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## THE INQUIRY FORUM AND CONVERT GUILD OF THE CHURCH OF THE GESU, MILWAUKEE

WILLIAM J. GRACE, S.J.

In late August of 1945 Father Richard A. Cahill, pastor of the Church of the Gesu, Milwaukee, appointed three of his assistants, Fathers Thomas A. Finnegan, George E. McGalloway, and the writer, to start an inquiry forum for group instruction of non-Catholics. Although we were totally without experience in this particular type of work and unfamiliar with literature on the subject of group instruction, we welcomed the assignment as a prospective relief from what had become the burdensome task of teaching the catechism to individual inquirers who were constantly applying at the rectory. There had been days when one of us had spent an hour with each of half a dozen persons who had started at different times or who could not conveniently come together at the same hour. We foresaw that the group system would prove to be a time-saver, and we needed the time for other ministerial duties. We surmised, too, that we should be able to receive more converts into the Church once we had an organized and well advertised course of instructions to offer.

In the intervening six years we have not been disappointed with regard to either of the two advantages which we foresaw. The group system is surely a time-saver; and certainly we have received a larger number of converts since the Inquiry Forum has been in operation. In 1941, 70 adult converts were received at Gesu Church; in 1950 there were 245. During the five year span preceding the inauguration of group instruction the average number of converts per year was 85; during the first five years of the Inquiry Forum the average was 210 per year.

We opened the first class on October 1, 1945, and on December 23 closed a twelve-weeks course with a harvest of eleven souls. It was indeed but a modest beginning, with three of us engaged in the work. But the harvest has grown meanwhile. Six years later, on December 16, 1951, we had received a total of 868 inquirers into the Church. We have been confirmed

in our conviction of the value and the need of group instruction.

For several years past Father Edward J. Morgan, an assistant pastor, and Father William H. McEvoy, teacher of religion at Marquette University, have been on the staff in place of Fathers Finnegan and McGalloway, and Father Eugene P. Mullaney, assistant pastor, has been in charge of the follow-up work among our graduates. Later in this article we will explain the important contribution of Father Mullaney.

### Results and Activities

An experienced convert-worker had predicted that two-thirds of those in attendance would be Catholics. This proved to be true only in the first series of instructions. After that the proportion of non-Catholics increased, so that for several years past it has been slightly above fifty per cent. In each series Catholics register in greater numbers than the others, but the others always prove to be more persevering. In our early experience men outnumbered women among the converts; but over the six years the women have come into the ascendancy in the proportion of three to every two men. The records also show that more than half of the registered non-Catholics cease to attend after one or another meeting. On the other hand it is rather rare that one who has completed the course fails to join the Church. Invalid marriages which cannot be fixed up account for a fair proportion of the failures to carry through. In six years we have received persons from twenty-five different denominations, together with 139 previously unbaptized, these latter including several Jewish men and women. Ninety-two who had been baptized as Catholics in infancy were prepared for First Communion.

There have been interesting by-products too. For instance, 475 couples are known to have been prepared for a Catholic marriage instead of a mixed one; 153 spouses already united in mixed marriages have joined the Church; 50 marriages have been validated; and the nuptial blessing has been imparted to 80 couples who had already been validly married. Confirmations of adults in Gesu Church have increased notably since the Inquiry Forum was introduced. There were 66 such



confirmations in 1944 and 63 in 1945; in 1950 there were 207, and in 1951 the number was 219.

The Inquiry Forum is simple in concept and administration. It need not be a three-man affair, but it works out very well when it is. The catechism is sectioned into twenty-four lessons which are covered in twelve weeks, with one-hour meetings on Monday and Friday evenings. A twenty-fifth lesson is required, in the way of an hour-and-a-half tour of the Church building in groups, one tour being offered each month, in two sections if the crowd is large. The thirteenth week is used for group baptism and First Communion. Four such series fill out the year exactly, so that instructions are offered at all times. It was not until our second year that we realized that it would not be advisable to have an interruption during the summer months as we had planned. We found that we just could not tell people at the end of June that they might resume the course at the end of September. Some of them might have in mind to be married at the altar in August; and in any case an interruption of a quarter of a year is undesirable. Then there was the old problem from which we thought we had gotten away, namely of taking care of new inquirers who might come along during the intermission.

Each of the three Fathers takes his turn in giving two successive lessons. After that he does not again address the group for a period of two weeks. Therefore during one series he makes eight appearances on the rostrum. In each of the two subsequent series his subject matter is changed, so that in the course of nine months he has spoken on each and all of the topics in the program. Since all three Fathers are by this time prepared to present any of the subjects, substitution for one another is easily arranged when occasion so requires. Moreover, the three-man system assures variety for the auditors; and furthermore, one who wishes to attend through a second and a third successive series may do so without hearing the same speaker twice on the same subject.

### Textbooks

As basic textbook we use *A Catechism for Inquirers*, by Father Joseph I. Malloy, C.S.P., following it page by page

throughout, and have found it very satisfactory. For supplementary study the inquirers get Bishop Noll's famous *Father Smith Instructs Jackson* and must pass the six tests accompanying this book. These tests, incidentally, provide one of the most valuable aids for the learner. The Bruce Publishing Company's *The Greatest Prayer, the Mass*, is the primer from which the Holy Sacrifice is studied while our catechumens assist at Mass each Sunday. Each candidate for reception into the Church is required to possess the materials mentioned and is encouraged to acquire in addition a copy of the New Testament and to read a chapter a day. Over and above this, carefully selected pamphlets on the topic of the evening are made available, two being set out on adjoining armchairs at each meeting. Father Bertrand L. Conway's well-known *Question Box*, both in the regular and in the new "miniature" edition, is a popular purchase. Father Stedman's *Sunday Missal* is introduced when the course has been two-thirds completed. The materials mentioned in this paragraph and the preceding one are sold outside the lecture room by ladies of the parish. At each meeting a helpful leaflet or pamphlet is given gratis.

It is a thought-provoking assignment to present in twenty-four one-hour talks a well organized and comprehensive exposition of the religion which we may well say took us twenty-four years to learn. So we devote about fifty minutes of each session to explanation, reserving some ten minutes for necessary announcements and review. Sessions open and close promptly on the hour. Questions which individual inquirers may wish to propose are answered in part by means of the pamphlets and the *Question Box*, and for the rest through readily accessible personal conference with any of the four priests who are regularly present before and after the meetings. We have found that it is a rare auditor who is willing to ask a question before a gathering of any size. Moreover, questioners are inclined to stray from the topic under discussion, and their queries often do not command audience interest. Our solution, of having the inquirer propose his questions to an adviser of his own choosing, works out well and moreover forestalls the possibility of heckling and of acrimonious and embarrassing public sessions.

On beginning the course each inquirer is presented with a printed "Syllabus." This is essentially an orderly set of assignments for study of the textbooks in preparation for each lesson. The inquirer receives likewise a copy of "A Prayer for Light," which he is asked to say frequently.

Since inquirers are admitted to the classes at any time they may come, those candidates who complete the instructions in the midst of a series are received into the Church privately if they so desire. Most, however, finish with the group. The climax is then reached with the group baptism.

Once a year, with a view to stimulating the convert-mindedness of our Catholic people, the pastor brings in a guest speaker who is a prominent convert-worker. This Father occupies the pulpit on Baptism Sunday at the eight o'clock and subsequent Masses. Thus at various times our congregations have listened to Father John Oesterreicher of New York, convert from Judaism; Fathers John T. McGinn and James M. Gillis, famous Paulist writers and preachers; Monsignor Francis M. Schneider, Rector of St. Francis Seminary, Milwaukee, and Reverend Dr. John A. O'Brien, of the University of Notre Dame.

The group profession of faith, recited in unison and followed by baptism, is made at three o'clock on a Sunday afternoon. Both profession and baptism take place at the Communion rail, where there is one priest for each three candidates. For preparing the several items needed by each baptizing priest the services of the sacristan, Brother John Szczesniak, have been indispensable. During the ceremonies, for the interest of the congregation, a Father in the pulpit reads the profession of faith simultaneously with the candidates and then briefly summarizes the various portions of the baptismal rite as they are performed. After the baptisms the Reverend Pastor speaks a few words of welcome, and the service is closed with Solemn Benediction. By four o'clock it is all over. This simple but very solemn climax draws a goodly congregation. Catholics and non-Catholics alike are uniformly and deeply impressed by the significant corporate character of the occasion.

Following Benediction a group picture is taken. Then those who have been received repair to the Lower Gesu Church for

investment in the Scapulars and the medal of the Immaculate Conception. They complete their orders for the group picture and reservations for the First Communion breakfast which is scheduled for the following Sunday. Finally, an opportunity is offered those who wish to go to confession at this time.

As we closed our first series in December, 1945, we wondered whether we would ever succeed in assembling another class. But invariably since then a new and inspiring group has appeared for the opening meeting of each succeeding series. Here are the means which we use to draw an audience. An invitation-folder, explaining briefly the object and method of the Inquiry Forum, and indicating the detailed program for the year, is printed in generous numbers and kept constantly available in the Church, rectory, and other suitable places. Bulletin-board signs are displayed in the Church vestibule. At the Sunday Masses the topics and speaker for the coming week are announced. A word is put out over the air during the broadcast of the High Mass. The local weekly diocesan newspaper, *The Catholic Herald Citizen*, is most cooperative in making announcements and printing photographs of graduating classes. The secular daily newspapers readily run a story when requested. No paid advertisements are used.

Mention has been made above of a fourth Father who is regularly present at the meetings. This is Father Eugene P. Mullaney, Director of the Convert Guild, an organization intended to keep contact with our "alumni" members. He has a most important function in looking after the welfare and interests of those who have already been received into the Church. By being present at the meetings of the Inquiry Forum he forms friendships with inquirers. He is as readily accessible as any of the other three Fathers to be chosen as adviser. He makes arrangements for the First Communion breakfast and is in charge of the brief program which follows. He administers a library of several hundred books selected carefully for the interest and help of Catholics—old, new, and prospective. Shortly before the end of each of the four yearly series he edits and mails to all our converts a four-page lithographed *Convert Bulletin*. On Thanksgiving Day he is celebrant at a Nuptial Mass at which several dozens of couples receive the nuptial blessing to which they have but

recently become entitled. In the afternoon of Pentecost Sunday he conducts a Holy Hour for conversions. Now and again he arranges for group visits by bus transportation to various churches in the city, explaining in each the architectural and other features. It will readily be seen that the contribution of the Director of the Convert Guild is invaluable, since it is obvious that much would be lost without a sustained follow-up system.

Lest the impression be given that our group instruction is but a machine for mass conversions and that it lacks the element of personal contact with individuals, we think it important to stress the fact that as soon as an inquirer has developed sufficient interest to desire to be classified as a potential candidate he selects one of the four priests as his adviser. From this time on there are as many personal conferences as may be called for in the individual case. The writer arranges for a minimum of three such conferences with each of his advisees—one after the Creed has been covered in class, a second after the sacraments, and a third following the commandments. The adviser assumes full responsibility for checking on the fitness and preparedness of the candidate and for his ultimate acceptance or rejection.

The Church of the Gesu enjoys several notable advantages for our purpose. One such is its central geographical location in the city of Milwaukee, situated as it is just off the downtown district to its east, in the very center of the community from a north-south viewpoint, and about equidistant from the outlying suburbs. The best of automobile highways and public transportation facilities lead directly to our meeting place. Another distinct and very fortunate advantage is our position in the midst of the buildings of Marquette University. It has been our privilege to make use of the classrooms of the Law School, which stands at what is for our purpose the most desirable street corner in Milwaukee. This circumstance has proved to be most valuable. We have no need to invite our guests to enter Church or rectory or parochial school premises. We find that they get a certain satisfaction from "going down to Marquette for a course of lectures." Moreover, the school facilities, such as commodious classrooms, blackboards, and comfortable armchairs, provide an ideal set-

ting and atmosphere for instruction. We suggest that any of our Jesuit communities thinking of introducing an inquiry class consider the advantages of holding the meetings in college or university surroundings, if possible, rather than on parish property.

The thought is naturally suggested, too, that this particular type of apostolic activity might be carried on as well by cleric teachers in our educational institutions, if they have the time for it, as by those who are more definitely assigned to the ministry as parish priests. And why should not the student body in any of our Catholic colleges or universities be a fertile field for this apostolate of the classroom? Here in Milwaukee only occasionally does a student at Marquette University enroll in the Inquiry Forum although we direct attention to the opportunity. We believe that this is not because such a survey of the Catholic religion would be uninviting to many non-Catholic students. What deters them is the fact that with their studies they already carry a full burden of work. For this reason the idea of a non-credit course in the evening, under the direction of parish priests, does not present sufficient appeal. But it is our conviction that if such a course were offered for scholastic credit during ordinary school hours, and taught by members of the University faculty, the results might be surprisingly different. In this matter we are not indulging in mere theory. Father William H. McEvoy, one of the Inquiry Forum speakers and a member of the Religion department at Marquette University, a year or so ago persuaded his dean to allow him to offer our course for two hours of academic credit. In the very first semester there were forty registrants, and within a year the astonishing number of thirty-five of these joined the Church.

### Advantages of Group Instruction

The merits of the group method of religious instruction have frequently been explained and extolled during the past few years, notably by our good and zealous friend, Father John A. O'Brien, Ph.D. While recognizing the fact that in any educational effort the tutorial system, with one expert teacher for each learner, is the ideal, we all admit that this

system is just not practicable. That is the reason why there are classes in our schools, from kindergarten to university. Yet here we are, getting practically nowhere in the conversion of America, because unlike Peter and Paul and the other Apostles, we adhere to our old-fashioned custom of confining ourselves to the instruction, one at a time, of those who take the initiative in coming to us. The cost in time is terrific, and if many individuals have the courage to come, the comparatively small results we achieve are accomplished at the cost of a fairly staggering burden on the part of the teacher.

After all, there are but some forty-three thousand Catholic priests here in the United States, and a notable percentage of these are engaged in full-time non-ministerial occupations. On the other hand it is estimated that there are between seventy and one hundred million churchless people who have never received our message. Now, although school teachers greatly outnumber our priests, it would never occur to anyone to advocate that general education be offered only to such as the teachers might be able to accommodate individually, one by one. Why, then, our own inconsistency in offering opportunity for instruction in religion? Can it be said with truth that the cases are not comparable? We do not think so. It is our experience that the message can be given as easily to a hundred persons together as to one individual. And more effectively, perhaps; for the teacher is definitely inclined to prepare more carefully when he is to address a group. Experience has also proved that groups can be gathered. And so the inquiry class system seems to be the obvious answer to our problem of enlarging the Kingdom of God.

Much might be added concerning the advantages gained by the Catholics who attend the classes. Many of them follow the course with as much seriousness as do the most interested among those not of our faith. A large number study the texts and work out the six written tests. The average Catholic has perhaps attended the parochial school for eight years, graduating at the age of fourteen. Of course the teacher cannot do very much in the way of close reasoning with little ones of six, eight, ten, and twelve years. Consequently the children memorize a great deal which they do not thoroughly understand. Afterwards practically none of them ever take time

out to make a systematic study of their religion so as to satisfy themselves as to how one point leads to another and all the doctrines and practices hang together—in other words, so as to grasp the “reason for the faith that is in them.”

Then there are those, and they are very many, who have not had the advantage of even elementary school instruction under Catholic auspices. Many of these have attended Sunday School but little if at all. They are sadly in need of just what is offered in the group classes. But in addition there are persons who are considered and who consider themselves well instructed members of the Church, people who practise their religion faithfully and devoutly. Many of these have remarked at the end of the course that we would be surprised to know that they had learned much while accompanying a non-Catholic spouse or sweetheart to the classes. Of course we are not surprised at all. The surprise would be to hear that they had not learned much. The truth is that a well instructed and intelligent convert has in a sense a definite advantage over the average “cradle-Catholic,” inasfar as he has studied his religion with adult intelligence and in a systematic and integral manner—something which the born Catholic seldom does.

Therefore we consider that the fact that the classes awaken intelligent interest and cause close study on the part of Catholics, who constitute not far from one-half of our audience, is a feature of very great value. These born Catholics, as well as many converts, often turn out to be real apostles in bringing others to a knowledge of the truth.

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Should any reader be interested in getting further and more detailed information concerning the class group system as developed at the Church of the Gesu, we refer him to two numbers of *Techniques for Convert Makers*, a helpful monthly publication of the Paulist Press, 411 West 59th Street, New York 19. The first appeared in June, 1947 under the title of “A Syllabus for Doctrinal Instructions”; the other, “The Beginning of an Inquiry Class,” appeared in October of the same year. Single copies are available at the Paulist Press at ten cents apiece. “The Beginning of an Inquiry Class” has been reprinted in the book, *Winning Converts*, a symposium edited by Dr. John A. O'Brien and published in 1948 by P. J. Kenedy and Sons, New York.

Samples of our folder invitation-program, the “Prayer for Light,” registration cards, and “check-up” cards for the use of advisers, will be sent to anyone who writes for them to the author of this article.



## THE LAYMEN'S RETREAT AND THE LITURGY

GERALD ELLARD, S.J.

AUGUSTINE G. ELLARD, S.J.

**Nova et Vetera.** The Church in our day has made it abundantly clear, in dealing with the liturgical movement in *Mediator Dei* (1947) that 'liturgical piety' needs retreats to supply the requisite motivation: "As we have previously stated, such spiritual exercises are most useful and even necessary to instil into souls solid virtue, and to strengthen them in sanctity, so as to be able to derive from the sacred liturgy more efficacious and abundant benefits"<sup>1</sup> (178). If the 'liturgy' thus needs the *Exercises* is the converse also true? Does the modern retreat in turn need the support of the liturgy to make it yield fruit thirty-, sixty-, and one hundredfold?

Our question will limit itself to the Masses that fall within the retreat period, and for purposes of illustration we shall assume that type of retreat commencing on Friday evening, say, and ending on Monday morning. Any other disposition of time can be similarly planned. Should these Masses be directly integrated into the retreat sequence of thought, or should there be 'Mass as usual' and 'retreat' during the rest of the time? If in the mind of the Church as now enunciated, taking his part in offering the Mass is the layman's 'chief duty' (80), is it not also one that directly and primarily enters the scope of the *Exercises* themselves for finding and embracing God's will? Should not these retreat Masses, fully integrated into the retreat ideas, solidify that stage of the retreat already reached? And should not the easy connection between self-surrender in the retreat, and self-oblation in the Mass, put the layman into the position of perpetuating the retreat atmosphere, by carrying back into his parish life the retreat 'offertory of self' taught and practiced in the course of the retreat Masses?

The purpose of a retreat may be set down in very few words: so to conquer myself as to accept God's plan for my life in union with Christ in the Church. Beside this goal let us set the description of the ideal laymen at Mass, as formulated by Pius XII (99): "With the High Priest and through

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Editor's Note: Numbers within parentheses refer to the numbered paragraphs of the America Press edition of *Mediator Dei*.

Him they offer themselves as a spiritual sacrifice, that each one's faith ought to become more ready to work through charity, his piety more real and fervent, and each one should consecrate himself to furthering the divine glory, desiring to become as like as possible to Christ" (99). Are the retreat exercises and the Mass, so conceived and realized, two cross-purposes, or supplementary approaches to the same goal?

Although written chiefly to serve as a manual in winning well disposed individual exercitants to an apostolic career, the *Exercises* were very early put to other fruitful purposes, and have been so used from the outset. Jesuits can always direct the *Exercises* to promote any program of current Christian action. "Our holy Father [St. Ignatius] himself made much of the *Exercises* and seems to have hoped for abundant fruit from them," stated Very Rev. Father General (June 22, 1947).<sup>2</sup> The subsequent enumeration of spiritual objectives is clearly 'dated' by the central concern of the modern papacy:

to produce leaders and promoters of Catholic Action,  
to form nuclei . . . to penetrate the proletariat and leaven it,  
to find devoted men who . . . will strive to raise the working  
class to a standard of life worthy of a man,  
to train catechists and foster native vocations, etc.

This phraseology differs from what Father Roothaan would have used. How changed the terms, but not the platform, from that employed by the Basque nobleman four centuries ago in the proclamation of the great King!

"The Holy Ghost, sanctifying grace, the Sacred Heart, the Holy Eucharist, all may be made to enter largely into our retreat," Father Rickaby was persuaded. "And in our days the Holy Eucharist should enter largely. It is the mind of the Church. Leo XIII foretold that the Holy Eucharist was destined to be the main devotion of the twentieth century; a prediction that Pius X has done his utmost to fulfill."<sup>3</sup> What Father Rickaby then (1923) had in mind was to make room, *in the meditations*, for the Holy Eucharist. Later, when Jesuit spirituality was under widespread criticism for minimizing the role of corporate worship, the late Archbishop Goodier recalled the Annotation about the exercitant going to daily Mass and Vespers, and so did not hesitate to write: "So that *Mass and Vespers daily*, in other words, the daily *liturgical*

*services*, are part of the *Exercises* of St. Ignatius. How much he made of these is sufficiently shown in his own early life at Manresa. Yet, for what purpose, seeing that liturgy is in no way connected with the *Exercises'* supposed specific purpose? Surely the answer is contained in the first definition, given long ago on the first page of the book: 'every method of vocal and mental prayer.' No kind of vocal prayer can compare with the liturgy: none more 'raises the mind to God'; to live by the liturgy is to live in the atmosphere of the angels, who sing *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus* for all eternity."<sup>4</sup> The Archbishop was writing a generation after Father Rickaby, and his words seem to suppose a much fuller place for liturgical prayer in the *Exercises* themselves than Father Rickaby had envisaged. Is it a case of *haec facere et illa non omittere*?

**Impense promoveant.** No Jesuit would find it in any way strange that, under certain circumstances, the works of the Apostleship of Prayer would naturally fall within the scope of the *Exercises*. In *Menti Nostrae* (Sept. 23, 1950) the Holy Father appeals to it in a context dealing with "Various Forms of the Modern Apostolate." Thus:

The priest must also strive to see that the faithful have a correct understanding of the doctrine of "the Communion of Saints," and that they feel it and live it. For this purpose let him zealously recommend those institutions known as "the Liturgical Apostolate" and "the Apostleship of Prayer."

Other projects of this "Social Apostolate which are demanded by our time," are Catechetics, Catholic Action and Missionary Action. In this enumeration there are put in the first place in the modern distribution of emphasis the works of the liturgical apostolate, as the Pope calls it, using the name he adopted in *Mediator Dei* (109). Is this an apostolate that is in place, or out of place, in our retreat houses from coast to coast?

**Mediator Dei et hominum.** But prior to urging action based on *Mediator Dei*, its relevant doctrinal pronouncements must be kept in mind. I would advance the following list, with the pertinent paragraphs indicated in each instance. Christ is the principal offerer at Mass; with Him, through Him, all others offer (93). The power of orders apart (43), all the baptized are members of Christ the Priest, and share, in lay degree, in

His priesthood (88, 104). Chief duty and supreme dignity of the layman is to collaborate in offering Mass (80). The essence of the Mass lies in the twofold Consecration (70, 115). Transubstantiation apart, laymen also offer the Mass (92). The layman offers the divine Victim, though in a different sense from the priest (85). The layman offers with Christ (86), and through Christ (96). The layman offers by the priest (92), and also with the priest (87). The layman, as the priest, must be a co-victim (98). Mass is not the sole, but it is the chief manifestation of this victimhood (99). The layman should add himself, his joys, his sorrows, to the Big Sacrifice (104), saying 'Amen' at the celebrant's *per Ipsum* (104). Communion, prescriptive for the priest, is urged, daily, for all (115). Sacramental Communion is a sharing in the Sacrifice (118). It should be received, if feasible, right after the celebrant's (121), and preferably with a host consecrated in this Mass the layman offers (118, 120). Our thanksgiving lets us share in those acts with which "He worships the Father" (127).

**Operatio sequitur esse.** In the external forum of ritual expression the Pope offers many ways of showing "that the Mass must be regarded as the act of the whole Mystical Body of Christ" (106). The laity should be conscious of their chief duty, supreme dignity, in offering the Mass (80); bringing the bread and wine, where customary, or by offering stipends (90); using the Roman Missal, as feasible (105, 108); having Dialog Mass in approved forms (105); singing hÿmns suited to that part of the Mass-action (105); combining Dialog Mass with singing of hymns (105); sharing in the High Mass chants (105), in Gregorian (191), in polyphonic (166), and good modern music (193); forming a congregation "in which our Saviour, together with His children, sings His love" (192); in congregational song "like the roar of a thunderous sea" (194); in a church pervaded by cleanliness and propriety (189); in fine architectural and artistic setting (195, 196); with reverent, well-trained servers (200).

There is here an enormous aggregate of new directions, and hence the Holy Father asks each bishop in the Latin Church to appoint a diocesan director of the Liturgical Apostolate

to "carefully instruct them [the people] in all the legitimate ways We have described above, so that they may devoutly participate in it. The Mass is the chief Act of divine worship: it should also be the source and center of Christian piety" (201). Thus far, in this country, diocesan follow-ups have not been conspicuous. If it took a generation and more for us to discern the tangible realities sketched in *Rerum Novarum*, it will probably not take less for us to glimpse this *Corpus Christi Sacerdotis* here delineated. But sooner or later the whole papal program *will* become part of current Catholicism. In our retreat houses we can meanwhile appraise the retreat Masses as embodying these *Mediator Dei* programs: *cuius programmata hic sunt*.

**Faciendo me pauperulum, ac si praesens.** Of Ignatian Contemplation Father Maher states: "The charm of this prayer is that one views the scene as if one were witnessing it. This is in full keeping with the spirit of the Church, which so often, in her liturgy, speaks of past events as happening now."<sup>6</sup> If this *actuosa participatio* (to use the papal watchword) is applicable to *meditation* on the mysteries of Christ, is it less applicable to the Eucharistic Mysteries here and now being celebrated by Christ, by priest and by exercitants? Pending authoritative directions that may be given in this matter, the following suggestions are broached as a basis for discussion.

After the preliminary discussion the first evening, when the rules, the order of the day, etc., are explained, uniform leaflet missals may be supplied the exercitants, and a few minutes given to preparing the Dialog Mass responses (commencing at the *Kyrie*) for the following morning. Also a leader may be selected (the retreat Captain?) for the corporate recitation in English of a few selected Mass prayers. For the first Mass I would recommend the prayers we think of by their Latin *initia* as *Suscipe, sancte Pater; Deus qui humanae; Offerimus;* and *In spiritu*, and the three prayers between the *Agnus Dei* and Communion.

To carry out the *Mediator Dei* preference for Communion with hosts just consecrated at this Mass, a small, empty ciborium and a host box can be placed on a table at the en-

trance to the chapel, and the exercitant instructed to put in a host for his Communion; as Mass gets under way the ciborium may be brought to the altar.

**Pudore affectus et confusus.** A ten-minute sermon will be part of each Mass. The dominant note the first day is the sense of sin. With a copy of that same leaflet missal the exercitants have in hand, the retreat master can quickly point out the manifold references to sin and sinfulness everywhere present in the Mass rite, even without taking the Proper of the day into account.<sup>7</sup>

*Confiteor*—There is that humble and eloquent, twofold *Confiteor*, a sweeping, public confession before God the Saints in heaven, the brethren on earth, of sins of thought, word and deed, with the accompanying absolution-forms and versicles.

*Aufer*—Rid us of our guilt, give us pure hearts.

*Oramus*—Pardoned be every fault of mine.

*Kyrie*—Lord, have mercy; repeated nine times over.

*Gloria*—Even in the *Gloria*, the Lamb that taketh away sins is thrice asked for mercy.

*Munda*—Cleanse as if by fire, that I shame not the Gospel

*Credo*—Who for love of us men, and because He would bring us salvation . . . was nailed to a cross.

*Suscipe*—For all my sins I offer it, that are past numbering, for every wrong done, for every slip or negligence.

*Offerimus*—Thy pity, Lord, invoking, this cup we offer that is the pledge of our deliverance.

*In spiritu*—With bowed head and contrite heart.

*Lavabo*—Guide my steps clear of wrong; deliver me in Thy mercy.

*Suscipe*—For an abiding token of Christ's Passion we offer it.

*Te igitur*—In humble prayer we approach Thee.

*Memento*—For their souls' ransom and safe-keeping.

*Communicantes*—Shield us with Thy protection.

*Hanc Igitur*—From eternal loss delivering us.

*Haec quoties*—Do this . . . for a commemoration of Me.

*Unde et*—A Body so holy it brings eternal life, healing draught that shall preserve us evermore.

*Supra quae*—A Sacrifice so holy, free from all spot.

*Supplices*—Let us plead before Thy Divine Majesty for all who shall partake of this altar on earth.

*Nobis quoque*—To us servants, sinners who yet put their trust in the abundance of Thy mercy.

*Pater Noster*—And forgive us our trespasses.

*Libera*—Be they ever by sin unhampered.

*Agnus Dei*—Have mercy, have mercy, grant us peace.

*Domine . . . qui*—My sins forget.

*Domine . . . Fili*—From all guilt of mine and from all harm deliver me.

*Perceptio*—In Thy mercy let it help me.

*Domine, non*—Lord, I am not worthy.

*Quod ore*—May Thy gift on earth be my health in eternity.

*Corpus*—Never a stain of guilt be left in me.

*Placeat*—This sacrifice I have made all unworthily.

At every step in this first Mass of the retreat our sins are always before us. With each repetition there should be a fresh conviction that we are penitent sinners, wholly dependent upon the mercy of this Lord, who in the first Mass gave His Body and Blood for the pardon of those sins.

*Oblationem maioris momenti et aestimationis.* On the second full day of the retreat, the exercitants, chastened, purified and fired by fresh love, are studying God's great plan for mediation and redemption through all the Christian centuries. Today they will be praying not to be deaf to Christ's calling in the *Kingdom*; that, despite all Satan's wiles and deceits, they be found ever true to Christ's *Standard*; so to conquer self-love as to be ready, in following Christ, to accept—even to welcome—poverty, humiliations and suffering, if so they be called. The second retreat Mass, accordingly, should support and interpret the challenge of the *Exercises* on this level also: *ecce, dedi vobis exemplum.*

*Quo actuosius, eo fructuosius.* The evening before let ten minutes be given to rehearsing the group recitation of the *Gloria* (and *Credo*), if they occur in the Mass to be celebrated.

The scope of corporate praying under the leader should be increased over the previous Mass. By way of *sung prayer* the *Sanctus* can be sung *recto tono* by the group instead of being recited, and possibly also the *Agnus Dei*. In the morning when the men come into the chapel let them find the little table for the empty ciborium and host box halfway up the aisle.

