophy.

If we want a hard-headed norm for evaluating our sincerity, we have it in the words of Father General when he defines the role of the Jesuit in the racial crisis: “. . . so to labor, in cooperation with men of good will as to make all phases of American institutions and practices an environment in which the human dignity and rights of all will be acknowledged, respected and protected” (4). I consider these words one of the clearest definitions of integration I have seen formulated. We can do no better in the crucial testing of our motives than analyze carefully their import to make sure that we are in full agreement with all that they imply before embarking on the practical steps of the apostolate.

For example: are we thoroughly convinced that we want Negroes to share with white Americans “all phases of American institutions and practices?” What of the social clubs, the golf clubs and residential areas that continue to bar Negro membership? What of “American practices” like dances and proms, holiday gatherings and the like to which Negro school-mates are seldom invited? We cannot proclaim ourselves as apostles of interracial justice and still hide behind evasive slogans like that of the “right of private association.” Not only must we manifest clearly our own personal and religious abhorrence of such slogans, but we must make it abundantly clear to our students, parishioners and retreatants just how we feel and how we expect them to feel as Christians and Americans once they submit to our teaching and leadership. Open housing is one unmistakable issue that demands our support. Yet it will be the last to be whole-heartedly adopted by American whites. Home-owners make up one group that will show “massive reluctance” to share our goals.

What will be hardest of all for most of us (at least without being “conditioned intellectually and psychologically to meet with understanding and compassion the spiritual needs of the poor” [31]) will be the concrete manifestation to the Negro that we are willing to identify with him and his legitimate aspirations. Our identification must reach to the extent that we openly espouse and work toward the creation of that “environment in which (his) human dignity and rights will be acknowledged, respected and protected” (4). Unless we are so prepared, the Negro may interpret our policies as so many indications that we are willing to

work hard for him just so long as he does not move next door.

It takes long association before one is accepted deep down by the Negro. It requires humility to enter thoroughly into the thinking and attitudes of our Negro brethren. One sometimes hears the Negro compliment paid to a priest-apostle: "We do not think of Father as a white man; he is one of us." It has become a truism of Negro shrewdness to say that they can discern those of their race who tell the white man only what he wants to hear. They can be radar-keen in their appraisal of those people they label as "Uncle Toms." That same keenness of judgment enables them to form an uncanny estimate of their true friends.

Living conditions

One way by which we can give convincing evidence to the Negro of our sincerity in working on his behalf will be the degree to which we are prepared to share his living conditions. Father General did not omit to stress this. Only by close association with the Negro in his own environment can we really hope to establish rapport and prove ourselves in his eyes. What Father General has to say about our retreat houses is significant here. Our retreat houses do not discriminate in accepting retreatants. But the explanation of Negro absence from our retreats is to be found in the fact that we Jesuits are not close enough to Catholic Negroes to warrant the expectation that they will respond to our invitations. Most of our retreatants are men who came to know us and the value of retreats when they were our students or parishioners. There they learned the importance we attach to retreats. Right now we are seldom in such close contact with Negro men that we can discreetly bring up the subject of making a retreat. Only five percent of the Catholic population of the United States is Negro and few of that number can afford the usual expected offering for a week-end at our retreat houses. Until we have associated long and intimately with their life and their spiritual needs, we cannot hope for much of a response to our appeal in this line. Furthermore, while our houses may not discriminate, what notable effort is made by retreat-promoters to recruit Negro retreatants?

In this matter of identifying with the Negro we can learn much from teaching sisters in ghetto parochial schools. Here is one

group rarely noted and seldom called upon for their ideas on how to serve our Negro brethren. Yet the fact remains that the sisters in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant and other inner-city areas are doing the most effective job in the Church today. They are revered by Negroes, especially Negro mothers, because they serve them through their children. They retain a lasting hold on the loyalty of Negro youth that few pastors can boast of. They know what it is to live in the slums; they know by daily presence the nerve-wracking noise, the filth and immorality of the worst neighborhoods. Where the clergy seem forever engaged in endless discussion and experimentation, the sisters go about their daily tasks cheerfully putting up with the wretched background of their pupils, the hopelessly inferior academic performance, the lack of motivation at home, the atmosphere impossible for study and a hundred other handicaps that their counterparts in the suburbs never have to contend with. Meanwhile, they carry on their day-to-day religious life in convents often as deteriorating as the buildings around them, doing their own cooking and washing, faithful to spiritual duties, amazingly cheerful and in love with their work. Last summer the windows of the convent of the Blessed Sacrament Sisters of St. Joseph's parish in Harlem were smashed and articles stolen. The Carmelites in Brooklyn can no longer have glass windows for their monastery. Contemplative life does not usually have to contend with the din and the human degradation of the "long, hot summer!"

I cite the example of the sisters as one indication of what it costs in personal comfort to win the trust and affection of Negro families. We cannot expect to do less and still achieve the degree of identification necessary for an effective apostolate. We ought at times to remind ourselves that these sisters come from families just like ours and from surroundings in which they once knew the comforts of middle-class living.

Finally, how will we ever reach the hard-core Negro youth called by Daniel Moynihan the "under-class?" These are the fellows from 18 to 30 caught in the hopeless "downward spiral" of unemployment: no skills, no education and no money. No group ever encountered by our missionaries in foreign lands has offered quite the resistance to our ministrations as has this frustrated and en-

raged segment of Negro life. They form a tinderbox that the slightest provocation can explode into destructive riots. To them we are "whitey," the hated foe of their guerilla warfare, objects of suspicion even with our Roman collars. Priests who have toiled twenty and thirty years in the streets of Harlem and Newark can make little headway with this hostile group. Experienced workers of the New York City Youth Board rarely report anything but bitterness and resentment. The number is growing. Only grace and tempered zeal will reach them.

Charity at a distance

It has often been said that the race problem in this country is not a Negro problem, but a white problem. It will not be solved in ghettos only, but must be attacked in the segregated minds of white people wherever they are to be found. For this reason one would have wished for a more explicit call from Father General for total involvement by the entire personnel of our American provinces. His practical directives do in reality extend the scope of this apostolate to all our men, but it has to be spelled out. Thus, for example, to single out the most urgent and critical need for our attention: open occupancy. Because our own families and those of our students and alumni come for the most part from middle-class, segregated residential areas we are going to have to face the fact that they will resent our efforts to open up housing for minority groups in all sections of our cities. Not to make this our manifest commitment will be interpreted by the Negro as willingness to work for his betterment as long as he stays where he is.

As soon as we line up with the advocates of open housing we must expect to hear our own brothers and sisters say to us, "It's all right for you religious to advocate open housing, but you have not sunk all your savings into a new home in a desirable area. You do not have to face depreciation of property values as we will if Negroes come into our neighborhood. You do not have to cope with the risk our children will run in their encounters with rough and predatory kids. You live in nicely segregated campuses or fortress-like rectories away from the noise, filth and violence of the slums. And our neighborhood will become a slum just as soon as they move in."

In the face of such opposition to our goals, it is easy for the teaching Jesuit or the administrator to back away and leave to the men assigned to the inner-city the responsibility of answering. Father General hints at this impasse when he lists the reasons for our failures in the past: there is the "mistaken notion that since other priests and religious are serving the Negro, we may exempt ourselves from the obligation of contributing a major effort to the struggle for interracial justice and charity" (22). If, on the other hand, the Negro apostolate has the status of our foreign missions, enjoying total support of an entire province, no one of us can consider himself removed from the responsibility of this apostolate. Unless this is made province policy, Jesuits will tend to absolve themselves (at least subjectively) from the total involvement without which the race issue will never be met to the degree our resources warrant. It will set apart the men in the social field from those not in it, because the latter will incline to side with their families and friends of the middle class, the people from segregated areas from which most have come and from which we now draw our student bodies and on whom we rely for financial support.

V

RETURN TO MOBILITY

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AN INTERESTING QUESTION—how will the recent letter of Father General on *The Interracial Apostolate* affect the future of the Society in the United States? A quick, and I think accurate, answer is that it will galvanize action in several directions by American Jesuits. I suspect that, left to their own devices, some of these actions would have been taken in due time and for these the letter from Father General will just shorten the time period required to get these new programs into operation. For some other courses of action I believe the letter will serve as a suggestion for something that might not otherwise have been attempted, for ex-

ample, putting Jesuit professors on the faculties of Negro colleges.

I believe, therefore, the greatest contribution of the letter will be an awakening of all of us to the special nature of the crisis pertaining to race relations—a special urgency that calls for relatively extraordinary measures of response. I believe that many of us, with all the intellectual assent possible, have been under the impression that we were contributing in apostolates. I believe we will now act with a greater sense of urgency.

If there has been one failing in the modern society as I have viewed it, it has been the relatively slow reaction time it exhibits in the face of changed conditions and demands. I have been astonished that it takes years to implement a policy or program after the rank and file have practically unanimously agreed on its necessity. This I think is changing and if Father General's letter alerts us to the necessity for a quicker response by the Society, I think it will have served a tremendously useful purpose.

Once upon a time our adaptability and flexibility was supposed to have been our chief virtue and asset. With the passage of time and the solidification of organizational structures, this adaptability and capacity for quick reaction has diminished. There appear to be too many channels through which proposals have to go and too much caution and hesitation exhibited by those with the responsibility of decision making. I believe the new directions within the Church and within the Society are making it quite clear that such a leisurely process of adaptation to new requirements and demands is no longer in the best interests of the Church.

Let me take some animadversions by way of a slight digression. I am a little unhappy that there are some who think that this letter will suffer the same fate as the letter from Father General Janssens on *The Social Apostolate*. It is true that, if the previous instruction had been implemented immediately, many of the things said in the present letter on the race question would have been unnecessary.

However, in retrospect, in this case I do think that it is unfortunate that the identity of the drafting team for this letter has become widely known. This in one sense is contributing to its being written off as the work of individuals with special axes to grind. I think a good lesson can be had here on a necessity for strict

anonymity among the individuals who assist in the preparation and drafting of official documents.

Two questions

Two serious questions, on which considerable difference of opinion was manifested at our recent Round Hill Conference on ministries and social apostolates, are: (1) the institutional commitment of the Society in education; and (2) a question of direct personal action on the part of the individual Jesuit with Negro individuals and groups. These two are perhaps more related than they appear because it is the institutional commitment of members of the order that prevents in some cases more direct personal involvement in the Negro apostolate.

However, I do want to spend a few moments on the second question—our direct personal involvement. I believe this letter has steered a sensible middle course on this question by advocating three points: (a) the training of all of Ours, particularly our young, in the principles of social justice and charity; (b) personal involvement in some degree for everybody at some stage of his career; and (c) the developing of a few real experts in the area of race relations.

I have sensed a danger that some will exaggerate the importance or desirability of direct contact and action with the exploited poor to the detriment of more abstract educational and theoretical work. I find this a danger since I am convinced that efforts to propose and achieve laws, for instance, preventing a whole general class of fraud or misrepresentation affecting particularly the whole class of poor people, can contribute much more effectively to the alleviation of poverty and its attendant distress conditions than many days and years of effort and direct personal contact with the few out of the millions of poor people.

In this connection, therefore, for instance, I think that our efforts to get laws regulating door-to-door salesmen in the way they manipulate and trick poor people into signing outrageous contracts is an example in point. This, however, could only be achieved at the sacrifice of direct personal involvement with the individual poor. True it had to involve some knowledge of their condition, and it had to involve some contact with the leaders and spokesmen for Negro and underprivileged groups. But it could

only be achieved by a different type of action than what I see some of our young men asking for in their demand for direct personal contact.

Let me touch on another point that is a source of vague disturbance to me, at least. I said at the Round Hill Conference that I thought the letter on the race question unfortunately came ten years too late. By this I meant at the proper time to have alerted ours to prepare themselves and their institutions to play a leading and effective part in the fight for decent race relations was ten years ago. In one sense the battle has almost moved beyond us and without us. What I attempted to suggest was that the preferable course of action would have been a letter from Father General alerting the Society to matters in which it would be critically involved ten years from now and on which it should spend the next ten years preparing itself.

It's in this sense that I think the course of events has somewhat bypassed most of the Society. We are now jumping on a bandwagon that is pretty well past us.

VI

A CHALLENGE TO SINCERITY

RICHARD T. MCSORLEY, S.J.

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FATHER GENERAL ARRUPPE SAYS that "the racial crisis involves . . . a direct challenge to our sincerity in professing a Christian concept of man" (2). There is no doubt about this in my mind. It is also, in a wider sense, a direct challenge to the sincerity of our living up to our faith.

As a pastor in a segregated area of Ridge, Maryland, from 1948 to 1952, I felt that I had the alternatives that a doctor would have when he is sent to an area beset by a plague that has been going on so long that the community at large would not admit that they were sick. The doctor in those circumstances could either go along with the community and give palliatives to those who had the plague, or he could tell them that they had the plague and endeavor to get them to look for a cure.

The priests and community in the area said if I did anything to try to bring whites and colored together, I would not be supported by a single white person in the area and that I would be run out of the territory.

My experience there convinced me that the refusal to oppose racial segregation openly poisons every other aspect of Christian life. It convinced me that the black and white issue of racial segregation, as opposed to the Christian ideal of personal dignity, is a very clear test of whether we respect that dignity in our own personal lives or whether it is being acted upon in the life of the Christian community around us.

Once it became clear to me that racial segregation was sinful, was harmful to the faith of the white community, was a basic violation of the Christian doctrine of the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God, I found that everything else in the faith could be hung on this truth as on a "peg" and tested by it. I think that is what Father General is saying, that we can test the sincerity of our religious faith by the way it is practiced in a very clear issue like this that is all around us.

One way of showing how the Catholic Church in America failed in this test is to point out that there is not a single nationally-known Catholic leader who led in the civil rights struggle from 1963 to 1966. Dr. Martin Luther King, a Protestant minister, carried the Christian banner in this struggle.

My experience at Ridge, Maryland, indicates something of the size of the problem for the Society in the United States. Ridge, Maryland, was an area of Jesuit missions for about 325 years before I arrived there. After all that time of Jesuit leadership, despite some revolts against the system over the centuries, massive segregation was the pattern throughout the area. A long history like this cannot be quickly lived down. Its effects are deep-rooted.

Father General speaks of the convincing signs that the Negroes in America are giving, "of their determination to gain their rightful status as men and as full-fledged citizens" (3). Father General speaks at a time when the Vietnam war has weakened the hopes of the Negro community in America that the government will any longer support their struggle for human dignity.

Now we have the programs written into legislation, we have

other programs like Vice President Humphrey's recommendations on how to provide some remedy for the desperate condition of the Negroes in the urban ghettos, but we have a war which has taken away the will of the country, its energies and the money, so that none of the remedies suggested by good men like Vice President Humphrey are likely to be put into effect.

Long ago Alexander de Tocqueville, writing about America, said that the shortest way to short-circuit any beneficial social program is to have a war. That is what is happening to America now. The tide of hope for progress in civil rights for the Negro in America began to run out on the day we sent combat troops into Vietnam. That tide is flowing out now, not in.

Father General Arrupe comments on the words of Fr. Janssens, when he pleads with Jesuits to understand what it means to live in poverty all one's life. This I think illustrates quite clearly the relationship of the civil rights struggle in the United States to the Vietnam war. This is what I mean. The world today is divided into rich nations and poor nations. This gap is growing wider. The poor nations are about two-thirds of the population of the world. We now have that gap between the rich nations and the poor nations as a built-in part of our national system. The healing of this gap will not be done by military methods. Yet today the twenty-two million Negroes among us see our energy, our talent, and our money going to support the United States' war against a very poor country. They see our nation as having very little or no sympathy or time or energy for healing the domestic wounds.

Father General points to the grim forewarning of the danger lurking in America if we do not eradicate racial injustice and grinding poverty. This is true. What he does seem to realize is that there is no hope that the American people will have the heart or the money to give massive help to our urban poor as long as they are giving their energy and their interest to military measures that push them in the opposite direction, both psychologically and economically.

The acknowledged position of leadership of the United States in the free world makes it all the more serious. The United States' war in Vietnam effectively tells other nations, as well as the black

nation within our borders, that we will settle our problems with violence. Whether we expect it or not, our example will teach others, including Negroes in our midst, that they too can expect to solve their problems by violence; the war teaches them that this is the current American way.

Father General speaks of the ideals of America as enunciated in the *Declaration of Independence* (11). He notes how the *Declaration* refers "expressly to God, to the Creator, and . . . to His Divine Providence." This nation, with these ideals, allowed slavery. This prompted Thomas Jefferson, one of the framers, of the Declaration, to say, "When I reflect that God is just, I tremble for the future of this nation." The future of which Jefferson spoke is our present day.

Father General speaks of the famous Supreme Court decision of 1954 and the national legislation of 1964 and 1965 which outlawed many aspects of racial discrimination (12-13). What the letter fails to note is that the implementation of these laws, especially the comprehensive civil rights laws of 1964 and 1965, is being held to a minimum by the Congress of the United States. The funds available go to war. The same congressmen who opposed the civil rights legislation of 1964 and 1965 are those who most vigorously support the present war. They see the war as an effective way of nullifying that legislation. They have been very successful.

Father General speaks of the ideals of the *Declaration of Independence*, "of human freedom and equality under God," as contained in the theology of the Church (15). "The dignity of human personality, the unity of the human race, and the equality of all men are of the very essence of the Christian Gospel" (15). There is no doubt that the Christian creed and the American creed are identical in these points. But just as they are proclaimed by our government and by our Church, so they are followed in practice by neither. The Catholic Church in the United States has been a tail-light after the Supreme Court. The first statement by the bishops of the United States was in 1958. The Supreme Court spoke in 1954. Both the United States and the Catholic Church lived for three centuries with slavery, without doing very much about it. This long history has so weakened our country and our faith that it will not be easy for us to begin to take seriously

the truth that Father General is proposing, namely, that we, both as Americans and as Catholics, begin to practice what we preach about brotherhood. It seems clear to me that this truth is so basic that it effects everything else. Right now we cannot even begin to practice it seriously without affecting our attitude toward the Vietnam war. We cannot believe in brotherhood as applying to Negro Americans and not believe in it outside the national boundaries. It is not national brotherhood that we are talking about. It is the international brotherhood of man.

Father General quotes the American bishops' call of 1958 that "we act now and act decisively" (17). It is now 1968. The racist legislator today cloaks his racism under the patriotic disguise of supporting the war in Vietnam. There will be no funds for interracial justice at home because we need the funds for the Vietnam war. This makes their position more difficult to attack. It clearly illustrates the identity of the Vietnam war issue and racism.

Georgetown

Father General asks the question, "Has the historical reluctance of American citizens to implement the *Declaration of Independence* been sadly paralleled by a corresponding reluctance of our society to implement the fullness of Christian doctrine?" (18). I think the answer is yes on both counts. There is not a single Negro Jesuit in the Maryland province today. Up to five years ago, Georgetown University refused to give financial help to Negro basketball players. It was only after the pressure of students for a better basketball team that the Jesuits in charge of the athletic department decided to offer financial help to Negro students as well as to white students. This year is the first year that Georgetown University has a Negro basketball player. Last year, this same Negro was a non-playing member for technical reasons.

Georgetown, the oldest Catholic university in the country, had a Negro as president, Fr. Patrick Healy. But he wasn't recognized as a Negro by some of the people who thought he looked white. There is no other record of Negro Jesuits on the faculty of Georgetown in all that time. There is doubt that Fr. Healy would have been accepted had he looked clearly like a Negro.

But times have changed. Georgetown is now committed to follow the American and Christian ideal. One sample is the work

of Fr. Joseph Sweeney, who is chairman of the executive committee in the District of Columbia which is sponsoring OPEN, Opportunity Project for the Education of Negroes. The executive committee, made up of educational admissions officers of various universities in the area, has as its central purpose to encourage Negro students to finish high school. They enlist the help of high school counselors and clergy in finding middle-ability Negroes who need help. They look for students who cannot think of college and try to persuade them that this committee is a friend who will help them. They preach a doctrine that the society is better now and the chances are more open. They received fifty-four thousand dollars from the government under the education act of 1965 when they helped over a thousand students to enter college during the next year or two.

For the last four or five years, Georgetown University also ran the summer orientation program. The idea for this developed in 1963. The idea was to prepare those colored students who had only a marginal chance of getting into college to solidify their chances. In 1964 Georgetown University faculty and facilities were used for this project. The project trained students in subjects in which they were weak and which would help them to enter college. The project was financed by "Upward Bound," a section of the poverty program. In 1966 and up to the present, the project has been funded by the District of Columbia Public School System. The students are divided into two groups, those in the tenth grade and those in the eleventh grade. In 1967 there were seventy-six students in the program. To date, 175 disadvantaged students have benefited by the program, and more than fifty per cent are already in college.

Georgetown University also sponsored a program to train Spanish-speaking children of the inner city to speak English. This program last summer taught English to seventy children. It was sponsored by the United Planning Organization of the District of Columbia, a project which used poverty funds, and was under the general supervision of the Archdiocese of Washington. But the actual program was run by Georgetown University, who will be continuing it this summer.

As I see it, the letter from Father General will encourage all

those who work on these programs and on a far bigger program, the Community Action Program. The Community Action Program, organized by Fr. Jack Haughey, at about the beginning of 1963, reached the peak of involving about 700 students. These students were formed into about fifty different projects to serve the poor children in the slums of Washington, most of them Negro.

About fifty per cent of the projects were tutorial, that is, the students gave one or two hours per week of tutorial assistance either to individual students or to groups. The other projects were varied, supervision of sports, assistance in hospitality houses, staff help to neighborhood groups. All of these programs brought the Georgetown students in contact with the poor. This program continues quite strongly today, but without the numbers and enthusiasm it used to have. All the private agencies are hurt to some extent by the war atmosphere that is growing in the land. Likewise, much of the student interest is lessened by the involvement in the war effort and the uncertainty about the future for each individual.

The tribute that Father General pays to Frs. LaFarge and to John Markoe is well deserved. The point he makes about the very little corporate support for their efforts from the Society is quite true. I remember Fr. LaFarge saying that one of the most difficult tasks for those engaged in interracial justice for the Negro was not to get in trouble with Church authorities. I heard him say once, "After fifty years in the New York province, it may be that I will be able to skip purgatory and go directly to heaven." One of the probable effects of Father General's letter is that corporate opposition from the Society will no longer be one of the difficulties that individual Jesuits have to face when they work for justice for the Negro.

Under the heading of "Why So Little Involvement," Father General suggests as a possible answer "a failure to appreciate fully the practical implications of the Christian concept of man" (22). I think this is very true and I think it illustrates what I tried to say before, that a deep understanding of Christian brotherhood or the Christian concept of man can become a "peg" on which we hang other truths connected with the faith. This "peg" idea illustrates why it happens that most Jesuits and most others who are now involved in the peace movement in the United States

are the same people who, like Dr. King, are deeply involved in the civil rights struggle.

It is a fairly natural and simple step to understand that the Negro is your fellow man and he should not be treated with segregation. It is a more difficult and removed conclusion to go through the arguments that conclude with, "We should stop the bombing of our brothers in North Vietnam." This is a much more complex matter and one on which there will be less unity.

This is all the more true since a good deal of work by Jesuits is in institutions which, in one way or another, receive help from the United States government. By receiving this help, some of it necessary for their very existence, they find it much more difficult to disagree with the government on an issue like the war. This tends to commit us to accept the government's view of man instead of the Christian implication of man's dignity.

In my view the war issue in the United States today so overshadows the relations of colored and white that it is not likely that any Jesuits are going to be new converts to interest in civil rights while the war goes on. If they believe in the war they will put their energy in support of the war. If they do not believe in the war, they will spend their time and energy opposing it. They will have little time for interest left for the civil rights struggle. I think this is the way the entire country is being affected, not just Jesuits.

Practical difficulties

Father General suggests that we reduce our personal and community expenses and thereby assist the poor and identify ourselves with them (26). I think many would agree with this and do it if they could believe that the funds saved by such action would actually be devoted to the help of the poor. But most of us are part of an institutional system which makes it very uncertain that any restriction in our personal diet or way of living would be used for the benefit of the poor. The dramatic solution to this would be to follow the suggestion of Father General that Jesuits who wish to do this would be allowed to live in a poor neighborhood among the poor whom they served.

The thorough training suggested by Father General throughout the course will be ineffective today unless it deals with the war as well as with racial justice (27 *b*). The two become so intertwined

in our present-day society that one cannot be understood alone.

Negro vocations are not likely to develop for a long while, for the seeds for these vocations are just beginning to be sown (27 *c*). They are being sown in an atmosphere of war which makes their growth very uncertain.

Georgetown is now making the effort to encourage involvement of qualified Negroes. However, the economic barriers are still massive (27 *e*). During the years since 1950 that I have been interested in doing something for racial justice, I have always felt that our large parish of St. Aloysius in Washington and St. Ignatius in Baltimore have been unfriendly to Negro people (27 *f*). St. Aloysius, in particular, is in the heart of a Negro residence area. Yet my impression has been that it struggles to remain a white parish, drawing white people from outside the area instead of seeking the Negroes inside the area. I think Father General's letter will hasten the end of this kind of operation, which is already on the way out.

I am glad Father General cites the open-door policy to Negroes which should exist in the retreat houses (27 *g*). I tried in 1950 to get a Negro entrance into a retreat but failed. Now, as I look back on it, I wonder if the retreat itself was worth very much when this attitude was practiced. Even as I look back on the yearly Spiritual Exercises which were given to me all through the years in the Society, I don't recall once when the racial issue was ever mentioned. Yet it seems to me that if ever there was an application of the third degree of humility it would be in a person who preferred to be a Negro in the United States. It seems strange to me now that this was never mentioned in a retreat in all my years in the society.

What Father General says about contracts being signed with those business firms that observe fair employment practices will be very effective (27 *i*). I hope we do that.

The greatest hope for the effectiveness of Father General's letter is in the section of practical programs: (28-32): the establishment of provincial advisers who will recommend how the province can respond to the letter, Jesuit residences in the Negro sections of the city, the training of Jesuits for inner city apostolates—all of this is in the right direction and a reason for joy and hope.

The closing paragraphs of Father General's letter, in which he says, "I understand clearly the difficult challenge which faces us," bring me back to the issue of war and peace again (33). There is nothing in the letter which indicates that he does understand that racial justice in the United States is now deeply intertwined with the war in Vietnam. As I see it, the Church and the Jesuit order in the United States is so dependent on government help, so desirous of government favor, that it is not likely to move in a direction that in any way separates itself from that government help. But I think that the signs of the time indicate that we will do nothing seriously effective in any broad way to win the support of the Negro people of the United States if they see us identified in all our institutions with the war efforts of the government. To make even a small break from identifying oneself with support of the government will require courage of a high supernatural order of which Father General speaks (33). It will require a reassessment of the relationship of our faith and our patriotism.

As I see it, we are going to be forced to decide not only on the matter of Vietnam but on the matter of working for peace in the world after Vietnam. We are going to be forced to decide whether or not we can support our government's war policy and our respect and love for our fellow men who live beyond the boundaries of America. It seems to me that if our decision lies in the direction of supporting our government's war policy, then we will not be able to respect our fellow man even when he is an American.

VII

936 WHITELOCK STREET

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WE THREE—JOE HEALY, JOE KAKALEC, AND MYSELF—moved into Baltimore in September. We live there five days a week and are finishing our theology at Woodstock on the other two: Monday and Tuesday. Our work has been varied, unpredictable, interesting. We taught for eight weeks, three mornings a week in adult

education programs. We have been called upon to help in many day to day crises. We have tried to live as good neighbors and good Christians—making our home and ourselves available to serve in whatever way seems best at the time.

We have been supported in part by a diocesan fund—which pays our rent, telephone, and gas and electric. This comes to about \$200 a month. And in part by our earnings from teaching, and from generous gifts of friends. Our expenses for food, car (we have had nine flats), and other things has run another \$200 to \$250 a month.

There is much talk about the systematic changes which must be effected—in education, job training, housing, welfare, etc., if our poverty and racial problems are to be resolved. There can be no doubt that revolutions in these areas are needed. There is, however, another problem which is more subtle, elusive, and all-pervading than any of the above. It is the problem of people who do not really speak or really listen to each other. What follows are the excerpts from my journal which pertain to one family and which illustrate the problems of people who are bound together by family ties and yet are in many ways sadly isolated from one another. The Christian, and especially the priest must, I think, somehow try to get into the middle of things and, by being friendly to all, help to reconcile people to one another.

Wednesday, Nov. 1

Visited the Dunn family across the street for the third time yesterday. Seems to be a rather sad situation. The mother is quite high strung and worn out. Has been in the hospital several times—I believe with minor breakdowns. She has had nine children. Four are married and don't live at home; one girl, 17, has a baby and lives at home; then there is another teenage girl, a teenage boy, and a younger boy and girl. The main problem now seems to be with the teenagers: Sara, a girl 15, and Tom Jr., 14. Sara stays out all hours and doesn't help around the house. Tom Jr. is moody, steals, and set fire to his father's car last week. These two spent some two years in foster homes when their mother was sick. The father lives at home and is a hard working guy. So far I have talked to the mother on two occasions for awhile and to the father once. They both said pretty much the same thing—simply

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can't do anything with Sara and Tom Jr. Met Sara taking her little nephew "trick or treating" yesterday evening and spoke to her for a few minutes. She was friendly anyway. I suggested that she not fuss with her mother so much and asked if she might like to drop around and help teach the younger children how to read. She goes to Douglass High School.

Friday, Nov. 3

Tom Jr. came around again yesterday afternoon. Gave him a novel about prizefighting and one of the Bible Society's New Testaments. Picked up 12 more yesterday.

Sunday, Nov. 5

Tom Dunn is over tonight and doing some dancing. A couple of friends with him.

Saturday, Nov. 18

Took Tom Jr. to his parent-teachers meeting the other night but we were at the wrong school. It was good to go for the ride anyway. Yesterday I stopped over at Douglass to ask about Sara Dunn. They couldn't locate her name and the vice-principal assured me that there was no such girl in the place. I went back to her house, got her report card, a note from her mother giving me permission to see her records, then went back. The v-p laughed and said, "I guess you're right." Seems like a rather ignorant guy. Couldn't see anything anyway because the counselor had it all and she had gone home.

Went back to the Dunn's house. Have met several other sisters lately—Mary, 17, not-married, has a little boy she had last summer. She seems pleasant, smiles a lot. The other day she said something about wishing she had listened to her father. This was spoken to and for the sake of Sara and Sara didn't forget it. Jennie has a couple of kids, is living with a guy—I think she is married.

So I was back at Dunn's. Mrs. D., Tom Jr., and Mary were there. (Am ahead of myself. A day or two before I went in and Mr. Dunn started yelling that it was all her fault—Mrs., for drinking so much. Said he couldn't bring them up all alone. Sara and Mary were there and sort of agreed. Mrs. defended herself saying she needed a little understanding and love. This put things in a new light because before that they had blamed the kids.) Mrs. D. said Tom Jr. had been doing better but Sara hadn't gone to school in

two days because her good coat was in the cleaners. Looked at her report card and it was poor.

There was a noise outside and Mary said, "the grouch is coming." Enter Mr. D. He didn't say hello to anyone. Asked what was for dinner and went into the front room. Mrs. D. said lima beans and salmon. Said she wanted to fix potatoes but couldn't find the knife. He said nothing. In a little while she brought his dinner in to him. Tom Jr. and Milly came in during the next few minutes. Conversation turned to Sara. Mary said the case worker had been around and said something about a home. Enter Sara. She saw her report card and wondered why it was being shown around. Complained about this. Hard to say how it happened but the next thing it seemed to me that everyone was putting her down. Now Sara never lets things ride. She has great spirit and an answer for everything. Frequently a damned good one. Mr. D. topped it all by demanding that she be in by ten o'clock every night. Sara has a sort of deep voice and slurry way of speaking and this gets worse when she is mad or excited. She was almost in the corner looking at the wall saying that she wouldn't "come home from no dance at no ten o'clock on no Friday night." Mr. D. came in from the front room yelling louder and she said he better tell the same thing to Tom Jr. She started for the door and on her way out with the grouch behind her I heard a loud crash—think he tried to hit her with something. I said good-bye, went out the door and called to Sara. The apartment is on the second floor. To my surprise she stopped and waited.

I suggested that we go over to the center and talk but she didn't want to go "to no center and do no talking." I kept pace with her down the street and she said she was going to Jennie's on Eutaw St. Asked her if I could come along. It was ok with her. She said if her father had hit her with that wire "he better not walk on no Whitelock St. no more." Asked about the coat and she said she had put it in with some of his clothes because otherwise he wouldn't pay for it. They won't split a ticket at the cleaners.

We got to Jennie's. Her husband left after a little while. (I latter found that this was not her husband although she is married.) Looked like he was going to work. Sara talked some more about how cheap her father was. Indicated that Mary was phony trying

to tell her (Sara) to shape up because she (Mary) drank. Sara said she was accused of drinking by her father but she didn't.

Said she stayed out late but didn't really do anything. After a party or something she would stand around the corner or walk by herself. Have seen her on the corner myself. Said she would come home if she could bring friends home sometimes. Said her mother was stupid enough to believe her father.

I am beginning to think that perhaps Sara is the sharpest, most honest and most spirited in the family. Wonder if she might be some sort of scapegoat because she tells it as it is? They are all going to Carolina for the Thanksgiving holidays but not her. Said she would like to go along on the trip to Woodstock we are planning. Said she would be around Sunday for Mass. I doubt it but am glad I was able to talk to her. Told her I would talk to her father. Said I would suggest that it be ten on weekdays, twelve on weekends, and that she be allowed to bring friends in.

Went back to talk to him but it's like talking to the radio. He said he wasn't going to reason with his kids. None of them were any good. He said she couldn't bring any of her wine drinking friends home. Said she could bring home a nice boy. I really couldn't get too far with the ten o'clock-twelve o'clock bit. I said I thought it was too bad that everyone jumped on Sara the minute she got in the door. Mrs. D. didn't say anything the whole while.

Friday, Nov. 24

Visited Sara Dunn's counselor over at Douglass Wednesday and had a short talk with her. Looked at some of Sara's records but didn't learn a whole lot. One thing I thought interesting was that she put down a great number of extracurricular activities and I doubt whether she really participated in them. But it seems like a good sign that she put them down. Appears that she at least wishes she were more in the midst of things. Visited the home later in the afternoon. They were all in good spirits getting ready for their trip to visit Mrs. D.'s people in North Carolina. Len, the seven year old, was baiting Sara a bit saying she and Mary were the "badest of all." Sara pinched Len in return. Met an older brother, George, 21. Seems very nice, hard working; also met his wife, Grace. Had some fried chicken and vegetables in the kitchen.

Sara was saying, more or less to her mother but I think to me too, that while she was staying with her sister over the weekend she'd probably come home early every night. There wasn't much response but Sara was in good humor. Noticed for the first time that little Benny, 10, or 11, is a bit left out of things.

Friday, Dec. 1

Had a big snow that lasted most of Thursday. Think it was about eight inches. Visited the Dunn's in the afternoon and found them in surprisingly good humor. Sara and her mother talked rather cheerily about little things. Sara also mentioned rather off-handedly that she guessed she had failed the tenth grade, didn't like Douglass and would rather quit school and work and go to night school. I suggested that it might be better to finish but then again maybe it wouldn't. Am not that sure.

Thursday, Dec. 7

Visited the Dunn's this afternoon and found some interesting developments. Milly had been living with Jennie over on Eutaw St. but Jennie didn't pay the rent for three weeks. It seems Milly had given her money and Jennie also gets welfare money. So Milly who has finished high school moved out—she has a good job—and got an apartment on Callow St. Also got her husband home for a few days on emergency leave. Mrs. D. was in a stew because Jennie left her two little ones there and went out; she also has Mary's to worry about. Sara came and went while I was there. Mrs. D. said the welfare worker was there. The latest plan was for Sara to live with Milly. Sounded pretty good to me but the welfare worker didn't like it.

Talked to Mrs. D. for awhile. She said Mr. D. was a drag. Mary also said he was a hermit. She said something else interesting—that Mr. D. wants everyone to depend on him, doesn't want them to be independent. Then Mrs. D. said she got married when she was 16—missed her teenage years. Said that when people miss their teenage life it piles back on them later on. That's why she wants to have some fun now.

Went over to Milly's place which is lovely. Her husband, Bill, was there and also Sara. We talked for a long time about what would be best for Sara. We agreed that she should try living there, catching up on her school work. Sara was surprisingly silent.

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Never saw her without an answer before. When Milly talked Sara would look at her with a sort of wonder. Seemed as if she couldn't believe that so many people were concerned about her. She and Bill—who gets out of the army in five months—are going to see the welfare worker tomorrow.

Wednesday, Dec. 13

Went over to the welfare place with Bill and Sara last Friday and had a pretty fair talk with Mrs. Sue Jackson. I said I thought there were only four possibilities: Sara staying at home, moving in with Milly, going to a foster home, going to a girls' home. Of the four the second seemed best. Mrs. Jackson finally agreed and I was satisfied. Yesterday I found out through Frank Fallon, who knows another worker over there, that Sue Jackson was ranting and raving about Catholic priests, how they trade on the collar, think that welfare workers are not concerned about people but only with the bureaucracy, etc. This was a surprise to me. Hope to talk to her about it because I really thought we had an honest conversation. Haven't seen Sara or Milly again yet.

Friday, Dec. 15

Mrs. Sue Jackson, the Dunn's kids' worker, called yesterday and wanted to know how the new situation was working. I visited the Dunn's in the afternoon and Milly was there. Sara came in a bit later and I'd say she has never been in better spirits. The mother and father are both agreeable. Mr. D. even asked once in a quiet voice if Sara would do him a favor—go over to see one of the other sisters about taking her kids away—and she did.

Jennie has been a problem to them recently. She leaves her kids there for days on end it seems. Yesterday there were four kids under two—two of Jennie's, Mary's, and Milly's. Gets to be a lot for Mrs. D.

Thursday, Dec. 28

Christmas visit to the Dunn's was a sad affair. Have never seen Mrs. D. so upset. Said once before that she feels trapped and this time she really acted it out. Said Mrs. Jackson was blaming everything on her. Her husband was out having a good time. The girls dumped their babies on her to mind. Sara was as bad as ever and wanted to move back home. I really didn't know what to say at all. Have to feel sorry for her. She's about 41, has had an un-

happy life, raised nine children, has had several breakdowns, now when she should be getting some freedom she seems to be more caught than ever. I don't know what to try to do about Sara.

Saturday, Jan. 6

I had thought things were going well but stopped down at Milly's place and found that Sara hadn't been there since New Year's. This was just the day before I had seen her. Bill is home on leave. They said Sara had been staying home. Milly said everyone thought Sara was pregnant. Sara and Jennie stopped in here again this afternoon. Sara said she hadn't gone back because she thought they would throw her out if (or when, I forget exactly how she put it) she got pregnant. So far as I can figure she is—or at least thinks she is—I think she probably is.

Tuesday, Jan. 16

Saw the Dunn's off and on last week. Turns out Sara wasn't after all. I'm glad but I think she might be disappointed. Mary, of all people, showed some ambition and wanted me to take her over to the Concentrated Employment at old Poly on North St. I took Bob Buell over there last week and he signed up to take training in electricity. Looks pretty good. They pay forty dollars a week during the training period and then find a job for the person after. I took Mary over there. Along the way Mary told me that she had been to Planned Parenthood that morning and had gotten birth control pills. I told her I thought it was good not to have a baby she didn't want, but not good to have intercourse with every guy who came along. That this was just a way of wearing herself out and not a good way to prepare for marriage. She said I was right but she only had one boy friend. I left it at that.

She didn't have her Social Security card or the baby's birth certificate so had to go back. Was supposed to do that today. I went back to her house the other day to get the card. Mrs. D. was a bit upset because she was trying to take Sara to the clinic and they didn't know what to do with the baby. I offered to take him and they said ok. Felt funny carrying him all over the place but he is good anyway. Sara was supposed to go back to school yesterday but there was a big early morning snow so she had an excuse. Hope she went today.

Friday, Jan. 26

Wednesday morning I went to Carver High School to see about a transfer for Sara Dunn. Talked with the vice-principal and head counselor. Both were agreeable. The counselor, Clark, phoned Douglass for reading, math, and IQ scores.

Thursday, Jan. 30

Go up at nine Monday and drive in to get Sara and her mother and go over to Carver. When I got to the Dunn's Sara and her mother were screaming at each other. It was something about carfare and Sara told her mother to get her stinking breath out of her face. I talked to Sara for a minute in the hall and tried to tell her that quitting school wasn't the best way to prove anything to her parents.

Friday, Feb. 2

Stopped over to the Dunn's Wednesday morning and we had a long session. Jennie's husband got 120 years. He had been involved in a lot of robberies and a couple of murders. I laughed when I heard it. They said everyone did. Jennie wasn't there. Just Sara and her mother. And Mary in one of the back bedrooms. After awhile they got talking about race problems. Mrs. D. said he got so much time because he killed a white man. Said if one Negro kills another they don't do anything about it because it's just another one dead. As long as a Negro pleads self-defense he gets off easy—if it was another Negro involved. She told about once when she went to court after her husband had hit her and bruised her badly. She said white people were coming in and getting action on similar complaints. Then she got to joking a bit about growing up in the South and how she would have to carry laundry a long way to pick it up and deliver it when her mother washed it. The white kids had a rhyme, "Nigger, nigger black as tar, stuck his head in the molasses jar." She repeated it about three times and laughed each time.

The Dunn's are all very light skinned and, although they naturally resent prejudice, they are proud of their light skins. Mrs. D. told me her great grandmother was a white woman. She said her husband is an Indian. Mary called from the back room, "He a nigger."

Sara told some stories about kids calling her names when she went to an integrated school last year when she lived at the foster

home. Then as we were leaving—Mrs D. was taking some of the grandchildren back to Ruth and I was leaving—Sara got fussing with little Len. Len called her a nigger and Sara said, “What do you mean? You the blackest one in the house.”

Looking back over my relationship with the various members of the Dunn family it's hard for me to say that I have made a difference in their lives. Tom Jr. is doing much better but that has nothing to do with me. Sara looks to be on her way out of school. Mary and Jennie are doing nothing. The parents are the same. And yet a lot has happened to me. And so perhaps this business of reconciliation is a two-way street. I hope it is clear how much I have come to like everyone involved in this little story. And how I have learned, perhaps, a little more about how to live with my neighbors—and with myself.

VIII

MEMORANDUM: TO FATHER ASSISTANT, APRIL 1945
JOHN COURTNEY MURRAY, S.J.

I DO NOT THINK that a case can be made out, on grounds of individual justice, for the admission of colored boys to our schools. But a case can be made out on other grounds: (A) those of social justice and social charity; and (B) those of supernatural charity.

A) *Social justice and social charity*: Social charity has for its object the creation, by the cooperation of all men, each according to his possibilities and responsibilities, of a social order that will serve the interests of the human person as a person, and in his relationships with other persons. Social justice aims at furthering the ends of charity, and at supporting the order of charity by effecting such an *institutional organization* of society as will assure to each human person the peaceful possession and full exercise of all his *rights*. Social justice is social, i.e., its act is that of participation in an organized program of action towards the creation of social institutions.

These obligations of social justice and charity are incumbent

on every one, according to his possibilities and responsibilities. Their obligation is heightened for the Christian by the fact that he is bound to their discharge by his share in the mission of the Church in the temporal order—a mission of justice and charity. Their obligation is trebly heightened for us by reason of our share in the pastoral mission of the Church.

In our present question, the concrete demands of social justice are that we participate effectively in a process and a program of elevating the Negro to his rightful status of equality in the community. Our manner and degree of participation will be determined by our possibilities and our responsibilities. This means, in general, two things:

1) Our initial and essential duty is that of enlightening the public conscience (and the ecclesiastical conscience, perhaps) with regard to the demands of justice and charity in the case of the Negro. The fact is that the Negro is the victim of a set of social institutions that deny him his rightful status (politically, economically, educationally, even "ecclesiastically") in the community. (By "social institution" I mean a certain organized method of acting in his regard, based on a set of ideas about him.)

We have the duty in social justice to do our part, in an organized, programmatic way, towards altering these institutions, and creating another set more conformable to the demands of justice and charity. This duty, I say, is initially discharged by educative efforts, from the pulpit, in our press, in our schools, conversations, etc.—in all the ways in which we have access to the public conscience.

2) Moreover, I believe our duty in social justice extends to more than just "talk." It also demands action. And I would affirm that one important action demanded is that of admitting Negro students to our schools. I do not make the affirmation on the grounds of the right of the individual Negro to a Catholic education (as I said, he has no such right as against the Society), but on our duty in social justice to cooperate towards the common good of society, which today demands such an institutional reorganization of society as will assure to the Negro his proper rights.

I am assuming that our presence in the educational field creates a definite responsibility toward the common good—that the total

finality of our schools is not adequately expressed by saying that they exist in order to "save souls." I am assuming, too, that public peace and the common good are menaced today in a serious way by the unsolved issue of the Negro—by critically dangerous racial tensions. I am assuming, thirdly, that our particular responsibility is for the production of leaders who will strongly further in society the cause of social justice and social charity, and who must, therefore, bring an important contribution to the solution of the racial problem.

I am assuming, finally, that these leaders must come from both the white and the colored groups, and that their training in leadership necessarily involves association with one another. Such association is necessary to generate that sympathy, understanding, mutual friendship and confidence, sharing of ideas, etc., without which effective cooperation is not possible. And such association must be set afoot during youth, when, under intelligent supervision, it can be most fruitful.

Against this background of ideas, I would assert that one of the functions of our schools today is to provide opportunities for this association between colored and white. By opening our schools to the Negro, we shall be setting up an *institution* for social justice; we shall be participating effectively in the process of bringing the Negro to his rightful status in the community. Moreover, this manner of participating in the process would seem to be obligatory, since it exactly corresponds to our own possibilities and responsibilities, and it is in virtue of them that our obligations are determined.

Our full duty to the common good of society, as well as to the good of the Negro, is not discharged by the fact that some of our Fathers do pastoral work among the Negroes. The fact is that we have at hand an institution (our school system), dedicated (in part) to the common good. In virtue of this general dedication, it cannot legitimately disinterest itself in one of today's major problems affecting the common good. It must formally become an institution effectively conspiring toward the solution of this problem. And it becomes such only when it is an arena of association between colored and white, and thus a training-ground for those who will, in the forum of the world, solve the problem of racial

tensions. Actually, their training is the essential S. J. contribution.

Since I am writing *currente calamo*, I am not sure that I am making my line of argument clear. (Certainly, I do not intend a full development.) The essential point is this. It is no good to appeal immediately to the doctrine of the Mystical Body, etc., and then immediately to conclude: "Negroes ought to be admitted to our schools." The conclusion does not follow. And I distrust these immediate flights into the supernatural.

The first step should be to determine the functions and responsibilities of our schools in the light of the current exigencies of the common good (and the good of the Church). These are the proximate and immediate grounds of decision as to the "obligation" of admitting Negro students. The decision once made, then we muster the whole power of the order of supernatural truth (Mystical Body, etc., etc.) in order to *motivate* our discharge of the obligation already established.

A note needs to be added. Obviously, social justice obliges us to do only what is possible at the moment, at the same time that we keep the ideal in view. If, therefore, admission of colored students is not immediately possible in this school or that, there is no obligation to admit them. But there remains an obligation to prepare the way for their admission by sustained and serious and intelligent educative work, on parents and boys. (Notice that, since social justice obliges us to further a process, it always imposes some obligation—that of taking the step in the process that is immediately possible.)

Furthermore, given the gravity of the situation and the weight of our responsibilities, the impossibility of admitting colored students should not lightly be taken for granted. There is room here for the exercise of courage, in the service of intelligence and tact. I might add that, if Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart can admit colored students, it is hard to see why we cannot. Unless it be that our rectors and deans lack what the administrators and staff of that college have. This may be the case. At all events, many difficulties could be cut through by high and persuasive leadership—of which, indeed, we have no great surplus.

B) *Supernatural charity*: This is the second ground that argues for the admission of Negroes to our schools, in two ways, positively and negatively.

1) *Positively* I am not thinking here of charity toward the individual Negro and the salvation of his individual soul. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to prove any obligation in charity toward individuals as such. I am thinking rather of charity toward the Negro group as a group, in their relation to the Church.

The fact is that the alienation of colored and white, and the unequal status of the Negro in comparison to the white constitutes an obstacle to the supernatural mission of the Church to the Negro group as a whole. As long as the Negro remains in his present cultural, social, and economic status, the work of the Church will make only very slow progress among the Negro population.

We have, therefore, an obligation in supernatural charity to remove this obstacle, again according to our possibilities and responsibilities; for these again, in conjunction with the seriousness of the objective situation, determine the measure of our obligation.

Moreover, I do not think we shall fully discharge this obligation even by the admission of a few Negroes here and there. What is indicated is a policy of admission. The reason is that only an educational policy is the proportionate instrument to combat the social policy that constitutes the obstacle to the Church's mission. We have to address ourselves to the group.

This, of course, does not mean promiscuous admission of colored students. We must still be selective—the principle of selection being the finality of the policy in the light of the particular character of our schools. Our aim is to form Negro and white leaders—those who can successfully associate with one another and profit by the association, and thus fit themselves for leadership. Furthermore, beginnings are necessarily small. And it is absolutely imperative that they be successful, on peril of jeopardizing the program.

Finally, I would emphasize that our duty in charity (to foster good relations between the Church and the Negro) will not be fully discharged if we merely aim at taking a few Negroes and making of them "good Catholics" in an individualistic sense. We must form instruments of the supernatural mission of the Church, precisely as it is directed to the Negro. (As well as instruments of the mission of the Church in the temporal order.) Obviously, this brings up the question of Negro vocations to the priesthood, as an

objective to be deliberately envisaged and pursued. It also brings up the question of Negro vocations to the Society, again as a formal objective.

I think these objectives must be deliberately envisaged, because the demands of charity are never minimal, but always high. At the same time, progress towards these objectives must be conceived as being under the supernatural providence of God. In other words, it is a question here of positing the conditions, and then of waiting to see what happens. What is outlawed, it seems to me, is full consent to the fixity of the present situation, in which the Negro is barred from entrance to our schools and seminaries, and to the Society in America. We certainly cannot say that this situation expresses the full will of God for the Negro.

2) *Negatively* What I mean here is this. The fact is that the Negro is freely admitted to secular (and some Protestant) schools. Hence the fact that he is barred from our schools constitutes a scandal. And we have a duty in charity to remove this scandal.

Admittedly, the scandal is pharisaical, if it supposes that we are violating any strict right of the Negro—we are not. It is, however, genuine in its judgment that we are not fulfilling our obligations in social justice and in charity, and are contributing, by our inertia, to the perpetuation of a situation that is unjust (I mean the general situation of the Negro, and not simply his exclusion from our schools; I think that our attitude to this latter, particular problem has to be controlled by our obligations with regard to the former, more general problem). . . .

I do not know whether this memo clarifies anything—nor whether its arguments would command the agreement of others. But here it is!

Summary statement

A) Social justice and social charity demand that our schools participate effectively, and in the manner dictated by their special possibilities and responsibilities, in the continuing social process of elevating the Negro to his rightful status in society.

This statement rests on two premises. First, an essential, if partial, purpose and function of our schools is to contribute *suo modo* to the common good of the civil community; for the proxi-

mate finality of all education lies within the temporal order of human life, personal and social. Secondly, the common good today is seriously menaced by the "Negro problem" (the institutionalized denial of justice and rightful equality to the colored group); for the common good is always menaced when the institutions of a society maintain any group in a status of unjust inferiority.

From these two facts, it follows that our schools must act effectively, and in the manner dictated by their own possibilities and responsibilities, toward the solution of the "Negro problem." Concretely, two courses of action are imperative:

1) Since our schools give us access to the public conscience in the critical years of its formation, they must undertake a program of systematic education of the public conscience (in our boys) with regard to the demands of justice and charity in the case of the Negro. This is the general responsibility of our schools, simply as educational institutions.

2) Since our schools have a responsibility for the production of leaders who will strongly further in society the processes of social justice and social charity, they must have a clearcut policy of admitting selected Negro students. For the "Negro problem" will be solved only under the associated leadership of white and colored; and therefore both white and colored must be formed to this leadership in association with one another during the period of their training to leadership. This is the special responsibility of our schools, as Jesuit educational institutions.

Note, however, that the obligations of any school at a given moment are limited by its possibilities. It will always and everywhere be possible to discharge the general obligation—education of the public conscience. But it will not always and everywhere be possible to discharge the special obligation—admission of colored students. Nevertheless, even in that event there will remain the obligation of preparing the way for their admission by sustained educative work on parents and students alike.

Furthermore, given the gravity of the situation and the weight of our responsibilities, the impossibility of admitting colored students should not be lightly taken for granted. There is room here for the exercise of courage in the service of intelligence, tact, and high social sense.

Finally, it must not be overlooked that the obligation of our schools to further the processes of social justice and charity, toward the common good, is heightened by their obligation to further the mission of the Church in the temporal order, which has the common good as its object.

B) Supernatural charity, and zeal for the supernatural mission of the Church also demand the admission of colored students to our schools. (The charity and zeal in question regard, not the individual Negro, but the Negro group as a group.)

This statement rests on two premises. First, an essential—and the ultimate—purpose of our schools is to further the supernatural mission of the Church. Secondly, this mission is hindered by the whole present social situation of the colored group—segregation, alienation from the white group, tension between them, cultural and economic inequality, etc.

Consequently, our schools are obligated to act toward correcting this situation, according to their possibilities and consequent responsibilities. In particular, they have an obligation in charity to terminate the grave scandal found in the fact that many secular schools admit Negroes, while many of our own bar them.

HE SAVED US FROM SCANDAL: JOHN MARKOE, S.J.

interracial apostle

ROBERT T. REILLY

FR. JOHN MARKOE, S.J., died slowly, fighting for breath, as the Detroit riots, which agonized him, blazed hundreds of miles from his bedside. The news media referred to the deceased as "Omaha's most courageous cleric" and editorials lamented that his strong, compelling, instructive presence would no longer be felt.

When Fr. John Markoe decried racism as a "God Damned Thing," his punctuation returned this expletive to its original meaning. Slowed by two strokes, gaunt and bent, Fr. Markoe remained to the end a tough adversary of prejudice. Where once he had strolled daily through Omaha's Negro ghetto, he was reduced to taking a cab to make his infrequent rounds. Usually he just sat and his friends came to him. The poor, the lonely, the desperate, the prostitutes, the winos: he knew them all and they knew him.

Whitney Young, national director of the Urban League, called the retired Jesuit mathematician "a walking sermon." Roy Wilkins of the NAACP knew and admired him in St. Louis, and officials in CORE wrote to him for advice. John Howard Griffin, speaking at a testimonial dinner in Father Markoe's honor some years ago, referred to him as "one of the few who have acted, who have been what we all profess to be, who have salvaged us from unspeakable scandal."

Fr. Markoe was a somewhat anonymous civil rights leader, not

celebrated for anything he did in Selma or Harlem or Watts, but principally for his impact on Omaha's Near North Side. Everyone fights on the battlefield he's allotted, and for Father John Markoe, the arena became Omaha, a city of 350,000, ten per cent of whom are Negroes. A native of St. Paul, Minnesota, Fr. Markoe numbered among his ancestors a mayor of that city, a pioneer balloonist, an Anglican minister and a great great-grandfather whose Philadelphia militia escorted Gen. George Washington when he assumed command of the Continental Army. Enough blue blood ran in his veins to make him a social lion. Circumstances led him instead to the slums. His career began, however, not in the streets or the seminary, but behind the towered walls of the United States Military Academy.

There was something about him even in old age to suggest that he starred against Notre Dame in the first game of that great gridiron rivalry, and that he was named to the All-American team as end in his senior year. Dwight D. Eisenhower and Omar Bradley were teammates. General Carl Spaatz was his roommate and, in the baseball season, Markoe fielded the pitches of future coaching great, Bob Neyland. In 1914, the rugged, 6'2" second lieutenant drew as his first assignment, a unit of Negro troops patrolling the Arizona-New Mexico border. Lieutenant Markoe instinctively fraternized with the soldiers, earning the disdain of his fellow officers. He also began to hit the bottle heavily. In the tedious campaign against the Yaqui Indians, the young lieutenant slipped into Mexican territory for some action, virtually demolished a bar, and tried to drag his commanding officer into the saloon for a drink. When he sobered up, he found himself cashiered out of the 10th Cavalry.

Back in Minnesota, Markoe tackled jobs in lumber and steel, but missed the military life. He was delighted when, as a member of the Minnesota National Guard, he was called up at the start of World War I. Texas was his destination this time; and despite his proclivity for drinking and fighting, Markoe made the rank of captain. Among his fellow officers in the area, were some of his classmates who still wore their lieutenant's bars.

There are tales of further riotous conduct, bar room brawls, arrest and jailbreak and, according to the story, it all came to an

end with the drunken Captain Markoe lying crosswise on a burro led by a Mexican peasant. Even without the pyrotechnics which accompanied St. Paul's conversion, Markoe somehow concluded that he had had enough. He swore off drinking and decided to join his older brother William, who had just been ordained a Jesuit.

A Jesuit for Negroes

The year was 1917 and, on the feast of the Assumption, the young seminarian, together with Fr. William Markoe and two other Jesuit priests, signed the following document:

O, Jesus, we, the undersigned, resolve and determine, in honor of Thy Sacred Heart, Thy Holy Mother, our Guardian Angels and all our Patron Saints, especially Saint Ignatius and Saint Peter Claver, to give and dedicate our whole lives and all our energies, as far as we are able, and it is not contrary to a pure spirit of pure indifference and obedience, for the work of the salvation of the Negroes in the United States; and though altogether unworthy, we trust in the Sacred Hearts, O Jesus and Mary, to obtain for us the priceless favor of doing so. And do thou, O St. Peter Claver, pray for us. Amen. Also, daily to repeat this resolution, for the fulfillment of our expectations and desires.

His expectations and desires soon met up with the realities of bigotry, within and without his own Church. Shocked at the fact that St. Louis University denied admission to Negroes, the Markoe Brothers protested loudly and widely. Others joined them, and John carried the case as far as the Apostolic Delegate in Washington. Such conduct won few academic or episcopal friends. When the smoke cleared, Fr. William Markoe was sent to Denver; two compatriot Jesuits to Wisconsin and California; and Fr. John Markoe was dispatched to Creighton University in Omaha.

Omaha was not the Deep South, but it had, and has, its share of racism. Fr. Markoe's efforts were as resented, misunderstood and opposed as they had been in St. Louis. But daily he repeated the pledge and daily he fought for justice. John Howard Griffin, in a letter of tribute to both Markoe brothers, said:

They were in this cauldron, deeply committed and fully aware that they would be hated by the very racists whom they were trying to salvage from the dehumanization of their racism. They saw clearly that racists, in the very name of Christianity, stab Christ in the darkness. They were in the cauldron before most of us were out of diapers. They took the bludgeonings that men of conscience must be prepared to take.

In St. Louis, Fr. John Markoe had the newspapers behind him in the fight which produced victory and transfer. In Omaha he formed his own organization, the De Porres Club, composed chiefly of Students and faculty members at Creighton University. Not all of his colleagues supported his views, of course, and there were priests in the archdiocese who felt embarrassed by his public demonstrations. Before protest tactics such as the boycott, sit-in and non-violent marches achieved popularity, Fr. Markoe was employing them in Omaha. His instructions to the De Porres Club members were always simple: "Is there discrimination in that place? Then go tell them about it." The club members staged restaurant sit-ins in the late 1940's and they carried equal employment placards twenty years ago. Fr. Markoe was usually with them, marching, suffering abuse, enduring shame. He clung like a bulldog to his unpopular stand.

There was never much of the intellectual about him. His concepts were disarmingly naive, straightforward and inevitably right. His selflessness made all compromise seem unworthy. In a newspaper interview, he scoffed at surveys about discrimination. "That's like surveying the Missouri River to see if it's wet," he said.

The increased activity of De Porres led to charges of communism, violent letters from alumni, inquiries from Church authorities and, finally, eviction of the club members from their campus quarters. They holed up in the back room of a Negro weekly newspaper, *The Omaha Star*, and continued their campaign. Nothing seemed to discourage Fr. Markoe, even the rebuffs he received from his own Church. "All my real opposition came from Catholic sources," he recalled, "and most of my help came from outside." But the constant pressure paid off, resulting in integration of public places, equal employment in industry and in the school system, and gains in other areas of civil rights. Ultimately, nearly all who opposed him came over to his side, some furtively, some with embarrassment, some openly admitting their dereliction. Omaha's Archbishop Gerald T. Bergan confessed publicly that Fr. John Markoe "has been 25 years ahead of all of us, including your Archbishop."

Although hampered by his illness, which had been pronounced terminal on numerous occasions, Fr. Markoe continued the battle

he began in 1917. The De Porres Club has ceased to exist, but its alumni function as committed individuals. Fr. Markoe's example always spoke even louder than his activity. His penetrating eyes, quality of command, his conviction and sanctity still impel others to press for full enactment of the principles he championed.

Love not guilt

Friends gave him money, knowing he always had a place for it. He also received limited annual royalties from the sale of his chart depicting the history of the Catholic Church. Just as he poured himself out, so he let these few dollars slip through his fingers into the hands of the poor. For a man with a reputation as a tough, inflexible combatant, he was as soft as innocence in the presence of the poor, the young and old. He was no do gooder, attracted by the romanticism of civil rights. He was not ever driven by feelings of guilt, as are other workers. Fr. Markoe truly, genuinely loved the Negroes he defended. He was at home with them, finding the same comfort in the ghetto that suburbanites enjoy on their patios.

Most mornings at Creighton University, you'd see young Negro children seated in the lobby. They were waiting for him. The elevator descended, Fr. Markoe emerged, and the children shyly walked to his embrace. He would introduce them to professors, take them to the student center for cokes, counsel them, give them money for their families. As he walked about the campus, his long arms on their shoulders, he created a striking figure. Everything about his tall frame, pain-streaked face, unruly white hair and deep eyes suggested portraits and photographs.

Fr. Markoe found pleasure in the progress of race relations in the last decade. And he found Pope John to be the perfect answer to the attitude of so many Christians. He was hopeful, but not subdued. John Howard Griffin recalls his spirit this way:

Certain scenes in life are so pure, they never leave us. One such scene occurred in the final moment of my last visit with Father John Markoe. Shaking my hand, he said, "Never forget our motto."

"What is that, Father?" I asked.

"Don't give an inch," he said.

That scene was a great gift from him to me. Constant dealings with racism sicken the soul. The odds against us are so overwhelming; our accomplishments seem so little, the tragedy so immense and implacable. In such times of

darkness, Father John's motto cuts through the confusion, the temptations to equivocate, like a surgeon's scalpel cutting away the rotten tissues.

"Rotten" was a favorite phrase of the Markoe brothers in describing the insult of racism. "Racism is evil," said John Markoe "because it's a heresy. It denies the teachings of Christ and the Church; it's against the natural law; it's against decency. And it makes people suffer. It brings humiliation, poverty, misery. There's no excuse for it. It's so evil, it's rotten."

Seventy-seven, and slowly dying, Fr. John Markoe was still upset at the tardiness of justice. He preached urgency and condemned all forms of gradualism. He remained deeply spiritual and grateful to God for the honorable mission He had given him. "Don't thank me for anything," he said, with unquestioned sincerity. "Thank God for whatever I have done." Even his personal life stayed simple. His small room was in perfect order, his few books packed—except for those he was reading—and his papers organized and filed. Everything was set for an instant transfer . . . or death. "When I go," he said, "I don't want them to have to spend five minutes disposing of my effects."

Today, a scholarship for Negro students bears his name; and he sometimes borrowed from this source to meet a friend's emergency. Other Jesuits have followed his example, working among the Negroes of this city. A group is conducting a summer live-in on the Near North Side, which Fr. "Cap" Markoe traversed for a quarter-century.

When he celebrated his Fiftieth Jubilee as a Jesuit, he had to be helped to his feet to join in the concelebrated Mass in his honor; and he distressed friends at a dinner that followed, worrying them that he might not be able to endure the long ceremony. When the time came for him to respond, however, he was on his feet. For a fleeting moment he looked like that young athlete of fifty years ago. Five decades of strife creased his face but there was fire in his eyes as he delivered his brief message. To his friends and disciples, he said, simply and directly: "Give 'em hell!" Perhaps he deserves a more pious epitaph, but understood in the context of the man who commanded it, it surely fits.

THE SANTA CLARA CONFERENCE: REFLECTION AND REMINISCENCE

one year later

JUSTIN J. KELLY, S.J.

FROM AUGUST 6TH through August 18, 1967, some seventy members of the American Assistancy met at Santa Clara University to discuss the total development of the Jesuit priest. The delegates included the eleven American provincials and half a hundred priests from all the Assistancy's regions and works. There were missionaries and university presidents, high-school teachers and social scientists, rectors, deans, theologians, and spiritual directors. Three philosophers, three regents, and five theologians represented the scholastics.

What the delegates accomplished during their two weeks of all-day discussions can best be seen by reading the published pages of the proceedings—in particular, the consensus positions and recommendations. Any final evaluation of the conference's achievements must obviously wait upon the putting into effect of these recommendations. The pre-note to the collection of consensus statements is careful to point out that they are not decrees, but simply a summary of the opinions of the majority of the conferees. The purpose of the Conference was not to legislate but to make recommendations to the provincials. It was to propose a number of practical means of implementing the program of renewal in the training of Jesuits initiated by the 31st General Congregation. In a few cases the recommendations actually run coun-

ter to previous legislation in the Society or in the Church (e.g., the length of tertianship, the amount of philosophy required for all, the theology program). In these instances the Conference delegates clearly felt that their own proposals more aptly embodied the intentions of the Council and of the recent Congregation than did the existing laws. Yet even supposing the concurrence of the provincials, some obstacles will plainly have to be surmounted before all of these suggestions can be tested in practice.

In this and other ways the outcome of the Conference depends upon the future success of its proposals—on the response of those in authority to them, as well as on their inherent practicality. Nevertheless, the moral influence of the opinions of such a cross-section of the Assistancy is bound to be considerable. This has already in fact been the case. I know from personal experience that the Conference's work has been enthusiastically welcomed by a number of young Jesuits. They find its recommendations more encouraging even than the decrees of the recent Congregation, insofar as Santa Clara's proposals for change are both more specific and more drastic. The author has often met a similar response among European Jesuits of every nationality, many of whom have read the consensus documents with great interest. The widely publicized letter of Fr. Arrupe regarding the "Third Way" came as a reaction to certain misinterpretations of the Conference's statement on relationships with women. This letter, about which more will be said below, is at least a sign that Father General sees the positions taken at Santa Clara as very influential. These are a few indications tending to confirm the conviction shared by most of the Santa Clara delegates, that the Conference marked a decisive option in the history of the Society in America.

This article will attempt to point out some of the new emphases in the training of Jesuits which emerge from a study of the consensus positions. It will also describe a few aspects of the meeting at Santa Clara itself—factors not immediately apparent to a reader of the proceedings, but significant for the understanding of what was done there. The presentation and background papers are too numerous and varied in content to be given an adequate commentary here. Similarly, the Survey of American Jesuits (which uncovered more useful information than its critics gave it credit

for) clearly requires some sort of professional interpretation and analysis, which unfortunately I am not competent to give. Most of my attention, therefore, will be devoted to the consensus documents and to the sessions themselves.

One way of summarizing the Conference's work would be to say that it endorsed three major principles with regard to the training of Jesuits. These principles are: flexibility or individual adaptation, professionalism, and the need for continuing education. A fourth emphasis, which is not so much a distinct principle as an aspect of the first three, is the need for greater continuity in Jesuit development. The meaning of these four factors will now be examined in detail.

Flexibility

Flexibility or Individual Adaptation: the Santa Clara documents repeatedly call for a more personalized and individualized course of training. The individual Jesuit is to be treated *as* an individual—in his spiritual development and in the ideals proposed to him, as well as in his program of studies, the length and type of regency he undergoes, etc. In fact, in the style of Jesuit formation envisaged by the Conference, there hardly is any such thing as "*the* course," in the old sense of the word. This fact appears most dramatically in Consensus Position IV, on academic and professional development, where it is stated that the integrating factor in a scholastic's education should be his field of specialization. It is no longer to be a set program, common to all, of classical literature and formal philosophy. Humanistic studies are seen as including and even centering around areas as diverse as art and physical science, sociology and theology. The amount of philosophy studied will vary according to individual needs and future work (Proceedings, III, 2, p. 13). The whole program is to be worked out by the individual in consultation with a full-time professional director of studies, who also has a hand in determining the nature and length of his regency and other apostolic experiments (*Ibid.*, 15-16).

Likewise, the theological program will allow and even encourage considerable variation and individual adaptation (C24, 26). As for the religious life, the statement on "Commitment" lays great stress on the individual's responsibility to discern God's will in relation to himself, as regards both taking his first vows and

continuing on to the priesthood (C4-5). In the novitiate, it is recommended that several associate directors assist the main novice director so that more personal attention may be given to the individual novice. Even the form of the novitiate—"whether a place or a spirit"—is left open (C10-11). The statement on psychological development urges that the ideals proposed should be fitted as much as possible to the capacity of the individual. Rather than forcing a man to become like someone else or to reach goals he obviously cannot attain, officials should help him "to project an ideal of *himself* at his best" (C31). Each man should be guided to the form and amount of prayer which is appropriate for him. Such authentic personal prayer cannot effectively be made the subject of legislation, but should be discerned by the individual under the guidance of his spiritual director. Liturgy, too, must enable the scholastic to personally experience the mystery of Christ in Christian community, rather than be simply a recitation of prayers or the performance of rubrical regulations (C60-61). The individual should be allowed to determine the time and place of his tertianship, so that the "concrete and *personal* contact with the things of the Society" which the 31st General Congregation sets as the value of the third probation, can be realized more effectively.

The principle of individual adaptation, of course, requires the individual to do some adapting too: flexibility bends both ways. The statements on the novitiate and on psychological development insist that the individual adjust himself to the religious community he has entered and to its apostolic goals. The ultimate purpose of Jesuit formation is not self-fulfilment but service—or rather, it is only by self-sacrificing work for and with others that a Jesuit can really fulfil himself, "deepening his person by deepening his ability to love" (C30).

Professionalism

Professionalism: the second principle underlying the Santa Clara statements means more than simply fostering a serious and responsible attitude to one's work. Such an attitude has always been given at least verbal encouragement. But if in spite of all exhortations to responsibility, Jesuit apostolic labors often have a curiously slap-dash and amateurish look, this points to a basic weakness in the training. Has it been determined too much by formal

and traditional norms, and too little by the demands of the Jesuit's future work and of the world in which he must live? One recalls the much-quoted remark that the Jesuit course prepares a man perfectly for the post of Holy Roman Emperor. Another word for the "professionalism" proposed by the Santa Clara documents (in place of the inherited formalism of our training) might be "realism." It is an effort to permit the actual situation—the future apostolic work, the world of today—to have a more direct influence on the course of training: not only in studies, but in spiritual development and in everything else as well.

The novitiate formation, for example, is to be defined continually in terms of the works of the society, projected and present. Novice "experiments" must not be artificially contrived: they must both give the novice real experience and provide him with some "feed-back" on the results of his work, good and bad (C7). Similarly the apostolic work experiences, now envisaged as integral part of the educational program, are to take place in "real life" rather than manufactured situations. And they should continue long enough to enable a man to gain direct knowledge of his successes and failures (C17). As already mentioned, the integrating factor in the Jesuit's academic development is to be his field of special studies. Thus he should be able to fulfil the undergraduate requirements of his future graduate specialization during the time of his university studies. His future priestly work will be based on a strong theological formation running through the whole educational process, as well as on training in communication and interpersonal relations. These studies, even during the novitiate, are to be of genuine university caliber, and where possible they should be taken with lay college students. Thus the Jesuit will be involved from the first with the people with whom he is to deal in later life (C13).

The test of a relevant theological formation, according to Consensus Paper VI, is its capacity to deal with contemporary men and the contemporary intellectual world. Theological competence, including the ability to deal with problems of faith, is crucial for all Jesuits. Theology should be presented in terms of the pressing religious problems of today, particularly atheism and secular humanism (C22-24). This theme, which underlies many of the rec-

ommendations made regarding the theology program, was so strongly felt that a majority of delegates rejected an apparently innocuous statement which seemed to conflict with it. An earlier draft of the document urged "a strong concentration on the historical approach to theology." This was voted out by the delegates—not because they were opposed to historical theology, but because they wished the theological program to be clearly focussed on the present and the future rather than on the past.

Consensus Document VIII recommends formal training for positions of leadership and government in the Society and the apostolate. Leadership, in the form of ambition to serve, must be encouraged and developed. Updated and improved *informationes* are needed to bring about earlier and more accurate identification of those with the ability to lead and govern (C39-40).

The future ecumenical work of the Jesuit priest likewise requires professional preparation. The young Jesuit must be able to gain direct knowledge of non-Catholic Christian traditions through reading and personal contact. Dialogue with Protestant divinity students and cooperative social action should be a normal element in our education (C42-3). The same demand for adequate preparation appears in the statement on regency: no one should be assigned to teach subjects for which he is not professionally qualified; first year teachers should have lighter than normal teaching loads; competent direction and in-service training should be given to all teachers, etc. (C50-51). The need for adequately trained and effective spiritual directors is equally clear (C55).

The intention to substitute the actual demands of real situations for an excessive reliance on merely formal norms appears also in the statements on prayer and liturgy. Even personal prayer is seen, not as taking place in a vacuum, but as essentially communal and directed outward to the world of persons. God reveals himself to us in life-situations and in people, as well as in the scriptures, the sacraments, and the teaching Church. The young Jesuit should be led to discover God in the living Church. His prayer must be real and personal, not just the fulfilling of a formal obligation (C58-9, 61). Instruction in the liturgy, but even more a meaningful experience of the Eucharistic celebration, is an essential part of the Jesuit's apostolic preparation. The pressing apostolic impor-

tance of liturgical adaptation should lead superiors to take a positive attitude toward experimentation in the liturgy (C63-4).

Finally, the relative isolation of most Jesuits from the daily experience of truly poor people is regarded as a major cause of the ineffectiveness of exhortations in the matter of poverty. If the Jesuit is to be "seriously" poor, ways must be found of exposing him in his work and his community living to the experience of real poverty. This should be taken into account when Jesuit residences are being planned (C71-2).

Continuing education

Continuing education: this third principle is a corollary of the need for academic professionalism. As the preceding principle prohibits all forms of merely "playing at education," this one puts an end to the notion that a Jesuit's life of serious study can stop with the *ad grad*. No one is likely to have proposed a formal theory to this effect, but everyone is aware how easily it could and did happen in practice. In a sense it could hardly *not* happen, in view of the busy lives most priests lead, and also in view of the extreme formalism of the traditional course of studies. From the novitiate to the end of theology, the academic program was all too efficiently geared to covering the assigned matter and to passing examinations. Course-content was rarely affected by considerations of pastoral utility or contemporary relevance. Instead of developing a habit of wide reading on questions of personal interest, the course tended systematically, unintentionally, to discourage it. The treatment of philosophy and theology often gave the impression of providing final answers to all questions forever. Small wonder if the busy high school teacher or college administrator found his intellectual curiosity fully satisfied by *Time* magazine. After a seven-year diet of Latin manuals and notes-seeking-memorization, that academic appetite survived at all is the marvel.

It is with theological education and re-education that the Conference was particularly concerned. The statement on theological training observes that this process, by its very nature, "cannot be conceived of as terminating with the fulfillment of a specific curriculum" (C27). It asks the provincials to set up formal structures to provide opportunities for those who have finished the course to continue or renew their contact with theology. It sug-

gests intensive workshops in theology which could occasionally be substituted for the annual retreat (C28). The relative brevity with which the consensus documents deal with this matter is no index of its real importance. The lack of "theological confidence" is a major source of tension and disquiet among priests today, inside and outside the Society. Particularly within, the gap between those who feel at ease with the new theology, and those who, even if only a few years out of the course, do not, gives rise to noticeable strain. This was what one of the priest-delegates meant by remarking, when the problems of "the younger men" were being discussed, that "the problem of younger Jesuits today is older Jesuits." Theological insecurity accounts for much of the defensiveness, suspicion, and even outright hostility that scholastics and young priests sometimes encounter in their elders. The latter seem to feel that basic truths are being tossed aside and essential values trampled underfoot, that their own laboriously acquired knowledge is dismissed as out of date. A more thorough knowledge of the newly emerging theology would go far toward removing the causes of this disquiet. Really competent instruction in the significance of recent developments (e.g., in moral theology, in the liturgy, in the theology of the religious life) would bring out their essential continuity with what had gone before. It might help to restore a good many priests' confidence in themselves and in their fellow-Jesuits—and perhaps in the post-Conciliar Church as well. In addition to the theological institutes already mentioned, the statement on tertianship suggests a program of renewal that could be offered to older priests. It would last one or two months and would include both the Spiritual Exercises and lectures on new approaches in scripture, theology, and liturgy. The importance of such programs in the minds of the delegates reflects their conviction that "the total development of the Jesuit priest" is a lifelong endeavor.

Integration

Integration: the need for more continuity in the training of Jesuits is all too evident. In his presentation paper on "The Psychological, Personal, and Social Development of the Jesuit Priest" (Proceedings, Vol. II, Part 2), Fr. Carlo Weber perceptively describes the schizophrenic effect caused by the sudden transitions from one stage of the course to another. "The young man moves

from an anti-intellectual novitiate spirit into a hyper-intellectual juniorate and philosophate, and then back into an anti-intellectual regency. His faculties are simply *not allowed* to grow apace. We train, first the will, then the intellect, then the emotions, but not all of them together. *This defies all laws of psychic growth*" (207-8). In the intellectual sphere alone, the rigid Renaissance separation of subject matter into distinct blocks—two years of humanities, then three of philosophy, then four of theology—conflicts with modern educational theory, which calls for a more integrated and holistic approach to learning. Other considerations apart, the present faith-crisis and the ongoing changes in the Church make it imperative that the young Jesuit be trained in theology (scriptural, moral, and systematic) from the very beginning. The statement on theological education says that such programs—which have already begun in most places—should be coordinated with later divinity studies so as to avoid repetition and to shorten the entire course. Moreover, "the spiritual growth of the Jesuit should both contribute to his theological development and be nourished by it" (C23, 24).

The novitiate document likewise stresses the *continuity* of the novitiate with the rest of the person's life, both before entry and after vows. Attitudes and practices should not be radically different as he passes from one stage to another (C7). The same desire for a more integrated approach to personal development is reflected in the statements on prayer, on the liturgy, on poverty, on ecumenism, and on general education. This last is conceived as a university-level A.B. program, including theology and philosophy but centering around the individual's special area, and leading to a Master's Degree or its equivalent. The course, beginning in the novitiate, would normally last about five years, exclusive of the Master's program. In conjunction with the above-mentioned reduction of the theology or divinity-school course to a maximum of three years (C28), and also with the recommended abbreviation of regency to no more than two years (C50), and the possibility of taking tertianship in two three-month periods (C53), the entire course of Jesuit training for one entering out of high school would last ten or eleven years. (This includes the M.A. degree but not any further studies.) The proposed shorten-

ing of the course, particularly as regards philosophy and theology, is at variance with existing legislation in the Church and in the Society on the subject. The matter is so urgent and the need, it seems to me, so obvious, that one can only hope the legal obstacles will be quickly overcome. It is not just that the length of the training has harmful psychological side-effects, developing passivity and stifling initiative, as Fr. Weber remarks in his paper (207). Rather it is inefficient even from the educational point of view. In the Society as elsewhere, "work expands to fill the time allotted to it," and the awareness that one is wasting time to fill out a certain number of calendar years makes the learning process even less productive. In this perspective, a shorter education might mean a better education. The Conference's proposal to reduce the length of Jesuit training by 25% or more is far from the least important of its recommendations to the provincials.

There are many important aspects of the Santa Clara consensus positions which merit fuller comment. Within the scope of this article it has only been possible to refer in passing to such matters as, for example, the endorsement of controlled experimentation in the statement on liturgy, and the emphasis on a more immanent and spontaneous, less formal, approach to prayer. For some illuminating commentary on these documents, the reader is encouraged to consult the reports of Conference Sessions XVIII and XX (Proceedings, Vol. III, Part 2, pp. 34-51 and 61-85). I would also strongly recommend reading the discussions on obedience and authority (Sessions XXII and XXIII, pp. 96-137 of the same volume).

The third way

Since Fr. Arrupe's letter of December 12, 1967, has called so much attention to it, something must be said about the statement on "relationships with women" which concludes the document on psychological development. It goes without saying that the publicity this small section of the proceedings has received is out of all proportion to its actual importance in the Conference. Moreover, the General's condemnation of the "third way" and the Santa Clara recommendations meet only tangentially. Fr. Arrupe takes the way in which the latter has been "interpreted, or misinterpreted, by some of Ours" as a point of departure for his criti-

cism of certain practices which, he says, have sprung up in the assistancy. But the statement on Jesuits and women does not in fact approve of or even mention any of the activities condemned by Fr. Arrupe—dating, writing love letters, “fondling and kissing” women (as the *National Catholic Reporter* article which first publicized the Arrupe letter was careful to note). In fact the very phrase which Fr. Arrupe uses to define the “third way”—“an intimate, exclusive friendship with a woman”—refers to something already rejected by the Santa Clara statement. The fourth paragraph mentions “exclusiveness” in such a friendship as a danger to be avoided: “that kind of total emotional absorption which . . . impedes both parties in their psychological and spiritual growth” (C36).

Consequently, the widespread impression of a head-on collision between the views of Fr. Arrupe and those of the Conference on this subject is erroneous. Those of the delegates who discussed the matter with Fr. Small at the Conference will scarcely have been surprised at the content, at least, of Fr. General’s letter. The difference in tone and emphasis between these two documents can be attributed chiefly to the different purposes for which each was written. The Conference wished to offer some clear, positive guidelines in a still uncharted and acutely problematic area. Fr. Arrupe was anxious to defend well-established religious principles underlying the vow of chastity from possible watering-down or misinterpretation.

In view of the presence of young Jesuits on the campuses of coeducational colleges, and still more of the end of the artificial isolation which once existed between religious in training and members of the opposite sex, the Conference judged that some definite statement on men-women relationships was urgent. It wanted to affirm the positive value, psychological and religious, in the friendship of a mature Jesuit for a woman. While recognizing the potential dangers in such a relationship, it preferred to regard them as an inescapable risk to be accepted in pursuit of a higher good. The self-abnegation, honesty, and integrity required to avoid these dangers were seen by the Conference as the condition of true friendship (C37). The occasion of Fr. Arrupe’s statement, on the other hand, seems to have been the re-

quest of a provincial, whose name is not given, for a clarification of the Society's policy regarding "the practices called 'a third way.'" Speaking from "religious premises," it declares that these practices are contrary to the vow of chastity and to the "affective renunciation and solitude of heart" which this implies. The letter is a quasi-legal document clearly directed against some specific abuses. It simply denies to those guilty of such behavior the right to appeal to the Santa Clara statement in defense of their actions. As such it can be seen as safeguarding the intention of the delegates in their statement on relationships with women rather than as contradicting it.

The Conference qualifies its affirmation of the good to be attained in such relationships with the clause, "provided they (the persons involved) have reached the stage of maturity which can sustain them" (C36). It may be that the Conference was overly optimistic about the maturity and intelligence of young Jesuits, scholastics and priests. If its confidence in them should prove excessive, however, it is at any rate no greater than that of Fr. Arrupe himself. Their honesty and sincerity are so well known, he writes, that he is sure his instruction to provincials advising them to dismiss "third way" practitioners from the Society will not cause the younger men to "become secretive in its practice." Overly sanguine or not, the Santa Clara statement on relationships with women is at least a courageous effort to define an ambiguous and highly important issue. Much more obviously has to be said before the implications of the vows and of "solitude of heart" can be clearly understood in their application to the new religious situation. It is to the credit of the Conference and of Fr. Arrupe that they faced this matter openly and initiated its discussion, in spite of attendant dangers and possible adverse publicity.

Liturgy at Santa Clara

This spirit of bringing problems out into the open typified the Santa Clara meeting as a whole. One of the most dramatic instances of this occurred toward the end of the first week, when Fr. Giles Milhaven mentioned the dual liturgies that were being celebrated at the Conference. "When we have Mass every day here at 12 o'clock, we have two groups. We have a group which celebrates in the church and a group which celebrates in the back

room." After confessing that "I am one of the boys in the back room," Fr. Milhaven went on to point out that this situation only mirrored what was happening in the Assistancy as a whole. Good men differed strongly on whether and how far one could experiment with or adapt the liturgy without explicit permission. (This fact had been amply illustrated already on the first afternoon of the Conference. A presentation paper written by Fr. Gordon Moreland had criticized those who were so obsessed by the need for a meaningful liturgy that they developed "a private liturgy, a quasi-Gnostic banquet" which expressed themselves but not the Christian community. A fellow-member of Fr. Moreland's task-force, Fr. Frank Molony, said that he could not subscribe to all the criticisms made in the paper because "I have the feeling that it's my own ox that's being gored.") Fr. Milhaven's revelations provoked the discussion which is reported in the Proceedings for Session XX (Vol. III, Part 2). This in turn led directly to the public concelebration on Sunday of an experimental Mass, using John L'Heureux's Canon, in which at least four provincials and forty of the other delegates took part. It also led eventually to the approval by the Conference of the statement on liturgy contained in the consensus documents. The back room had moved out front.

The above-mentioned incident raises the question of disagreement at the Conference. How much consensus is reflected in the consensus papers? A letter of the provincials after their fall meeting reminds the Assistancy that the Santa Clara documents merely express the opinions of the majority of the delegates. The pre-note to the collection of consensus positions and recommendations points out the same thing. It would be utterly false to suggest that the delegates were always (or indeed ever) unanimous in their views. And yet during the last three days of the meeting, when the consensus statements prepared by the committees were being scrutinized by the full assembly and voted on paragraph by paragraph, really close votes were rare. Of the dozen or so times when the final count showed a majority of ten or less, all but one or two—unless my memory fails me—concerned alternative wordings for an idea rather than real substantive issues. There was at times vigorous opposition from a minority—particularly

in relation to the Conference's statement on prayer, prepared by Fr. Cooke's committee. But with few exceptions it remained very much the opposition of a minority. (The eleven provincials, incidentally, did not take part in the voting, since the Conference was held in order to advise them. They did participate actively—sometimes heatedly—in the discussions, as the proceedings will amply testify.)

The spirit and direction of the Conference were determined largely by those who were directly involved in the training of Jesuit scholastics, and by the scholastics themselves. Regarding the latter, I think all the delegates will acknowledge that their influence on the meeting's outcome was considerable. They took a vigorous part in the discussions from the very first day—so much so that Fr. Henle, the Chairman, commented in a bulletin issued to the Assistancy during the Conference that the scholastic delegates showed no sign of thinking that the meeting had been taken over by "the Establishment." This was quite true, and yet as a scholastic representative I must confess that several of us feared precisely this before the Conference. As we entered the assembly-room for the first morning session, another scholastic delegate leaned over to me and whispered: "Do you suppose we're here like the Negroes in tv commercials?" At that moment I wasn't quite sure myself. But Fr. Henle's scrupulously even-handed chairmanship quickly dispelled any fears that the eleven of us were merely there "for show," and that we would not be listened to. Scholastics were on all or almost all of the committees which prepared the consensus statements, and made their voices heard in the general assembly too. Our two-day pre-Conference meeting at North Aurora in July probably gave us a slight advantage in preparedness over the other delegates, many of whom barely had time to read the presentation papers before the Conference opened. Whatever the cause, the scholastics "came on strong," and stayed on.

This is not to say that they constituted a power block. As C. J. McNaspy noted in his *America* article on Santa Clara, the divergences of opinion among them were as great as among any other group of delegates. In reality the Conference was fortunately lacking in power blocks, factions and Establishments. There was not

even the same liberal-conservative split which characterized the Council. Xavier Rynne, had he attended, would have been hard up for material. In Conciliar terms, all the delegates would have to be classified as "progressives."

And yet there remained among them significant differences of viewpoint. To the extent that these disagreements did not concern individual issues, merely, but tended to form a pattern, they reflected basically different evaluations of the present state of the Society and its young men in particular. One group tended to view this situation in terms of moral and spiritual sickness. The fact that young Jesuits were not behaving the way they used to, insisted on "meaningfulness," and were not going to Benediction, was regarded as symptomatic of a general religious decay. The present "permissive" atmosphere of the scholasticates should give way to a more disciplined manner of life. There should be a return to the fixed daily *ordo*, experimental Masses should be suppressed, etc. Another group, by far the majority, preferred to see the situation of younger Jesuits today more positively, as part of a larger movement of change within the Church herself. This movement, in spite of the confusion and incidental aberrations it provoked, was fundamentally trustworthy, a groping toward fuller life. It was a problem calling for discernment and direction rather than suppression. This group felt, in fact, that an over-hasty exercise of authority in present circumstances would be futile and possible disastrous. Instead of trying to change the men, we should change the structures to give the men more room to grow. This latter point of view was overwhelmingly endorsed by the Conference.

The makeup of the Conference probably favored this result from the beginning. Though care was taken to secure as wide as possible a distribution of members, both geographical and in relation to works, the majority of delegates came from the scholasticates. This was both proper and inevitable in a meeting concerned with the course of training. Moreover, the men chosen were—and once again for good reason—by and large the more successful teachers, administrators, and spiritual directors. In other words they were precisely the people whom one could expect to have the greatest understanding of the men in training, the most

sympathy for them, and to be in turn liked and respected by them. The predominance of men such as these undoubtedly led to the result described.

The men responsible

It would be hard to name any single figure among the delegates as the dominant influence at the Conference. Any list of the more influential voices would certainly have to include Fr. Joe Wall of Alma, whose Hemingway-style beard bobbed vigorously in almost every session; Carlo Weber, who made in person comments as trenchant and acute as those which mark his presentation paper; Jack McCall, whose wit enlivened many a session; Fr. Henle, the indefatigable coordinator; Giles Milhaven, Nick Predovich, Dick Braun—but the list is almost endless. And a number who spoke seldom on the floor were effective in committees helping to determine the shape of the consensus documents. Fr. Bernard Cooke of Marquette would win my vote as the most impressive single figure among the delegates. Combining great clarity of mind with an almost charismatic faith, he helped to give other members the courage of their theological convictions. That is, he consistently put forth good theological reasons for doing what many other delegates felt instinctively was the right thing to do. Barney's influence was no small factor in creating the atmosphere of the Conference. That atmosphere, as many have testified, was one of tremendous relief and release. I had the feeling that not a few distinguished Jesuits were saying for the first time in public things they had always thought but never dared to utter. Some gave the impression of at last laying down a burden they had been carrying around for years. The resulting sense of freedom and mutual confidence was amazing. I heard a provincial say, and he was not alone in this reaction, that the two weeks at Santa Clara had been one of the greatest experiences of his life.

Possibly the best concise summary of the spirit of Santa Clara is an observation made by Fr. Cooke during his discussion of authority in the Church. "My generation, by and large, lived in a context of fear. . . . What I think has happened with the younger men is that they have decided they are not going to live like this. They are much more concerned about being deep Christians" (Proceedings, Vol. III, part 2, pp. 109-110). From the general

nodding of heads in response to Barney's remarks, I could see that he was expressing the opinions of a good many. My hope is that the Santa Clara Conference expresses an assistancy-wide decision, by no means confined to one age group, not to live in a context of fear, but to move creatively and confidently into the future.

IGNATIAN SURVEY: 1967

Edited by ROBERT C. COLLINS, S.J.

NEW APPROACHES

"Ignatian Exercises 1964-66" ("Ejercicios ignacianos 1964-66"), by Ignacío Iparraguirre, S.J., *Manresa* 39 (1967) 147-68.

THE MODERN CHANGE OF PERSPECTIVE towards the *Spiritual Exercises* has opened new avenues for commentaries on the book. First, the Ignatian content has been rediscovered. Many problems of method are now taken as means and not as ends in themselves; and so they are given their proper value. Secondly, the existential aspect of the Exercises has come to the fore. No more abstract treatises on terms like creation, affection, etc., are being produced, which seemed to make mere philosophical investigations out of important passages of the Exercises. Most of all, the Exercises are now seen as the personal encounter of the retreatant with Christ. The discernment of spirits is being seen in proper perspective in the spiritual process of this encounter with Christ.

The causes of this change of perspective are: the post-Conciliar atmosphere, the deepening of understanding of the Ignatian methods, the directives given by Pope Paul VI, and the frequency and caliber of the national and international meetings on the Exercises. The principal characteristics of this new perspective follow.

1) Discovery of the vital scriptural background. The retreat master is not an exegete, but he must use Scripture in its proper sense in order not to present the affirmations of our faith in an overly pious manner without reference to the real meaning of the texts. (A helpful article in English is that of J. A. Fitzmyer, S.J., in *Woodstock Letters* 91 [1962]. Scriptural retreat plans have also been developed, e.g., by Joseph Enn, S.J.)

2) Liturgical emphasis. If the Spiritual Exercises fail to use the liturgy as part of their ecclesial aspect they will dry out for lack of inner strength. The liturgy is one of the great means for reflecting on and understanding God's plan of salvation. This deep meaning of the liturgy is the one that is now being sought for in the Spiritual Exercises. (See the Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation, No. 8; the Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, No. 15; and the article by D. M. Stanley, S.J., in *Woodstock Letters* 93 [1964].)

3) Theological background. We now integrate the theological content with the meditation. Karl Rahner is the pioneer in this field. He himself says in the prologue to his *Spiritual Exercises* that he does not become involved in theological reflections that have nothing to do with the religious truths of the Exercises. He theologizes from the Exercises themselves.

4) A return to the sources. This is a complementary phase of what has been said already. These new approaches could appear to be destroying the Exercises; actually they have simply purified and enriched what was typically Ignatian. Nowadays it is becoming more clear how the Ignatian way is ecclesial. This trend is best exemplified by Hervé Coathalem's book, *Commentaire du livre des Exercices*. Antoin Dragon follows similar lines in his book. These two works exemplify the enormous amount of analysis and synthesis that is typical of the new approach to the text and method used by St. Ignatius.

5) Influences in the actual giving of the Exercises. These include: an ecumenical approach; retreats for non-Christians (as, for example, in India); the more active participation of the laity in the giving of retreats; and, in general, the adaptation of the retreats to the needs of modern man.

MARIO A. RODRIGUEZ, S.J.

COLLOQUIUM ON THE EXERCISES

"Colloquium on the Exercises of St. Ignatius" ("Colloque sur les Exercices de Saint Ignace"), by *Josef Sudbrack, S.J.*, *Christus* 14 (1967) 560-66.

AT PENTECOST, 1967 FIFTY JESUITS from the German Assistancy met at Bad Schönbrunn near Zurich to discuss the Exercises. Differences in approach appeared all along the line, with the boundary running through all countries, provinces, and age groups.

This first became apparent after a Dutch Jesuit made a presentation, using slides, of a style of retreat bearing entirely on the responsibility

of Christians in our time. The techniques—common life, discussion, work groups, etc.—as well as the content struck many of the Jesuits as very unusual. The point was that the demands of our present day have every right to a place in the Exercises, for the only Christ we will encounter is the Christ of today.

No one denied a place to contemporary relevance, but there were diverse views on how this should be accomplished. Can one start exclusively from man's responsibility to his age and move from there to an encounter with Christ? Do not the Exercises move in the opposite direction, from a decision for Christ to attention to the vital appeals of our own time? Further study of the Ignatian election should shed light on the question: Where are the concrete situation of the exercitant (which includes his relationship to his world as one of its essential elements) and his encounter with Christ inseparably joined together?

Contemporary man's faith is not something he possesses without questioning it. He is always deciding about it anew in every concrete choice. Should not the renewal and deepening of the decision to believe have the central place in the Exercises, with the particular objects of choice offered in the election serving simply as the material element of the judgment which sums up the more radical commitment to be a Christian? But isn't the typical Ignatian retreat concerned with the choice of a state in life? Or was not the experience of Ignatius at Manresa precisely a return to faith as to the center of Christianity?

Time was too short for full discussion of the problem of the use of Scripture in the Exercises. How faithfully should we follow the sequence of contemplations set down in the Exercises? Is it valid to substitute for the life of Christ some other principle of organization in the Exercises, such as the liturgy, or the sacraments, or some particular mystery of faith? There was general agreement, however, about the First Week of the Exercises. Could not the retreat begin with the glorified Christ, for example? There was agreement that the first week is a gathering together of the existential data facing man in his existential situation, from his imprisonment in the "everyday" to the very heart of his personal existence. All considered this an element essential to an Ignatian retreat.

Concerning the Exercises and psychology, the question posed was: What relationship is there between the process by which a man moves through the course of the Exercises and the process of a psychotherapeutic cure? There is a danger of unwittingly taking psychological phenomena to be religious events. Similarities are particularly abundant in the First Week: the discovery of self (or the religious decision)

takes as its point of departure an error in one's personal attitude rooted in the psyche (or in sin); recovery is crystallized around great archetypes (or truths of the history of salvation); the process leads to an opening of the man to a "thou." The one who gives the Exercises should not adopt the neutral attitude of the psychiatrist. He should abandon the role of master or teacher and enter dialogue in a spirit of mutual seeking for a deeper reality and level of faith.

There was surprising agreement in favor of colloquies or group meditations during a retreat. Since faith involves not only the individual but a "we," the actualization of faith which is at the heart of the Exercises calls for some involvement of a "we" in the retreat. Such colloquies are to be carefully distinguished from discussions and should not be allowed to degenerate into discussions. Two schemes were suggested: common meditation on Scripture (which takes the form of prayer), and dialogue about problems of faith (which takes the form of a common reflection or investigation). All agreed that such serious exchanges favor recollection, perhaps even more than solitude does.

R. C. C.

IGNATIUS' AUTOBIOGRAPHY

"A Reading of the Autobiography of St. Ignatius" ("Una lectura de la Autobiografía de San Ignacio"), by Juan Villegas, S.J., *Manresa* 39 (1967) 27-40.

IGNATIUS' SPIRITUAL DIARY AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY constitute the two most important documents of the Society's foundation and early life. They reveal the spiritual pilgrimage Ignatius had to follow so that God the Father would place him with Christ his Son, a sign of God's implicit approval of Ignatius' determination to serve his Lord and master. Both documents, the *Diary* and the *Autobiography*, form a dynamic unity: they represent Ignatius' life; while the *Spiritual Exercises* and the *Constitutions* of the Society are the practical formulation of Ignatius' decision to serve his fellow men within the hierarchical Church.

This article on the *Autobiography* reveals the unity which permeates Ignatius' account of his early spiritual odyssey, beginning with that afternoon at Loyola when the desires of imitating what St. Dominic or St. Francis came to him "with no further thought of circumstances than of promising to do with God's grace what they had done."

Ignatius' purpose in dictating his *Autobiography* to Luis Gonçalves da Câmara from August 4, 1553, to September 22, 1554, was no other than the spiritual edification of those who would follow the Society's

route. Just as the *Spiritual Exercises*—as Fr. Bremond has said—could be taken as Ignatius' autobiography rather than as a treatise on prayer, the *Autobiography* was meant to be a practical example of how to apply the discernment of spirits in a concrete situation.

The *Autobiography* shows three clearly distinct parts: (1) the role of discernment of spirits in relation to Ignatius' spiritual life, (2) Ignatius' gradual discovery of his ideal of service, and (3) the question of studies.

Ignatius took a radical decision to follow Christ in poverty and humiliation, although ". . . he never took a spiritual view of anything, nor even knew the meaning of humility, or charity, or patience, or discretion as a rule and measure of these virtues. His whole purpose was to perform these great, external works, for so had acted the saints for God's glory, without thought of any more particular circumstance" (*Autobiography*, No. 14). He will gradually realize the need to make his ideal something concrete and mature as he becomes aware of his status regarding the Church. The primitive ideal of journeying to Jerusalem, "undertaking all the disciplines and abstinences which a generous soul on fire with the love of God is wont to desire," will soon become something more realistic and explicit, in terms of obedience to the hierarchical Church.

First, Ignatius will change his decision of living in the Holy Land—his ideal of following Christ was no doubt in terms of personal devotion, of a chivalric self-denial "ad consolationem"—into an apostolic ideal of service to his fellow men, concretized later in his decision to pursue an academic degree in order to be able to help others without having to face a judge's accusation of Illuminism. In a sense, Ignatius the mystic yielded place to Ignatius the student.

Thus the *Autobiography* is not an analytic account of Ignatius' life, but a narration and a picture of life in the service of his concretized ideal—his fellow men. He has left us a finished image of the Ignatian style of life.

JOSÉ L. SÁEZ, S.J.

THE WORD OF GOD

"Hearing the Word of God in the Exercises" ("Entendre la parole de Dieu dans les Exercices"), by Henri Holstein, S.J., *Christus* 14 (1967) 80-96.

THE EXERCISES ARE A PRIVILEGED TIME for hearing the word of God in docility. To do this correctly, the rules for the discernment of spirits, especially those for the second week, are of special value. We are ac-

customed to apply them to the election; but they can also be applied to the contemplations as a help to avoid illusions and to draw the full benefit from them intended by Ignatius. We must not simply imitate the mystery, but must recognize and respond by an interior transformation to the questions put to us by the mystery.

One danger in treating the Gospel is to "archeologize"; that is, to use biblical criticism to explain the gospel accounts in a way which leaves them in a far-off world, long past, and with little message for us today. Another danger is "copying," by which the gospel scenes are reduced to various moral and ascetical attitudes, which are then put on by the retreatant as a sort of overcoat, without being really taken into his interior. A classic example is the contemplation on the hidden life at Nazareth, which is taken as a model of obedience, silence, and submission to long years of formation! Christ is considered exclusively as a model for imitation. Such a contemplation as the one on the hidden life will be truly profitable only if it leads the retreatant to understand the sources in him of the lack of humility, obedience, etc., of which the contemplation of Christ should make him aware. To get at these real problems, the rules for the discernment of spirits should be employed to help the retreatant see how and why he responds as he does to the personal, concrete invitation extended to him by Christ as encountered in this contemplation.

The selection of events to contemplate must itself be scrutinized to see that it is not guided by the retreatant's own secret prejudices, which incline him to listen to only *some* of the words directed to him by the Lord in the gospels. To listen to Christ properly, therefore, requires that we be revealed to ourselves. This is the work of Christ, as is illustrated in the gospels themselves: e.g., the rebuke to Peter at Caesarea Philippi and the words addressed to the father of the epileptic after the descent from Tabor.

The retreatant's reactions during prayer should be examined according to the rules for the discernment of spirits in order to interpret the significance of the difficulties, tedium, joy, etc., experienced in contemplating various events and words of Jesus. The director of the retreat is to aid in this discernment, which makes it possible for the retreatant to receive the Gospel as a word spoken to him. He must help the retreatant avoid both "archeologizing" and "copying" the Gospel. In order to do this, the director must himself avoid these errors and must, while proposing the Gospel to the retreatant, be open and attentive to the word of God. He should show himself to be a brother and companion to the retreatant, sharing a common desire to seek and accomplish God's will.

R. C. C.

AD MAJOREM DEI GLORIAM

"The Ever Greater Glory of God" ("L'honneur de Dieu toujours plus grand"), by Karl Rahner, S.J., *Christus* 14 (1967) 218-37.

THE MOTTO "AD MAJOREM DEI GLORIAM" is thought to express the essence of the Jesuits, their order, and their spirituality. Yet it remains a rather unclear formula and deserves some reconsideration. We will first consider where the difficulties lie in the formula; then we will make three preliminary observations; thirdly we will consider the place of the formula in the history of spirituality; finally we will treat the meaning of the motto itself.

1) The first difficulty that can be brought against the motto is that it does not characterize a particular religious order. It expresses an obligation common to all Christians. To do everything for the greater glory of God means simply to strive for holiness, and this is an obligation for all. According to the Gospel, every Christian is obliged to do "more" than has already been done in his own life and to keep himself open to a greater future. Ignatius' maxim therefore does not involve anything distinctive of him or of the order he founded.

A second difficulty is: Is it possible for man, a finite creature and a sinner, to exist for God's greater glory? We must be the recipients of God's revelation of his glory to us. If God himself has created a world which is finite and limited, falling short of "the best possible world," what does it mean to say that we sinners must do what will be for God's greater glory?

2) Nothing begins, even in the Church, which is not permeated by the atmosphere from which it comes. In fact it often requires a very close look to see that what has arisen is something radically new. We must carefully examine instances in which something new begins to see if what has begun is contingent in the way other temporal attitudes and events are, or whether it has a permanence that goes beyond them, so that it continues on in the living reality of the Church.

A second observation is that the distinctive character of a society is realized only in a very limited way in its individual members. We can even say that it is not necessary for a particular individual to embody in an especially intense way the distinctive spirit of his community.

Thirdly, we must remember that what is most lofty is often the most difficult to explicate and remains necessarily only half understood. It is often changed into a mere slogan, which is on everyone's lips but without its own peculiar richness of meaning, and from being often repeated is most often not understood.

3) Certainly Ignatius, with his Spanish background and tradition,

was in many ways a man of the late middle ages, of the *devotio moderna*. Yet he was certainly also a man of modern times, of the era which has turned from cosmocentrism to anthropocentrism (to use J. B. Metz' terms), to man, who treats himself and his world in a rationally ordered way with a view to an open future, to a missionary commitment considered as a personal responsibility in the Church. There had always been apostolic men in the Church, but the particular quality in the relationship of the apostle to the Church presented by Ignatius had not appeared before. Ignatius was at the turning point between the ancient and medieval Church and the modern Church. Perhaps we ourselves, even today, are in many respects still Christians of the medieval Church who are only now beginning to understand what had its beginnings with Ignatius and Francis de Sales. There was a shift toward an existential ethic, toward an "option" in which the subject in one way or another exists in his act of deciding, in which he reflects, deliberates, chooses, and is not simply called by God without reflecting on himself. There was a shift toward the self's taking charge of the self. And yet Ignatius attained a permanence going beyond the conditions affecting this modern world. Despite his subjective concern with salvation and the predominance he gave to subjective over objective piety, despite his founding an order which was no longer a collectivity in the manner of the medieval orders—still, Ignatius remained a man of the Church. We are not wrong in seeing in his motto "Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam" something that had not been grasped and expressed anywhere or at any time before him.

4) There are four elements in the attitude expressed by the motto. The first is obedience. The formula expresses the desire to submit to the sovereign will of God. One is ready to carry out the will of God and in so doing to honor God and his sovereignty. This requires that one examine, choose, and accomplish certain things. Here the second element is involved: one finds himself already placed in a particular situation. He does not purely and simply determine everything himself. Some things he finds already determined. A created liberty always has antecedents; man's free action in history always requires him to insert himself into what is already given; his disposition of himself must always take into account the facticity of his own person, life, age, temperament, etc. One says by the phrase, "I wish to lead my life for the greater glory of God," that he expects a command from God, and that he is seeking, in all openness, to find out in what this order might consist. But he also says that in the most essential matters this command has already come. The scope of my choices for God's greater glory is not unlimited. Thirdly he says that his condition as "called" is

constantly changing. One day he is well; the next he is ill; today he has one thing to do; tomorrow another. Man's disposition in the hands of God is constantly changing. Obedience becomes part of the historical character of our human existence—in ever new, unforeseen, and unforeseeable ways. "Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam" does not mean that one plans his life once and for all by an a priori principle. It means essentially that he is not so much the one making the plan as the one receiving it, the one whom God has already affected and whom he continues day by day to affect.

The man who knows that God has already made a disposition of him and that he is to accept in obedience the continually new dispositions from God as they come to him in the course of the history of his life, a course which surpasses all particular projects within that life, can truly let things come to him. This letting-things-come is an essentially Christian attitude. For only that liberty is truly a Christian liberty which, notwithstanding its power to determine itself and the project by which it in some way gives direction to life, recognizes itself as created, i.e., as a liberty already given an orientation. To let God dispose of our life and to accept in obedience the unpredictability of our life—this belongs to the essence of Christian life.

In the concept of the *major Dei gloria* there enters the express, conscious decision to order one's life which remains along with the fact that man must enter into the working out of God's ordinances which surpass him, accept them, and, in a sense, not make any plan of his own. This is the fourth element in the structure of the attitude of the *major Dei gloria*—this clearly seen and deliberately maintained openness of the power to determine and plan. In the formula "Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam" the *ad* should be stressed. The *major Dei gloria* is not so much something already done as the perspective in which we must keep all our actions so as to transcend them by this very openness and expansiveness.

We find ourselves here faced with one of our original difficulties—either the motto involves something that belongs to every Christian existence or it does not involve anything essential at all. But this is a false dilemma. There are realities essential to Christian life which are to be found wherever Christianity exists, but which need not be always grasped with the same degree of explicitness or embodied with the same degree of effectiveness. This is the case with our fourth element.

In summary thus far: the subjectivity of the subject becomes an object for the subject and not simply a modality of the fact of self-fulfilment. This represents something typically modern. The motto "Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam" appeared only in modern times, along

with the meaning and seriousness which subjectivity too acquired only in the modern epoch. The subject's subjectivity has not always been an object for its subject in the sense in which modern man takes it. This is why the vaster range of potentialities beyond what is present here and now, beyond, that is, what God has already arranged, has not always been an object of reflection for the human subject.

Moreover, this fourth element has a part to play in providing a critique of the facticity of the decision being considered. Everyone has met people whose "hyperreflectivity" makes them fall from piety into neurosis. They lose confidence in their own personal temperament and inclinations and try to make their choice "Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam" in a sort of vacuum. The more genuinely Ignatian way of making an election, however, is not the mere tabulation of reasons for and against a choice. In the Exercises and in the motto we find something like an existential moral attitude of man, i.e., an openness to what one can not essentially or rationally or abstractly calculate or deduce. There is to be found in this formula the end of legalism and the liberty of the children of God in the Spirit of Christ. Man, knowing himself to be called, responds to the sovereign and free disposition of God. We do not mean to say that Christianity only really began with this modern attitude of Ignatius; we mean simply that something specifically Christian is here for the first time expressed and made visible.

Jesuits are often reproached for being rationalists. This is not strictly a reproach. Rationalism is as legitimate an attitude as any other. But the surprising thing is that for Ignatius, his mystical personality led him to contemplate the absolute sovereignty of God without at all identifying it with any activity or passivity of man; and as a consequence of this experience of the "ever greater" God, he had always to ask himself regarding everything he did, however good it was, whether there might be something greater, less out of proportion to God. This attitude, born, in a way, of an a-rational mysticism and a rigorous existentialism, can end up, if it is not permeated with spontaneity, in the rationalism of a false pragmatism. As for what is truly Ignatian in regard to every offer and every demand, there is nothing that makes sense other than to leave the last word to God.

"Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam," then, means the effort always to judge the glory of God that we have brought about by the greater glory of God which could be accomplished, in order to remain always open and ready, without being able to see ahead of time, to bring about a "different" glory of God as he asks it of us in a different moment of our life.

R. C. C.

HOW TO GET RID OF HISTORY

*religious renewal and the
tyranny of the past*

JOHN W. O'MALLEY, S.J.