**Baptismum habeo baptizari.** God's great plan for our redeeming centered, of course, in 'laying hold' of human nature assumed to the Second Person of the Godhead. A more *unequal* partnership could not be imagined. Christ's human nature was dedicated to continuous subjection and subordination. "When we are tempted," says Father Prat, "the will is drawn in two opposite directions; there is a battle between the attraction of evil and the call of conscience. In Jesus' case, there was nothing similar to this. The proposal of evil could evoke in Him only aversion and horror. Yet even within Him there could at times be struggle and hence victory and merit. His will was not momentarily suspended between good and evil; but, though the path of duty is laid out clearly before the mind, it is often painful and hard on nature. 'The whole life of Jesus,' says the author of the *Imitation*, 'was a cross and a martyrdom.'"<sup>s</sup> All these preliminary sacrifices in the life of Christ looked steadily toward that culmination on Calvary. And, as far as Christ's self-surrender and self-oblation go, this Mass is Calvary all over again: *usque ad crucem illam, usque ad Missam hanc.*

**Suscipiamur.** "In order [says Pius XII] that the oblation by which the faithful offer the divine Victim in this sacrifice to the heavenly Father may have its full effect, it is necessary that the people add something else, namely, the offering of themselves as a victim (98) . . . While We stand before the altar, then, it is our duty so to transform our hearts, that whatever of sin there is may be completely blotted out, while, whatever promotes supernatural life through Christ be zealously fostered and strengthened even to the extent that, in union with the immaculate Victim, we become a victim acceptable to the eternal Father" (100). This is the task of today, and tomorrow, and always, *agendo contra sensualitatem et amorem carnalem.*



**Bonum est nobis hic fuisse.** At the end of his own vigil at Montserrat the pilgrim Iñigo hung up his sword in fine knightly gesture. Psychologists would tell us that some such ceremonial expression (*sicut exigit humana natura*) is demanded for that final retreat Mass which will put the right seal on the whole retreat, and send the exercitants back to their ordinary tasks in the mood of genuine exaltation. Despite the bustle and hurry of the last morning, one should steadfastly oppose shortening or skimping the concluding Mass, or telescoping it with other 'closing' exercises. On the contrary, things should be planned (by starting earlier?) that the Monday morning Mass be built up so as to form a splendid and climactic setting, when the offering of the now concluded election, or reform-resolution, will have just the proper pitch. In the *Exercises* everything leads up to *Suscipe, Domine*; but the sacrificial part of the Mass begins with *Suscipe, sancte Pater*. Can we not instruct retreatants to make that 'oblation of self' at every Mass, Sundays and weekdays, in substantially the same frame of mind in which they do it at the end of retreat? *Et verbis, et magis in operibus.*

**Impressio psychologica.** "The ultimate end of every sacred function," said Pope Pius XII (Feb. 25, 1945), "is to glorify God and make people grow in grace. To that end all must converge, even the psychological impression the Church's offices create." What is then the psychological impression to be aimed at in the final retreat Mass, as on Monday morning? If there is one note that pervades the pastoral directives of *Mediator Dei*, it is the dignity, the beauty, the splendor, the majesty of public worship. Obviously, then, it is High Mass that should be aimed at for that last morning.<sup>9</sup> If the *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* were introduced into the second Mass, it remains only to provide for the *Gloria* (and occasionally the *Credo*). The personnel of many retreats of around forty men would likely provide four or five ex-choir members that would assume the burden of that *Gloria*. For the Proper the permission to have it *recto tono* suffices even for parish churches and religious houses.

**Tibique reddunt vota sua.** Some retreat masters in the Middle West at the final exercise of high school retreats en-

courage the retreatants to bring their retreat-resolution in a sealed envelope, and to deposit the envelopes at the front of the chapel. On a more mature level a corresponding provision could be offered in retreat houses, so that the sealed reform-resolutions be deposited in a box, as the exercitant puts his host for Communion into the open ciborium, at the front of the chapel the last morning. It is a further way of "offering themselves, their cares, their sorrows [their joys] in union with the Divine Saviour on the Cross" (104). *Et nos una secum.*

**Suscipe Domine.** The final Mass sermonette should be a spirited summing up of the retreat lessons, and perhaps a paraphrase of the *Suscipe oblationem servitutis nostrae* for any and all of the calls of Christ, or the proposals of His Vicar (whose Apostolic Blessing is conferred at the end). This last talk could again urge that henceforth that self-oblation in the Mass be that of the present moment:

Suscipe, Domine, propositum secessus mei: ad iuvenes contra pericula moderna praemuniendos; ad Actionis Catholicae duces et promotores comparandos; ad proletariorum massam per nucleos penetrandam; ad operariorum classem ad dignitatem humanam elevandam; etc.<sup>10</sup>

**Vetera quodammodo nova.** Our present Holy Father in addressing the First International Congress of Religious on December 8, 1950, spoke with understanding sympathy "on the need that religious institutes feel to adjust themselves to the changes inherent in the times, and to unite the past with the present in harmonious alliance."<sup>11</sup> This paper suggests that part of such adjustment by Jesuits be in bringing the Masses that fall within the Laymen's Retreats into fuller agreement with the programs outlined in the *Mediator Dei*. While the specific ministry of retreat houses is not mentioned by Very Rev. Father General in his recent (Dec. 25, 1950) directives on liturgy, it is surely not excluded from the general summary: "*Nostrum enim est Ecclesiae servire, et ad mentem Ecclesiae amorem et praxim sacrae Liturgiae inculcare.*"<sup>12</sup>

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In connection with the above article consult the review of Father Donnelly's *The Retreat Mass* in this issue.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> This passage is cited in slightly different phraseology by Father Maher, *Under the Seal of the Fisherman* (Los Altos, 1948), p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of Father General "On Our Ministries," English translation, ISO (St. Louis: ISO, 1947), p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> J. A. Rickaby, *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola* (New York: Benziger, 1923), p. 84.

<sup>4</sup> A. Goodier, *St. Ignatius Loyola and Prayer* (London: Burns Oates & Washbourne, 1940), pp. 145-6.

<sup>5</sup> NCWC translation, paragraph 57, p. 22.

<sup>6</sup> *Under the Seal of the Fisherman*, p. 28.

<sup>7</sup> Ordinary and Canon are here cited from Msgr. Knox's *Holy Week* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1951).

<sup>8</sup> F. Prat, *Jesus Christ* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1950), I, p. 162.

<sup>9</sup> When the United States will have obtained, what most European countries (in varying measures) now share, the faculty of having evening Mass, a grand Mass celebration could be planned for the evening of the last day, and thus be the right prelude for a closing banquet, and also automatically eliminate the strain of early morning rush.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Acta Romana*, XI (1947), p. 329.

<sup>11</sup> Several paragraphs cited with commentary by Father Yanitelli in the Silver Jubilee issue of *Thought*, XXVI, 100 (Spring, 1951), p. 131.

<sup>12</sup> Epistola et Ordinatio de "Ramo Orientali" Societatis Jesu, *Acta Romana*, XI (1950), p. 892.

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### Music and Missionaries

Music and missionaries form an almost irresistible combination for the Japanese in Hiroshima. For the fourth time in three years of its existence, the Jesuits' Academy of Music was invited to give a music program over a nation-wide radio hook-up. Various parts of Schubert's Masses and a *Da Nobis Pacem* were performed. Japan has some six million radio sets and forty-four million radio fans.

Even before the War one-third of the Japanese who enrolled for music lessons signed up as catechists. Only two or three per cent of those in the language classes do so. It was this fact that encouraged the Jesuits to establish the music academy.

The academy gave a concert in the town of Kure, where six hundred music lovers crowded a hall and heard a lecture on the relationship between Japanese culture and Catholicism.

*St. Ignatius Church Calendar*  
(San Francisco)

## FORDHAM'S INSTITUTE OF CONTEMPORARY RUSSIAN STUDIES

J. FRANKLIN EWING, S.J.

The times being what they are, it would be difficult to search out a more recognizably appropriate field of special study today than Russia and the Russians. This is precisely the field of Fordham University's Institute of Contemporary Russian Studies. The amount of general ignorance about the Russians and about the other peoples of the USSR is second only to our present concern about what they are going to do next. Hence the word "contemporary" in the title of the Institute; hence, too, the interest it has aroused. A few students will come to it because they are genuinely interested in a scholarly way; but it is jobs, not scholarship, that motivate the average student. People with special knowledge of the Russian language and of the culture of the USSR will obviously be at a premium for some time to come. One of the functions of the Institute is to prepare the students, whether they wish it or not, for *intelligent* activity either at home or abroad in the Russian field.

That last sentence hints at more than the short-term view. Even aside from the fact that a Jesuit project should always have a long-term view, such an aim is forced on us by circumstances. Whether we like it or not, Russia and the Russians are going to be important in our world for a long time to come. No matter what happens (whether the United States and Russia engage in a war, or whether they continue in the amorphous state miscalled peace), Russia will continue to be the other paramount pole in a divided world. In any case, the Bolshevik regime cannot last forever. We must look ahead to the time when we and other peoples must supply Russia and the peoples of the present USSR with the best cultural and above all spiritual, aid that we can. This means training men who will have an inner understanding of the character and psychology of the Russian people. It means training men who will also add to their appreciation of the native dignity of the Russians a practical knowledge of social science. Above all, it means for us Jesuits training men who will be apostles of that Christ without whom a knowledge of language, social custom and practical procedure would be ineffective.

Taking the long-term view, therefore, the program of the Institute must be academic, patriotic and apostolic. Academic, because it must aim at preparing area specialists. These may come in various sizes, from the new A.B. who has majored in Russian to the university professor. Patriotic, because America needs such men right now. Now or in the future, whoever can contribute understanding and action towards a better world is also patriotic. Apostolic, because, unlikely as it may seem right now, the USSR will certainly one day be a mighty field, white unto the harvest. Just for once, the children of light should be on time instead of vainly trying to catch up with the children of this world!

The simplest way to describe the attempts of the Institute to achieve its aims is to enumerate the types of students it is training, the type of courses it offers, and the type of approach it emphasizes.

### Foundation

The Institute of Contemporary Russian Studies was founded in the summer of 1950. The prime mover in its creation was Father Thurston N. Davis, Dean of Fordham College. The first Director was Dr. Richard T. Burgi, a Fordham College graduate with a Ph.D. in Russian from Columbia University. It is difficult to praise Dr. Burgi too highly. His energy and vision set up a language course second to none. The direct method was used. This intensive method has become quite usual, since the last war stimulated educators really to teach a language instead of just making ineffectual passes at it. But such a method does not require simply setting up and the hiring of teachers. It demands continual supervision and coordination. Dr. Burgi gave it that. In addition he listed "related courses" in Russian religion, philosophy, anthropology, literature and history. This was a good beginning of the comprehensive survey indicated by our course-list today. Dr. Burgi was very kindly loaned by Yale University for a year. During the past summer he decided to return to Yale, for very good reasons. His loss is mourned. The writer succeeded him.

The Institute caters to three classes of students (of which there are one hundred now), and this fact makes schedules complicated. Fordham College students may major or minor

in Russian while gaining their A.B. Beginning last September students of the Graduate School may do the same, achieving the degree of M.A. Certificate students are people belonging to neither the College nor the Graduate School. These students may take one or all courses although the normal practice is for them to follow a planned schedule preparing them for the certificate. Any one of the three categories of students who passes a comprehensive examination in the Russian language and culture may be granted a certificate by the Institute. This certificate is graded according to several levels, and the actual courses taken are listed on the back.

The faculty of the Institute is composed of full-time Institute teachers, part-time teachers, and regular University teachers who have been willing to cooperate with the Institute. It would be boring to enumerate them all, and unfair to pick out some rather than others. Suffice it to say that we have a faculty of outstanding excellence and variety, and one which is more largely composed of native Russians than are the faculties of other Institutes. The fact that the student can take advantage of the resources of the University by attending related courses greatly enriches the educational potentiality of the Institute.

### Russian Culture

The bulk of time is spent by the beginning student in learning the Russian language. Not only is the language in itself valuable but it is a necessary condition for progress in understanding any phase of the Russian situation. The intensive courses are all ten hours a week, and three such yearly courses are demanded of the student who would sit for the certificate examination. Of the ten hours, three are allowed for grammatical and linguistic lectures (in these alone may English be spoken), and seven hours are devoted to conversation, reading and composition in Russian. There are five-hour courses for those whose schedules are crowded, and sundry others for those who wish only a smattering, or a reading knowledge, of Russian. The fact that the Institute does not think only of Russian, as it were in a vacuum, but is planning to include the linguistic and geographical neighbors in the near future, is indicated by the inclusion of Czech and Polish.

The other courses are listed under the rubric of "Russian Culture." The word "culture" is here used in its anthropological sense; namely, every phase of that unified thing known as the Russian people's way of life must be considered, and considered important in itself and in its interactions with the other phases. This Russian culture is studied under the following headings:

Religion (of primary importance in any culture); Philosophy (Russian philosophy is richer than the average Westerner might think; unfortunately, we must here list the course which is tremendously important to us, too: the philosophy of Marxism); Literature (Russia has a vast literature; these courses are divided according to the knowledge of the Russian language or the lack of it; courses are also given in Russian for advanced students); Art (not just a dilettante subject; art, like literature, is a window on a national soul); History (a culture is absolutely unintelligible without a knowledge of its history); Anthropology and Geography; Sociology; Economics; National and International Affairs (this is a catch-all title, including politics, law and international relations, military affairs, and the techniques of Communism).

Most of these categories include courses given in Russian; these are not only designed for the advanced student but also for the Russians now exiled from their home country. New York has more Russians than any other place outside of the USSR itself. As a matter of fact plans are now being laid for a separate college for these people in New York. You will hear more of this in the future, I hope.

In addition to academic courses, we have a number of extra-curricular activities. Public lectures, both learned and popular, are presented. Every Monday evening the Institute puts on an hour's radio program over the University station, WFUV-FM. This program, half in English and half in Russian, symbolizes the basic ideal of the Institute: mutual understanding. We will start a Bulletin of Information as soon as plans are completed and money has been collected. A faculty seminar gives us the benefit of the varied skills of the teachers. The Vladimir Soloviev Society is the Russian Club; its activities include cooperation with other such bodies in New York, the

promotion of socials, lectures and motion pictures, and the publication of a student journal. Finally, research, which is the continual stimulant and refresher of knowledge and instruction, is going ahead at great pace. Two major publications should appear in 1952. Research projects are numerous, several of them financed by branches of the Government.

These regular extra-curricular activities are supplemented by individual events which help fill out our picture of activity. During the summer school, for instance, the Institute sponsored an exhibition of Russian icons. This exhibition, which attracted considerable attention, was held in the Duane Library with the cooperation of that institution, and was the worthy forerunner of a larger exhibition planned for the future. Recently the Institute sponsored the first theatrical productions of the Communication Arts' Theatre Division. A curtain-raiser in Russian, "The Strong Feeling," was performed by the students, while the Theatre Division itself produced the long play, Gogol's "Inspector General." On a quieter key the Institute answers innumerable queries and appeals for guidance in matters Russian and Communistic. It is also taking the initiative in the formation of a federation of Catholic centers of Russian work, here and abroad. There are some sixteen of these, and we intend to forge a common bond by publishing news of all activities and urging united action.

The present and future work of the Institute has been greatly enhanced by the formation on the Campus of the Russian Center. This project will be described in a later issue. Here I shall simply state the Institute's appreciation of the cooperation of the Fathers of the Center.

It is only proper that the appreciation of cooperation be extended to the administration of Fordham University, beginning with the Very Reverend President, Laurence J. McGinley, and including all here who have assisted the Institute. The number of these latter is large. It is the hope of the President and of Fordham that the Institute flourish as an apostolic instrument. I bespeak a prayer from all of Ours for this important work, and the attention of our younger men to this possibility of specialized apostolate.



## PAIRS OF WORDS IN THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES

LOUIS J. PUHL, S.J.

In almost any commentary on the *Exercises* of St. Ignatius you will find expressions to the effect that St. Ignatius was a man of few words, or that he did not use two words where one would do. If we examine the Foundation, we can easily understand the reason for these statements. As Father Bouvier points out in *Authentic Interpretation of the Foundation* (West Baden, 1943, p. 26), we have in the Foundation in a few sentences the highest perfection that can be attained by reason without appealing to the light of faith. It is summed up in the final sentence: "Our one desire and choice should be that which is more conducive to the end for which we are created."

Despite the importance of the Foundation in the *Exercises* and in the whole spiritual life, no time is assigned by St. Ignatius when it is to be made, nor the length of time that should be devoted to it. It just stands at the beginning with its significant title, First Principle and Foundation. It is true, there is a passing reference to it in the nineteenth Introductory Observation which deals with the manner of giving the *Exercises* to those engaged in public affairs or necessary business. They should devote an hour and a half each day to the *Exercises*. The first subject that should be explained to them is "why man is created." It is also true that the central thought of the Foundation is constantly repeated in the Preparatory Prayer and in the different ways of saying in forty-four separate places, "for the glory of God and the salvation of the soul." But apart from these indirect references the Foundation is left to speak for itself.

Another example of the brevity of the *Exercises* is the treatment of the exercises of the First Week. They are arranged in the form of the exercises of a single day: two meditations, two repetitions, and an application of the senses. It is true, we are told in the fourth Introductory Observation that each Week is to last approximately seven or eight days, and that it may be lengthened or shortened according to the needs of the exercitant. That is all the direction we have for the important matter of the First Week.

The fact is that if it were not for tradition in the Society and the precious documents left us in the Directory and in many of the letters of the Saint's first companions, it would be very difficult to understand the *Exercises*. This explains why those who have not these means often fail to fathom them or to see their importance. I have in mind the author of a very excellent book, frequently used as a text in seminaries and widely read for spiritual reading, which often mentions St. Ignatius and the *Exercises*. I do not wish to mention the name in order not to detract from the great good the book is doing. But a check on all the passages where the spirituality of St. Ignatius is mentioned and the *Exercises* are treated reveals that there is always some misunderstanding lurking in the mind of the author. Others flatly deny that there is any such thing as the spirituality of the *Exercises*, and openly write against it.

This brevity and difficulty of understanding also explain why, despite the large number of commentaries and developments of the *Exercises*, retreat masters outside the Society commonly do not find anything inspiring in the *Exercises* and are not tempted to make use of them in retreats. The logic and efficacy of the *Exercises* escape them.

With the reputation for precision and conciseness, it is rather surprising to find so many pairs of words used in the *Exercises* where one word would do. A count reveals some four hundred instances of this practice. This number includes the many repetitions of the same favorite couplet, but excludes cases where two words evidently have a totally different meaning, and also the frequently occurring appellatives for Christ and for God that are double.

Of the 370 sections in the text of the *Exercises* 192 contain such combinations of words, and 178 have none. In some sections there are very many; thus in No. 2 there are nine, and in No. 189, on the reformation of life, there are fifteen.

It is instructive to observe the places where they most frequently occur. Wherever important matter that must be emphasized and stated very clearly is treated, the number increases. Thus in the second part of the Second Week where the Saint is dealing with the important matter of the Choice of a Way of Life, No. 135-189, there are 110. This is the

greatest frequency in any part of the *Exercises*. Next are the rules at the end of the *Exercises*, No. 315-370, with 109 pairs, then the Introductory Observations, No. 1-20, with sixty-two. The whole Third and Fourth Weeks with the Methods of Prayer, No. 190-260, have only forty-one cases. The simple directions in the Notes at the end of exercises and Weeks have practically none. The Mysteries of the Life of Christ, running from No. 261-312, have only two examples.

### Reason for the Pairs

This occurrence indicates that the reason for the pairs of words is that the Saint was seeking emphasis and clearness, and that they are not a mere mannerism of style. It is true, there are very many cases where we can find no such explanation. This should not surprise us if we understand the circumstances under which the *Exercises* were written. At the time of their composition the Saint had little education and was using an acquired tongue. To express accurately the idea in his mind he would have to struggle to find an appropriate word. The ease that comes with familiarity with a language and literary methods was wanting.

This explains somewhat the absence of these pairs in the Mysteries of the Life of our Lord. You have only to read them in Spanish and the differences in style and expression from the other parts of the *Exercises* are evident at once. This may be explained by the fact that the Saint was summarizing these parts from a work written in Spanish. The words are not of his own choice. We know that he gathered these points from the *Life of Christ* by Ludolph the Carthusian.

Let us now say a word, first about the appellatives for God, then about the different kinds of pairs of words occurring, and close with a few words and illustrations of each class.

The appellative "God our Lord" is used fifty-eight times. The frequency seems due not merely to a mannerism of style, but to the fact that it expresses a fundamental idea in the *Exercises* and the knightly spirit of St. Ignatius. The practical manifestation of love by service is certainly a central idea in the *Exercises*. That we owe this service to God because He is our Lord and Master is expressed briefly by the title, "God

our Lord." Furthermore, the reverence and loyalty of a knight to his lord is simply a part of the Saint's way of thinking. It finds expression in this appellative. The same holds for the title "Creator and Lord," used sixteen times. The fact that God is the Creator, the Infinite Good from whom all proceeds and on whom all depends, makes Him Lord and is the source of the service we owe Him and the loyalty with which we should follow Him.

Now to classify the words and give a few examples in each case. There are eight groups that are clearly distinguished. I shall quote all illustrations from the Latin of Father Roothaan, and indicate where they may be found by adding the number of the section. Father Roothaan retains all the pairs in his translation which all have at hand.

1. Most frequent are cases where words are paired for emphasis and precision. I have estimated that there are eighty-five examples of this. That St. Ignatius uses these similar words in an effort to force the meaning upon the mind is clear from the fact that they most frequently occur where great stress must be placed upon the ideas, for example, in the sections dealing with the Choice of a Way of Life. We may take as examples: *pure et debite* (No. 150); *demittam et humiliem* (No. 165); *vanus et stultus* (No. 167); *divina ac summa* (No. 20); *volo et desidero* (No. 48); *dona et favores* (No. 74); *liberali ac humano* (No. 94); *judicium et rationem* (No. 96); *dolere et sentire poenam* (No. 78); *favore et auxilio* (No. 98); *spectare et considerare* (No. 116); *eligere et recipere* (No. 147).

2. The second group contains some seventy-five instances in which the second word explains or gives some detail of the first. Very often these are cases of a general word followed by a more specific one. Thus there are forty occurrences of pairs equivalent to "the glory of God." The idea is expressed in the Foundation by three separate terms, "praise, reverence, and serve." In other cases any pair of these or synonyms of them are used. Thus we have: *amorem et laudem* (No. 15); *honorem et gloriam* (No. 16); *servitium et laudem* (No. 98); *laus et gloria* (No. 167). Only rarely do we have three, *obsequium, honor et gloria* (No. 16); or only one, *servitium*

(No. 155). The reason for these pairs is evidently to bring out the full riches of the idea.

Other illustrations of this second group are: *inordinata et obliqua* (No. 172); *appetitum inordinatum et tentationem* (No. 217); *debiliores et egentiores* (No. 327); *sumere et applicare* (No. 343); *culpa et excessu* (No. 343).

A young retreat master opened the consideration of the Foundation with a statement that he did not like the way in which St. Ignatius explained the destiny of man. He objected to the stress upon the service of God, and thought that it was better to say that man is made to love God. Little did he realize that he was echoing the criticism of certain enemies of the Society. He surely was not aware of the fact that there is good evidence that St. Ignatius had changed this passage to read as it does now from the common "know, love and serve." Certainly those coming to the *Exercises* are supposed to know God. As for love, the practical mind of St. Ignatius preferred the test of love given by our Lord, "If you love me, keep my commandments." Anyone who thinks that love is not sufficiently expressed has wholly missed the point of the colloquies of three great meditations of the First Week, the meditation on the threefold sin, on personal sin, and on hell. In these apparently terrifying meditations one of the chief fruits will always be love for the special predilection shown to us. It is true this development is often neglected. The colloquies are passed over with a few words, though for a retreat in its ideal form they are most important.

3. There can be no doubt that there are many pairs in which the words are practically synonymous, or where the distinction in thought is very slight and no advance in thought is secured. There may be seventy such cases. Thus in the contemplation on the Incarnation we have three times a pair similar to *planitiem et ambitum* (No. 102, No. 103, No. 106). Similarly we have several times *regere et gubernare* (No. 189, No. 365, twice). Other examples are: *Satiat eique satisfaciat* (No. 2); *blandem atque suavem, durum neque asperum* (No. 7); *animum ac vires* (No. 7); *inconsiderate et praecipitanter* (No. 14); *commoda et utilitates, incommoda et pericula* (No. 181); *purgat ac mandat* (No. 348); *illuminati et illustrati*

(No. 363); *non ita et iis modis* (No. 369); *vilis et pauper* (No. 344); *belli dux et caput exercitus* (No. 327).

4. The fourth class consists of pairs that appear similar but in the terminology of the Saint are really different. There are some sixty-five in this class. Thus the frequently recurring words "meditation and contemplation," and the corresponding verbs for these nouns "meditate and contemplate," are really distinct. Except in two cases, (No. 4, No. 230), the word "contemplation" always means an exercise on the life of Christ. "Meditation" means a consideration on a more abstract subject such as sin. The words "life and state" are also distinct. "Life" commonly refers to the way of living in the "state," and "state" refers to the vocation.

One instance of the kind is interesting because it deals with a very important matter and has been the cause of some difference of opinion. The little preparatory prayer that all our intentions, actions, and operations may be directed purely to the service and praise of the Divine Majesty is mentioned for the first time after the Foundation at the beginning of the First Exercise. It contains in fact the fruit of the Foundation and of the whole retreat, of every exercise from the Foundation to the Contemplation for Attaining Love of God. The importance St. Ignatius attached to it can easily be seen from the fact that it should be made "always," "without change," "before all meditations." He calls it the usual preparatory prayer, and insists on calling attention to it before every meditation he develops. Such insistence in a man sparing in the use of words means that there is something important here. Father Jaime Nonell, the most accurate and diligent student of the words of the *Exercises*, has carefully searched out all passages where the words occur and analyzed their meaning in the context. His conclusion is that "actions" refers to the interior acts of the will, resolutions, etc., and that "operations" refers to the external carrying out of these acts. The words "actions" and "operations" are not synonymous therefore, but similar words to which the Saint attaches quite a different meaning. It is true, Father Brou in one of his books on the *Exercises* sweeps aside the distinction with the words that the argument of Father Nonell has no weight. But

it should be noted that he also fails to show where the arguments of Father Nonell are at fault. I prefer to keep the distinction. It proves very helpful in the retreat. "Actions" refers to interior acts of the will, and "operations" to external acts. Paraphrasing the prayer we may say, "that all my intentions and all my good resolutions and all that I do in carrying them out may be directed purely to the service and praise of the Divine Majesty."

5. Almost equally numerous are illustrations of pairs where the words are similar and one perhaps would do, but the second adds to the idea of the first and advances the thought. Thus we have several times *ad quaerendam et inveniendam*. The second term expresses the will to keep seeking till we find. So "prepare and dispose," used in the first Introductory Observation and in several other places, differ in meaning. The second word refers rather to the mental conditioning of the subject. As further instances of this use we may cite the following: *praemonere et admonere* (No. 14); *sese iuvent ac proficiant* (No. 22); *attentos ac cautos* (No. 39); *defectus ac negligentia* (No. 90); *velim ac afficiar magis* (No. 166); *sincere et bene ordinata* (No. 174); *movet et eligere facit* (No. 184); *ratiocinari et petere* (No. 199); *se habere et gubernare* (No. 214).

6. The sixth class, a very interesting group, containing only about twenty-five examples, emphasizes the idea by repeating it negatively. This is a favorite method of amplification used by St. John in the Gospel. These instances occur chiefly in the section dealing with the Choice of a Way of Life. Thus we have *militent intra . . . ecclesiam . . . neque huic repugnantia* (No. 170); *bona . . . non mala* (No. 170); *accipere vel rejicere* (No. 171); *debite ordinata absque inordinatis affectionibus* (No. 172); *ordinate et non accedendo ad carnem* (No. 173); *debite ordinata sine affectione ulla inordinata* (No. 179); *facere quatuor et non quinque* (No. 227); *esse secretus et non detegi* (No. 326).

7. There are very few cases, perhaps only eight or ten, where it seems best to explain a pair of words by a hendiadys in the strict sense. *Attendendo et considerando* (No. 187), might be rendered "attentively considering." *Aptus et praeparatus* (No.

44), might be "fittingly prepared"; *multum declarasset et dilatasset* (No. 2), "had explained at great length"; *debite et ordinate* (No. 173), "with due order"; *claritatis et cognitionis* (No. 179), "clear knowledge"; *fraudes et malitias* (No. 326), "wicked deceits."

8. The last group is small but important and very interesting. In a sense it is most in need of discussion because it is little known. Where there should be two distinct sentences connected by a conjunction, we have only one with a double verb and double object. Two phrases or clauses might be combined in a similar way. If we translate literally and keep the verbs together and the objects together, one of the two verbs does not fit one of the objects. But when we separate them and form two sentences, the meaning is perfectly clear. Only about six examples of this were observed. Thus the Saint says, *odorare et gustare suavitatem et dulcedinem* (No. 124). The only fluent translation is to separate the sentences: "to smell the fragrance and taste the sweetness." In the title for the Rules for the Discernment of Spirits we have, *ad sentiendum et cognoscendum . . . motiones . . . bonas . . . et malas* (No. 313). The only way to make the verbs fit the object is to separate them: "for understanding the movements produced in the soul and for recognizing the good . . ." At times the words of two phrases are run together in much the same way: *multa cum vigilantia et attentione considerare et discernere* (No. 336), "to carefully consider and attentively distinguish."

### Conclusion

From this discussion of the pairs of words in the *Exercises* it will be evident that the statement of Father Calveras in the introduction to his Spanish edition of the *Exercises* is true. He points out that the first external characteristic of the style of St. Ignatius is a liking for what he calls in Spanish *expresión binaria*. But it is equally clear that in the majority of cases the pairs are not mere synonyms. They play an important part in developing and clarifying the thought. Some of them, as the appellatives, are rich in connotation and preserve even in translation the savor of the original.



## THE STORY OF THE GREGORIAN

1551-1952

EDWARD J. FISCHER, S.J.

The wind blowing down the narrow road leading to the Campidoglio on February 23, 1551 whistled past a new sign tacked near the entrance of No. 14: "Classes in Grammar, the Humanities and Christian Doctrine. No Tuition." The Roman College had just been born.

For some years Ignatius Loyola had been meditating the plans for a new college in Rome for the education of young men from all over the world. In *Roma aeterna*, in the center of Catholicism and under the fatherly care of Christ's Vicar they could drink deeply at the pure fountains of Christian Romanity and then carry their priceless acquisition back over the mountains and across the seas to the lands that they loved. Such men were badly needed to stem the rebellious Protestant spirit that was overrunning the world. The financial hurdles of this educational venture were to be handled by the Duke of Gandia, Francis Borgia, who was already a member *in secreto* of the growing Company of Jesus. When Borgia came to Rome in 1550 to gain the benefits of the Jubilee proclaimed by Julius III, he presented Ignatius with more than 4,000 *scudi* to be used either for the new church which Ignatius wanted to erect near the Professed House, or for the purchase of a few buildings in which he could start his desired Roman College. In addition, Borgia's two sons, the Marquis of Lombay, his successor, and Juan Borgia, were supposed to donate 1,000 gold *scudi* to the College annually.