RELIGIOUS RENEWAL IN THE CHURCH and the Society cannot today be expected to expend time and energy on nostalgic recall of the past. The contemporary world moves too fast and its problems are too urgent for us to be able to indulge ourselves with anything that smacks of antiquarianism or sentimentality. Renewal concerns the present and the future. It does not concern the past, which by definition is dead and gone. We must resolutely turn our backs on a history which is, after all, only history.

At the same time we perforce find ourselves looking to the past for help in answering our present questions. We do this, for one reason, because we have no alternative. The present is already gone, swallowed into the vortex of the past in the very instant of its first actuality. Whether we are dealing with St. Thomas or with the latest book just off the press we are dealing with realities already consigned to yesterday. The difference between the two is only one of degree. The future, of course, is forever beyond us, and those who would dedicate their lives to charting its course are prophets without honor in anybody's country. The present and the future, in other words, elude our grasp. We turn to the past in desperation, because we have no other place to turn. It provides us with our only data.

These are, therefore, the two horns of the present dilemma: we want to be rid of the dead past, but at the same time we see that in

some way or other it is only to the past we can look if the present religious renewal is to be a reasonable and thoroughly Christian undertaking. We are face to face with the problem of history. In this context I should like to present for consideration some personal reflections on the nature and purpose of history and historical studies.

The historian's understanding of the past

In the interest of good semantics we must begin by making the usual tiresome, but absolutely fundamental, distinction upon the word history: 1) the actuality or data of the past which the historian investigates, i. e., actual past reality; 2) the historian's reflections upon this reality, especially as these are committed by him to writing, i. e., history in the sense of the historian's understanding of the past. In other words, we might speak of the past as it actually was, *wie es eigentlich gewesen ist*, and the past as the historian recaptures and reconstructs it in his imagination. Objective and subjective are other, inadequate, words to describe this same distinction.

As regards history taken in the second sense, i. e., the historian's understanding of the past, there is no need for me to elaborate upon the distance contemporary thought has gone in emphasizing the subjective element which enters into every historian's study of the past. We are today as far as we could possibly be from believing that von Ranke's ideal that the historian recapture the past *wie es eigentlich gewesen ist* is a reasonable or feasible one. The past, in any of its particulars, is too rich and complicated as a concrete reality to be contained within any historian's thought and imagination. Whatever else is to be said about an historian's understanding of the past, it always remains *his* understanding. He puts *his* questions to the past. He views the past in the light of *his* experience. He forces it into the categories he has at *his* disposal. He limits the past according to *his* limitations, so that it is now bound on north, east, south and west by *him*.

In the light of this consideration we see how precarious is the distinction so often made between an historian's presentation of the "facts" and his "interpretation." This distinction is not entirely without basis, for there invariably is some brute data which forces itself upon the historian, do what he will. On the other hand, the historian for the most part creates even his "facts" by deciding what the

questions are which he will ask the past. Documents do not speak. They are tight-lipped and devious. They surrender their truth only under torture, and for this torture is required an experienced and merciless hand. Every honest historian, after finishing his research on a given topic, must feel like throwing up his hands in despair and asking himself if the response he evoked from his data really bears any relationship to the subject he set out to explain.

It should be clear how pertinent this methodological reflection is to the question of religious renewal. We speak glibly of the "true mind of St. Ignatius" on such and such a point, as if this were recoverable in its integrity, even in some limited area, by any one of us. The "mind of St. Ignatius," *wie es eigentlich gewesen ist*, simply is not recoverable. It will always be somebody else's understanding of that mind, and, hence, impoverished or enriched according to the poverty or richness of the mind which is doing the investigating. An historian's interpretation of St. Ignatius' thought, consequently, is valid or "true" insofar as it takes into account more of the data, has worked itself more deeply into the problematic of Ignatius' age and answers more of the pertinent questions.

The problem of the "pertinent questions" is crucial. It is these questions which do much to change interpretations over the course of the years. As the questions change, so does the "true mind" of St. Ignatius. What St. Ignatius' teaching on prayer was for the devotionism of the nineteenth century is no longer the same for the liturgical twentieth century.

The Ignatian data has remained more or less the same, but our questions are different. Our questions are different because we are different. Our outlook, our interests, our very personalities are saturated with the world of today. Our style of thought, therefore, contrasts with the style of the nineteenth century, and in some ways it even contradicts it. To say this is certainly to say something other than that there has been a homogeneous development in our understanding of Ignatian teaching on prayer in the course of the past hundred years. It comes close, in fact, to saying just the opposite. Rather than speak of development of doctrine, we can better speak of continuity of data and discontinuity of insight.

Obviously, the range within which interpretation can maneuver is not limitless. First of all, there is a basic structure in human in-

quiry which time does not alter and which precludes absolute discontinuity in understanding. Moreover, in any given instance there is always a certain hard core of data which acts upon the historian just as certainly as he acts upon it. The Jesuit *Constitutions* are not identical in message with the *Rule of St. Benedict*, and no historian of sound mind can confound the two. Nevertheless, we cannot underestimate the subjective element which is involved in the historical enterprise. History, taken in the second sense of the word, is always *our* history, as understood by *our* minds and at the service of *our* questions.

In an excellent article in *Christus* entitled "L'épreuve du temps" (n. 51, July 1966, pp. 311-331) Fr. Michel de Certeau, S.J., discusses this methodological problem. He puts the matter succinctly: "En changeant, nous changeons le passé" (p. 314). For our purposes it is enough simply to point out the problem and to direct the reader to de Certeau's article for a sensitive exploration of it. We can, therefore, turn our attention to history taken in the first sense, i. e., as past actuality.

History as past actuality

The fact that history cannot be recovered by the historian *wie es eigentlich gewesen ist* should not lead us to think that it therefore automatically falls into the category of the "dead" past. First of all, it does provide in the monuments and documents it has left behind the data upon which the historian works. If it cannot be recovered in its fulness and richness by the historian's intelligence and imagination, it can be recovered at least partially and with qualification. Men have believed for a long time that such a recovery is useful and helpful to them.

There is, however, a much more important reason why we cannot categorize this past actuality as "dead": it every moment exercises a powerful causality upon us. Nothing, in this sense, is less past than the past. Nothing is less dead. Nothing is more dynamic. The *past* is the cause of the *present*. What we ate this morning, what we exposed ourselves to on last night's T-V commercial, what we heard and saw and suffered when we were children—these are all active forces upon us *now*. These are here and now making us be what we are.

The power of the past is all-pervasive, but it is especially impor-

tant in the intellectual sphere. Illustrative of the past's power to infiltrate unobserved into our thought is the old story of the Yankee farmer who read Plato's *Republic* for the first time. When asked what he thought of it, he replied, "Good book! That fellah has a lot of my own ideas."

The power of the past in religious thought is of incalculable importance. Even today it is impossible, for instance, to be a Christian in the Western Church and not think and feel in Augustinian terms. We have imbibed Augustine's thought, attitudes, and problems since the day we heard our first sermon, if not before. It may have been a weak and adulterated Augustine, but it was Augustine all the same.

The fact is, therefore, that the past holds us in its grasp. It holds us *here and now*. The most dramatic contemporary illustrations of this fact is in the technique of depth psychology. The client is made to review his past history. This long review is undertaken in the conviction that some past experience or set of experiences is the unknown or half-known agent which is responsible for present disturbances. The neurotic or psychotic person has allowed himself to become the toy or plaything of a despotic master, his own past. The fact that this past is only dimly remembered, or has even been deliberately repressed, does not decrease its power over the person. As a matter of fact, it increases it, and forces him to strike out blindly at unseen and unknown enemies, thus dissipating his energy and augmenting his terror.

The *past* is the great *present* force. The past is the omnipotent active agent which holds us tightly in its hands. It is a delusion to think that we have any great freedom to determine our tastes, our styles, our judgments. Americans abroad, for example, remain Americans, products of America. We are so accustomed to this phenomenon that we do not reflect upon it. What at times is disconcerting, however, is suddenly to realize that in some judgment one has made or in some preference one has indicated, as expression of one's own personality—that this was, when all the trappings have been stripped away, an *American* judgment, an *American* preference. Our history, not our independent-of-history personalities, expressed itself.

We must admit, consequently, that the past has ever been active

upon us, and is acting upon us here and now. It has formed us every moment up to the present, and is continuing to form us. We are what we are because of what we were and what we did. We are what we are because of what *others* were, thought, and did. This is the tyranny of the past.

The past is a tyranny. It is a despotism. In some instances it may be a benevolent despotism. In other instances it may be a malevolent despotism. But it is a despotism. It is control from without. It is a force which restricts our freedom. Without our being aware of its presence it clouds our vision of the present by forcing us to view the present with categories and assumptions we have absorbed from the past without being able critically to reflect upon them. This is what is particularly offensive about the past's power over us: it hampers our ability to control the present and to prepare in a rational way for the future. The obvious question, therefore, is how we can liberate ourselves from the past. How can we get rid of history?

How to get rid of history

One possible solution to the problem of history is simply to ignore the past. We can close our eyes and hope the past will go away. This is a false solution. It is based on the principle that by an act of the will we can wipe out the past's influence over us. We can simply pronounce that we have no use for all that outdated stuff, and by such a pronouncement we cancel the tyrant's power. Our very pronouncement qualifies us for membership in the theological jet-set, and it *ex opere operato* infuses into our innocent souls the highest of all the mystical graces, relevancy.

This solution, which certainly does not lack adherents, is beset with difficulties. The most obvious of these difficulties is that it does not know the enemy it has pronounced against. The past is much too subtle and tenacious an enemy to be put to flight by anyone's *exeat*. It often lurks hidden in the very sanctuary from which it has recently been solemnly exorcized.

A further consequence of this ignorance-solution is that, as a person comes to realize that the past is not so easily done away with as he first thought, he begins to rage against it. He comes to hate his past. He wants to strike out at it, and in fury he would destroy it if possible. He assumes the easy and ugly role of iconoclast.

Blows struck at the past in this blind fashion, however, are not terribly effective, for they are rarely directed at the past where it most subtly—and, hence, most effectively—is lodged.

Ignorance, therefore, is not the solution. There is only one way to be liberated from the past, and that is the way of scientific study of it. *To liberate us from the past* is, in my opinion, the purpose of historical studies. Only by studying history can we get rid of it, and to get rid of it is precisely why we study it.

“History” and “historical studies,” as the terms are used here, must be broadly defined, and would include the study of Scripture, literature, philosophy, theology, art, social and economic phenomena—in general, all that falls outside the strict categories of mathematics and the physical sciences. According to the contemporary practice of the academic world, all the Humanities are studied by methods which, broadly speaking, can be described as historical. The historical method, taken again in this broad sense, is *the* contemporary method. All the humanities employ it.

The method has as its purpose the attainment of an understanding of some person, event, or document of the past. The more limited the subject of this act of understanding is the better it is, for it thus admits of better control. If it is a worth-while subject, it will at the same time fan out one’s interests to include and to bring into focus an immense amount of data and a wide range of questions. A good subject will force the scholar to sum up what has preceded it and enable him to understand the developments which followed from it.

A serious study of the past provokes an insight into the past. It yields an understanding of the past. And it is this understanding which is liberating. It is this understanding which brings the past under our control. It brings the past under our control because it shows us both the greatness and the limitations of past achievement, and it shows us how we have been produced from the past. By understanding the past we come to understand the present. We come to understand ourselves. We are liberated from the limitations of our own past because we now have that past in perspective and, consequently, have ourselves better in perspective. After the long hours on the analyst’s couch an insight is unchained which enables the client to see why he is the way he is. The insight does

not solve his problem, but helps him to understand his problem. It puts him into a position where he can begin to solve or control it.

Relativizing the past

The great accomplishment of modern historiography is that it has produced an awareness that every person, event, and document of the past is culturally conditioned, which is just another way of saying that it is culturally limited. Such awareness distinguishes modern historiography from that which preceded it, and it is an awareness that has grown ever more acute since the nineteenth century. This development is strikingly illustrated in the field of Scripture scholarship. The text of Matthew's Gospel, for instance, is a text produced within the very specific culture of first-century Judaism. A completely different text would have been produced by the culture of fifteenth-century Humanism. It is this awareness of cultural differentiation which helps make Scripture scholars today much more keenly conscious of how Scripture is Word of Man than they are of how it is Word of God. Until quite recently quite the opposite was the case.

What modern historical method enables us to understand more clearly than was ever understood before, therefore, is that every person, event, and document of the past is the product of very specific and unrepeatable contingencies. This method thus contains these persons, events, and documents within very definite historical limits. By refusing to consider them as products of providence or as inevitable links in a preordained chain of historical progress or decline, it deprives them of all absolute character. It relativizes them.

The importance of such relativization is clear when we consider the alternative. If a reality of the past is not culturally relative, it is culturally absolute. It is sacred and humanly unconditioned. There is no possibility of a critical review of it which will release the present from its authoritative grasp. A classic example of this kind of absolutistic historical thinking is the belief in the eternity of the Roman empire, a belief which dominated political thought in Europe for a thousand years after the empire was dead there.

Modern historical method relativizes the past, and thus neutralizes it. Ignorance of the past allows the past to exercise control over us. Understanding of the past reverses the situation and puts us in

control. We are thus released from the tyranny of the past.

This control, limitation, neutralization, and relativization of the past does not in itself destroy our reverence for the past. If anything, it increases it. In studying the past we are forced, in our limited way, to re-experience the struggles and achievements of the past, and thus to make them our own. This is especially true in intellectual history. By a study of Augustine we are put in a position to relive and re-experience his insights. We cannot but be awed and reverent as our appreciation of his genius increases. In proportion to our own gifts we grow to his very stature and we participate in his wisdom.

In other words, we do "learn lessons" from the past, but we learn them in a way which puts us in a dynamic position. We have not simply uncovered and assimilated a granite block of timeless truth. We have, rather, brought ourselves up to the level of the past's achievement, and then put ourselves in a position to go beyond it. This is true whether we are studying Aristotle, Thomas, or someone as recent as Tillich.

We can go beyond the achievement even of a genius himself because we now have a perspective which he did not have. If our study has been successful, we see how he was formed, what his limitations were, how he was "culturally conditioned," and we see what flowed from his achievement. We also see how we ourselves fell, perhaps unsuspectingly, under his influence. Bernard of Chartres' observation that we are dwarfs sitting on the shoulders of giants is thus given a twentieth century meaning.

Concomitant with this sense of perspective, however, is awareness of the past's limitations, especially as understood in the sense that every person, event, and document of the past is culturally conditioned, the product of historical contingencies. The past is relativized. The consequences of such a relativization are frightening.

What does this relativization mean? It means, first of all, that the past has *no answers* to our present questions. An answer, in the sense the word is employed here, is a univocal thing. It is a univocal response to a univocal question. It of itself tells us what to do. It is pat, finite, and immediately satisfying. It puts to rest our misgivings and lets us sleep soundly at night. It lets us sleep the so-called sleep

of the just. And it is precisely this soporific remedy which a truly historical study of the past does not yield.

What the past yields is an understanding of the present. It cannot make our decisions for us. The past can help us discover who and what we are, and how we arrived at our present situation. It might even tell us who and what we should be, and in this wise clarify for us our vocational ideal. Such information should prove very enlightening by providing guidelines for the ordering of our lives. It puts us into a position to make intelligent and adult decisions. But it does not make the decisions for us. History is genetic. Times change. The past has no answers for us.

I assume that few would contend with what has so far been said. Most of us are convinced that it is as futile to ask Franklin Roosevelt what American foreign policy should be as it is to ask George Washington. Our present questions have no answers that can be lifted off the "ready-to-wear" racks of the past. We must, carefully and creatively, fashion them ourselves. What is pertinent to our present topic is to apply these reflections to the question of religious renewal and the problem of the Church today taken in its broadest sense.

We have already discussed the methodological problem of discovering the "true mind of St. Ignatius." However, once having exposed the problem, we can grant that there is a sense in which this "true mind" can be discovered on any given issue. Then what? All we can say is that we now better understand why we are the way we are. But we have found no ready-made answers to our *present* questions and to our *present* problems. We are simply in a better position to make *our* decision. The "true mind of St. Ignatius" does not solve our problems for us, nor does it tell us what to do. The same, of course, can be said of the decrees of the General Congregations, even of the most recent one. We are liberated from history only to be thrown on our own!

We are all familiar with the idea that to become a mature member of the Society, as of any other religious order or congregation, we must "become the founder again." This certainly must mean, as pointed out above, that we try in our imagination to relive his thoughts and experiences. Such an effort should increase our sympathy for the vocational ideal which he represents, and it should suggest that we try to measure ourselves in our daily life against

what is holy and selfless in him. The result of this effort insofar as it is historical, however, is that we arrive at a state of being as independent as the founder to make a free, adult, and Christian decision. We can no longer believe that *he* answered *our* questions. We can—we must—draw inspiration and guidance from the past, but we cannot treat it as if it were a vending machine of neat answers to our present questions.

Freed from the present

If a study of history relativizes the past, it also relativizes the present. It relativizes the past by showing it in its single instances to be a product of contingencies. It does the same thing for the present, which is the product of the past. It thus tempers our enthusiasm for the enthusiasms of the moment and enables us to see something of the limitations of our own times, our own culture, our own country. We become strangers in our own house. We are put in the painful position of being liberated not only from the past, but also from the present. We most certainly will still be passionately involved in current problems. But we will never be able to be so involved in them as not to be a critic of the very realities which engage us. We are condemned to live in a state of abiding cultural discontent. We find ourselves discontent with our history, our culture, our politics, our society, our profession, our vocation. We are discontent with the Church and the Society of Jesus. We are even discontent with ourselves. It is this very discontent which puts us in a position of potential leadership.

It is this discontent which makes the intellectuals real leaders in the human community. For better or for worse, it is the intellectuals—the “historians,” in the sense we have described them—who have the future in their hands. This is true in spite of the widespread conviction in the Society that “administrators” are the leaders. In actual fact the vast majority of religious and civil administrators are, for a variety of reasons, *ex officio* conservatives. Their very function is to tend the store, and nobody wants a messy store. They thus provide a rein on the intellectual’s latest bright idea, for they hate to upset a sure present good in exchange for an uncertain future good. At their worst, therefore, they are obstructionists. At their best, they prepare society at-large for the impact of the bright idea, and they help mediate the idea to the institutions of society. This is an

important and necessary service, but it should not be confused with the leadership which the intellectual presumably provides. By his understanding of the past he finds himself in a condition of present freedom and discontent which spurs him, perforce, to fashion the world of the future. Ideas are power. Freud and Marx changed the world more than Chancellor Bismark did, and Jungmann and Murray change the Church more than Cardinal Spellman dreamed possible.

If the intellectual is a leader in the community, it is not hard to see how his function can be called "pastoral." The *pastor*, after all, is the shepherd who leads the sheep. In the case of the intellectual his function is to be otherwise minded. He raises questions, points out problems, and forces reflection upon the present situation. This is leadership in the raw. In this sense the intellectual's function is pastoral.

I certainly do not want to press the "pastoral" character of the scholar's life, nor to suggest that I want to exalt a life of scholarship for the Jesuit above the more direct exercise of the priestly ministry and Christian charity. The life of scholarship in the total context of the Church has, justly, a very modest position. To dedicate one's life to the lepers of Molokai is better than to discover that concelebration is more liturgically correct than the "private Mass." On the other hand, such discoveries are helpful for the Church, and it would be a very unhealthy situation if no members of the clergy were trained enough to make them, or even to recognize their importance once they were made by others.

No one wants to deny that there are problems inherent in the life of the priest-scholar (as in *all* lives), but at the same time we should not falsely pose these problems. Sometimes one hears a Jesuit renounce scholarship on the grounds that he "likes people" and wants "to work with people." This attitude seems to assume that the scholar takes a solemn vow of misanthropy, which is followed by sealing himself up forever in his monastic tower. One needs very little experience in the academic world to see that this is not the case, that the scholar has more effective contact with a wider range of people—great and humble—than do many of his "practical" counterparts. Moreover, in our present complex world it seems rather clear that he best helps "people" who is best equipped by his

training to offer creative leadership. For effective religious renewal we need people who are as freed from the present as they are from the past, and whose consequent perspective and discontent forces them to exercise such leadership.

The problem of a relativized past

There is no doubt that such a relativization of the past as we have been describing presents grave problems for any religious renewal. Historical consciousness is a modern phenomenon. No previous renewal in the Church ever had to face the problem of history. A good case can be made for the view that it is this problem, in its many ramifications, which is provoking the present crisis in the Church. We no longer see so clearly as men once did, for example, an easy harvest of eternal truths in every papal or conciliar decree. Our sense of history makes it difficult for us to recognize the eternal and the transcendent in a relativized past.

As believing Christians, of course, we are saved from total relativization. Belief in the divinity of Christ imparts to the New Testament a transcendence which even the sharpest sense of history may not reduce to its own level. This divinity-intruding-in-history continues in some mysterious way in the history of the Church, thus permeating it with a meaning above human meaning. It is the theologians who must tell us in detail what this means, and confirm our belief in the future of belief. We can only hope that they are theologians who are aware of the problem history presents.

As a practical point, it might be pertinent to point out, as others have done, that what has been lacking in the theological training of Jesuits, even on the doctoral level, has been a confrontation with this problem. I do not now intend to bewail the fact that more "history" has not been taught, although a very good case could be made to show the serious consequences of such a gap in our training. What I want to point out is that nothing, or practically nothing, has been taught historically.

Had St. Thomas, for example, been taught historically, in the sense here described, it is doubtful if today there would be such a reaction against him as we are now experiencing. How, indeed, could anybody be worse off for a year or two of study of one of the great geniuses of the western world? But it is one thing to study Saint Thomas out of scholastic textbooks in order to acknowledge

him as the omniscient philosophical and theological oracle of all times, and it is another to study him historically, i. e., in order to be liberated from him.

In conversation with students of theology who are ignorant of the history of theology one often has the impression that no group of people has been more heavily victimized by the past than they. In one sense they have been victimized by the *recent* past, i. e., by the last book they read. In another sense they have been victimized by the *distant* past, for they are incapable of seeing the context in which the present finds itself, and thus they are unable to evaluate it. Within ten years, one fears, they will be as outdated as the books they are now reading. Or, at best, they will be in no better position to evaluate what they are then reading than they are now. The history of theology shows, moreover, that only those have been original and creative, i. e., relevant, who immersed themselves in the study of their predecessors. In this the history of theology is no different from the history of every other academic discipline.

It is true that today there is more emphasis upon an historical approach in the theological curriculum than there was a few years ago, especially with greater attention to Biblical studies, which employ historical methods. It is, nevertheless, disconcerting to realize that even today the history of theology, without which systematic courses can hardly appear other than as a string of eternal verities, is not at the very core of the theological curriculum. Even more disconcerting is to discover, as one occasionally does, that there are scholars trained in historical methods, for instance in Scripture, who do not see the necessity of applying their own methods to the totality of the Christian tradition. There is a *Sitz im Leben* for the Council of Trent, and valid principles of form-criticism have application to the documents of the Church's magisterium. Why should not the historical study of the whole of the Christian tradition be given equal importance with the historical study of Scripture?

In a less sensitive and less grandiose area than the history of the Church and the problem of its doctrine, we might simply reflect upon the consequences of this relativization of the past in an organization like the Society. Once we relativize the "true mind of St. Ignatius" and then go a further step to conclude that, though he may help us, he has no answers for us, has not religious life, viz.,

religious life in the Society of Jesus, been sapped of all that gives it continuity and identity? Have not the intellectuals done their dirty work, and done it all too well? We are left with dust and ashes.

The scholar's limitations

Before trying to answer the problem raised in the religious life by the relativization of the past, we might offer some preliminary consolation to the reader by emphasizing just how dirty the intellectual's dirty work really is. The scrutiny the scholar turns upon the past is in many ways a negative and corrosive one. He is the real Devil's Advocate. Scholars as a class have never been known as the salt of the earth. Their craft is reflective and critical. As such it implies a certain decadence and degeneracy. The reflective age succeeds the age of achievement and creativity. The scholar succeeds the genius, the saint, and the artist. He is, after all, only a dwarf, even though he may enjoy the perspective which giants' shoulders offer him.

It is a poor scholar, consequently, who is not somewhat distrustful of what scholarship is now saying on any given point. He, of all people, knows a dwarf when he sees one. He will turn an attentive ear to the results of scholarly research, but by this time he is critical and reflective enough to be freed not only from past and present, but also from the latest results of scholarship itself. He does not commit the error of thinking that the latest book is the final word on any given topic, or that this book is not itself subject to revision and criticism. He is a friend of scholarship, but he does not worship at its shrine. He, in fact, disdains this shrine as a place of devotion frequented principally by non-scholars.

He also must recognize that scholarship is only one of the instruments at our disposal to help us order our lives in an adult and Christian manner. Another such instrument is the wisdom of actual experience, which often confutes the scholar's neat logic. Whatever else we might say about the Church, we must admit that it is the heir to a rich heritage of this practical wisdom. In some instances this wisdom is the result of the Church's persistent effort to reduce to practice the sophisticated religion of its great geniuses and saints. In other instances it may not rise much above the folk wisdom of the multitude of simple and anonymous souls who for the most part

have ever constituted its membership. In either case this inheritance or tradition, as seen in the Church's practice and in the lives and aspirations of its faithful, deserves equal hearing with the voice of scholarship. The good scholar realizes this. He thus learns to sweeten his discontent with tolerance and understanding.

Moreover, if he accepts the thesis that scholarship's task is a relativizing one, he sees quite clearly that scholarship does not of itself solve life's problems. We may think in a relativized world, but we cannot live in one. Existence is existential. It requires decision, and every decision is an absolute, an irreversible which excludes all other possibilities. At this point the scholar must renounce his dirty work. He must give up relativization and enter the world of absolutes. He must surrender his role as scholar and assume his role as man.

The vocational ideal

What the intellect, therefore, has relativized, the will must in its turn absolutize. The intellect is perfected by the many, but the will is perfected by the one. Love does not tolerate promiscuity, i. e., relativity. Out of many possible women a man chooses ONE to be his wife. This decision for the mature person is absolute and irrevocable. What good lives show us, furthermore, is that the firmer and more unswerving such a decision is, i. e., such a choice in love, the more beautiful, rich, and enriching is the person who made it. The salt of the earth are people of single and genuine loves, who have absolutized the relative object of their choice.

Strange to say, among the most important choices which life requires is that of form. For better or for worse, man lives according to set patterns. It is these patterns which hold his life together and help make him what he is. Form forms.

We all have our habits. We have our schedules and our office hours. We have our national and our religious traditions. We live, whether we advert to the fact or not, within established patterns of ritual. These patterns are to a great extent arbitrary and are directed towards something beyond themselves. But they are not insignificant. Only by moving within their framework do we get our work done and maintain our mental and physical health. More important, only by moving within their framework do we remember who we are. To be uprooted from the style and rubrics to which

one is accustomed is to lose something of one's identity.

A religious vocation entails the choice of a form of life. This choice absolutizes for the individual the style and rubrics, i. e., the form, of the way of life he has chosen. Part of the Jesuit style, for instance, is life in community, with all the rubrics this necessarily brings in its train.

Style and rubrics are certainly open to change and modification, even to drastic change and modification. We ought, furthermore, to relativize or "de-mystify" them. At the same time we must realize that no one can live without style and rubrics, and that for us the Jesuit style and rubrics constitute part of what we call our vocation. By our choice of a particular form of life we have conferred upon that arbitrary form an absolute value. For us it is to be the framework of the only irreversible absolute which we directly experience, our own lives.

This framework, however, is only a framework. Its function is to support something better than itself. In our case it is meant to support the vocational ideal. It contains, expresses, and fosters this ideal. The ideal, in turn, imparts life and meaning to the framework.

What is a vocational ideal? A vocational ideal is that which tells us who and what we should be. It tells us who and what we really want to be. At first glance it looks like an "answer," but it really is not one. It is as sloppy as an answer is neat. It is vague, leaves a lot of loose ends, and sometimes disturbs our sleep. It does not make our decisions for us, but pushes us into a corner where we constantly have to make decisions.

The vocational ideal expresses a value which appeals directly to our humanity and sense of religion. Thus it is an absolute. It may already have found an historical expression, and it may respond more directly to the needs of one age than to those of another. But it is essentially unattached to a particular time and place, which would relativize it. It cannot be altogether rationally justified. It is a desire to give oneself in love. To spend one's life in the service of the sick poor is an example of such an ideal. One sees this as a good or one does not. One is attracted to it or one is not. The vocational response to it, in any case, is like any response in love: it absolutizes the object of its choice.

It is difficult to say just how a vocational ideal is first inserted into any given individual's imagination and aspirations. The magic of his mother's goodness may have been the context in which it was suggested to him for the first time. We can be certain, in any case, that a formal study of history usually has very little to do with its inception. A vocational ideal, as ideal, is just as far above historical research as it is beyond rational justification. Francis of Assisi was no less a saint due to the fact that he never met a Bollandist.

For the member of an already constituted religious order, however, the relationship of his vocational ideal to history becomes a burning issue. As a member of an order he professes to be the bearer of a tradition, i. e., of a vocational ideal which at some particular moment of history was concretized, specified, and embodied in a particular historical person or group of persons. He at one time felt attracted enough to this ideal, as seen in the life of the founder and the accomplishments of the order, to dedicate his life to it. But the problem is clear: as the ideal was historically realized in the founder was it not *ipso facto* relativized, i. e., compromised by its attachment to particular circumstances of time and place? Ignatius spoke to the sixteenth century, but can he speak to the twentieth?

To respond to this question we must recur to the distinction between answer and ideal. The historical particularization of the ideal in the life of the founder makes it incapable of yielding answers. The "true mind of St. Ignatius" answers none of our questions. This particularization, however, does not destroy or defile the ideal. As a matter of fact, it lends encouragement to the ideal by showing how the ideal was actually made effective in one particular set of circumstances. The historical particularization of the ideal in the life of the founder was, moreover, the classic articulation of the ideal. Hence, it has a purity and directness which invites our study and has every right to command our reverence.

The point that must be emphasized, however, is that an ideal remains an ideal. Insofar as it is pure ideal it is supra-historical, appealing directly to our humanity and sense of religion. What historical study can attempt to do is to extract the quintessence of the ideal from its historical context. It can chip away at that which accrued to it from particular circumstances and try to reveal it as the religious absolute which it is. It can suggest changes of the form,

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i. e., of the style and rubrics, in which the ideal here and now tries to express itself. In this way it refines, purifies, and clarifies the ideal for us. The ideal entered history in the life of the founder, but it is freed from history by our study of it. It thus defies history and helps us get rid of history.

POSTCONCILIAR PARISH

The *Postconciliar Parish* Edited by James O'Gara, Afterword by Archbishop Paul J. Hallinan. New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons, 1967. Pp. 197. \$4.95.

DESPITE ANY MORE than a casual consideration of parishes in Vatican Council II, the American parish is of late increasingly the topic of published works. Bernard Lyons has written and Divine Word Publications put forth *Parish Councils*. James J. McCudden has edited *The Parish in Crisis*, also published by Divine Word. Richard Currier has written *Restructuring the Parish* (Argus Press, Chicago). Msgr. Marvin Bordelon has edited *The Parish in a Time of Change* for Fides Publishers, Notre Dame. The present book, *The Postconciliar Parish* is another evidence of growing American parish concern.

Along with all other parts of the Catholic world, the American parish is being sifted as wheat. In this book Daniel Callahan sums up the complaints against it, in a list as good as any, as "too big and too impersonal; most suffer from poor communication between pastor and people, priests and people; most spend too much of their time worrying about money and facilities; most operate with the burden of lay societies and organizations that have no contemporary significance." He also mentions the mobility of today's people, class and educational differences, and the great variations among priests. Others accuse the parish of not sufficiently concerning itself with secular problems. These and many more problems are dealt with in this slim volume, made up of the writings of nineteen individuals or groups ranging from Martin Marty to Archbishop Paul J. Hallinan, and divided inadequately into three sections, *Perspectives*, *Some Realities*, and *Projections*.

In a good foreword James O'Gara, editor of *Commonweal*, poses the parish's problems, cautiously stating that, in the changing world, all is not well with the parishes, yet affirming that there is no reason to fear reevaluating them. Bishops are of divine institution, but parishes are human and, therefore, subject to change. O'Gara, though he is obviously well aware of it in his article, somehow does not make clear the realization that the parish—pilgrim in nature, with its roots in the Acts of the Apostles and with changes, evolutionary and revolutionary, evident in the ages past—has constantly adapted and will keep on adapting in order to fit the times. Rightly, though, he would like more motion today, after a period of great parish immobility, and he is anxious to stimulate the rate and accuracy of the change.

Perspectives, the first main division of *The Postconciliar Parish*,

might perhaps also be called *Background*. In it, Fr. Henry Browne, in "The Changing American Parish," skims lightly and knowledgeably over the surface of the history of the American "juridical-minded parish," lamenting that parishes are condemned to repeat history because of a prevalent ignorance of it. Moving onto present problems, Browne touches on the inroads made nowadays by the great social and economic changes of urban society. These changes as well as the basic thoughts of Vatican II appear to be moving the parish toward a time of smaller worshiping communities supported by the operation of centralized regional social services.

Joseph E. Cunneen, in "The Servant Parish," is mindful of the role of the parish in providing our basic education as Christians. He emphasizes the parish's clear obligation to social service for all who live in its boundaries, and he goes beyond the idea of forming Catholic regional social services to state the belief that the Church may have to stop trying to maintain its own total range of activities at all. Catholics should perhaps move into broader, even national, groupings and thus exert a Christian influence on all. Cunneen also wisely calls attention to "the current estrangement of our most responsible apostolic groups from parish involvement."

Martin Marty, the American Church's good Lutheran friend, shows that, through such Catholic effort to enter larger associations, the Catholic Church is in fact losing its air of mystery, isolation and self-sufficiency and is becoming better understood by Protestants. Michael E. Schiltz, in "Facing Outward," an article reminiscent of the old-style *casus conscientiae*, strives to show that the parish as such cannot rightly involve itself in community controversies and that Catholics as a people should perhaps form their own community organizations apart from parish control.

More needed on spiritual renewal

Strangely undeveloped by the writers of this book is the need for spiritual renewal, set down by the Church as the basic demand of *aggiornamento*. Leonard Swidler mentions it in his article on ecumenism, but Fr. Timothy McCarthy, O.P., comes closest to articulating this need in "The 'Spiritual Service Station'." Moving against the tide, McCarthy pleads with spirit that "a parish is and should be what Fr. Fichter . . . calls a 'spiritual service station'," intending that "this is not all it should be, but that it should be this." The service of priests is spiritual and their ministry is an effort to help people to love. This very love will help them build a Christian community and will urge Christians on to support the world's social needs. Sr. M. Angelica Seng, O.S.F., in "A

Nun-Plus Parish" sets her thoughts on an ideal future for nuns as members of the parish, and at the same time she realizes that they remain committed to the actual Church of today and that there is much room for experimentation within present structure and commitment.

Some Realities, section two of the book in its inadequately fulfilled division of thought, fact and future, concerns itself with existing realities. In it, Fr. Jasper J. Chiodini's "Vatican II in Suburbia" pleads for the growth of a sense of shared responsibility and of interpersonal relations among bishops, pastors, curates, school faculty and laity, and he goes on to show the actual functioning of his Parish Board at St. Dominic Savio in suburban St. Louis. Fr. James J. Hill of Presentation Parish, Chicago, sets forth the working of the team-type operation of a parish, as Fr. Daniel J. Mallette did earlier in his article on the Inner City. Fr. Joseph T. Nolan writes out his own valid list of parish defects and goes on to describe eight successfully operating, different, modern American parishes. Nolan wisely warns that the parish chef who is a true artist will create his own recipe for his own parish.

Projections, the third section of the volume, returns again to the dream, the ideal, the abstract. Daniel Callahan in "Creating a Community" notes two failures characteristic of too many of today's parishes—they succeed in making a large number of people feel isolated and they do not try to make most people feel that they are full, active partners. As those who attended the 1967 National Liturgical Week know, Callahan believes that relevant change in liturgy will follow, not precede, the creation of a viable, human community. Therefore, the vitality of a parish's human relationships must be improved. With the priest leading and guiding, a feeling of community, of a living sense of responsibility for the parish, "that is for each other," must be formed. To enable the priest to do this, the parishioners or a representative group should learn to take over responsibility for parish finances and administration. The priest would then be free to develop a wide range of small organizations very largely run by the people, and the priest would also labor to forge the individuals and all these small groups into a broad, decision-making body. The parish should also extend its interest and responsibility to the diocesan, national and international levels. Incidentally, while stressing the need of much that is new, Callahan also has good things to say for the geographically based parish.

Doris Grumbach in "Parish Organizations" has her mind too much on forming cultural groups, too little on the religious, and, impatient in her elimination of the need for priests in parish organizations, goes on to state many of the same ideas as Callahan but in a less tolerant way. To Fr. Gerard S. Sloyan in "The Parish as Educator" the parish is sig-

nificantly the center of religious organization, an education that must in every way be improved through good sermons, good catechetical instruction, good renewal courses in sacred sciences for priests, good adult education, good parish or regional schools of religion. To Sloyan the parish has no rival yet in bringing the Word of God to men. "Nothing but the parish as a religious educator will ever make a Christian people of us."

Sisters on education

Two Sisters, Sr. M. Teresa Francis McDade, B.V.M., and Sr. M. Richardine Quirke, B.V.M., in "The Parish School," give an excellent paper on this vital topic. They foresee a future parish school much like its predecessor of the last one-hundred and fifty years, one that stresses the love of neighbor as well as the love of God. The Sisters struggle with basic questions such as: "Ought there be some new creative approach to educational organization within the parish, the diocese, the total Church?"; "Should the adolescents and adults within the parish be neglected in order to provide Catholic education for the children of the flock, and only about half their number at best?" They hold that the total educational program of the parish must be reevaluated, with the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine program and adult education programs made an integral part of the whole.

Fr. John J. Ryan in a rough sketch in which "the practical problems are unresolved," criticizes even today's advancing liturgy. In his "Post-Tribal Worship" Ryan maintains that the expressions of the liturgy no longer fit the culture of this age. To him this is tentatively "the Age of the Person," of the man of "encounter," "commitment," "involvement," who needs revealed truth and for whom "the good is something yet to be done, the truth something to be *made*." The future liturgy must grow in controlled experiments from the community's expression of its real needs and possibilities.

Leonard Swidler, "Ecumenism in the Parish," brings the reader up to date with activities in this misunderstood and needed form of prayerful preparation for a dreamed-for unity of Christians. The editors of *Commonweal* in "The Parish—Tomorrow" imagine their dream-parish of the future, one that will be smaller, more informal, designed to care for a shifting populace, administered by elected lay boards in charge of both facilities and finances and in which the celibate, full-time clergy will be assisted by a married, part-time priesthood. Archbishop Hallinan closes the book with an afterword, warning that "the world is watching Catholics to see whether Vatican II made any difference" and stating that "a decent optimism is in order" because more people

are now concerned about their parishes.

The Postconciliar Parish is milder in its overall tone than one would expect of such a book in the midst of the present anti-institutional storms swirling in parts of the Church. It has good words to say about the old geographical parish as well as about newer supplementary types of parishes. It states well the central role of the bishop in parishes. It recommends study before making drastic changes (and incidentally such study has already begun in Baltimore's *Urban Parish Study* and St. Louis' *Mission : Profile*). It warns parish priests of the dangerous understanding-gap forming between Newman Apostolate and Catholic-college groups, renewed nuns, seminarians, Catholic high school and parochial school students on the one hand and the routine practices of their less progressive home parishes on the other. It reminds the readers, too, of the serious need these days to re-educate priests, not least of all parish priests. It provokes thought and should, then, be read, if not always agreed with. All seriously concerned with keeping parishes healthy today and in the future would profit by studying this book.

FRANCIS J. TIERNEY, S.J.

CHANGE FOR RELIGIOUS

Change not Changes . . . New Directions in Religious Life and Priesthood, C. J. McNaspy, S.J. New York: Paulist Press, 1968. Pp. 164. \$1.95.

Change not Changes IS A HIGHLY PERSONAL WORK, reflecting quite accurately the author's lived experience of many years as a Jesuit, as a priest and as a friend. Anyone who knows "C.J." at all knows him as a notorious friend of hundreds of "younger" Jesuits, those under thirty—at least in spirit! As an editor of *America* for many years, Fr. McNaspy has always been ahead of the game, in the forefront of the liturgical renewal of the past decade. And as anyone who sniffs snuff must, he has a reverence for and loyalty to the past and to the traditions of the past, in particular to those traditions that define the Society of Jesus. With these qualifications it is no surprise that he has succeeded so well in doing what he set out to do in writing this book. Out of his own experience and his participation in the numerous conferences and institutes sponsored by Jesuit colleges and theologates in the last five years he has distilled the spirit at work in shaping the development and redirection of religious life, reflection of the Spirit that gives meaning to all Christian forms of life and who must be obeyed at the risk of

spiritual death. He is intimately aware of the present shape of religious life and of the directions in which it is moving. At the same time he has always insisted on perceiving the essential continuity that underlies the development of an organic whole such as a religious community or congregation. Because he has kept his sights on both change and continuity, and not been afraid to accept both, he has succeeded in becoming "some sort of inter-generational bridge" bridging the communications gap between "old" and "young" religious.

I would like to summarize briefly the overall structure of the book and highlight some of the key chapters, thus giving the flavor and quality of Fr. McNaspy's thought which is, I think, the particular importance of the book. Chapter II, "Change and Continuity," situates the religious life and the priesthood in a socio-anthropological framework. Change in the religious life is rooted in the "new man" and the "new style of life" that has emerged as a result of the social and cultural transformations of our time. Changes in institutions must mirror this new anthropology or "frustrate man's truest aspirations." "If the anthropology underlying the structure of a religious community or seminary is unrelated to the persons entering the institution and for whom the institution exists, it is unlikely to prove a genuine means to Christ's service". The remaining chapters of the book explore this new anthropology along the various dimensions that define the religious life. Chapter III is an excellent treatment of a dimension of life, "Commitment," that avoids an overly idealistic or an overly literalistic conception of its subject. To understand the meaning "commitment" has for the present day religious, one must come to grips with the pragmatism which is "in his bones" and his personalism expressed in service to the person of Christ within a group working together to witness to that Christ. Chapter IV, "Community," clearly points out that the spirit of any group, its particular *mystique*, though partially expressed in written rules and customs, is rooted in a living "oral tradition." "The interpersonal relationships the members establish, the communication that goes on among them, the thoughts, feelings and imponderables that they share over a period of years, are what matter most in community development."

Chapter V, "Personal Development," presents a conclusion which is in contrast to earlier ways of thinking and training concerning the role of emotionality in the life of active religious. "It may be that our own effectiveness will be closely proportionate to our affectiveness." Chapters VII and X on "Obedience and Authority" and "Poverty" reflect the problems and difficulties associated with all thought on

the vows of obedience and poverty. They might both be read under the rubric of "uncertainty" attached to the discussion of poverty at the Santa Clara Conference. "Whatever theory we follow or whatever our practise may be, we have in our lives an important area of *lived contradiction*" (emphasis is mine). It seems to this reader at least, that it is in these areas that the attempted reconciliation between tradition and change is put to the greatest strain. It is not that Fr. McNaspy has failed to present an accurate evaluation of where we are at present and what directions we might go in, but that the lived contradictions mentioned before are still so prominent in the life of religious institutions that no one could be expected to make satisfactory sense out of them. It may be that here at least, only "radical" change will succeed in restoring the integrity of traditional religious life. Chapter IX on "Liturgy" relates liturgical changes to the fundamental change in our perspective on Christ. As our vision has broadened to include the life of the historical Jesus within the mystery and presence of the Risen Christ, so too the liturgy "is no longer something mainly awesome, so vertical and elevated as to seem more a climax or reward of spiritual life; rather, it is the very center, the focus of that spiritual life." To complete the picture there are chapters on prayer, spiritual direction, and programs of formation filled with all sorts of insights and helpful suggestions for those responsible for the formation of religious.

Admittedly much of what the author has given us is not original. The grace, balance and enthusiasm that marks the presentation and the continual bits of relevant information and insight that light up every page of this book are, however, quite original. In addition there are several unique perspectives which inform the whole. First of all, renewal in religious life is seen as supremely important not because of any abstract imperative to "adapt" to the modern world or "to keep up with the times" or to preserve the institution. Its importance lies in the concrete imperative of all Christian witness, that of re-specifying the work of Christ in our world. This is the basic goal of all religious renewal and all changes are judged in terms of their adequacy to accomplish that mission. Secondly, Fr. McNaspy's wide-ranging interests and comprehensive vision are obvious on every page. His grasp of social change is nuanced by a broad knowledge of the disjunctions that mark our culture: the inter-age gap, the youth culture, the problems of prolonged adolescence as they affect the religious. His knowledge of the sociology and psychology of groups support his strong endorsement of continual dialogue and participative decision-making and leadership. Finally and most important of all of the qualities of his

thought, Fr. McNaspy knows "whereof he speaks." When he talks about the frustrations, contradictions, fears, and joys of religious life, he talks as one who has been there himself and who "tells it like it is." He offers no pious platitudes, nominal answers, scholastic solutions.

Many facile commentators have asked whether religious life is still a viable form of Christian witness today. Declining numbers of vocations and wide-spread anxiety and confusion among religious over their identity and mission incline many to give a negative answer. Fr. McNaspy does not choose to ask this question, and so he is not predetermined to give a positive or negative answer. One does not really ask the question *whether* the religious life should be at all; the answer to that question can only be provided by the future history of religious life and in that history the believer will discern the answer of the Spirit. *Change not Changes* does however ask *what* religious life is to be today so that it can do Christ's work tomorrow.

In the present moment each community can and does answer that question for itself, believing in its own graceful origins and hoping that it can respond to its own calling. Since we can be most certain about the past and least certain about the future, the most that any prophet of religious life can do is to show clearly what religious life cannot be at present, by reflecting on those things that are unacceptable from the past. This Fr. McNaspy has done very well. We are sure now that religious life does not depend on some magical initiation and training that will produce the ideal religious; religious life is not "prayers without prayer," is not the "pomp and circumstance of another age," is not legalism or a stifling mass of "traditions." In thus clearing the grounds, we are indebted to the author for putting the challenge to each community and congregation to answer with all due speed the question of what the religious life is to be.

FRANCIS P. VALENTINO, S.J.

CHURCH AGAINST ITSELF

The Church Against Itself. By Rosemary Ruether. New York: Herder and Herder, 1968. Pp. 245. \$5.50.

IT IS PROBABLY A SIGN of the theological malaise of our times that Rosemary Ruether's book has not met with the explosive reception that should be accorded a scholarly work, which "satisfies one's instinct to go to the jugular vein of the institutional church" (Daniel Callahan). Her book represents the kind of original brilliance which

generates controversy on the level of Bishop Robinson's *Honest to God*, without the latter's syncretism and over-popularization. Her thesis is direct and unmistakable: the institutionalized Church must be toppled, in order to maintain the true tradition of the Gospel which encompasses the primitive, apostolic faith. Dr. Ruether pursues this thesis by a ruthlessly methodical rigor, which is all the more persuasive because of her masterful control of sources. She persists in asserting that, insofar as the early eschatological community of the Church bedded down in history, its innate tendency as a "fallen, objective being" was to "banish the gospel and make the endless perpetuation of its own material culture its primary commitment" (237). Earlier in her book, she writes: "The road from the preaching of Jesus to the church might well, from a certain perspective, be called 'history's greatest anti-climax', for it is a road from a moment of ecstatic eschatological expectation to its supposed appropriation but actual negation in an institutional and hierarchical system" (52).

By such shaking of ecclesial foundations, Dr. Ruether calls into question almost every truth of faith upon which the average Christian grounds his belief. The primacy of the Pope, the reduction of historical beliefs into dogmatic formulations, the structure of the episcopacy—all these realities in the contemporary Church, she claims, are a result of its progressive arrogance of power, its abusive sense of absolutizing its relative and fallible structures. "Stone cathedrals, jewelled monstrances, and infallible doctrine," she writes "are false reflections of the value and fidelity of God," and represent a "sinful mode of preciousness and longevity" (236). She insists that the cultural forms of the church can reflect their faith in God "to the extent that they can freely recognize the fallibility and ephemerality of themselves as expressions of it" (236).

Faith for her becomes a kind of Carmelite *nada*, an astringent heroism of the spirit which continually faces the "creative void." One wonders whether Dr. Ruether would permit this church of hers, which lives dialectically between the "already" of this world and the "not yet" of the Kingdom, the right to pause and reflect its self-awareness in some kind of crystallized creed. The direction of her critique indicates that such a manifesto of faith would be still another form of institutional idolotry.

For Rosemary Ruether there is this "irreversible discontinuity between apostolic Christianity and all subsequent Christian tradition" (88). By thus denouncing as spurious all forms of institutionalized Christianity, she lays the groundwork for an ecumenism which cuts

across the established church with its proliferating, denominational differences. She believes that a new church, guided by the Spirit, is emerging with its own special liturgy which celebrates the great secular events of our age: civil rights, the peace movement, etc. One may still remain a Catholic, a Presbyterian, a Quaker, but for the *illuminati* of this new church, such epithets are purely gratuitous, suggesting mere tribal affinity. It is no longer a question of what denomination has preserved intact the virginal purity of the apostolic principle. All traditions have equally prostituted themselves; each is partial, segmental, and in that sense, heretical. For Dr. Ruether, Rome is not home.

Devastating assault

Rosemary Ruether's most devastating assault upon the institutionalized Church on a grassroots' level is directed against the ordained priesthood. She writes that nowhere does Saint Paul speak of the power to forgive sins or consecrate as "a special ministry, for truly this is the ministry of love proper to all Christians by virtue of their ecclesial existence. The words *priest* or *priesthood* in the New Testament are never used for a special group in the Church . . . but either for Christ or for the whole people" (184). Dr. Ruether asserts that it is divisive of community to polarize the Church into active and passive members. She adds that "the power to baptize, to forgive, and to do eucharist is inherent in the ecclesial existence of every baptized and believing person" (185). Priests are simply designated by the Church as the "normal ministers" of the sacraments, but "all Christians may, if the occasion arises, perform these acts of ecclesial existence publicly" (185).

This section is perhaps the most striking and revolutionary part of her book, for she has kicked away the last two remaining props which might have sustained an essentialist's definition of the priest *qua* priest. She refuses to locate the distinctive character of the priest in the performance of certain hieratic functions, because then the church must consequently divide into forgivers and forgiven, consecrators and consecrated, preachers and hearers, thus fatally distorting the reciprocal balance of *koinonia* (fellowship) and *diakonia* (ministry), which ordains that all Christians be both givers and receivers. Dr. Ruether has no need of ecclesiastical leadership of any kind; the community which nourishes and sustains the Christian is where two or more are gathered in a context of creative love which permits human life to become more human. This community has "no apparent outer form, but it is there, nevertheless, wherever bridges are built and men touch each other" (215). She is, in short, totally sceptical on both an historical and existential level of the visible credibility of the institutionalized Church. All

attempts to legitimize the institution are ultimately shallow and futile, in the words of Wallace Stevens, "notes toward a supreme fiction."

For those readers of theology who enjoy the heady brilliance of original thought heightened by a polite anger against the institutional Church, Rosemary Ruether's book, *The Church Against Itself*, should provide hours of subtle release and quiet satisfaction. I should think that it would take an ecclesiologist of the stature of Hans Küng or Avery Dulles to debate her use of sources, especially in determining how much she manipulates them to appease some private vendetta of her own. My greatest difficulty with her approach was its apparent failure to come to grips fully with the Incarnation: to accept that through a very fallible human history, the Divine continues to make its entry. For if, as she asserts, there has been this glaring hiatus between the apostolic church and *all* successive Christian tradition, what then are we to make of the Lord's promise to be with us all days? Has Christ been on sabbatical leave? If Yahweh, the God of Promises, took on flesh in the person of Jesus in order to show man what it truly means to transcend his petty atavism and be fully human, should it then seem so incredible that this same human God should continue to remain incarnate in His sinful, historical, visible Body, the Church?

I am not trying here to whitewash the Church's failures by making a mystique out of her past sins. Certainly Dr. Ruether's incisive book does some needed surgery on the Church's history. But there *is* a difference between biopsy and autopsy. I would much prefer to take my cue from Fr. Daniel Berrigan, who eloquently pleads from compassion toward the Church in his autobiographical essay, *The World Showed Me Its Heart*; he writes, ". . . I know that Christ is in His Church; even though silenced, or put to shame, or drowned out by cynicism or politics or cowardice, 'I am with you all days'. At times, it becomes heroically difficult to find Him there, and to testify to His presence. . . . But I know infallibly that He is there, and that even the worst of us will never succeed in performing the murderous surgery that would amputate Him from His own body."

JOSEPH F. ROCCASALVO, S.J.

WOODSTOCK

LETTERS

FALL 1968

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FOR CONTRIBUTORS

WOODSTOCK LETTERS solicits manuscripts from all Jesuits on all topics of particular interest to fellow Jesuits: Ignatian spirituality, the activities of our various apostolates, problems facing the modern Society, and the history of the Society, particularly in the United States and its missions. In general it is our policy to publish major obituary articles on men whose work would be of interest to the whole assiatncy.

Letters of comment and criticism will be welcomed for the Readers' Forum.

Manuscripts, preferably the original copy, should be double-spaced with ample margins. Whenever possible, contributors of articles on Ignatian spirituality and Jesuit history should follow the stylistic norms of the Institute of Jesuit Sources. These are most conveniently found in Supplementary Notes B and C and in the list of abbreviations in Joseph de Guibert, S.J., *The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice*, trans. W. J. Young (Chicago, 1964), pp. 609-16.

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INTRODUCTION

THIS ISSUE OF WOODSTOCK LETTERS commemorates the fifth anniversary of the death of Gustave Weigel, S.J., Jesuit priest, teacher, scholar and ecumenist. The heretofore unpublished selections in this issue, however, reveal more of the human Weigel than the scholarly; their main purpose is to revive Fr. Weigel in the minds of his friends, old and new.

This issue also commemorates the centennial of Woodstock College. It is fitting that the names of Gustave Weigel and Woodstock College be once more together. For the reputation the institution has today is in no small part owing to the advance work of Fr. Weigel and his great friend, John Courtney Murray, S.J., in the 1940's and 1950's. In the two decades of theological excitement which culminated in the Second Vatican Council, these two men were everywhere on the American scene, opening the doors of the Church of Rome.

Thanks for this issue must go to **Walter J. Burghardt, S.J.** professor of Patristics at Woodstock College and editor-in-chief of *Theological Studies*, for his afterword and for editorial advice and help; to **Richard A. Blake, S.J.**, a student at Woodstock and an editor of WOODSTOCK LETTERS, for editing the tertianship diary; and especially to **R. Emmett Curran, S.J.**, archivist at Woodstock College, for assembling, editing, and introducing all the selections. More than any man, Fr. Curran has made this issue possible.

For the future researcher: the spelling and grammar of the following selections have been standardized; a few confusing expressions have also been rewritten. Omission of more than a few words has always been noted with suspension dots. "Long Retreat Journal," "Thoughts on Latin America," the Vatican II diary and the tributes from Fr. Weigel's friends have been especially heavily edited for a variety of personal and editorial reasons. Subheads are, of course, the editor's. The original text of any of these selections is available in the archives of Woodstock College, Woodstock, Maryland, 21163.

G. C. R.

might as well have sworn to breathe no air. His fond memories were shaken but not shattered. Shattering is a more gradual process. There was still contact with the idolized class. For in all truth the class missed the former teacher and still held him in esteem. But a teacher is only one small element in a student's life. He has home, the girl across the street, local interests, athletics, a hobby, and frequently after-school employment. In comparison with some of these the teacher is insignificant. The teacher rarely thinks of this. He—especially if he be single—has only one preoccupation, his class. He envisages class matter concretely with relations to his students; he plans his daily order with reference to his class; he makes most of his human contacts in or through his pupils. The young men confide in him—much like the heroine in the fairy tale confided in the old iron stove. The young men may even form friendships with their instructors, but the basis of affection is weak. The pupil by right and by instinct expects to be helped by his teacher. That is why he goes to school. The teacher is fundamentally a useful thing. Hence any union formed with teachers is chiefly selfish in its aims. Affection is not absent but it is an affection that never wholly rises above the egocentric plane. Between the instructor and the student there is an impassable wall of position and age. You can talk through it; you can act as if it were not there, but it stands adamant forever. If the teacher's voice does not carry, the student soon forgets that he exists.

All this our young instructor learned as his communication with his pupils grew thinner and thinner. It was a long drawn out disillusionment and it hurt. But it brought with it humility and truth. The young pedagogue now studies Pestalozzi and Herbart with isolated preoccupation. He still thinks of his "boys"—and prays for them. When he meets them, it gives them both pleasure. But the old control they had over him is going fast; it is almost gone.

Has he given up the idea of a teacher's profession? Not at all; that would be cowardice, pessimism, and surrender—all impossible to an idealist. He has merely orientated himself aright. He now knows that in the pupil's life he is *an* influence but not *the* influence. He now knows that he must pass out of the student's life as inevitably as death. Therefore while he has the student, while his power on him is strong, he must drop into the pupil's life a seed

that will grow in the future without personal attention. That seed is the love of the right, the love of beauty, the love of God. In other words he must become a religious teacher whether he wears the cloth or not.

If this seed is implanted in the youth, the future of the boy and the future of the instructor may be widely disparate and diverse. Yet the teacher will be satisfied and his work will be rich in fruit. His reward will be in eternity where he will be united with his many classes, all linked through him around the great Beauty and the great Truth. The teacher can have no other real reward. If he cannot understand or relish this one, he had better choose another calling. For if he continues to teach but seeks some different recompense, he will either prostitute the greatest of professions, or he will ruin his life and lose, perhaps, his soul.

* * *

Fr. Weigel made a most important contribution in this country to what has now become an amazing movement of transformation in the Catholic Church, which should be an example to Protestants. But when all these things are said, it is the vital faith and the loving spirit of Gus Weigel for which we are grateful to God.

JOHN C. BENNETT
*President, Union
Theological Seminary*

THE ARM AND THE HAMMER

To wait or to strike;
That is the riddle.
To wait is man's duty
So often.
The Prisoner
And the Victim of a System
Must wait
And too long.

Waiting is in place
Often when striking is luring.
But waiting too long
Or too often
Kills in Man
The soul to strike.

A System Piles
Waiting on men,
To kill the soul to strike.
For the striking urge
Is dangerous to Systems.

A System works only
By directing
Mass inertias.
Self-movements
Cannot be controlled
And a heap of self-movements
Soon refuses to be a heap.

No man knows the value
Of his stroke.
Many a man can lose it
To humanity's gain.
But he who links himself
To System

Must know
That his striking arm
Will wither or be broken.
The System can only use
His Mass,
Not his thrust.

Sad is he
Who has not lost his striking arm
Nor the heart to use it
And yet is System-bound.

Sometimes he strikes
And crushes himself
Under the weight
Of the System
Which his movement
Started down
Upon him.

Sometimes he strikes
And laughs to see
The Sparks
His stroke brought forth.
And he is not crushed.
For he is but loosely linked
To the System.

He lives parasitically
On the whole
And the whole
Leaves him alone
For he is in it
But not of it.
He has grown big
By it.
But he never grew
Into it.

LONG RETREAT JOURNAL: TERTIANSHIP, 1934

IN THIS BOOK which is so far the story of sad failure and hopeless lack of proper idealization and motives, I shall write my retreat experiences. . . .

SEPTEMBER 30, 1934

. . . For me to meditate on God and myself is easy. I like it. The majesty of God and the yearning that the Supernatural makes possible are all very dear. As I conceived the soul enveloped and absorbed in the great warm darkness that is God, I was frightened at the thought that this was the "back-to-the-womb" urge of psychology. . . . What of it? Has not the "back-to-the-womb" urge its fulfillment in the Supernatural? Is not supernaturalized man's subconscious crying for what the psychiatrist thinks is interior but really much deeper, fuller, and fullest being? . . . I am making the Exercises on the basis that they leave the soul in freedom. . . . I use my own ideas in these meditations. Even Examen I do my own way. This is not pride or selfishness. I know that the ways taught me years ago are impossible. I shall trust the Spirit.

OCTOBER 1

Now the trouble with "tantum-quantum" is that *free will by itself* has *no power* to make any selection in accord with that end. Hence, Ignatius' remark is either Semipelagian or merely idealistic, presupposing grace, which is presupposing everything. . . . The Foundation which is an intellectual charter of surrender is consequently a real declaration of independence. . . . My peace is unperturbed. I owe this to the prayers of my friends. . . . How different all is from the novitiate—with its lack of candor and incapacity, spiritual, mental, and moral to do the thing. . . . Like a true maniac, he was beyond doubt—and I almost wish I were.

OCTOBER 2

This is really the third. The second was quite interesting. I wrote out my rough draft for the general confession. This took most of the free time. Consequently, the diary was left alone.

OCTOBER 3

I worked all day on the confession and I finished it. It is a dread thing to have it around. . . . I must say I like P. Lutz' retreat. It is gentle. He takes care not to rouse sleeping dogs. He is orthodox, straight-forward, without flourish. This wine and women thing today was so typical. The day was devoted to hell. It is interesting how even here the Instructor deems it necessary to *prove* the existence of hell. Certainly, the picture of Ign. does not help faith. It is a rank anthropomorphic phantasma of a theory we cannot comprehend. There is fear to be installed but the Ign. med. is too much like a child's bogey man. I notice P. Lutz stays away from the points—or apologizes for them.

OCTOBER 4

This is a rather eventful day. It could be the starting point of something new and great. However, taught by the past, I make no promises. This is a day that proves that God is behind the Exercises or that there is more psychology to be studied in them than first appearances would indicate. The latter solution is not enticing. Psychologically the Exercises are not aptly planned—5 hours of med.; 1¼ hours points; ¾ hours Mass; ½ hour of Examen; Vespers ½ hour. Spiritual reading and conference. We already have at least 9 hours. A priest must add an hour's office.

We do not fully follow this, but have the strain of external regimentation to face.

When one sees this line up and realizes the subject matter is either dismal introspection or idealistic projections of phantasmata—either difficult on the mind—a psychiatrist would throw up his hands. Yet there is a sustaining force for the exercitant. . . . Death I can see only as a passing through heavy, high, dark, thick, silent hangings. I would not care to go through them, not for fear of the other side, but because I feel that there are some things still to be done on this side. . . . Then came the words which have been in my head since the retreat started: "Rise, clasp my hand and

come." I did. With that hand I shall walk the yielding waters of the future. . . . The wreck of the past must be a chrysalis. Call it hysteria, an experience of God, holy tears. I cannot give a name—but it was very gripping. . . .

OCTOBER 5

It was the day of the Kingdom. I do not like the conquistador of Ignatius. I think he ought to be ashamed of himself. Cervantes laughed off all that sort of thing. . . .

OCTOBER 6

An interesting day. Rainy except for a dark late afternoon with a delightful sunburst just before sunset. . . .

I worked out on the points sheets some ideas. In the light of those perhaps these remarks make sense. The Logos so loved me—man—either is as true and both melt into one—that he did what I must do so that I can love him—*exinanitio*. The Incarnation—the *adventus amantis*—is the *kenosis* which is the *radix* of all. He surrenders his divinity to bind me with the cords of Adam and entice me to surrender my humanity. It was the exchange of gifts—but he is the dominant in this love and consequently leads the way. This primal *kenosis* is an act of the divinity, so my *kenosis*—his went putting on the human and putting off the divine; mine, *e contrario*, must be done by the divine Triad, but it needs consent, willingness, readiness.

In both *kenoses* there is no real stripping. God cannot but be God; man can be divinized but he is still man. But in both cases there is an expansion. . . . "Rise, clasp my hand and come. Look, I have made the seeming annihilation. It is nothing. It is the way to something better—you and I one. Come, tarry not, I yearn. Come, put off your seeming self; be yourself; be me!"

That is the Incarnation. The soul still in doubt; in perplexity; sees glimmers and asks, "How can this be done?" The answer is simple: watch the initial *exinanitio* flower all along the stem of its growth. Remember the *kenosis* is positive not negative.

1) *Nativity*. . . . [Christ] rejects the idea that peace can only be had through pomp, comfort, and wealth. . . . Suffering, therefore, is not incompatible with peace. It is not however to be chosen on that account. It still needs value. That later.

2) *Circumcision and Presentation*: Religion and religious forms are now dealt with. In the arms of Mary, the perfect channel of the divinity to humanity, leading his life, thinking his thought, brings him to go through the ceremonies. That is *all* they were. Yet Christ considers them worthwhile, be the priests as sterile as their stiff vestments. In the forms, God ordained, God and Christ can be found in those who watch for his coming. . . . The human fittingly encircles the divine so that the humanity will at least appreciate God in its own way. Forms have value—even dead forms. Note, too, that before “religious experience” was possible, “organized and ritualistic religion” is chosen. . . .

OCTOBER 7

Something is wrong. I can schematize my way clearly into the Christ-life. I can “see” certain lessons he is teaching. But I still want *kudos*. In other words, I do not see that Christ is better; I am not ready for surrender. It is no use to say, “No, I don’t want it.” That is untrue; I do want it; saying the opposite isn’t going to change that. I need a powerful vision of the truth. It is not enough to see him doing things that show where the truth must be. I must see the truth! I can already see the “betterness” of the unselfish position in terms of logic—I cannot make the assent. I do not see—I do not see, the truth will make me free—but I must see it. Truth can give vision; I am not so foolish as to ask for an intellectual natural perception. “*Volo dissolvi et esse cum Christo*”—I want to say that. I have enough vision to see that is right. I can’t say it. The *volo* is *vellem*. I have not enough vision to see the rightness. What can give me to see what I want to see? It is not the study of Christ’s life—useful though that may be. Christ’s life as a lesson needs the initial vision—he alone counts. I suppose I must pray and have others intercede for me. . . .

OCTOBER 8

This was the break-day. There is all the difference between a noviceship break and now. I spent the earlier part of the day looking for a book . . . I did not find it. I then went to John Murray’s room. He has a bad cold. We talked and exchanged ideas and experiences. As usual, we agree. . . . (with John I had spent almost all the time in spiritual conversation—but not, God help us, the “novicey” kind.)

After rec. I said some office, for I was behind. I also got Teresa's "autobiography"—that is break-day—quiet, serene, dull.

OCTOBER 9

And Christ now begins to make disciples. Note that he is anxious to win many. However, unlike yours truly, he wants to make them *him*, not *his*. This must be the key to my work—make, then share and expand my Christ-life—not serve and enhance my ambitions and love of power. . . .

OCTOBER 10

I am delighted with the autobiography of St. Teresa. She is beyond doubt a remarkable woman. I find great help and much information from her struggles with prayer, which ended simply in surrender not to self but to the Beloved. She considers Ignatian meditation as a good thing in want of something better. Intellectual prayer, though often easier, is not even as good as prayer of the will. She is certainly an out and out Bannezian. She recommends Ignatian prayer as a safe and profitable introduction for people with lively intelligence. I should study her carefully—but not now. As it is I spend too much time on her. . . . The Pharisees and religious leaders could not abide [Christ]. They resented his pointing out their faults; they did not like his different attitude to God because they saw it as a repudiation of theirs. Orthodoxy was their monopoly. . . . They were men of the letter, of the "approved doctrine," of abomination of difference, of pushing the interests of their party at all costs. . . . No wonder they hated Christ and his freedom of spirit, his love of man, his sympathy, his sublime contempt for two by four plans for a silly and ludicrous perfection which was a theological dialectic product.

OCTOBER 11

. . . This day has been difficult and full of the smoke of the Prince of Babylon. I am told that the Prince of Peace will make me an "organization man." I do not wish to be an "organization man." I would much rather run on a progressive ticket. I do not wish to be an independent but the organization looks too much like a spiritual Tammany to suit me. Now I am wrong here or it is wrong to say that I cannot be a good Jesuit unless I accept the yoke of conformity. I have no objection to conformity. I object to com-

mitting myself to conformity, regardless of the matter of conformity. I commit myself to the truth as I see it. Often that will not be as the "orthodox" see it. That does not make me wrong. The "orthodox" are so in name only. I even believe the principle they work on is unorthodox. Now must I say farewell to this attitude of mind? Should I trust the adopted intuition of one or a few men in preference to my own? The fact that many follow gives it no weight. They follow on principle and without criticism. Hence, *a priori*, it has no claim on the truth *per se*. *A posteriori*, we find it wrong so often. Witness the General's *Instructio*. His doctrine, the orthodox doctrine, was "unorthodox" only a month ago!¹

I am willing to follow them but not merely to follow them. I refuse to be extra poundage to make the machine go. I'll give my poundage to the truth. I obey all commands, but my intellection and methods are subject to vision and not decree. If this be treason, do thou, Christ, convict me! I am ready to follow *thee* anywhere. . . . P. Lutz told us to confer the *Informationes* on *promotio ad gradum*. This was our mirror of perfection. That idea bothered me in every way. . . .

OCTOBER 12

The exam results still bother me, but they are better controlled.² I wonder when we shall find out. . . . I am constantly looking for signs.

I have been reading St. Teresa. Her attitude to prayer is different from that of St. Ignatius—or is it? There is a wider range to her views. She is less straitening. She makes it seem sweeter. She omits the gestures necessary. She says she simply could not do what Ignatius considers essential to his meditations—the use of the

¹ On August 15, 1934, Father General, Wlodimir Ledochowski, issued an "Instruction of Schools and Universities," in which he stressed professional involvement for those in the educational apostolate. Fr. Weigel does not explicate this observation in any of his journals, but this seems to be the only formal "Instructio" promulgated around this time.

² It was the custom to reveal the results of the "ad grad," the comprehensive examination in all of theology and philosophy, taken at the end of the fourth year of theology, to the tertian fathers during their long retreat. The results of this examination were often used to determine a priest's admission to solemn or simple final vows, and even his future rôle in the Society.

intellect. She does really use it though! However, I had better stick to Ignatius. I am so fearful of my own judgment in these matters.

OCTOBER 14

Pride and vanity are very silly and dangerous agitations of the soul.

St. Teresa grows better and better. If only faith were a little stronger. I have not yet met Christ intimately. Unfortunately, faith requires and is produced by the same thing—deep intensive prayer. Mutual causality. . . . I flee distraction, which is the one thing I really want. . . . Litanies are as barren and sterile as ever. The novices are taking a beating, but look none the worse for it. He talks to them sometimes over an hour. Prayer is evidently still difficult.

The juniors are stupid! As table-servers they are flat failures; as Mass servers they are worse than the Grand Street boys. I hope they are good students. Piety is the glow of an efficient lamp—not the dull glimmers—red and hectic—of a dim carbon.

I am unfair—or am I? Certainly, my feet are too much on earth at present!

OCTOBER 15

. . . The conferences were on the laws of Election. P. Lutz says they are a masterpiece. I think they are “bunk.” Either they are what they obviously seem—the normal attack on the problem at hand—or they have a hidden meaning, which has escaped everybody. In either case they are useless, except as a reminder of what the sane mind does. However, on the med. sheets I indicated the resolutions I make, i.e., the dispositions I am praying for. Prayer is what I need. I must also watch relaxation—let-up in work and seeking recreation. . . . One thing is clear. Ignatius scoped his Exercises about the Election. All is planned so that the right attitude attacks the issue, that the answer which reason, enlightened by faith and some Christian enthusiasm (growing love), dictates, be accepted, that the Election be firmly adhered to in the future.

They have switched from Stewart Rose's *Ignatius* to Meschler's *The Humanity of Christ*. Meschler is the conservative Jesuit at his best. There is a certain cold non-illuminating gleam to him—no great warmth and absolutely no inspiration. He systematized our

Principles, justified them and worked them out quite nicely. He is P. Lutz without snuff!

OCTOBER 16

There is no doubt about it. The Joannine Christ teaches the people concerning the reign of *hamartia*, liberation through filiation, worthlessness of works except in union with Christ; the death of legalism and the external urge for perfection, love and light. . . .

OCTOBER 17

This was the second break-day. It was interesting in many respects. John Murray asked me for a walk. . . . John and I talked again. I told him I had slept so poorly and the reason: P. Lutz had announced that the *specula* were for sale.³ I had resolved to leave mine until the Third Week. . . . No matter what the news was, the retreat would suffer. Wisely, John counselled the contrary.

OCTOBER 18

. . . True to John's advice and for my own peace of soul, I sought the verdict. It was, of course, favorable. The *speculum* was inoffensive. I have no idea who drew it up. I daresay P. McCormick could have—it shows his insight into the dogmatism problem.

Now this order of time business:—P. Lutz has no scruple to talk to me at any time. The *speculum* came up during Examen. Therefore, what? When I got back to my room, I felt like weeping over my excessive smallness. . . . This compunction was the surest sign of the sinfulness of my previous state of mind. . . . What do the "traditionalists" stand for? What is there that gives them inspiration? They are wedded hopelessly to an uncritical epistemology which gives them the world of seeming. Hence, free will, individuation, and "common-sense" are absolutes for them. Thought-forms, vision, immanent urges, and values are to them delusions, dangerous because traitorous to their "real" world. There is the trouble—we are loyal to the *real*. The difficulty arises on the question—what is real and how does one reach it?

³ The *speculum* was a written character assessment, culled from former superiors and theology professors, and read to the tertian during his long retreat.

OCTOBER 19

. . . More talk. From the sound of all this one would think I had the break-day which the novices had. Ah, those poor kids! I am so sorry for them. Imagine, beginning the whole thing all over again!

In the afternoon med. we dealt with the Temple talks of Christ. I cannot get over the idea that the priests in general and Jesuit *primores* are all capable of taking to heart what Christ told the Scribes and Pharisees. So much of what the Scribes and Pharisees stood for is again current in our day. I suppose this is a movement from the Evil Spirit. . . .

OCTOBER 20

In line with the Eucharist I drew into rapid congeries my views on that lovely mystery. I wrote through most of P. Lutz' conference on the Rules for Alms. . . .

The absolute helplessness of the will to obey the law never bothers them. They speak of grace and picture it as an oil that takes out the creaks of a well-running machine. P. Lutz does a little better. He says the union is more than moral—but it is a mysterious indefinable union with the mysterious Trinity. True enough, but what about the Eucharist? Is it what it sacramentally is or is it not? Do I or don't I eat Christ? If I do, then I unite with him! I unite with him primarily as man—one cannot eat a spirit. In this, union is given, and perfected the union with the Trinity—grace—for the man Christ is God—De La Taille.

. . . Love is not the observance of the commandments or the fruit of such observance; the observance is the fruit of love. Read John! This is not mysticism. This is simple "theology with some poetry"—P. Lutz.

Christianity is too much concerned in our day by a non-intelligent cultus of the Eucharist which has as its proof our empty Masses when Law does not enter. Yet the Eucharist is the center and beginning of all our religious life. It is still the "hard word" as it was in Genesareth. They simply refuse to see how it is possible for Christ to be eaten! They cannot take the consequences. . . . Is this not my vaulting pride? Should I not follow P. Lutz? I think not. All that I know and all that gives me confidence in Christ and the Church clearly show me that P. Lutz' vision of the Church and Christ is defective. I follow Christ and the Church. These have

given P. Lutz no authority over my vision in faith. He cannot declare me wrong or right. As a learned man he is deficient in my humble opinion. Hence, over my intellect and its faith he has no authority either human or divine. I owe him authority, which I vowed; my obedience is illuminated by faith. It does not and cannot include in its scope the very light that makes it possible. God and his Christ speak to me as urgently through my grace-strengthened intellect as they do through . . . man. My talents, my time, my interests are his to dispose. My intellect, which is my life, is only God's and Christ's. I cannot surrender them—they are not mine.

OCTOBER 22

This retreat is getting long. I am counting days and that is a bad sign. I am glad that I did not succumb before this.

OCTOBER 23

Today had no more verve than yesterday. I see more clearly my original vision but it imparts no warmth. It still is the logical scheme. If I had but my eyes opened as I did in Woodstock the night I read De La Taille.

In the meditations there is impatience and a pressing of the soul and brain to squeeze out the desired sentiments. They are both dry. St. Teresa must see that and get water. Her four ways intrigue me. . . .

OCTOBER 24

. . . One dear thought I got and shall treasure—my devotion to Christ is the devotion to the Sacred Heart and I did not know it. Perhaps Mother Mary will be “discovered” like that one of these days. . . . With that I close the third week—my mind restless, sad, weepy about a confused image. . . . Christ protect us all.

OCTOBER 25

. . . To knock one's head against a stone wall is futile. It is wiser to climb over it. Ultimately, the wall must decay—it is the law of walls.

OCTOBER 26

And so we are in the fourth week. I was not interested in the

points. I am afraid that this little pig is going to market. At any rate, I am far from here. My docility to P. Lutz—who is kinder than ever—has about given out.

Then came the voice from heaven. When I was shattering silence into ten thousand shivering bits, someone left a letter from P. McCormick in my room. It was so full of spiritual warmth that I felt sorry for my waning enthusiasm and promised once more to go on.

I didn't altogether. I am reading Belloc, who is hardly the proper author. I shall give him up and go back to Teresa. . . . I am so far from Christ and God. My pride wells up within me. Failures, adverse criticisms, childhood embarrassing faux-pas . . . can make my intention shrink, shudder, squirm with a wave of withering shame, chagrin, humiliation. Suicide is the only solution that such an experience suggests. That betrays the spirit from which it arises. Love bears all; love is willing to be crushed but not to escape. I long for a breaking through the thin barrier that separates me from him. This again is pride and self. Faith is enough! God knows I do not even deserve that! I am at the present moment very desolate—alone, so alone, and miserable. . . .

OCTOBER 27

. . . The last effusion under yesterday is really the experience of today. . . . My soul does not rise. It clings to nothing but self. St. Teresa says that we must be patient and let Christ do his work in his own way and in his own time. Let us hope—and *pray*.

OCTOBER 28

Tomorrow is the last day. I am glad. It has been a holy time. Much light and much grace have come. However, I pray with such little relish that days and days of prayer are burdensome. It is a rather sad state, but it is what is. . . . I wish I were many places—escape. Restlessness, loathing of embarrassments of the past—trifles, but they vex me. Silly, sensitive, resentful and unforgetting and unforgiving. Strange mixture—lion and swine. . . .

It was good to hear P. Lutz give points on the Ascension. He conceived the Church under the Body figure—admitted physical union—scil., grace union. He struck the life note and I was pleased. I need not fear. My vision is not wrong. . . .

OCTOBER 29: LAST DAY OF RETREAT

Let us get rid of some statistics:

Retreat meditations	108
Points given	95
Extra-retreat meds.	3 (break-days)
Conferences	17
Confessions made	5
Confessions heard	4
Midnight meds.	2

108th med. was made on the morning of the coming out day.

These figures are most probably correct. To verify them absolutely this book will suffice.

I leave the retreat with the spirit that characterized the colloquy of the last meditation—an exuberant, flowing, energetic protest of being true to the Christ-life within me. I see difficulties, I hope however that Christ will make issue with them. I must not fail in prayer. Here is the crux. The latter part of the retreat was not as rich in religious experiences as the first. Yet what was given was enough. . . . I have learned myself. I see what I am and I see what I need. . . . I want him to take me and transform me. I am willing to surrender all. . . . I shall “arise, clasp his hand and come.” I am what I am and Christ knows it.

As is clear I have courage—but not of myself. I leave with head erect because the Head is above the clouds and from it I have all power, all knowledge and all love. I do not relish the martyrdom that I know is coming but in him I can stand it. Those lines terrify me. I wrote them at the dictates of the inside. What they mean I know not. God’s will be done and through Christ I accept the whole future to fill up what is wanting. This is my surrender. Oh, may I not be proved an “indian-giver”!

Tomorrow we go down from the mountain. I regret it as I write this. It is good for us to be here—and yet we must build tents elsewhere. . . . To the Great Father of Lights my heartfelt thanks for the wonders that were done me. I ask his pardon for my selfishness. With Christ, I offer all to him. A.M.D.G.—L.D.S.M.

PREACHING THE WORD

To one who loved the human word so deeply, homiletics came as a welcome calling. Remarkably, there were few congregations his words failed to reach, whether Americans, Chileans, ministers, lawyers, diplomats, or fellow Jesuits. The first sermon printed here was given in upper New York State during his tertianship year. The memorial sermon on Roosevelt was given to the American colony in Santiago at the request of Claude Bowers, U.S. Ambassador to Chile.

EARLY SERMON: BLESSED ARE THEY WHO HAVE NOT SEEN

IF YOU SAW A MAN walking along the street with an umbrella up on a perfectly clear day, you would be surprised. You might even inform him that there is no rain, but your surprise would even be greater if the person told you that he believed you and was quite willing to agree that there was no rain. The surprise would be in place because there is no reasonable way of explaining his action.

Yet something like that is the usual way of acting of so many in the Church. They believe all that Christ has taught. More, they believe it just because he said so. But somehow their actions belie their faith. Their lives are the lives of those who do not know Christ; the lives of those who are merely men and not sons of God and brothers of the Savior. They act like pagans in all their dealing with men. They work hard and slave for the goods of earth as if they were the be all and end all of this life. Their thoughts are of the earth and of earthly problems. Their plans never take into consideration that we are living the life of Christ. Even their religion takes on the dress of some thriving organization. They go to their duties precisely as they attend other duties—something that must

be done and done with decency. There is life lacking. The gospel does not make new men of them. They have not become absorbed in the truth of the Christian message and they wear it like they wear a Sunday suit. It comes on and off as needed. It is not part of them. It does not transform their lives and put their heads in heaven while their feet walk the earth. They do not think in terms of Christ. They never realize that they must act always just as Christ acts. Faith is dead. It is not thriving.

We need a jolt just as Thomas needed a jolt. Thomas was not a bad man but on the contrary he loved Christ dearly. It was sadness more than anything else that made him refuse to believe. He was jolted into firm and living belief by feeling and touching the living Christ. There is the only way we can hope to rouse our faith. We must lay hold on the living Christ. How can this be done?

Christ is alive in our day. He lives in all who become one with him in Communion. The whole Church in consequence is one huge mystical Body of Christ. But we must see Christ. We must see his actions and his work going on in this strange Mystical Body of his. We must feel the throb of his life by drinking deep of this life at its earthly source, the table of the Lord. We must feel the beating of his heart by sharing his love for all men, a love that drives the lover to suffer for men, to suffer unto death and crucifixion. We must think his thoughts and share his thoughts as he looks out on life and time.

This means prayer. This means sacrifice. This means frequent attendance at the center of Christ's activity on earth—the Mass. It means study of the mind of Christ in books and in papers. But oh, the marvellous return. With Thomas we can fall down and cry "My Lord and my God". That was not a cry of humiliation, of surrender. It was a cry of marvel and admiration. He found the pearl of great price and his spirit exulted on finding a new world to take the place of the dreary world where he had been dwelling in sadness since the day of the crucifixion. From that day forth it was a new Thomas that walked the ways of the world. He walked with vigor and tireless confidence because he had touched the Christ. He had put his hand over his heart. He felt the heart that was yearning to shed glory on the name of God and to do good for all men—good even for those who hated them. That life which surged through his

fingers that day never left him. It possessed him always and drove to the shores of India where he would lose his life but gain Christ's by dying for him and for me.

Something of that fire is what we need. Live the faith that is in you. If your faith is the greatest thing on earth, then you by living it will become not John Jones with all the little troubles that all the John Joneses all over the world ever since the world began fought with, but you will become the greatest thing in the world—for faith is only an entrance into the life of Christ. The important thing about a house is not the door but the dwelling itself. You in Christ and Christ in you. That is the burden of your faith. Today with the Jubilee closing and the memory of Christ's great sacrifice upon us, it should be so easy to receive the jolt that Thomas got. The cross was for me. Christ was hanged there for me. Christ offered himself for me and left himself as food for me. Notice how always we must say the same two words—Christ and me. You now must do the great thing which Christ wanted so strongly. You must melt the two into one—the Christ and the me, so that you can say with Paul, I live, no not I, but Christ liveth in me. When you say that, then your faith is sparkling. When you say that you will find that the world is a different place than you ever thought it could be. Then no matter what be the troubles that rest on your brow, you will find in your heart the peace of Christ, a peace which the world cannot give and which the world cannot take away.

SANTIAGO MEMORIAL SERMON FOR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

THERE IS SOMETHING FEARFULLY FINAL in death. That is the reason why men are afraid to die and that is the reason why they mourn and lament their dead. It has, in consequence, been the soul-searching occupation of the great thinkers of our race to find an escape from this finality. These weavers of schemes have found many means to blunt the sharp edge of the knife that "slits the thin spun life," but it is not to our purpose to criticize their findings. We are too stunned by the age-old problem of death made manifest again in the passing of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the President of our country.

It is not that we are so surprised that he should die, for we know full well that some day all men must drink of that cup. It is not that we are sorry for him, for "after life's fitful fever he sleeps well." It is not even that we fear for the consequences of this event in the future of our land for today more than ever we have a humble but strong faith in the destinies of our nation. What we feel is a sadness and a shock because of the disappearance of something that we loved, perhaps without being aware of it; and a malaise at the presence of a tragedy not only for ourselves but for the whole world.

This reaction to the death of President Roosevelt can only be explained by the meaning of his powerful personality, for it is only in terms of the meanings of things that life and existence become luminous. The last twelve years have been so deeply impressed by the spiritual profile of this man, that we cannot help but identify our immediate history with his thoughts and words. Even before he reached the highest office which our people could bestow on him, he was a national figure, stirring up moods and tendencies. There was something tremendously dynamic about him that produced a powerful activity in the wake of his progress. In the heat and burly of civic fray, there were many who looked upon him with dislike and with anger. There were many, many more who allowed themselves to be led by his force and vigor. There was none who looked on him with apathy and indifference. The Rooseveltian era was an era of energy, of activity, of movement. A brand had been flung into the waiting kindling of our nation, and it took instant flame. It is our earnest hope that this flame will warm and illuminate the world and posterity.

What was the reason for the great power of Franklin Delano Roosevelt? Was it merely the excellence of his talents? I think not. There have been men of greater genius in the history of our nation, men of greater learning, men of greater will power, men of greater general capacities. The real reason of his domination lay in his closer contact with our people. A file may be excellent, but if its contact with its object be imperfect, its efficiency is impaired. How can we explain this close contact between our lamented President and his people? It was not his upbringing. He was formed in an environment which is not common to the vast majority of

our land. He was never the hail fellow well met, nor yet the back-slapping politician. There were relatively few who knew him intimately. I lived next door to him for five years and I never saw him. And yet for me and millions of my countrymen Franklin Delano Roosevelt was something that we knew well and understood perfectly.

This strange paradox is explained by American life. Men who have never known us well are prone to interpret us badly. There is a nonchalance in our social intercourse which dismays the foreigner. There is a cynicism in our cracker-barrel philosophy which annoys the alien fanatic. There is a hardshelled practicality in our attitude toward life which irritates the dreamer and the knave. Yet all these things are accidentals in the phenomenon that the world calls America. The deeper thing which really makes us what we are cannot be adequately described because it is ascertainable only by a unique experience, the experience of being an American. Our people are incurably utopian and optimistic. We have a deep and abiding faith in the proposition that men can by their common efforts, blessed by our common Father, God, build a better world in which to live. This better world, to be achieved by the cooperation of all, is not to be an enclosed reserve for a class, or for a group or for a party. It is for all, no matter what be their origin, their blood, their creed. This is Americanism. This is the inner nucleus of the man who boasts of the climate of California, of the man who preserves the ancestral ways of life in the Kentucky hills, of the man who feels superior because of the bustle and immensity of New York, of the man who is proud of the stern virtues of a stern New England. They are different, all of them; their ways of life are not the same; their language is distinct; their interests are diverse; but in all of them there glows the general inner vision which one of our historians has happily called "The American Dream." Dreams are vague things. It is hard to express them truly. They have no clear outlines. They are hazy and often indefinite. Yet they can be projected on the material screen of life. What is of greater importance they can be incarnated. They can take on human flesh. It is only too true that we can see dreams walking. This general truth is the explanation of the close contact that Franklin Delano Roosevelt had with his people. This explains why it hurts us deeply

WOODSTOCK LETTERS

to see him go. He was the American dream incarnate and just as we love our dream, and because we love it, we also loved our President, who in his life, in his words and in his actions put visible flesh and human form on the American dream. He was the American dream walking.

Loyal Americans all

I am convinced that today there is not a single man in the United States of America who is not sincerely sad because of the death of our late President. I read the eulogies of him expressed by his erstwhile political adversaries and I know that their words are sincere. Perhaps today for the first time in their lives bitter opponents of our former chief-realize that they loved him always. It is impossible that it be not so, for these opponents, loyal Americans all, love the American dream and today we have all become painfully conscious of the long patent fact that Roosevelt was the most vivid manifestation of the American dream that our nation has produced in many years.

Such, as I see it, is the meaning of the sadness we all feel because of the death of Franklin Roosevelt. This inner meaning which escapes the superficial observation of those who do not think is also a great reason for our consolation and peace. Mr. Roosevelt was a great man; that is evident to all of us as it will be evident to all future historians. But his greatness was not the result of a capricious generosity of a blind fate. It was only a fuller realization of the vision which has been the heritage of us all. The real President Roosevelt, the Roosevelt, whom we admired, trusted and followed is not dead nor will he ever die as long as our nation stays true to its inner self. He will have new reincarnations in the future just as he himself was nothing but the reincarnation in our time of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln. He can and must have minor reincarnations in the little hamlets that stud our western plains, in the urban wards of our metropolitan centers and even beyond the American frontier in the isolated colonies of Americans who live in China and in Chile, in Russia and in Rhodesia.

This is the practical meaning of our mourning service. We are not united here to fulfill a sterile ritual, much less to weep idle tears. We have met like ancient warriors about the burning pyre

of their perished chieftain, to give their last salute to one who went on before them and then gird up anew their loins for battle.

We salute him for what he was, in the words he used of another, a happy warrior. We salute him for his faith in man and in God. We salute him for his hope in better things to come. We salute him for his wide and universal love, for the poor and the afflicted, for the persecuted, and the down-trodden, for all his countrymen and for the men of all the world. May his spirit ever hover over us, his counsel guide us, his example move us. May his memory remain green always in our annals. God bless him and his people forever. Amen.

* * *

This distinguished, wise man and theologian deservedly won the friendship and respect of all men of good will of every creed. Fr. Weigel will be sorely missed.

ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG

Former Associate Justice,

Supreme Court

THOUGHTS ON LATIN AMERICA

In the summer of 1937, having just completed his doctoral dissertation at the Gregorian University in Rome, Gus Weigel was assigned to Chile. His first reaction was to seek out a map to find where Chile was. Somewhat reluctantly, he went to assume the Chair in Dogma at the Catholic University in Santiago, but it was a far more reluctant gringo who finally departed from Chile—eleven years later. Left behind were a generation of seminarians and students whose attitudes towards Christianity and the social order were largely shaped by “El Gringo” and countless others who were touched by his contagious openness and obvious love for them.

He also became an institution within the American colony. For years he preached and celebrated the Sunday Eucharist for the American Catholics, besides being chosen to give addresses on several special occasions, such as the Memorial services for Franklin Roosevelt. When rumors first circulated that he would be recalled to the United States, Claude Bowers, then Ambassador to Chile, urged Fr. Weigel's Provincial to reconsider. “Father Weigel's work here,” he wrote, “not only in the University and among the students, has been really distinguished, and he has been invaluable to the Embassy and, I think, to our country. For some years I have consulted him regularly on matters touching upon his mission and American interests. While a majority of North Americans here are not Catholics, I know no one in the American colony who is so popular or who has such prestige in the colony. . . . While I realize perfectly that I have no real right to attempt interference with the plans of his Order I am impelled by my affection and admiration for him and my appreciation of the splendid help he has rendered the Embassy in delicate matters, to beg you, if at all possible, to return him to Chile where he is so much needed.”

Despite this plea, Gus was recalled to the United States. Upon his return, the Chilean government presented to him the Order of Merit in recognition of his outstanding contributions in social and educational work. What an impact he had had was still apparent eight years later in 1956 when he made a speaking tour of Chile and Columbia on a grant from the State Department.

The selections are from three phases of his Chilean experience. The first two date from the early years. The third, "The American Citizen's Obligation to South America," was one of a series of lectures on Latin America delivered by Father Weigel shortly after his reassignment to Woodstock. The last selection, "The Latin Dimension of the Americas" was given in 1956 on a similar lecture tour following his trip to Chile and Colombia.

CHILE: 1938 AND AFTER

YESTERDAY MORNING I was talking to a distinguished Chilean here in New York City. He showed me a clipping from a recent number of the Santiago "Diario Ilustrado," one of the important Santiago newspapers. The paper gave an account of the speech of the president of the Chilean Communist Party, Sr. Contreras Labarca, to a large mass meeting of the Communists. As quoted, Sr. Contreras said that 1940 was the year that should see the liquidation of the class which we might call in English, the landed gentry. He further stated that all who would not support the government should be shot. He urged his hearers to keep a watch on the plutocratic oligarchy and punish them if they should rise against the present regime as he said they were planning.

This sort of thing is not novel since 1938 nor was it very novel before that. Since 1938 it has a new significance, a significance that bodes ill for the internal peace of Chile. Before we go any further, let me warn my listeners that their concept of Communist will not exactly portray the Chilean Communist. The Chilean Communist is much more Chilean than Communist, nor is he well informed about

the tenets of dialectical materialism. He will be sympathetic to Russia and Mexico, but he does not seriously interest himself in those two countries. He has only one preoccupation, and that preoccupation is the betterment of the lot of the Chilean laborer and his ideas about such betterment are vague, with only one clear element: that the wealthy Chilean must be made to disgorge and the laborer must receive more salary. . . .

The countryside of Chile is an anachronism today. It is governed by a feudal system that is interesting but which has disappeared in western Europe and in the United States, where something like it existed in the antebellum south. The land owner works his farm with help that belongs to the soil which is worked. Of course the toiler is not tied to the farm in the sense that he lacks the liberty to leave it. He is a free man politically and socially. He can go where he pleases and when he pleases. Economically, however, he is as much part of the estate as the horses and the cattle. He lives in a shabby little house that does not belong to him and he may use some few acres of land that belong to the master of the hacienda. His salary is meager, perhaps some fifteen cents a day for the days he works for the master, and he works for the master most of the time. Since the cities suck in the surplus humanity of the farms, which always produce a surplus, the cities live on a low wage scale; for a wage slightly above farm wages will be enough to allure the young farmer to the metropolitan communities. The net result is that proletarian Chile is poorly paid, and primarily because the agriculture does not permit economic independence for the majority of its people.

This condition is old in Chile but it is aggravated by a change in the manner of living produced by the industrialism of the present century. Before the advent of mass production, the articles of comfort were neither plentiful nor desired. Life was more simple and this simplicity was prevalent in all classes of society. A superior education is a great asset but it is not an asset that produces much envy in those who do not have it, if its lack is not an obstacle to physical well being in terms of known comforts. The fact that some one has been in Paris makes me wish I had been there too but if we both live together more or less the same way, it does not make me envious, especially if my imagination is dull. Then, too, there

was the absence of universal education which necessarily kept the uneducated masses content with their fate since to use the popular expression, they didn't know any better.

Industrialism and the coming of universal education changed all that. Railroads and autos cut into isolation. Movies and latterly the radio opened up new horizons. Education made the printed word powerful even when it did little more. People became aware that there were different ways of living and they became conscious that the man who reaped the lion's share of the harvest and who could mortgage the land and then pay back his mortgage by tricks like devaluating the money was in a privileged condition. Then envy sprang up and sprang up more vigorously in the cities where it was a mass envy. This envy was then deliberately fomented by men who used it to enhance their own political positions or by men who felt that they should be admitted into the privileged position but were not received by the class who enjoyed the privilege. A thing I wish to insist upon is that this envy was not fomented by far-seeing, kindly men who lamented the situation and who were anxious to do something about it. Such men can be found in all classes. They are the idealists and the sincere reformers. Such men are rarely idols of the people they are trying to help, for they have nothing of the demagogue about them. You all remember Ibsen's "Enemy of the People." . . .

Here is the crux of the whole Chilean question. The year 1938 and thereafter are important because we see what is being done by men who are attempting new solutions. What we see does not seem encouraging. Contreras Labarca's speech proves an absolutely false conception of the problem. That conception is simplistic because it presumes that Chile's difficulty is caused by the malicious selfishness of an oligarchy. Obviously the difficulty in Chile is the unequal distribution of land, but that is an inherited difficulty and not one produced by any one living today. The elimination of this class will not necessarily produce the universal happiness desired. If among a hundred men 98 have one dollar apiece and two have \$100 apiece, an equal distribution among all will give each man \$2.98. The result is that no one is much richer for the distribution. The spoliation of two did not substantially help the ninety-eight. Worst of all, if the 98 are wastrels who throw their money away, the

entire group will be impoverished by the distribution. All lose and no one gains. It might, in such a case, be wise to keep for the two men their 100 dollars because the group will be richer because of them, even if they be malicious.

Popular front

Contreras Labarca is not in the moment an important figure in Chile but Contreras Labarca represents one element in the attempt to redress a wrong. Another element is the Socialist party which does not see eye to eye with the solution of Labarca. The third element is the Radical party which differs from both of its Popular Front allies. In other words the Popular Front has no one solution for the problem even though they can agree on certain measures. They agree on certain measures but they see entirely different values in the measures approved.

Practically it has not lived up its promises. It has not remedied any serious ill of the land, nor has it even taken one step which will lead to such a remedy. It has only consolidated its position and taken steps to crush the opposition. The result is that the government fears for its life because it is well aware that its victory was sheerly political. Political victories can only be maintained by crushing the political-adversary. The government was a registration of discontent but if the government can do nothing to dissipate the discontent, then it is ready to disappear because it will not have the backing of the people which it needs to keep itself in power. When solutions fail, then demagoguery must come to the fore. There is much of that in Chile today. This constant defamation of the landed gentry contributes nothing to national well being. It merely keeps the people hostile to the aristocrats in order to keep them out of power. That is demagoguery. The confession of bankruptcy of the Popular Front was the howl for the demission of Sr. Wachholz, not by the Rightists but by the Leftists. The reason for this howl was that Sr. Wachholz was adopting a policy which was similar to that of former Rightist governments. Wachholz is not a Rightist but he was anxious to help Chile. The Leftist demagogues were not anxious to see Chile helped if that meant using Rightist tactics. It meant that their solutions were no solutions at all. Yet Wachholz was retired from the cabinet.

As I see it, the Popular Front has given Chile nothing and I can

see no salvation in it. Not on that account do I wish to say that the solution is a restoration of the Rightists. It is good that they learned that their policies produced no content in the people. The only salvation for the country is a reform of the people at large. Whether such a restoration is possible I do not know. If it is possible, it will be achieved only by a proper education of the entire citizenry, and by education I do not mean merely a divulga-tion of the capacity to read. The people must be taught to be thrifty, self-controlled, industrious and conscious of personal dignity. At present they are extravagant, indulgent, lazy and undignified, though very proud. The government needed in Chile is the govern-ment that will push this program on the nation. When the people have learned these virtues the semislavery of the large farms and the horrible poverty of the city will end. However, these virtues will never be taught if education is materialistic in its vision, be the government Rightist or Leftist. The true curse of Chile is that since the end of the last century all education is directed by such a vision.

* * *

We were one in the awareness of the necessity to give our-selves completely as witnesses for the holy Name. A power-ful and courageous witness has left us. The only comfort may be found in the hope that the seeds Fr. Weigel has sown will continue to grow, so that God may find our hearts worthy to dwell in them.

RABBI ABRAHAM HESCHEL
Jewish Theological Seminary

LETTER TO AMBASSADOR TO ARGENTINA

NOVEMBER 24, 1941,
Santiago de Chile.

H. E., Mr. Norman Armour,
American Ambassador,
Buenos Aires,
Argentine Republic.

My dear Mr. Armour:

As I threatened, I am writing. In the first place to thank you formally for your kindness to me and my group. I appreciated it very much and the boys were impressed. . . .

I speak only on the basis of my observations in Chile. As you know only too well, it is dangerous to generalise for all South America from data available in one country.

The position of the Catholic Church in Chile is a strange one. The country is supposed to be Catholic but the Church has not the influence nor strength that she has in the United States. The reason for this is manifold. First of all, we must make a distinction between religiosity and a religion. The former is something quite spontaneous, at least in a definite ethnological setting. This spontaneous religiosity is nothing but a firm yet vague belief in the existence of a Supreme Being who exercises certain influence in the events of men. Such a belief carries with it the acceptance of some kind of a moral code and the will to manifest the basic belief in certain rites performed at stated times: birth, adolescence, marriage and death. Now this vague belief along with its morality and rites can take on the color of a definite religion without taking all that religion represents. In such a case we find the natural religiosity expressing itself in forms that are proper to a more definite religious vision. This is the situation in Chile. There is prevalent in the whole nation a spontaneous religiosity of a low intellectual content and of a very liberal moral code. This religiosity is genuine,

in the sense that the people by and large accept it willingly and without any other pressure than that offered by traditional environment. It is a mistake to identify this religiosity with Catholicism, even though the religiosity is manifested exclusively in Catholic forms. Catholicism has no influence on the majority of the people. Catholic forms are accepted because the natural religiosity never evolved other forms. Is Chile a Catholic nation? Yes, if by that we mean that it accepts Catholic forms to express whatever religiosity is present. No, if by that we mean that it accepts a Catholic vision of life.

Secondly, we must make another distinction. Catholicism is a social organism and it is also an inner vision. The same rites are expressions of both the institution and the vision. Now it is possible to belong to the institution without sharing deeply, or hardly at all, the vision. It is also possible that the social institution with its social framework be taken over in the concrete by men who do not understand the vision. In such a case there exists a conflict between the institution and the vision. This conflict will produce tension for the Catholic group because there will be many who appreciate the lack of conformity between the political organization and the inner spirit of the thing. Worst of all, the Church will be judged by the institution which is more visible than the vision, and the organization is always the carrier of the vision, even where the concrete local institution does not reflect the vision accurately. Even where the institution is not fundamentally at variance with the inner vision, it may reflect the vision badly because the institution is not constructed according to the exigencies of the times. It may reflect the vision in terms that are proper to the age whose organization the institution still preserves, terms no longer intelligible to the people of the actual age.

Thirdly, it is easy to identify the institution with the more prominent constituents of the institution, even though such an identification is illegitimate because the institution is made up of *all* the members who make it up. Because of the peculiar structure of Catholicism as an institution, the bishops *de jure* and the priests *de facto* are the most prominent members. We might add to these two categories the laymen honored by the clergy in a special way: deference, positions of trust, papal honors. It is because of the

facility of identifying the institution with this group that many non-Catholics see in Catholicism an outstanding example of clericalism. As I have pointed out, such an identification is not legitimate, and there is nothing that I, a clergyman, resent more than such a shallow identification of Catholicism with clericalism. However, it must be admitted that the influence of the clergy in Catholicism is much more profound than in Protestant forms of Christianity. The reason for this is historic. Most of the work which is taken up by the laity in Protestant groups is done by the clergy in the Catholic Church: missions, propaganda, teaching, defense, charities and administration. The result is that Catholics interested in these activities enter the religious life, which for convenience's sake we here classify as clergy, including thus secular priests, religious priests, lay brothers and sisters.

Church power

Fourthly, where the Church is identified with clericalism, it is possible to find an antagonism to the Church, even though its rites are used to express the natural religiosity of the people. . . .

Just what power the Catholic Church has here is a very obscure question. It is not dominant, that much is certain. Yet it is not without force, that is also certain. Through its vision it controls many of the best elements among the youth. This is an important point that must not be forgotten. The intellectual hold of Catholicism is much stronger in the younger circles than in the older groups who are in fact in power. Through its institutional organization it controls or influences about the fifth or sixth part of the population in Chile. (I am saying that roughly some million Chileans belong to the Catholic Church in a true sense.) Through its rites it reaches practically all of the population at one time or another. Open anticlericalism is not the vogue, not even among the Communists. Latent anticlericalism is active as a conscious attitude among the bourgeois intelligentsia and as an unconscious attitude in vast sectors of the working class. The reason why this anticlericalism is latent is because the Church has been definitely eliminated from all positive participation in political action. Whatever participation the Church has in this field is purely negative. Since this was speciously what the first anticlericals proposed as the end of

their campaign against the Church, they cannot arouse more opposition of the people to the Church, and their campaign is halted. Obviously this situation leaves the Church in a position to influence anew the people. . . . The Left is consciously trying to win the cooperation of the Church, and this time the Church is showing itself wise in offering cooperation in all details that do not go counter to her basic theory. This is important, because the fundamental visions of the Left and the Catholic Church are essentially opposed; materialism versus spiritualism. There is the antagonism, not in concrete measures which could spring from either philosophy. This mutual disposition of the two to work without friction proves that neither side considers itself sufficiently strong to venture a decisive battle. The Left has gained so much that it does not wish to risk its hard gained advances and the Catholic Church does not wish to go under a cloud again as it did in the last century, and from which it is only now slowly and with difficulty emerging.

What is the Church's attitude to Panamericanism? Obviously there is no official attitude. First of all, the Chilean Catholics are Chileans and their basic reaction to the United States is identical to that of all Chileans: admiration and fear. Because they are Catholics certain added factors come into play. America has meant Protestantism to the average South American. It also has meant Liberalism. . . .

Another thing that antagonized the Catholics against America was the attitude of many Americans who came here to live or to study the country. These frequently sympathized overtly with all that the anti-Catholic forces were doing and spoke bitterly against the Catholic activities. Some of this can be seen in the books formerly written about South America by Americans. The Americans usually did as they did with no bad faith. They were brought up in an environment totally distinct from that of South America. Many of the things that the liberals proposed were good things, things that we had in the United States and which we all enjoyed. Consequently the American favored them and was irked by the Catholic opposition to them. There came to him all the legends of priestcraft, clerical tyranny and oppression which formed a part of his childhood information about Catholicism. It all seemed to hang together. However, he did not see that the liberal was basically not

interested in the concrete reform he was advocating. He was interested only in one thing: the overthrow of the old spiritual concept of life and society in order to implant a materialistic pattern of reality. Granted that the Church should have made distinctions and shown to what precisely she objected. However, this failure of the Church did not justify the Americans to rest serene in their ignorance of the actual meaning of the combat and align themselves completely with the materialistic faction. Such things leave bitter memories. It is never wise to overlook the positive values in the adversary's position. If these are recognized and admitted, it is usually not difficult to come to terms with the adversary. But if we shout for his head, it is obvious that he will fight every advance that we make to get at his head. . . .

What do I suggest? First, that the American government recognise the existence of Catholicism as one of the forces in South America. One of the forces, and not necessarily the main force. I do not think that it would be wise to "play up" to the South American Catholics, suddenly presenting ourselves as champions of all things Catholic. This would antagonize the Left, which is also a force. . . . We must try to convince our journalists and lecturers that they must study very carefully disputed issues of a religious nature—religious explicitly or by implication—before they pontificate about them. Let them hear both sides of the debate and not take sides until they are honestly and prudently convinced of their position. You see, I am not urging the censorship of what they write, but I urge that they be convinced of the responsibility they have when they do write. However, I know that the embassies do work in this direction.

However, the important thing we must do is convince the American Catholics that the most effective missionary work they can do for the good of their church and their country is here in South America. We must bring down many American priests to open schools and colleges. We must bring down American nuns to work in educational institutions and social centers. The American Catholics must make sacrifices to bring young South Americans to their colleges and universities. We must urge collaboration in Catholic projects and Catholic intellectual endeavor between the American Catholic groups and the South American equivalents. How Wash-

ington can aid in this I do not know. I find in American Catholics a shocking apathy toward this, their obvious duty. This apathy is in part due to ignorance of South America and in part to an isolated concentration on their own affairs. The American Catholics are in the best position to furnish a strong link between the United States and South America. Their work would be more effective because it would be done without the hovering shadow of Washington to obscure the merits. It is nothing short of lamentable to see how they are wasting a golden opportunity to realize a true Panamericanism. . . .

Sincerely yours,
Gustave Weigel, S.J.

* * *

I ran into Fr. Weigel only once, which was enough to experience a kindness for him: and I have thought of him as a great rock, a great force, for sanity, and goodness, and the intellect.

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY
Editor, National Review

THE AMERICAN CITIZEN'S OBLIGATION TO SOUTH AMERICA

WE RECEIVE MANY BENEFITS from the Southern continent and hope to receive more. By that fact we have obligations to it. If we owe South Americans part of our well-being, then we are obliged to them. They have a right to expect a return from us. I cannot insist too much that it is a question of right. If we do anything in favor of the Southern lands, this must not be entered under the heading of noble benevolence and high-souled charity. It comes under the heading of debit. . . .

It would not be an exaggeration to say that at least half of the dwellers of the southern continent live on a sub-human level of existence. Anyone who has seen how the Indians live, will know that this is true for almost all of them and they are many millions. Likewise the Creole proletariat, in the city and more especially on the land, lives in a manner that makes it more similar to the Indian way of life than ours, and the proletariat in any community is always numerically the greater part. The poverty of all these people astounds the American who sees it for the first time, though its equal can be found here especially in the Negro tenements of our big cities or in the Negro cabins of the South. A French sociologist told me that he saw conditions in South America which were, if anything, worse than what he had seen in China. Even the wealthy people of the South are so only relatively. In Chile one can be a millionaire in pesos which would be only 15,000 dollars in our country, and there are not many thousands of such millionaires in Chile. An income of a million pesos annually would never give the millionaire a life of sybaritic luxury as we conceive that term. It certainly will not enable him to endow a million dollar college or build a hundred thousand dollar laboratory.

South American distances are enormous and there are still vast open spaces. Isolated small communities are the order of the day and communications with the larger centers and other communities are not very good. The aeroplane has helped to connect the different municipalities but railroads are slow and not always very

efficient. This gives a primitive mode of life to smaller communities and to the country side. The accelerated rhythm so characteristic of the eastern seaboard of the United States is lacking in South America except for some metropolitan zones that can be counted on one hand. There is still a leisureliness about South American business and activity that irritates or even exasperates the American, but the Latin is quite satisfied with it, and attempts at change have met with ignominious defeat. Everywhere there is still a full break of the working day between one and three in the afternoon. During this period offices, stores, churches and even schools do not function. It is a mistake to call this the siesta hour, because the custom of taking the siesta is fast dying out. It is a break in the day, given over to lunch, relaxation and conversation. The effect of this institution and others that rise from a slower tempo of life in general makes it impossible to get things done at once. You must wait. It is useless to be impatient.

Government is palpable in South America to a degree unknown here. The State must be stimulus, control, watchman, organizer, mother and guardian of all of life. The reason for this is found in the extreme individualism so typical of Spanish culture and also in the poverty of the individuals of the community. The result, however, is that the national government is everywhere and in everything. Schools, colleges and universities pertain to its jurisdiction and domain; hygiene and public welfare institutions like hospitals and asylums are under its direction or supervision; the railroads are government property; small and large loans come through government agencies; banks and business are under its control; much of the insurance is handled by governmental institutions. In consequence there is a colossal bureaucracy which works in a wooden fashion and with no speed. This incubus broods over all South American life and its effect on initiative and expedite action is deadening. It gives rise to the temptation of cutting corners and engenders the ambition of the more audacious to control this clumsy machine by controlling the government. Everyone is politically minded because politics play such an important part in Latin America.