With this money Ignatius rented No. 14 and on February 18, 1551 fourteen Jesuits, with Father Giovanni Pelletieri as Rector, moved from the nearby Professed House which was close to the present Gesù. On the following Monday classes in Greek and Latin were begun, and shortly afterward, classes in Hebrew. The Romans were quick to profit from this new tuition-free school. The crowds of young students grew larger and larger until the building was too small to hold them even

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at the end of the first school year. Then the Roman College began a thirty-year odyssey in an effort to find suitable quarters for the ever-increasing number.

### Scholastic Difficulties

From the very start the growing institution had two difficulties to meet, one scholastic, the other economic. There had existed in Rome from very ancient times what were known as "regional schools." Their origin is not precisely known but from their name it seems that there was one in each city ward. The teachers of these schools, the *maestri regionari*, were the first enemies of the new College. Roman primary education had up to this time been exclusively in their hands and, quite naturally, they strongly resented any encroachment on what they considered their prerogative. As a result they opposed the initiation and progress of the new school. Their dislike was augmented all the more by the undeniable ability of the Jesuit faculty, by the order and discipline which it exacted, and by the fruit its methods were reaping—the gradual falling-off of the enrollment at the "regional schools."

Some of the *maestri* went to the College with crowds of their own students to hammer at the doors and smash the windows and even broke into the classrooms to insult both teachers and pupils. But when the patience and humility of the persecuted quickly blunted this weapon, the *maestri* tried a more subtle method. The complaint was made and the whisper spread that the Fathers of the Company of Jesus were not qualified to teach. This moved Ignatius to immediate action. All the *maestri* were invited to participate in a public disputation against the professors of the Roman College. This was held in the Church of S. Eustachio in the presence of five cardinals and a large audience which was attracted by the novelty of the affair. Its outcome was so successful that Polanco could write in one of his letters that the Fathers "won so great a name for learning that no one would ever say another word against the Company."

### Financial Difficulties

More serious were the financial difficulties. The College

never received the 1,000 *scudi* which Borgia's sons were supposed to contribute each year. Little help came from other benefactors and Ignatius did not want to compromise on the point of tuition. Nevertheless, expenses were mounting with the increase in the number of students and the occupation of larger quarters. But fully aware of the import of the work he had undertaken and confident that Providence would not abandon it, his sole aim was to go forward as well as he could until God sent someone to give the College a steady and firm foundation. This came thirty years later. Meanwhile Ignatius must bide his time as the College, privations and discomfort notwithstanding, carried on and grew strong in wisdom, age and student numbers.

Because he did not wish to leave the center of the city, Ignatius had rented the Casa Capocci, later called the Casa Frangipane, when it became necessary to transfer to larger quarters. This building stood just about half way down the road leading from the Piazza del Gesù to the Piazza Minerva. Here the Roman College remained for five years during which the number of courses was increased. A faculty of philosophy and one of theology were added in 1553. When the enrollment reached four hundred in 1556 a third home for the College was found in the Casa Salviati facing the Arch of Camillo. By this time it could point to more than one hundred alumni who had gone to various countries of Europe. The great effect of their work increased the reputation of the College and the number of students was six hundred by 1560. The Palazzo Salviati was now too small. At this point Vittoria della Tolfa, the widow of Paul IV's nephew, Orsini, at the request of the Pope, gave the fourth home of the Roman College—a block of houses located near the present Church of S. Ignazio. The new space was quickly used. In 1561 the students numbered eight hundred, by 1572 over one thousand. This was the year in which the *fundator* and *parens* of the Roman College rose to the papal throne.

### Fundator et Parens

From the very first days of his pontificate Gregory XIII was very benevolent toward the Jesuit institution. Appreciating its economic straits, he was always very generous in helping

to defray the more pressing expenses. Busy as he was, however, with the foundation of the German, English, and Maronite Colleges, he planned to leave the stabilization of the Roman College to one of his successors. Little by little, he began to change his mind. After deciding to grant a new habitat and requisite funds to the College, the Pope provided for the acquisition of two blocks of houses to make way for the new building. In 1581 ground was broken and on January 11 of the next year the first stone was laid by Cardinal Filippo Buoncompagni, the Pope's nephew. The inscription on it records Gregory's generosity in establishing a new college.

The design of the well-known Florentine, Bartolomeo Ammanati, was selected by the Pope who took a lively interest in the construction. He used to call the College *his* College. He frequently supervised the work personally and anything which did not satisfy him had to be redone. There is a picture on the second floor corridor of the Gregorian which shows the Pope at the head of a large troop stopping before the rising College and ordering the architect to tear the place down and build it all over again. It was not beautiful enough. The scene is summed up in the words written on the picture itself: *Collegium Romanum humiliter inchoatum dirui et magnificentius extrui jubet*. Under his watchful eye the task was completed on October 28, 1584 and the Pope himself was able to inaugurate the new College in solemn fashion. When Father Tucci delivered the official expression of gratitude, Gregory stood and replied in the famous words: *Soli Deo honor et gloria*. He did not wish the name of the College to be changed; it was still to be called the Roman College. All he asked was that his coat of arms, donated by himself, be affixed to the building's main façade. Though defaced after 1870 it can still be seen today. Under it is the motto: *Gregorio XIII Religioni et bonis artibus MCLXXXI*. As a proof of its gratitude the College erected a marble statue of the Pope near the entrance of the new building. The inscription reads: *Gregorio XIII Buoncompagno Pontifici O.M. Fundatori et Parenti Coll. Rom. Pos.* Although the name "Roman College" was retained as Gregory desired, it gradually changed into "Gregorian College," "Gregorian University," "Pontifical Gregorian University."

### Sorrow and Joy

From 1584 until 1870 the Roman College was situated in the Palazzo Gregoriano and over the course of the years witnessed a great deal of local landscaping. Its own quarters were enlarged in 1630 by the annexation and reconstruction of some houses located at the present corner of the Via del Collegio Romano and Via del Caravita. In 1660 its former home, the Palazzo Salviati, was torn down to allow for the completion of the piazza in front of the College and for the construction of the majestic Church of S. Ignazio. With the changes in scenery and the passage in time, new faces came, grew old and vanished into the past; accomplished men moved in long lines of succession into the role of professors; generation after generation of young men of every tongue and every nation crowded into its halls. Minds grew more eager for knowledge and the embers of religious fervor began to smolder and burn, inspired above all by the Marian Congregations held in Rome in 1563. There was sorrow as the Society was suppressed in 1773 and joy as it was called back to a new life by Pius VII in 1814 and again entrusted with the care of the Roman College ten years later under Leo XII. There followed a quick influx of students; studies flourished again despite the brief dispersion of 1848-1849. The colleges of various nations multiplied. By 1870 the Palazzo del Collegio Romano was slowly being filled and just a few years later the College withdrew completely from its illustrious home where the Italian Government subsequently set up the *liceo-ginnasio, Ennio Quirino Visconti*.

The university courses in philosophy and theology were then transferred to the nearby Palazzo Borromeo on the Via del Seminario. This part of the Roman College was christened the "Pontifical Gregorian University," and under the paternal guardianship of Pius IX and the strong impetus given by Leo XIII it surged on in vigorous and fruitful activity despite cramped quarters until, in 1930, a new and suitable building was completed in the Piazza della Pilotta.

In the meantime new faculties were being established, new professorships were created, and such associated institutes as the Biblical Institute, and the Pontifical Institute for Oriental

Studies with its annex, the Institute for Higher Religious Learning for the Laity, were springing up. The purpose of these was to bring to realization the wish of the great Pope Pius X who, in his *motu proprio*, "*Quam Maxime*," expressed the desire that the Gregorian be a "true and complete university of all ecclesiastical studies, fully adapted to meet the needs of the times."

Meanwhile the *Instituto Massimo* was slowly rising up almost in the very shadow of the Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore. Its task was to carry on the tradition of the Roman College in secondary education. The original institute was established at the Villa Massimo which had been part of the paternal inheritance of Father Massimiliano dei Principi Massimo and which was utilized in 1879 for a small group of young students who were just beginning their formal schooling. Father Massimo, the director, had around him an expert nucleus of efficient co-workers, almost all of them alumni of the Roman College who consequently brought with them a spirit of solid Christian education. In 1887, however, a new building was opened and there the *Instituto Massimo* is located today.

Thus, the torch enkindled more than four centuries ago at the foot of the Campidoglio and handed on from generation to generation in the austere palace of the Roman College, is fanned to flames today in the Gregorian University and the *Instituto Massimo*. It is a torch that burns bright with the light of Christ—a light which the world needs now more than ever.

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#### Puis XII on the Advantages of Retreats for Priests

"We wish finally to recommend to all the use of the *Spiritual Exercises*. For, when we withdraw for a few days from our usual surroundings and our ordinary life and occupations, and enter into solitude and silence, we then give ear more attentively to the words of God, which penetrate more deeply into our souls. And while these *Exercises* call us back to the holier discharge of our duties, and to the contemplation of the most consoling mysteries of Christ Jesus, they strengthen our wills so that 'we may serve Him in holiness and justice all our days' (Lk. I, 74, 75)."

*MENTI NOSTRAE*, September 23, 1950, A.A.S., XLII (1950), 675.

## NEIGHBORHOOD MISSIONS FOR THE CHURCHLESS

Editor's Note: The following article which relates some of the original techniques used by the members of the Mission Bands of our French provinces should prove of interest to those of Ours who are engaged in mission work or the parochial ministry. In it are outlined some of the methods adopted in France to meet a problem which is more acute in that country but which exists in the United States as well—that of reaching the people in the parish who *do not* come to the mission. Although the techniques used would require some adaptation before being applied to our American environment, the plan of attack presented by our author in his article deserves our attention. The following account is a description of a typical mission aimed principally at the non-attending parishioner. It has been taken from *Compagnie*, the official publication of our French provinces. Mr. Gerald A. McCool, of Woodstock College, made the English translation.

In the Lent of 1951 a great four-week mission was given to the entire city of Bourges. The missionaries scattered in bands of two and three through its nine parishes. A mission cannot be improvised. It requires long preparation. It supposes also an exact knowledge of how things stand religiously in the place where it is given, for it is in the light of that knowledge that the missionary's approach, sermon-content and immediate objectives will be determined. At Bourges Cathedral, a parish of fifteen thousand souls, the archpriest estimated the average Sunday Mass attendance at fifteen hundred. The proportion in the other parishes ran about the same. So only ten per cent of the people in the town are in regular contact with the Church. Those figures gave us something to think about. We had to take them as the starting-point for our mission.

By the traditional mission-exercises we could hope at best to double the attendance at the church. But what about the rest of the parish? Would there be no mission-contact at all with the great mass of the people in the parish who, for all practical purposes, are living outside the Church? We could be sure of one thing in this mission. It would not be a search for the one lost sheep with the other ninety-nine safely in the fold, for the majority, and a very large majority, of the parish was, and still is, very far from it. It is to these people and to the families to whom the loss of God has brought so much unhappiness that the missionary must go, if he wishes to remain worthy of the name he bears. A mission has to be held

outside the church as much as in it. Certainly we cannot neglect the Catholics, fervent and lukewarm, who still come to the church. The fervent Catholics look to the mission for solid spiritual food and in them we have to develop an apostolic sense. The lukewarm Catholics have still an attachment to the yearly exercises and are more or less faithful attenders at Sunday Mass. We have to show them what genuine Catholicism means.

We have, then, three types of people to work with. The word of God will be revealed in the same truth but with varying degrees of vividness to each of these three classes of people who can be found in the same town. The mission has to be adapted to this situation. For the deeply Christian people who are hungry for solid spiritual instruction a compact twenty-minute instruction is given every morning after Mass with no effort whatever at oratorical embellishment. The aim of this instruction is to give the congregation a formation in spiritual truth such that they will realize and accept their apostolic responsibilities. The faithful attendance of a large number of the parishioners at these instructions has proven the real need of this work in depth. The traditional mission-program is still as effective as ever for the general run of the parishioners who still come to the exercises. We give them an evening sermon, instruction, *tableaux vivants* adapted to the occasion. Various devotions (to the Blessed Virgin, St. Theresa etc.) can also be included in the program, and the various types of specialized retreats should not be overlooked either.

### “Home - Meetings”

The part of our work which we would like to emphasize, however, is the mission given outside the church. It may interest you to know how we make contact with all those people who do not come to the church and how we carry the message of Christ to them. You would probably like to know first of all how we meet them. The answer is simple. We go looking for them where they live and where they gather, in homes, meeting-halls, cafés and so on. This is how the new practice of “home-meetings” sprang up. In case you have never heard of this innovation we had better explain it briefly.



There are different types of "home-meetings." You can ask families to invite their neighbors to their home for a chat with the missionary. In this way we capitalize on the natural bond among neighbors. But we can use social and professional ties as well, as a means of bringing people together, and this gives us a more specialized group. One Father got 120 bank-employees to come to meet him one evening after work and 150 store-employees to do the same thing on another evening. Some of the active Catholics in the neighborhood invited the Post Office workers to come to another meeting which was held in a bar. The liberal professions, school teachers, parents of school children, and soldiers all had meetings of their own, and many people who are religiously indifferent or have no faith at all were drawn to them by a sort of group-unity. A Father was asked to come to the lay youth-hostels, and other meetings were organized for the local shopkeepers and the young working-class families of the neighborhood. Every tie which could be used to gather a group was given our attention.

It might interest you to know where our meetings were held. Some of them took place in private homes (fifty-five people were crowded into one dining-room); some were held in cafés; others in public halls. We held them anywhere and everywhere as circumstances dictated. A carpenter shop, the drying-room of a laundry and the back room of a baker's shop were also used. Twenty, fifty, a hundred and sometimes more people attended these various meetings. They cannot be crowded, however, or friendly contact becomes too difficult to establish. People lose their courage and feel less at ease in expressing themselves. The way in which the invitations are given is the chief factor in determining the size of the assembly. Lay people assume full responsibility for all the details connected with their organization, and this is a job for really militant Catholics. It is essential that every invitation be given personally and this is especially true if the person invited is an unbeliever or if he is hostile or indifferent to the Faith. If the meeting is composed mainly of Catholics, it has failed in great part to achieve its purpose because it has lost its missionary character and is no longer the word of God spoken to those who are far from Christ.

"Home meetings" are made up of women for the most part, although husbands often come with their wives. There is more of a family atmosphere in these gatherings. Our "café meetings" are meant chiefly for men. The atmosphere there is less reserved and the men come out openly with what is in their minds. The important thing at these meetings is to create an aura of good-natured friendliness from the very beginning. Flat contradictions and partisan discussions are out. The men come here to talk and not to prove who is right and who is wrong. The atmosphere has to be such that even if a man came with the intention of making trouble, he will feel that opposition and obstructionism is out of place here and will do nothing but turn the other men against him. Every man has the floor in turn, and the number of men who have not hesitated to come out with what they really think about things is remarkably large. One man will say that he is an anarchist; another will admit that he is divorced . . . The big thing is to get a discussion going fairly soon. This is not the place for the missionary to give a long and learned discourse. Rather he should stimulate a friendly conversation. "In church," one of the men present will often say, "there is only one speaker, and he always says the same thing. Here, at least, we can talk." And what he says is true. In the course of the discussion, if it is well directed, the missionary will manage to highlight the essential aspects of Christianity. Very frequently at the close of the discussion, when a good number of the men have already left, a small group forms and continues the conversation well into the night, taking advantage of a contact with the priest which until this moment they have scarcely ever had.

Perhaps you might like to know what subjects are brought up. On principle anything more or less connected with politics is avoided. Discussions of that sort get you nowhere and they are no concern of the priest. Economic topics of a purely social nature are often delicate. After all, the priest has come to talk about God and that is the subject he has to approach from one angle or another. Furthermore, the people there expect him to speak to them about Christ. In general, religion comes up in two ways in the course of these meetings. The first is the great question: does the modern world need God?

A recent film, the news items in the daily paper, a personal experience narrated by someone present can be the starting point of the discussion. The second way in which religion comes up requires more cautious handling of the discussion by the missionary. We have to ask in all honesty: what is keeping people away from the Church? Is she in her external action raising a barrier between men and God? One of the men present at a discussion summed up the attitude of the group in this way: "We believe in God, but we don't believe in priests." Objections of all sorts are thrown up: the ceremonies of the Church are incomprehensible; her priests are unapproachable; they are no better than civil servants; the Church is a "money-power"; she is on the side of the "big people." Other objections arise from the bad example given by people who call themselves Catholics, the Church's ineffectualness in bettering the condition of the world and the social injustice which the Church tolerates. The missionary has to clear up these difficulties and speak of the true nature of the Church, of Christ and of His commandment of love. Very often the exchange ceases to be a conversation and is transformed into a living catechesis.

### Results

You may wonder what sort of results have been obtained from these "neighborhood meetings." They have come as something of a shock to the people and for a long time after they are over they form a subject of conversation in factories and offices. What surprised the people most and really won their hearts was the experience of having a priest drop into their home or a café for a friendly chat. They were delighted to meet a priest who would speak to everybody, who could speak of his faith with no trace of anything like party spirit, and who made a real effort to understand other people. Our chief accomplishment was the establishment of this friendly contact with a priest and through him with the Church of Christ. The great distance (far greater than is generally imagined) between the priest and the man in the street has been narrowed. Our experience has been the same everywhere. In the cafés, the meeting would be concluded by a friendly round of drinks and after that the conversation would con-

tinue in separate little groups. "Come back again," we would hear, or "If all the priests were like that!" After an evening like that a good many prejudices against the Church and her priests are lost, and men who were indifferent or hostile to her discover that there can be a more genuine and vital Catholicism than the one that they remembered or of which they had only a distorted image. The ground has been cleared for grace. We may well wonder when the seed which has been planted in that soil will take root and grow, but one thing is certain and that is that the contact made with those outside the Church must be followed up after the mission.

Another fact of no small importance which should be noted here is that these "neighborhood meetings" have brought a number of people back to the sacraments because these men and women who had not been near the church for a long time found in the priest a man of God who dealt with them in a friendly way.

Another technique which proved successful at Bourges, as in most of our provincial cities, was the giving of a number of lectures on education. These lectures attract a large audience of Catholic parents and many other people also (high-school teachers, doctors, public officials, people who have been divorced and remarried) who could not be reached in any other way. These lectures should not be restricted to a few practical suggestions. They give us the opportunity to touch on the major problems in education: the child and the family—the long time needed for the formation of a man and the atmosphere of peace and affection which this formation demands—the awakening of moral consciousness and the religious sense. Many of the people in our audiences have had their eyes opened to their moral responsibilities. Many, too, have begun to get an understanding of the moral problems, tragic in their import for parents and children, which constantly torture the consciences of divorced parents who have remarried and founded a second family. Reflections of that sort are valuable at a time when divorce appears to be one of our most fearful scourges even in circles which still call themselves Catholic.

# HISTORICAL NOTES

## BERCHMANS COLLEGE

### NEW PHILOSOPHATE IN THE PHILIPPINES

These pages tell the story of a philosophate that pulled up its stakes to cross four hundred miles of Philippine waters, not in the face of persecution, but to fulfill a project of growth and steady expansion. At a time when the problems of the Far East weigh so constantly upon the world's attention, here is a Jesuit story of progress and hope.

Slightly larger than Rhode Island in size and with a total population approximating one million, Cebu Island is the hub of the Visayas, the group of seven islands in the center of the Philippine archipelago. Like most places enjoying a focal position, Cebu boasts of a busy port of entry, situated on the east central part of the island. At this port, Cebu City, tankers of the Shell Oil Company, Norwegian ocean liners, freighters bringing goods from America, and inter-island steamships constantly drop anchor. In ancient times, before the Spanish galleons of the Manila-Mexico trade route sailed in, Cebu City had done commerce with junks from China and Siam and with the fishing boats of the Japanese.

In 1918 this city of 150,000 was chosen as the site of Cebu College, a southern branch of the University of the Philippines in Manila. The Province of Cebu then donated a forty-four acre lot and later a two-story concrete edifice to serve as the main building of the College. With this for a start, the University added a gymnasium, two dormitories, and cottages for the faculty.

The site chosen in Lahug district, Cebu's finest residential section, was ideal for such an institution. Busses could easily bring students to the city's shopping center in ten minutes. The campus itself, studded with shady trees, stood on a natural elevation with the mountains as backdrop and with a wide view of the sea and the neighboring islands of Mactan and Bohol.

During the last war Cebu City and its environs paid a heavy price for their liberation. Except for the main building and the girls' dormitory whose shell-marked walls still stood,

the Cebu College collapsed in ruins. Through the help of the United States Government, the main building was renovated after the war and Cebu College reopened in November, 1945. At this time the board of regents of the University had laid plans for a new girls' dormitory and a gymnasium. But on the occasion of its twenty-sixth commencement exercises in 1949, with the gymnasium still in the blueprint stage, the editor of the college yearbook pointed out that ". . . Cebu College faces a recurrent problem with the earmarks of a permanent crisis. The problem lies in her perennially small yet dwindling student constituency." The crisis was indeed permanent, and by the summer of 1950 Cebu College closed down. There was talk of turning it into a fisheries school or leasing it to the earliest bidder.

### The Problem of the Philosophers

Back in Luzon, the largest island in the Philippines, the opposite problem faced Jesuit superiors. There they had too many Scholastics for the size of their building. In Sacred Heart Novitiate, about thirteen miles north of Manila, novices, juniors and philosophers were living together in very crowded conditions. This Novitiate, the gift of an American benefactress, housed in 1951, 13 priests, 107 Scholastics and 11 Brothers—131 in all. Yet it was originally planned to hold one hundred Jesuits. Since 1933, however, when the first group of around thirty-five Jesuits came from the old San José Seminary in Padre Faura, Manila, to this new Novitiate, God had sent the needed increase of native vocations, replacing the trickle of two or four applicants in the early 'thirties by the steady flow of thirteen in 1948, seventeen in 1949, twenty-eight in 1950. Rejoicing at the news that another group of more than twenty postulants was expected in June, the community at Novaliches did not object to studying in overcrowded ascetories, or waiting in line for showers or putting up with combination rooms that were classrooms in the morning, aulas at noon, auditorium in October, and dormitories during repetition time.

But evidently something had to be done. As early as 1933 superiors had considered plans for a separate philosophate in Baguio City, the summer capital of the Philippines. At

experiment was then conducted, testing the suitability of this mountain resort five thousand feet above sea level as the site of a Jesuit scholasticate. Accordingly the philosophers moved up to Baguio and stayed there for two years in a rented building until their recall to Novaliches in 1941, just before Pearl Harbor.

The attack on Pearl Harbor ended any further plans to solve the problem of the philosophers. The bigger task of guiding a large community through the war years confronted the Philippine Mission. Even in its laconic Latin entries, with occasional English insertions called for by the excitement of the times, the war diary of the philosophers makes inspiring reading. It is left for those who were philosophers then to record the details of their 1941 Christmas Day evacuation to the Ateneo Grade School at Intramuros, Manila's Walled City, and their walk the next day in bands of three along the Bonifacio Drive that led to the Ateneo de Manila while Japanese planes flew overhead. It is left for them to tell what challenges were met during the occupation, what trust was confided to them as the American Jesuits were driven away in covered trucks to concentration camps, what growth of mind and spirit there was as they dispersed to various provinces when the battle for the liberation of Luzon began in 1944.

### Expansion After the War

After the war, on May 9, 1946, the philosophers were back at Novaliches, one of the few Jesuit houses saved from destruction. Soon, in Quonsets and *nipa* buildings, the different Ateneos in the Islands reopened and within two years the number of applicants seeking admission to Novaliches was on the upswing. Once more the problem of the philosophers was before us; this time with a more urgent demand for a solution.

On finishing the Long Retreat in October, 1950, given to the largest group of novices in the history of the Philippine Mission, Father Denis F. Lynch, Master of Novices, passed by Cebu City on his way to the missions in Mindanao. Through Justice Fortunato Borromeo, whose son is a novice at Novaliches, Father Lynch heard of the problem of the Cebu

College. This College with nobody in it might prove to be the long-sought solution for a novitiate with too many philosophers. This suggestion was transmitted to Rev. Father Leo A. Cullum, Superior. The Mission Procurator, Father J. E. Haggerty, was then sent to Cebu to gather all necessary information.

As it turned out the facts obtained were so favorable to the Society, thanks to the generous cooperation of Justice Borromeo, who later worded the contract, and of Governor Cuenco of Cebu, an alumnus of our Ateneo de Manila, that by the middle of December, 1950 Cebu College was leased by the Society for five years with an option of five more years.

At this point the question might be asked: What other advantages can Cebu College offer besides solving the need of a separate philosophate? In the first place, the island's central position gives it value as a link between our houses in Manila and our mission outposts in Mindanao. Previously Jesuits conducting retreats in the Visayas or missionaries purchasing in Cebu supplies which cannot be found in Mindanao had no Jesuit house in which to stay. Likewise a Jesuit house at Cebu could serve as a more accessible retreat house for the missionaries in Mindanao. This saves them from making an expensive trip to Manila. Finally, it had long been the wish of Very Rev. Father General that the Mission establish a language school for Cebuano, which, as the most important Visayan dialect, is spoken in most of the regions where Jesuit missions are located. Berchmans College would provide the facilities for such an undertaking.

In the course of a conference during the Christmas holidays of 1950, Rev. Father Francis X. Clark, then Rector at Novaliches, told the philosophers that they could inform their parents about their coming transfer to Cebu sometime in April or May. The philosophate was to be officially known as Berchmans College. Inasmuch as small private rooms were to be provided for forty-six philosophers, a new wooden building had to be constructed at the Cebu site. Work on this two-story building started on March 4 under the supervision of Father George J. Willmann, National Chaplain of the Knights of Columbus in the Philippines. It was hoped that the building would be ready by the first week of May.



For the philosophers and juniors, that meant a summer of packing and crating. There were to be no professionals to pack more than 7,000 books, no hired carpenters to drive in the nails on 238 wooden boxes or string old telephone wire around 265 cartons. Work started the day the first philosopher stepped out of the final-examination room during the second week of March. With Father James J. Hennessey in charge, the Scholastics worked from half-past eight in the morning till five in the afternoon. But packing came to an end two weeks sooner than expected for the philosophers. Though originally scheduled to leave for their villa in Baguio City on April 12, the philosophers were told on March 30 that they were to take a bus for Baguio early the next morning. Superiors had decided to advance the date of departure for Cebu. After the shortened villa at Baguio the philosophers returned to Novaliches on April 13. They were to spend the night at *La Ignaciana* in Manila. So, two hours after their arrival from Baguio, they boarded the bus and waved farewell to Novaliches.

### Farewell to Novaliches

It was hard to say good-bye to Sacred Heart Novitiate. For most of the philosophers, Novaliches had been home for six years. There they had grown up in the ways of their mother, the Society of Jesus. "But," as Father Francis X. Clark (since then appointed first Rector of Berchmans College) told the novices and juniors that evening during the farewell program, "though we are sad in leaving Novaliches, there is more joy in our hearts, for Berchmans College is a sign of growth, growth for our Society in the Philippines."

The following morning, April 14, after the first open-air Mass held in front of the new statue of St. Joseph on the Novitiate grounds, Father Clark and fourteen first-year philosophers prepared to leave Novaliches for Manila. As they rode out, the big bell of the Novitiate was ringing, and the novices, lined along the way that leads from the Lourdes grotto to the gate, were singing the traditional *Ave Maris Stella*—most appropriately this time, since a voyage by sea would begin that night. At Manila the parents of many Scholastics waited to welcome their sons home for the first time

in years. After a day of family reunion the philosophers took a buffet supper at *La Ignaciana*, and were soon ready to leave for Pier 4 in Manila's North Harbor.

Moored to the dock that smelled heavily of copra, and still filling her holds with crates for the southern islands, was the "Boatswain's Hitch," home of the roving Jesuit community during their trip to Cebu. This former C1M-type freighter was launched during the last year of the war and saw service in Okinawa waters. Through the kindness of the Aboitiz-Everett Steamship Corporation, the Jesuit pioneers of Berchmans College were to get special accommodations, occupy two cabins and the entire navigator's deck for third-class rates. There were many sights on that busy pier to capture the attention of onlookers, such as the time five bellying carabaos or water buffaloes were lifted up from the dock to the ship's deck. But Exhibit A that night was the sight of thirty-five American and Filipino Scholastics carrying baggage up the gangplank to the highest deck of the "Boatswain's Hitch." For an hour the white-robed stevedores formed a line and passed typewriters, boxes, laundry bags from hand to hand. Among the spectators were the parents and friends of the philosophers. They stayed on the pier till the boat finally raised her gangplank at 9:50 P.M.

A voyage on board a crowded freighter in an archipelago of seven thousand islands can be more interesting than an ocean trip on board a luxury liner. During the entire voyage, blessed with good weather, islands could be seen on both sides of the ship. Daily Mass was celebrated on the third-class deck on the aft side of the ship. After their first breakfast at sea, the new Mission status was read. Before the status came out, the Scholastics had some knowledge, from the faculty boxes they packed, that Fathers Hennessey, Horgan, and Hyland were to join them. But there were to be more additions. The new philosophate was to have its largest faculty in years: eight Fathers in all. The big surprise came when, in the list of those assigned to Cebu, the name of Father Hennessey, who had all his baggage on board, was not to be found. He was to join Father Deppermann in rebuilding the famed Manila Observatory. By April 30, the former science professor, who had worked so hard to make all the

arrangements and preparations for the transfer to Cebu and to whom Berchmans College is so greatly indebted, was on his way back to Manila.

### The New Philosophate

As the ship sailed into Cebu waters on Monday morning, April 16, Rev. Father Rector celebrated the Votive Mass of St. John Berchmans. Passing by the island of Mactan where Magellan, the Spanish navigator who discovered the Philippines in 1521, was killed, and within sight of Cebu, oldest city of the Philippines, the Jesuits prayed: *ut beati Joannis vestigia sequentes, viam mandatorum tuorum dilatato corde curramus . . .* And in their hearts was the thrill of countless Jesuits looking upon the land of their missionary labors, of Xavier gazing upon the sands of the Indies, of Claver, de Britto or Isaac Jogues as they stepped ashore with eager hearts to carry on the work of God.

The harbor pilot steered the "Boatswain's Hitch" alongside the wharf at Cebu City at 8:30 A.M. Father Willmann waved welcome as the gangplank was lowered. After seeing their cargo safe in trucks, the new arrivals headed for the Lahug district where Father Joseph A. Priestner and Brother Manuel Pascua, whose efficient construction work assured a dependable water and electrical supply for the new philosophate, greeted them on the steps of Cebu's first Jesuit community in 183 years.

As they went up the two flights of stairs to the chapel for their first visit, the philosophers found out that the Blessed Sacrament was not yet reserved there. This continued for two days until a tabernacle was borrowed from gracious Archbishop Julio Rosales. Though many other things were lacking too, like library shelves, desks and cabinets, kitchen and scullery (food was supplied for the first three weeks by a family caterer), still the essentials of community life were at hand. And as they opened the doors of airy rooms and gazed out into the twelve-acre campus, everyone had ample reason to thank God. This they did the next morning as they knelt behind classroom chairs on the cement floor during Berchmans College's first community Mass, the Votive Mass of the Sacred Heart. One feature of the new philosophate

that was not missed by these dormitory-ascetory veterans was the building housing their private rooms. Situated behind the main edifice and running from east to west, it has rooms for thirty-four Scholastics. Separated from the left wing of the building by two cement courts is the guest house, on whose ground floor are rooms for twelve more Scholastics. Confirming Cebu's pivotal position as a link between Mindanao and Luzon is the fact that this guest house welcomed twenty-seven Jesuits during the first three weeks.