The Latin is strong on the emotional and instinctive side of life. He is a rapid thinker but he does not pursue thought for itself. He

understands logic perfectly but he has no patience for metaphysics. Duty and practical organization do not appeal to him. The result is that he is capricious and inconstant. He is consequently accustomed to inefficiency and he does not mind if things do not work. A resignation that is closely akin to apathy and fatalism colors his outlook on life. He tries to get the most pleasure out of the moment and is willing to bear the ills he has rather than fly to others he knows not of.

These basic facts must be taken into consideration when dealing with South America. If they are not borne in mind, our relations with Latin lands will be unsatisfactory to us and them. . . .

What does South America need? So many things. It would like to improve its roads and communications. It wants and needs better schools, better formed teachers, more scientifically trained technicians and better equipped laboratories of all kinds. . . .

Money

Now almost all of these needs, so many and so pressing, can readily be summed up by the word, money. The Ibero-American does sum it up in this way and to a superficial student of the South American scene the same summation appears logical—but the whole point is that this simplification is fallacious. If we could, and we cannot, give to South America all the money that it needs for its various worthy projects, our problem in relations would not disappear. A mere loan or contribution would hardly solve the difficulty. There are even arguments against sending down much money. The danger is very great that much of it would be diverted to projects that are not necessary nor useful, and some of the money would be squandered or stolen outright. . . .

One easy solution would be for us to administer the money and supervise its spending. This is no solution because it would be an insult to people whom we are repaying for favors. They would hardly be pleased and they would not tolerate the gesture. The only solution that is the right one is to become real friends before we give anything officially on a grand scale. Two friends know each other and trust each other. They recognize each other's virtues and their weaknesses. When one of the two friends is in need, the other one will help efficiently without wounding the dignity and inviolability of his friend's personality. Friends do not dictate nor do

they humiliate each other. In the hour of need, we expect our friends to come around and roll up their sleeves and set to work, but we don't want the occasional visitor or officious rich man to take off his coat and rearrange our furniture according to his idea of fair and foul. Any help that we give at present would be like that of the casual visitor who takes it upon himself to rearrange the South American's house. The South American just like his North American neighbor will only grow angry at such high-handed tactics. Even if we were very circumspect in the manner of administering our aid, we would still be hated. We hate people who help us when the help is humiliating, and only aid from a loved friend is free of such unpleasant characteristics.

Friendship cannot be produced merely by wishing it. Friendship is a form of love and no one loves what he does not know. At the actual moment the Latin American does not truly know us and we do not know the Latin. Books alone will not give the knowledge that is needed. Books can only give a superficial acquaintance with concrete things. The concrete must be experienced by ourselves or others who vitally communicate their experience, otherwise it is never properly known. Hence, the North American and South American must live with an experience of each other.

At first sight, this means to be a large order, but on analysis it will not be so formidable as it sounds. Obviously we are not going to send half of our people to South America nor will half of Latin America come to us. However, some of the people of the Southern Hemisphere can come here to live with us. The persons most indicated are those who will have a large part in the life in their communities on their return home. I do not mean by this the politicians but rather those elements in the community who are in intimate contact with members of larger groups. Such men and women are professional workers, especially in the fields of teaching, spiritual guidance, welfare work, doctors, labor leaders etc. These men and women mould public opinion. These should be brought here in their years of formation or shortly after; they should be made members of our communal household and treated for what they are, relatives from far away, not as strangers who must be received with empty ceremony, or ignored and neglected. They must live with us for long periods in which they can see our hopes

and fears, our aspirations and our failures, our petty virtues and our petty vices. They will see us with our hair down and we shall have spoken to them with the accents of spontaneity and naturalness. We are not ogres, and I believe that we can be loved. When our cousins have seen this, they will love us and when they return to their own communities they will communicate their affection to others without plan and without compulsion, and that is the most efficient way of communicating love.

In like manner we must go down to their lands; not all, but those who can exercise their activities there with profit to themselves and to their hosts. Teachers are needed south of the Rio Grande, and they will be welcomed, but they will have to expect only a slight remuneration, which is the lot of all teachers in those communities. Priests and nuns are needed in vast numbers; at least 40,000 priests and probably more sisters. These men and women would not be intruding, because they are of the same faith as those whom they would serve and they would be welcomed by most of the local religious leaders. Doctors might not be so welcome because the Latin republics have defended their own professional men by making it very difficult for outsiders to work in these fields, but nurses are in demand as well as social workers trained in their specialty. Students could go down, but they must remember that studies in Ibero-America are structured along different lines than here. It is not possible to dovetail studies made here with those taught there. Nor would it be beneficial to a North American student to make his full course of studies in South America unless he wishes to remain there for the rest of his life. The student who goes down for two or three years must be a free lance scholar, especially in the fields of Spanish, Portugese, South American literature, culture and history. Just how much good is done to the North American by six week courses in South American cities I do not know. I suppose more good is done than evil, but not much.

The tourist

What about the tourist? The folders in the Travel Bureaus paint a lovely scene and pleasant voyages seem to be the easiest way of getting many of our people to the Southern world. Unfortunately, this is so. However, too often it is not a help to international relations. When in Rome, where I saw so many American visitors, I

sadly came to the conclusion that the State Department in Washington should give an examination to all future tourists with the hope of keeping home the common or garden variety of trippers. It is so humiliating to see our countrymen making such dismal impressions in foreign lands. The North American should know that there is no need to become incensed because the hot water is not hot in a community where no one cares if it is hot or cold. Nor must he raise the roof off the dining room because they have no corn-flakes for his breakfast. A man who acts so, is not visiting foreign lands; he thinks he is visiting North America and he feels unjustly treated because it turns out not to be the United States. Since his interests are so North American, let him stay here. Nor does he help much by taking pictures of local customs as if they were relics of primitive barbarism which he will show to his friends back home to prove how backward non-Americans are.

What about the technically trained specialist and the investor? That is, indeed, a sore point. They should both go down because they are needed but they must go down with a certain attitude. The South American quite humanly resents the sight of his national wealth being taken off to foreign ports. He also hates to work under foreign bosses. However, he does need foreign capital and he does need foreign technicians until he has his own. If the American investor realizes that his task is a temporary one and that he will invest for a short time rather than have a permanent source of rich profit, and if the technician knows that he is there to teach know-how rather than to boss, then he will be welcome and he will do much good to North and South America alike. Moreover, he personally will be losing absolutely nothing.

However, the question of inter-American migration does not demand the travel of many North Americans to the South. It demands that our people help certain types of North Americans to live in South America. Teachers and social workers should be given monetary aid so that they will be able to live and work in Latin republics with a minimum of decency and comfort. The salaries that they will receive down below will not achieve that, and yet these men and women are the ones that Ibero-America needs and the ones who will help us most to produce a solid friendship between the three parts of the New World.

For the same reason our colleges and universities should give every facility whereby many thousands of students from the Latin lands can be enabled to come here. The expenses of coming north and paying board and keep are far beyond the means of the overwhelming majority of South Americans and yet so many wish to come and should. Perhaps the schools should be aided in this work by outside foundations and funds, but one way or another, this must be done. I consider it the first and most urgent obligation.

But travel will affect only a small part of our populations. The stay-at-homes, however, are not without obligations on that account. We must realize that South America exists and we must know how important it is to us. We should, in consequence, take a tremendous interest in it and have valid ideas concerning it. Schools on all levels must give courses on Latin American history and culture. Adult education organizations and media should make South America one of their major themes. Loose talk in magazines, films and papers about the Latin peoples must be severely censored by enlightened public opinion. The harm done to Inter-American friendship by ignorant and irresponsible remarks about our southern friends is incalculable. They are remembered a long time. A warm interest and a superficial knowledge of Latin American history and culture would eliminate this type of irritation.

Above all, our people so isolated from other lands, and basically so homogeneous in their way of life, must learn to appreciate and admit that there are many ways of living human life. Ways differing from our own are not silly because they are not our way. We should be curious to see the differences and find out why they exist. Such genuinely humanistic study might help us to modify and correct our own defective customs and institutions. It is high time that we get over the childish persuasion that we have the only rational way of doing things. Different historic and anthropological conditions with different geographical and climatic backgrounds obviously demand different solutions for the problem of living together. An Eskimo cloak makes perfect sense in the Arctic regions, though it makes little sense in Washington and it is nonsense in Guayaquil on the Equator. Let us keep this fundamental and obvious truth in mind. Only children laugh at the novel. Grown up men examine it. Only narrow-minded fanatics try, consciously or unconsciously, to impose their way of life on all.

Only after the realization of a program as sketched can anything like a Marshall Plan for South America be effective and it is quite possible that such a program, if it had been executed long ago, would have eliminated the necessity of the discussion of a Marshall Plan for South America. How long it would take to bring about what I have foreshadowed, I could not say, but this I know that at least a generation would have to pass before its fruits would be seen. However, it seems to me, that the question of the day of the return of our affection is not a helpful one. We owe South America our friendship and assistance for all that she has done for us, perhaps unwillingly. Let us pay our debt, no matter what we may gain or lose by it.

* * *

The ways of providence are mysterious. There is no one on the ecumenical scene we could less afford to lose just now than Fr. Weigel. Perhaps this is a cue for the rest of us to take up the ecumenical encounter with greater vigor.

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THE LATIN DIMENSION OF THE AMERICAS

. . . WE WISH TO REFLECT on the Latin reality of America. At the present moment the Ibero-Americans are numerically about the same number as the population of the United States, some 167,000,000. Ever since 1928 it has been the energetic policy of our government to foster and strengthen the friendship between ourselves and the republics to the south. The Monroe Doctrine, almost 135 years old (1823), assumes that the peace and stability of the United States is threatened if any Latin-American republic is menaced. It is the well-founded belief in our country that close union with Latin-America is necessary for our welfare as well as for the welfare of the Ibero-American commonwealths.

Actually we have the same attitude toward Canada. But there is a difference. There is no anxiety involved in our consideration of our relations with our Canadian neighbors. We are good friends and neither they nor we are worried about it. Whatever difficulties arise, we look on them as problems in friendship but not threats against it. When problems of smaller dimensions arise from the south of the Rio Grande we become nervous. The reason is simple. The American-Latin friendship is not as hard nor as stable as that which exists between Canada and ourselves. In plain words, we do not get along as well with the Latin-Americans as we do with the Canadians.

The basic reason for this fact is that there exists a greater difference between us and the Latins. . . .

In the beginning in Latin America there were mainly two classes. The land-owning aristocrats numbered at most some ten percent. The rest were working folk. Iberian-born citizens did not wish to belong to the native proletariat, so that the Indians, Negroes and the mestizos born of them made up the ranks of hewers of wood and drawers of water. It was uncritically assumed that these beings were incapable of any other contribution to society than the employment of their muscles. They were not ill-treated on principle, even though in practice ill-treatment was not infrequent. They were considered as perpetual children under the care, guidance and

protection of the aristocratic *patrón*. They were given simple food, rude shelter and basic medical care. They could not ever, either themselves or their children, rise out of their class. They were serfs or servants and had to be content to remain so. Even the illegitimate sons and daughters of the aristocrats belonged to this class, because mixture automatically destroyed the title of aristocracy. Until the late years of the 19th century there was no education for these people. Even today in Colombia, a highly civilized land, more than 50 percent of the population is illiterate. The serfs, called peons or *inquilinos*, numbered something less than nine tenths of the Ibero-American communities.

There were citizens who were neither proletariat nor aristocrat. These were the bureaucratic officials of government, the lower clergy, doctors, schoolmasters, the master-craftsmen, ship-captains, small merchants and notaries. Altogether they did not make up more than five percent of the population.

This small middle class had to grow to make democracy possible. They did grow but it was a slow process. As they grew, they were aggressively unwilling to allow to the aristocrats the monopoly of government and privilege. The struggle of the 19th century up to our moment was the struggle between the growing middle class and the entrenched aristocracy. The middle class in 1900 represented less than a fifth of the whole but today is nearer a third. The proletariat comprises slightly less than two thirds. The aristocrats make up about five percent of the total, and their power and privilege are steadily decreasing. The upper levels of the proletariat and the lower aristocracy are swelling the middle class so much that aristocracy as an influential class will disappear by the end of the century. The reason for this change in the social structure is not a humanitarian drive in the society. The dynamism is strictly economic. Modern production needs a vast army of people with some degree of education. Education raises inevitably the living standards of those who have enjoyed it. . . .

The American believes in voluntary team-work, in the possibility of overcoming difficulties by freely organized cooperative work. The American is ashamed of emotionalism. He stands for control to be achieved by inner discipline rather than outer law. No matter how many be his sins, he yet subscribes to a puritanical code of morals. He is afraid of government and puts restrictions on it but

he is obedient to government's demands. Practical reason, "horse sense" as we call it, rules our activity.

The Latin-American sees this pattern of life and action. He does in the abstract admit that it is a good thing, but concretely he does not want it for himself. For the American, life should be an orderly arrangement; for the Latin it should be a high adventure. The American wants stability; the Latin wants ecstasy. The Americans with their puritancial thought-patterns are always surprised at the Latin-American's free and easy virtue. The atmosphere of a Latin-American urban community is palpably charged with sex. Prostitution, with or without toleration of law, is an important element in Latin culture. Many a Latin may deprecate its existence but he will never deny its necessity. Sins of the flesh are peccadillos; according to some regrettable, according to others delightful, according to all unavoidable. The average Latin-American takes them for granted and in such a cultural climate the tempestuous adolescent matures.

Here an observation must be made. The wide open spirit toward matters sexual does no mean that Latin-America is a hot bed of lechery. It could be easily defended that comparing numerically act with act there is no more sex immorality in Latin-America than in the United States. I personally would be inclined to believe this. It is not the numeric incidence which singles out Latin-America; it is rather the openness with which it is done.

In the same way there is much heavy drinking in Latin-America. This will seem surprising to many who know Spain, Portugal and Italy, where drunkenness is no national problem. Yet in Latin-America alcoholic consumption is not productive of skid rows. Nor does the drinker generally manifest a psychic pathology. The Latin who periodically gets drunk does not morbidly crave strong drink. He can and does go long periods without it. When he drinks, it is for the euphoria he gets from alcohol. He is in search of ecstasy, not torpor. Eating, drinking and sex can produce an easy and quick ecstasy and that is why these things are valued. There is really nothing piggish in it as the Latin-American uses them. This search for ecstasy is deep in the Latin-American soul. It must be understood in order to understand the Latin-American. He always seeks colossal experiences and dreams up colossal programs. He despises the small and the prosaic. Don Quixote lives in him; this is the Latin's pride.

Life is for ecstasy. In consequence the humdrum monotony involved in the work needed for quotidian material existence is most unattractive south of the Rio Grande. Life is not for that. Our powers should be directed to the ecstatic and gigantic. The dull little tasks demanded by a routinary life are unworthy of the true man and they should be turned over to a lesser breed. Here we have the great problem of Latin-American. Since in their value-scheme life is to be ecstatically enjoyed and enriched by fantastic projects, the role of modest, plodding, methodic work is contemned. The true man should not work at the task of merely acquiring food, drink, raiment and shelter. An inferior can do that, and obviously only an inferior will do it. Perhaps by force of circumstances it may be necessary for a man to engage in economic labor, but this is in order to get free from it as quickly as possible. Hence the Latin-American has a strong tendency to get rich quickly. In every Latin-American country the lottery is a flourishing enterprise. There is a tendency to overcharge for services. There is shoddiness in the product delivered. All these things are consequent on the general low esteem for economic labor.

Yet this does not mean that the Latin-American shirks the expense of energy. He is always capable of incredible feats of endurance and productivity. But these capacities need a high purpose for their exercise. The Latin-American is not lazy. There isn't a lazy bone in him, but he does not see why he should use his noble powers for ignoble things. He would rather eat poorly and live in a hovel than dedicate his vibrant energies to the task of being just a little better off. This is why he considers America to be materialistic, for the Americans spend their time and efforts for food, shelter and domestic comfort. No Latin-American feels that he has great need of these. It was for me illuminating to see the ease with which aristocrats would adjust to the rudest circumstances though normally accustomed to luxurious living. The Latin-American wants the very best there is, but he is not willing to undergo the drudgery of producing it. Others should do that. Hence the place of the servant is prominent in Latin-America, and yet the servants are not efficient. The reason is that neither master nor servant believes in the dignity and universal vocation of work. All look on work as a most unjust and undignified but temporary necessity from which you must escape as fast as possible—and at any price.

Energies should be expended on heroic objectives. In sport and martial exploits the Latin-American is magnificent. He puts his all into the game. He can climb mountains, ride horse, play soccer, explore the jungle, engage in tennis with a devotion and dedication which are intense. For a political, cultural or religious cause he will wear himself to the bone. But he does not do these things out of a sense of duty but rather because of his love of the gigantic and ecstatic. When such things become mere routine for monetary recompense, the Latin-American loses interest and becomes bored. Every program which requires the self-sacrificing plodding of a long routine fails in Ibero-America. Even in religious conversion, the Latin-American wants to become a saint in a hurry.

There is another paradox in the southern hemisphere. The Ibero-American has a strong sense of fellowship coupled to a stronger sense of individuality. There is an excessive sensitivity about personal ability. One must be careful never to insinuate even through inadvertence that the Latin is physically, and above all mentally, less than perfect. Nor can you cast any reflection derogatory to any member of his family, which includes all his sisters and his cousins and his aunts.

The individualist

The Latin is so much an individualist that he judges all things by his own individual norms. What he wants is right, and he must have it. If the law is against it, the law must be bypassed. The law is for others; never for himself. While learning, he must do it his way. He sees no need to do it according to another's prescription. The fact that his own way may not be efficient, disturbs him not at all. If the knowledge of the accepted way is important to gain the respect of his associates, he will learn it perfectly—but he does not feel bound to follow it. Personal integrity and individual originality are important. Efficiency and teamwork are secondary values.

In consequence the Latin resents government and yet needs it badly. Only the government with its power to coerce can get things done. Only the government can execute projects and maintain them, because it applies coercion on the recalcitrant individuals. Without coercion taxes will not be paid, common cooperation will not be achieved, the economy will not flourish, social amelioration will not

become effective. Hence one can see how important government is to the Latin-American and why its bureaucracy is all-pervasive. He is perforce interested in politics. He wants a government made up of men with his views and if there is no way of getting them in by ballots, then a revolution is employed. Actually most Latin-American revolutions are not revolutions; they are only changes of government by the simple device of ousting the actual governors physically. Individualism makes every Latin political and the Latin político is still an individualist. Hence political chicanery is used by the ins and outs because all is fair in love and war. The word "my country" means much to a Latin, but it is important because it is mine. Even in prayer the Latin prays to *my* God and to *my* saint.

We have already touched on the Latin's pride of his own intellectual capacity. Actually this capacity is very high. The rapidity with which the Latin learns is amazing. The brilliance of his conversation leaves the slow American overwhelmed. The spriteliness of his wit and humor dazzle. Why, then, has not this intelligence solved the social and economic problems of Latin-America? For reasons we have already seen, the Latin has no patience with slow methodic acquisition of data for his intellectual schemes. He wants immediate scintillating intuitions. The only test he recognizes for his thought is logic—inner consistency. He has a keen sense of logic and he does not have to learn it by rule. Every Latin is born a lawyer.

In consequence, the Latin's thought-schemes for life and work disdain the labor of detailing them toward application to existence. He often ignores the reality to which they are to be applied. Much of the reform-thinking to be found in Ibero-America is superficial and utopian because it refuses to investigate or recognize the stubborn realities of the actual situation. Hence Latin-American philosophy is either an ostentatious demonstration that the Latin-American knows what the classical and modern philosophers teach or it is a passionate effusion of personal intuition. It is not disciplined philosophy like Aristotle, Aquinas, Kant and Hegel made it. It is Nietzschean rhapsody. In like manner Latin-American science is content with the synthetic representation of the conquests of others. It shows no initiative to undertake original research and

many a Latin-American believes that such research can be better left to slower minds.

Where the Ibero-American finds outlet for his spiritual powers is in literature, criticism, poetry and eloquence. He has a sure sense for the fine phrase. His rich imagination supplies him with sparkling symbols. He loves irony and clever sarcasm. When he finds the average American's inability to express himself with fresh, titillating metaphors and allusions, he spontaneously feels superior and looks down on the pedestrian American whom he considers to be a cultural moron. This feeling is strengthened when the Latin compares his own wide though surface interest in all the arts. He hears and discusses music, watches the ballet, looks at painting and sculpture, frequently trying his own hand at them. What he does not know is that he is only imitating the latest thing which came from Paris. He can be ignorant of this fact because since he does not copy he thinks that he is being original. Except for Mexico where a national painting group has evolved and does original work, the other countries imitate just as their forefathers imitated the Baroque art brought to them by the Spaniards and the Portuguese.

All these observations point to the ubiquitous presence of emotion and passion in the Latin-Americans. When he reads poetry, he declaims it. When he meets his friend, he will embrace him. When he feels euphoric or sad, he expresses his feeling openly. Tears, laughter, song—often all three together—show up at any time. Courtesy and manners are highly esteemed in Ibero-America, and they can be impressive for their formal dignity and gravity. Even boys and youths will manifest these qualities. Yet at any moment stylized behavior will break down to permit the expression of feeling.

Emotions can be reduced, perhaps, to two dominating feelings: love and hate. These are certainly the two forces which dominate Latin-America. Reason is not the moderator of the emotions but rather their tool. Highly rational as the Ibero-American is, he yet does not subject his feeling to the judgment of reason. If he loves you, you can do no wrong. If he hates you, you can do no right. He loves easily, but there is a test through which the beloved must pass. Once passed, the love remains usually for life. Friendship is perhaps the highest value of the south. It is also beautiful.

The loyalty, the sacrifices, the support which Latin-American friendship bring are moving things to experience. Love is not hidden. It is shown on every occasion, sad, joyous or ordinary. Once you have entered into a Latin-American friendship you gladly surrender yourself to these people, so charming, so attractive, so heart-breaking. If a man has been received into this friendship, his life has been enriched and transformed.

Integrity

Here let us end our description of the Latin-American soul. Synthetically we can say that the Latin-American believes that life is something subjectively to be enjoyed rather than an opportunity for objective creation. He seeks ecstatic transport rather than prosaic comfortable living. He detests anything which tries to curb his individualistic desires. He is highly rational but he puts emotion over reason. Love is the great value. The result is that we have a being completely logical in the abstract yet totally illogical in the concrete. His is the grand gesture, prodigality, no concern for tomorrow, consumption rather than production, spontaneity and winsomeness. He is Don Quixote and Sancho Panza simultaneously; sometimes one is to the fore, sometimes the other. He is not immoral, but his morality demands self-expression. Integrity, being one's self totally and always, is the high moral demand. Self-discipline which wishes to suppress the self is the highest form of immorality. It is hypocrisy, a thing which the Latin-American cannot stand. . . .

* * *

I met Fr. Weigel so often during the Council and I know how important his theological influence was in the United States especially. Precisely in the decisive phase, the Catholic Church of the United States lost with him one of her most courageous thinkers.

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THE NATURE OF THE CHURCH

In his twenty-seven years of teaching, Gustave Weigel lectured and wrote textbooks on practically every area of theology, from the psychology of religion to the Orthodox Churches. During his most productive years, however, he was Professor of Ecclesiology at Woodstock College, the rural Maryland theologate where he had made his own philosophy and theology, and where he returned in 1948. His missionary experience had profoundly widened his understanding of the Church. The intensive study he plunged into at Woodstock upon his return deepened his own historical framework and spurred on his own conviction that the Church badly needed a relevant, updated, more adequate explanation of itself in the modern world. It was a subject he remained close to until his death. When he came home from the close of the first session of Vatican II in 1962, he was very dispirited over the conservative, hierarchical-oriented early schema of the constitution of the Church. Unfortunately his untimely death in January, 1964, prevented him from witnessing the final redaction of Lumen Gentium, that remarkable document which summed up much of what he had been foreshadowing about the nature of the Church.

These foreshadowings can be discerned in the three selections here included. "Missions and Ecclesiology" most likely dates from the mid-fifties. "The Role of the Layman in the Church" was delivered to the Catholic Family Movement at their Denver Convention in July, 1960. The final paper, "Current Ecclesiology and Canonist Ecclesiology Compared," was one of his last public addresses on the theology of the Church.

MISSIONS AND ECCLESIOLOGY

FROM THE ECCLESIOLOGY of St. Paul to the ecclesiologies of our day the Church has been described as something universal. In the Nicene Creed this aspect of the Church is expressed by the word Catholic. However, the word Catholic is a very ambiguous term. As has been shown, the word in the first four centuries did not have a geographical but a logical meaning. It meant "according to its essence," so that it could be translated as the truly genuine church, the church faithful to its essential concept in contrast to false churches. Universality in this context means that church of which the universal idea of Christ's Church could be rightly predicated.

In the fifth century the word took on a different meaning, especially after the work of St. Augustine. Catholic began to mean ecumenical, the one church in its world-wide existence in contrast to a particular church, let us say of Africa or Asia Minor. It is this latter sense which is the basis for current understandings of ecumenism. Catholic is no longer abstract as it was in Nicaea, but refers to a concrete, unique, geographically unlimited fellowship to be met in the world and history.

Catholicity, understood in either of the significations mentioned, of itself says nothing about missionary activity. However, such action is implied. The expansiveness of the Church is an implicit part of the Pauline concept of universality. In Paul the Church is for all men and it is for this reason that those who have not heard the good news need heralds who will proclaim it to them. Since Paul was overwhelmed with the hope that Christ would come soon, there was an urgency in the man. He was anxious that the proclamation be quick. His tireless impatience is explained by the fact that he thought that there was but little time.

The Pauline urgency was relaxed as the centuries went by. One motive for the diminution of tension was the Augustinian assumption that the good news had already reached all men. This assumption was based on the ignorance of geography and on the identification of culture with the ways of the Mediterranean basin. The Church by the time of the fifth century was a massive fact in

the Roman Empire and the fusion of Church and Empire was an actuality. True, there were pagans and heretics still about, but their presence proved man's bad will and not a lack of proclamation of salvation. It was well known that in the east there were peoples beyond the Roman Empire, but it was presumed that these too had heard the gospel.

The first Germans who infiltrated the Roman Empire were not pagans. They were Arians. As heretics they had to be called to penance. They had to be made, not Christians, which they already were, but Catholics which meant authentic Christians. This was not true by the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries. Saxons, Slavs and Bulgars had to be made Christians and the monks of the east and the west took on the job of proclaiming the gospel to them. These barbarians were to be genuinely incorporated into the Christian society which they had either penetrated or to which they wished to be annexed. The supposition was always that the Church was the Roman Empire, even when in the west it was necessary to make a new Roman Empire for the purpose.

The 15th and 16th centuries saw the collapse of European religious unity and the opening of the large world beyond the European peninsula. In this era began what today we call missions. The missionaries were Europeans and it is not strange that they identified the Church with the European institution. They went everywhere but everywhere they latinized in all good faith. An ecclesiological presumption was at work. The genuine Church was European at least in spirit and in culture.

The situation demanded a new study of the ecclesiological principle that the Church was Catholic. But what did Catholic mean? Here was the crux of the problem. Spontaneously the first missionaries, not least of all St. Francis Xavier, understood the word very concretely. Catholic meant adherence to the very local church of the western Mediterranean. There were in those days missionaries who realized that this was ecclesiologicaly false but they could not put their finger on the fallacy. They realized that church unity did not mean church uniformity, but they did not have a clear and distinct concept of catholicity. European colonialism did not help them to clarify their thought. Christian meant to them Mediterranean and anything not Mediterranean in culture or faith by that very fact could not be genuinely Christian.

Rethinking

With the death of colonialism a rethinking of catholicity became possible. Work is being done now, though it still is only fragmentary and experimental. I think that we are vaguely glimpsing that catholicity is a word denoting both inward depth and outward stretch. The word must be taken not as a sheer name but as a dynamism vitalizing the Church of God. Catholicism is not merely a profession of faith but much more a propulsion to action. As we see its history in theology, we can say that it means universality in terms of orthodoxy, proclamation, ecumenism and absorption.

We might do worse than examine each of these elements. That universality should mean orthodoxy may strike the modern hearer as strange. Yet as we have seen, this was the first meaning of catholicity for the early Church. All of the revelation must be accepted in its entirety. There must be no picking and choosing. Such things were the marks of heresy and denied catholicity. To be Catholic means to receive humbly the saving truth of God with no arrogant attempt to make a faith of our own. Nor must we deny a part of the revelation either through conscious intent or unconscious neglect. Not only must we accept the truths of revelation from our hierarchs who are divinely capacitated for their task but we must likewise protest when they do not give us the fullness of the divine message. We must be Catholics, that is, desirous of *all* the truth of God. A partial truth can be a half truth and, thus, half a lie. We want all the truth not merely for the individual self but for the whole Body of Christ which is the Church.

The element of orthodoxy in catholicity is its first demand. A cavalier attitude to sacred doctrine cannot be Catholic. Exclusive preoccupation for action to the neglect of vision is the best way of losing catholicity. No action is good unless it conform to the idea of the good, and contemplation of the idea is therefore the first requisite incumbent on the Catholic. Christ is indeed the way, but he is the way to the degree that he is the truth on which is based his life. In this Johannine dictum we can see that the truth cannot be merely abstract meditation but a meditation that springs from life and overflows into life. It is not mere science which looks only for inner logical consistency but it is rather wisdom which seeks for more than consistency by demanding coherence with action. A Catholic does not only know the truth; he must also do the truth.

It is precisely because true catholicity is orthodox in thought and deed that proclamation is inevitably an essential element of catholicity. Scripture and tradition insist that the genuine Christian, the Catholic, must give witness to what he has seen and heard. Christianity is not a flight from the world. It is always a voice to the world, so that even the hermits have a witnessing factor in their retirement. The hermitage is a light on the mountain which gives its illumination to those on the plain.

It is here where the missionary enterprise comes to the fore. Since the Catholic is necessarily witness-bearing, his witness to those beyond the Church is missionary. There are different theories as to the essential definition of the missionary action but that question does not affect our present reflections. The witnessing nature of the Christian commitment is clearly expressed in the words of the Marcan gospel, "Go out to every part of the world and proclaim the Good News to the whole creation." Every Catholic is a witness wherever he be, and his witnessing is done by word and act; but there is also the outgoing nusus in the Catholic so that he will go out "to the ends of the earth." Not every Catholic will be in a situation where such outgoing will be possible for him, but in the total Catholic Church there will be those who can, and when they can, they must by reason of the catholicity in them. The Church would cease to be Catholic were this not true.

This very point of outgoing witness brings up the element of ecumenism. In our time that word has undergone a change of nuance, but not a change of substance. One of the key notions of ecumenism is the recognition of the Church of Christ as an historical world-wide fellowship. The ecumenical Church is something to which the local church must conform, in which it has its own life, to which it must contribute local effort. The oneness of the Church in the whole world is professed in the claim to catholicity.

It has been said that the Eastern Orthodox stress the reality of the Church in the local community while Roman Catholics always conceive the Church as a world-wide reality to the detriment of the autonomy and vitality of the local parish. There is always some truth in such generalizations, and I think that Roman Catholics do feel the wholeness of the universal Church very strongly. Our

episcopal organization with the Bishop of Rome as its center and head, makes even our parish life broader than its parochial limits. Of course we are parochial with all the smallness which that term implies, but there is a catholic antibody which prevents parochialism from becoming a deadly disease.

I believe that this can be best seen in the American and European effort to supply the Latin American Church with the clergy and religious whom it so badly needs. Whether this is strictly speaking missionary, I do not know. I do know that in my eleven years in Chile I never once felt that I was a missionary. Yet be the effort missionary or not, it certainly is ecumenical. It implies a refusal to identify the Church of God with the circle of Catholics in the United States and it manifests a conscious feeling of oneness with the Church in a land not one's own. At the moment almost 2000 American clerics and religious are working to aid the hierarchy of Ibero-America. This is minuscule assistance to a belabored church but it is augmented by the generosity of other churches in the Catholic world. The critical condition of the Latin American church does rouse the ecumenical consciousness of Catholics everywhere. This is as it should be, or better, there should still be more of this good thing. The ecumenical factor in catholicity makes the Christian obey the Pauline demand that one member of the mystical Christ suffers when another suffers, and he does all he can to bring healing.

Full stature

Ecumenism is not a static conception. It implies more than the realization that the believer belongs to a world church. It also says that it is a church growing in the world. In the Pauline image, the Church is constantly growing in maturity and extension until it achieves the full stature of Christ. Church witness must necessarily go beyond the confines of its achieved reality. The going beyond is the missionary action. In this light, we must recognize that the function of the missionary is primarily ecclesiological, and only secondarily eschatological. The old slogan according to which the missionary saves souls is not altogether happy nor even theologically correct. The missionary is helping the Church to grow and it is the Church which saves. Men are called to more than the acceptance of creeds and dogmas. They are called to a life in the Church. Such

a calling means community, liturgy, dialogue, and hierarchy. Such a life is local and also ecumenical.

It has been said, and perhaps unjustly, that Francis Xavier was a bad missionary. The accusation rests on the fact that he moved like a whirlwind through Asia. His critics say that he baptized with the exclusive desire that individuals be liberated from their sins. Once this was done, he moved on. The ideal of Xavier according to such observers was to baptize as many men as possible, without realizing that the first effect of baptism is to incorporate the individual into the mystical but visible society which is the Church. I believe that careful historians are trying to show that Xavier did not suffer from such myopia. If indeed he did, then it would be true that his missionary rationale was bad. The missionary tries to be an instrument of God's grace by putting men into the Catholic community. He is as much interested in community as he is in the individual, and it is true to say that he is interested in the individual only in so far as he can be an element of a society.

Ecumenism is catholicity under the aspect of wholeness. Now wholeness is, as we have seen, not only the wholeness of what is but also the wholeness yet to be. Catholicity is therefore absorptive. It goes out to bring in elements which are still lacking. Catholicity says openness.

We must understand this openness correctly. The Church is not merely open to new members who must become uniform with the structure of the local church from which the missionary comes. The Church is also open to the way of life proper to the newcomer. He is not called upon to relinquish his culture by reason of his vocation to the Church. Rather, the Church is called upon to absorb his cultural conditioning. The Church is a human body according to St. Paul. This body is a unity with immense variety. It is unity without uniformity, it is a unity which absorbs differences without destroying them. In order to achieve the full growth of the Body, the Church must take on all the cultural achievements of humanity. The Fathers of the Church teach that when God assumed humanity, it was his intention to be the universal man. Physically this is not possible for any individual because his very individuality is rooted in one point of time and space. By reason of Christ's intention to be the universal man; he needed the filling out of his individuality through the Mystical Body.

Man is a sinner because of the heritage of the common father, Adam. Not all in man can be absorbed into the Mystical Christ, for Christ is without sin. Yet things which are not sinful can be assimilated and must be. Differences of sex, age, place, and culture are to be adopted organically in the Church. The consequences of this absorption are many and profound. In Africa a highly developed art form is the dance. If the Church wishes to fulfill its obligation to absorb all that is beneficently human, the dance will play a large role in African church-life. Hindu predilection for meditation should make the Indian Church meditative. Liturgy, which is the communal worship of the Church, will take on different shapes in different lands. The basic sacramental structure will be the same everywhere but the flowering of it will show the differences of soil and climate. Greek and Latin liturgies are particular forms proper to those cultures but they are not universal.

In like manner the question of canon law must be resolved in the light of cultural diversity. The fine Roman legal mind is Roman. It is not universal. Many peoples have greater trust in unwritten customs than in written laws. Likewise Greek logic is only one form of thought and communication. There are other forms existing in the world. In fact logical communication, granting all of its advantages, is not the only way to express truth. Image and symbol language has its advantages too, and these advantages might be more congenial to men not of the west.

In our day we have learned that Gothic architecture is hardly suited to a Chinese country side. A Japanese Madonna and Child have many virtues not to be found in Raphael. Have we learned as well that the western inclination to tight organization may in certain circumstances be inferior to a leisurely disorder? After all, the crucifix speaks eloquently without the aid of a clock.

In a single word, our catholicity is constantly searching for more modes of self-expression; it is not committed to cultural monism. Catholic life is wide open to endless forms of manifesting itself.

My considerations have been strictly ecclesiological. We have seen that catholicity includes four notions: orthodoxy, proclamation, ecumenism and absorption. I do not identify myself with the missionary fraternity, but I am sure that what I have said can be spelled out concretely by the missionaries. In fact, they will have to do so in order to be Catholic.

THE ROLE OF THE LAYMAN IN THE CHURCH

THE QUESTION that is before the house at least was referred to the right department to discuss it even though the representative of the department may not be the best that you can get. You are dealing with the role of the layman in the Church. I think the substantive word there is Church. And the Department of Theology in which I work is called Ecclesiology, which means the theological theory of the Church. It is precisely in the line of this theory that we can make a serious and valuable judgment concerning the role of the laity. Now, before we go any farther, it is well to bring out that the Church has a structure of its own and this structure is only partially brought forth by Canon Law; that is a very changeable thing. The Church is a human reality, indeed, but formed and framed by Christ Himself. Consequently, if we want to know what the Church is, we must look at her in her theological reality and especially in her basic reality, which the theologians call mystical. She is the Mystical Body of Christ.

Now theologians work in a common way. They try to make intelligent and intelligible affirmations after a study of Christ's revelation. Christ's revelation is mediated to us in two ways: in the scripture, as that scripture is transfused by the Church's abiding tradition. The theologian picks up the scripture, as transfused by and embodied in tradition, and mediates in words the thoughts of theology. These are means that the Church has whereby she teaches the people.

The grasping of the revelation, however, is not a verbal enterprise at all. It is an enterprise of the total man. Nevertheless, for him to reach this invisible and, to a degree, inevitable message from God, he must use words. Now words in revelation are different from words which are used, for example, in mathematics or in a scientific description. In a scientific description, when we are told this or that is oxygen, we expect it to be as oxygen is everywhere and anywhere. This is not true of words which are used to convey the revelation of God and his Christ. These words are symbols.

What do we mean by symbol words? They are analogical words; words which are used in terms of similarity. When we speak of the

Church as being the Body of Christ, we are not trying to make any kind of affirmation in terms of anatomy and physiology. We understand the Church in the light of the analogy with a human body; therefore, that which is described is known and described imperfectly because it is described not in its own terms, but in terms which are proper to something else. To understand a symbol, which is an expression of divine revelation, we must, of course, be in residence with revelation. The greater the faith of the individual, the deeper his commitment to the revelation of God in His Christ, the better he will understand the symbol. Our superficial understanding may be brilliant but deep understanding is only to be found in those who are pious and virtuous.

This afternoon let us discuss certain symbols which revelation uses to describe the Church. In discussing these symbols, we can find out the generic principles of the role of the layman in the Church. One of the most obvious and most frequent symbols which the New Testament, and especially St. Paul, uses to describe, to make known to us the nature of the Church is the phrase, 'the people of God'. In the Greek, St. Paul uses the phrase "laos tou Theou." Now the word "laos," which in Greek means "people," is also the word from which we get laity, and *laïque*. The laity and the *laïque* person belong to the "laos." That is to say, in our context, the "laos tou Theou" or the people of God.

When the Church is so described as "the people of God," we notice that there is no differentiation whatsoever between the members of that people of God. In that people of God, we, indeed, find the hierarchy; in that people of God, we find Christ Himself. And in the context of the symbol of the people of God, not only the hierarchy but even Our Lord, are *laïque*—are laity. Therefore, there is a sense in which the Church is the laity, and the Church is *laïque*, and the laity are the Church. And in this sense Laity includes not only the people without orders, but all the orders of the hierarchy and even Our Lord Himself.

One great mistake that has been made in the past in the study of a doctrine is to use only one of the symbols of revelation that deal with the doctrine. The New Testament and the constant tradition afterwards use many symbols for the same thing. And this is necessary. Any one symbol brings out only part of the truth

of the thing symbolized. The multiplication of symbols brings home more and more the many dimensions of the thing described—Church, Christ or God Himself.

The body of Christ

Let us consider another symbol of the Church which is so important in the New Testament and so important in modern theology. It is the symbol of the Body of Christ. If you read the Epistles of St. Paul, you will notice the constant reiteration of the Church as the Body of Christ. Here we find the Church described in terms of two divisions, and only two, head and members. A special place is given to Christ, the Head, in this Body. Remember always that Christ, the Head, is not outside the Body. Christ, the Head, is in the Body. But there is a distinction between the high place of Christ, who gives meaning, life and direction to the total Church, His Body, and the members. This is the great division that Paul makes and to which modern theology gives so much stress.

Once more we have the Church described, now in terms of a subordination: the subordination of all Catholics, to Christ, the Head, who lives in the Church and whose trunk the Church is. Such is the symbol and image of Paul. The Body, he means, is the trunk, as we frequently say of an athlete. We see him running down and we say "a splendid body." We are not looking at his head at all. We're looking at his trunk. And so, too, Paul conceives the body of the Church as the trunk of Christ, the Head. However, in the people of God, who make up the trunk, there is no differentiation whatsoever.

All members are considered to be of equal value, of equal meaning, because they are members of Christ, because they are all Christ's. And they do the work and action of Christ in the world. After his resurrection, they are so thoroughly united with him that when Our Lord said to the persecuting Saul, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou, Me?" we see that in persecuting them, no matter what be their place in the hierarchy of function, it was Christ who was being persecuted. And Saul, later Paul, saw this great truth from the moment of his conversion.

But this Body is his Body, his trunk; it's not as our Protestant friends so frequently seem to think, an amorphous blob of protoplasm. It's a body; it's organized. Different members are structured

differently for the good of the whole. Not only that, these different structures interlock. You can't have one without the other. Yet, one is not better than the other in terms of dignity. They are different one from the other in terms of function. St. Paul is anxious to point this out in the First Epistle to the Corinthians: "If the ear says 'I am not an eye, I am not a part of the body', that does not make it any less a part of the body. If the body were all eye, how would we hear?" Nor is one part better than the other; all are needed to make a perfect body. There is, therefore, a hierarchy of function. Different functions belong to this body and consequently there will be different structures within the members so that all the functions can properly be realized.

There are, indeed, certain organs of the body, which we can say are more important than others for the functioning of the total body. I can cut off the arm of a man and he will not die. He will live and continue to work. He has lost, indeed, one function but the whole body can still work minus that function. If, however, I remove his heart or his brain he would function no more. In terms of function, not in terms of dignity, the heart and brain are more important. There is a subordination of the other organs to these higher organs; higher in terms of function. This is the notion of hierarchy. I should rather imagine that a physiologist and an anatomist must not be pleased with the valentine card. For him, the heart is a tough muscle and he could no more conceive sentiment and love attached to it than he could conceive it associated with the big toe. The way the heart is made and the big toe is made does not even give any distinction in terms of dignity between them. But in the function of the total body, more depends upon the heart than on the big toe. Therefore, in the very symbol of the Mystical Body, where the division is made between Christ, the Head, and all the rest as members, there is also insinuated this distinction of organ from organ in terms of function so that there will be a functional subordination of some organs to another. Consequently we see that the notion of the hierarchy is very clearly proposed to us in the body symbol. There is a hierarchy; it is not that the hierarch is of better stuff, of better intelligence, of greater piety than the rest of the members. But the hierarch does have a principle and a power within him given by the Holy Ghost, which makes the whole body

alive, in order to coordinate the action of the body so that it will be the action of Christ risen again; the action of Christ upon the world in which we live.

Now let me summarize what we have seen so far. We can, indeed, describe the Church in such a way that differentiation between member and member need not be expressed. Where a basic unity will be had among all. All are of the people of God. And there is no differentiation there between the members.

I can also express the truth of the Church in the great pauline symbol of the Mystical Body of Christ. Here we stress a division and a distinction: the division between Christ, the Head, and the visible Church as the trunk; a distinction—by—function among the members who make up the trunk. It is in this functional distinction that we find the hierarchy.

Hierarchy, therefore, is something within the Church and properly there by its essence. By the structure which Christ Himself gave, the hierarchy must be present. But as we see from the other symbols, it is not necessary to be stressing hierarchy all the time. We can with equal right and with justification from revelation, affirm the equality of all the people within the Church. We can stress and affirm this equality but we must never deny, that within it there is and must be a functional coordination in terms of subordination of organ to organ.

One with Christ

Now, in terms of such a unified structuring of the Church, living the life of Christ on earth, we understand the Church anybody's as place in it. To be in the Church means that you are in Christ. You share his power. You share his grace. You share his mission. He was the priest and so we are all a holy priesthood because we are the Body and live with the life of Christ, the priest. He was king and so to use the words of the Epistle of St. Peter, "we are a kingly people." And we are all-powerful kings. He was a prophet and, therefore, we are prophetic because we are the Body of the great prophet. He was the sanctifier and we are sanctifiers because we have the one life with him; we have the one mission with him. He was also victim who went on to suffering and death and we, with him, are victim and must go on to suffering and death. And as St. Paul brings out, if we are one with him in all these things,

we are equally one with him in his final resurrection which was the culminating glory of the work of this God-man on earth.

We must work as one, for one we are in the Christ. And that bring us, then, to the question of the coordination of action through the subordination of parts to part. It is the hierarchy which has as its function the coordination of the multiple activity of the Church. It coordinates precisely in that it has a superiority of function which requires in others a subordination to it as a superior organ, superior in function and not in dignity. How does the hierarchy achieve this special position within the Church? Through the Holy Ghost as mediated to the individual bishop by the imposition of hands of the hierarchy which preceded him. It is the bishop who is the hierarch. Indeed not, with the perfect fullness of Christ, the Head, but with the fullness of the power which Christ, himself, placed within his Church. To be a member of the hierarchy means principally and essentially to be a bishop. All the other orders, the priests, the deacons, the sub-deacons, and so forth, were later established by the Church. In them the episcopal power was given not in its fullness, but in part, so that those who have that partial power might assist and aid the bishop in his own multivariuous world.

Hierarchy, therefore, means primarily, essentially, the bishops. Of all these bishops, there is one who, in his own individual personality, has the fullness of episcopal power. All the others have that power in union with him and through participation. This hierarchy is the coordinating principle within the Mystical Body. The Body is something alive; something of its very nature nervous, which is always in residence and dynamic with its head in terms of action. It is not a dead body. It's alive with the resurrection of Christ, himself. Therefore, the hierarchy does not give life. The life is already there in the body. The hierarchy coordinates life, the life which is there. The power to act in the Church does not come from the hierarchy. It comes to every Catholic from the sacraments. By Baptism he belongs to the Church and shares in her life and has a right to all the sources of life—the sacraments. By Confirmation he is divinely empowered and directed to do more than live off the bounty of Christ, rather to be with him through all the world in all the work of the saving love of God.

Confirmation does not differentiate the Christian's task in the Church. It is undifferentiated in terms of actions of witnessing, including the supreme act of witness, martyrdom, which the Christian may be called upon to perform. Peculiar types of action are given by two other sacraments. More specific than that given by confirmation, which is general, orders will give the individuals receiving them the sacred power, action of the Church. The ordained's action is within the Church. Keeping it united; keeping its action coordinated; keeping its action true to Christ, the Head. And Matrimony puts the Christian in contact with the world at large where the matrimonial vocation must be carried out. He is given the power and obligation to bear the witness of Christ to the outer world. He stands between the inner light of the Church and the outer light of the world. In the married man and woman, the Church and the Mystical Christ meet.

Now it is quite clear that even the layman, with the empowering of marriage or only with the general empowering of Confirmation, must be capable of initiative and must exercise that initiative when the occasion requires it. This initiative itself is not something arbitrary, whimsical, in him. It is the product of the instinct of the body, the instincts given by the Holy Ghost; we call them the fruits of the Holy Ghost. These are instincts and, given the proper stimulus, the layman will respond. Do you know how it works in life, in the body which we have? If there is a danger to the eye, you blink. This kind of thing can be found in the body of Christ. Certain stimuli approach the individual member and for his functioning he responds by the instinct given to him by the Holy Ghost.

Therefore, the principle of hierarchy, the principle of coordination through subordination of member to member does not in any way whatsoever exclude in the life of any of the members the power and obligation of following initiative, the instincts; of the Holy Ghost stimulated by the world in which we live. Such are the general theological principles referring to the function of the laity in the Church.

We have, however, in our time, a special problem. The new world is new. The situation of 1960 is revolutionary. It is quite unlike the world of 1900. Consequently, the relationship of the action of laity and hierarchy must be seen in the light of the new world. Let us

see some of the elements which produce this novel situation requiring a novel working-out of the relationship between hierarchy and laity.

Pluralism and revolution

There were, only sixty years ago, countries which could be called Catholic, countries which could be called Protestant, countries which were Buddhist. Today that is not true. All world communities, with the possible exception of Tibet, and that seems to be an exception no more, are pluralistic. The people who make up these communities are not one in their concept of life, man and destiny. We have different views. The result is that these communities live and work through a consensus because without consensus they could not live and work (which is either anti-Catholic or non-Catholic). This is a world-wide situation. No country can be excluded, neither Scotland, nor Ireland, nor Spain.

Secondly, in the light of this revolution, the institutions which were created by the Catholics in thoroughly Catholic societies, or in smaller defense ghettos, are no longer effective. Some of these older institutions have already disappeared. Others are still with us but working in a very halting fashion and everyone realizes it. And that is also true of the old public processions in which you wore bands and carried church banners. I don't see many of them anymore.

You can sense the changes in the books we read. The books that were read around there in 1900, they were all debating controversy with the adversary. When you read those books today, you feel as if you were in a lost lane. It's not the way that Catholics write today. That debating-controversy notion has given way to something else, to that much abused word, dialogue, which only means friendly conversation. In 1900, the Catholic schools had a structure which they haven't got any more. They were quite sure of themselves and so were the people at large. Today, the Catholic schools are looking for structure. They don't think they have it.

We are living in a revolutionary moment. World society and our own institutions are changing. We can see the change reflected in new approaches to old problems, in our own critical evaluation of our role in the new world. We can see the change in this meeting.

One thing we have noticed in your presence today here is a group.

The laity have manifested an eagerness to do something more than to assume the layman's posture of 1900. That was a simple posture as described by English Catholics. He was to be on his knees and his hand was to hover over the collection basket. To most of our Catholics today, that posture is too simple. Our Catholics today have been through all the forms of education which our time can offer. In most cases, as for example in our country, they're quite secure in their Catholic status; they're not on the defensive. They want now a holiness proper to their lives. They want to know theology. They want a program of responsible action. This can be seen in America. It can be seen in Europe; can be seen in Australia; everywhere we find the same phenomenon.

What is more, in the society in which we live, highly democratized as it is, it is necessary and inevitable that the Catholic layman take on functions of high importance for general society. When I was in college, it was almost unthinkable that a layman should teach philosophy in a Catholic college. Today in many Catholic colleges, almost all the Philosophy is taught by laymen. On my desk back home, I have a letter now, one of many, from a non-Catholic school asking me to name a layman who can teach Catholic theology in a non-Catholic college. Sisters' colleges are already asking for laymen to teach theology. Catholic laymen are the editors of Catholic journals. They are the editors, likewise, of non-Catholic journals. We were always in politics, especially those, shall we say, who had Celtic background and belonged to the Democratic Party. But today our men are more than politicians. They are statesmen. Men with large vision; men who can speak to their country and to the world. We have witnessed, therefore, in the last sixty years, a growth of the value of the Catholic layman. In the fields in which he is working, he has competed successfully with the clergy. In other fields where the clergy simply could not enter, he has become a respectable figure. This is a simple fact.

And, of course, we understand that it is the time of the expert. What makes an expert? Superior and specialized knowledge. Now it is impossible for the clergy to have superior and specialized knowledge outside of one or two fields. And it as been noted both by clergy and the laity alike, that our seminaries, so far from producing an expert, in even one field produce an individual who does not show a high understanding of what sci-

ence and scholarship are. The result is that in our parishes we have so many laymen who are far better educated than the priests who lead them in parish life and from the altar.

Theologians, again in our times, under the impact of liturgical movement, under the impact of the ecumenical movement, under the impact of the rise of the laity, now freely recognize that the Catholic reaction to the Protestant denial of existence of hierarchy in the Church actually made us underplay the meaning and role of the laity in Christ's Church. There is a recognition that not much has been made of the theology of the layman and theology for the layman in the past. And the task is hardly touched in our times.

As Catholics, we have a special problem in this whole field. It is not a doctrinal problem at all. It is a problem which we can discuss in our family reunion. It's the problem of the clergy themselves. Obviously, in a large body they must be few. There are only 50,000 priests in this country for 40,000,000 people. There's a paucity of priests. They cannot be everywhere; they cannot do everything. No matter how willing the horse, there is a certain amount of load which he cannot carry. That we all appreciate. But there's some things which annoy us, perhaps.

Difficulties

There seems to exist an insensitivity on the part of some clerics to what the laymen feel—thanks be to God, this is not true of all clerics. It is insensitivity for the movement of the hour in which we live. And this insensitivity becomes painful when we find the clergy working through a bureaucracy. You do not deal with an individual but, rather, with an invisible machine. And, unfortunately, as has always been true, some clerics show a domineering arbitrariness in their relationship to the laity who are, after all, of the people of God. Many who are not domineering or arbitrary, manifest a secretiveness. They won't tell you why we are doing certain things. Their motives are kept quite secret. They will ask support for a project, never indicating why the project is being undertaken, much less the means by which the project will be realized. And they become incensed if they are questioned.

And then, of course, in many, thanks be to God not in all, but in most, there is an unreadiness for open discussion of problems with the laity, the people of God. These things, of course, are not at all

necessary within the framework of the Church. On the other hand, I don't think we should be surprised or grievously scandalized by their presence. It is natural that men should so act. And although Catholic life is not natural, nature working under original sin is not eliminated from the Church. It is the Church, indeed, of Saints; it is the Body of Christ but also the Mother of sinners.

Perhaps one of the difficulties that is most irritating for the laity who are now seeking for a much greater role in the total life of witness in the Church, is ambiguity in the leadership of the hierarchy itself. Hierarchy rather than clergy. They hear that lay action is what is required. They hear that this is the hour of the layman. In that more lay collaborative activity is required. And this pleases the layman, indeed. But he soon finds out that when he wants to take initiative, be responsible in movement, so far from being encouraged he is discouraged even to the point of repression; there is an ambiguity in the situation.

Again, this is certainly not according to the plan of Christ but it is certainly a manifestation of original sin with which you must be patient. Perhaps one field in this country, more so than in others, is a constant source of irritation. The Catholic schools, which are meant for lay folk, are completely controlled and dominated by clergy. The laity have no decisive or even highly influential role in the making out of programs, dictating policies, selection of personnel, and suggesting of studies. We know there is already a change with respect to this question; but only a small beginning has been made, a shadow of things yet to come.

On top of all this, our Catholic layman finds himself surrounded by a questioning world; a world that wants answers not from the Catholic priest but from the Catholic layman himself. Daily, hourly, he is being asked for opinions, asked for explanation of his stand. Fortunately we have seen in our own times laymen coming forth and doing this work, not only well, but with impressive excellence. I imagine most of us here saw the birth-control dialogue in which we had Colin Clark speaking, a man prepared, who could handle himself with dignity, propriety and friendliness, making, of course, a tremendously deep impression on all who heard him. More recently in one of those "Open End" programs you had the two Catholic laymen, Gene McCarthy and Bill Clancy, giving the

Catholic position with accuracy, with the proper note of friendliness, with security. Of course, the laymen are going to be asked for more of these from here on out.

So we have a real problem of the laymen's role in the concrete situation in which we are; a real problem. I think that the little collaboration I gave to God's grace has allowed me to tell you what's wrong but I can never tell you how to make it better. Therefore, I think that you should discuss among yourselves these problems which I have suggested; the principle I laid down in the beginning, which is the principle of theology. Let it be light for you in your own work to make the layman the proper active instrument in the Church which, indeed, he should be.

Initiative in the call

The call for the layman to give the world witness to God, to act in Christ is genuine. This call will be answered, first, by filling self and home with greater union with Jesus, our Head, through sacramental grace and meditation on Christ's revelation. This, in a word, is Christian sanctification, through sacramental liturgy and prayer. Properly enlivened by this dynamism, each Catholic, cleric or layman, will follow the instinctive guidance of grace in making Christ's message known. The layman must not be afraid of taking initiative even though he holds firmly to the principle of subordination to hierarchy. His initiative, even if it should meet with the repression of hierarchy, may yet exercise the prophetic function in the Church. The Christian ideal is that the whole people of God take its authoritative teaching from the hierarchy, and from the same hierarchy alone seek the sacraments of grace. In the Church's prophetic function of witness, hierarchy and people work together in harmony. Initiative can come from either side, though the hierarchy has the right and obligation to judge if the instinct behind the initiative was aroused by the Holy Spirit or some spirit not of God.

Let me add one simple postscript: it is not the function of the Church to make the world Catholic; it is not the function of the Church to create a priest in civilization; it is not the function of the Church to have the whole world kneeling at the Church's altar—that is a mystery of salvation in the mind and heart of God alone. And it seems to me that scripture and tradition point to the

The upshot, therefore, was the identification of the two cities, the city of God and the city of earth. The city of earth had disappeared; only the city of God was left. There was no deep recognition in the medieval mind that not all power was in the Church. Gelasius had said in his letter to the Emperor Anastasius that there were two powers in the world; but by the Middle Ages, especially in the Bull *Unam Sanctam* of Boniface VIII, the two had become one—they had become the Church. Hence the two swords of power were now in the Church. There were still two orders of life, the sacral and the secular, but the two cities had coalesced into the Church, and in it all power must be. Now there is a necessary consequence to this thesis. By it the Church cannot fail to be secularized and the civil community will be given a sacral status. Both of these corollaries deform the two distinct orders which are needed for human welfare. By birth no man is a Christian nor does grace destroy the natural which it needs to build on. To overlook these basic theological truths is bad theology. Its effects were seen every day in the Middle Ages. There was a never ending struggle between bishop and prince. The concept of the prince as the lay bishop, which was common in those days, hurt the people of God by confusing their religious and civil allegiances. The bishops who raised armies and even rode to battle with their troops to gain territories for their jurisdiction, or defeat the prince who was an enemy, hardly made the Church live up to the image of bride and groom which Paul used to show the loving unity of the Christ community. The complete unity of the Church and mankind is for us an eschatological hope and ideal. This side of the eschatological divide we cannot expect the two cities to be one.

The invalid identification of the Church and the civil community was innocently accepted. It was indeed the Church which civically organized the western world. The Germanic invaders destroyed the Roman commonwealth but could not erect a substitute. The only unifying force at hand was the Church. For her own sake she kept the people together civically and the bishop in order to defend his flock from dissolution had to become the civil leader as well. This was a passing vocation and quite accidental. But the medieval bishop was easily persuaded that the transitory vocation was permanent and he clung to it even when his civil mission had ended.

Christendom: St. Louis of France, St. Elizabeth of Hungary, St. Edward the Confessor, St. Margaret of Scotland, St. Henry the Emperor, St. Stephan of Hungary, St. Wenceslaus of Bohemia, and the other royal figures. It would almost seem that even heaven is not so snobbish and the snobbery was only in the high selectivity of theologians and lawyers. Most of the Church was excluded from the ecclesiology of the times. The Church in those days was conceived in terms of the pope, his cardinals, his council, and his vassals, the good Christian princes.

Another shortcoming modern ecclesiology finds in the canonists is their low view of the essence of papacy. The pope is the center of episcopacy. In him resides the fullness of the episcopal charism, to be participated by the whole episcopate. As we are prone to say today, there is a collegiality involved in this service. Authority is given to the college, for otherwise it could not serve, but the authority was not to be conceived as worldly power or anything like it. To find the essence of papacy in supreme jurisdiction, simply ignored the charismatic nature of episcopate. It produces the pyramid image of the Church. On the top was the single papal point which rested on and somehow included the cardinals, who in turn rose above the bishops, who were the lords of the clergy in their sees, and these latter ruled the faithful who were an undistinguished mass at the bottom. There were strata of affiliation and stratum was severed from stratum. This, a completely static conception of the Church. Her life, the interplay of member with member, the overall but invisible animation of the indwelling Spirit of God, the heavy charismatic activity of Christian life, the ecclesiological dimension of sacramental operation, the liturgical vitality of the people of God; were factors which were not considered. Yet if these things do not enter into the picture of the Church, you deal only with a caricature of her but not with a true portrait.

The pope

The pope is not distinguished from all other bishops by the simple fact that he has supreme jurisdiction. He is distinguished by the fact that he is primatial center of a functional collegiate dimension of the Church. We must not cut the pope off from the episcopal college nor must we cut off the bishops from the people. They are fused into the tightest kind of organic unity. Nor must we give

specific essence to the episcopate in terms of jurisdiction, which is a secondary and relative characteristic of the pastoral office.

Something of this vision was not entirely lacking in the canonist tradition. They were groping for the expression of the corporate nature of the Church. They granted to the corporation rights which the pope himself could not ignore, much less cancel out. The right to survival as the Church of Christ, the right to well being as a corporation, were recognized by the lawyers, but their jurisdictional framework of thought, made them misunderstand the mode in which these rights were safeguarded. They had as an ultimate mechanism for Church stability, the ecumenical council. This idea need not be rejected *in toto*, but it must be understood as something different from a democratic jamboree. The power in the Church is the Holy Ghost and the power of the pope or the council is not a parallel power or powers. Pope and bishops can only externalize and communicate in socially effective forms the directions of the Spirit. That is what they are for. That is the charismatic mission which they have. They are the social instruments whereby the ineffable directives of the Spirit, who does not speak, come forth socially. This is not a legal framework, though legal images can explain it partially by way of analogy, but the analogy not only limps but falters badly. A biological analogy will serve better, but even it will only serve as a pointer rather than a definition. Only in analogy can we speak of the divine, and the divine is always infinitely more unlike than like its analogous counterpart; so taught Aquinas. Such is the function of analogy in theology,—to be a pointer to guide us in our vision, and limit our field of discourse.

Here is where the medieval ecclesiologists failed. They did not take the role of analogy seriously. They tried by might and main and with innocent presumption to squeeze all they could and wanted from an analogy. That such a procedure was dangerous did not seem to enter their awareness. They moved on without any doubt about the legitimacy of their rationale. Occasional qualms they suppressed spontaneously. This phase of canonist ecclesiology should be a warning to the ecclesiologist of any day, including our own. We must remember that no one analogy, be it scriptural, patristic or medieval, can achieve the total pointing function. All these analogies, and more yet to come, must be used to tell us truly but imperfectly what God's Church really is. She is a mystery,

and her mysteriousness can never be resolved. In faith we are born of her and in faith we cling to her. The theologian uses his very faith to achieve some degree of understanding, but his understanding, deep or shallow, never has the solidity which the faith itself has. Understanding is the theologian's service to the faith. Nor is it an attempt to produce a rational scheme of revelation where reason and reason alone is satisfied. Theology is not mathematics even when it deals with trinity in unity.

Today's needs

Perhaps observations of this nature are especially needed by ecclesiologists today. Those of us who were young in the early thirties fell under the spell of the Pauline image of the Mystical Body. There was strong opposition in some quarters toward the use of this analogy to explain the mystery of the Church. The older way was to take the words, "Kingdom of God," and promptly refer them to the Church without much or any delving into scripture to find out what meaning it had. Instead it was taken as if it meant simply commonwealth; once more a legalistic deduction was made. In this struggle, Pius XII came out in defense of the use of the image of the Body of Christ, and the newer way of doing ecclesiology was launched. Today the enthusiasm of those days has been lost and many think that we would do better if we chose some other of the many images of the Church which scripture uses. I do hope that the ecclesiologists who hold chairs today will not repeat the action of their fathers of a generation ago. There is no need of making the Body image do the main work in explaining the mystery of the Church. It does not seem to be privileged, even though St. Paul makes it central in his own thought. Should some other image be more appealing to our time, by all means let our time use it. The function of an analogy is to communicate an ineffable truth effectively. That image which is more effective should be the image analyzed. The efficacy of a symbol lies not in itself but rather in the concrete social environment where the Gospel is being preached. Not all images speak persuasively to all periods. Each era and each generation of an era must choose the analogies which it finds stimulating. What is not permitted, is the employment of categories which carry no excitement for those who hear the proclamation of the Gospel.

In line with this kind of thinking we can understand the late pope's insistence that our message be directed to the people of the world as they are. Ancient doctrines are not false because they are ancient. In fact we want only the ancient doctrine which was once and for all delivered to the saints. However, they must be proclaimed to a new generation, and the form of the proclamation must be suited to those who will hear it. The picture of the oriental despot might have been appealing to orientals three thousand years ago. It might have been in resonance with their anxieties. Today it is quite useless. Far from being appealing, the image is repelling for the men of today. We should avoid it, not because it does not contain some pointer elements but because these pointer elements cannot be grasped by the living men in the living now. Pope John XXIII wanted the present ecumenical council to speak in a way which would be relevant to today's men and women. Relevance is demanded not only in the Church's proclamation, but also in theology. The discussion of the unicity or multiplicity of souls informing a human being must have had relevance to the Christians of the 14th century, but to bring this discussion back to today's market place would be more than futile. This question has sunk into the deep abyss of unconcern. The unity of man is always a disturbing problem for our race, but the 14th century form of presenting it, does not speak to the current world.

Fortunately, this we can say for the canonist ecclesiologists of the Middle Age: they were relevant to their time. Law studies had made a deep impression on the contemporary mind and law had the glamor of a successful thing. It is no wonder that they used it as an analogy in their ecclesiological studies. The more mystical approach of the Fathers was not condemned; it was for the main part ignored. The older way was not destroyed; only relegated to the realm of piety. This was a kindness to us, because when the canonist way no longer pleased, we could find the older way in hymns, sermons and meditations. Nothing was lost, but so little was used.

Lack of history

Another shortcoming in the canonist doctrine on the Church is palpably the lack of historical interest. They write in a now which is not at all connected with the past. The origins of things in-

terested them only if the origins were recent. To go back into the remote times did not seem attractive. The point that struck them hardest was that in their day they had arrived. They were not worried how they got there. It is useless to say that they had no instruments whereby they could probe into the past. They had them, and a future age, because of interest, found them unused. An adolescent is not in search of his genealogy; he is too occupied with being himself fully. One defect of this utter modernity is that it takes the present too seriously. To do that means to lose a vision of the whole. An age's severest critic is history.

We can easily find the faults of an age not our own, but to see what is wrong now is not so easy. Yet a glimpse of legalistic ecclesiology will tell us what errors we must avoid. The lack of historical sense in the medievalists should make us nervously aware of what went before. We must spin out our schemes but they must be anchored in history; if not, they will be floating gossamer attached to no stable base. Good theology will have three anchor points. First of all, it will be consistent with its own principles. It must, therefore, be logical. This the men of the Middle Age understood. They relied perhaps excessively on logic. There is a danger in this virtue. Logic works with concepts which are univocal. To what degree an image can be reduced to a concept is hard to say. That I say that John is a fox, is no warrant for concluding that he has red hair. Aquinas showed that analogies can be used in reasoning, but he also showed that the conclusions are always analogous. But we must above all remember that analogies have a conventional structure which excludes much of what is to be found in the physical thing whose name is being used. Here our canonists were not so careful, and by their lack of caution, they caution us.

Nor is mere logic enough. Many systematic expositions are highly logical, but that only means they come to right conclusions, not necessarily to true ones. The propositions must be coherent with the sources, and this requires historical investigation. The canonists made much of the Church as a *societas perfecta*, but only by comparing that term with the reality of the Church as made manifest in the scripture and the historically born tradition, could they legitimately make affirmations. They were not used to such research, but that does not excuse us in our day.

Consistency and coherence are the first demands of good theologizing but something more is demanded. The theologian must be relevant to the age in which he is making his constructions. He must construct and reconstruct the perennial data. He must be given the liberty to use his imagination. He is not the mere repeater of what has been said before. He cannot be original in the basic message he has to relay, but he must be original in the form in which the transmission is made. In our breviaries the liturgical calendar is given according to the Ptolemaic rules of time computation. The result is inevitable in a Copernican age. We don't bother to read the instructions because they are useless baggage. The antiquarian may be interested, but even he does not give real significance to it.

Relevance

This question of relevance is most challenging. How far can we go in changing the forms and symbols of the past? We cannot make it all over again. We need continuity to keep us in one Church which is the Church of Christ. We are not free to set up an unending series of new and different formulas. Insistence on the coherence of our theology with the expression of the revelation in every bygone age will certainly keep us from going too far, but since change of formulation is called for, we must depend on the consent of the theological fraternity for our protection. If new expressions and new insights do not fit our moment in which all other contemporaneous theologians are living too, they will be dropped at once before they go too far. Nor will the slaughter of such ideas be gentle. Theologians have not been accustomed to deal gently with their colleagues. The word *odium theologicum* has not survived without reason. Perhaps we must fear not so much the appearance of catastrophic novelty in theology as much as the stubborn hostility toward any change whatsoever. Today we have left the medieval way of doing ecclesiology, but have we transcended the shallow logicalism of the polemical treatise on the Church of the last century? It is not only hostility to change which languidly keeps alive the older way of presenting the nature of the Church, but a radical inertia operative in all sons of Adam, be they theologians or not. It is inertia more than anything else which still grants a fossil life to an ecclesiological scheme which has lost any shred of relevance

to our day with its insistence on existence, liturgy, and ecumenics.

That last word will lead us into another dimension which was missing in canonist ecclesiology. There was nothing ecumenical about it, and it is difficult to see how there could have been. The dissenter had no room in the tight unity of the Middle Age community. He was not considered as an honest man with his own understanding of the Gospel. He was simply a perverse heretic who betrayed the Christian *res publica*. For his bad and mischievous will he was burnt by the secular arm. The Albigensians, the Cathari, and the Waldensians were destroyed by fire and sword. Perhaps this was the only safeguard which society then had for its own preservation. Perhaps a different policy would have been more beneficent for all of Europe. Today it is hard to tell.

Yet one thing is true. The medieval solution is utterly unworkable in our time, even were it a genuinely Christian response. We are faced with the existence of large communities of dissidents who sincerely profess their faith in Jesus Christ, as God and Savior according to the Scriptures in obedience to the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. To consider these millions in our midst merely as depraved heretics hardly meets with the approval of the Christian conscience. On the other hand, the notion of heretical doctrine is ancient in the Church, and the notion of the oneness of the Church includes the notion of doctrinal unity. Certainly, this principle was not even questioned by the medieval canonists. They made much of it. Yet they had a solution of the problem of change which their own legal inclinations suggested to them. The note of heresy for them was contumacity, not merely error. St. Thomas makes the distinction which is of far reaching consequences. He speaks of *error in fide* and *error circa fidem*. The distinction between the two was not in the element of being wrong. Both were errors. However, only error which was contumacious induced the brand of heresy. Bad will made the error killing, not the error itself.

Certainly, in current ecclesiology there is an attempt being made to put dissidents who are baptized and profess their baptismal dedication to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, somehow within the Church. The slippery word is, *somehow*. This will require more investigation in the future, because a pure *somehow* is exasperating. One thing is clear; a merely juridical understanding of the Church

will never bring a solution. When an ecclesiastical canon says anathema to the defenders of propositions rejected by the Church formally and legally, legally such men are out of the Church. To find a unifying category which can have a believer legally out and yet truly in the Church, is one of the pressing tasks of our contemporary ecclesiologists.

One device is no longer viable. We used to excuse non-Catholics from the law on the grounds of invincible ignorance. The intent of the term was kindly but it does not flatter the non-Catholic when he hears it. This phrase will have to join countless others in the theological attic where outworn furniture is relegated.

A new apologetic

To finish our criticism of canonist ecclesiology in the light of the ecclesiology of our own day, let us conclude on a happy note. Canonist ecclesiology shared with its modern counterpart a lack of apologetic preoccupation. The jurists took their faith for granted, and not even fictitiously were they trying to make Catholics of those who were not. The fruits of such an attitude are visible. There was a serenity in their work, eliminating the nervousness and insecurity which our post-Tridentine tractates showed. This note can be detected in modern ecclesiology as well. It has no apologetic concern. It works *ex fide in fidem*. If an apologetic is contemplated at all, it will be in the way of a propaedeutic to the formally dogmatic treatise itself. Ecclesiology dogmatically still belongs to division labeled as Fundamental Theology, because it deals with the ground concepts of theological investigation: revelation, faith, church, scripture and tradition.

One could rightly say that there is still an apologetic tone in today's ecclesiology. However, the word no longer means what it meant seventy-five years ago. The term is shifty in its significance through the centuries. The Patristic apologists did not look or act like Wilmers, Felder, Dorsch or Boulanger. They lived up to the obvious meaning of apology; they defended the Church from false accusations. The apologetic of the 19th century was a much different effort. The apologists wished to show on natural evidence that Catholicism was the religion ordained by God. The humorous element in the task was that they never met the living adversary, but constructed one or reconstructed one who was around. With

this mental creation they conducted a chop-logic polemic. Apologetic in our age means something else again. The ecclesiologist keeps up a running dialogue with non-Catholic Christians. It is not a polemic and it is not a debate. Every effort is made to understand the genuine thought of the partner in conversation, including, above all, the postulates of the neighbor. The consideration of the neighbor's explicit statements without adverting to his initial assumption, or even worse, understanding his affirmations in terms of my own postulates, is no confrontation of minds. Today's dialogue is an essay to teach and to learn simultaneously. Debater's points are out of order.

In sum, therefore, we can say that canonist ecclesiology has elements in common with our ecclesiology, but by and large, the older effort was rather alien to what is being done today. However, it behooves us to look at canonist ecclesiology with greater care than we have shown in recent times.

* * *

Living under the intolerable burden of distress caused by the divisions among Christians, he has dedicated his life to the removal of barriers of misunderstanding. We thank God for his life.

BISHOP JOHN WESLEY LORD
Methodist Church

THE INTELLECTUAL LIFE

A Russian satellite in the fall of 1957 startled the United States into a frantic self-examination which ended with a critical finger being pointed at the competence and priorities of American education. Even before this momentous event had jolted Americans out of the post-Korean lull that had settled over the nation, Msgr. John Tracy Ellis had caused a minor furor among American Catholics by asserting that U.S. Catholics were not carrying their weight intellectually. Gus Weigel was soon caught up in the debate. He argued that Catholics could no longer shun the challenge of becoming fully involved within the intellectual community of the country. The base for meeting this challenge had to be laid in Catholic education. There could be no substitute—not even a religious one, for intellectual excellence as the main criterion for a school's purpose and worth. The school or college or university had to be "the social locus of scholarship, not a morally healthy environment, not a seminary of piety, not an institution for nice social finishings."

But his vision was not restricted to the intramural dimensions of Catholic scholarship. He had a deeply felt conviction that the intellectual element in a society is its most important component. Essentially a broker in ideas rather than an originator, he nevertheless became a symbol of the emerging Catholic intellectual of mid-century America.

Three of his papers on Catholics and the intellectual life are printed here. "The University in Time" was originally delivered in December, 1957 at the centenary dinner of Assumption University in Windsor, Ontario. "The Catholic Woman and the Intellectual Life," was addressed to the national Catholic women's honor sorority, Kappa Gamma Pi, at their convention in Buffalo in 1961. His remarks in "Accepting the Universe," originally a paper given at St. Mary's College in Winona, Minnesota in the summer of 1963, seem especially timely in this year of student unrest and revolt.

THE UNIVERSITY IN TIME

IT IS A FORMIDABLE CHALLENGE which faces the speaker at a dinner held to celebrate a significant historical event. The occasion demands something weighty but the audience fervently hopes that the lecturer will be brief. The orator should communicate a profound message but his hearers want something light and entertaining. At a centenary celebration he should praise the institution which is commemorating its origin but the praise should not be greasy flattery.

I think that it is impossible to meet the demands of a moment like ours and consequently I shall not even attempt to do so. Certain facts must orientate my remarks and those facts are well known to all here present. Assumption University is now one hundred years old. Such a life-span would hardly be remarkable in Europe where there are many universities which have lived through seven centuries. Even on our continent, Mexico and Peru have universities which were born four hundred years ago. But in Anglo-Saxon America, a century is a venerable age for an institution of higher learning. The annals of Assumption will have many items of interest and edification. The trials and triumphs of the men who made this school what it is merit our applause and admiration.

Yet I do not wish to speak of any of these things. Certainly the men who direct the destinies of Assumption do not consider it to be one hundred years old but rather one hundred years new. Assumption University is in time; it is now. Inasmuch as it is, it has a task which is more dynamic than glorying in the giant-like exploits of its pioneering founders. What must Assumption do today? Let us address ourselves to that question.

Norms for testing

On Easter Day of this calendar year the *Chicago Tribune* published a study whose purpose was to rate the best universities in the United States. As all the critics of the report have admitted, the rating was by and large adequate. Yet, the listing of the schools is not so important for us here, though it is significant to say that not one Catholic institution of higher learning appears among the leading schools in the seven categories chosen.

Rather than discuss the ratings, it might be more to our purpose to discuss the norms accepted by the panel in its selection. They are five. In considering the goodness of a school, the judges examined first, the faculty. Was it made up of men and women with a genius for cultivating young minds? Secondly, what was the quality of scholarship produced by this faculty? To judge this factor, the research of the institution was scrutinized in the only evidence possible, publication. Thirdly, the student-body was examined. The raters looked for a student group marked by superior scholastic aptitude, intellectual curiosity and dedication to study. Only in the fourth place were the physical facilities of the college considered. The whole spirit of the examination was summed up in the final norm of selection. What is the ethos of the institution? Does it have the character of a community of scholars?

No one will deny that these norms belong to any valid testing of a university or college. But they need exegesis. The norms break up into three elements; faculty, students, and physical equipment. In this complex of view-points, the faculty is necessarily the first to be considered. According to the *Tribune* panel, two qualities were demanded from the faculty. It was to have the genius of stimulating growth in the young people who came to the school and it was also to engage in research which would be published.

On this topic we must delay a little. Catholic schools in Canada and the United States do not manifest a sufficient awareness of the function of the university faculty. They will admit that the professorate is the heart of any educational enterprise. Before we look for students, we must look for teachers. In some ideal order, we can easily imagine a university where the members of the faculty outnumber the students. There is little danger that this will occur in the hard world we live in, because economic pressures make it impossible. But we still set up optimum proportions for the numbers of the two corporations—perhaps one teacher to every four or five students. Certainly no one would conceive the desired ratio to be one teacher to every thirty students.

Yet the quantity of professors is not the main consideration in our examination of a faculty. The quality of the group is far more important. We Catholics have always rightly insisted that the teacher should teach. Cardinal Newman perhaps exaggerated this

notion, but his defect, if it was a defect, was only one of exaggeration. The university is the social locus where learning is communicated and so teaching will be its essential social obligation. However, it is the word teaching which cries for definition. The medieval university, from which all others descend, made much of the official text—Peter Lombard, Aristotle, Galen, and Gratian. In these summaries, the tradition of a particular learning was conserved. This was the first thing the student had to learn. Hence, the idea of the medieval university was to transmit the tradition. We Catholics still accept this view of the university's task.

The faculty

However, we must see how the medieval school accomplished its aims. The masters of the faculties did not communicate the contents of the text-book. This was the work of the bachelors, who were not members of the professorate but older students in pursuit of the master's degree. From the master or professor something quite different was expected. He would lecture on quodlibetals and on disputed questions. He would give the final training to the candidate for the license or degree, not so much by explaining a book to him, but rather by making him an apprentice in the professor's own work. The professor was engaged in advancing the area of knowledge. He was doing research and he made his findings public. The master took the tradition for granted and moved out from that starting point. Through his work of investigation the tradition grew, remained vital and dynamic.

If we wish to be true to our own tradition, our professors must not be mere text-book purveyors. Less of this need be done today than formerly because the student has the text-book in his hand, in contrast with the medieval scholar, who did not have it because printing had not yet made books easily available. Our professor to be what he should be must engage in research. The question of publication is really no question. *Bonum est diffusivum sui* is an old scholastic adage. If the professor has found something new, he will be thrilled and he will be restless until he tells others what he has found. He who searches will find. He who finds will be excited. He who is excited will talk. In reverse, he who does not talk, is not excited. He who is not excited never looked for some new phase of the wonders of reality. It is true that the good professor must

publish. This 'must' does not mean that it was a willed purpose of his life but rather an inevitable consequence of his proper functioning.

Here we have the true meaning of the university. It is the home of the scholar, both perfect and incipient. Without the perfect scholar, the university cannot exist, for the incipient scholars need the example of the perfect scholar to bring them to maturity. The university, as the *Tribune* norm states, is a community of scholars, but the elders of the community must be creative, productive, stimulating contemplatives. For Catholic institutions of learning, this must be stressed in season and out. Too often we are negative in our approach to our work. We wish to give a place to young Catholics where they will not be perverted in the acquisition of their vision of reality, and then forget that the negative or apologetic approach is not enough. A college does not exist only to prevent a young person from being infected by error; it exists positively to show him truth. Nor is truth something once-and-for-all done in the past. It must be achieved anew in every generation. Our Catholic schools, more than any others, must be zealous centers of search, zest and bubbling discussion. We are not a post-office, coldly delivering sealed letters from the past.

In consequence, our Catholic colleges need men of talent, trained in their disciplines, and intensely anxious to go ever deeper in their fields of research. Johns Hopkins University, when it began, was poor in its physical equipment. It was beginning a project which was not understood in the land. It had so much against it, but it had trained, enthusiastic searchers for truth as its faculty. Students were soon attracted from America and Canada, and the example of Hopkins transformed the education of our continent. The heads of our Catholic schools must bear this in mind, and even at the price of opposition and financial struggle, fill their schools with zealous searchers, and weed out ruthlessly the colorless, text-book commentators who are uninterested in or ignorant of their duties as searching scholars.

The student body

Although Cardinal Newman was not opposed to research institutes, he did not want the university to be considered merely as a research center. He insisted that the students belonged to the

university and they were there to be taught. I think that we all agree with Newman. However, as we have seen, the main pre-occupation of the university must be its faculty. The next pre-occupation will be the student-body.

Now the university is not a theater where anyone who can afford a ticket takes his seat. The student at the university is not a passive spectator but a junior participant in the enterprise of scholarship. Hence, we must screen the applicants for university admission. We are not interested in filling the chairs of the classroom but rather we are anxious that the right persons get a seat. The college is the home of search, and the young person unfitted for scholarship has no place there. Society has no contempt for a one-legged man, but he does not belong to a training school for football players. The football coach is not being snobbish or arbitrary if he excludes the one-legged man from the squad he is trying to form.

To be an incipient scholar three things are needed; a docility for methodic work, an insatiable curiosity about the real and its structure, and a will dedicated to incessant contemplation. Some degree of intelligence is demanded by these requisites but brilliance is not of the essence. Many great scholars were not brilliant men. Any young person endowed with the qualities mentioned has a right to go to college. His-financial situation, his social status, his winsomeness of character or the lack of it are all irrelevant factors. Anyone who has the qualities is welcome, and one who lacks them can, at best, be only tolerated.

Professors who hear these words will mutter to themselves; how naive can you be? The classrooms are crowded with nit-wits, play-boys, shirkers, and budding confidence men. I am not unacquainted with the facts of the situation. However, it must be said that this condition should not be so impressive that the diligent, studious, curious mind be completely invisible. Given the realities of the problem, our schools will not be exclusively frequented by scholar-apprentices. Yet, our administrators are in conscience bound to favor these and disfavor the others. The reflection guiding admissions and the keeping of those admitted must always be that the college is the social locus of scholarship, not a morally healthy environment, not a seminary of piety, not an institution for nice social finishing. Those who by tendency of will or slant of intellect

are not interested in the methodic satisfaction of curiosity, do not belong in college. They may indeed be tolerated, if there are not enough scholarly candidates for all the vacancies in the student body. But, even this toleration carries with it a proviso. The non-scholarly youths must not get in the way of the scholarly work of the teachers and the legitimate pupils. Nor should they be given any testimonial of scholarly accomplishment. To them can be given a certificate of presence in the college, and no more. The college should do everything to stimulate the curious mind. Its manifestation should be rewarded and the student's zeal honored. The social approbation of the school should not be for group leadership, virtue, social graces, or even church allegiance. The college is for scholarship, and should honor only those who do it, each according to his own degree.

We are anxious today because the Russians are producing more scientists than we. The anxiety will influence our choice of the type of student we admit and keep in our schools. If the result is that we shall make the college what it always should have been, and exorcise our institutions of the sickly non-scholarly principles whereby any youth whatever could go to and stay in college, the sputniks would indeed be a blessing rather than a threat. All college work is scientific, even the study of theology and arts. The Russian demand for scientific work and lots of it is not contrary to the aim of the university but a valid expression of it.

But, what of the fine young fellows who are not structured for scholarship? What will become of them? Rest assured that society will confect some kind of institution for their care and development. We prevent society from doing its duty as long as we educators take such subjects in detriment of the very aim of the university. Human beings are victims of inertia, and will do nothing until forced to do so. If the college traitorously (to itself) promises to take care of all young folk whatever be their mind, society will do nothing for the youngsters who do not belong in college. What is to become of these young men and women is not a burden on the conscience of the university, but of other institutions in society.

Physical plant

The last factor in university rating is the physical equipment the school controls. I shall treat this point cavalierly. There is an

obviousness about it, though it can at times be overstressed. The 13th century students of the University of Paris, to the scandal of their masters, petitioned for straw on the stone floors on which they sat to hear the lectures. The American educator, Mark Hopkins, is usually quoted—and erroneously—to the effect that an eager half-naked savage on one end of a log with a curious and informed man on the other is a university. This is an *outré* expression of something quite true, namely that the physical equipment of a school need not be plush and extravagant.

The physical side of the educational establishment should be in function of its aim, scholarship. It is the library we need; the gymnasium is not essential. Even the library must put its money, not in bricks and gargoyles, but in books and periodicals. The best exercise of the university student is his walk to and from the library. Laboratories we also need in our colleges, but only in proportion to the aims of the science courses offered. A cyclotron is hardly necessary for under-graduate physics. A roomy corner where the student seriously putters on his own projects under the guidance, stimulus, and applause of his professor is far more important than a costly automatic brain. If the college becomes more and more specialized and contemplates graduate work, then, with the blood, sweat and tears of the administrators, funds must be gotten by every means short of mortal sin.

It shames me to admit it, but I know very little about the history of Assumption University, although it has been an honor and a pleasure to be here in such a happy moment of its existence. Perhaps much that I have said need not have been said to the administrators, professors, and friends of the University because it has already been living up to all that I have suggested. If such be the case, it will be a satisfaction to the University that its own conception of a college is shared by others. If what I have said has not been wholly operative in the school, I humbly urge the University to think on my remarks and, if Assumption finds them true, to make every effort to have them live vibrantly in the present and future of this important institution.

THE CATHOLIC WOMAN AND THE INTELLECTUAL LIFE

A HUNDRED YEARS AGO this country was in the throes of a war which divided Americans into two hostile halves. There was no foreign foe involved during the four years of its duration, and yet the strife affected the whole world. 1961 offers us a world totally different from the one existing in 1861. The reason is quite obvious. Electricity, electronics, radiation, atomic energy, jet propulsion and cybernetics have so changed the rhythm of life that we are as far removed from the 19th century as it was from the 16th. Our earth-moving machines—real monsters!—do in a week what many men together needed months to accomplish in the past. It is not without reason that Fidel Castro played with the idea of exchanging his human prisoners for metal bulldozers.

When you see the juggernaut of a bulldozer ripping a landscape apart, you do not think of a book of logarithms. As the revolvers shoot on the television in your living room, it may arouse in you emotions and ideas quite alien to optics and electrical waves. However, these things were not about in the day of the Battle of Bull Run because science had not yet advanced so far. It is science which differentiates our age from those preceding us. The men and women who delve into the complexities of physics, mathematics and chemistry in their hidden studies are the ones who have produced the New World.

Science is one of the activities of the human spirit. In the sub-human world it has no counterpart. The beavers make their dams exactly in the same fashion followed by their predecessors ten thousand years ago. Their enterprise is cunning, admirable and efficient. But it could be bettered, and the principles involved in their work permit applications which could make the beavers' efforts more fruitful. But the beavers have no colleges, no scientific institutes and no laboratories. The result is that life for generation after generation of beavers is essentially the same. Human science advances with the ages and its applications continuously expand the range of human possibilities.

Our day is marked with characteristics other than physical progress. We are feeling the tension of a spiritual conflict between the communist powers and the democracies. Both the democratic ideas of men like Jefferson and Franklin and the communist idea of Marx and Engels are spiritual, and they are achieved in the effort of meditation. Yet the force of such conceptions materializes in the lives of men and women. The malaise of our world had its birth and energy in the mind of Karl Marx a century ago. The adage says that the pen is mightier than the sword, but mightier than either is the human mind without which there would be neither pen nor sword.

As a result of the work of the recent pioneers in psychology and psychiatry we know that man operates because of deep impulses which are never conscious and which defy reason. We also know that these impulses govern all we do. We do not love father, husband or child because of science and meditation. We do not even love them because of any reasoned conviction. We love them because of autonomous pushes which well up within us. It is difficult to persuade the young man or woman to avoid the marriage he or she is contemplating because of scientific arguments. If the love is there, your arguments will avail nothing. The misery foreseen by the elders will most probably come to pass but the young people are not concerned at the moment of their infatuation. Not all instincts are so despotic as the love of man for maid but all instincts work basically in the same way. It is quite easy to live one's life without much intellectual reflection. If we follow the pied piper of impulse and habit, we shall certainly live, but the story of such a life will hardly be a thing of beauty.

Meditation

All I have said wishes to point to a truth which is easily achieved. Meditation, be it philosophic, scientific or mathematical, is of the greatest importance for humanity. Without it there is no substantial difference between a man and a pig. The corollary of this truth is that man should hold mental activity higher than all others.

Such a conclusion will work itself out existentially in different ways for different people. For some it will mean that their work in life will be almost exclusively the disciplined contemplation of reality in any of its myriad phases. These will join the ranks of

the savants of our race. They will work in studies, libraries, laboratories and research centers. These are the men and women who are in search of more and more truth for its own sake. They do not care if others can turn their mathematical equations into nylon, atom bombs or cocktail shakers. They have dedicated their lives to know and to expand the field of human knowledge. These are the real intellectuals. They construct philosophies; they ex-cogitate new theories for society and its fellowship; they measure the stars in the heavens; they make the statues and pictures men look at; they find rational principles in nature which other men can translate into machines and devices. There are never too many of them. Their life is necessarily ascetical. It must forgo many of the goods which appeal to human instincts. They will rarely be rich. They must get along without the many comforts and prizes which civilization can offer. But they are perfectly happy because what they do is soul-satisfying.

A peculiar structure of spirit is necessary to make a man or woman of this kind. You cannot make them by propaganda or regimentation. You can indeed turn a boy into an engineer but you cannot make him a physicist. You can make a bookkeeper but you cannot make a mathematician. You can make a catechist but you cannot make a theologian. In consequence of this truth, it would be lamentable if parents were to decide that Johnny must be an intellectual. If he has no bent for it because his mind is not open to truth for its own sake, or because he is strongly attracted to other goods of life, the effort to train him to be an intellectual will be a cruel torture. He will get no satisfaction out of the work for which he is not built, and he will be a drag on those who try to lead him onto the meditation. It is not wise to write him off as "too dumb." He will be clever enough for the solution of many problems in life but he is not interested in what he thinks are merely artificial problems which do not vex him as a living person. When it becomes clear that truth of an abstract nature does not stimulate him, he must not be forced to deal with it. Education and training will of course be necessary for him, but it should be given in the field where he is at home. If he obviously is clever at putting machines together but hopeless at grasping the notions of geometry, no one is helped when the poor fellow is forced through branches of the liberal arts.

They tell us that our colleges are overcrowded. This is not true. What is true is that our colleges have too many students who should not be there, with the result that those who do belong are not getting the attention which they deserve. The senseless cult of the college degree is undermining our whole system of values. Everyone should be trained in line with his innate capacities, but the college is not there for every kind of talent. There should be other institutions of training and the college should devote its energies to the formation of intellectuals exclusively. But why insist on this here, since the modern superstition is not going to vanish because of a sermon?

Let us consider the obligation of the man or woman who has a real talent for abstract meditation. By and large it is admitted that the male of the species can laudably go into the intellectual life, the life which can be easily defined as the dedication to the disciplined meditation of any facet of abstract truth. There are, however, doubts about the female of the species. To support the doubt an appeal is made to history. There has been no great woman philosopher, no great woman mathematician. I noticed that your society is under patronage of St. Catherine of Alexandria. Well, she is a completely mythical personage. History knows nothing of her, though it may be factually true that there was a woman martyr named Catherine; but all the rest is legend.

To answer this type of argument, feminists always point out that women in the past were excluded from intellectual training. In general this certainly cannot be denied, though there were rare exceptions. But it is true no longer. Feminists also properly animadvert to the fact that the sciences have been constructed by the male. No wonder, then, that man does better at it than women. It was cut to his size. If women had been more influential in the evolution of intellectualism, its rules would be as favorable to the female as to the male.

This ancient quarrel always seems to me ridiculous. Intelligence is neither male nor female. It is basically asexual, though sex may modify it accidentally. A priori there seems no reason why a woman cannot enter into intellectual activity or that a man has more capacity for it because of his sex. Madame Curie was not less scientific than her husband, and certainly more so than her father.

The contemporary Russians wisely open up their intellectual institutes to men and women without distinction. They are reaping the fruit of so much intellectual power inherent in women which was lost in ages past. It may possibly be true that the female intellectual will give up the chance of marriage, but so many great male intellectuals did the same. We need only mention Plato, Augustine, Aquinas, Kant, Newton and Santayana. Here perhaps the woman suffers somewhat. Society is more considerate of the bachelor than of the spinster.

However, the task facing those who hear me, is not the choice of a career for life. Almost all of you have chosen already, and most of you cannot change it now. But this does not mean that you do not have obligations toward the intellectual life. You have these obligations more acutely than other women because you are collegians. You have met intellectualism in your years of youthful training. You know it better than the average man on the street, even if you do not know it in all its depths.

The role of woman

Now whatever be the career you have followed, it is true for all that you have a role in your families and in society. What is more, you are called upon to act as Catholics. The Church which is a spiritual fellowship meets the world and influences it in terms of the laity. By a layman we mean a Catholic who is not separated from the world. The religious in a greater or lesser degree is segregated from the secular order but the layman is completely immersed in it. In the layman or laywoman the Church and the world establish contact. As I see it from the standpoint of theology, we shall never make the world a faithful copy of the Sermon on the Mount, but to the world we must give witness of the Gospel and the Good News must be preached to every creature and in every mode. The intellectual mode is certainly the most effective of all.

Two things, in consequence, must be done by you. The first is to inculcate a high esteem for the intellectual in your home environment. It may well be that no one in it is or will be a genuine savant. That is not a matter which we can determine. But the Catholic home should be a center where the primacy of the spiritual, not merely in a religious sense, is recognized by all. Books belong there and they must be cherished. The arts must adorn the habitation.

Study must be an occupation of all members according to their various stages of evolution. The family image of the intellectual must not be the egg-head but rather the most valuable man in society. An argument frequently used by Anglicans against clerical celibacy is the long list of English intellectuals who were brought up in the Anglican rectories of England. It is certainly true that such homes inculcated in all the children a profound respect for the true and the beautiful, but there is no reason why such an influence should be restricted to the homes of parsons. It is just as appropriate for the family of Catholic mothers who are college graduates.

There is a negative side to this obligation. The home I speak of will not make money-making or status-seeking the great good held before the eyes of the children. The intellectual does not make money nor has he a high status in society. The politician, the businessman, the practitioner of the arts and sciences do much better. The savant can hope for nothing more than to receive from society a sufficiency of material assistance for a decent life. He rarely gets even that.

Nor can the home we are discussing put the greatest value on comfort and instinctual satisfaction. The intellectual life needs asceticism. It requires orderliness in its work. The distinctive mark of scientific thought is discipline. If the home nurtures indiscipline or even tolerates it, it is not fostering the intellectual vocation. Spontaneous intuitions spring from any kind of soil, but an insight is not valid until it has been tested by scientific discipline. Science needs spontaneous insight, but an intuition is not necessarily scientific.

This patent obligation of married college graduates will meet with little opposition. But there is another obligation perhaps less visible. I speak mostly for Catholic school graduates. A college course keeps the student four years in a definite place, but the college student belongs to his school for the rest of his life. The college is a community and those who enter into it, enter forever. The colleges never let you forget it, and they address their appeals for money until you die—and not infrequently, even afterwards. But your contribution to the welfare of the school cannot be limited to monetary help, important as that is especially in our day. The

alumnus or alumna must exercise a prophetic function for the school. He or she must insist that high intellectual standards are introduced or maintained by *alma mater*.

That a college is socially desirable is neither good nor bad. Whether it shines in its athletic programs or other extracurricular activities is a matter of indifference. I would go so far as to say that if the students do not achieve that degree of piety we might desire of them, we still have no good reason to criticize the college severely. However, if the intellectual life of the school is meager or only mediocre, we should protest. Many a school prides itself that it forms the whole man. That phrase makes my hackles rise. There is nothing wrong with the idea, but the phrase so often means that the school considers the task of making a socially acceptable or solidly religious person as important as making a scholar. In fact, in some schools this is considered more important. The alumni of such schools must protest in the name of intellectualism. We have many non-scholastic institutions which foment social graces and piety, and we are glad that they are at hand. But this is not what we expect from a college worthy of the name. The prime goal of the true college is to implant scholarship. Anything else done on the campus is secondary, even though perhaps praiseworthy.

What the true college, the community's locus of scholarship, needs above all else is a competent corps of professors and a good library for undergraduate needs if the terminal degree given is only the bachelorate. On these two things the good college rests. Fine buildings, beautiful grounds and distinguished lectures are nothing to be despised, but a good college could exist without them.

The faculty

How are we to recognize a good faculty in a college? By the possession of genuine scholarship on the part of the majority of the teachers. Who is a scholar? The man or woman enthusiastically devoted to disciplined meditation on a phase of reality. Discipline is of the essence. The meditation must be exercised according to rules established by the scholarly brotherhood. The work should be personal and often original. It goes in for depth rather than breadth, though breadth of view will be a necessary condition. Research is the whole life of the scholar. If he teaches, we do expect that he will have some pedagogic ability. Yet it is more tolerable

that his pedagogy be bad than that his spirit of research be weak. The ideal would be a first-class researcher who is simultaneously an effective pedagogue, but rarely shall we find such a jewel. Nor must we think that the good pedagogue is the man or woman who can abbreviate and summarize clearly what real scholars have said. Such a man is only a popularizer. The true pedagogue stimulates his pupils to do research on their own. He makes them enthusiastic just as he is. He makes them independent thinkers rather than dependent on him. He communicates not only what others have said but what he has seen and experienced. He opens windows and doors; he does not close them. He brings the light; he does not shut it out.

The college professor to do his job must be himself trained in scholarship. The self-made scholar does exist but he is an exception. Scholarship is a communal endeavor. There is a tradition which flows through the generations and unless this tradition has been vitally met, the chances are that we only have an intelligent person who thinks that he has discovered the Tiber. The true scholar will speak to his own brotherhood, usually through published work. Publication does not prove that the professor is a scholar, for much published writing is hardly significant. But the lack of publication does arouse the suspicion that the teacher is not engaged in scholarly meditation, though this is not always so.

Most of you are alumnae of colleges where nuns do much of the teaching. This is something new in Catholic education and started in our country during the last century. Prior to that time, and even today beyond America, teaching by nuns was restricted to grammar schools or secondary finishing academies. In other words there is no long-standing tradition for college teaching by sisters. Hence they can only be adequately formed by going to universities and colleges run outside of the cloister. The alumnae should help them by demanding of their superiors that this be done. The alumnae should also demand that an unprepared religious not be assigned to teach a college course. Such demands will annoy Mother Superior but this annoyance will be the price we have to pay for a competent faculty in our sisters' colleges. If the sisters profess to run a college, nothing less than a scholarly college will square with this profession. It seems to me that the laity do not realize that

one of their duties in charity and loyalty is to stimulate clergy and religious to do their duties. If they are not stimulated, being human, they can easily fall into the morass of doing a sloppy job. Respect for clergy and religious does not mean the toleration of clerical sloth or incompetence.

The second thing which the good college needs is an adequate library according to the needs of the students. Here again the alumni and the alumnae have the duty to help. If you have much money, and today so very few people do, build or endow your college library. At all events be interested in it and visit it when you return to the college campus.

A college library is more than a storehouse of books. It is an active instrument in college education and the pursuit of scholarship. A librarian is a scholar in his own right and of great importance to the school. Being a scholar, he or she needs university training. Library Science is of recent development but has gone a long way. The library is interested not only in books but above all in periodicals. A college must subscribe to many and bind them to preserve what it has acquired. The library not only collects books but it also eliminates them. The college library must not increase its holdings merely by keeping Sears, Roebuck catalogues and the volumes of *The Sacred Heart Messenger*. The library's physical plant must be conducive to work within it and without. It must be available as much as possible and not as little as possible. Its extent of materials must be wide and not narrow. The first concern of the librarian should be scholarship rather than the defense of the virtue of the students.

To run such a library is a costly chore. Yet our colleges are not rich; even the best endowed do not have much money for their work. Perhaps our alumnae should suggest to the college authorities that the campaign for a new statue for the chapel might be better inspired if the funds were directed to library needs. Again you will have to face the annoyance of Mother Superior but the annoyance in the long run will be fruitful. The college can get along without the statue, but it cannot get along without a good working library. Alumnae may think they are quite helpless when they have to face Mother Superior. However, they are not. Mother Superior indeed seems omnipotent and beyond the impact of earthlings. But this is

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not so. She must adjust to those who can make contributions to keep her school alive. The adjustment may be painful for her, but it is never fatal. The customer may not always be right, but the store with no customers goes bankrupt.

This discourse is now over. It was not an essay in scholarship but rather some practical reflections about scholarship in relation to your obligations to it. It was exhortation rather than exposition. More could have been said nor are your obligations restricted to the points I have made. It is your work during this congress to explore the whole field and it is my hope that what I have said will be a stimulus to enter more deeply into the problems I have indicated and study many others which need attention. Let your whole discussion rest on one basic truth. The intellectual life is the most important element in any society. Where serious thinking according to scholarly discipline grows thin or disappears, the society is dying and will shortly be dead. If this fundamental insight governs your discussions, the results can only be profitable for you and all of us. Let your slogan be: *vivat scientia!*

* * *

The more I think about Fr. Weigel, the greater my sense of loss, which is truly that of the entire world of thought and spirit.

LOUIS FINKELSTEIN
*Chancellor, Jewish
Theological Seminary*

ACCEPTING THE UNIVERSE

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY STUDENT resents the notion that he is not a concerned inhabitant of our world. In Latin-American universities, the student has no such resentment because his action in politics is recognized by the community as influential and strong. Yet even the Latin university man must recognize that his significant contribution to society will be in the future rather than now. He must have *some* patience.

Thomas Carlyle's remark on Lady Margaret Fuller's dictum that she accepted the universe was: Gad! She'd better. It is a good quip but hardly as profound as one might desire. It could be used in speaking at the commencement of a university, but it would be useful only if given a lengthy exegesis. At all events I shall use it as a peg on which to hang some reflections on the role of the university man in the world into which the graduate enters.

One acceptable meaning for the word universe is the sum total of everything with which a man can react. In this stipulated sense, the universe is vast, nor can it be traversed by mere experience. It is, of course, something more than a concept. It is out there. It acts on me and I act on it. I did not make it. I must accept it as a datum. From this point of view, everybody accepts the universe because they are helpless to get into any other. We are here for better or worse until death do us part.

The universe so considered requires a resignation from even the most romantic rebel. The potential in it is indeterminate, but there is a limit even if we do not know precisely where it is. The limiting condition of our milieu must be accepted and only in its generous acceptance can our action be wise. You cannot make a lobster stew if you have no lobsters. You can, indeed, make something like it, or even better than such a stew. But it is only an ersatz product. It is not genuine and cannot be.

This truth is banal, but most banal truths have the advantage that they are true and they have the disadvantage that very few men bother to assimilate the truth in depth. Such analysis will bring forth distinctions but the medieval scholar insisted that *qui bene distinguit, bene docet*—he who distinguishes well, is a good

teacher. You will excuse me for dropping a Latinism into my discourse, but the Commencement Address is about the only occasion which still lends itself to such antiquarian pedantry.

For some people acceptance of the universe means the perfect adjustment of the self to the situation at hand. This will include any *de facto* social situation or the current form of economic arrangement. They will urge young people to let well enough alone. They think that it shows a good heart if you see that today's configuration of things is unjust and harsh for many of our fellow men, but the laws of the Medes and the Persians cannot be changed. Therefore, use them to your advantage and climb socially until you become the squire of the village. In this way you will become a success, which means that you have acquired some amount of social power and you will be able to keep it, provided the framework is not changed.

A young man or woman finds this dreary counsel. As the result of your disciplined study in a university center, you should have seen the serious defects of our human frameworks. If your only goal in college was to see how you could use our existing styles of living together and of making things for your personal comfort in the future and for the manipulation of social power for private ends, your university weeps. The function of the college is to make a liberal man, but the climber and exploiter are just selfish and narrow.

The stand-patter who believes that he has recognized the truth of accepting the universe, does not understand the world at all. This universe which is given to us is not static. It is dynamic with a nusus toward evolution. You do not accept it if you do not move with it and do not help it to move.

Cosmic ascent

The universe can be imagined as having once begun as a sticky sputtering, plastic mass in the limiting vacuum of nothingness. But it was never purely inert. The finger of God put motion into it and it revolves about its own axis with its own power. It rushes with dazzling speed, engendering a vortex which rises within it, and thins out the slithery stuff of the primal cosmos. It never stops, and the stuff whirling about the silent, serene center moves upwards vertically to a distant unreachable point which Teilhard de Chardin

calls Omega, known to Jews and Christians as Yahweh-God. The faster it turns, the thinner it gets and the higher it reaches, yearning to approach ever nearer to the pure energy which gives it life and direction. It will never encompass the point which is its goal, for that remains outside of it as an exterior limit, just as the surrounding nothingness walls it in upon itself. But its movement ever upwards makes it ever more transparent, allowing a better glimpse of the Light which is its guiding and attraction principle. But the movement upward is not constant. The moving particles when gifted with humanity are not so much moved as moving in terms of personal decision. They can be sluggish and move only in a circle rather than in a spiral. They can even fall back to an earlier point in the rise of the total universe. The rise therefore, is not a uniform rhythm; it includes contraction and dilatation, even though in a long-view gaze the tower is truly climbing upwards. The journey to the heights blends freedom and necessity, and neither factor is ever cancelled out.

If we may draw images to explain the universe, the one I have delineated will not be altogether inadequate for our purpose. It shows us that accepting the universe is not a lethargic resignation to the level where the human agent finds himself. He must thrust himself up the sides of the column to raise its altitude by himself whirling on the shoulders of the particles which stand the highest, and support in turn the ascension of a particle yet to arrive.

The world into which our graduates are entering is a high point in our cosmic ascent. In our lifetime we are held back less and less by the stubborn inertia of matter. We labor less and produce more than our immediate ancestors did. We have freed ourselves from the restriction of finding our energy mainly in animal muscle. We use steam, petroleum, electricity, and electronics, and we have finally made the energy of the atom a source of power which man can tap almost at will. Our doctors know more about the workings of our material bodies with the result that it is easier to conserve them with fitting food and repair them when individual parts lose their power to cooperate with the whole. It is a long cry from the day when man's crude instruments of creativity were dedicated exclusively to the task of sheer survival.

Yet we must not overlook our shortcomings while singing a

needs constant effort and rest is lawful only to refurbish the slacking energy in us. Nor should the life of continuous effort frighten man. In every minute of our human existence we are active and in any action we are striving for the satisfaction of some urge pushing us on. The one satisfaction which knows no bitter after-taste is the realization that something positive has entered into the world through my planning and through my deliberate action. Not only is it an abiding satisfaction but also a stimulus to overcome the limitations which my own work shows. Creativity is man's best drive and stagnation his only frustration.

Inertia in opposition

Nor must we forget the inertial principle in every dimension of the universe. If you plan to better the social order, do not strive to make it perfect. Universal inertia resists perfection. Whenever the reformer proceeds toward this goal, we have a tyrant. He offers us liberation from some felt evil, only to plunge us into a new slavery. Creaturely freedom is always open to abuse, and if you make abuse impossible, you have destroyed earthly freedom. Some abuses we can live with, though there are others which get into the way of freedom itself. The latter should be fought but the former must be tolerated.

Yet the inertia of the world is no reason for refusing to challenge it. It gives way to attack but it is like an onion. You can strip off layer after layer but you never come to the core of the thing. This truth can be put simply: man may in countless ways become better but no matter how much better he gets, he will always be a man and never God, even though he can be god-like. Man's restless enterprise, then, to be successful, must be fused with humility. This is the serene acceptance of the universe. Humility is never lassitude but much rather the effective recognition of worldly limitation without being crushed by it. The man who claims that he is transforming man into divinity, has no understanding either of God or man, and he will suffer the inevitable consequence by becoming less than man.

The phrase, war of the generations, has its truth, yet men of my age arrive slowly to the humbling realization that their peer group has not molded the world nearer to the heart's desire as they had set out to do. But not all emerge from this experience as cynics.

Many, therefore, look at the rising generation with hope renewed. Once more an adult human being in association with millions of his kind, puts on his space suit to go out where man has never been. The older generation quite genuinely hopes and prays for him. Any such younger man, whether he literally or only metaphorically scouts the unknown which lies about us, is entering on a racking but glorious adventure. We admire him and we are proud of him. It is the one who refuses to accept the challenge who must be pitied and despised. He is pitied because he does not know how thrilling life in this universe can be. He is despised because in spite of the many little reasons he uses in self-justification, he remains as little as those reasons themselves. Talents are to be traded with; there is no reward for burying them in the ground.

CHURCH AND STATE

When one thinks of Church and State in America, one naturally thinks of another Woodstock professor who was Gus Weigel's close friend, Fr. John Courtney Murray. Although his friend dominated the field, Gus also made his contributions to the Church-State theory which grew out of the American experience. The eleven years he spent in a predominantly Catholic country with vestiges of officially established Catholicism had given him a unique view of the problem; he could add this to the basic Murrayan theory which he adopted.

As his ecumenical interests increased, his thinking on Church and State was further refined. Significantly, the sub-commission of the Secretariate for Promoting Christian Unity on which he served was that concerned with the question of tolerance.

The two selections given here are undated, but both are most likely from his last years.

PLURALISM AND THEOLOGY

ONE OF THE DIFFICULTIES in all communication is the impreciseness of the terms we employ. On this obvious fact Logical Positivism has built an impressive structure. Concerning the adequacy of that philosophy there can be discussion, but no one will deny that the theory has recognized some basic facts. In the light of that philosophy we can say that words as used in every-day discourse do not coincide with points of thought but only hover flutteringly over fuzzily delimited areas of meaning and emotion. For the Logical Positivist it is the function of a mental discipline to restrict its terms to pin-point meanings and thus necessarily create a jargon which accurately serves the discipline as its language.