Will Berchmans College be permanently located in Cebu City? Only God can tell now. But permanent or not, the philosophers spent the first two weeks in work clothes and rolled-up sleeves transforming Cebu College into a building fulfilling the needs of a religious community. Sawdust and piles of wood cluttered up the campus as they designed and planed built-in cabinets and bookstands for their rooms; then they climbed scaffolds to paint, went down into the cellar to put classroom chairs together, went out around the grounds to sickle and mow the grass, and after meals washed dishes and set the tables.

When the first class held in the new philosophate opened on the last day of April under Father Daniel Clifford of the California Province and China Mission, who taught the summer course in experimental psychology, the corridors and classrooms still contained unopened boxes. Outside, the lawns needed much more mowing, and goats and horses grazed within the unfenced campus. Although these and many similar jobs remained to be done in the coming weeks, at least Berchmans College was off to a good start.

### The Old Society at Cebu

Besides the responsibility of starting traditions that will determine the spirit of Berchmans College in the future, the Cebu community has the weight of a glorious tradition behind them to live up to. This tradition was left behind by the Spanish brothers-in-arms of St. John Berchmans, who, four years before the birth of the Saint in 1549, were already working in Cebu. The first Jesuit to labor here was Father Antonio Pereira. So loved was he by the Cebuanos that the people desired to have a Jesuit house in this city. In fulfill-

ment of this wish, Very Rev. Father Sedeño, the Vice-Provincial, left Manila on June 30, 1589 with two other Fathers and a Brother to establish a permanent house of the Society in Cebu. Their journey took twenty-two days and was described as "more dangerous than an ocean voyage." The site of their wooden house, obtained with money contributed by the people of Cebu, is still pointed out today. In this house Father Sedeño, the architect of Manila's Walled City, died on September 1, 1595.

Two months after their arrival, Father Pereira already had his small school of "reading, writing, arithmetic, and Christian doctrine" well under way. To increase the curriculum of this school, Cebu's first bishop, Augustinian Bishop Agurto, persuaded Father Chirino, Superior of the Cebu community, to open a Latin grammar class. The suggestion worked, and the Provincial of Mexico could report that the school added to the prestige of the Society in the Islands. Jesuits continued working in Cebu until the suppression in 1768.

### Magellan's Cross

Early in its history Cebu City was called *Ciudad del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús*, the City of the Most Holy Name of Jesus. From the time the first Mass was celebrated at Cebu on April 14, 1521, when Magellan landed there and eight hundred Cebuanos with their prince were baptized, the Church in the Philippines has grown to 14,032,236 Catholics.

To celebrate this first conversion, Magellan set up a large cross on the shore of the city. Today a cross stands on the same spot, enclosed in a small kiosk-like building in front of Cebu's City Hall. The old Cebuanos like to think that this cross is a growing cross, that it has grown since that April morning of 1521, and that it is the symbol of the Catholic Church spreading like the growing mustard tree to cover the Philippines from its northern tip at Aparri to its southern point at Jolo.

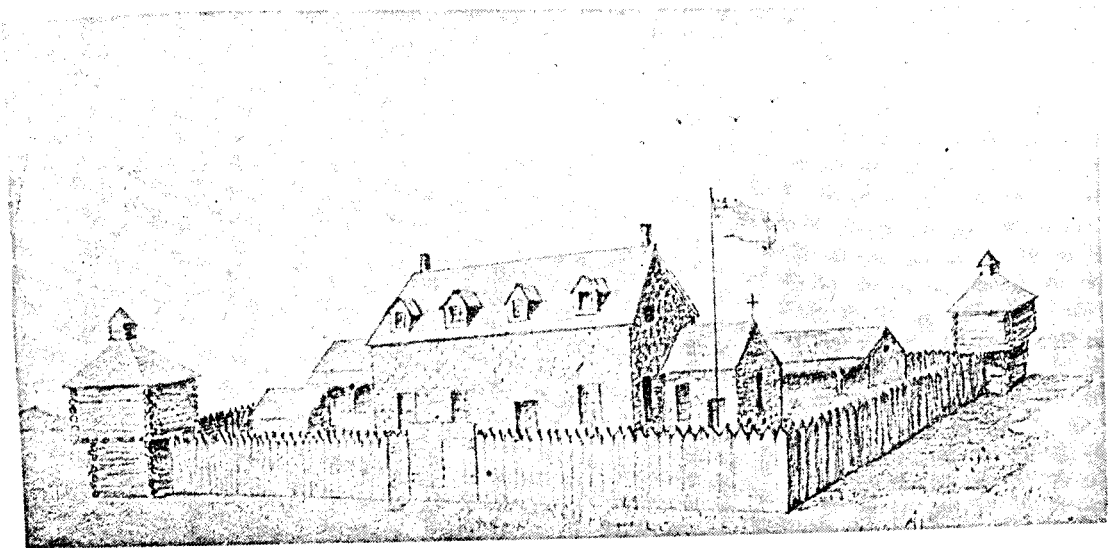
ANTONIO L. LEDESMA, S.J.

THE "JESUIT COLLEGE" AT KASKASKIA, ILLINOIS,  
1718-63

The words "Jesuit College" in our title are placed in quotation marks in deference to the opinion of that fine Jesuit scholar and beloved old Southern gentleman, Father Eugene A. Magevney, who writing on this topic in WOODSTOCK LETTERS in 1902 entitled his article "An Interesting Myth," the myth being a college at Kaskaskia. He proved his point to the readers of that day, and so far as we are aware no Jesuit writer has subsequently ventured to claim that the early missionaries in those parts ever attempted the establishment of a college in the wilderness.

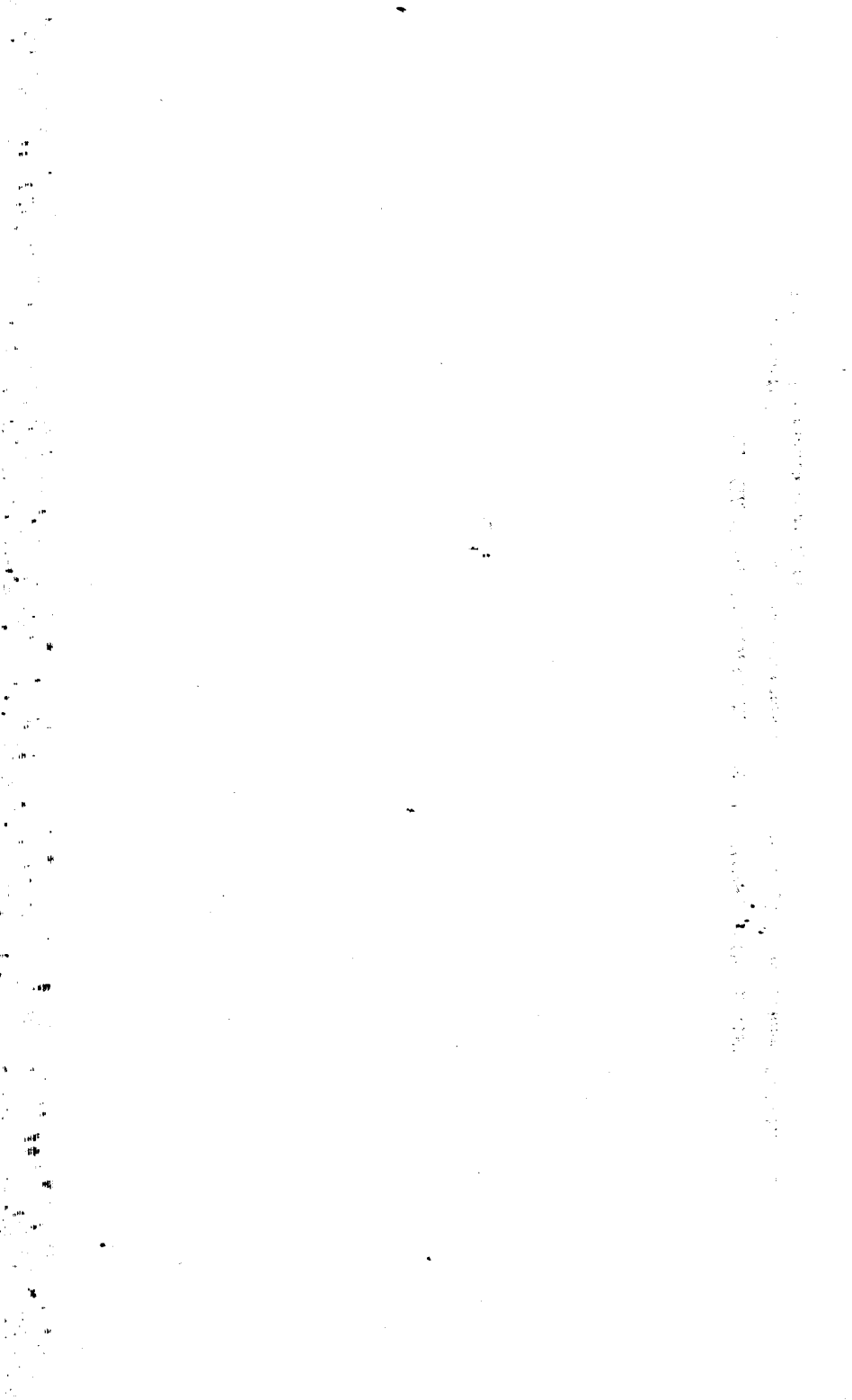
Father Magevney merely amplifies the negative position taken by Mr. William Pillsbury in the *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society* of the preceding year. He further insisted that no Jesuit had at any time made such a claim and that historians who had been educated by the Jesuits, notably Mr. Oscar Collet, a specialist in that field, and John Gilmary Shea, the paragon of American historians of that day, and others unanimously rejected the idea. Shea avers that "it is certain that the Jesuits never had a college in Illinois in the French days."

Some decades of years ago, especially in Europe, there would have been no gainsaying these negative arguments; but young America is enriching our language and the reality, as well, that underlies the language. It has broadened the entire field of education, and invented new terms or given wider significance to the old words to express these expansions. To the Jesuit, as late as the time of Father Magevney's letter, 1902, a college meant a school in which Latin and Greek were taught throughout almost the entire college curriculum, in conjunction with some accessory branches of minor importance. The college was a place where young lads between the age of twelve and eighteen, assembled for the most part from cultured and pious homes, and remote from all mercenary employment, communed with the supreme masters of Roman and Grecian thought and expression. To these, any combination of the word "college" with "industry" or "agriculture" or with the notion of "adult education" would seem a con-



**FORT GAGE IN KASKASKIA, THE OLD "JESUIT COLLEGE"**

It was here that General George Rogers Clark captured the sleeping commander of the British forces on the Fourth of July, 1778.





tradition in terms, an impossibility. It confused youth and maturity, the ideal and the practical, the world of thought and that of toil. In the American language, however, we have "business colleges," "agricultural colleges," and colleges of various sorts besides those of "arts and sciences." Speaking this language, it must be acknowledged that there was an industrial establishment at Kaskaskia that was properly denominated a college—a college of agriculture.

### The Village of Kaskaskia

At the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits, 1763, there were in that little village of less than 2,000 inhabitants, young and old, white, black, and red, "workmen, blacksmiths, carpenters, joiners, brewers, masons, etc."<sup>1</sup> but most of all, farmers. For this is in all the books, that when some years earlier, New Orleans was threatened with starvation, 800,000 weight (pounds) of wheat was sent down the Mississippi to the rescue. It is not too much to conclude that when disposing of 800,000 weight to New Orleans, at least an equal quantity and a little more was reserved at home. Thus we witness a harvest of almost two million pounds of wheat, that was planted, tended, reaped, winnowed and binned by what must have been a technically well-directed, educated, and cooperative body in that scanty population. Clearly there was no lack of teaching where such results were attained, and it has never been suggested that anybody else did this teaching there except the Jesuits.<sup>2</sup>

It was not so much the Jesuit Fathers as that small magnanimous branch of the Order, the Brothers—who are so highly esteemed within the Order but so little recognized without, except by the angels—to whom must be ascribed the management of the Kaskaskia School of Agriculture. We shall not list Brother Jacques Largillier, *dit Le Castor*. He lived too early. Undoubtedly it was he who drove the plow which was the first to cut the soil of Illinois, and he experi-

<sup>1</sup>*Illinois Historical Collections*, XI 327.

<sup>2</sup>It must be said of these figures, which are founded on a local tradition, that it could be permitted to our readers to divide them even by ten. They will still be both astonishing as an estimate and glorious as a record of benevolence.

mented with native grapes to procure wine for the altar. But it is the year 1718, when Jacques had gone to his reward, and Brother Zebidee planted a bushel of wheat in early spring and in late July reaped ninety bushels, that should be taken as the origin of the College.

Let us take a look at the institution. We must pass by the Church as not belonging to our subject. Look rather at the immense fields of maize, no longer in clumps, but in ordered consecutive rows. Look at the boys at work, here cutting trees for fences and grafting experimentally, driving the horses, milking cows, cutting hay; there gathering nuts; there bringing eggs from the hen-house, pitching hay into the loft of the great barn under skilled directors, breeding cattle. See the creamery, the winery, the distillery, the blacksmith and carpenter shops. These young students were receiving instructions in botany, forestry, horticulture, entomology, meteorology and every other science ancillary to husbandry, all unaware perhaps of the names of any of these branches of learning.

Was not this institution America's earliest or at least one of the very earliest colleges of agriculture? Ordinarily this type of school is supposed to have originated with the Morrill Landgrant Acts. High school pupils are now supposed to know the date of Senator Morrill's great idea as well as they know the date of Gettysburg, the outstanding event of the following year, but now recognized as a matter of far less importance. To him belongs the credit of originating on a national scale no less than seventy of these colleges of agriculture. But it is acknowledged that before any Acts of our Federal Government, various states, especially those in the old West, Michigan and Iowa in particular, were conducting what were in fact complete agricultural colleges. May we not go back a step further and find that private enterprise had anticipated the states and pointed the way of progress? Undoubtedly the writers who, in Father Magevney's opinion, were out of step when they wrote of the "Jesuit College" at Kaskaskia—Amos Stoddard, Governor John Reynolds, Henry Brown, and Davison and Stuve—were actually leading the procession. Their works were widely read in the Mississippi Valley and in the farming states, and it is impossible to doubt

that the minds of some of our early legislators were stirred to action and emulation of that pioneer Catholic enterprise at Kaskaskia.

We have rather arbitrarily chosen 1718 as the date of the origin of the College. There can be no question as to the date of its extinction, 1763. It went out of existence just after the French and Indian War when Illinois, with all the old Northwest, came under British sovereignty. But it was not the British who closed the school. Some so-called French statesmen, enemies of God and of His friends, seized all the Jesuits and transported them all save one back to France, confiscated their property although it was under British jurisdiction, and auctioned off their chattels, even the sacred vessels of the Church. It is interesting to note that among the bidders was Pierre Liguist Laclede who was just then up from New Orleans on his way to win eternal fame as the founder of the City of St. Louis. How the course of history would have been changed had he been the purchaser!

### Historical Interest

A decade of years after Father Magevney's "myth," the sober *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* carried a full-page illustration of "The Old Jesuit College." It was a structure of ample proportions. It became the barracks of the British troops and was known to them as Fort Gage. Many students could have been accommodated in its halls and classrooms. It wins its place in history as the building in which the British commandant was awakened from his sleep by George Rogers Clark who on July 4, 1778 informed him that America had just this moment assumed control of all the once British West. It should be a pleasing consideration to every Jesuit, to every Catholic, and to all men of good will, to realize that it was from the old Jesuit College that metaphorically the American flag was unfurled to float out over an area almost equal to that of all the thirteen original colonies. The French and now the British Royal Governments were gone. A tenacious Spain still ruled the far-reaching Louisiana Territory. But Kaskaskia had her Liberty Bell that welcomed Clark with a loud peal.

Old Kaskaskia, however, is no more. The Mississippi cut

three miles across the land, and, when the altar of the Immaculate Conception had been removed to the care of the Jesuit community of St. Louis, obliterated the last traces of the place. But gathered under the shadow of a new Church of the Immaculate Conception there is a new Kaskaskia, a little over a mile south of the doomed village. Politically it is still a part of the state of Illinios, but the main current of the river divides it from that state and has driven it into the shelter of Missouri. A traveller of today, going south from St. Louis, along the Missouri side of the river for about seventy miles, and passing through the historic city of Ste. Genevieve and the neat hamlet of St. Marys, may, without alighting from his car, reach the fields where Brother Zebidee, not once but often, planted the fruitful grain at the pioneer College of Agriculture at Kaskaskia.

LAURENCE J. KENNY, S.J.

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### OVERSEAS ORDERS

"Say, Father, your orders just came in. You're going to FECOM. See the adjutant; he has a copy of the TWX. How do you like the idea? You'd rather go to EUCOM, have a chance, maybe, to visit Rome and see the Holy Father. That would be fine." This from the executive officer of the battalion to which the Chaplain is assigned.

So the Padre hustles over to the adjutant, thinking as he goes that FECOM means Far East Command, which, in turn most probably means Korea for a Chaplain First Lieutenant, and that TWX means a telegram, and that he would prefer to go to the European Command. Arriving at the adjutant's office, he finds that all he is getting is a sheet of yellow paper stating that he must report in at a Casual Personnel Center on the West Coast in three weeks. Orders are being cut at the Post Headquarters and will be down to the battalion tomorrow. Meanwhile the Father should turn in all his property, visit all the offices on post to have them sign his clearance paper, see the dentist, collect travel pay, arrange with the other Catholic chaplains to take his Masses, and a hundred and one other details.

Three weeks look like a long time, but as the Padre has to pack up all his belongings, travel back East six hundred miles or so to get home, make an eight day retreat, and move across the States, he has only a few days to spend with his folks. Reaching the West Coast at the appointed time, he reports in at the Casual Officers' Section, is assigned to a barracks, dormitory style, and just waits, along with his companion chaplains. It makes him wonder whether Milton was thinking of the Army when he wrote, "They also serve who only stand and wait." The good Father, however, does no more standing than he has to, for he has discovered the wisdom of the Army method of relaxing in a prone or supine position.

Thrice a day he looks at the mammoth bulletin board to see if his name is up, he eats chow at the officers' mess, arranges with the Catholic chaplain on the post for a time to say his Mass, orders his identification tags, ("dog tags," in Army slang) finds his way to QM (quartermaster) to draw his shelter half, tent poles, stakes, entrenching tools, field jacket, and other *impedimenta*, visits the PX (Post Exchange) to pick up a few send-home items such as handkerchiefs and ash trays, stamped with the name of the Army post or the nearby city, wanders into town to take in the sights, comes back and waits around for his name to appear on the board.

The business of waiting becomes tiresome, so after a few days of looking in vain, he wonders if the Army has lost his name. As his better judgment tells him "no," he perseveres and is finally rewarded. Now everything is rush-rush. He'll have to pack his personal belongings which were all compactly arranged when he checked in at the Personnel Center, but are now scattered on and under the bed and hanging on the nearby wall; then there's all that field equipment to stow away in the duffel bag. Surveying the jumbled equipment about him and wondering where to put what next, the Padre looks at his watch, reminds himself he has a final briefing to attend, and hustles across the road to the briefing room. Back in the barracks again, to finish that packing and write the final letter home.

So the Padre, weighted down by a loaded duffel bag in his left hand, a cargo pack slung over his shoulder, a Mass kit

in his right hand, and a steel helmet on his head, wearily trudges from the barracks and boards the bus for the plane or boat along with the other equally-laden chaplains. Just one stop along the route—a short stop, but long enough for the Medics to jab a needle in his arm.

If the good Father is going by plane, it will be zip-zip and you're in Japan, with time out only for refueling. If he's going by boat, the trip will be leisurely; he'll have daily and Sunday Mass for the troops, Rosary, religious instruction. He'll be the pastor.

When he arrives in Japan, he'll turn in the stateside orders that were given him before leaving the port of embarkation or the airfield, and await new orders. And he may move fast. He may find himself in Korea in a few days.

At every Replacement Center where he stops along the way, he hands in his old orders and awaits new. He still doesn't know exactly where he is going except somewhere in Korea. It may be to a hospital, or Engineers or Ordnance or Infantry Regiment, or a Medical Battalion or a Transportation Group, an Anti-aircraft Battalion. He just waits. The Eighth United States Army in Korea will inform him soon enough, so he drops his duffel bag and other *impedimenta* near his assigned cot, stretches out weary bones, pulls a blanket over him and peacefully lets the Army make the next move.

ERNEST B. CLEMENTS, S.J.

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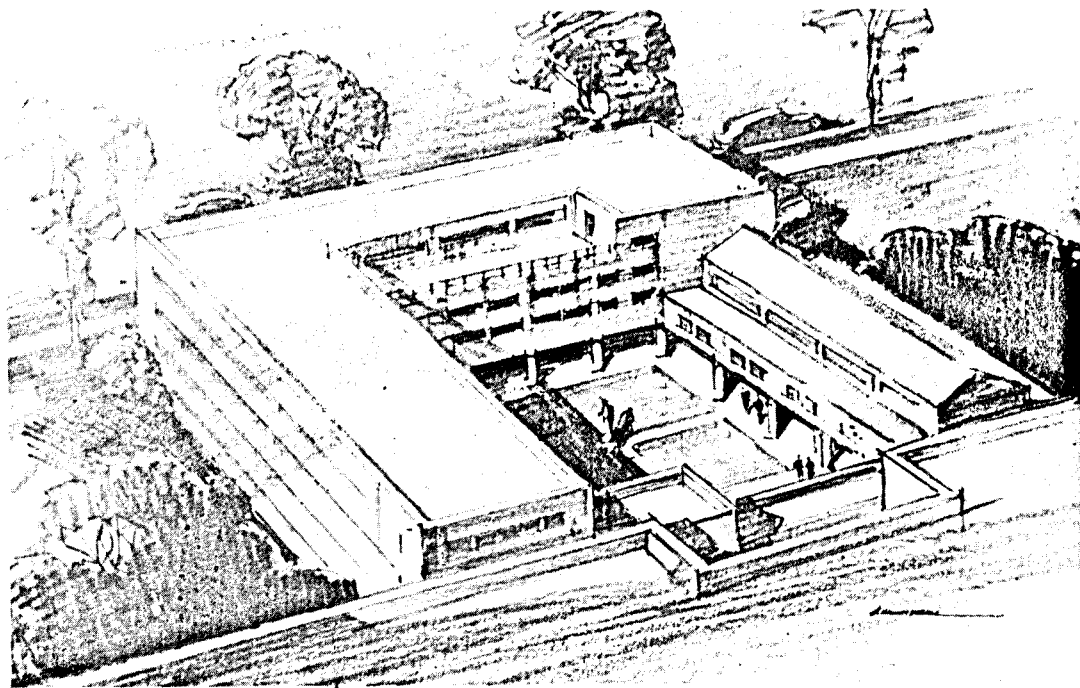
### THE NEW COMMUNITY AT MARQUETTE HIGH

On the warm, sunny morning of May 16, 1951 Father Richard McGloin, the first Rector of Marquette University High School, broke ground for the community's first faculty residence. The Marquette students and faculty, who had assembled after Mass on the debris-cluttered lot behind the school building, applauded when Father McGloin turned over a spadeful of earth and stone.

Almost nine months to the day after the High School faculty had been separated from the Marquette University faculty, the High School Jesuits were beginning to build



GROUND BREAKING CEREMONY, MAY 16, 1961



PROPOSED FACULTY RESIDENCE, MARQUETTE HIGH SCHOOL



their own home: an event of great significance to Milwaukee Jesuits. Since 1857, when the Jesuits opened St. Aloysius Academy next to St. Gall's Church on Michigan and Third, now in the heart of the downtown district, the High School faculty had lived with the pastors of the parish, or with the University faculty or with both.

St. Aloysius Academy was a two-room frame building, with fifty students and two teachers. Its successor, St. Gall's Academy, built in 1864 on the same site, had four hundred students and a much larger faculty. It was during this time that the Jesuits teaching at the Academy lived with the pastors of the Church. When the Academy moved to a new site on Tenth and State Streets in 1881, it was called Marquette College since college classes were also offered. The faculty quarters were in the school building.

Johnston Hall was built on Twelfth and Wisconsin by Robert A. Johnston in 1907. When the College department moved there in that year, the High School faculty moved also. The Jesuits who taught at what became Marquette Academy after the division, walked the five blocks from Johnston Hall to their classrooms. But this was only the beginning of the commuting. The faculty soon found itself teaching two miles from home when the Marquette University High School was erected in 1925 at Thirty-Fifth and Wisconsin Avenue as the Ellen Story Johnston Memorial. On foot or by bus the Fathers and Scholastics travelled back and forth every school day. So it went for twenty-five years until the growth of both the High School and the University caused overcrowding at Johnston Hall. Even after an old rooming-house behind the residence had been converted into an annex, the living facilities at the University were insufficient.

Finally, on September 13, 1950, the High School faculty was established as a separate community, and Father Richard McGloin was made its Rector. While negotiations for getting a residence were going on, makeshift quarters were set up in the High School building. By Christmas, 1950, Father McGloin and thirteen other Fathers were living in various nooks and crannies—a former activities office, a teachers' cloak room, the student counsellor's room, and so on. The pioneers used the school chapel for services, and the cafeteria for meals.

The remaining Fathers and Scholastics continued living at Johnston Hall.

By the early part of 1951 four old houses directly behind the High School building were purchased, and the work of razing them began. By the time of the ground-breaking in May the architects, Brust and Brust, alumni of the High School, had drawn up plans. The building contract was awarded to Gebhard and Berghammer, a Milwaukee firm, and the building operations began. Before school was out a steam shovel was at work digging the foundations so that the students prepared for their examinations to the accompaniment of the noise of excavation.

The new faculty residence will be of concrete and brick, in the shape of a squared-off "U." It will face south and surround an open courtyard on three sides. The front of the building and the east wing will be four stories high and contain the living rooms, public parlors and utility rooms. The west wing, two stories high, will have the dining room and kitchen on the first floor, and the chapel and sacristies on the second.

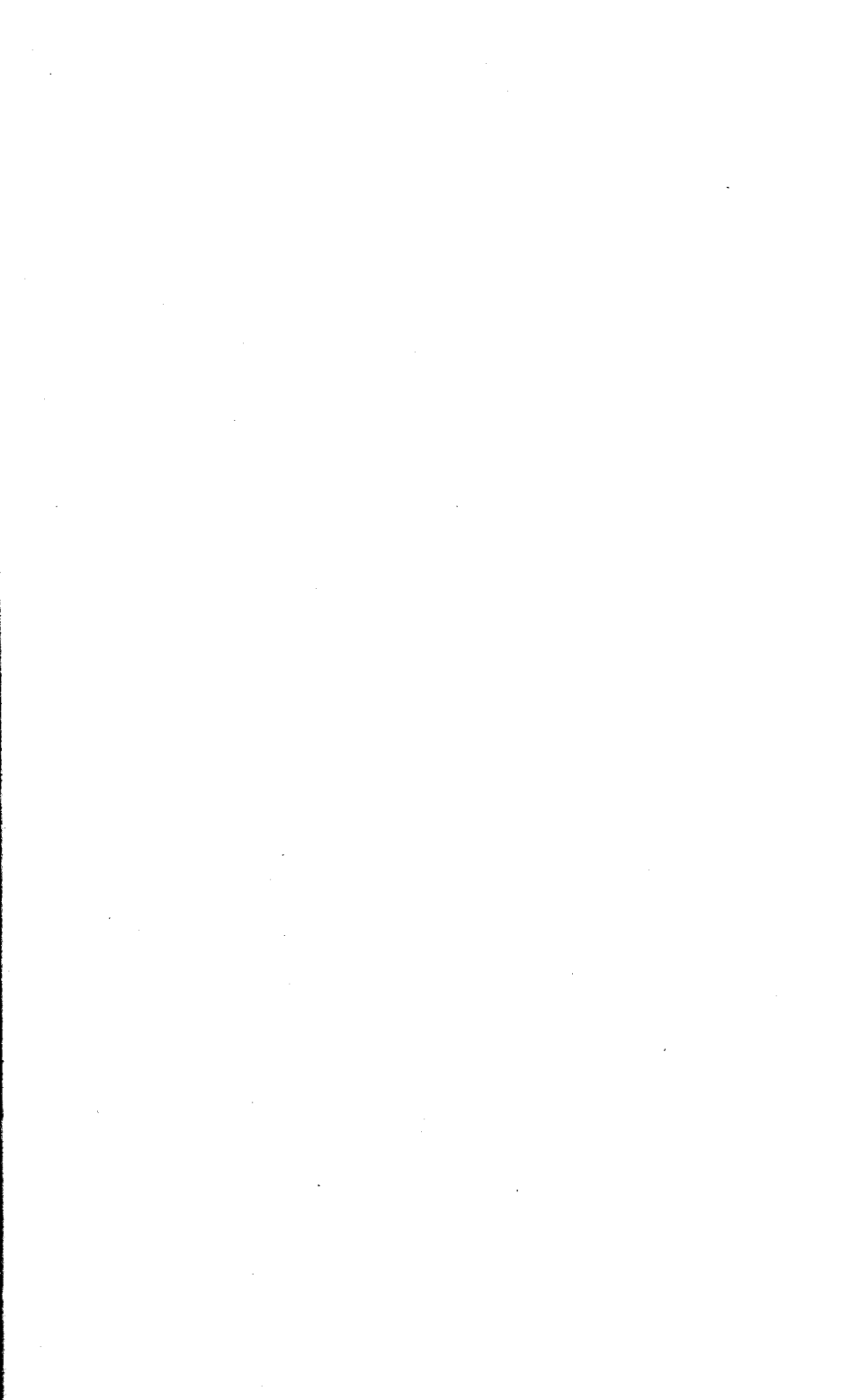
To raise the sum of six hundred thousand dollars a building-fund drive has been going on simultaneously with the planning and building operations. Individuals and groups have a chance to donate a room, a chapel, a window, etc., as a memorial. The senior class of 1951, for example, gave the side altar in the new chapel. It is hoped that the building will be paid for by the time the High School celebrates its centenary in 1957.

At present construction has reached the second floor. It is estimated that the building will be ready for occupancy in August, 1952. Meanwhile the Fathers and Scholastics live in their quarters in the High School building or continue to commute from the University residence.

JOSEPH S. KAROL, S.J.

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Mr. Ledesma (Philippine Mission) is a philosopher at Berchmans College, Cebu. Father Kenny (Missouri Province) is Professor of History at St. Louis University. Father Clements (Maryland Province), a Captain in the United States Army, is now on active duty in Korea. Mr. Karol (Missouri Province) is teaching at Marquette University High School.