Leaving Logical Positivism to one side, it is still true that in a philosophic debate we must do something more with the word, pluralism, than merely use it. Within the limits of possible definition, we must define it. This duty throws us at once into the wild country of semantics. As a philosophic word, pluralism, according to the Oxford Dictionary, was born in 1887 as an antonym to monism. This makes the birth slightly illegitimate, for to oppose monism, the word should be polyism, but it has in its favor the dubious justification of an analogy with dualism. However, the earlier philosophic content of the word has been modified and today the word is not a protest against materialism or idealism but rather a connotation of multiplicity of world-visions and basic interests within one community. I take it that this is the sense that we attach to the word in our discussions.

World visions must necessarily include reference to the ultimate ground of being, and as Paul Tillich has brilliantly taught, the ultimate ground of being is the true name of God. Hence a world vision cannot escape the religious question. In fact the teaching of so many thinkers who declare that the core of all culture is religion at least confirms the religious character of culture and world-vision. Consequently a pluralistic society is one where there will be no unity of religious theory or practise among the members of the given community, but rather an indefinite number of religious schemes, including a null class which will reject religion altogether.

Though man is anxiously fond of his liberty, he rarely is as anxious about the liberty of his fellows. Moreover, the intellect is a drive to a monistic vision of reality and conviction of one's own *Weltanschauung* usually brings with it an urge to impose it on others in the name of truth. This condition, present in all thinkers, is especially manifest in theology. The theologian by postulate deals with God's plan for the world, and by concept men are not free to accept God's plan or reject it. When the theologian has discovered such a scheme, or thinks that he has discovered it, he or his disciples are very prone to insist that all men, under coercion if necessary, follow the scheme excoigitated. They fight in the name of God, the greatest name, and their war is a holy war, the fiercest of all wars. Theology, unlike other mental disciplines, is not neutral but is of its nature committed so that involvement is inescapable.

Church and state

Where theological monism is most felt today is in the realm of Church-State relationships. It would be a mistake to think that only Catholic theologians deal with this theme. Every kind of theologian is interested in the question, and, as has been said, theological interest is never calm. It is heated and anxious. Paul Blanshard would be very surprised if he were told that his works are essentially theological works. But they are. His theory of God is the basis of his solution of Church-State problems. He has no quarrel with religion as such and therefore he is not a blatant atheist. His concept of religion and therefore of God is implicit in his work, but he does not develop it anywhere. He thinks that God is somehow constructed by men and the community. He demands that this construction be made according to the democratic process of free debate followed by a show of hands indicating a majority opinion which then becomes normative for all. If any individual does not accept this God and this theology, by the very theory of democracy, he is free to have another theory; but he must not try to dictate social behavior in the light of that theory, though he is free to expound his doctrine in the hope of gaining popular support. Amazing though it be, this is a monistic approach to the religious question of the community. Blanshard reduces the pluralism of theology to a monism by reducing the manifold to the unity of the least common denominator of universal consent. This reli-

gious vision is then made obligatory for all.

Paul Blanshard was needlessly surprised that other theologians, including non-Catholic theologians whom he presumed would be with him, opposed his theology. In general, theology by its inner logic rejects the notion of a constructed God. God has always meant the absolute Lord who is and tolerates no construction. His will is law for all men, and as creatures they are not free to put God's will before the tribunal of human criticism. If God commands, no matter what the community may say or think, the religious man must accept that command, even though the acceptance means death. Man is physically free to reject God's will and in so doing he sins, but he is not morally free to put limits to that will, any more than it is in his competence to repeal the law of gravity, on the grounds that it is inconvenient or contrary to the democratic principle.

However, in a group like ours we are not interested in Blanshard's theology which is not very relevant to our commitments. We are interested in Catholic theology. Its stand on Church-State relationships affects our lives in the community and affects our vision toward the concrete community of which we are members.

Instead of declaring what that theology is in terms of legitimate theological method, it might be wise to see the history of Christian theology in the Church-State question. In the first days of Christianity, the Christian community was made up in large part by Jews, slaves and non-Roman converts. The Christian message was pointed by a hope in the quick return of Christ to inaugurate a new situation on a new earth under new heavens. The non-Roman members of the Roman Empire had no great loyalty to a governing system which was imposed on them by military force, and the Jews hated it. Christian contact with the government brought about conflict which was menacing to the Christian. He felt himself separated from his community both by his own doctrine as well as by the juridical fact that the government was intent on destroying him. The Christians were a *tertium genus* and as such their interest in the Roman Empire was not in terms of love and devotion. They did take seriously the words of Christ whereby we must render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and they prayed for Caesar and the magistrates. Nevertheless they had no belief in the durability of the Roman Empire, which they hoped would soon be destroyed.

The eschatological preoccupations of the first Christians prevented them from reflecting on their role in the building up of society. They took it for granted that the returned Christ would take care of that. To their contemporaneous society they owed nothing but obedience to the laws in as far as those laws were compatible with the laws of Christ. The Christians never contemplated as possible or desirable a union of the Church with the existing State. In the new order there would not only be identification of Church and State, but rather there would be an elimination of the State altogether.

End of eschatology

This condition did not extend beyond three generations. In the second century the Apologetes appear and they are striving for peace with the Roman Empire, and some of the Apologetes loved the Roman Empire. The Jewish animus against Rome was no longer felt in the Church because new Jews were not entering the Church, and the older Christian Jews were dead or dying. The eschatological hope gave way to a somber realization that the prompt return of Christ was not part of the Christian message but only a desire rather than a dogma. We note therefore the perpetual cry of the Christian apologetes: we too are Romans, and why therefore should we be treated as if we were a foreign enemy? We obey the emperor, we pay our taxes, we join the army and do all that you do except worship in the official temples.

It is quite clear that these apologetes realized that the Roman government had a tradition in religion which was unacceptable to the Christians, but they did not demand that that tradition be abolished. They only asked that they might live in the community without accepting it. These Christians were the first to cry for freedom of religion in society and they were the first to deny that the State had any spiritual competence. We know that the Roman government was not willing to accept this revolutionary thesis and therefore kept up its war on these rebels, who were rebels only to the degree that they would not accept the State's decrees of religion. Let us recall one important aspect of this legislation; it was strictly theological, for it derived from the nature of religion itself as conveyed by the religious vision the governors shared.

By the fourth century the Christian minority became great

enough to be considered a respectable force. In the politics of the days of Constantine, it was a good move to win over this great minority. This Constantine did and as a lure he made Christianity a legitimate form of Roman religion. He went farther; he made it the preferred religion. At last the Christians were not merely a *tertium genus* but the best Romans. It is interesting to see how soberly they accepted their victory. The pagan temples were still open; the cult of the gods was still allowed. Many of the best people still kept the ancient faith, and on the countryside, the heathdwellers were overwhelmingly pagan, (as the word itself shows, for heathen is a literal rendition of the *pagani*—the farm folk). The laws were still structured in terms of Graeco-Roman religious ideas.

St. Augustine's *De civitate Dei* is an eloquent testimony to the condition that he found. In that book he tells us how he witnessed the Cybele cult when he was younger. The pagan plays with their obscenities were still to be seen. The pagans blamed the fall of Rome under the sword of Alaric on the Christians who had forced the exile of the savior gods of Rome, and their voice was loud and strong enough to make Augustine pay heed to it for the peace of the Roman Christians. The ancient religious structure of the Empire was tacitly accepted by the Christians as somehow proper to Rome, their Rome, to which they were loyal but with an uncomfortable loyalty.

While Augustine was finishing his great work, Western Rome was sliding down into chaos as Salvian the Marsillian priest clearly showed. The great Rome was not capable of keeping its position by the force of arms and the Germans were eating at its marrow like a cancer. The shell remained but the inner life was gone. The German could not give it a new inner life, and so the Church took over, because she was the only vital power in the West. The Roman community disappeared, but there still was a community because the same group which was formerly Roman, was still Christian. The German destroyed its Romanness but he could not destroy its Christianity, and the community stood erect. In the minds of many, this perdurance was Roman, and so Sidonius Appolinaris, Bishop of Clermont, could say that as long as the Church survived, Rome survived, and in a sense this was true.

The community of the Church was now the community of

Western Europe. Little by little the non-Catholic Germans accepted Catholicism and thus entered into the community of which before they had been outside rulers by usurpation but never members in reality. Once converted, their ruling function took on a new meaning; they now had it by concession of the Church which was the community. The only theory which explained the situation was the Two Sword doctrine of Boniface VIII (1302), according to which the Church had double power, one spiritual and the other temporal. The Bishops kept the spiritual power and gave the temporal power to the princes, but *ad nutum et patientiam sacerdotis*. It is interesting to compare the doctrine of Peter Damian (d. 1072), one of the first proponents of the Two Sword theory, with the later formulation of Boniface. Damian does not subordinate the secular sword to the spiritual but rather coordinates the two, but even in Damian, the doctrine of the Paris Synod of 829 is implicit, namely that both powers are powers of the Church, and the Paris Synod explicitly derives its doctrine from the Gelasian formula of 494 which did not state that the two powers were in the Church, but explicitly says that there were two powers in the world.

The movement from Gelasius to Boniface is caused by the situation of Western Europe. This part of the globe was a tiny part of the world, insignificant in comparison with great communities elsewhere and less than insignificant when compared with the total ecumene. Yet the Church was in its own consciousness identified with this splinter of the earth because the knowledge of geography was so slight. Gelasius was still of the tradition that was born in pluralism, but that pluralism melted into the cultural monism of Western Europe. With this fusion the Gelasian theory underwent a change. Gelasius says that in the world there are two powers: emperor and episcopate. Boniface substitutes for the word "world," the word "Church." The substitution was easy and almost unavoidable. The only ecumene that the Western Europeans knew was the Church of the West under the Bishop of Rome. They knew that Moslem existed, but Moslem was the barbarian outer world of no great importance, except as a threat. They knew that the Orthodox Church existed, but this was a schismatic church out on the edge of things. Western Europe was not confronted with pluralism as a fact and it theorized in terms of a monism which was the prevailing situation.

One of the jests of history is that, at the moment that Boniface VIII formulated the theory that explained the Europe of five centuries, Europe was no longer what he described. Philip the Fair was intent on withdrawing from the dominant monism of his world in order to form a pluralism, the pluralism of national communities in secession from the ecumenical society. From that point on pluralism was on the march. In the beginning, the national unities still kept the culture of the ecumene, but when the Reformation broke out, that culture ceased to be one and the same. Religion, root of culture, became plural rather than unique. The Catholic theorizers of that moment did not fully understand what was going on, and they still used the old formulas of Christendom as valid for the moment, because they did not believe that the momentary cultural chaos would perdure. But it did. Bellarmine and Suárez did modify the old Bonifacian formula, but they kept the substance of it. They put kings indirectly under the Pope, but it was done on the hypothesis of Boniface and not on the hypothesis of Gelasius, namely that secular power somehow belonged to the Church and the Church was Western Europe and the World.

From the 14th to the 19th century pluralism moved from one level to another. 14th century nationalism did not change the basic outlook for Western Europe, though it did change its politics. The 16th century did much more, for it broke Europe religiously into two parts with a wide no man's land between them. The 18th century took the supernatural out of the dominant vision of the time and the 19th century spewed a whole flock of philosophies, almost all of which were naturalistic and secularistic. The position of the Church in these times of trouble was uneasy. Up to the 19th century the old formulas were still capable of concrete application, though the area of application was every day smaller. By the end of the first third of the 19th century, the formulas simply could not be applied anywhere. The monistic hypothesis of the formulas had disappeared and a pluralistic hypothesis could hardly support a Two Sword theory. Europe in no true sense could be identified with the Church and the Church of the Diaspora was becoming more numerous than the Church of the Catholic lands.

Pius IX and Leo XIII

Yet the need of a formula was desperate because Catholicism was being ousted from every privileged position and cast into chains. As in the past, the Popes themselves essayed the task of framing a valid formula. Pius IX worked at it and Leo XIII produced a consistent doctrine which still must guide the theological thinking of the teachers of Catholic dogma. The Two Sword theory was quietly dropped, and no one wept for it. There was a return to Gelasius who taught that there were two powers in the world, rather than two powers in the Church. Leo insisted that these two powers, each sovereign, must work in harmony and concord, for otherwise there would be chaos. He also insisted on the primacy of the spiritual. The dubious formula "union of Church and State" was given a precise content in terms of theory. There can be no concord unless the two powers collaborated, and such collaboration is of itself a union. Much of Leo's writing was polemical, but his polemic was theological. He rejected the naturalistic theology of the Liberals and refused to build his formula on it. Instead he used the perennial theology of Christianity and derived from it his formula.

There is ambiguity in the Leonine teaching. Much of it, especially in his communications to the so-called Catholic lands, supposed religiously monistic communities, by hypothesis Catholic. The ambiguous term here is "Catholic." It was certainly true that by counting the heads of those who declared that their religion was the Catholic religion, all of these countries were in their overwhelming majority Catholic. However, there was not a single country, Spain not excluded, where the Catholic vision of time and eternity was the prevailing vision of the community. There were in all of these lands Catholic minorities trying mightily to make the Catholic vision prevail, but in no country were they successful. The Catholic lands *de facto* were only ambiguously Catholic.

A second ambiguity in Leo's doctrine is his concept of "the people." In French, Spanish and Italian this word can have a pejorative meaning in the sense of the irresponsible, ignorant and lawless mob. Some of Leo's uses of the word "people" lead one to think that he was using the word in this invidious sense. Government of the people in such a context means arbitrary and unprincipled mob rule. "The people" as it appears in the Constitution

of the United States of America is quite a different word. It is like the old *Senatus Populusque Romanus*, a dignified and lofty term. Leo's concept of popular government all too often is indicative of unworthy government, and his attitude to the people is that of suspicion rather than trust. In his writings one feels that the government should take care of "the people" rather than be guided by the people. The government is patronal and the people are minors under the guidance of mature governors. This does not mean that Leo was anti-democratic in theory. His letter to the United States, *Longinqua Oceani*, shows high regard for our democracy. However, his writings as a whole show a lack of faith in the maturity of Latin European peoples for an effective and orderly democracy. The will of the people is not for Leo a norm the governor should follow; he should rather be guided by an objective order of social obligations, no matter what an immature people might want.

A third ambiguity in Leo is the concept of "union of Church and State." His arguments in its favor are certain sociological considerations; *idem civis et Christianus*; benefits to the State because of concord; confusion without collaboration. Now the union required for collaboration is not necessarily juridical in the light of such argumentation. Hence if we only consider the premises of the Leonine doctrine, constitutional establishment is not a necessary conclusion to his thought. And yet other affirmations seem to demand not only constitutional establishment of the Church but also suppression of all other religions according to the possibilities of peaceful government.

These ambiguities can be resolved if we note that the usual hypothesis of Leo is a monistic culture. Given a monistically Catholic community all that he says concerning establishment is logical; in fact, a truism. If a given community is overwhelmingly Catholic not only in name but in fact, whether it be democratic, oligarchic or monarchic, the position of the Church will be supreme *de facto* because of the active faith of the people. That supremacy may be expressed in a constitution as a recognition of a fact, or it will dominate the life of the community as an unwritten law. By the sheer consistency of facts, ontal establishment will be unavoidable. Non-Catholic members of such a community would not be persecuted, but their world-vision would be spontaneously judged alien

and irrelevant to community concern. Their world-vision would not be considered at all because it would have no bearing on the life of the community as such. The minority could plead for tolerance. It could plead for no more, because of the very framework of the society in which the minority chooses to live.

An ideal?

Now the further question is this: does the Catholic doctrine consider this as the ideal toward which all society must strive, and therefore is it in the abstract the highest and truest law for all societies? Some theologians believe that Leo taught this. However, it is not clear that he did. Political societies of their nature do not demand a perfect monism of culture. All societies show some degree of pluralism, even though the general climate may not be pluralistic in substance. Now political society is always and everywhere necessary by the natural law according to Leo and all Catholic thinkers, even where the culture is pluralistic. In such a society the Leonine hypothesis is not verified, and all the conclusions of the hypothesis are irrelevant. To say that any and every society has an innate tendency to a monistically religious culture, simply is an unproven assertion. Political form takes over in a given culture. It does not make that culture, and is incapable of unmaking it. Moreover, in the Catholic conception of things, membership into the Church depends on grace freely given by God and on the free assent of men. To say that civil society by logic tends to the Catholic religion is to say that a natural thing tends by inner dynamism to the supernatural, and that makes the supernatural really natural. Therefore social organization in the abstract is not committed to religious monism. It will be monistic or pluralistic according to the culture of the people who constitute the community. Where it is pluralistic, the monistic type of society is not at all ideal, even though it may by some be ardently wished for. In fact, a society by structure pluralistic would be going against its own proper ideal if it strove to impose monism, since this would shatter actual community unity rather than tighten it.

Therefore in the light of a philosophic analysis of Leo's doctrine, there is no one ideal governmental relationship to the Church. There are many ideal relationships according to the many forms culture may take in given societies. Where culture is monistically Catholic,

factual establishment will take place spontaneously. The government need not concern itself about it at all. If it has taken place by the sheer weight of Catholicism in the community, the government will operate accordingly without legal reflections or constitutional concern, for the government like every other reality in the community lies under the pressure of the culture which is the air by which the community lives. Where culture is pluralistic, establishment will be out of the question, for the purpose of a political society is to unify the human multitude for its own temporal prosperity and peace, which latter concept includes freedom as its goal. There can be no unification and no freedom if one of the many world-visions of the commonwealth is the dominant dynamism of public order and public policy. The imposition of one vision would mean that large sections of the people simply could not collaborate with the policies and demands of the government, and the result would be either the dissolution of the society or perpetual coercion which, since it curtails liberty, renders peace impossible. In such a situation it is not proper to say that the government should tolerate the pluralism of its society. Toleration is here a word without applicability. Minorities out of step with a vast majority can be tolerated but a whole society is not tolerated. Non-establishment of a religious vision is ideal for such a community and not a matter of momentary sufferance, but non-establishment does not by concept imply lack of concord and collaboration.

The fact of pluralism

The heated debate in contemporary Catholic theology concerning Church-State relationships arises from the inability of certain theologians to recognize the pluralism of modern society. Now the prevalence of pluralism simply must be admitted. An individual may deplore it, but in so doing he merely manifests his deep allegiance to his own vision of what reality at its best could be; he is not making a logical criticism of what reality actually is. The ambiguously called Catholic lands are no less pluralistic than the others, and this holds for Spain as much as for the others. A frank recognition of this fact would eliminate the phenomenon of the conflicts between juridical monism and actual pluralism. The theologians of the monistic tradition draw all kinds of false conclusions from dogmatic formulas whose hypothesis was monism. When

that hypothesis is not verified, the conclusions from the formulas are not applicable. Monism is not and never was a part of the Catholic thesis. It, like pluralism, is only a logical hypothesis, normative of a mode for the application of the true thesis under certain circumstances. The thesis itself absolutely asserts the autonomy of the Church as a spiritual society compenetrating a secular society directed by an autonomous State. Two corollaries of this basic thesis are: first, the position of the Church is of a higher order than that of the State, because the spiritual is always primal; second, the two autonomous societies must work in harmony and concord according to the modalities of each. This much is thesis. All the rest is hypothesis.

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THE RESPONSIBILITY OF RELIGION FOR THE SOCIAL ORDER

ON OTHER OCCASIONS I have had the privilege to speak on our theme. Here, therefore, I shall put briefly what has been said at length elsewhere. I shall speak from the Christian viewpoint, though not all Christians will agree with me.

The title which was given me to elaborate is not clear. If the social order under discussion is the social order within one particular church, obviously the church is wholly and exclusively responsible for its social order. This needs no discussion except in the confines of that church alone.

I suppose that the social order under consideration is the secular order in which all men live, no matter what church they belong to, if any. In this hypothesis, the social order is a basic element of secular society. The Christian view, as I see it, teaches that secular society is a distinct reality from the Church which is a sacral society. What happens in the secular society cannot be the responsibility of the Church unless by mutual contract this phase of secular life has been committed to the Church by the secular society itself. When this happens, the Church has undertaken a secular obligation which is to be fulfilled with the instrumentalities

granted by civil secular society. If the job is not being done properly, the civil community has every reason to complain against the Church of a breach of contract.

However, I do not think that this hypothesis is real anywhere in the world in which we now are. I know of no civil society today which has given the supervision of the social order to any church. Hence I say flatly that today the Church has no direct responsibility for the civil social order anywhere because this concern lies outside of the area of the Church's direct action.

With this said, I must also affirm that the Church has a pre-occupation with the social order of the secular world. It cannot be indifferent to it. However, the Church cannot be blamed for secular social structure nor has it the obligation to plan, control or revise it. The secular social order belongs to the secular dimension of man and therefore it looks to a dynamism other than the Church for its being and efficiency.

Sacral and secular authority live in the one and same world. One and the same man is both sacral and secular, simultaneously under the directives of Church and secular society. The Church is not the *saeculum* but it lives, works and thinks *in saeculo*. It is of eternity but in that sector of eternity which is fused with time. No matter what the secular power does or does not do, the Church must teach its own concept of social fellowship and must demand that in its own closed community such a vision be respected and, as far as human fragility permits, be actualized. This will be conditioned by the secular component of human life.

All religions, which in this address I call the Church, teach ascetical self-control at least to the degree of effective submission to just law, even when that law is purely secular. All religions believe in the virtues of justice, sobriety and honesty. All religions somehow have a vision of the universal fellowship of man. These virtues contribute immensely to a beneficent social order. Where these virtues thrive, the secular social order is healthy and dynamic. Police power cannot produce these virtues, but the Church can inculcate them better than any other agency.

The fatal enemy of any social order is individual and collective selfishness. The Church because it teaches man that he is not the Lord but under the Lord, necessarily strives to inculcate unselfish-

ness. Unselfishness can exist in men who are not orientated to God, but such men are few. For the generality, religion alone engenders an atmosphere of unselfishness. The energy of the Church is of great importance, therefore, to the well-being of the secular social order. Secular powers, therefore, for their own ends should foster the work of the Church which itself is not for their end.

Hence, this means that the Church promotes virtue without primarily intending the good of secular society. It does so only because it is the will of God, the Lord both of the Church and of secular society. Even if secular society were totally uninterested, the Church would still have the mission of preaching virtue. The Church in just being the Church helps secular society by way of by-product. That society has no right to ask the Church to do more. Church meddling in the secular order has brought grief both to the churches and to secular societies. We must not secularize the Church either in the name of the Church or in the name of the secular community. Under no circumstances can an unbelieving secular society use for its secular purposes the Church which by constitution and dedication is above the secular society's concerns.

What is more, the Church in her prophetic role as the spokesman of God must prophesy to the secular community. It must stoutly condemn its injustices and preach to it the true concept of man as seen in divine revelation. Such prophecy will rarely be accepted and usually the prophet will receive the prophet's recompense, persecution and stoning.

Unless we keep these basic principles quite clear in mind, we may soon get off the road in our present discussions which deal with a highly serious matter. We must not enlist the Church in a campaign to save the secular society or enhance its power. This the Church cannot do. As men interested in the secular good of our secular society, we must see that all we can do is urge the Church to be genuinely herself. When she is that, by way of by-product good will adhere to the secular society in which the Church is a lodger. The Kingdom of God to which the Church is committed will come by God's power not *in saeculo* but when the *sacculum* is finished.

ECUMENISM

While on a speaking tour of West Germany in the summer of 1953, Gus Weigel was asked what American Catholics were doing about ecumenism. He had to answer that they were not doing much, if anything. The question stayed with him throughout that summer.

*The following year a slim monograph entitled *Survey of Protestant Theology in Our Day* was published by the Newman Press under the name of Gustave Weigel. From this modest start Gus Weigel proceeded to become the outstanding American spokesman for ecumenism. Other books followed, most notably *An American Dialogue*, which he co-authored with Robert McAfee Brown in 1960. More important than the books were the personal contacts he established with Protestant, Orthodox, and Jewish leaders, a background which made him so invaluable during the Council. In 1957 he was present as an official observer at the North American Conference on Faith and Order at Oberlin. In 1962 he was one of two American Catholics invited to the sessions of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches held in Paris. He became very active in the National Conference of Christians and Jews. That same year Yale University bestowed upon him an honorary doctorate. President Alfred Whitney Griswold commended him as "a foremost interpreter of American pluralistic Protestantism . . . You have broken through the Reformation wall and pioneered in Catholic-Protestant dialogue. Your critical, yet sympathetic presentation of the beliefs of those with whom you disagree has already helped to create a new ecumenical climate in our country."*

The sermon below was delivered during the Chair of Unity Octave at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York on January 21, 1960. "Modern Protestant Theological Positions" is the transcription of an evening at Regis College, Denver, in 1958. Not only is it indicative of his attitudes on ecumenism but one also gets a fair sampling of the Weigel style in question and answer sessions—usually the highpoint of the evening.

SERMON: UNITY OCTAVE, 1960

THE CATHOLIC BELIEVES that God through Jesus Christ, his true son, founded a holy community which is the Catholic Church. Catholics believe that this community is bound together vitally by the indwelling Holy Spirit who gives energy, activity and stability to the divine fellowship. Catholics believe that this fellowship is Christ prolonged in time and space and that God's revelation to mankind is communicated infallibly and constantly by the holy community. Catholics believe that only in this way does God communicate adequately his truth in our time and in all the times which followed on the saving death of Jesus. For a Catholic then, to reject the Church is to reject the Christ and to reject the Christ is to reject God.

Needless to say, only Catholics believe this. If non-Catholics believed it, they would logically become Catholics. The pull of consistency would force a man to enter the Church if he believed that she and she alone was appointed by God and his Christ to tell men the truth of God.

All Americans know the non-Catholic Christians who today are called Protestants. There are over sixty million of them in our land and every neighborhood has many in its midst. With them Catholics live, work and play. We Catholics are close to them and many a Catholic has members of his family who are Protestant. Needless to say we love them, for we are kin, friends and neighbors. This very love brings with it pain. Because as Catholics we believe that our Church is God's community in which he dwells and on which he showers his graces, we earnestly and anxiously want our friends to share with us the life of the Church. We know that their forefathers were in our Church side by side with ours, and we believe that the Church is their true home. They do not see it that way. Until they do, they will not join us. Nor do they look on the Church as their home.

How can we make them see what we see? In a very true sense, we cannot make them see it at all. This seeing must be produced by God the author of light. He must enlighten the soul for without

his light nothing which we may do can have the effect we so desire. We can pray that the Father give his illumination and this octave celebration is precisely structured for such prayer.

Can we do more? Beyond a doubt; we can and must do more. The faith in us brings forth love, and love gives. We must give the one thing we can, and that is the witness to the great things that God has shown us. Nor is it enough to give witness. It must be effective witness, which means a witness adjusted to the mind and heart of our Protestant friends. This adjustment demands above all an understanding of their position.

Such an understanding takes us into the history of four hundred years. It was in the sixteenth century that what is called Protestantism made its first appearance, and very early in its history it showed three tendencies. The first was predominant in Germany under the influence of Martin Luther, and produced our modern Lutheran Churches. The second tendency spread out from Switzerland and into France, Holland and the British Isles, and from there into America. This movement was formed in great part by John Calvin. There was a third strain in early Protestantism and it is still here. We can call it the free Bible interpretation of independent congregations. It is hard to name any one man as the dominant molder of this tradition. All three traditions fragmented into smaller groups and the traditions crossed to produce different forms of minor church-unions.

Concerning the Lutherans we must bear in mind two of their characteristics; one traditional and the other contemporary. Luther himself was a pious man, and his message fostered inwardness and dedication to God. He was also in many respects conservative, even though he was daring enough to shatter the unity of Christendom. He and his followers believed in the real physical presence of Christ in the Eucharist; he believed that revealed truth was one and the Christian must accept it all and entire; he held on to so much of the old religion that Johann Sebastian Bach could compose his glorious Masses which were written for Lutheran services. The consequences for Lutheran history have been decisive. The Lutheran churches have a feeling for orthodoxy and tradition which is lacking in most Protestant denominations. The Lutheran faith fosters a dignified cult and inward prayers. Coupled to these virtues we find Lutheranism inculcating a sound morality.

Contemporary Lutheranism

The contemporary characteristic of continental Lutheranism is its feeling of crisis. In the German Western Republic, Catholics and Lutherans are almost equally balanced numerically. In other words Lutheranism is no longer the normative religious pattern of the nation. The German Catholics have marched forward militantly in every area of German life: politics, art, philosophy, science and literature. The Lutherans have not kept pace with their Catholic neighbors. The evangelical pastors are doing much to resuscitate life and interest in their churches but in doing so, they have taken many weapons from the armory of the Catholics. Here and there, there is a return to the Catholic Mass and its liturgy. There is a campaign fostered by not a few Lutheran ministers to make private confession popular. There are Evangelical Academies established all over the land, where the program is like that found in Catholic Retreat Houses. In other words there is a Catholicizing wind blowing through German Lutheranism, though it is not a mighty wind.

But there is another wind blowing and it is more menacing. The Lutheran theologians are facing the question of modern man's capacity for accepting the old Lutheran faith as it orthodoxly existed for four centuries. Many believe that the man of today cannot take the Scriptures and the Lutheran confessions either in the letter or in the spirit in which these were composed. Hence we have the movement of Professor Rudolf Bultmann which wishes to demythologize the faith, and that means we must abandon belief in the miraculous, in the historicity of the biblical narratives, in the faithful evolution of the gospel as developed through the centuries. If this movement grows widely, it will be the end of Lutheran orthodoxy. It may never become decisive, but in the meantime it is weakening the faith of many. In spite of the efforts of zealous pastors the adherence to the Lutheran Church on the part of many German Lutherans is languid.

This languidity is even more manifest in the Scandinavian countries. Wonderful theological work is being done in Sweden, where many of the Catholic elements in Lutheranism are being analyzed and developed in the light of sober Scripture study. Yet the people at large seem to take the Church as something peripheral to their lives, nor are they guided by the Church in morals or in their world

vision. Catholicism here is very weak, and it offers no threat to the national Lutheran Churches, but this very absence gives more power to the apathy which pervades the man of the street.

The continental Lutheran Church has always been the heart of continental Protestantism. Most of the great Protestant movements of Europe had their origin in the German lands; orthodoxy, pietism, sentimentalism, historicism, liberalism, and the biblical revival. Such German movements were exported and modified elsewhere, but the thought of the German Lutherans has always served as a ferment within Protestantism as a whole. The return of continental Lutherans to Catholicism would certainly lead Protestants elsewhere to think seriously of reunion with the Mother Church.

Is there any foreseeable probability for such an event? A Catholic might hopefully see in the conversions of a few German Lutheran ministers a straw in the wind. The enthusiastic adoption of Catholic liturgy in not a few German Lutheran Churches might mean a growing sympathy for Catholicism. The breaking-down of the barriers of mistrust and antipathy which divided German Catholics and Lutherans might be a sign of ultimate reunion. Yet on sober reflection these phenomena do not mean a change of heart in German Lutherans. By and large their faith in Lutheranism is strong and their conviction that the Catholic Church is not the Church of Christ is fervent.

Inner crisis

It is not so much the Catholicizing elements in current continental Lutheranism which possibly foreshadow a Lutheran return to the Church. What could be more significant is the inner crisis of the German Evangelicals. Must orthodoxy be dropped and something quite different from the older Lutheran spirit be adopted? There is great danger latent in this question. It opens up the possibility that something utterly new and, from the traditional stand-point, utterly strange will take the place of the Lutheranism which history has known. If such a situation should arise many a Lutheran would have to face a fearful choice. The believing Lutheran is one formed in the doctrines of the Augsburg Confession and in the Formula of Concord. If he finds that the new Lutheranism wishes to deny all that he was taught to believe, he will find an attraction in Catholicism which preserves the substance

of the Lutheran symbols better than the new vision could. A time of crisis is also a moment of grace, and grace can do what dialectic and rhetoric can never bring about.

Our Catholic witness must take the form of appreciation for the deep concern of Lutherans for the Word of God. We must manifest to them that such a concern is thoroughly Catholic. We must by word and work show them that whatever they have discovered in Scripture and prayer is stored up for them intact in their Father's house, the holy Church. There is no time to quarrel, for the moment is too serious and the enemy of Catholicism and Lutheranism is beating on the walls. If our brethren see that we act in unselfish love and that in fellowship with us they can effectively preserve their Gospel-faith, they will be drawn to the Church and God's grace will bring them in.

But above all we must pray. Only God can do God's work, and only in prayer can we prepare ourselves and our Protestant friends for light and grace. We must root out hatred from our own hearts, and sincere prayer for our friends will itself induce affection which casts out hatred. Through love and prayer before the throne of God can we become effective witnesses for Lutherans and other Protestants whereby they can become the sheep of the one Shepherd in his one fold.

MODERN PROTESTANT THEOLOGICAL POSITIONS.

Q. [Audience at Regis College] HERE ARE FOUR closely related problems: (1) What importance does Luther hold for Protestants today? (2) Do Lutherans profess to follow the teachings of Martin Luther? (3) How do Lutherans feel today about Luther's stand that man can do nothing but sin? (4) How do Lutherans feel about the doctrine of faith without good works, and could you give an honest explanation of the doctrine?

A. [Weigel] These questions were obviously written by Catholics who don't know anything about what they are writing. No Lutheran, including Luther himself, ever believed that they were following Luther. Luther never believed that he founded a church.

Any Lutheran will tell you that he believes in God and not in Luther, and this was right from the beginning. Luther himself always became angry when they said that they were following Luther. He said, "Who is Luther that you should follow him?" Luther saw the Christian message in a certain way, and as he saw the message he felt it was the essence of Christianity. And to be Christian, therefore, you had to follow this. His own life was an extraordinary, complicated thing; but he had no intention of founding a church, nor did he. He introduced what is called the Reform into the church which was existing in Saxony and other parts of Germany. Now, he has, of course, a prominent position in Lutheran affection. This is only natural. Jesuits do not believe that they are following St. Ignatius of Loyola—but they certainly think very highly of him, and they think the way he put things together is very wise, and very sound, and very holy. But actually we Jesuits like to think that we are following God. There are many in the world who think that we are all wrong, but this is what we believe. Now get that straight once and for all. Luther founded no church. No Lutheran believes in Luther. In fact, this Lutheran thing is more an American thing than German. The true name for Lutheranism in Germany is the Evangelical Church. *Evangelisch*, not Lutheran. Just like Calvinist churches in Germany are not called Calvinist—in fact in Europe by and large they are not called that—they are called Reformed. So all that Luther was trying to do was to bring back the church where he was to its proper essence. We as Catholics believe that he was completely mistaken; but Luther was certainly not trying to start another church. Since this is so, and since every Lutheran understands this very well, he likewise realizes he doesn't have to follow Luther in anything. Luther laid it down that you find it in the Scripture. It is true that he found certain things in the Scriptures, and those who find the same things with him can be called to that degree Lutheran. But there is no obligation of a Lutheran to follow Luther. If he goes back to Scriptures and finds the doctrine there, in that sense he is Lutheran. . . .

Now about this doctrine of total depravity, and so forth. Luther held this; of course, actually Calvin gave it a rougher rhetoric than Luther did. And Luther by and large was a very jovial fellow; don't think that he went miserable through life. This is the kind of man you would like to have around at a party, but I don't think that you

would like to have Calvin around at a party. He was a bit of a wet blanket, but Luther was a nice fellow. Strangely enough the doctrine which we consider so highly characteristic of Calvin, namely the doctrine of predestination—the impossibility of achieving faith and virtue unless grace takes over—this doctrine is not commonly held by Calvinistic churches. They have taken the Arminian side which was a development within Calvinism (Arminius was a Dutch theologian) stressing free will. Man could by his free will approach God. Today it is not the Calvinist church nor even the Lutheran church that will stress heavily predestination. There is only one church in our time stresses predestination and has always done so, that's the Roman Catholic Church. Predestination is one of the dogmas that every Catholic must believe.

They once asked a very devout Scotch lady who was an orthodox member of a very orthodox kirk. They said to her, "Mrs. McIntosh, do you really believe in the total depravity of man?" She sighed and said, "Tis a saving doctrine if you can live up to it." But Calvin never taught total depravity. Luther never taught total depravity, though this word was, of course, used. What they were teaching is what the Catholic Church taught before them and still teaches; that since man is born under original sin, he cannot perform true virtue unless God calls him by the grace of faith and conversion. Only through faith and conversion, because of God's grace working in man, can man produce *true* virtue. If you want to say, "Because he didn't hit his poor old mother in the head with a club, to that extent he was good," neither Calvin, nor Augustine, nor Paul, nor Aquinas would deny this. They would really say that this is the kind of virtue that doesn't make much difference. The virtue we're interested in is the virtue that would put you into ultimate union with God. And unless grace be given, this kind of virtue is impossible for fallen man. This is the doctrine of Paul, this is the doctrine of Augustine, the doctrine of Aquinas, the doctrine of Calvin, the doctrine of Luther, and the doctrine of the Catholics today. It is actually the Calvinists who are not fond of this doctrine anymore. Now, this does not deny freedom of the will; Calvin made quite clear in his *Institutes* that freedom of the will in the sense that you choose or don't choose—certainly he granted that. Certainly, he said, that was there, but that wasn't important. Can you or can you not perform true virtue with your fallen nature? He said, you

can't. You will only be able to perform true virtue if God's grace is given to you after you have made your act of faith and love. So the doctrine is not at all nonsensical. The doctrine does not deny freedom of the will. What the doctrine denies is the capacity of man, born in the present situation, to perform virtue which is of supernatural value. That is all it denies.

Extreme rhetoric

The drawback, both with Luther and with Calvin on this question, was that they used extreme rhetoric. To bring home the doctrine they overstated it. Actually this happens all the time in all kinds of things. If I want my class to understand that the two automobiles were very close to each other, I will say they were nose-to-nose, a word, I suppose a man like me shouldn't use, however. . . . Now actually there were three feet between the cars, but if I tell them there were three feet, that is not close, so I overstate the closeness. I do not expect to be taken literally. I am trying to emphasize the closeness. Now that is certainly one of the difficulties, both with Luther and Calvin, in preaching the incapacity of nature for supernatural virtue: they overstate their case. But as I put it, I think you will see there is no problem; the thing is evident. Nature, certainly by the very notion that it is nature, is incapable of supernatural virtue. This is the doctrine. Now since nature is incapable of it, nothing that nature can do can bring on supernatural virtue. What is needed now is divine grace. God gives graciously, graciously *gives* grace, and then the individual can be doing it.

Faith without works. Again, as I have explained to you, what makes your works pleasing in the sight of God? Because they are yours? No. They're pleasing in the sight of God because He gave you the grace whereby these works are performed. What they're saying is that if you have works, so called good deeds, which are not the fruit and grace, these are not really works that count. Not for salvation. The kind of works we need are not the ones that we dig out of our own depths, but are the works that God's grace in me makes possible. Luther, Calvin, and Protestants in general will insist they are not against good works. Did you ever hear of the Puritans? Are they against good works? Most of you would be dry for years and years if you were Puritans. They believe in good

works, but they do not believe that the good work itself is what makes you good. What makes you good is God's grace, and by God's grace then you will do good works. You're saved not by the works; you're saved by the grace. Now Catholics actually teach the same thing.

Q. How do you define the church according to Catholic theology? Does it exclude both members and God in saying that it is the medium between the two?

A. A union is a different kind of a thing than a unity. If I have a union, I have at least two things, which are so related to each other that they are one in some sense. The way I can unite two of these bricks is by putting a medium between them: mortar. Then they become one. I am united to you in terms of vision because I have glasses on. I put a medium between me and you, not to keep you out but to bring you in. If two are to become one, you need a medium of some kind. And this is precisely the Catholic doctrine of church. The thing that binds me to God and binds God to me is the holy Community. It doesn't separate us any more than the mortar separates the bricks: it brings them together; or that these glasses separate me from you: they join me to you. This is the way the union is produced through a medium.

Q. What are the positions of the three groups on the Holy Eucharist?

A. Oh, dear! This is hard, really. Protestants usually resent something that Catholics say, and I think Catholics say it with pride. It was a Catholic wit that said, Catholics believe in the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist and Protestants believe in the real absence. Now this is what today's theologians, except the liberals, take great pains to deny. Now Luther himself believed in the physical presence of Christ in the Eucharist. And this he taught and refused to come into a kind of unity with the Swiss Reformed on this question. In the Marburg Colloquy, (he wasn't very anxious to go in the first place) when they went to the table where they were going, he pulled off the table cloth, and wrote with his finger on the table "hoc est corpus meum"—this is my body. He said, "Now, what do you make of that?" He insisted that that means, this is my body. What he objected to was philosophy, and in this,

Calvin was the same. They were not kindly minded to the philosophers. Therefore he hated the word transubstantiation, but had a theory of his own which is sometimes called impanation or companation, but it dropped out of Lutheran thought after Luther's death. It's too clumsy a concept. But he believed in physical presence, and Orthodox rightist movements today will believe in the real physical presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Liberal theologians, of course, just don't believe in any such thing. That is bread and that's all it is. And this bread is used by us in a memorial service, just like the Jewish *Seder*, the Passover meal; they don't think that God is in the lamb. This recalls to them the old Passover when they left Egypt. The center people talk from both sides of their mouths. Christ is really present, but it's bread. They insist on real presence, and they prefer the Calvinist formula, he is spiritually present. But they insist today that it's a real presence, not a real absence. I find their doctrine just a little bit too heady for the kind of logic I am accustomed to.

Q. What is Gabriel Marcel's Christian existential relation to the forms you mentioned?

A. None.

Q. What is the position of Mormon theology? Can it be placed in any one of the categories you have mentioned?

A. Of course the Mormon church is a little distinct from the others. First of all, they do not want to be called Protestants. They are not at all pleased with the United States' Army, Navy, and Air Force, because, according to the Army, Navy, and Air Force, a Mormon is a Protestant. The Navy settles these things very easily. But they don't want to be in any sense Protestant. Ah, but they don't want to be Catholics either. Their position is rendered a little bit difficult because in addition to the Bible they have their own added sources of revelation: the Rock of Mormon, the Pearl of Great Price and the "something" of Joe Smith. These are all books of revelation, and likewise the president of the church can give revelation. So they have a constant and progressive revelation. So they won't quite fit into anything I have said. But in mood, in mentality, they are fundamentalists. . . .

Q. Both the theologians of the center and right claim St. August-

tine in some way as a special spiritual ancestor. Would you care to comment on this?

A. Actually I have commented on it already. If you read the *Institutes* of Calvin, which was his attempt at a systematic presentation of reformed doctrine, you will find St. Augustine cited approvingly over 175 times. He liked Augustine. Luther likewise was led to his own particular views on faith and on human incapacity by the reading of St. Augustine. St. Augustine certainly was the first man who dealt with the whole problem of virtue and human capacity at length. You will find it touched upon in the letters of Paul, but it takes Augustine to develop this into a doctrine; and because Augustine did develop it, it became a source of disputations and controversy in his time which did help to clarify the position of the Church. Augustine is an extraordinary, fine mind, a man of great breadth of vision. At the same time he is not systematic, and has a tremendous passion. He does not, therefore, talk in terms of syllogisms. He doesn't reason coldly. His reasoning takes place in what you might call existentialist warmth. Now this kind of a man certainly would please Martin Luther, and his thought on this question of the incapacity of the human nature for its own salvation, and his high recognition of God's sovereignty made him pleasing also to Calvin. . . .

Q. If Christ is thought of as the ultimate example for man, then aren't some of these Protestant concepts basically Jewish?

A. Well, yeh, what of it? Don't we all believe that He was the son of David? Don't we all believe that He was the anointed one—the Messiah? Aren't we all spiritually Semites?

Protestant mergers

Q. Since some of the Protestant churches have merged, apparently assuming a common philosophy or theology (that doesn't follow at all), do you feel there will be more mergers, eventually leading to one Protestant denomination?

A. See, someone dragged in the ecumenical movement which I didn't want to discuss because it is a whole subject by itself. Let's take the Baptist church. Any Baptist church within the Baptist denomination, and let's take the Quakers, and let's take the Methodists. These are noncreedal churches. They have no creed. The

Episcopal Church, of course, has the old creed, the Nicene creed, the Athanasian creed; it has the 39 Articles. The Presbyterian Church owes some kind of allegiance to the Westminster Confession. The Lutherans—I have already indicated their symbolic books and documents. But these other churches have no creed. In other words, they allow the creedal part of their church life to the individual. Therefore, for noncreedal churches to unite, there is no problem of a common philosophy and a common theology. They can do it without it. What about creedal churches? There is no problem of the Congregationalist Church joining with the Presbyterian Church. The Congregationalist will certainly accept the Westminster Confession, as will most of the Presbyterians. And both churches will give to their members now amplitude in the understanding of these creeds. A very dear friend of mine, who is a Congregationalist minister, and a very intelligent man, well schooled—we have worked together for a couple of months—and we were talking about the creed. Now he, as a Congregationalist, recited with his congregation the Apostle's Creed. And I said to him, "Look here, what do you understand when you say 'And rose again from the dead on the third day?'" And he said, "You know, Gus, I don't understand anything." Well I said to him, "Do you believe?" He said, "Yes, I believe something wonderful took place on the third day, but I wouldn't say that." And I said, "But what would you like to say?" He said, "Nothing." Well, this man was very sincere and very intelligent. I said, "All right, how about the last words: 'And I believe in the resurrection of the flesh'? Now what do you understand when you say that?" He said, "I just have my tongue in my cheek."

Now, this was a very good man, a good Congregationalist in every sense, and ordained. And he felt that he was not being disloyal to his Congregationalist Church; and yet, of the Apostle's Creed, he didn't accept too much. So, therefore, it wouldn't necessarily be important that they have the same creedal forms. The tendency, of course, is today, and it is going to grow stronger, to more and more mergers. There is no reason in the world why the Universalists and the Unitarians couldn't be one church. There is no reason in the world why the Presbyterian church which is, of course, united with the United Brethren, shouldn't be one with the Congregationalists and all the other Calvinist forms. In doctrine

and in quality, they're pretty much the same. These churches could easily get together; one wonders why they didn't. Quite earlier, you know, in the late 30's, most of the big Methodist Churches came together to form the Methodist Church of America. They united the Methodist Episcopal with the Methodist Protestant. There was no reason why these two churches should be separated, and therefore the merger was most rational. . . .

Are we ultimately going to have one Protestant church? I don't think so. The fundamentalists certainly do not want to join up with what they consider to be people who are not Christian at all. And fundamentalism is not by any means completely dead. It will evolve undoubtedly and become a little bit more Leftish, but I don't think it will get Leftist to the point where a Baptist is going to shake hands with a Unitarian. That's just a little bit too much.

I'm being kicked out. Thank you.

RELIGION AND INVOLVEMENT IN SOCIETY

Latin-America had seared deep within him the consciousness of a need for the Church to concern itself with the agonizing social problems of modern mankind. Some of his earliest published writings were on social questions. The areas of concern only became more awesome in the world that was born out of World War II. Despite his involvement with Latin America, theology, education, and ecumenism, Gus Weigel devoted much of his thought to social issues. Communism, population control, the ethical effects of automation, the morality of modern warfare, McCarthyism—all were realities he attempted to come to grips with and make Christian judgments upon.

"The Left and the Right" appears to date from the twilight days of McCarthyism in the mid-fifties. "What Makes a Prophet a Prophet" was originally read at the Jewish Theological Seminary in the winter of 1960. The final selection, "Our Religious Crisis," was a radio tape prepared for the American Episcopal Church.

THE LEFT AND THE RIGHT

IT IS HARD TO SAY if there is more hysteria in the present than in other days. Certainly the human situation at any time to some degree foments hysterical action in society. It is equally certain that the brooding menace of war and upheaval so characteristic of our moment is churning up electric feelings in all of our communities. It should be the effort of all at a time like this to make great efforts to reduce hysteria. It can only cause panic and panic brings on needless tragedy and destruction. Yet it is useless to shout to all and sundry that we must be calm. The advice is appropriate enough but the mere statement of a truth rarely brings about the action which truth counsels. However, an analysis of our situation may help to bring out the truth better than an exhortation to follow it.

Perhaps men and women anxious to avoid affiliation with either the right or the left see mounting emotional tensions more clearly than others. This is especially true of so many Catholics who are unjustly labeled as "liberal" or "radical." They find themselves suspected and even bitterly attacked by their fellow-Catholics while non-Catholics look on them as wily infighters. In consequence such persons are spiritually lonely and must seek comfort from the small fraternity which thinks as they do. In such loci, unfortunately, they will find a fringe of Bohemians, crackpots and unbalanced zealots. These are the individuals who strike the public eye and give the entire group a bad name.

The modern use of the words left and right derives from the fact that, beginning in France, the political parties proposing drastic changes in the social framework used the benches of the left side of the parliament, while the defenders of the *status quo ante* sat on the right. In the contemporary use of the words, the leftist stands for the destruction of the old in order to bring in something new, which by his assumption must be better, while the rightist defends what is traditional, which in his assumption is the best. Much emotion can go into these stands, and soon we find that the leftist wishes to get rid of the old just because it is old and the rightist wants to avoid the new just because it is new. When this stage is reached, it is obvious that both positions are irrational. The accidental fact that something is old neither guarantees that it is

good nor that it is bad. Instead of asking if the thing be old, we should ask if the thing is good. Then and then alone can we deal with it reasonably. As in all human things, a survival will have elements of benefit and elements of evil. The true task of society is to scrutinize the elements and then pare off the bad and energize the good. Every householder knows that with time his house becomes inadequate for the family's needs. He must change. He can do so by remodelling what he has, or if that is not economical, he will buy or build anew. But he will always be careful to preserve in the later house the permanent values of the old.

Leftism and rightism are ideologies—abstract programs for action exclusivistically and fanatically proposed or maintained. Like all ideologies, they are impracticable because they ignore the structure of the existent world we live in. Since they are fanatical, they will on principle oppressively coerce men and society because these must be totally remade if the ideology is to work. Ideology overlooks the basic truth that man is an abiding datum and not a project to be realized.

In the United States Catholicism has gone through a process of evolution. This evolution has been conditioned in part by the economic amelioration of the Catholic group and in part by its thorough assimilation into its American background. This is datum; not an abstract thesis waiting to be discussed. The present stage of evolution pleases some and others regret it. In either case, the emotional reaction cannot undo the fact. One of the consequences of the evolution is the ever growing number of American Catholics, both lay and clerical, equipped through better education for an intelligent and informed criticism of our Catholic reality. To criticize does not mean to condemn; it only means to judge and evaluate, actions which are spontaneous to an educated mind.

The Catholic critic

A penetrating critic does not follow a party line. He compares the principles basic to the phenomenon under discussion with the existent reality to see if the actualization of the idea is really the best possible expression of the idea. A Catholic, educated or uneducated, by definition believes in the Catholic Church. If he is an intelligent observer of the Catholic reality, he will criticize it according to the genuine doctrine on which the Church stands. To

make such a criticism is not a sign of defective Catholicism but rather the necessary consequence of lived faith. It need not be surprising if in concrete circumstances the Catholic critic will pass adverse judgment on facets of the concrete Catholicism he encounters. Only one who supposes that the Church is without flaw or blemish in its historic existence would be surprised by such criticism. Catholic tradition looks with admiration on many of its sons who were eloquently outspoken in their castigation of the Catholic reality which they experienced. Salvian of Marseilles was a trenchant though not always fair critic of the Gallic Church of which he was a luminary. St. Bernard fulminated against the evils he found in the Church of his times. Dante in criticism sent a sainted pope to his poetic hell. Bl. Peter Faber and St. Peter Canisius who worked in the German lands were forthright in their strictures on the Catholicism they found. Undoubtedly there were in those times Catholics, clerical and lay, who were irritated and annoyed with these great men, but Catholic tradition holds up the critics as true Catholics, better than those who opposed them.

Universally venerated saints did not fear to propose new measures and abandon old institutions. In spite of the opposition of the Catholic University of Paris, St. Thomas successfully made Aristotelianism the framework of his theological scheme. Though opposed by churchmen high and low, St. Ignatius Loyola, that apostle of obedience, stubbornly fought for something unheard of, a religious order in which choir had no place.

One thing is clear in Catholic history: criticism and crusades for renewal are marks of sterling Catholics.

In a Catholic context, then, criticism and the advocacy of certain concrete changes is not a sign of leftism. The prophetic charism is something freely given to the Church at large nor is it the monopoly of those in Orders. One prophetic function is to criticize. St. Catherine of Siena emphatically urging Gregory XI to leave Avignon and return to Rome was exercising the prophetic charism and she was not ordained. Of course we know that there are false prophets, but let us not on that account suppress prophecy itself. Even if we try, we shall not be able to do so, for prophecy is God's gift, and man cannot withstand God. Jonah tried to do so but he did not succeed.

Though criticism and movements toward renovation are not leftism, the universal opposition to these things is rightism, a thing as vicious as leftism itself. This is often overlooked because it is socially dangerous to be a leftist, though quite safe to be of the right. The ideological nature of rightism is manifested always in its narrowness, fanatical rigidity and formalism. The rightist betrays himself by his ruthless and aggressive vehemence against all those who do not share his stubborn intransigence. His overriding preoccupation is the defense of orthodoxy (usually of the do-it-yourself variety) so that Christian charity, gentlemanly tolerance and even plain fairness find no place in his polemic.

Fortunately for us, the pure Catholic rightist is rare, though not as rare as the pure Catholic leftist. One of our present malaises comes from neither of them but rather from something less, the Catholics who are "rightish." Some of these are Polyannas who close their eyes to all our deficiencies and magnify our little victories. The fact that little Jimmy Kelly of St. Elipandus School was chosen for the All-City junior basketball team is widely broadcast as somehow religiously significant. But the quality of the teaching at St. Elipandus is not considered, for it is not permitted even to dream of the possibility that it is not superior to all the institutions in the county, with the exception, of course, of one's own parish school.

But not all are Polyannas. There are others who cannot see the difference between the order of absolute truth and the order of its practical application to historical relativity. A weird logic dominates their thinking. They hold, like all other Catholics, that the Church's magisterium is the infallible communicator of God's revealed truth. Like any other Catholic, they hold that the hierarchy is divinely empowered to direct authoritatively the practical life of the Church. Then comes the logically fatal leap: therefore, whatever concretely faces us is either commanded or positively permitted by the holy Church. Local institutions and provisional arrangements cannot be criticized without denying the authority and infallibility of the hierarchy.

This muddled logic is typical of the "rightish" mind. It fallaciously fuses different orders of things in simplicist fashion. The fact that the ecumenical magisterium is infallible in handing down Christ's

revelation and the regimen rules with God-given authority does not imply that all practical policies and determinations of the temporal order are necessarily the best, the most prudent, the most convenient. Nor is it to be thought that the bishop wills or even positively permits all that is going on. Many things escape his attention and other things he helplessly tolerates because there is nothing else he can do. The fact that there are clerical champions of this movement or that situation does not imply that the whole Church or even the local bishop has pronounced a blessing on it. The opinion of a priest or of a diocesan paper is not necessarily the fruit of divine revelation nor does it command more allegiance than the evidence brought forth in its favor. The Church does indeed speak through these media, but not all they say or print is the word of the Church.

Not anti-clericalism

It is the kind of language I have used here—in substance utterly innocuous—which shocks the “rightish” mind. To it this spells treasonable anti-clericalism. Yet as a rule the Catholic who speaks this kind of language has in theory and practice more regard for the priest than the rightist clerical who only patronizes the clergy, condescendingly, cynically (and often successfully) hitching them to his car. It is not anti-clerical to recognize the limitations of the clergy. If it were, the Church herself would be anti-clerical since she obliges every priest before the altar of God to confess to the congregation that he has sinned exceedingly in thought, word and deed. Ah no, recoils the pious “rightish” mind. The *confiteor* of the priest attests to his humility, not to his deficiencies! A gentle interpretation indeed, but hardly consonant with the hard realism of the liturgy.

But must we not be loyal to the Church and her pastors? Beyond doubt, yes. But this very loyalty made St. Paul resist Peter to his face. Neither Peter nor Paul suffered thereby. It is more than whimsical fancy to think that the great Keybearer, after a moment of hurt, was glad in the Lord and grateful to his subordinate for having shown him a better way.

The “rightish” mind is not formed by Catholic dogma. It is the product of apologetic timorousness and insecurity. In consequence it craves an unbroken solid front, because it conceives Catholicism

primarily as a beleaguered host hard pressed by enemies. Tight unity against the foe is considered to be the great desideratum. Consequently critical observations even though well intentioned and solidly grounded are out of place because they give aid and comfort to the enemy. The "rightish" mind will reluctantly admit that to make reservations concerning the adequacy of policy does not mean disobedience on the part of the dissenters, who like all good Catholics manfully strive to obey ecclesiastical directives. But they point out the harm it does to the simple faithful, who so easily misunderstand. Hence sincere and filial dissent, possible or even laudable in the abstract, is out of place in the concrete situation because it weakens our position. The unexamined assumption of this reflection is that we Catholics are alone and on our own, overwhelmed by fiendish hordes. It is overlooked that "I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world." It is not seriously remembered that our true power is from Him who strengthens us, not from rigid uniformity and organization. All "rightish" fear is needless, for He has overcome the world and His Spirit is the indwelling strength of the Church.

The "rightish" mind is always tense because of its defensive pre-occupations. One result is an exaggerated sensitivity to words and phrases. When an informed and loyal Catholic in some utterance, whose evident purpose is the edification of the Church, makes remarks suggesting an error on our part, the "rightish" mind pounces on such dribbles and then forms an independent syllabus of the culled sentences. The result then inspires horror. Nor is this amazing, for when propositions are wrenched out of their context and lined up to show a tendency never present in the original, a frightening chimera is born. The Bible itself, if subjected to such treatment, can be construed to have pornographic leanings. The "rightish" mind easily falls into this trap because of its refusal to take Original Sin seriously. The dogma itself is accepted academically but a realistic recognition of its living presence among us is treason.

One and many

But why beat so hard on the "rightish" mind? Is there no "leftish" mind as well. Yes, there is, and it is no handsomer apparition. We meet it not infrequently. It manifests itself in the querulous critic

who sees only defects in all that is done. He points out naggingly the flaws in every effort. He is never appreciative of the concrete good because he always compares it with the abstract better. Nothing meets with his generous approval because he finds nothing perfect. From his talk one would erroneously conclude that he believes things are so much rosier beyond our confines; that non-Catholics do things better so that nothing is left us but to imitate them wholly. This man, no less than his opposite, is not resigned to the fact of Original Sin. Its inevitable infiltration into good projects makes him angry and contentious. He forgets that hope and patience are the prime requisites for earthly Christian living. He overlooks the glorious paradox that God makes even the wrath of men to praise Him, and the Church, mother of sinners, is holy in spite of them. However, real though the "leftish" mind is, it does not seem to be epidemic. The malaise produced by it can be considered to be minor nor need we delay longer on it.

Left and right—a plague on both your houses! Temperament and environment tend to drag every individual toward one of these extremes. I suppose we can't help that. However, in action and discourse it would be wise for everyone to resist his own tendency. The paradox of the Church is that we are simultaneously one and many. Both elements belong to our fellowship by God's grace and intent, nor do we honor God by trying to eliminate one of the components of His divine work.

In his day St. Paul urged the Christians to shun factions and divisions. As he teaches, tolerance bred by charity, hope based on faith, are the virtues a strong Catholic life demands. These are, of course, gifts of God and not the fruits of Pelagian effort. Yet witness must be given, and having given it, let there be an end.

OUR RELIGIOUS CRISIS

IN EVERY EPOCH of human history, organized religion is on the verge of dying. But it never dies. The religious men will say that God will not let it die and many a non-religious man will say that it corresponds to some indestructible need in man. Actually both answers are right, and for our immediate purpose either answer will do. The zeal of many Attilas to eradicate religion from the hearts

of men has been dazzling: frightening those to whom religion is dear and consoling those who look on religion as an aberration or a throwback to mankind's childhood. Time, however, proved that neither religion's lover nor its foe had reason for his strong emotions. Whether you love it or hate it, religion ebbs and flows in the story of our kind, but its movement cannot be suppressed.

In our day we once more see a struggle. One political force in our world is bent on driving religion out of the world, and against it, men and women are rising in opposition to the destroyers. There is a tension in the air and the religious question is once more thrust on man's attention. He must today choose either to abandon it or give it allegiance. This clear challenge is healthy and on its response will depend the culture of the future. As we have said, religion will not disappear, no matter what be our generation's choice. At worst, it may have to retire to caves and catacombs; at best, it will visibly influence the structure erected for our common life.

A word must be said to those who consider themselves the friends of faith. In their efforts to enhance the fortunes of religion, they may actually be contributing their energies, not to religion itself, but rather to some religious situation of the past. They really want to bring back a moment that is gone. It is only wise to tell them that their enterprise is doomed to failure. Religion will be with us in the morrow, but it will take on a shape which fits tomorrow. It may influence future culture heavily or lightly. It will do one of the two, for the simple reason that it will be around. Culture cannot flourish without deriving some of its life blood from faith. But such faith may be in an idol, and not in God himself. If such should be our fate, it is easy to say what the distant future will bring. A false faith brings on a false culture which cannot long survive the test of reality. True and false are human answers to the questions of reality, and reality can only back the truth.

The religious question

Friends of religion are truly so, if they are interested only in raising the religious question. They must not take on the needless task of saving religion itself. The chances are great that what they are doing is attempting to save a past modality of religious life.

Because it is past, it is outmoded and it is withering away. Crusaders for the religious cause must examine well the objectives they have in mind. They need not worry about the survival of faith. It will survive. They need not try to bring back some dead or dying form of it, for they cannot.

Yet the burden of this message is not to do nothing. The man of faith, because of his faith, must constantly question his neighbor about God. He must not impose answers, for living faith is a personal decision which cannot be forced. The cultural situation of the immediate future is not the religious question. Most of us want that culture to be effective and propitious, but its shape comes forth with a spontaneity no man can control.

As prophets of old, we must urge our age to choose between Baal and Yahweh. This is a free choice and must be made by free men. The free man is unpredictable and we can never be sure how he will react. But no matter how he reacts, over him in love and serenity, Yahweh will rule.

WHAT MAKES A PROPHET A PROPHET?

THE NOTION OF SEER and clairvoyant is not typical of any one human group; it is characteristic of the whole human family. Yet in English the word prophet, if unmodified, usually induces the image of the Hebrew *nabhi*. Concerning the *nabhi* all that we can know phenomenologically is what is told us in the Hebrew scriptures. The New Testament prophet is not too clearly described nor can we be quite sure just what his function was. For the *nabhi* we have much more data, even though it is difficult to construct a unified concept from the scattered biblical descriptions.

Much has been written in the last two thousand years concerning the prophet and we notice different conceptions appearing at different periods of the investigation. The simplest conception which was in general vogue up to the 18th century and is not yet dead, is that the prophet is a man grasped by the unique personal God to become a divine mouthpiece. The divine grasping is an awesome experience and it may take the form of a voice or a vision or a dream. With the experience comes a felt compulsion to speak to another or others of what was experienced. Fundamentalists ac-

cepted the written account of the prophetic message as the literal word of God himself so that the prophet is considered as no more productive than a telephone is in a telephonic conversation. Today this fundamentalist approach, though not without its champions, is not typical of our time and culture.

Under the wind of the Enlightenment in the 18th and 19th centuries a completely different view of prophetism was held. A distinction was made between the prophets of Israel up to the ninth century before our era, and the literary prophets whose works begin to appear in the eighth century. The early *nebhiim* were intoxicated men and women who induced hysteria in themselves by dancing and shouting during which they proclaimed messages which were accepted as oracles. Some fell into trances and in the trance spoke. They might therefore have been mediums not unlike the spiritualists of our day. Many were no better than gypsy fortune tellers. In this heterogeneous class not a few were sincere, though deluded or even psychotic, while others were cynical charlatans using their prestige for selfish or political ends.

But the class as a whole produced a literary genre and this literary form was used by the rhapsodist reformers of the later time. These men were serious, devout and intelligent believers with a message for the people, castigating them for their sins and threatening them with foreseen calamity if reform were not forthcoming. These men were not visionaries, trance speakers or neurotics. They still used the language of vision and dream, but they did so merely as a literary device. They spoke from their own religious faith, keen understanding of the times, and human indignation. They were preachers who wrote their sermons instead of giving them, or perhaps teachers whose words were written by others. Of these eighth century prophets, Isaiah was the most honored because of his high literary skill.

In this view of the *nebhiim*, the early prophets were either deceived or deceivers. It was mere superstition which gave them any religious significance. The later prophets were men of insight but there was nothing supernatural about the acquisition of their message. They were a reforming influence on the religion of Israel and their writings were deservedly preserved for the religious growth of later generations.

This view was based on the postulate either that there was no personal God or that divine intrusion into history was impossible. What made the prophets "tick" could be discovered by the psychologists and historians of culture. The thinkers who so explained prophecy were not necessarily hostile to the Bible, but they felt that the Bible could be esteemed only if it were explained by the principles of naturalism.

The reaction of non-scholarly believers was bewilderment and dismay. The view of the historicists and rationalists made the Bible a most unreliable book. Above all, the notion of foretelling so common in the conservative view of prophecy disappeared altogether. A crisis had developed in western religion which was Judeo-Christian and the crisis was painful. Some religious thinkers felt that the only honest thing to do was to accept the views of the historicists and build a new structure out of the ruins of the old. These were the men who produced Reform Judaism, Liberal Protestantism and the Modernist episode in Catholicism. Others felt that the liberals must be fought tooth and nail and in the fight they organized fundamentalism.

Yet neither solution was palatable to believers at large and it was felt that the matter must be solved in some other way. They saw certain values in the conservative position and certain values on the liberal side. They wished to rescue these values and their cause was labeled as neo-orthodoxy because they moved over to a conservative view; it was simultaneously neo-liberalism because some basic stands of liberalism were retained.

Under the wind of existentialism blowing over the west, a new theory of Bible and prophetism has slowly come to clarity. This vision was to be neither naturalistic nor supernaturalistic. It was felt that with such a set of categories no progress could be made.

God and revelation

Two questions were logically previous to the approach to the scriptures. The first was the knowability of God and the other was the meaning of revelation. Concerning the knowability of God a basis was adopted which was quite genuine to both Jewish and Christian traditions. The holy name was ineffable; He was utterly other. Human concepts could not be applied literally to Him. Yet he could be known in an experience which is called faith. This

experience was not natural in the sense of positivistic naturalism, nor was it supernatural in the sense of the conservatives opposed to the positivists. It could be called either but should be called neither. The knowledge of God was achieved in a perception which stands outside of the epistemological categories constructed by the philosophers. The perception was immediate, though occasioned by time and anxiety. Paul Tillich sees the locus of this perception in the final temptation to scepticism, despair and horror of death. Martin Buber puts the locus in the meeting of man and God through an I-Thou relationship discovered in cosmic reality which is the divine *shekhinah*, simultaneously divine and non-divine. For Tillich God is the ground of being and man's ultimate concern. For Buber God is the great Thou who is also the ultimate I.

This perception of God recognizes that He is ineffable, but in spite of that ineffability, much can be meaningfully said about Him. However, the propositions used are not to be taken literally, for this would make God something finite, limited and relative. That is idolatry. All affirmations are symbolic, pointers to God's reality as perceived in faith; they are not logical statements. In consequence all statements concerning God are paradoxical; they affirm and deny simultaneously without being involved in contradiction.

What then is the Bible? First of all, it is not revelation. It is the record of God's revelation to men who met Him in the revelatory experience. The Bible is a human word pointing to a divine word which God speaks to man immediately, but that word is not really a word. For the Christians, it is definitively the Word of God made flesh. Without getting involved in the philosophic formulations of ultimate theory, Christian scriptural scholars like Charles Dodd, Oscar Cullman, G. Ernest Wright and H. H. Rowley consider the Bible as the record of revelation, not in the sense that the writers communicated their own experience in pointer fashion, but rather that they narrate God's mighty deeds in history for man's salvation. God reveals Himself in the deeds and not in words. In the deeds God is known and not in the words concerning those deeds. If for Tillich the Bible words are a pointer to God who can only be met in existentialist anxiety, for Charles Dodd and the others the words are pointers to the divine break-through into history on the level on which history is a matter of vital concern.

All too rapidly have we given the sketchy outline of theories concerning Bible and prophecy. The nuances, the limiting reservations and the reasons for the positions described have been left out of our skeletal presentation. They may be considered by some to be caricature, though since no judgment was intended, they should not be labeled as caricature, but only inadequate simplifications.

Now we must essay the task of evaluation. To do so, certain presuppositions must be stated. I take it that there is a Jewish tradition concerning the Bible and the prophets, though the tradition has many expressions, not all of which can be reduced to identity. But in the different traditions there is a common core which can be called the tradition simply. It is not possible to define accurately this tradition because the edges are not clear and sharp. What is true of the Jewish tradition is also true of the Christian traditions. There too there is a common core, which stands out best in Catholicism but is not absent in non-Catholic traditions.

Secondly a man who calls himself a Jew or a Catholic by that very fact professes acceptance of his tradition. When he thinks and speaks, he is bound by the tradition. If he does not like the tradition, he can make up his own scheme of God and life, but he must not label that scheme with the name of the tradition to which he does not inwardly want to belong. Of course, every intelligent supporter of a tradition wants to give the genuine tradition and he will in all good faith and for good reasons reject certain formulations of the tradition which he does not consider genuine. It is the love of the tradition which makes him act so and he is no traitor, though some of his colleagues will think he is. This is inevitable and only in this way does the tradition itself evolve and stay vital.

I do not dare to speak for the Hebrew tradition because I am not a Hebrew scholar. I do know something about the Catholic tradition and in its light I shall make my remarks, antecedently conceding that others may see the tradition differently.

Catholicism vs. fundamentalism

According to the principles of the Catholic tradition old fashioned fundamentalism or even its current refurbishing are untenable. The supposition of Catholicism is that the scriptures are not translucent to any one who reads them with good will. The Catholic believes

that in this way the reader will read into scripture his own unconscious and conscious presuppositions. Even if he be a first-class historian and philologist knowing all the history and languages needed for the task, he can only achieve a personal construction of the biblical message which has no guarantee of fidelity. Above all, if the book is considered to be more than an historical document and accepted as a divine communication, then resonance with the divine is needed. Historiographic competence is not identical with resonance with deity. There must be a different test for such resonance, and for the Catholic the test is congruity with the teaching of the living Church. Personally derived illumination from the scriptures must be tested by the holy community's judgment.

Likewise the literalism which is so characteristic of the fundamentalist offends Catholic sensitivity. God's ways are not man's ways and God's word cannot be spoken as man speaks. The biblical word has a dimension which is more than human, and it is precisely the superhuman dimension which makes the scriptures precious. By literalism the fundamentalists have exposed the scriptural message to ridicule with the result that God is unwittingly blasphemed by men. Blasphemy is a great sin, even though the speaker be unconscious of his blasphemy. The fundamentalist wants to derive cosmology, biology and historiographic reporting from the Bible, but this was not the divine intent of the books.

Just because fundamentalism cannot be accepted by the Catholic, neither can liberalism, for it is the same thing. The liberal approaches the Bible as if it were merely a human book and then he deals with it as he would deal with any human book. It is of course a human book and it is amenable to such treatment, but as the Catholic see its, it is also a superhuman book. Just because the liberal comes to the book with more scientific training and expertness is no sign that by his tools he can reach the superhuman dimension of the writings. In fact his tools by postulate cannot even touch that phase of the scriptural message and many a liberal exegete with full awareness has denied that there was a divine dimension. The Catholic on the other hand admits most willingly that the Bible is a human product and that it can be studied fruitfully by scientific method. In fact he urges the scholar to do so, for the more we know about the Bible in its human make-up,

the more we shall know about the divine content which is rooted in the human word. However, the Catholic also believes that there is yet another level to the Bible which cannot even be touched by the instruments of scientific philology. Here the Tradition alone is competent. Its doctrine will not be "scientific"; it will be an object of faith.

This brings us to the current theory of the Bible as salvational history. It is this theory which interests us most. Its appearance is witness to the fact that fundamentalism and liberalism are dead issues. The new view is more adapted to our times and needs. Hence we must look at it more closely.

The first feature which pleases believers in the thought of the theorists of salvational history is that there is a frank recognition that God did reveal Himself and the record of that revelation can be found in the Bible. Revelation is forthrightly affirmed. Secondly, belief in revelation is unembarrassed by fundamentalist prejudices. The anthropomorphisms of scripture are not taken literally nor is there any attempt to evade the fact that there are all sorts of inaccuracies in the scripture if it were to be considered as a scientifically reportorial account of historical events. The cosmological, biological and psychological ideas in the Bible are recognized for what they are: the world-image shared by all men of the ancient near East. Thirdly, the divine dimension of scripture is affirmed. The totality of the scholarly effort to understand the text is orientated toward the achievement of the divine action in history. These three qualities make the new scriptural approach very attractive to a generation which wants to believe but can stomach neither fundamentalism nor liberalism. Yet before we commit ourselves wholly to it, it might be wise to study some of the postulates of the new theory.

My first uneasiness comes from the affirmation that revelation is in the salvational events narrated in scripture, rather than in the words. This postulate is quite satisfactory in what it affirms but it is disconcerting in as far as it denies. That God reveals Himself in events is a constant element both in Jewish and Christian beliefs. However, it seems to me that both traditions also have constantly held that the words in their own way are revelational. Not event alone; not word alone; but word and event. Certainly the event

itself cannot be recognized as divine unless a divine word is spoken to make its superhuman reality knowable. As an event in history it will be presumed homogeneous with all other events in history. Only the word of God can make the event known as a divine deed.

Prophecy

It is at this point that the whole question of prophecy comes to the fore. The writer of the sacred books or at least the compiling editors were not prophets. They only gave us the message of the prophets. We have in the past been prone to consider the prophet as a predictor. Actually in the Bible itself this notion though definitely present is yet quite subordinate. In Exodus we seem to have the authentic meaning of the Hebrew *nabhi*. In chapter 4 Moses objects to his election as the man to free Israel from bondage on the grounds that he cannot speak eloquently. The Name tells Moses that Aaron will be the prophet of Moses and Moses will act as God for Aaron. Aaron was to be the mouth of Moses and Moses was to put God's words into the mouth of Aaron. In chapter 7 (v. 1-2) the Name once more gives the same message: Moses was to be God to Pharaoh and Aaron, and Aaron would be the mouth of Moses, his prophet.

From this locus, as well as from many others, we gather that the *nabhi* was the human mouth of God, whereby God spoke to the people. Prediction is not here mentioned at all. However, in Deuteronomy norms are given for distinguishing the false prophet from the true one. The basic notion of the *nabhi* is again brought out:

The Lord said to me, "They have spoken aright; from time to time I will raise up from them someone like you from among their fellow-countrymen to be a prophet: I will put my oracles in his mouth, and he shall tell them everything that I command him. If there is anyone who will not heed the oracle that he delivers in my name, I shall make him answer for it myself.

(18:17-19)

After the expression of the prime meaning of *nabhi*, the locus gives the norm for knowing whether or not the prophet is authentic:

And if you say to yourself, "How are we to recognize an oracle

that the Lord has not given?"—if the oracle that the prophet delivers in the name of the Lord does not come to pass or come true, that is an oracle which the Lord did not give, the prophet having spoken it presumptuously; you are not to be afraid of him.

(18:21–22)

In the light of these very important passages we are led to doubt the total accuracy of the modern slogan: prophets are forth-speakers but not foretellers. As the Hebrew sacred writers saw it, the prophet was a speaker-for and this at times involved foretelling. The speaking-forth was in function of the speaking-for and the foretelling.

There seems to be some ground in scripture that the divine revelation comes from God speaking to the prophet not merely in the mighty deeds of God himself witnessed by the prophet with insight. Perhaps the last words of the Pentateuch bring out the relations of the two things:

Since then no prophet has appeared in Israel like Moses, with whom the Lord held converse face to face—as regards all the signs and portents which the Lord sent him to perform in the land of Egypt against Pharaoh and all his courtiers and all his land, as well as all the mighty power and all the great wonders which Moses performed in the sight of the Lord.

(Dt 34:10–12)

In this eulogy of Moses much is made of the mighty deeds God worked through him, but the first claim to praise was that he conversed with God face to face.

In all of the passages alluded to, we meet with anthropomorphisms. Here we must say something of symbol, myth and logical predication. If I say that a stone is hard, hardness is predicated logically. There is a reference to an empirical quality which can be measured objectively. In older logical terminology, hard stones and hard timbers were instances of what was called the univocal use of hard.

However when I say Peter's heart is hard, the attribute is not used univocally with hard stones. Actually we are dealing with a mythical expression according to which the human heart is in popular image, though not in physical reality, the synthesis of human emotion and feeling. Between the stubborn unfeelingness

of Peter and the hardness of a rock there is a superficial and extrinsic analogy. Hard is predicated analogously, not logically.

Lastly when I say that God is master of the universe, I am borrowing a term normally used for a human being who is the master of his house. It is my intention to affirm the mastership of God, but I do not intend to say that God and man are masters in the same way. God's mastership is real mastership but in a way which makes it altogether different from human mastership, and yet the same. All which limits the mastership of a man is dropped out in my affirmation of divine mastership. I affirm all that which is positive but deny everything which is limiting. If I were to subject the proposition to logical analysis it would come out like this: the proportion of master to man is equivalently the proportion of master to God. I do not say that the proportion is identical, but I affirm its equivalence. This mode of predication was called by the Scholastics intrinsic analogy. It is not like the analogy of a myth, which is always extrinsic, but it is an analogy in the use of the word *to be*. I do not say God's mastership is like man's mastership but that it is equivalently human mastership.

Hence we see that in affirmation three forms are possible. The word *is* can be understood as simple identity: the stone is hard. It can also mean extrinsic similarity: Peter in his unfeelingness is like a hard stone. It can mean intrinsic equivalence: God is the matter of the universe.

We are accustomed today to the opposition of literal to symbolic and mythical. Yet such opposition is misleading. The proposition in its literal structure may be logical, extrinsically analogical, or intrinsically analogical. The literal meaning is only the meaning intended on the *litterae*, the material signs of a mental intention.

But the fundamental truth recognized in the opposition of literal to symbolic is valid. Not all propositions are to be taken as if they were logical statements. They can easily be analogical. What is more, when we speak of God we can only speak analogically. Human words coined for run of the mill human experiences and God is no such an experience. When we use words about Him, we are affirming them according to His reality and not ours. There is an equivalence between God's reality and a creature's reality. Yet God's reality, though quite like my reality, is altogether different.

Myth, revelation, and inspiration

In Plato's Republic there is a double tirade against the poets because they used images in order to convey insights. How far Plato believed in his tirades and how far he had his tongue in his cheek, is not so clear. He certainly does not disdain the use of quotations from the poets to make his own points. The fact of the matter is that all mankind has seen in the poets a superlative capacity for communicating profound truth, though if subjected to logical analysis their propositions are nonsense. They do it mythically rather than logically. By myth I only mean that they speak in terms of analogies. The poet more than the sober reporter is interested in deep truth. The reporter more than the poet is interested in phenomenology. Both types of writing are good and each has an area where it is better than the other. I would not like my physician to write his prescriptions in poetry, just as I would not like a reporter to describe the mere physical event in which I grasped a great truth. Newton's grasp of the law of attraction was not a logical continuation of the physical fall of the apple on his head. In fact, the Newton myth shows what the poet can do. From all accounts, Newton achieved the insight into gravity without the aid of a falling apple. The apple story is a myth but a revealing one. The apple in paradise and Newton's apple were of the same kind. It is just as silly to look for Newton's apple tree in the orchards of England as it is to look for the tree of the knowledge of good and evil in Mesopotamia. Such action is like the child's search for the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. But Newton's apple and Eve's apple poetically refer to an historical event.

At this point we must distinguish between revelation and inspiration. The prophet had revelation, if we are to take the scriptures seriously. This means that he experienced God in a moment of divine unveiling. That experience was graciously effected by the Deity and the meeting of God and man can be expressed meaningfully in the analogy that God and man held converse. Such experience is obviously mysterious. It is so different from the ordinary experiences of ordinary man that it cannot be reduced to the modes of ordinary perception. In the experience truth was conveyed, and when this truth is communicated to man, the prophet has only the intrinsically and extrinsically analogical use of language as his medium of expression.

After the prophet comes a writer or compiler, who could, but need not be the prophet himself. This man did not have revelation but composed for a reading public the revelational message. He may have used much of the language of the original prophet or little. He may not have known the prophet and used only oral traditions and fragmentary writings as the source of his work. As a literary workman, the writer constructed the prophetic message according to the modes of literary structuring accepted in his time and against the background of the world-image operating in his society.

Was this work of the literary intermediary a sheerly human undertaking? When Plato gives us the doctrine of Socrates was he doing the same thing which the authors of sacred books did? If the situation is an exact parallel, then we run into serious difficulties. Today there is much controversy as to the significance of Socrates in the Platonic dialogues. No one believes that the dialogues were held as they are written by Plato, but some think that Socrates had all the basic ideas attributed to him by Plato, while others think that Socrates was an insignificant man who serves Plato as an almost mythical figure for getting off Plato's own ideas. In biblical science we have something of the same kind. Did the Deuteronomist build up his own ethics and theology and hang it on to the name of Moses, or was he really faithful to Mosaic prophecy?

If we rely exclusively on philological method, we shall not be able to answer these questions with anything like ultimate satisfaction. Actually what happened in the case of Socrates and Plato leaves me cold. The Socrates created or re-created by Plato is very winsome and his ideas very illuminating. However, in the question of the Deuteronomist and Moses I am concerned. Is the Deuteronomist giving me God's message as spoken to Moses or is he spinning it out of his own head? I owe no commitment to the Deuteronomist, but I do owe submission to God.

In the Catholic Church the problem is solved prophetically. She claims to know by apostolic revelation that the biblical books accurately and without error give the burden of the original prophets' message. The inerrancy of the writer is explained by divine inspiration. The writer himself may never have had any revelatory experience but he is moved consciously or unconsciously by God to write

down the prophet's revelation so that the divine communication be expressed intact. This is divine inspiration and it is supernatural. In man it is an intellectual impulse to write. God makes a man write His message, and the written word, composed by a man, is by intrinsic analogy the word of God. A mechanical reproduction of the oracles of the original prophet is not implied, nor is that important seeing that the prophet himself communicated according to the conventions, philosophy and rhetoric of his own time. These external human things are not the substance of the revelation which can be clad in other human garb just as conveniently.

Consequences

The consequence of this theory of inspiration makes the words of the Bible, and not only the mighty deeds of God there narrated, revelation. The prophet had the revelation immediately and the reader of the prophet's message mediated through an inspired writer has it mediately. The result is that the holy community, in addition to its own efforts at communication, has a divine instrument whereby to communicate God's revelation. The holy community by reason of prophetic guidance initially given and by the enlightening of the indwelling Spirit knows the divine dimension of the biblical accounts. This dimension she points to, stresses and explains. The reader of the Bible who reads it in the arms of the holy community meets the revealing God and surrenders himself to the revealer in faith.

Unless we form some such theory of revelation and of inspiration, I fear that we shall lose the Bible. It will always be an ancient book and a classic in literature but its religious significance is lost. If the words of the Bible are not truly God's word, it is hard to see why we should revere it so highly. Just because it is archaic lends it no sanctity. If I do not achieve God's revelation in the biblical word but only the revelational event, nine tenths of the Bible can be ignored. It seems to me that in loyalty to our respective traditions we must cling to the traditional image of prophecy and inspiration, or simply confess that we cannot belong to the tradition. If this latter be our conclusion, then let us candidly state that we do not belong to the community which claims to be true to its tradition.

LETTERS TO SR. JEREMY

Gus Weigel hated writing letters. In his later years he even went to the length of having the following form printed on a post card: "Since letter-writing is a very difficult business for me, I am taking the liberty of giving you a prompt reply to the substance of your request in this somewhat uncouth form."

The demands of public fame had grown to the point that he was forced to utilize several scholastics at Woodstock as secretaries. Letters came to him from all over the world and from all types of people—from Cardinals, theologians, fellow Jesuits, ministers, businessmen, housewives, Chilean friends, former students. A beatnik in New York wrote to tell him that he had heard him over a local television station and that Gus had really turned him on. During the middle fifties he began a correspondence with Paul Tillich, after the latter had been so favorably impressed with Gus's interpretation of his work.

Quite naturally, Gus was at his best in informal letters, where his compelling candor and pointed humor could have free play. Especially revealing of the man are his letters to his niece, Mary Louise Daigler, before and after 1958, when she became a Religious Sister of Mercy.

OCTOBER 27, 1952

My dear Mary Louise,

Please accept my hearty congratulations on your admission to the National Honor Society. . . . During these times I have been thinking of your college days. It is only a question of two years from now when we shall have to settle that matter. Let me insist again on trying for the New York State Regents' Scholarship. Please look into this matter and see what is required to be eligible for the scholarships. . . .

Your letters are very nicely written and I enjoy them very much. There is a maturity about them that is consoling. However, when I say this, I do not want you to think that every letter you write to me is a kind of examination. Write in all spontaneity, because a letter that you do not want to write usually is only a torture, while a letter that you really want to write is a relief. . . .

This letter sounds a bit stilted. That is unavoidable. We do not know each other as well as we should. You like me but you are afraid of me. I like you very much but I do not dare to push myself into your affairs, which interest me greatly. Well, some day we shall talk with our hair down. There is no hurry, and if it never comes, then that is a good sign too, because it means that you have no great troubles. I feel sure that if you were to have such troubles, you would discuss them with me.

I have not been feeling too well in the last months—a situation quite new to me. There is nothing serious and I hope that I shall soon be out of the woods. With every best wish—

Your Uncle,

February 7, 1954

My dear Mary Louise,

You certainly are a determined young lass. Do you think you will break me of my habit of *not* writing letters? Such seems to be your proposal. I give in a bit because you are you, but I shall not give in all together. For years I wrote to your mother so rarely that she never knew if I was alive or dead. The new generation seems to be more demanding. Well, youth will have its way.

I enclose your French letter. It might be better and it might be worse. I do not demand too much because you are new at this French game—but I like the French and Latin tags in your letters. They give promise. . . .

If you get one answer to every three of your letters, your batting average can be considered high. Please tell me something precise about your coming to Baltimore at Easter time. I have to know in order to keep my own schedule open.

Sincerely yours,

December 4, 1954

Dear Mary Louise,

You will be the death of me! How can you expect a man who is rapidly getting old to change all his ways of life? You can't teach an old dog new tricks. I am writing to you, but please keep up your old belief that I do not write. In that way, you will not be disappointed.

I am so glad that you and Bob had a lovely evening at that Canisius pandemonium. I am just as glad that he has invited you again. Now, a word of warning. You and he have long years of study ahead of you. For heaven's sake, don't fall in love with him. If you are very young, and you are, the first time is hardly ever the real time, and to love and then have the thing blow up in your face is a very painful experience. Having a cancer removed is nothing in comparison with jilted love. Take it easy, big girl. . . .

There is little I have to tell you. You are quite right when you say that I send you books because it frees me from writing a letter, and yet it shows you that I am thinking of you always. Your little sophisticated picture is very good, and it fits the sophisticated person which you are. Quite impressive! I think I told you that I like the get-up of your last issue. I read the things written by you—but the rest I skip. I cannot get excited about the activities of Helitrope Funfunelli. . . .

Sister Thecla always asks for you. I always tell her that, thanks be to God, you have been quite sober lately. That pleases her because it distresses her to think of you as dead drunk on a bar-room floor. . . .

At Christmas time I shall interrogate you closely concerning this Bob. Ryan is his name, isn't it? How dreadfully Irish.

Your uncle,

March 25th, 1955

My dear Mary Louise,

Please allow me to repeat my congratulations to you in a formal way. I am very happy that all our dreams are coming true. You

will be very welcome in Baltimore and the Otenaseks take it quite for granted that you will make their house your own. . . .

You know that I wanted you out of Buffalo. If you go to College there, you will have all the smugness so typical of our city. . . . [Mount St. Agnes] is a college for a small group, which has the advantage of close contact of students with their professors. The spirit of the school is progressive and the professors are able people. Here you will grow. The social life within the school will not be too intense but you will have the advantages of Baltimore which is a city of traditions—not too progressive but of good taste. Likewise I shall be sufficiently near to you so that I can take care of emergencies and needs. Let me impress on you now that I want you to call on me when something turns up which you cannot handle. From time to time you will need a few dollars which you cannot scrape up by yourself; then you must gladly and without embarrassment turn to your Uncle. . . .

The Baltimore girls will give you a bit of trouble in the beginning. They are inclined to be sophisticated and superior. This is only skin-deep. Your school is middle-class. Very few of them are wealthy, though not a few come from comfortably fixed families. By and large the girls will come from the same kind of background you come from, even though it may seem otherwise. The Jesuits have always described Baltimore as "fur coats but no underwear." You will learn all that little by little. . . .

Little girl, you are a little girl no longer. This is the first step in life—quasi-adult life. It should be very happy, for, as I said, college days are the happiest days. So be not afraid. You will do very well, let me assure you. Come with a big heart and courage. There will be difficulties to overcome, but you have friends in Baltimore who will help you in any way that they can. . . .

It is almost a year ago that we were together in Baltimore and Washington. It is consequently almost a year ago that I was sick. I did not die. Perhaps God saved me so that you can get the kind of education you need. Let us look at it that way. It will help us to be grateful to God.

Sincerely yours,

April 30, 1958

Sr. M. Jeremy, N.R.S.M.
Mount Saint Agnes College
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Jeremy,

Listening to the Martyrology at dinner tonight I discovered that tomorrow is the birthday of the Prophet Jeremiah, your patron saint in religion. It needs a little note to you, and this is the note. I shall remember you especially at the Altar tomorrow.

Your letter came and brought me pleasure. There was a sophisticated tone to it which one does not expect from novices. That made it all the more thrilling. You are maturing beautifully and I hope that the process will continue to full ripeness.

Strange; your birthday is on the last day of May and your name day is on the first day of May. There must be some meaning in this—but I do not know what it is.

Your uncle,

May 30, 1960

Sr. M. Jeremy, R.S.M.

My dear Mary Louise:

This little note is written to wish you a happy birthday. There will be no need to make the message long because I shall see you next Sunday, your graduation day. Every time you graduate from a school, you do so with a scholarship for another school in your hand. This is a good habit and I hope you cling to it. After Ph.D., there is always a Fulbright grant. (You can go to Rome or Greece on one of those things, even though the Sisters of Mercy have no convents there.) . . .

Tomorrow my mass will be for you.

Sincerely yours,

April 29, 1961

My dear Mary Louise,

On May first you celebrate Jeremy's day. I want to congratulate you and be merry with you. In fact it will be merry Jerry's day.

Life for me is a matter of going here, there and yonder. I suppose that I shall have to break a leg. At this time of the year I always think of our visit together to Washington. It was seven years ago. So much has happened since, both to you and to me.

Which makes me conclude by greeting with one of John Murray's slogans: Courage, it's better than intelligence.

Perhaps one of these days I'll pop in on you.

Your devoted Uncle,

May 29, 1961

My dear Mary Louise:

This is my birthday greeting. I wish you many happy returns and I shall remember you at the Altar.

The fact that you are not to get the M.A. does not disturb me at all. In fact, I am glad. I never believe in M.A.'s. They are either consolation prizes or worse. However, I know that this whole experience is very painful to you. It should not be, but I am certain that the ought of the case and the actuality of it are quite different. We have not lost faith in you and you must not either. . . .

Devoted as ever,

Your Uncle,

May 29, 1963

Sr. M. Jeremy, R.S.M.
Mercy High School
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Sr. Jeremy,

This note—for we cannot call it a letter—brings you my greetings for your birthday. I hope it will be happy and that it have many others in its train. I shall remember you to the Lord at the holy Altar.

I do not write frequently nor do I see you much. Neither action is necessary. You know that my affection for you is great and I count on your loyalty for me. This is enough. More would be superfluous. Yet I hope that the near future will give me the opportunity to see you.

Life for me is hectically active—too much so to permit me to enjoy my work. But I survive and that is a big victory in itself. I hope you are a little less pushed. At all events, all blessings on you.

Your Uncle,
Gustave Weigel, S.J.

VATICAN COUNCIL

Vatican II was the final stage for Gustave Weigel's deeply dimensioned life as missionary, scholar, ecumenist, and priest. It was fitting that his last engagement should have been an ecumenical council, where all these dimensions could be brought to common fulfilment.

Two years before John XXIII opened the Council in October, 1962, Fr. Weigel was already in Rome preparing the schema for the first session as a consultant to the Secretariate for Promoting Christian Unity. During the sessions themselves, besides continuing his work on the Secretariate, he served as host to the Protestant, Anglican, and Orthodox observer-delegates. Daily he sat with them at the sessions in St. Peter's Basilica, translating from Latin when necessary and commenting on the action transpiring on the floor of the basilica. At night he retired to the same lodgings shared by many of the delegates, to brief them on the next day's matters, listen to their suggestions, and make himself constantly available on the informal basis in which he thrived.

When secrecy was partially lifted during the second session, daily press briefings were held. Gus as a member of the American Bishops press panel quickly became the favorite of the English speaking press with his sardonic wit and encyclopedic knowledge. Seemingly asleep under the hot Italian afternoon, he would continually startle journalists into laughter with his rapier-like comments and masterly timing. One reporter compared him to a sea turtle snapping at flies. The press loved it.

Amid the trying meetings of the first session, when it was not yet clear whether the conservatives or liberals would dominate the Council, Fr. Weigel kept a diary of the Council's agonizing beginnings. Excerpts, carefully and unfortunately edited, appear below. He discontinued the diary for the second session, but several letters to Jesuits at Woodstock do survive. In the last one he wrote, in November, 1963, he reassured them that his health was good. Less than two months later he was dead.

DIARY

OCT. 11, THURS., 8:30 A.M.

1st Public Session. Ceremony. Papal. Started late, of course—about 9:15. Procession of Cardinals and Bishops, (White mitres) impressive—a sea of white in the ascending stands in the middle nave—about 2540 present. To Westside of Baldochino, council altar erected. Pope's throne set at main altar on west side.

OCT. 13, SATURDAY, 9 A.M.

Mass of H[oly] G[host] said & gospel enthroned, meeting opened with Card. Liénart taking the floor to ask of presidency postponement of election of members of commissions in order to study catalogues & letting different episcopal conferences discuss & recommend. Immediately Card. Frings arose and spoke in his name and those of König & Doepfner in the same vein. Presidency postponed elections to 2d General Congregation & asked episcopal conferences to submit lists to Secretariate of Council.

Behind this action lies a refusal to be swept into election which would favor . . . instructed group. The Council began with an act of resistance. Following the session, the Germans & French got very busy & worked in accord, forming with Holland, Benelux, Austria, Hung[ary] a complete list for all posts open. The Italians also met but showed a split. Their list did not include all posts but only some. Lat[in] Americans caucused. So did Africa-Asia. . . .

OCT. 22, MONDAY, 9:00 A.M.

4th General Congregation. (1st on Liturgy). Usual beginning. Lorenz Jaegher said the Mass. Felici announced elected to remaining 3 commissions. German triumph. . . . About 20 spoke. Most for schema. Only 4 against. Spellman spoke: against real reform and against vernacular; Vagnozzi called schema bad theology and wanted no real reform; Dante (Cong. Rit.) wanted no change. These were *extra Chorum*; vernacular desired by vast majority. One bish[op] sardonically criticized phony relics. . . . There is no doubt but that the progressives are leading in utterance and number. This means the traditionalists will begin playing dirty pool.

OCT. 23, TUESDAY, 9:00 A.M.

5th. General Congregation (2d on Liturgy). . . . About 20 spoke on the proemium & individual decrees. Ottaviani said what Vagnozzi said yesterday. He wants a theological revision, i.e. he does not like its theology. He claims it's ambiguous, when not down right wrong. Ritter spoke, & said his mind was shared by many American bishops . . . He favored vernacular in the didactic mass. McIntyre made a passionate speech in Latin . . . for the retention of Latin. No change! "Stability of faith endangered if Latin dropped." Ruffini the same but more gentle and genteel. Yet the majority wanted Latin either dropped altogether or in part. Patri.[arch] Maximos IV Saigh in French ridiculed any primacy for Latin. "Paul's advice that our words be intelligible is directed to us." . . .

OCT. 26, FRIDAY, 9:00 A.M.

7th General Congregation. (4th on Liturgy). Mass said by a black African bishop. Everything as usual. Frings presided. About 30 spokesmen. Still on Proemium & 1st chap. of Liturgy.

The Council has bogged down. The talk is incessant but nothing substantial is in it. It is very weary to listen to Bishops, most of whom make some picayune point. Latin is still the issue but a compromise is seen—some vernacular but Latin mainly.

Tonight the Comm[ission] of Extraordinary Affairs is meeting to see if a way can be found to get going. At present rate, more than a week on 1 chapter of hundreds, we'll be here for years.

OCT. 30, TUESDAY, 9:00 A.M.

10th General Congregation (7th on Liturgy). Formalities as usual. Alfrieb[?] presided. Gracias spoke movingly about the Indian crisis, indicating Ind[ian] bishops may have to return. [This was precipitated by the border dispute with Communist China.] Asked prayers. (Final Angelus said for India.)

Much talk. About 20. Principal subjects: two species communion & concelebration. McQuade of Dublin in name of Irish hierarchy, against both, Ottaviani against, & spoke 15 minutes & then silenced by presidency [Ruffini] which action was clapped heartily by the Fathers. . . .

The main problem is that the present procedure bogs down the works. Secret commissions are working. . . .

NOV. 6, TUESDAY, 9:00 A.M.

13th General Congregation (10th on Liturgy). An important meeting. After a Latin Mass, Felici & five translations announced the papal order empowering the presidency, having judged that the question has been sufficiently illumined, to introduce the vote for cloture, given by standing or hand-raising. The presidency promptly invoked cloture and it was then voted unanimously by standing. Chap[ter] 3 was then open for discussion—on Sacraments & Sacramentals. The desire for vernacular & local adaptations is overpowering. About 20 spoke. . . .

Felici then announced papal termination of first session on Dec. 8th with a papal mass. No date announced for reopening.

NOV. 16, FRIDAY, 9:00 A.M.

20th General Congregation (2nd on fonts). . . . Fight between rejection of schema and retention went on. McIntyre spoke *for retention*, and complained of scripture scholars. About 20 spoke. . . . Italians all for retention—their main spokesman was Florit of Florence—a well-minded conservative, who can use two or three words in German, which is supposed to show scholarship. Spaniards play a middle of road game; they admit schema is defective, but they all consider it a good enough base to argue from. Dangerous position, because changes will be of the text and its tone & orientation are bad & cannot be changed by verbal corrections. It must be reformed altogether. French, German, Dutch all for rejection. No unity of Americans. Africans for rejection.

NOV. 19, MONDAY, 9:00 A.M.

22 General Cong. (4th on Font[s] Rev[elation]). Emile De Smedt of Bruges spoke in the name of our secretariate—against the schema as un-ecumenical. It was the most eloquent address of the Council so far. Told how Theological Commission would not accept Secretariates schema on Ecumenism. For first time I went to Bar Rabas; met Chilean Bishops. Everybody anxious for Cloture. The dilemma is that neither right or left can get 2 thirds. The Left wants this schema killed; the Right will kill any other. . . .

NOV. 21, WEDNESDAY, 9:00 A.M.

24th General Congregation (6th on Fonts Rev). Ukrainian Pontifical Mass. Ended 9:55. Ruffini presided. The Pope came through. Felici announced that the present schema will be reworked by a mixed commission—Theological & Unity Secretariate. No discussion of schema on Fonts after today. (They have no speakers on new theme, so with no usefulness about 20 spoke on 1st chap. of Fonts Schema.)

At the next meeting, Friday, we begin the Schema of Means of Social Communication. Safe. No one really interested.

There is a strong, widespread, desire to go home.

Finished at 12:00 noon.

Ottaviani & the Italo-Hispanic bloc lost the Council today.

NOV. 24, SATURDAY, 9:00 A.M.

26th General Congregation (2d on communicat[ions]). . . . All morning talk on communications. One father . . . insisted on our service rather than our right. The scheme is so concerned with Church's right to the Radio, Television, Press. Since this right is not recognized by half the human race, this kind of talk is unrealistic. . . .

Only 9 days to go. Thanks be to God!

NOV. 30, FRIDAY, 9:00 A.M.

30th General Congregation (4th de Unitate). . . . Pope is sick but no reliable information. Some say a prostate operation is necessary. Others say it is a cold. One rumor says he had a hemorrhage today.

DEC. 4, TUESDAY, 9:00 A.M.

33rd General Congregation, (3rd on Eccl.). . . . The talk went on. . . . Less than half for. The schema's many shortcomings pointed out in countless ways. The only true defenders are the Italians.

The mixed commission is being dominated by Ottaviani, Ruffini & Parente. Our Sec. people not talking. . . .

Everyone tired and anxious to go. The council sessions boring & too many outside meetings to labor on afterwards.

Pope's condition still unknown. Rumors vary from cold to prostatitis to cancerous growth . . .—but there is no reliable information. . . .

WOODSTOCK LETTERS

DEC. 8, SATURDAY, 10:00 A.M.

Second Public Session. Before the Mass Observers went to Ciconnani's office in Secretariate of State. 9:15 A.M. Gave a little English talk in name of Pope. Lukas Vischer answered in French.

Paolo Marcella sang Mass of Immac[ulate] Conception. (Gregorian chant. Benedictine choir leading) Started at 10:00 A.M. promptly. Outsiders were present: diplomats, 3 princes et al. Pope came in at 11:00 & read a 15 minute platitude. All of us out before 12:00. It is over!

LETTERS TO WOODSTOCK

ROME, OCTOBER, 15, 1963

Dear Father Rector:

This letter brings you and the Faculty Fathers my infrequent report from Rome. . . .

The Council is moving very slowly. The discussion from the first Congregation to the moment has been dealing with de Ecclesia. Nothing startling has been said and the excitement of the First Session is missing. If the rhythm of the moment follows on, this Council will be longer than the Council of Trent. The Pope makes no interference. The Open Door School is in the ascendancy but there is a mood of compromise.

The voting has been on the Liturgy. The chapter on the Mass has been accepted *juxta modum*. This will delay the definitive formula. The problem seems to be how much vernacular will be allowed. The question of concelebration causes minor difficulties and this is also true of communion under both kinds (which in the original scheme is a rare event.)

The collegiality of the Bishops meets with the opposition of the Mediterraneans. They are ultra Papalists. We are far from voting on this point.

The Theological Commission is following the tactic of doing nothing. This will delay all action. Maybe that is what they want. . . .

The best joke: The Italians have a new division of Christians. The Italians are "we Catholics." The Protestants are the Separated Brethren. The non-Italian Catholics are the United Brethren.

I think of Woodstock often. Remember me in your prayers.

Sincerely yours,
Gustave Weigel, S.J.

November 11, 1963

Very Reverend Michael Maher, S.J.:

This is my second and last report to you from the Council. At the moment we can see the end and I expect to be in Woodstock immediately after the last congregation here. . . .

This time the newspapers are well informed of what is going on. Consequently you will know the news. The less visible of what is going on is important. The opened and closed parties are numerically indecisive. The open door advocates are in the majority but the minority is not small. Hence there is no clear victory for the Open Door. There is much tension and the Closed Door is far from giving in.

On the whole, the work done favors many changes. The episcopal nature of government is definitely decided. The question is to what degree this is true. It is hard to say much now.

It seems most probable that Ecumenism will be treated before this session is finished. But one cannot be sure even of that. This scheme includes a statement on Church and State under a less provocative title: Religious Liberty. This was done by Bishop de Smedt and P. Jerome Hamer, O.P. John Murray took on the ungrateful job of putting source foot-notes to the document. . . .

My health is good—but I am homesick for Woodstock.

Sincerely yours,
Gustave Weigel, S.J.

MAN FOR OTHERS: REFLECTIONS ON GUSTAVE WEIGEL

WALTER J. BURGHARDT, S.J.

MORE THAN A DECADE AGO, while playing the hypochondriac with uncommon conviction, I burst into Gus Weigel's room at Woodstock and announced triumphantly: "Gus, I told you so. There is something wrong. They've discovered a single diverticulum and a small diaphragmatic hernia." He looked up from his book, not unsympathetic but singularly unimpressed: "All right. Now you have a peg on which to hang your neurosis."

I revive this embarrassing reminiscence because it concretizes what in my experience was Gustave Weigel's dominant quality: he was refreshingly realistic. Oh yes, he could dramatize a situation, dress up an idea, ham a favorite insight, get gloriously entangled in Weigelian rhetoric. It may even be, as some claimed, that his conception of the Church was unrealistically Platonic, an ideal reality in some sense distinguishable from the living, sinful people of God. But in the main his life style was splendidly real, and the realism was quite pervasive.

Gus was realistic in his approach to persons. Thousands touched his life; yet there was nothing so important that he would not turn it off for any one of them. The principle? If a person was "there," why, there he was—and there was Gus. For fifteen years his Woodstock room was open to any member of the community, day or night. His time was yours, anywhere, whoever you were: Protestant observer in St. Peter's or Jewish newsboy at Gwynn Oak Junction; ambassador to Chile or colored cook in Woodstock's kitchen; bishop of Salt Lake City or teen-age daughter of a local friend; retired general in Florida or novice at Mount Saint Agnes. His life was a constant reproach to justifiable selfishness.

In line with this feeling for the person, Gus was realistic about human weakness. And sympathetic, in his strong fashion. Especially, perhaps, where "sins of the flesh" were concerned. Particu-

larly with adolescents. Some might have thought him a laxist in moral theology; I don't believe he was. He simply did not place any great emphasis on an individual action, on certain "growing pains," on regulations that obstructed or crippled, on universal principles isolated from flesh and blood. I suspect he would have found much in contemporary situation ethics to his liking. Not everything; for his individualism was deeply rooted in the Catholic community, in a dynamizing tradition.

Gus was realistic about his own person, his own gifts. They were many and varied: philosophical penetration, linguistic facility, leechlike memory, rhetorical artistry, a peasant energy, wisdom in counseling, psychological balance, feeling for foreign cultures, openness to new experiences, critical acumen, gusty humor—all so nicely harmonized for maximum productivity that I sometimes felt dreadfully inferior in the face of it. But still more impressive was his refusal to be particularly impressed by his gifts. They were just that, "gifts," God's gracious giving; and he tried with fair success not to get in God's way. He would have agreed with Martin D'Arcy's touching remark at the recent Club 21 celebration of his eightieth birthday: "Anything I've been able to accomplish has really been God's doing. If he weren't there, you know, the things I've done would all be quite silly."

Gus was realistic about theology. He saw clearly that the theologian's service to the Church, to man, is not so much the search for certainty as the quest for understanding—a point mightily stressed by his friend and colleague John Courtney Murray. He insisted that the one thing not permitted any generation "is the employment of categories which carry no excitement for those who hear the proclamation of the Gospel." Even his inflammatory reference to Catholic theological seminaries as mostly "barber colleges" was not uninformed or uninspired. And ever the realist, he could understand a student not doing *theology* during his four years at Woodstock; he could not tolerate his doing *nothing*.

Weigel was a realist in the quest for religious unity. An ecumenist before ecumenism was a Catholic concern, he always saw compromise as theologically unacceptable, soon recognized conversion as factually unforeseeable, and concentrated on convergence, in belief and worship, as most in harmony with the way the wind

was blowing and the Spirit was listing. He commended himself (and Catholicism) to Protestants like Robert McAfee Brown, to Orthodox like Alexander Schmemmann, and to Jews like Abraham Joshua Heschel by his openness, his frankness, his intelligence, his sympathy, his strong love—even his annoyed refusal to discuss anyone's sincerity: "Everybody's sincere."

Gus was realistic about his ecclesiology. I was convinced for quite some years that he should have been writing *the* ecclesiology for our time—scholarly, ecumenical, at once historical and existential—instead of traipsing off to the boondocks for a sodality lecture. Events have proved him right. A fresh ecclesiology would have been a mistake in 1960: the time was not yet ripe; it would have been ephemeral; all that came with such startling suddenness in Vatican II was still burgeoning. He could not have brought it off; no one could have then. It is even questionable whether Hans Küng has brought it off now, for all the learning, acumen, and insights of his recent volume on the Church.

Gus was a realist about death, about his death. He was not afraid to die. Not that he yearned for it "as the hart pants after the fountains of water"; Gus did not do much panting. It was simply that death was a fact of life, a Christian reality, a significant stage on the way to God. There it was, and so he faced it. One day it would come; but in contrast to most of us, he did not greatly care whether it came tomorrow or at the eschaton. And still I am perplexed by that near-fatal cancer. In 1954 he was as close to death as any man has a right to be and still live, when John Murray reportedly arrested the downward plunge with his famous "Gus, if you die on me now, I'll never speak to you again." It was the strangest of his unexplained experiences. As Murray said later, "He did not intend to live." It was as though he resented his cancer and his helplessness as "an aggression and an injury."

After that struggle with death, Gus Weigel was like a man in a hurry. There was so much to be done, and so few years. "He had a sense," Murray noted, "of living on borrowed time." Never did he refuse an invitation to speak, if it could somehow be squeezed into his schedule. His two-month lecture tour of Chile and Colombia in 1956 is exhausting even to read. During this decade his classes suffered increasingly—and he knew it. There was a principle

operative here: his conviction that, if he *could* do what he was asked to do, this was God's way of letting him know that he *should*. I disputed his principle, but as we look back now on his life and its influence, he may well have been right.

It is difficult to categorize Gus Weigel's realism, but he seemed more of an eschatologist than an incarnationist. He put small stock in what man can achieve. He rather saw God accomplishing his purpose on his own good time—as with the unity of the churches. He took great delight in Thomas Carlyle's remark on Lady Margaret Fuller's dictum that she accepted the universe: "Gad! She'd better." And yet he was not a fatalist or a quietist. You do not accept the universe, he insisted, if you do not accept it as dynamic, in evolution; if you do not move with it, help it to move; if you do not blend necessity with freedom, in a humility that recognizes limitation without being crushed by it. He had high regard for intellect ("The intellectual life is the most important element in any society"), but he was extraordinarily aware of its finiteness.

Gustave Weigel was a man who loved—not obviously, not with heart on sleeve, but deep within and with deeds. His life and his love were "ec-centric," centered on others. I have rarely met anyone who gave so little thought to his own comfort, his own convenience, his own rights, his own preferences, his own pain. How sum him up? Perhaps in the Bonhoeffer summation of Jesus: a "man for others." Carl Henry, editor of the fundamentalist fortnightly *Christianity Today*, recaptured Gus uncommonly well when he wrote several weeks after his dear friend's death:

Father Weigel and this writer attended major ecumenical assemblies and conferences in the role of observer. But one meeting with him stands out, a simple luncheon in a modest Washington restaurant. We had spoken frankly of our own religious pilgrimages and had exchanged theological agreements and differences. Then suddenly, at a point of important dogmatic difference, Dr. Weigel reached a hand across the table and clasped mine. Calling me by name, he said, "I love you." The editor of Christianity Today has met scores of Protestant theologians and philosophers of many points of view. None ever demonstrated as effectively as Gustave Weigel that the pursuit of truth must never be disengaged from the practice of love.