FATHER PETER LUTZ

# OBITUARY

## FATHER PETER LUTZ

1873-1948

Father Peter Lutz died at Mercy Hospital, Baltimore on June 1, 1948 in the seventy-sixth year of his life, his fifty-third in the Society. He was born at Lancaster, New York, on March 4, 1873 and baptized a few days later in St. Mary's Church in that town as Peter Theodore Anthony. In after years in the Society hardly anyone knew any name for him except Peter, and the name was spoken with unusual affection.

His grandparents arrived in Buffalo from Danendorf in Alsace in 1830. His father, Michael Lutz, was born on November 11, 1836 and baptized in Williamsville, New York. It is interesting to note that Father John Neumann, who was later to become Bishop of Philadelphia and be declared Venerable, was in charge of the territory at that time. Michael Lutz married Margaret Stephan and from their marriage were born eleven children, five boys and six girls. Three of their sons besides Peter became Jesuits. Father John Lutz who died in 1907 had been to India and returned broken in health; Father Michael Lutz died in Kansas City, Missouri, on November 7, 1933; Brother Albert Lutz is now living in Cleveland, Ohio. Another son married and was the parent of a Jesuit, Father Raymond Lutz, now in the Philippine Mission. Five of the six girls became religious, one in the Immaculate Heart Congregation and four others in the Third Order of St. Francis.

Peter Lutz studied at Canisius College for six years but had to interrupt his studies to help his father on the farm. Then, at the age of twenty-three, he entered the Society at Prairie du Chien on August 29, 1896 as a member of the Buffalo Mission. After spending his noviceship and one year of juniorate there, he went to Cleveland for his second year juniorate, returning to Prairie du Chien for his three years of philosophy. After regency there from 1903 to 1906, he studied theology for one year at Valkenburg. When the Buffalo Mission was divided in 1907 he became a member of the

Maryland-New York Province, and completed the course at Woodstock where he also spent a year of extra study in preparation for the Special Act in theology in the Spring of 1911. After these studies, Father Lutz, who had been ordained to the priesthood by Cardinal Gibbons on July 30, 1909, began his long years of apostolate among Ours.

He taught *De Ecclesia* from 1911 to 1913, and after his tertianship at Poughkeepsie, returned to Woodstock to teach theology from 1914 to 1922. He was appointed Rector in 1921 and when his term of office was over he went to Poughkeepsie as Tertian Instructor in 1927. He continued in this post when the Tertianship was changed to Auriesville in 1939. Four years later, in 1942, he went to Georgetown as Spiritual Father. Upon leaving Georgetown in 1944 he came back to Woodstock as Spiritual Father of the house and of the theologians and remained in this position till his death. Thus, with the exception of his two years of regency and his two years at Georgetown, all of Father Lutz's active life was spent in our houses of formation.

Father Lutz was a man of large stature, large head, big hands, but most of all, of a large and generous heart. He seems to have been born to be kind to Ours and to be a father to the immense number of Jesuits who came officially and unofficially under his care and direction. This kindness was founded on a profound and loving knowledge of the Society and its Institute, of the *Exercises* and of theology. He never seemed to think or talk of anything except what had to do with the glory of God, the good of the Church, the good of the Society and the well-being of its members. He was a real man with the heart of a loving child. There was nothing soft about him, nothing childish. He was not "all heart and no head," but a wonderful blend of heart and head.

In his presence no uncharitable talk ever got far. He was absolutely obedient, and criticism of superiors was so unknown to him that he would twist and turn things (and himself too) inside out to defend their directions. This is best illustrated by an incident at the close of the war when German prisoners were working at Woodstock. One of Ours decided it would be good to get some of these men to help at Mercy Hospital, and Father Lutz, always ready to ride in a car, was

asked to accompany the Father who was going into the city to see what could be done in this matter. In discussing the subject on the way with Father Lutz he heard many arguments against such interference in the internal affairs of the hospital and against the propriety of one of Ours even to suggest to the Sisters that they apply for this help. His companion allowed Father Lutz to talk on and to get himself well into his reasons when he hinted that superiors of the Society had approved the plan. Immediately, with one of his famous gulps, Father Lutz was giving the reasons why we should make the suggestion to the Sisters and why it was not interference and why such benefactors as the Sisters should be told of the possibilities of getting such splendid help as the prisoners of war had brought to Woodstock.

There are many stories told about Father Lutz and they are probably repeated all over the Assistancy. For he was known all over the country because of his many years at Woodstock in the days when more men came there from other provinces, as well as from the years he spent as Instructor of Tertiaries at Poughkeepsie and Auriesville. A group of Jesuits at recreation can get started on "Peter," and story after story will bring out the lovable, humorous, solid character of a man respected by all. Never is there any word of bitterness or disrespect. Everyone always understands perfectly, and there is no more likelihood of being uncharitable in talking of him than when several sons recall the amusing little foibles of a deceased father.

When Father Lutz talked, he did not care too much about sentences. Often he would just throw out one simple apprehension after the other, but the judgment was always perfectly obvious. We know that clever cartoonists suggest an idea by one stroke of a pen and leave the heavy explanations for the grinding-out process of the wordy editorials. To understand Father Lutz one needed to get the gulp at the right moment, the little nod of the big head, as though he were swallowing a little of the very thing he wanted you to swallow. He would take care of the Pharisees with "their fringes and philacteries" with a side motion of his large hand. The motion brought that hand just above the right sidepocket and gravity did the rest. By the end of the next sentence the snuff box

had passed to the left hand and imperceptibly the lid was off. Two sniffs and a little Copenhagen dusted onto the floor. That generally marked his going on to another point. His summaries were always interesting. At the end of a little discourse on something he would tie the whole thing together with a stock expression of his. The labels generally fitted perfectly and consisted of two words joined by "and" or "but": "small but quite sufficient," "rather large but hardly cumbersome." Eating places out on a trip were "refined and quite reasonable" with "simple but standard service."

Businessmen loved Father Lutz on their first meeting. He might pull out the blue bandana, but after all their dealings with people perhaps too conscious of form, it was usually a treat to talk with someone very genuine. One meeting was enough to make a friend and it worked both ways. Father Lutz would always ask how so-and-so was getting along, whether his child was better, etc., and the businessman would continue for years to ask about Father Lutz, laugh a little about his snuff box, but go on to say what a lovely, holy man he was and how the children loved him whenever they met at the man's home.

Three periods stand out in Father Lutz's life: his years as a professor, his years as Tertian Instructor, and his years as Rector of Woodstock. In the last position he grasped the pressing need of room and went to work on the problem with characteristic energy. For years there had been talk of moving the scholasticate to another location. Weston had not yet been built, and the Woodstock community was poorly housed in the Green and White Houses, as they were called. Under his urgent direction the new wings were added for the theologians and philosophers, an extension which also provided a new kitchen, scullery, and dining room. During his term the Chapel was built and the Science Building completed. These stand as monuments to his concern for the comfort of Ours. While certain criticisms have been made against what was done, it still remains a fact that the courage of Father Lutz provided well for the great expansion of the Maryland-New York Province, even with the facilities available in the new Province of New England at Weston College.

Indeed, Woodstock and all that pertained to it was very



close to his heart. There he spent twenty-three years of his long life, and his six years as Rector had seen him giving himself heart and soul for its community in a sense more intimate, if that were possible, than he had in other positions at the same house. One year after he had gone to Poughkeepsie as Tertian Instructor, he was giving a retreat at Georgetown and at its close was invited to remain overnight at Woodstock. Like a boy back home for vacation, he went all over the house, into all the offices of the Brothers, spoke to all the workmen and inspected the whole establishment. When leaving on the following day, he took the Minister aside at the front door and, with tears in his eyes, expressed his thanks for all that was being done for the Scholastics and expressed his happiness at any improvements he had noticed. This was not because he believed that others might not do as he had done. These sentiments arose from his deep love of the Society and his intense interest in all that concerned the well-being of its Scholastics. When he returned to the community in 1944 as its Spiritual Father, he remarked to one of the professors that he must be careful to remember he was not a superior here; he must not say or do anything that would lead others to believe that he did not approve all that was being done and the way it was being done. No rector or minister would ever find in Father Lutz anything but a most obedient member of the household, a staunch upholder of discipline, a most devoted and prudent counsellor in the problems arising in the management of a large community. He was most devoted to his own office, was at the beck and call of anyone whom he could possibly help, and would go out of his way to thank superiors for any little favors out of the ordinary that were done for the community.

In his last days at Woodstock he used to help Father Bihler with his spiritual work among the German prisoners of war encamped at Pikesville, Maryland. Any time he was asked, he would go over there, riding in the Jeep or an ambulance or an Army truck. Father's command of German was a great help. The soldiers felt at home with him because he was so kind to them and ready to listen and advise. They loved this big-hearted man and had a special name for him that showed a lot of affection. When after Mass each morning he was

about to enter the farm truck sent to bring the prisoners to Woodstock, they would race to beat one another in picking up his bag and helping him into the truck.

In papers found after Father's death there were notes of permissions renewed with succeeding provincials—an indication of his spirit of dependence. All his local superiors can testify to his scrupulous care in such little things. If he had been out of the house for some work, even for a day or two, he always made it a point, as soon as he returned, to put on his habit, come to the superior's room and report home.

He was most solicitous for the sick either in the infirmary or in the hospital, was anxious about their progress and the course of their treatment, and visited them whenever he could. None more than he enjoyed an outing with other members of the community and none was more welcome than he on some jaunt or other whether long or short. Cap in hand, he always seated himself in the front of the car with a well marked map and with a knowledge of every road over which the trip would take him. He enjoyed games of all sorts and at the Villa was an ardent fan of all sports engaged in by the Scholastics. Of this last characteristic someone has written:

I would say that the most cherished memories of Father Lutz in the experiences of the younger—and perhaps some of the older—Fathers were the vacations which Father loved to spend with them in their Scholastic days, as their guide, general confidant, spiritual director. He was dear to us, simply because he took an interest in everything that we did, whether it was baseball, fishing or hiking. It was typical of Father Lutz that any group would immediately brighten up when he joined it; all were glad to have him in their company. He was the life of a picnic; he loved to ride; his memory of places and little landmarks and persons was prodigious.

Just before his final illness he had been assigned as confessor to the new Loyola Villa at Port Kent. He looked forward to seeing this new purchase with great interest, studied maps of the location, and talked about it incessantly. Again, it was just another manifestation of his interest in all that concerned Ours and especially the Scholastics.

Father Lutz lies buried at Woodstock in a row of graves that hold the remains of famous Woodstock Jesuits: Brother McMullan and Brother Abrams, Father John Brosnan, Father Duggin, Father McClellan, Father William Brosnan—all

priests and Brothers who served long and faithfully at Woodstock. Truly it may be said of him as of all the others: *Hic jacet amator fratrum.*

FERDINAND C. WHEELER, S.J.

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## FATHER LEWIS HENRY McCANN

1893-1951

Educator and retreat master are the titles which most readily attach themselves to Father Lewis Henry McCann who died on May 9, 1951, at Bellarmine High School, San Jose, California. Formerly Rector of that community he was its Spiritual Father at the time of his death. Although members of nearby communities knew that Father "Louie" McCann was suffering from a serious heart condition, they were shocked to read the news of his death on the bulletin boards early that morning.

After completing four years of high school at St. Ignatius, San Francisco, Lewis entered the Society at Los Gatos, California on July 20, 1910. He began his postulancy with unaffected simplicity and cheerfulness. It was his way to accept things as they came calmly and rather philosophically. Though not robust by nature, he readily took part in every scheduled outdoor activity during his years of preparation and study. He was noted for his kind humor and fine companionship. He belonged to that class of persons who because they fit in so well on every occasion are both welcome and taken for granted. Having a natural talent for music and some accomplishment too, he contributed much to the needs of the choir as an organist at Los Gatos, and afterwards at Mt. St. Michael.

After first vows on the Feast of St. Ignatius 1912, he began his three years of classical studies. Though not a brilliant student, he nevertheless acquitted himself well in all he undertook. In July, 1915 Father McCann was sent to Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington, to begin his philosophy. His first six months as a philosopher were spent in the three-story brick building on the Gonzaga campus which had housed

the first Gonzaga College. The following February, however, the philosophate was moved to its almost-completed new quarters on Mt. St. Michael, near Hillyard, then a suburb of Spokane. On the day assigned the eager philosophers trudged through deep snow to occupy the new and desolate abode situated on the southern brow of palisades overlooking the city. Not a tree or shrub was in sight about the grounds, in contrast to the present beautiful landscaping. The enthusiasm of the happy group was not dampened by the bareness of the countryside. It was during these busy years of study that Father McCann revealed more fully the talent he had for dry humor and comic acting. With little effort he easily stood out in formal or informal entertainment and constantly contributed to the jollity of recreation.

For his regency he was assigned to Gonzaga High School in Spokane, as California and Oregon were one Province then. He was given charge of the Glee Club, and it is interesting to note that he had in this group of boys one who was years afterwards to become none other than the famous radio and screen entertainer, Bing Crosby. But Bing and Father did not then see eye to eye in certain things, including being on time for rehearsals, and the young singer was politely requested to withdraw. Later this amused Father considerably. He often said: "My only claim to fame: I kicked Bing Crosby out of my Glee Club." But Bing evidently did not too greatly resent it. The singer's three sons who are old enough to go to high school are at Bellarmine College Preparatory School.

After regency, Father was sent to St. Louis University to begin his theology and was ordained on June 24, 1924 by His Excellency, the Most Reverend John J. Glennon. After his fourth year of theology, he took a summer course in education at Fordham University. Tertianship at Poughkeepsie followed; and after another summer at Fordham he returned to California where he was assigned to the classroom at Bellarmine College Preparatory. On February 2, 1927 he pronounced his last vows. In 1929 he became Superior at Bellarmine and one year later, when the High School was made a community distinct from the University of Santa Clara, he was appointed Bellarmine's first Rector, and entered upon a six-year term of office. The High School during those lean years was in a very

precarious financial situation due to a shortage of students. To save it from extinction Father McCann decided to undertake a very intense advertising campaign. Folders with attractive views of the buildings and grounds were printed and distributed throughout the cities of the San Francisco Bay Area, and very soon the institution began to take on new interest and life. To this program he added the formation of what became known as the "Dads' Club," whose purpose was to promote any project the school might undertake. This club functioned very smoothly and gave great impetus to the subsequent growth of the school. At the end of his term of office Father was voted life membership in the club.

The years from 1935 to 1942 saw Father acting in the capacity of Vice-Principal, and later of Principal at Loyola High School, Los Angeles. For the next three years he taught English and philosophy at Loyola University. Then he came to El Retiro, Los Altos, to assist in laymen's retreats. There he did wonderful work as long as his health lasted. He gave himself generously to the hard work of the confessional, and he would devote hours to the assistance of a single individual. He gave retreats to the men at Los Altos and to other groups elsewhere, and was much in demand. His retreats to students were particularly popular. His sense of humor was a great asset in his work. One of his characteristics in giving retreats was lengthy points and conferences, but much of the tediousness was relieved by his subtle touches of humor. At the conclusion of his retreats, when called on for a word at the meetings, often he would say: "Just to prove to you that I can be brief, I will sit down."

Father McCann loved the simple things. Towards his companions he was genial and to his superiors always respectful though casual. During his illness he was ever cheerful and uncomplaining. His deep spiritual nature was hidden beneath a very plain matter-of-fact exterior. He never asked for a change and never refused one. He simply saw the will of God expressed to him through his superiors. He was above average as a disciplinarian in school, yet he did everything in his seemingly easy-going way. And his sense of humor stayed on with him. Shortly before his death he filled out a brief form about his personal history, and after he had mentioned

by name those he wanted notified in case of an emergency, he added: "You'll probably need an undertaker too."

Father McCann died as he had lived, serenely and peacefully, beloved by all.

FELIX A. ACQUISTAPACE, S.J.

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## FATHER FRANCIS J. O'HERN

1885-1951

At Mass on a July Sunday, forty odd years ago, the pastor of a country church in Iowa, instead of preaching on the Gospel of the day, delivered a eulogy on a twenty-two year old parishioner who had informed him that he was to enter the Novitiate at Florissant. Little did the old priest dream how truly he spoke of the future Jesuit who would spend the next forty-four years in the Missouri Province.

Francis J. O'Hern was born January 27, 1885 at DeWitt, Iowa. After finishing high school there, he entered St. Mary's College in 1904. Of the nine members of that class destined for the priesthood, seven became Jesuits. The gangling youth with his unassuming manner and charming personality was quickly recognized as class leader, presaging a career of leadership of more than two score years.

He entered the novitiate after three years of college, July 24, 1907. He was fortunate in having two masters of novices, Father Hagemann in the first year and Father James Finn in the second. The two men were poles apart. Father Hagemann belonged to the old school of rigorous asceticism; Father Finn to a later school which aimed at inculcating novices with a spirit of gentility along with a spirit of other-worldliness. Frank was appointed manuductor at the close of Father Hagemann's twenty-sixth year of office. The appointment brought him into daily contact with the new master. Of a fine-grained nature, he appreciated the amenities of life and sought to profit in his dealings with Father Finn in developing a gracious manner and an ease of address. These qualities plus an attractive appearance and a winning smile made him outstanding among his fellow novices. He was one of those

rare characters who attract others at first sight and easily make lasting friends. No other Scholastic, in the knowledge of the writer, was so popular with other Scholastics; no other Scholastic enjoyed the full confidence of so many. During his regency at Campion (he taught only one year in his career) he captivated the boys with his genial manner. The prefect of the large yard proved a magnet in drawing boys to him during recreation. A good story teller with an infectious laugh, he would become the center of a group on recreation days who would listen to him for hours at a time.

After four years at Florissant, 1907-1911, he studied philosophy at Saint Louis University, prefect at Campion College for four of his five years there, and returned to St. Louis for theology in 1919. He was ordained after two years, thanks to the war privilege, June 26, 1921, and made his tertianship in Cleveland.

Father O'Hern was a student of mediocre ability but he realized that he had other talents. He was prudent, and from the first, enjoyed the confidence of superiors. They frequently consulted him even as a Scholastic because of his balanced judgment, and more than one provincial took him into his confidence on matters of importance.

After tertianship, he was appointed Socius to Father Mitchell at Florissant for a year and the next year he accompanied him to open the new Novitiate at Milford. After a year there he was appointed to assist Father Monaghan at White House. He created a lasting impression on retreatants and made life-long friends of many of them.

In 1928 he succeeded another alumnus, the popular Father Rodman, as President of St. Mary's College. Since he was the choice of the Alumni Association, he went back to his old College with high hopes, fully confident that the alumni would come to the rescue of their school. How soon his hopes were to be cast to the ground! After studying the situation for a year, he called a meeting of half a dozen wealthy, active alumni and laid the cards on the table. The College was nearly half a million dollars in debt and was losing \$25,000 yearly. What was to be done? The most influential of the group said that an institution that could not make a go of it should close its doors. Then came the depression and the old school that

had been made famous by Father Finn in his boy stories closed after nearly a century of existence. No one else experienced the distress of closing the College as did Father O'Hern. Shortly after the decision was made, he suffered his first heart attack. Many believe it was caused by the strain of worry.

In 1931 he was transferred to Saint Louis University, to spend the last twenty years as Student Advisor, Dean of Men, Director of Athletics, and Faculty Representative of the Alumni. He was shifted from one office to another because of his versatility, sometimes to make room for another. In all the offices he was very capable. The remarkable thing is that in spite of his teaching assignment of only a year, he was looked on as an ideal college man. Besides the different offices in the University, he proved his priestly worth in many other ways. He was successful in retreats to priests, religious, lay people; he was a kindly confessor; he was devoted to deaf mutes, to the poor and to altar boys of the College Church, and to the Xavier Boys' Club. He took an unusual interest in students who sought his help spiritually; he obtained financial help for many, especially in the medical school. Some of the latter would not be practicing medicine today were it not for the generosity of friends who answered Father O'Hern's appeal for financial assistance for these worthy students. Many students came to him in his office; others called him to the parlor to have him solve their problems. He was equally popular in the community and in dealing with externs. At recreation he drew others about him and was frequently the guest of externs. Always conscious of his sacred calling in dealing with them he exercised a salutary influence on men and women alike.

Never of a robust physique, he was hospitalized several times during the past five years, mostly because of heart attacks. He suffered a severe attack the last night of the year, 1950, and was taken to St. Mary's Hospital. During the last four months there he suffered sometimes excruciating pain, but he bore it calmly and continued to exercise his influence on nuns and nurses. He died peacefully on April 19.

Father O'Hern was endowed by nature with splendid gifts which he took pains to develop—a pleasing countenance, a



native dignity of bearing, a delicious sense of humor, an ease of approach, a something that won confidence and dispelled timidity. A priest who loved his Mass and sacred duties, who made friends readily and kept them, a wonderfully prudent religious, he was the near-ideal Jesuit.

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## FATHER ALBERT C. RIESTER

1874-1951

As the last minutes of St. Joseph's Day, which fell during Holy Week this year, had slipped over into March 20, Father Albert C. Riestler ended in death his nineteen year assignment at St. Stephen's Arapahoe Mission in Wyoming. When word came of his passing, surely those who had come to know him during those missionary years gave to this genuinely lovable and priestly Jesuit the simple tribute once spoken of Father Pierre Bouscaren: "We are burying no ordinary Jesuit today." There was, indeed, something very special and distinctive in the impression left by this veteran missionary on his fellow Jesuits young and old, diocesan priests who made their annual retreat at St. Stephen's, Indians, friends and visitors at the Mission. Perhaps the words of the centurion, epitomizing on Calvary the life of our High Priest, Jesus Christ, also sum up Father Riestler's life best: "Indeed, this was a *just* man." "A just man" is the sublime simplicity of the Holy Spirit summing up the incomparable sanctity of St. Joseph too. It was under his gentle care that the Indian missionary died and, like Joseph's, his life was for the most part a hidden one. For as a result of the isolation of St. Stephen's Mission, comparatively few of Ours really came to know him during the more than twenty-five years of his Indian apostolate. Those that did thank God for the privilege.

On March 24, 1874, just two years before the Custer Massacre focused national attention on the Indian nations of the West, and less than a year after Father Peter de Smet's death, Albert C. Riestler was born in Upper Sandusky, Ohio. He received his high school and college training under the Jesuits at John Carroll in Cleveland, Ohio. From his entrance into the Society of Jesus on August 20, 1901 until he pro-

nounced his last vows at Marquette University on the Feast of the Assumption, 1915, he followed the regular course of training. He had been ordained by the late Cardinal Glennon in St. Louis on June 28, 1912.

The first ten years of his priestly life were in the self-effacing role that is a Father Minister's service to his religious brethren: at Marquette from 1914-1921; at Campion the two following years; and at Detroit from 1923-24. Then came the assignment in the American Indian missions which was to occupy the remainder of his priestly life. After a year at Holy Rosary Mission, he was appointed Superior there, a post he held from 1926 to 1932. From that year until his death he was stationed at St. Stephen's Mission. During these nineteen years, Father Riester regularly said Mass at one of the outlying mission chapels thirty-five miles from St. Stephen's. He later found this strenuous but never complained, never asked to be relieved.

A Jesuit companion on one of these trips noted that it meant starting a fire to warm the chapel even on a day in early summer. The sermon was a simple, direct, appealing homily on the Divine Savior. His catechetical class after Mass was a lively one in which the devoted love of the children was marked by their respectful attention and interest. After class a friendly visit with the families of the children disclosed his kindly, fatherly interest in each one. He knew all by name and his love was very manifestly reciprocated. A Sunday "dinner" of a couple of sandwiches was taken on the way home in a sage-brush picnic spot that was his usual Sunday afternoon resting place.

A special love that the saintly Pius X and Father Riester shared in common was a predilection for the First Communion class. Every year at St. Stephen's he welcomed the assignment to prepare the First Communicants. It was a task he loved, took most seriously, and fulfilled with the greatest zeal. The fruitfulness of his thorough instructions has been noted by those working with him at St. Stephen's.

With the gentle approachableness which we love to associate with St. Joseph, Father Riester found that this very characteristic of his brought every sort of demand from those in need. He could be called on to do anything and never re-

fused even the most menial task. As one who knew him well has observed: "He had the unusual faculty of being able to do either spiritual or manual work indiscriminately. I simply marveled at this since most priests develop a disrelish for manual labor."

Those who lived longest with Father Riester recall how he would go out of his way day or night to accommodate members of the community as well as the Indians. It was his patience with the latter, who at times with the thoughtlessness of children can be most unreasonable in their demands, that specially marked him out for their love and affection. He had the gracious faculty of making them feel it was his privilege to wait on them. In the earlier days of his missionary life, some felt that he carried his generosity to what was objectively a fault, though certainly never subjectively. Whenever the other missionaries left, to be sure there would be some money left on their return, they had to leave explicit instructions with this kind-hearted "easy target" for any hard-luck story "to give no money away." Perhaps his philosophy was that of St. Robert Bellarmine—that he'd rather be "taken in" by ninety-nine less deserving or fakes than turn away one really deserving and needy beggar.

He kept up an active interest in spiritual reading and would occasionally inform the writers of religious articles, for example in *The Review for Religious*, of his views on their articles. As a confessor he was most kind and understanding. He was in the confessional regularly every morning during Mass, even when there would be few confessions, and regularly on Saturday evenings in winter or summer whether few or many were on hand. Significant above all, perhaps, is the characteristic noted by all—an equanimity of soul coupled with the buoyancy of youth. One well acquainted with Father Riester over the course of many years related: "I never saw him dispirited. Neither did I see him excessively joyful. He was well balanced."

Because he had always risen at 4:00 A.M., he was discovered promptly the morning after his death. At times when he was unable to sleep he used to take a hot bath. He had done so that night about midnight. When his alarm kept ringing the next morning at four, it was suspected that some-

thing had happened. He was found dead in the tub, the hot water still running. The doctor said he died of a heart attack and that he had been dead for several hours. It was the morning of Tuesday in Holy Week, March 20. Father Riester's life, like Joseph's, was hidden to the end. Even the lime-light, so well deserved, that comes with a Golden Jubilee celebration in the Society was reserved for Heaven. It would have been celebrated on August 20, 1951.

In addition to the Solemn Requiem Mass celebrated at St. Stephen's on Wednesday, the Bishop of Cheyenne offered Mass for the repose of his soul as soon as he was notified of the death. Many of the priests of the Cheyenne Diocese, who had come to know the missionary during the diocesan priests' retreat held annually at St. Stephen's, did the same. Nor did those for whom he had devoted himself forget him.

Father Matthew Germing, former Provincial of the Missouri Province, once remarked in a community exhortation that "the missions need the Province—for both prayers and material assistance. But it is ever so much more true that the Province needs the missions." The inspiration that comes from the simple fact of the high sacrificial spirit demanded in the daily privations, the separation, the inconsiderate demands made by those for whom the missionaries are working—all these keep up the standard and ideal for the rest of the Province of the eleventh and twelfth Rules of the Summary.

The *Nunc dimittis* of such a missionary as Father Albert Riester is an occasion for just such a re-evaluation, of just such a renewal of esteem for the debt of gratitude the Jesuits laboring in the provinces owe their brethren chosen for the greater challenge of the mission frontier of the Kingdom. Easy it is to make this renewal in the sweet fragrance of the life of an Albert Riester, truly a just man, *dilectus Deo et hominibus*.

THOMAS A. HALLEY, S.J.

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Father Wheeler, formerly Rector of Woodstock College, is Minister at St. Ignatius Church, Baltimore. Father Acquistapace (California Province) is Minister of El Retiro Retreat House, Los Altos. Father Halley (Missouri Province) is Professor of English at St. Stanislaus Seminary, Florissant.

# Books of Interest to Ours

## A PATRON FOR PARISH PRIESTS

Bernadine Realino, Renaissance Man. *By Francis Sweeney, S.J.* New York, The Macmillan Co., 1951. Pp. 173. \$2.75.

This book is excellent. It is not a panegyric, it is factual. Father Sweeney (New England Province) has spared no pains in exhausting the sources and has set his subject in a vivid background of historical detail and Renaissance atmosphere. His model, it would appear, has been the masterful Father Brodrick, and no doubt the past master of religious biography will be proud of his pupil. The style is careful and attractive. Being a poet, the author has a sensitive feeling for words, and his writing is never common-place or obvious.

He does not suppress the less edifying details of St. Bernadine's youth. For instance, he frankly relates the encounter in which he engaged because of an injustice done to his family. Sentenced to have his hand cut off, he fled before the execution of the order and was an exile from his native land thereafter.

Many persons have pictured the Saint as a man who from his youth had walked the ways of sanctity. Though it is true that he did not indulge in the vices common in his day, yet for years he was a child of the world, filled with ambition for worldly preferment and intent on making a career for himself. He was a very learned man, a distinguished humanist who had received a doctorate in letters and published poems and commentaries on the classics. He was almost on the point of graduating as a doctor of medicine when he turned to another study and received his doctorate in both civil and canon law. This change was made at the urgent request of a patroness and friend to whom he was devoted. She was older than he and took the place of his mother.

After he had received his degree he accepted posts of authority in the government, showed remarkable ability as an administrator, and was sent from town to town to instruct the mayors in their duties. When well on his way to political prominence, he saw two Jesuit novices walking in the streets of Naples. Struck by their modesty and recollection, he followed them to the Jesuit church, listened to a sermon, and experienced a violent change in his attitude towards life. While he was debating whether he would follow Christ or the Marquis of Pescara, and was saying the Rosary that our Lady might enlighten him, the Blessed Mother appeared to him with the Christ Child in her arms and bade him enter the Society.

He was thirty-four years old when he entered the novitiate. Not long after, our Lady again appeared and set him free from temptations against chastity. While he was still a novice, St. Francis Borgia, the General, appointed him master of novices, over the violent protest of Father Salmeron. Father Sweeney's comment reminds one of Father

Brodrick: "Father General smiled, Father Provincial sighed; the Fathers Consultor raised their shoulders and lifted their hands." Borgia, being a saint himself, recognized sanctity when he met it. In less than three years Realino was ordained to the priesthood; in less than seven he was admitted to his last vows.

Then his real life work began. He was sent to the city of Lecce and assigned to parochial work. The Society needed a model and patron for parish priests. For this exalted vocation our Lady selected Realino, and as she had called him to the Society, so she watched over him and perfected his holiness. Often she appeared to him, led him from sanctity to sanctity until all the city knew him for what he was, a man fashioned after the heart of Christ. The working of miracles became almost a habit with him. Although he was beloved by the wealthy and powerful, he gave his life and his love to the poor and miserable. The slaves and prisoners became his dearest friends. He visited the sick, consoled the desolate, assisted the dying and buried the dead. He was tireless in his labor for God's little ones, and this went on for forty long years. Seldom, if ever, has a priest been so universally loved by an entire city. When he died, worn out by his labors, he was canonized by his people, centuries before he was canonized by the Church.

Such is the story of Bernadine Realino as told by Father Sweeney. His book marks the advent of a biographer of rare skill who writes with a maturity far beyond his years. Selecting his material with a discretion usually attained only after much practice, he paints the picture of his beloved Saint with a rare vividness, and invests the subject of the book with a charm that is elusive but unmistakable. He possesses a witchery of language that is spontaneous and natural. Perhaps the simplest way to sum up the evaluation of his work is to repeat that it is very like Father Brodrick.

J. HARDING FISHER, S.J.

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### MORE MARTINDALE HAGIOGRAPHY

**The Queen's Daughters. A Study of Women Saints.** *By C. C. Martindale, S.J.* New York, Sheed and Ward, 1951. Pp. xvi-252. \$3.00.

This study was originally intended to be the feminine counterpart of the author's *What Are Saints?*, a book which contained the script of broadcast talks about thirteen men saints. Father Martindale found it difficult to select representative personalities among the women saints principally, one suspects, because he found it "distasteful to omit any of the lovely characters encountered."

The author keeps steadily in view his purpose. He is not trying to write an outline of Church history nor is he interested in the development of sanctity as such. He is recalling the names and lives of about

one hundred fifty saints or near saints. In the case of a few he lingers a bit but never for long. Catherine of Siena receives the longest treatment, at the end of which the author asks himself whether he ought to have said anything about her since inevitably he had to say so much too little. His readers will be grateful for the little.

Father Martindale realized that the thing he had most to avoid was the production of a "mere dismal catalogue of names." To a large extent he has succeeded. The lives of the saints are full of soul-stirring realism and some of the best of it is included. An example: St. Margaret of Cortona brings a flock of people to her confessor to be shriven. The priest complains that they are too numerous. "Your confessor," said our Lord, "has told you he cannot clean out so many stalls each day. Tell him from Me that when he hears confessions he is cleaning out no stalls, but is preparing, in human hearts, a home for me." The book also gains much from the wit and wisdom of its author. His little digressions on mysticism and purgatory are admirable. And then one is continually happening on remarks like: "St. Francis de Sales at times was almost amused to find that he had been—all but imperceptibly—directed by St. Jeanne de Chantal!" and "It baffles the imagination how men could argue about the sublimer forms of prayer while offending, at least outwardly, so gravely against charity."

The book deserves to be read widely and probably will be. There are errors of course: many are due to hasty proofreading, others were inevitable where so many are touched on so briefly. Despite these blemishes this study lives up to the high standards of Martindale hagiography.

E. A. RYAN, S.J.

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#### TEXT OF THE SACRED DRAMA

The Words of the Mass. *By Reuben Butler, S.J.* Dublin, Clonmore and Reynolds, Ltd., 1948. Pp. 107. 4/6.

This book is a most satisfactory example of that type of treatment that contributes most to a better practical appreciation of the Holy Sacrifice. Father Butler (Irish Province) has taken all the common prayers of the Mass, those contained in the Ordinary and Canon of the Missal, and has written brief but rich comments on each. The analyses are informative rather than reflective. This fact makes the book ideal as a source of material for points or for talks on the Mass. Cardinal Newman called the words of the Mass the instruments of consecration and of sacrifice. Although the Mass is essentially an action, the best means to its appreciation is meditative study of the changeless verbal formulas which the Church has attached to the Sacred Action. Father Butler has provided an admirable textbook for such meditative study.

The fact that the book is so moderately priced should assure its wide circulation.

JOHN J. NASH, S.J.

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### POCKET BOOK ON THE MASS

**Come With Me to Mass.** *By James V. Linden, S.J.* Chicago, Lumen Books, Paluch Publications, 1951. Pp. 123, \$.50.

This pocket book was written principally to provide a simple explanation of the Mass for non-Catholics. The author takes his non-Catholic friend, Thomas, to Mass and explains the actions and prayers in their natural order. The full text of the prayers is printed so that the reader does not need to make constant references to a missal. The chapters are short, readable and filled with personal applications. Many accessories of the Mass, such as candles, vestments and genuflections, are explained in easily intelligible language. Points of history are frequently introduced to bring out the significance of prayers and actions.

This inexpensive little volume deserves wide distribution. Although it is written chiefly for non-Catholics, most Catholics will find that they can learn much by studying its pages. It would be fine as a basic text for study clubs or a correspondence course.

GERARD J. CAMPBELL, S.J.

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### THE MASS AND THE EXERCISES

**The Retreat Mass.** *By Francis P. Donnelly, S.J.* New York, The Sentinel Press, 1951. Pp. 46. \$.50.

As Father Donnelly has stated in the Preface to *The Retreat Mass*, the booklet "is intended to couple the acts, the words and the thoughts of the Mass with the *Exercises* of St. Ignatius as followed in retreat." In each of the sixteen short chapters a number of Mass prayers have been selected and combined with ideas from a particular phase of the retreat. There are, for example, a Mass of the Foundation, a Mass of the Second Week, a Mass of the King, a Mass of Love and many others. The author advises that the thoughts in each chapter may be considered during the celebration of the Mass or read during another part of the day as a means of reviewing the retreat.

It seems fitting that the retreat, a time set apart for prayer, should have as its main prayer that of the Mass, since the Mass is the greatest of all prayers. Retreatants in general will reap from Father Donnelly's thoughtful work a deeper appreciation of the *Exercises* of St. Ignatius as well as the Mass itself. After prayerful consideration of the thoughts



suggested in *The Retreat Mass* during the time of retreat, the reader will find in the Mass prayers during the rest of the year reminders of his retreat and his retreat resolutions which otherwise might easily be forgotten.

F. M. O'CONNOR, S.J.

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UBI CARITAS ET AMOR . . .

*On the Love of God. By Saint Bernard.* Translated by Terence L. Connolly, S.J. Westminster, Md., The Newman Press, 1951. Pp. xii-259. \$2.75.

The "Mellifluous Doctor," Bernard of Clairvaux, is at his best in this development of his thesis: "The reason for loving God is God Himself; the way is to love Him beyond measure." Father Connolly (New England Province) translated the treatise *De Diligendo Deo* and selections from the sermons on the Canticle of Canticles for the edification of his poetry students. In 1937 he was persuaded to extend the benefit of his translation to a wider group and the first publication was made by the Spiritual Book Associates. Father Connolly's translation compares favorably with that of Marianne Patmore which has long been out of print. It is a classic rather than a journalistic version. Some, perhaps, would have preferred a more modern rendering, but most readers will approve the choice of a style and language that brings us as close as possible to the original of Saint Bernard. The subject and the author of this book are its highest recommendations. These should assure the book of a wide circulation and of a grateful welcome. Further commendation would be bathetic.

J. J. N., S.J.

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*God's Friendship. By Ven. Luis de la Puente, S.J.* Translated and supplemented by Rev. John M. Thill. Milwaukee, Bruce, 1951. Pp. x-215. \$3.50.

These selections from the *Meditaciones Espirituales* of the great Jesuit ascetical writer of the golden age of Spanish spirituality contribute a noteworthy addition to the list of ascetical masterpieces available in the English version. Father Thill, a hospital chaplain in Sparta, Wisconsin, has translated the selections from the Spanish original. There are twenty-two selections from Puente's works. These deal with the divine goodness as manifested in God's relationship with His human creatures. Father Thill has supplemented the book with five chapters and an epilogue in which he presents theological summaries. Perhaps the ordinary reader will find these supplementary chapters, written in an

unrelieved didactic style, more pedagogic than practical. The principle that prompted these chapters, namely, that devotion must be built on solid knowledge, is eminently sound. The fact remains that the significant contribution of Father Thill is his English version of Puente's rich and devotional meditations on God's attributes, on man's creation and sanctification, on the Incarnation, prayer and the Holy Eucharist. The book is a good one for spiritual reading and particularly suited to times of retreat.

JOHN J. NASH, S.J.

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### A MYSTICAL MARIOLOGY

**The Life of Mary as Seen by the Mystics.** *Compiled by Raphael Brown.*  
Foreword by Edward A. Ryan, S.J. Milwaukee, Bruce, 1951. Pp. 292. \$3.50.

This is a book that will evoke the praise and caution of critics. The compiler of these selections, drawn from the "revelations" of four well-known mystics, has done a valuable service to Catholic readers by placing at their disposal in convenient format these edifying testimonies of the devotion of lofty souls to the Mother of God. He has woven into a continuous narrative excerpts from St. Elizabeth of Schoenau, St. Bridget of Sweden, Venerable Mary of Agreda and Sister Anna Catherine Emmerich. This skillful blending of elements, however, presents a serious technical defect. The reader is told that two-thirds of the material is taken from Mary of Agreda and Catherine Emmerich; the longer selections from the two Saints are printed in italics. These are the only indications by which a reader can identify the exact authority for any particular statement. This is unfortunate since the authority and reliability of the respective sources are so unequal. The compiler is fair in acknowledging the strong opposition to Mary of Agreda. Almost all modern authorities find in her works a similarity to, if not dependence on, the apocryphal accounts of our Lord's life. These have always been suspect in the Church because of their sensationalism and psychological implausibility. The compiler has eliminated the passages that would be most objectionable on these grounds. But the book still contains many details, for instance in the section on the wedding at Cana (pp. 192-201), with which readers may find it hard to agree. It is of utmost importance for the reader to realize that he can disagree with such details that are not already guaranteed by the Gospels or by other reliable sources. Some readers, perhaps, will feel that the questionable passages vitiate the value of the entire book.

The prudent and balanced reader will derive a genuine increase of devotion from his reading of various sections of this book. Such writings are permeated with a deep reverence and an elevated spiritual feeling. Their worth has been proved by history in the beneficial effect that they

have had in fostering Christian piety among the clergy and laity. Father Edward Ryan (New York Province), who has contributed the Foreword to this book, suggests the attitude with which a reader must use the book. He warns against overattachment to this type of writing and against the danger of accepting such "revelations" as a reliable source for the accurate historical reconstruction of the scenes described. The compiler, too, in his introduction emphasizes the need for good judgment. This is highly flavored spiritual food. Perhaps in many cases its nutritive value might be considerably less than its contribution to spiritual indigestion.

W. NORRIS CLARKE, S.J.

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### A MANUAL OF MYSTIC PHENOMENA

Visions and Revelations in the Spiritual Life. *By Father Gabriel, O.D.C.*  
Westminster, Md., Newman Press, 1950. Pp. 123. \$2.25.

The author's purpose is fourfold, as expressed in his preface: (a) to make manifest the secondary and accidental character of visions and revelations in the spiritual advancement of the soul; (b) to show that the director's attention should be fixed less on their nature than on their spiritual effect; (c) to indicate the right attitude for the recipient of visions; (d) to outline the director's role. A chapter is given to each effort, and a conclusion is reached at the end of each discussion. For the conclusions alone the book would be a worth-while buy for the priest.

In the development of his purposes the author is somewhat less clear, on some points more emphatic than his great teacher, St. John of the Cross, but by the time that he reaches the conclusion of each chapter he is helpfully clear and simple. As an example of lack of clearness, one might read the section between page 66 and page 70. In the beginning the author notes that St. John "is continually repeating, and in every key, with respect to all these particular graces (visions and revelations) 'no admitir'"; immediately afterwards the author spends a page and a half to prove that St. John has not such a rigid attitude as some think (and as the author has just presented), only to follow up with the acceptance on page 70 of the rigid attitude noted on page 66.

The author is of the school which considers the unitive way as synonymous with the mystical way, and therefore holds that St. John is writing for all types, non-mystical as well as mystical. This will not be acceptable to all readers, but it does not in any way affect the author's main purpose, since visions and revelations such as come to the director's notice belong to the mystical way.

FRANCIS X. PEIRCE, S.J.

## ATTENTION ALL CONFESSORS!

**The Good Confessor.** By *Gerald Kelly, S.J.* New York, The Sentinel Press, 1951. Pp. 96. \$1.00.

Evident throughout this little book are clarity and soundness of doctrine, tactful prudence in its application, and a supernatural charity in the consideration given to the difficulties of the penitent in the confessional. For fifteen years a teacher of moral and pastoral theology and a prolific writer in these subjects, Father Kelly has the added advantage of drawing on wide experience as a retreat master and confessor. He has also incorporated in this work the lessons of his own teacher and predecessor, Father O'Boyle, who taught moral and pastoral theology for over thirty years. The result is a confessor's guide-book that the young priest will be able to read and reread with profit to himself and his penitents, and an ideal with which the veteran confessor can compare his past practice.

The twelve chapters cover the usual subjects found in books devoted to confessional practice. The treatment of two points deserves particular mention, the choice of sacramental penances and the manner of judging when an occasion of sin is to be considered proximate. It may come as a surprise to some to read that five decades of the Rosary, or their equivalent, are the minimum that may be assigned as a grave penance for mortal sin, unless there is present an excusing cause to justify something less. These legitimate reasons for imposing a smaller penance are listed, and among them is the case where the confessor judges that the penitent's spiritual frailty cannot stand a *per se* grave penance. Worthy of special commendation is the way Father Kelly makes practical use of both opinions in the dispute on what constitutes a proximate occasion of sin. Ordinarily he follows the milder interpretation. However, when there is question of a sin which contains special elements, such as injustice to others or the spiritual harm of scandal, he follows the stricter view, namely, that a probable danger is sufficient to constitute a proximate occasion. This is a good example of the delicate balancing of opinions for the greater spiritual good of the penitent that characterizes this book.

JOSEPH S. DUHAMEL, S.J.

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 COMPETENT PASTORAL MEDICINE

**Marriage, Morals and Medical Ethics.** By *Frederick L. Good, M.D., LL.D., and Rev. Otis F. Kelly, M.D.* New York, P. J. Kenedy and Sons, 1951. Pp. xvi-202. \$3.50.

. This book of medical ethics has the antecedent merit of being written by an outstanding gynecologist and obstetrician of vast experience in collaboration with a priest who is also a doctor and a psychiatrist. The

authors are principally interested in the medico-moral problems that can arise in connection with pregnancy. These difficult questions are treated with clarity and in a language that is understandable outside the medical profession. The volume can readily be used either as a textbook or a book of reference for a course in medical ethics.

Doctors and especially priests will find the book a valuable source of information and principles. The authors give a practical explanation of the genital organs, of their relation to the endocrine glands, and of such allied questions as puberty, sex education, and the climacteric. The brief but clear explanation of ectopic pregnancy and of the Rh factor will be very helpful to priests. Reliable information, such as the following statements, will also be welcomed by priest readers:

Such an opinion that it is dangerous for a woman to undergo more than three cesarean sections is not only most arbitrary but also false. One of us has performed eight cesarean sections on one patient, seven on another, six on a few, and four or five on several. As many as eleven cesarean sections have been performed on the same patient (p. 148).

. . . since March 1, 1923, we have had many more than 66,000 admitted to our Service, and not one therapeutic abortion has been performed. We are glad to state, too, that our mortality from those conditions supposedly benefited by therapeutic abortion has been zero (p. 149).

A perusal of reports from so-called "contraceptive clinics" will reveal that no clinic says that it gets one hundred per cent perfect results with its contraceptives. The highest figure we have ever seen is "97 2/10 per cent successes." Assuming that figure to be correct, one can easily get a 97 per cent so-called "successes" by following the rhythm method; and we believe that if the rhythm method is rigidly followed, the result can be 100 per cent successful (p. 152).

The authors also give a brief treatment of psychiatry. This is confined to general definitions and to the broad principles that should govern the priest in his relation to psychiatry. The book contains a practical explanation of the diriment matrimonial impediment of impotence and of the proof required to establish the non-consummation of marriage. The latter especially will be generally helpful to priests. The collaborators end with a brief commentary on baptism and extreme unction.

The authors make a constant effort to be intelligible to the medical laymen. Diagrams could have helped this purpose. The brief explanation of the dispensation from the Eucharistic fast given by the Code to those confined by sickness, and of the baptism in danger of death of infants of non-Catholic parents can be misunderstood. It would also have been profitable and pertinent to add at least a mention of the faculties now possessed by the local Ordinaries of the United States to dispense from

the Eucharistic fast in case of confining illness and of those of the Apostolic Delegate in cases of non-confining sickness.

JOSEPH F. GALLEN, S.J.

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### REVISED EDITION OF A SPLENDID COMMENTARY

Canon Law. A Text and Commentary. By T. Lincoln Bouscaren, S.J., and Adam C. Ellis, S.J. Milwaukee, Bruce, 1951. Second revised edition. Pp. xv-1009. \$10.00.

The second and revised edition of this work will receive the same high praise and for the same reasons as the first edition. It is a most practical English manual for seminary teaching and for reference in the ordinary canonical questions that arise in the priestly ministry. The volume contains all practical headings with the exception of the sacraments which are predominantly moral rather than canonical. The inclusion of charts, cases, apt supplementary readings, and prominent paragraph headings increases the value of the book for teaching and reference. Priests will be grateful for the satisfying treatment of some canonical treatises that cause frequent and annoying difficulties, such as those on indulgences, ecclesiastical burial, and the censorship and prohibition of books. The revision has brought the work up to date and includes some most useful and informative new sections, particularly that on secular institutes.

A fuller treatment of such practical questions as insincere *cautiones*, the new Oriental legislation on marriage, and cooperation in crime would have been welcome. The explanation of the occasional confessor of religious women (c. 522) appears to demand that the confessor be approved for at least a group of women and thus neglects the probable opinion of Larraona (*Commentarium Pro Religiosis*, XI [1930], 160) that it is sufficient to be approved for one other woman, since the canon can be interpreted in the sense that the confessor should be approved for the female as opposed to the masculine sex. One may doubt that the several rather complex charts in the treatise on crime and penalties are an aid to perception and memory. All admit the difficulty of presenting this treatise practically and briefly. The solution may be a restriction to *latae sententiae* censures, brevity in the explanation of the general principles, and full treatment of the particular censures that can be more readily encountered in practice.

It can be at least doubted that there is any possibility of dissolution under the heading of a non-consummated marriage when the ordinary contraceptives have been used (p. 604). The non-consummation must be certain. The conclusion in the vexed question of double vasectomy and impotence is "both on reason and authority, the impotence of the per-

manently vasectomized male must be considered as seriously doubtful (p. 526)." It cannot be denied that this is the doctrine of other authors also. However, in this supposition a copula without testicular semen is probably a perfect copula and would therefore render a *ratum* marriage probably *ratum et consummatum*. It is a well-known principle that the Roman Pontiff cannot dissolve a *matrimonium etiam probabiliter tantum ratum et consummatum* (p. 621), yet the Pope has frequently dissolved a *matrimonium ratum* in which the only defect in the copula was the lack of testicular semen (*Periodica*, XXXIII [1944], 216-217). This obstacle must be faced by all who deny with certainty or probability the impotence of the perpetually vasectomized.

The explanation of can. 2254, § 1 demands that it be difficult for the penitent to remain in the state of serious sin for a day or, in special cases, for a few hours (p. 889). It seems to me that we may admit at least as probable the doctrine of Rossi. His interpretation is that the confessor may absolve as soon as the difficulty of remaining in serious sin is verified, without any consideration of days or hours (Decretum "Lex Sacri Coelibatus," 31).

JOSEPH F. GALLEN, S.J.

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### LAW WITH LIMITATIONS

**The Nature of Law.** By *Thomas E. Davitt, S.J., Ph.D.* St. Louis, B. Herder Book Co., 1951. Pp. 274. \$4.00.

In this book Father Davitt (Missouri Province) presents in 229 pages his interpretation and criticism of the doctrine on the nature of law as proposed by twelve eminent scholars, from Henry of Ghent to Robert Bellarmine. To judge from the title of the book and the contents it would seem that the author implies that by the time of Bellarmine's death the nature of law was definitively known. It is the author's thesis, it seems, that the nature of law was adequately explained by St. Thomas. Subsequent study, when it conforms to Thomistic teaching, can be no more than a commentary; if it departs from that teaching, it is erroneous. Suarez, for instance, when he "applies his philosophy of intellect and will to law and obligation, becomes inconsistent." In other words, he is fundamentally wrong. A reading of this book will fail to convince the thoughtful reader that it is not possible for a legislator to perceive that the common good demands, as a means for its attainment, only an enactment or order which does not oblige in conscience but which threatens physical danger to those who do not act in conformity with the order. As a matter of fact, enactments of this kind are made. Moreover, such enactments alone suffice as necessary means for the common good. Are these enactments laws? The book contains an extensive bibliography of twenty-four pages.

JOHN J. McLAUGHLIN, S.J.

## AN INTERPRETATION OF HUMANI GENERIS

**The Encyclical Humani Generis With A Commentary.** By Anthony C. Cotter, S.J. Weston, Mass., Weston College Press, 1951. Pp.xi-100. \$1.00.

Jesuits of the Eastern American provinces who were born in the first years of this century are more than sympathetic to anything from the pen of Father Anthony Cotter (New England Province), since they have been formed in great part by his industrious labors as teacher and thinker. Some few were trained in Latin elements by the *Cotter-Hammer Exercise Book*. Most knew his manuscript treatises in logic and epistemology. Cotter's summary of rational psychology is remembered by his loyal students. His synthesis of cosmology was the backbone of many a course, even before it was presented to the general public as a published work. There are those who still cling to his notes on Hebrew grammar, and Cotter's *Fundamental Theology* is known to all. The early numbers of *Theological Studies* printed many an article written by Father Cotter, and one of them, on Abbé Migne, (VII [1946], 46-71), was gratefully received by theologians both here and abroad.

In his latest work Father Cotter gives us his meditations on *Humani Generis*. It is the only monograph published to date on this important document. After a brief preface which indicates other commentaries and explains the motives of the work, Father Cotter gives us the original Encyclical side by side with his own translation of it. Following the translation there is a running commentary on the whole epistle. This commentary manifests the characteristic qualities of Father Cotter's thought; it is cautiously conservative, calm and clear. Not all will share his opinions, but all will affectionately respect the man who has worked so long and so fruitfully in the field of Catholic thought.

GUSTAVE WEIGEL, S.J.

## ETHICS FOR THE UNDERGRADUATE THOMIST

**Ethics: A Textbook in Moral Philosophy.** By Vernon J. Bourke. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1951. Pp. xii-497. \$4.25.

The author of this textbook, whose *nihil obstat* and *imprimatur* were given in Toronto, is a professor of philosophy at Saint Louis University. Professor Bourke's own statements on the objectives of the book and on the audience for which it was written indicate some of its limitations. "It is ridiculous," he writes, "to expect to find in the works of St. Thomas a ready-made answer to every moral problem. Consequently the present book is an adaptation of the thought of St. Thomas to meet the practical needs of the modern student of ethics." Who is the



modern student of ethics? The author states: "In the present work a knowledge of the speculative philosophy of St. Thomas is presupposed. An effort has been made to integrate the student's work in Moral Philosophy with his previous study of the philosophy of man and being in general." Again: "One cannot teach the philosophy of nature and the metaphysics of St. Thomas, then suddenly change to the ethics of Suarez and expect an undergraduate class to understand the matter." These passages seem to limit the notion of "student of ethics" to an undergraduate who knows only the Thomistic metaphysics and is incapable of understanding anything but Thomistic ethics.

The author is concerned with meeting the practical needs of such a student, while he is a student. He succeeds, moreover, in meeting some of the practical needs which this student will have after his graduation. As long as the student's Thomism remains unquestioned, he will be able to form the prudential judgement which he will need very frequently in life. But, if one of the practical needs is the proximate ability to discuss intelligently the various moral philosophies current in today's secular universities, such a need is not met. If the student is unable to understand Suarez, how is he going to be able to understand those other moral philosophies? He will not be able to explain his own position to any but a pure "Thomist," for he cannot interpret it, for example, to a pure "Scotist" or "Suarezian." Realization of their inability to discuss other systems of moral philosophy intelligently may come as a rude shock to graduate students in sociology, political science and law. This astonishment was voiced by one such graduate student, a Jesuit college graduate, in the dazed statement: "The professor denies universal ideas!!" For such postgraduate needs this textbook makes little provision.

The table of contents in General Ethics does not differ greatly from that in Nivard's *Ethica*. For one who can read Latin it becomes evident that Nivard does treat with superb competence the divergencies of the Thomistic, Suarezian and Scotistic systems. Nivard believed that the Jesuit Scholastics, at least, were capable of recognizing what the systems had in common and what were their differences. Such a view is shared by many and should not be considered over optimistic.

Professor Bourke's book has five individuating notes. The first is an emphasis on the need for moral theology. The second develops at length the physical constituents of the moral act. The third is a long exposition of the manner in which one descends from law to the prudential conclusion. The fourth is the enumeration of virtues in great detail. (*Eutrapelia*, however, seems to be overlooked). The fifth is the order in Special Ethics. Here the author follows St. Thomas in the exposition of virtues, a procedure which Vermeersch follows in his works on moral theology. In these five areas the professor of ethics will find useful material.

Several opinions of the author are vulnerable. For instance, that obligation is a hypothetical necessity or that all non-immoral positive

enactments oblige in conscience. The latter position leads the author to hold a minority opinion on the obligation of the "Prohibition Law." Father Vermeersch denies that all non-immoral positive enactments oblige in conscience. He gives irrefutable proof for his position. It is unfortunate that there is not some elucidation, such as De Lugo gave, of the argument presented to prove that suicide is wrong; or that there is not a clarification, such as Suarez gave, of the statement that the "external reason" is law. There is also some confusion in the use of the term "right." The combination of notes for which this term is used should be expressed. If it means "right reason," that should be clearly stated. The reader would like to know just what is the difference between good and right; between bad and wrong; between bad and sin.

Readers who are aware of the criticism of Thomists against the position of Scotus will be amused to find that in this thoroughly Thomistic textbook the author appears to hold the opinion that the ultimate, natural, intrinsic end of man is *Visio beatifica mediis supernaturalibus obtinenda*. It is unfortunate that the author appears to take a most condescending attitude towards modern manuals in ethics. The authors of such manuals will find as much to criticize in this Thomistic textbook as Professor Bourke professes to discover in their books.

JOHN J. McLAUGHLIN, S.J.

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### THE CHURCH PALPABLE

**The Externals of the Catholic Church.** *By Msgr. John F. Sullivan.* Completely revised by Rev. John C. O'Leary, Ph.D. New York, P. J. Kenedy and Sons, 1951. Pp. xi-403. \$4.50.

This is a new edition of a book that has proved its worth over a period of more than thirty years. Monsignor Sullivan's hopes and intentions, expressed in the first edition in 1919, have been realized to an extraordinary degree. His book has become standard equipment for every Catholic library and a handbook for Catholics who have the duty or desire to instruct others in religious matters. The essential value of the original work has not decreased but the accidental changes brought about by an era of vicissitude threatened to render it obsolete. The publishers are to be congratulated for their decision to make a thorough revision and for their choice of so competent a reviser. Father O'Leary is the chaplain of the Newman Club of Pennsylvania State College and also the pastor of Our Lady of Victory Church in the College town. His revision preserves the best in Monsignor Sullivan's work and restores the book to an undisputed supremacy in its field. The original had nine parts divided into sixty-six chapters; the revision has eight chapters with a total of sixty-three subdivisions. Topics originally treated under the section "Miscellaneous" have been included under

their appropriate chapter in the revised edition. For example, marriage laws and the blessing after childbirth are now to be found with matrimony in the chapter on the sacraments; the Eastern rites, the consecration of a church and Church music are included in the chapter on the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass; celibacy of the clergy is treated with holy orders, the Bible with the liturgical books, and Christian symbols with the sacramentals. A very significant addition is the section on the lay apostolate. This revised edition deserves a place in every library. Many copies should be available for our students. Priests and teachers will find it to be a reliable and indispensable reference book.

JOHN J. NASH, S.J.

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### A DEFINITIVE STUDY

*Dred Scott's Case.* By Vincent C. Hopkins, S.J. New York, Fordham University Press (Declan McMullen), 1951. Pp. ix-204. \$4.00.

Anyone who lectures on Nineteenth Century American History, no matter how rapid his survey, must always spend some time on the mysterious and hotly debated Dred Scott Case. In this study Father Hopkins (New York Province) presents the complete story of the efforts of a Negro to gain his freedom in a legal battle that lasted ten years. When it reached the Supreme Court, Scott's suit was decided on the many legal technicalities and procedures according to which all decisions must be rendered. But though Dred Scott remained a slave, his case touched on three important issues, which the Supreme Court decided to discuss, though technically it had no obligation to do so. Was a free Negro a full citizen? The tribunal replied he was not, under the Constitution as it then existed. Did Congress have the right to exclude slavery in the Northwest Territory? The Supreme Court said it did not, and thus invalidated the Missouri Compromise. In effect it destroyed the legal basis for any compromise on slavery between the Abolitionists and the South. Could Missouri refuse to recognize the statutes of freedom in Illinois as affecting a temporary resident who returned to Missouri? The Supreme Court said it could. Thus the tribunal recognized "States' Rights" to such a degree that if the states chose to destroy the Federal Union by denying comity to one another there was no legal means to stop them.

In retrospect it appears that this decision of the Supreme Court outlined in sharp detail the deficiencies of the Constitution. The partisan spirit with which the North and South tried to find a solution led to what has been well named the "Irrepressible Conflict," the War between the States. The Northern victory forced the solution which is now written into our Constitution.

"Dred Scott's Case" means the lawsuit in its fullest sense. For every court action in the various trials, Father Hopkins presents not

merely a review of the legal proceedings but a full summary of the personalities involved, their background, political leanings and prejudices. A great deal of research was required to make these cameos of every figure that influenced the case. The main theme, however, is the history of jurisprudence, and in the last four chapters there is an excellent summary of the divided legal opinions on all the issues. The Supreme Court at that time was composed mainly of Southerners, and the decision reflects their regional political education in certain respects.

The book cannot be read quickly, for a legal background is presupposed in the necessary discussions of the many court procedures. Lest the results of many years of work in archives and family papers be lost in the stiff style of this dissertation, this reviewer hopes that Father Hopkins will write a brief popular treatment of this case for college students of government and political history. Whether by chance or design, in the Dred Scott case were crystallized the most important political conflicts of the ante-bellum decade. This book will be of interest to all serious readers in American political history.

ALBERT J. LOOMIE. S.J.

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### THE PARTY'S COLOR LINE

**Communism Versus the Negro.** *By William A. Nolan, S.J.* Chicago, Regnery Co., 1951. Pp. xvii-276. \$3.50.

Father Nolan (Chicago Province), member of the I.S.O. with a doctorate from Fordham, develops and establishes the thesis that the Communist Party in America has: a) failed miserably in its attempt to win the Negro to its side; and b) proved positively hostile to Negro interests in exploiting interracial animosity. The study covers the period 1919 to 1951 and views both Communist aims and tactics and their influence on our colored fellow citizens.

One total aim controls Communist policy: obedience to Soviet leadership. All intermediate aims and tactics are subordinate to it, and subject to change forthwith as the Kremlin requires—even in the face of unsuited national or local conditions. The author's analysis of what must have been tons of reading matter and every important event in the story of the Commies' attempt to seduce and exploit the Negro (1,146 references support his 206 pages of text) is both confident and competent, a devastating exposition of American Communists for what they are. His book is eminently readable, occasionally humorous, and remarkably unified in view of the diversity of subject matter.

Of particular interest is the documentary evidence Father Nolan provides of the sheer intellectual groveling by party leaders in the face of dictated policy changes, of their obvious insincerity toward Negro improvement, as well as of the wide scope of their zealous efforts. We can be thankful that American Negroes, understandably

predisposed to welcome an ally in their discriminated status, have rejected their overtures.

The book is a valuable contribution to the study of interracial relations and Communist agitation.

JOSEPH B. SCHUYLER, S.J.

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### STRATEGY OF REVOLUTION

**Total Empire. The Roots and Progress of World Communism.** *By Edmund A. Walsh, S.J.* Milwaukee, Bruce, 1951. Pp. viii-293. \$3.50.

Father Walsh's latest book on Communism is a survey of Soviet tactics throughout the world since the days of the Russian revolution. He explains the tacks and shifts in Soviet policy during the past thirty years in terms of the avowed aim of Marxist philosophy: ultimate world revolution. Father Walsh's book has many interesting observations on the Communist mentality based on his personal experiences in Russia during the revolution. It interprets the latest developments of the Russian policy in Korea.

This book is a good introduction for anyone looking for an understanding of Russia's international politics. It contains a collection of quotations from the works of Marx, Lenin and Stalin and other Communist leaders which express clearly the philosophy and strategy of world revolution. It has several maps and a good index. The tone of the book is slightly rhetorical and frankly partisan.

JAMES M. CARMODY, S.J.

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### JESUITS ON THE RIO GRANDE

**Carlos M. Pinto, S.J. Apostle of El Paso.** *By Sr. M. Lilliana Owens, S.L.* El Paso, Revista Catolica Press, 1951. Pp. xxi-228. \$2.50.

This is another volume in the excellent series "Jesuit Studies—Southwest" begun last year with the monograph *Jesuit Beginnings in New Mexico*. The general purpose of this series has been discussed in an earlier review in WOODSTOCK LETTERS, 80 (1951), pp. 190-191. This time we have a finely detailed and scholarly account of the Society's work in Colorado and then in El Paso and the surrounding country among the scattered Catholics. The central figure of this history is Fr. Pinto, a Neapolitan exile, who came to this country in 1870 and died in 1919. He was the founder of the church in El Paso where he labored for twenty-seven years. Fr. Pinto's achievements can well bear recounting. He was a man of great zeal and determination as his spiritual diary quoted in the Appendix bears witness. With little assis-

tance, he was responsible for the building of four churches in El Paso and one across the river in Ciudad Juarez; he built schools, he was Superior of the small band of Jesuit missionaries along the Rio Grande and Vicar General of El Paso County. All this in addition to his regular duties as pastor for several mission stations.

There is a description of the work of the Lorretine Sisters who pioneered in the education of the Catholics in the Valley. Their work was heroic and the account makes one quickly aware of the sacrifices that went into the foundation of the Catholic school system in our country at this time. As in her previous study, Sr. Lilliana gives many long quotes from documents both in the narrative and in a long Appendix. These sources provide many details to the historian of the frontier in transition. Some incidents are amusing, some pathetic, almost all of them are colorful.

ALBERT J. LOOMIE, S.J.

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### PAROCHIAL SOCIOLOGY

**Southern Parish: Volume I, Dynamics of A City Parish.** *By Joseph H. Fichter, S.J.* Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1951. Pp. viii-283. \$5.00.

Father Fichter (New Orleans Province), a sociologist with a doctorate from Harvard, has planned a valuable project. Since the battle for Western society is between Communist and Catholic ideology, and since the parish is so important to Catholic life, he has instituted a sociological study of the functioning of a representative, highly regarded urban parish (which he tried to disguise) in a Southern metropolis. The first volume, the only one yet published, explains what a parish is, then describes in statistical detail the religious life of this parish. The remaining three volumes will treat of the parish organizations, school and family life, and the parishioners' role in the life of the community.

The book devotes at least one chapter to the use made by the parish of each of the seven sacraments, the Mass, Lenten and other devotions, preaching, retreats and other religious activities, and concludes with a chapter which aims to estimate the health of Catholic thinking in the parish. Each chapter begins with a clear, succinct expression of the nature and purpose of the religious function, then investigates the degree to which the parish achieves that purpose.

The book's value lies in its presentation of pastoral statistics. It has been criticized for this presentation in some not too scholarly reviews, apparently because the truth it exposes is painful. For it compels our attention to the many lost sheep (over 4,000 out of a parish of 11,000) among baptized Catholics, and to the many scrawny sheep among the less practicing ones (obvious in the average attendance at Sunday

Mass of only 3,500). Such knowledge is essential if we would evaluate and seek to improve our pastoral practice. The book's brief explanations of Catholic religious functions should enlighten many non-Catholic sociologists who will certainly be interested professionally. As a sociological study of a religious subject, however, the book manifests some notable deficiencies.

In the first place, the social implications (in both ideal and practice) of Catholic sacramentology and liturgy are neglected. For example, the intrinsic social values and the socio-apostolic motivations connected with baptism (doctrine of the Mystical Body), the Holy Eucharist (the sacrament of unity and the social Sacrifice), matrimony and orders receive no mention. Their tremendous potentiality for achieving social harmony in Catholic and civic life is not even indicated—nor is their social effect, or lack of it, on the parish. Again, whereas the author frequently describes in detail various liturgical functions (processions, use of candles, bells, vestments, etc.), never does he explain their significance as part of a social function. Are not these serious omissions in a sociological study of religious functions written by and for sociologists?

In addition many of the book's emphases, use of anecdotes and quotations are disproportionately negative. Often they are quite pointless—unless the author intends them to imply a message which he does not express. Obviously the truth should not be concealed. But departures from normalcy should not be so represented that non-Catholic readers cannot tell that they are abnormal. Meanwhile the author usually leaves the normal religious life of good Catholics (certainly of interest to the sociologist) unexplained and concealed in statistics. Many of the statistical studies themselves are hardly professional either in execution or in objectivity of analysis. This is particularly true of the questionnaire used to evaluate Catholic thinking in the parish.

The succeeding volumes of Father Fichter's study, though apparently blocked at present, will be awaited with interest—and with hope that they more closely approximate the important sociological and pastoral goal envisioned by the author.

JOSEPH B. SCHUYLER, S.J.

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### BETWEEN CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM

*The Corporative State.* By *Joaquin Azpiazu, S.J.* Translated from the Spanish by William Bresnahan, O.S.B. St. Louis, Herder, 1951. Pp. viii-263. \$4.00.

This book presents an interesting treatment of a subject that is rather unfamiliar to the American mind. It develops the idea of a corporative society, i.e., one which is made up of a series of groups

called corporations. The term corporation is not to be understood in the American sense of the word but as a group of people united by a common interest. The interest can be either economic or non-economic.

The corporation is a vertical organization. Thus in an economic group such elements as the working class, company managers and engineers would be included. In the non-economic groups there will be those who are not directly productive but are necessary for the system and the future of the society, viz., doctors, lawyers and teachers.

The corporations control and regulate their own activities. They would have the power to fix prices, wages, and the specifications for the quality of the goods produced, always keeping in mind the common good.

The corporate State is advanced as the intermediary between laissez faire capitalism and socialism. It is a middle-of-the-road solution in keeping with Catholic social doctrine. One of its ultimate aims is to have man consider his actions not only as individual but also social.

The book presents a brief review of the thinking on the corporate system and shows its application in the economic, political and social orders. It is a good, orderly presentation of the matter and a fine introduction for anyone who wishes to familiarize himself with the subject.

WILLIAM T. HOGAN, S.J.

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#### FOR YOUNG READERS

**The Explorations of Père Marquette.** *By Jim Kjelgaard.* Illustrated by Stephen J. Voorhies. New York, Random House, 1951. Pp. 181. \$1.50.

Random House has added another successful volume to its already popular *Landmark Books* which purport to bring to life great events in our nation's past. For young readers (nine to thirteen), Jim Kjelgaard skillfully weaves together Father Marquette's missionary endeavors and his boundless curiosity about the New World. Highlighting the fabric of the story are numerous details about Indians, canoe travel and animal life. Boys, especially, will find inspiration and excitement in the adventures of Père Marquette and his friend, Louis Joliet.

Although the subject alone might merit the book a recommendation, the author's economically straightforward and simple style deserves mention. So do the two-color illustrations, the attractive type and the low cost, all of which make the book worth-while.

JOSEPH D. AYD, S.J.



## CATHOLIC BOOK CLUB SELECTION

*Tomorrow's Memories.* By Joseph D. Ayd, S.J. New York, Dodd Mead, 1951. Pp. 247. \$2.50.

*Tomorrow's Memories*, the product of the author's carefully husbanded "free-time" during five summers, is a notable achievement in many ways. For one thing, it is a "vocation" book that completely avoids the merely sentimental or the sanctimonious. Again, it is a markedly successful attempt to tell a teen-age girl's story from her point of view.

The heroine is a likable, level-headed senior at Notre Dame Institute in Baltimore. Her senior year is sprinkled with the usual number of parties, football games, dances; this is balanced by work on the school paper and on her studies. We are given occasional glimpses into her reflections. We hear her in serious conversation with her parents, her teacher, her friends. Only very rarely do we get the impression that a scene or conversation has been contrived as a setting for some pet idea of the author; ordinarily, events occur quite naturally, and the reactions are well motivated and expressed. The vocation itself is handled particularly well.

A large number of favorable reviews (including a Catholic Book Club selection) indicate that the book will have a large teen-age audience which will be drawn to this unobtrusive and attractive presentation of the supernatural. Ours, while awaiting further juveniles of this sort from the author, might well recommend this first volume to young girls who are perplexed about their vocation.

JOSEPH A. CASEY, S.J.

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**Errata**

Through a proofreader's slip our last issue (November, 1951) contained several errors in the listing of publishers. We offer the following corrections with apologies:

Father Faherty's *The Destiny of Modern Woman* (p. 397) is published by The Newman Press. Father Siwek's *Spinoza et le panthéisme religieux* (p. 398) is published by Desclée de Brouwer. The omnibus volume of Bishop Prohaszka's *Meditations on the Gospels* (p. 416) is published by The Newman Press.

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The reviews of several books which we had promised for this issue must be postponed until our May Number.

An adequate review of Father Gerard Smith's (Missouri Province) competent textbook, *Natural Theology* (Macmillan, 1951), would involve the discussion of technical points which would be of more interest to the specialist than to the general reader. We recommend to teachers and specialists the reviews in current philosophical journals.

## AMERICAN ASSISTANCY—INEUNTE 1952

Province	Priests	Scho-			Total	Increase			Total	Percent Increase
		lastics	Brothers			P.	S.	B.		
California	365	328	71	762	15	7	—	22	2.97%	
Chicago	585	380	95	1060	17	1	1	19	1.82%	
Maryland	333	361	62	756	16	13	3	32	4.42%	
Missouri	635	403	124	1162	10	30	2	42	3.75%	
New England	633	310	67	1010	11	5	1	17	1.71%	
New Orleans	287	210	38	535	—	7	—	7	1.33%	
New York	739	631	111	1481	27	46	11	84	6.01%	
Oregon	303	232	47	582	12	8	—	20	3.56%	
TOTALS	3880	2853	615	7348	108	117	18	243	3.42%	

The highest absolute increase was New York's, 84. New York also had the largest proportionate increase with 6.01%.

The augmentum for the whole Assistency was 243 during 1951; in the previous year the augmentum was 208.

During 1950 the percentage increase for the whole Assistency was 3.01%. For 1951 the percentage increase was 3.42%; hence the rate of growth this last year is somewhat higher than the previous year.

## WHOLE SOCIETY—INEUNTE 1951

Priests	Scho.	Bro.	Total	P.	Increase			Total	Percent Increase
					S.	B.			
15317	10269	5482	31068	155	256	78	489	1.6%	

During 1950 the Society's growth was 1.6%; the growth of the American Assistency during the same period was 3.0%. Hence the American Assistency is growing at nearly twice the rate of the Society taken as a whole.

The only other assistency making a comparable growth is Spain. Spain's 1950 augmentum was 231; America's for the same period was 208. Together Spain and the United States contributed 441 out of the 489 increase during 1950.

At the beginning of 1950 the American Assistency constituted 22.5% of the whole Society. America's 208 increase during 1950 was 42.5% of the total increase. Hence America's 22.5% of the Society contributed 42.5% of the increase.

Cf. WOODSTOCK LETTERS, Vol. 80, No. 1, p. 53 for analysis of previous year.

# THE WOODSTOCK LETTERS

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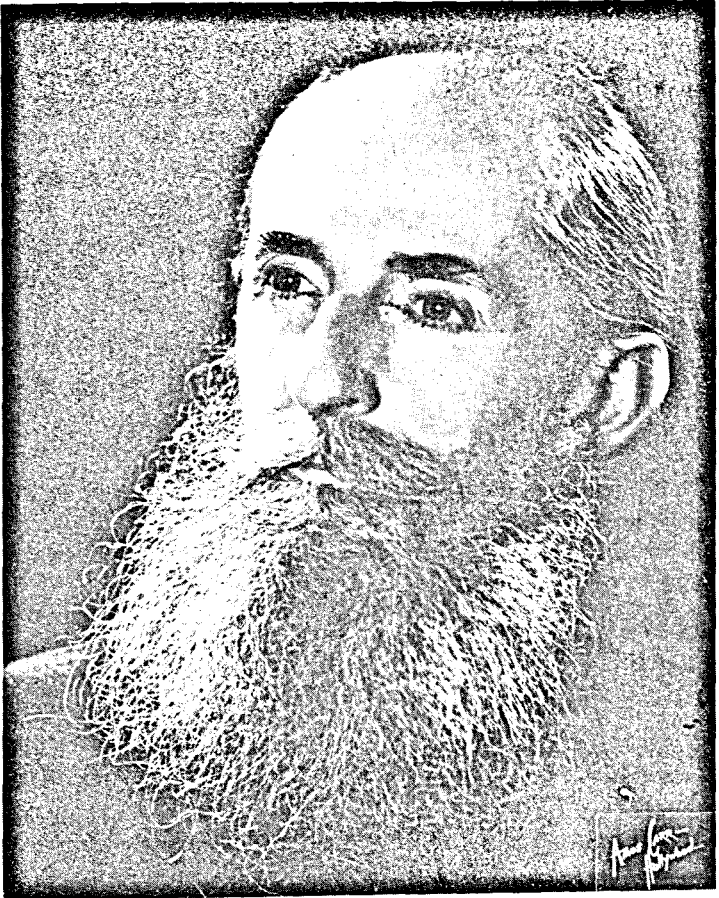
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FATHER JOHN H. RYDER

## WEST COAST RUSSIAN MISSION

JOHN H. RYDER, S.J.

Author's Note: There will be few Jesuits in the American Assistency or anywhere else who are not aware that the Society has within its fold a small department known as the Russian Mission. The relevant paragraphs of Father General's letter of last Christmas on the Eastern Rites branch of the Society, together with Very Rev. Father Preseren the Slav Assistant's summary of achievements circulated in March of this year will, at least now, have acquainted any who had no knowledge before. Many of Ours in the United States might appreciate a report from one of the members of this group describing its constitution and work with particular reference to this country. The present is an attempt to provide this information.

In 1928 Pope Pius XI issued a call to the greater religious orders inviting them to seek among their members men who could be trained for an eventual mission to Russia, a land which through the influence of the national church, the "Holy Orthodox Catholic Church of Russia," had been closed to Catholic apostles for centuries. Jesuits, Dominicans, Capuchins, Benedictines and Redemptorists responded in numbers proportionate to their capacity. A few of our Fathers were transferred to the Byzantine rite and put to work in Eastern Europe. The Russian College was opened on the Piazza Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome and placed under the direction of the Society. It was an institution, similar to the English, Scotch and German Colleges of several centuries ago, founded to prepare priests, preferably of Russian descent, to carry the faith back to Godless, Sovietized Russia. Two years later a group of first and second year theologians was formed at the Borromeo, the present home of the Roman College, to prepare themselves for the same mission. This group of Scholastics and the seminarians from the Russian College attended the regular courses at the Gregorian University but belonged to the Greek or Byzantine rite and followed the liturgical and devotional tradition which the Russians had received from Constantinople at the end of the tenth century.<sup>1</sup> Of the several American Scholastics who were sent to Rome to prepare for the Russian Mission, only two completed their training. One of these, Father Cizek, after journeying deep into the Soviet Union during World War II, died of typhus

upon returning to Poland; the other, Father Myers, is now assigned to the new Russian Center at Fordham.

The work of the Russian Mission in the United States began in 1939 when I was assigned to Los Angeles to take over the work which had been begun in 1936 by Father Michael Nedtochin, a graduate of the Russicum. I found that the Mission, which was dedicated to St. Andrew, was situated on the East side of Los Angeles, on Boyle Heights, only a few blocks from the district which went by the name of Russian Town because, at that time, a great part of the population belonged to that race. The Mission house had been unused since Father Nedtochin's recall to Europe some two years previously. In order to meet and, if possible, rally the few Catholic Russians named on a list which was given to me by the Chancery Office I paid a round of visits to them. I was quickly disillusioned for they were quite devoid of any zeal or interest, almost, one might think, of the faith too. One exception, a Mrs. Yanko, who was really Polish, and a Polish family, the Galiskies, introduced to me by Father Hill of the neighboring Roman parish, St. Mary's, entered into the spirit of our apostolate, and with this new comradeship I turned my attention to the Molokan Sectarians.

I soon found that the Molokans harbored a bitter antipathy to every organized church and hierarchy. Moreover they did not recognize any distinction between the Catholic Church and the Russian Orthodox. To the Molokans the clergy are parasites living off the fruits of the toil of their layfolk. One of their favorite modes of attack was to exhort in my presence any lay companion with whom I might happen to be to "cease to befriend and support this overlord and free yourselves from his thrall." However, the faithful were always well able to give a good account of themselves and their clergy.

### Pioneering

From the inception of the Mission our horizon was contained by the certain knowledge that two-thirds of the area was destined to be cleared either for the new Santa Ana Freeway or two new housing projects, Pico Gardens and Aliso Village. The Russians were already moving out and



none would ever think of returning since the site had no particular attraction and apartments are a form of domicile for which these good people have a profound dislike. However, after a year's continuous and futile discussion with the older members of the sect and fruitless attendance at the young people's weekly church gatherings, we were able, with the help of a small but very devoted Missionary Praesidium of the Legion of Mary,<sup>2</sup> to start a system of guided recreation for the younger children which for years seemed to justify the great expenditure of energy, time and patience which was invested in it. It began with Saturday play-time, hikes and religious story telling and after two years or so we opened a hall with subsidiary rooms in the center of Russian Town where I was at the service of the children after school two or three afternoons and evenings each week and the whole of every Saturday. For two years we carried out a program of model-making in wood for the boys and handicrafts for the girls<sup>3</sup> with parties and stage plays and scout troops for boys and girls. More than one hundred Russian children with some Mexican and Negro friends passed through our hands and, as a culmination of our labors, a Summer School for Russians only was held at St. Andrew's during two successive summers. On the average six pupils, boys and girls, attended two days a week. We taught them Russian, English, religion and arithmetic. The week's work was crowned with a picnic and hike in one of the city parks, usually Griffith or Elesian.

During this period also, once each month on a Saturday, often with the aid of the children, the hall was cleared of all its equipment, well washed and set up with the furniture for the celebration of Holy Liturgy. The following day, the third Sunday of the month, Holy Liturgy was celebrated with the assistance of our growing choir. The doors of the hall were left open and occasionally loud speakers were used to insure that for half a block either way the inhabitants should know that an opportunity of investigating the Catholic Church was again being offered to them. In fact, it was usual for the windows and the open doorway to be lined with faces and for some of the people to come in and listen. Once a little boy, Martin Pavlov, served magnificently with candle and censer and the following day I had to assure his mother

that he had not thereby been made a Catholic. However, at length, the opposition of the elders to our work at the hall grew stronger. Once when some altar equipment was left in the hall overnight instead of being taken back to St. Andrew's it was desecrated and not by the children. The crosses our young friends had made at wood-work, a very small component of their varied production, began to be found broken and strewn about the yard. The mothers of the children were threatened by their own parents with expulsion from the Molokan Society. Furthermore since we were in the East Side which is replete with Mexicans, the Pachuco, a war-time movement opposed to everything orderly and constructive, resented the obstacles with which we confronted it in one of its own domains and young destroyers began to call in at our "club" under pretense of interest. Another factor which led ultimately to our abandonment of our work at the hall was the arrival of several families of Carpatho-Russians in the city. In the absence of a chapel of their own jurisdiction, they had sought us out and I felt that, without deviating from our direct apostolate, we might make them a nucleus of truly dependable Byzantine Slavs. But on coming to our services they expressed a little displeasure because on the one "choir-Sunday" of the month our devotional chapel was left unused and Holy Liturgy was celebrated in a mere hall for the benefit of unresponsive sectarians. If I were to take care of them and at the same time continue my activities at the hall, I should need the help of a full-time lay worker. Indeed, it had been on the understanding that such help would be forthcoming that I had ventured to open the hall and though I had carried on for two years in the hope of it, it had still not come. It required the final hint of two halves of a broken concrete plug taken from a water-meter manhole in the street flying through the window of the hall at half-past eight one evening, and missing the children by inches, to bring me to a decision. After that the center of gravity returned to St. Andrew's.

St. Andrew's consisted of an old but well-built two-story redwood residence in which only the chapel, adapted from two large rooms on the ground floor, and my own room retained signs of ordered habitation. The kitchen, living room and the remaining two bedrooms, after two years in the hands

of persons in some need to whom I had ceded them "temporarily," presented a barren and dismal appearance after their reluctant departure. For three years I had gone to the kind Sisters of Charity on Boyle Avenue for my meals. In January 1943, however, Father (then Mr.) Menard came down from Canada to work with me, and his arrival together with the decision to focus our Mission again at St. Andrew's made it desirable to set up house-keeping and restore all the rooms to their former civilized state.<sup>4</sup>

The Carpatho-Russians without doing violence to their traditions had at last provided us with the nucleus of a congregation and it is a pleasure to record here the co-operation which we have received from them. I am inclined to think that a few faithful of this denomination in other centers of the Muscovite Russian Mission might supply the connecting link which is needed at the start of the apostolate to the Muscovites. Podcarpathians easily regard themselves as "Little Russians," unlike the Ukrainians who are readily offended by the unwanted association. Their use of the Byzantine rite is much more akin to the Muscovite than to the Ukrainian. It is worth noting in this regard that Bishop Romja, the martyr, was sent to the Russicum as a seminarian and not to the Ukrainian institutions and that the Russians have now fully incorporated Podcarpathia into the Soviet Union. Whenever a conflict of custom has arisen I have found that they fall in with the Great Russian use without difficulty. Most of the baptisms and marriages that have taken place at St. Andrew's have been theirs.<sup>5</sup>

### Dispelling Prejudice

From the start of our mission in Los Angeles we took steps to make the existence of St. Andrew's known to the Orthodox by appearing at some of their celebrations, by apprising them through the mail of our own and by paying visits to their homes. Many of the members of our first choir were Orthodox and through them we became known to their friends. The pastor of the more "fashionable" of their two churches was not slow to warn his people against us. In the course of the first two or three years about thirty individual Russian Orthodox paid calls at St. Andrew's. In every instance they

came in the hope of procuring help to advance themselves materially. Of course, they had every right to do so and we helped them, as persons in need, as far as we could. The association thus entered upon also ended there. At least, as far as I know, no religious consequences ever resulted from them. Of course, St. Andrew's was very inaccessible to the Russian Orthodox of Los Angeles, most of whom either work or live in Hollywood, eight miles or more to the west across a tract of city. This stretch of city assumes the character of an insuperable physical barrier because it includes the downtown area and can be crossed usually only by changing streetcars, and it is an insuperable moral barrier because it crosses "the tracks."

The consequence has been that our contact with the Dissidents, who everywhere else in the world where there is a Catholic Church for the Russians have been regarded as the more amenable object of our apostolate, has been relatively limited. During the first period of our Mission we prepared to keep going in spite of these difficulties in the hope that with the end of the Second World War, ecclesiastical superiors might approve our proposal to move to a site closer to the Orthodox since the Molokan community in Russian Town had been dispersed. However, before that was to eventuate, there was to be a period of five years or thereabouts during which our time was fully occupied with the spiritual development of our lay associates, both Byzantine and Latin, and the dissemination of knowledge of the better side of the Russian tradition among the Catholic body and the public in general.<sup>6</sup> The means used for the first-mentioned task were the providing of a good Catholic lending library, spiritual direction, week-end retreats and the steady preaching of the doctrine and higher values of Catholic life in our Sunday sermons. Results have been gratifying. By readily giving and even soliciting engagements to lecture on Soviet, Russian and ritual themes, by frequent concerts by the choir and by attracting Roman-rite Catholics to Holy Liturgy and to dinners and festivals, especially good progress has been made toward the other of the above-mentioned objectives—dispelling of prejudice and arousing interest in the Russian people and our Russian Mission. A small mimeographed publication under the name "Mission Jottings"

has appeared intermittently.<sup>7</sup> It has provided a "press" for articles on Russian and Byzantine matters and during the war was supplemented by another small publication "St. Andrew's Letters" whose articles in Russian and English were intended as an antidote to the Communist propaganda so prevalent during those tense years.

In my lectures I always considered that the theme of Soviet Russia was the most important. Certainly I think that any missionary fire which is to be expected from our hearers will necessarily be kindled or revived by the contemplation of the abyss of spiritual and social horror which Russia now is. The question of rite often seems to me to satisfy interests which are too purely academic. Similarly the reunion of the Dissident Eastern Churches, though of considerable importance, strikes me as of far less moment than the destruction of Bolshevism. In appraising expressions of interest on the part of prospective candidates for the Russian Mission, the thing I wait for personally is indignation at the effrontery of militant atheism. If this preference of interest comes as a surprise to any one who may have heard only of our liturgical activities, I am happy to make the revelation. I love our rite and would not exchange it freely for any other. I think that it is an indispensable factor for the conversion and upbuilding of the new Church in Russia; but in the direction of my will when I applied for the Mission to Russia, it played a part no greater than that of the unknown, for I was as ignorant of it then as are most of the good Romans to whom I lecture now-a-days.

During these war years when the study of Russian was quite popular I also conducted evening courses in Russian in Loyola University Evening School. After the peace, we held three desultory courses for Molokan youth of both sexes but these young people, the progeny of illiterate homes and "modern" high school methods, were quite unable to grasp the structure of the Russian inflections and always gave up after a year or less. I, for my part, although remaining on the best of terms with them, was not reluctant to break an association which was vitiated by their slowness, as well as their total lack of any liberal or elevated ambitions.

Through these many and varied activities and with the

help of our zealous band of lay apostles, St. Andrew's earned the approbation contained in the emphatic comment made four or five years ago by an elder Father of the California Province: "You certainly have made this coast Russian-rite conscious!"

### Generous Support

Something should be said at this point about the financial support of the Mission. For the first two years my house-keeping expenses and personal support were provided by the Archdiocese of Los Angeles. Since then the Chancery Office has given us the free use of the premises with utilities. Without this sustained material aid given by two successive Archbishops of Los Angeles none of our labors and successes would have been possible. Too often well-meaning friends set out to enumerate the various other forms of help these good Prelates ought to have extended to us. I think that what they have done is much and am happy to say so. Very particular thanks are due to Father F. J. Seeliger of the California Province for having stood firmly by us in the negotiations which confirmed this cooperation of the Chancery Office. Income for other expenses has been of a varied and irregular nature. The receipts from our annual festivals sometimes amounted to considerable financial help and other sources of assistance were donations, stipends, honoraria, church collections (at least one good one per month) and Russian lessons. We have often been reduced to our last dollar or two. At other times funds have been plentiful. Father Seeliger, as Provincial of California, gave us a grant of three hundred dollars when the Archdiocese of Los Angeles ceased paying my housekeeping and personal expenses in 1941, but since then we have not needed further help from the Society. I have scarcely ever had to go seriously without. On the contrary, our inventory of church and domestic equipment and our general and special library have grown constantly and throughout the years fair sums have been spent on the support and education of some of our young people. Of great importance has been the co-operation of Ours, of His Excellency, Bishop McGucken, Auxiliary Bishop of Los Angeles, of many of the diocesan clergy and the sisters. They have provided us with

opportunities to preach or talk upon our favorite subjects, to sing Holy Liturgy and give concerts on their premises or to sell tickets for our festivals at their church doors. Sometimes they have given generous donations or bought raffle tickets wholesale.<sup>8</sup> And throughout we have had the support of the splendid lay people, members of St. Andrew's Guild and the choir who have shown heroic loyalty and zeal in the face of misunderstandings, doubts and failures of various kinds.<sup>9</sup> His Excellency, Most Reverend F. J. McIntyre lately has given proof of his good will by assenting to our selling St. Andrew's and buying some property on the west side of town where, as I have already said, the prospects for effective missionary work among the Orthodox will be greatly enhanced.

### The Choir

One of the most important factors in the life of St. Andrew's Mission has been the choir. This is because music is an integral part of Russian life and worship and because our success in its promotion has been considerable. It was my belief on my arrival in 1939 that the first thing to do was to secure the dignity of divine worship according to Russian standards and authorities who were in a position to do so guaranteed funds to make this possible. For, clearly, as this had to be a mission and could not immediately be a center for focusing a non-existent Russian Catholic life, singers for a choir could be attracted only on professional terms. So I found myself forced by circumstances to do the one thing which I had sworn as a theologian that I would never do though I entertained the hope that little by little I would be able to introduce volunteer Catholic singers. This first professional Russian choir served us admirably for a year whereupon, unfortunately or not, the funds backing it were discontinued. By this time we had at St. Andrew's two families of Graeco-Slavs (not Muscovites) and I began to train four of their younger members to sing at Holy Liturgy. After a year or so they were performing quite creditably. As a result of an address I had given to the Franciscan Third Order at St. Joseph's Parish two or three generous Roman adults joined us, but unfortunately both of the Graeco-Slav families left us as a result of a dispute with me over their failure to send

the children to a Catholic school and we were thrown back on our untrained Roman recruits. However, several more Romans and some new Byzantines joined us and we slowly engaged professionals (with one exception, Catholic). Finally we emerged as a choral body of eighteen who were worth listening to. The summit of the choir's fame up to the present has been their being chosen to sing in Russian one of the sacred concerts which have become the customary prelude to Mary's Hour in the Coliseum. The appeal of this fine group is enhanced by the splendid costumes in which they now habitually appear. Maturing in production and pronunciation, the choir now occupies a unique place at St. Andrew's and in the esteem of its friends. It is, furthermore, the chief source of lay workers in every department of our life. There cannot be any doubt about its value in arousing interest through its concerts, the number of which has now reached the sixties. Still more important is its sustained and inspiring participation in the service for which it was primarily instituted, the Divine Liturgy.

### The Apostolate of the Divine Liturgy

Because of the extremely extended spread of Los Angeles, however, we soon came to the conviction that to expect our Byzantine or Roman faithful to come to St. Andrew's for Holy Liturgy every Sunday would have been to repel them by asking too much. The third Sunday of every month was therefore chosen and on that day the Church comes fully to life. On those days a breakfast-lunch is served to all in the rectory after Divine Liturgy and after the meal a business meeting of St. Andrew's Guild (i.e. the Mission's members and associates) is held. Occasionally a full dinner, sometimes with a Russian menu, is advertized in the *Tidings*, the diocesan newspaper and served with the purpose of making a worthwhile profit.

In addition to these regular monthly gatherings, we have endeavored to celebrate with its proper dignity the Divine Liturgy of Christmas and Holy Week. In willing deference to astronomical exactitude we have observed the Gregorian calendar, a custom which many Byzantines, both Catholic and Dissident, follow. It has the advantage that any Orthodox in



Los Angeles who would not miss his own Easter, calculated in the Old Style, is able to attend ours also. Indeed, churches which comply with the Old Calendar are at a disadvantage in a country which still takes public holidays at Christmas and Easter by the New Calendar. Beginning in the first years with the Easter service only, we have added year by year the services of Holy Week and the solemn vespers of Good Friday have become a favorite among the faithful of the rite. A radical return to primitive use was our holding of the rite of the Presanctified in the evening of the first three days of Holy Week, the time prescribed by the Triodion. If this portion of the divine service is performed in the morning, as it ordinarily is, the faithful who are at work during the day never witness it. For years we conformed to the use which places the beginning of the Easter ritual at half-past eleven on Holy Saturday night. In the light of experience, however, we found that the children of our Mission would necessarily grow up ignorant of the deep significance and feeling of this beautiful office because of the natural preference on their part and on their parents' that they be in bed at night, especially on the night before an exciting holiday such as Easter. In fact, much the same reasoning could be applied to the adults. When we discovered, therefore, that there is a clear tradition in parts of the Russian world of keeping Easter matins early on Easter Day (and a clear text in the Typicon and in the gospels to account for it), we changed to that practice four years ago. Our candle-light procession retains its picturesqueness in the early dawn.

With reference to the Nativity, on the other hand, our New Style calendar was a disadvantage. Everybody, Greeks in a Roman world as well as Romans themselves, found it more congenial to go to the nearest parish church that day. Yet before the old Christmas people would phone us to ask if we were keeping the "Russian Christmas." It did not take us long to start doing so. Attendance has been gratifying, although it is impaired by the circumstance that the old Christmas usually falls on a working day. Actually now, for many years, we have kept an extra Christmas on the Sunday between the two approved ones. Holy Liturgy on that day is very well attended and the choir assists. It is followed by

a Christmas breakfast, a play, gifts for the children and a Christmas dinner. I think that such days, concluded with a visit to the Church to sing the Christmas troparion, stand out among the happiest in the lives of our faithful.

### **New Role: Western Wing of Fordham**

Since the new status of 1951 as a member of the Russian Center of Fordham, its Western wing as it were, my field of operations is much wider. It has been decided to sing Holy Liturgy once a month in San Francisco and to pay occasional visits to the larger cities up and down the entire coast. The first of the Liturgies at San Francisco was held on July 8 in a room on the ground floor of the Gleeson Library and the second on August 12 at the invitation of the Auxiliary Bishop of San Francisco, Most-Reverend Merlin J. Guilfoyle, in the Old Mission Dolores.<sup>10</sup> There were more than one hundred Romans and about one dozen Russians present at each of these. In the succeeding months the attendance has been considerably less. A moveable iconostasis has been made available for these divine services through the kindness and ingenuity of a friend of Father F. Brannigan who has been developing the cause in San Francisco since his enforced retreat from Shanghai with the rest of the Russian College. A choir composed of Roman lay-folk<sup>11</sup> renders the responses. It is Bishop Guilfoyle's hope that we can make the Mission our permanent home for this monthly sacred event. His Excellency himself was present during a large part of the first Holy Liturgy.

There are probably about twenty thousand Russians in the Bay Area. In San Francisco itself there are five Orthodox churches of the various jurisdictions, Karlovtsky, American and Soviet. There are a few Catholics. Our work in the Bay Area has not come as a new phenomenon since Father Brannigan has aroused much interest in the Russian Mission during his two years' residence in San Francisco. The large attendance of friendly Romans at the first Holy Liturgy as well as at the succeeding ones is a direct result of his activities. The number of Russians, however, has been small and the few Russian recruits we thought we had enrolled in the choir have not attended. Thus, even allowing for the fact

that there must be some other Russian Catholics in the city, the indications are that here also as at Father Rogosh's church in New York and in the church in Los Angeles we must count on a large proportion of Roman help if we are to function as a Church and Mission. We are not helped much by the presence of twenty thousand Russian non-Catholics. Some of them, no doubt, will give help on occasion but there is hope that some of the many nominal Orthodox who have ceased to attend their own churches out of disgust with the politics and dissensions prevalent in them may turn to us as they find us out, notwithstanding our poverty of equipment and "atmosphere" in comparison with the rich embellishment of the Dissident parishes.

Our work is now to be less parochial and more truly Jesuit and this is a pleasing prospect. Nevertheless, I do not think this wider sweep of our action should exclude our occupation of premises equipped as characteristically for divine worship as for study and academic pursuits. In all our Russian vineyards the temple should be in evidence. Prospective converts and helpers find great inspiration in the physical experience of four walls consecrated for an altar, icons, incense, homily and song. A purely itinerant or floating apostolate of convincing, demonstrating and seeking vocations, however intelligible to Ours, might seem to lack substance to those we are concerned to impress. Surely one important subject for demonstration is that permanence and reality of Byzantine-Slav life and worship upon faith in which our whole appeal to the Orthodox rests. From an altar and a rite which is here today and gone tomorrow it might be much more difficult to preach to Catholics and non-Catholics Rome's determined and definitive support of a Russian Byzantine Catholic Church. In a word, it seems to me that something suitably and palpably enduring is required as a gauge of moral permanence in a matter where suspicion of insincerity and transience is easy to arouse.

### Reasons for Perseverance

In conclusion, it might be worth while to give an appraisal of the Mission as a whole. It is my conviction that scarcely any of the Orthodox will ever accept the faith in the United States,

and yet I do not feel that it is insincere for me to keep on working. We have to consider the quality of the Orthodox of the emigration. Their sentiments of race and nationality strengthened by the experience of eviction and exile are like the pull of an extended string which holds them immovable against the attraction of a religion which is "foreign" because it is moderated from Rome. Conversion, which to them would mean desertion, assumes the aspect of treason at a time when Holy Russia is struggling for its spiritual life. Indeed, Catholics who work upon them are often regarded as soulless cowards for, as it were, hitting a man when he is down. This became my conviction when I was present as an observer at the inter-faith convention which was held in Edinburgh in 1937, and acquaintance with the Russian clergy in Estonia revealed the same hard sense of irrevocable separation in these children of the last Czarist generation. Conversions among the Orthodox in China in the Displaced Persons camps have been helped by antecedent social and material aid whereas the field for such predisposing charitable and school work in the United States is extremely limited. Undoubtedly, however, the admirable work of Father Van Cutsen in Austria, the Shanghai Fathers and others will have repercussions in the United States among the Orthodox whom they have helped to pass on to safety and a new life of freedom. New hope has come, too, from another direction. Many of the Orthodox have been disgusted by the recent divisions in their own body and in consequence have developed strong views on the unity of the Church. This is a long stride in the direction of Rome. Furthermore the prolonged campaign of denunciation of the papacy and the Vatican which has been indulged in by the Communist press and the press of the Patriarchate of Moscow has, in some instances, tended to produce reactions directly opposed to those desired. A people with no love for Bolshevism has come to the conclusion that there must be much to recommend a See which evokes so much malice from the Left.

One school of thought in the Russian Mission (to which non-Jesuits have been attached more than Ours) believes that we ought not to measure our success by the number of converts. The fruit of our efforts should be the gradual dissipating of

prejudice, the leavening of the whole Orthodox body with a toleration which will eventually prepare it to come as one flock into the fold. It is not, however, the hope of any such outcome that sustains me in my work. My motive for perseverance is the recollection of the great future field in Russia itself and a profound satisfaction in the exercise of the Byzantine rite. Like the other members of the Russian Mission, I am convinced that results among a spiritually starved atheistic populace will reduce to insignificance all successes with an emigrant Orthodoxy. That is why I have regarded the instruction of the general body of the faithful as the most worth-while of our activities. When the liberation of enslaved Russia comes, Westerners from the U. S. and other nations will enter upon the business of re-indoctrination and rehabilitation. In their ranks there is bound to be a notable number of Catholics of the Roman rite, including clergy who will be concerned about the religious instruction of the new generations. It will be most important that any missionary activity of such persons be knowledgeably integrated into the Vatican's prearranged plan for the reconversion of Russia. For them to be ignorant of the Byzantine religious traditions of Russia or to insist on the acceptance of Western forms of worship would constitute a grave cause for confusion such as that which for centuries has prevented greater progress in the Missions of India. And as a last word I may add that the fostering of the spiritual life of our small flock of Byzantine Catholics has been in itself, it seems to me, another good motive for perseverance.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>The Russian College (the Russicum) and the Jesuit training unit for the same purpose in Rome are distinct institutions.

<sup>2</sup>Their secretary, Miss Agnes North, now a Sister of the Holy Names, was the first active Catholic to approach me with concrete proposals of help.

<sup>3</sup>This program was made possible by the part-time help given by Miss Dorothy Mentch, Mr. and Mrs. C. A. Bilicke and others.

<sup>4</sup>We should note here the seven or eight years of provisioning, cooking and general housekeeping shared intermittently and in varying degrees by devoted men and women of either rite in a spirit of missionary faith.

<sup>5</sup>I, personally, should be delighted to see the Society open a Ukrainian missionary branch, because there is a great field for work among these people, actually in the Americas and potentially in the liberated Ukraine of the future. However, there may be bearings of that question unknown to me, possibly related to the presence of two religious orders in that apostolate already.

<sup>6</sup>Part of my activities at this time were the lectures given as part of the work of the Archdiocesan Committee for the study and propagation of the Papal Peace Plan. This live undertaking of His Excellency Archbishop Cantwell was entrusted to a body of laymen and clerics under the chairmanship of Father E. J. Zeman, Rector of Loyola High School. The committee was one of the bodies which never lost sight of the essentially Godless and untrustworthy character of our Soviet ally of those days.

<sup>7</sup>Father John and Father Joseph Geary of the California Province were outstanding contributors.

<sup>8</sup>The names of Father Cornelius McCoy, S.J., Pastor of Blessed Sacrament Church and Father Michael Sheahan, Pastor of Santa Isabel's Mexican Church stand out prominently in this connection. Three successive Rectors of Loyola High School, Father E. J. Whelan, Father E. J. Zeman and Father F. J. Harrington have seconded our efforts with their presence at our gatherings and encouraged us with their understanding in a measure which they would find hard to believe.

<sup>9</sup>Some to whom special credit is due are Mr. Lawrence Clancy, Mrs. E. W. L. Franklin, Miss Wilson, now a religious, and the Barrio, Ivers and Galiski families among the Romans and the Welgloss family and Mr. Michael Bower, our choirmaster, among the Byzantines.

<sup>10</sup>The correct name of the Mission, by the way, is the Mission San Francisco d'Asis.

<sup>11</sup>In the beginning Mr. Leo J. Rosbottom, S.J. and Mr. E. J. Horgan, S.J., also belonged to the choir.

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### PEACE

Francis de Sales was a great lover of peace. In this no one came up to him; peace had taken so deep a root in his heart that nothing could shake it. He often said: "Come what may, I will not lose one speck of peace, the grace of God assisting me." He used to say that nothing should deprive us of peace, even should all things be turned upside down, for what is the whole world compared to peace of heart? What he preached he also practised and was regarded by all as the most peaceable soul ever known.

ST. JANE FRANCES DE CHANTAL

## CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN COLONIAL MARYLAND

W. C. REPETTI, S.J.

In touching on the subject of Catholic schools in colonial Maryland there has been such a tendency to rely blindly on tradition and to assume what should be proved that it is very desirable to bring out the recorded evidence on the subject so that past errors may be avoided.

A cursory glance at the history of the Maryland colony from 1634 to 1675, or thereabouts, should be sufficient to convince anyone that the scarcity of Jesuits, the wide field to which they endeavored to extend their ministry to colonists and Indian neophytes, the raids by Claiborne and the Virginia ruffians, the restrictions imposed by the Calverts, all rendered it impossible for the Society of Jesus to devote time and attention to the operation of a school.

But, according to tradition, there was such a school in St. Mary's City. In *College Days at Georgetown*, published in 1899, J. Fairfax McLaughlin records memories of his school days, 1852-1862:

In my earliest years I was acquainted with several old Jesuits, such as Fathers McElroy, Fenwick and Stonestreet, who made a thorough study of everything connected with the history of the College, and from them I derived much information on the subject. The mind of one of those gentlemen was a sort of chronological map and Noah's Ark, not only of every important place and fact and person in the annals of the College but of those in the State and Colony of Maryland from the beginning. Father George Fenwick could tell you about all of them, and their vicissitudes from St. Inigoes to Georgetown . . .

The history of the Jesuits in colonial Maryland has not yet been written . . .

The cradle of Georgetown University was the Indian school taught by Father Andrew White, S.J., at St. Mary's City, Maryland, in 1634 . . .

Father White planted the first seeds of the present flourishing institution at Georgetown when he translated into the Indian tongue a grammar, dictionary and catechism for use among his neophytes . . .

A statue of Andrew White should rise at Georgetown College. He was the first founder. The title deeds of the university begin with him. From the hour of its inception the school was always under Jesuit auspices. It started at St. Mary's in 1634; passed to

Calverton Manor under Father Thomas Copley and Mr. Ralph Crouch in 1640; to Newtown Manor under Father Michael Forster and Brother Thomas Hothersall, an Approved Scholastic, about 1677; to Bohemia Manor, probably under Father Thomas Poulton, about 1745; to Georgetown Heights under the auspices of Father John Carroll in 1789 . . .

Father Ferdinand Poulton in 1638 wrote to the Jesuit Provincial in England asking leave to establish a school in Maryland. The Provincial, Very Rev. Edward Knott, S.J., answered this application in 1640, and said: "The hope of establishing a college which you hold forth, I embrace with pleasure; and shall not delay my sanction to the plan when it shall have reached maturity . . ."

McLaughlin tells us that when he wrote the above excerpts the history of the Jesuits in colonial Maryland had not yet been written; Father George Fenwick was the chief source of his information. Father George Fenwick was born March 22, 1801; entered the Society on July 29, 1815; and died at Georgetown, November 27, 1857. To the best of our knowledge this is the oldest source of the traditional history of the Jesuit colonial schools.

We next turn to a large photograph taken in front of the Healy building during the centennial celebration in 1889, and we observe a banner affixed to the wall, and in a vertical column we read: "Calverton 1640. Newtown 1677. Bohemia 1740. Georgetown 1789." The same Fenwick tradition with 1740 instead of 1745 for Bohemia. Reporting the celebration, the *Washington Evening Star* stated:

. . . the idea of establishing a Catholic seat of learning (in Maryland) was first broached in 1638 by Father Ferdinand Poulton who wrote the English provincial of the Jesuit order on the subject and received encouraging permission to proceed on the execution of his project. This resulted in the establishment of a school at Calverton Manor, the home of Lord Baltimore, in 1640 . . . Another school was established at Newtown Manor in 1677, but the one at Bohemia Manor was the direct predecessor of the college at Georgetown . . .

The same tradition appears again, substantially, in *Miniatures of Georgetown*, as follows:

After struggling along for five years or so at St. Mary's City or St. Inigoes nearby, the school moved in 1640 to Calverton Manor on the Wicomico River and classes seem to have been held intermittently till 1677 when Newtown Manor was opened . . .

The school (at Bohemia) was maintained for a quarter of a century; when it was transferred to the heights of Georgetown.



If it were not for the minor variations which creep into traditions as they pass long, we might say, with apologies to General MacArthur, old traditions never die, they just petrify. The writer acknowledges that, having learned from experience, he does not have a high regard for Jesuit traditions which are not substantiated by documents, and the real aim of this article is to bring out the documentary evidence that has been found in regard to Catholic schools in colonial Maryland. And so, having seen the tradition, let us turn to the evidence.

### Tradition vs. Evidence

In reply to a letter written by Father Ferdinand Poulton about 1638, Father General said, in 1640: "The hope held out of a college, I am happy to entertain, and when it shall have matured, I will not be backward in extending my approval." Father Edward I. Devitt in his "History of the Maryland-New York Province," published in the WOODSTOCK LETTERS (LXI, 15), apparently considered this to mean a college in the usual and accepted sense of the word, and others have interpreted the word in the same way, but Father Thomas Hughes in his *History of the Society of Jesus in North America* points out that Father Poulton and Father General had something else in mind.

The "college" had not matured after ten years, and in 1650 we find Father Piccolomini calling attention to the technical irregularity that existed, saying:

In the latter part of February, Father Philip Fisher wrote from Maryland. About that mission, I think I must remind you of one point carefully. You know well, that according to the laws of our Institute, missions can not possess revenues or real property as it appears Maryland has, unless perchance this mission is incorporated in some college. If that has not been done, it is to be done at once. You will consider with your consultors to what college it had best be joined, and inform me thereof, as well as the fathers in Maryland. (Hughes Doc. I. Part I, 38)

And in 1713, Father Parker, Provincial, confirmed a previous decision that the Superior of the Maryland Mission had the "power of a rector," and in 1759, the Provincial, Henry Corbie, wrote that "Maryland and Pennsylvania jointly constitute one college or residence." Therefore, in 1640 and in

1650, when speaking of a college, the Jesuits were endeavoring to harmonize their property rights and income with the requirements of the Institute, just as the central house of a mission district in England was called a college. They were not discussing classes and the teaching of pupils.

Father Devitt, who was quite an authority on the history of the Maryland Mission and Province, found no evidence of a school at St. Mary's City, for he stated that the school opened in Newtown in 1677 was the first Catholic school in Maryland. But he was mistaken; there was a Catholic school in St. Mary's City.

Writing from Annapolis on March 27, 1697, Governor Francis Nicholson reported the conditions that existed in Maryland prior to the Orange Rebellion of 1689, and noted: "Few schools, and those but very mean ones either for Master or House. But the Jesuits and priests had some, especially one brick one at St. Mary's." (*Maryland Archives*, XXIII, 81.) On August 20, 1650, Father Piccolomini replied to a letter of Father Copley (Fisher) written in the preceding February, and, among other things, said: "I do not doubt that the school opened by the Father, your companion, will be worth the pains." (Hughes I, I, 39)

The companion was Father Lawrence Starkey, and he and Father Copley were the only Jesuits in Maryland at the time. The comment of Father Hughes on this school is the following:

Fr. Starkey's school, thus referred to, we may connect with the presence in Maryland of Mr. Ralph Crouch, who was a man of some education and had been a Jesuit lay-brother in Belgium, and, after being the "solace and right hand" of our Fathers in America at this time, was readmitted into the Society. (Hughes I, 16)

A glance at the catalogues of the Mission at this time, carefully compiled by Father John A. Morgan, will aid us to come to some conclusion about the school at St. Mary's City. The catalogues show Fathers Copley and Starkey living in Virginia for safety in 1648. In 1649, 1650 and 1651 Father Copley was at St. Inigoes and Father Starkey was covering the outlying missions. In 1652 Claiborne's party took possession of St. Mary's City; Father Copley disappears, probably by death; Father Starkey is still in the outlying missions. We venture

to assert that the school in St. Mary's City was undertaken by Ralph Crouch in 1649, with the encouragement of Fathers Copley and Starkey, and did not endure later than 1652. There is no evidence as to the number of pupils or their means of support and we conclude that Crouch charged the pupils for tuition and expenses, as he did later on in Newtown, and that it was not a Jesuit school in the strict sense of the word.

This is an appropriate place to quote the *Records of the English Province* (V, p. 953) on Ralph Crouch.

A native of Oxford, who entered the Society as a temporal coadjutor, was born in 1620, and joined the novitiate at Watten about 1639. Soon after, he left the noviceship, and went to Maryland, where for nearly twenty years he was the "right hand and solace" of the English Fathers in that laborious and extensive mission. Being a man of some education, he opened schools for teaching humanities, gave catechetical instructions to the poorer class, and was assiduous in visiting the sick. He was a man full of zeal and charity, and ready for every pious work. Being at length readmitted to the Society in 1659, he returned to Europe, completed his noviceship at Watten, and was admitted to his vows in 1669. He spent the remainder of his life at Liege . . . and died Nov. 18, 1679.

### The Calverton School

And now, according to the tradition, we come to the so-called Calverton school. The unfriendly attitude of the Calverts towards Church property, their high-handed confiscation of the Jesuit property at Matapany, and the intolerance of the Protestants forced the Jesuits to protect their property by careful legal means and transmit it by will from one to another, and turn it over, from time to time, to loyal lay persons in confidential trust. Thus we have a good, recorded history of the property owned by the Society in Maryland during the colonial period. Hughes made a thorough study of these records and makes no mention whatever of Calverton Manor, and therefore, we are on safe ground when we assert that the Society did not own any property at Calverton Manor. And there is no recorded evidence of a school in that place.

Tradition has assigned 1640 as the date of the so-called Calverton Manor school, but the Manor, as such, did not exist in 1640; it did not come into existence until after 1651.

Cecilius Calvert wrote from England on August 6, 1651, to

give instructions to William Stone, Lieutenant of the Colony, and one section was the following:

Whereas we understand that certain Indians of several nations desire to put themselves under our Protection and to have a Grant from us of a certain Tract of Land in the head of Wicomico river . . . called Choptico, Resolving there to live together that they may neither injure the English nor the English them, the said quantity of land being, as we are informed, about eight or ten thousand Acres, which we conceive may be a means not only to bring them to Civility but also to Christianity . . . we esteem our Selves bound in Honor and Conscience to allow them according to their desire some place of Habitation there by a title derived from us and have therefore thought fit for Our said Lieutenant to cause by a declaration and Command in Our Name . . . to be erected into a Manor for the use of us and our Heirs for ever with Court Baron and Court Leet . . . to be called by the name of Calverton Manor. (*Maryland Archives*)

Calvert then directed that one thousand acres be set apart for the exclusive use of himself and heirs and specified the conditions under which Indians might take up land in the reservation.

The Jesuits had acquired eight thousand acres of land under the *Conditions of Plantation* and, under the same *Conditions*, were entitled to twenty thousand more, which they did not attempt to claim even in more remote parts. With Calverton Manor set up as an Indian reservation under the above specified conditions it is incredible that the Jesuits would have been allowed to acquire title to any land in that area. The tradition of a Jesuit school at Calverton Manor may be summarily dismissed. And that brings us to Newtown.

On April 4, 1653, Edward Cotton, a Marylander, wrote his will and it was probated on April 23. He named Thomas Matthews and Ralph Crouch as executors, and they were ordered to return an inventory of the estate by September 1, 1653. (Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md., *Photostats of will, 1635-1654*, p. 46.)

The ninth item of the will is of interest to us here:

I do give all my female cattle and their issue forever to be disposed of by my aforesaid executors as they shall think fit unto charitable purposes which may be most to God's honor. The stock to be preserved and the profits to be made use of to the use of a school, if they shall think convenient. And for the male cattle that

hereafter shall increase I do give to the aforesaid uses, reserving to my aforesaid executors the privilege to kill for their own use some of the male cattle, the better to enable them to do some charitable offices presuming that they will make no waste contrary to this my will, and all the rest of my estate to be disposed of as of aforesaid to good uses as they shall think fit.

And item twelve:

My desire is, if they shall think convenient, that the school be kept at Newtown, and that the cattle may be in care of John Warren upon such agreement as my executors shall make.

Matthews and Crouch decided that Newtown was a more convenient place, and Crouch moved to that place and opened his school. In 1659 he was readmitted to the Society of Jesus, returned to Europe, and in 1662 took an effective measure to free himself from his obligation as an executor of the Cotton estate.

### Mr. Ralph Crouch

On June 27, 1662, the Assembly of Maryland summoned Thomas Matthews and John Warren to give an account of the estate. On April 30, 1663, Matthews and Warren appeared again, in company with Francis Fitzherbert as attorney of Ralph Crouch, and the following declaration was presented: (*Maryland Archives*, XLIX, 20 ss.)

Mr. Thomas Matthews and John Warren . . . appearing according to their summons, and Francis Fitzherbert, Esq., the attorney of Ralph Crouch likewise appearing, . . . sayeth that he is now ready to give in an account of the estate, . . . showing withal that according to his order from Ralph Crouch, he desireth to be absolutely quit and discharged from the estate of Edward Cotton.

September 4, 1662. That whereas I, Ralph Crouch was made jointly executor with Mr. Thomas Matthews of an estate of Edward Cotton, which was left either for the settling of a school or to be employed upon some other pious purposes, though Mr. Pile, if he be alive, can say that the true intent of the party deceased was, that the sum of tobacco to be paid by John Warren was to be allowed the upholding me in my teaching the school, at that time in hand, or much to this purpose. I never appropriated more to myself out of the estate than one bull and one steer . . . To the best of my remembrance I laid out of the estate in John Warren's hand to the value of 1600 or 1700 pounds of tobacco for Peter Ewen's diet and schooling, washing, clothing . . .

I affirm boldly also that on my part I did, as much as lay in me,

fulfill the will of the deceased in removing my teaching of school to New Town; and there was ready some years to teach either Protestant or Catholic, yet never had more out of the estate than the value of 600 or 700 pounds of tobacco, for some that could not be discharged for their schooling. And had I not had some relief of my own out of England in clothing, I could not have held up the teaching as long as I did . . .

Declareth in London, October 7, 1662, before Captain Miles Cooke, master of the *Maryland Merchant*.

The Assembly of Maryland then released Ralph Crouch from responsibility for the estate.

And so, from the statement of Crouch himself, we learn that after September 1653, he moved to Newtown from another place, which we can safely hold to have been St. Mary's City; that he remained in Newtown some years, not beyond 1659; that his school was open to Protestants and Catholics, and that he drew upon his own resources, or those of friends in England to enable him to carry on his work. This was not a Jesuit school; the Society did not acquire possession of Newtown Manor until 1668, nine years after Crouch had returned to England.

The name of Ralph Crouch has appeared very recently in a way that is very misleading. In the report prepared for the Commission on Institutions of Higher Education, Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, prior to the inspection of Georgetown University, a paragraph from some previous publication appears in the report on the library. It reads:

The Library (Riggs) traces its origin to the year 1640 in Southern Maryland where, at Newtown Manor in St. Mary's County, Brother Ralph Crouch, S.J., conducted a grammar school whose library of upwards of 200 volumes later became the nucleus of the library at Georgetown College.

This paragraph suffers badly when subjected to examination. Ralph Crouch did not arrive in Maryland until 1640 and the first school of which we have recorded evidence opened at St. Mary's City about 1649. Newtown Manor did not come into the possession of the Society until 1668, nine years after Crouch returned to Europe; and it would be difficult, to say the least, to show that the library of 1659, even if it existed,

was preserved intact to be placed in the Newtown Manor residence. During his stay in Maryland, Crouch was not a Jesuit and therefore should not have the title of "Brother" nor "S.J." after his name. When there was danger of the property at St. Thomas Manor being lost to the Society by confiscation, it was deeded over in confidential trust to laymen, Matthews and Crouch. If Crouch had a library of 200 volumes in 1640, they must, of necessity, have been printed prior to that date; but there are books in the Riggs Library from Newtown which were printed in 1698, thirty years after Crouch's death. Rev. Wm. P. Treacy wrote a booklet, *Old Catholic Maryland and Its Early Jesuit Missionaries*. The booklet was completed in 1889, and, in the course of its preparation, Father Treacy visited Newtown and made specific mention of some books which he saw there, and those books are now in the Riggs Library. We may safely conclude that they were not sent to Georgetown earlier than 1870, when Georgetown already had a library of tens of thousands of volumes, so that by no stretch of the imagination could the Newtown books be called the nucleus of the Georgetown Library.

### Schools at Newtown Manor and Bohemia Manor

The Jesuit school at Newtown Manor opened in 1677, and is first mentioned in 1680 by Father Warner, the English Provincial, who reported to Father General: "I hear from the Maryland Mission that a school has been set up, where humane letters are taught with great fruit. Everything is peaceable there." (Hughes II, 136.) And in the Annual Letter of 1681 we have:

Four years ago a school of humanities was opened by our Society, amid primitive surroundings, directed by two of our Fathers; and the native youth, applying themselves assiduously to study, made good progress. That Mission and the recently established school sent two boys to St. Omer's, who yielded in ability to few Europeans when competing for first honors in their class.

Whence we gather that those regions, which ought not to be called barbarous, are most productive, not of gold alone or silver or other earthly riches, but of men made for virtue and higher courses of study. Two of the Society were sent out to Maryland this year to assist the laborers in the most extensive vineyard of the Lord. (Devitt *W. L.* LXI, 15; Hughes II, 136.)

The two boys who were sent to St. Omer's in 1681 were Robert Brooke and Thomas Gardiner. Both entered the Novitiate at Watten and Brooke became the first native Marylander to become a Jesuit priest and a most representative member of the Society. Gardiner died before he could return to the colony.

The Jesuits in Newtown Manor in 1677 were Fathers Francis Pennington and Michael Forster and Brothers Gregory Turberville and John Berboel. A valuable helper arrived in 1681 in the person of Mr. Thomas Hothersall. He was a talented man and had completed the courses of philosophy and theology but could not be ordained because of some brain defect. It was not until 1698 that Father General inquired if Hothersall would be content with the status of perpetual Scholastic, but by the time the query reached Maryland the good man had passed to his reward. Brothers Turberville and Berboel died in 1684 and Brother Nicholas Williart arrived from Europe and remained at Newtown for two years. It is probable that the school did not survive the death of Mr. Hothersall in 1698; there was a lack of teachers and the intolerance of the Protestants was increasing.

We now come to the last of the Catholic schools of colonial Maryland, Bohemia Manor on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. We quote from Father Devitt's history:

Father Thomas Poulton, who came to America in 1738, was certainly in Bohemia in 1742 and died there January 23, 1749. It was whilst he was pastor that the School or Academy was begun, in 1745 or 1746. This Academy lasted only a short time, for the laws against Catholic education and Catholic educators were so stringent during the greater part of the Maryland colonial period that it was only at intervals, for brief spaces of time, and by stealth that the Jesuits, essentially a teaching Order, and always most solicitous for the education of youth were able to conduct a school.

The Academy at Bohemia was intended to afford a resource for the education of sons of Catholic colonists, at least to the extent of acquiring the rudiments of knowledge before going beyond the seas. The history of the Academy has come down to us only in some scanty details and scraps of records; even the duration of its existence cannot be determined with certainty; it was probably discontinued after the death of Father Poulton, which would make a decade its extreme span of life—those are certainly in error who



surmise that it continued until the American revolution, or even later. (*W. L. LXIII*, 9-10)

John Carroll became its most distinguished alumnus, but, according to Father Devitt, there is no convincing proof that Charles Carroll of Carrollton attended the school. It is said that at one time there were twenty boys boarding at the school. Again quoting from Father Devitt:

Thus historians and chroniclers of Georgetown College, and writers on Catholic education in the United States, are wont to refer to this Academy as the predecessor of Georgetown College, or the "germ" from which was the oldest academic institution under Catholic direction for young men, in the United States. The connection between the Bohemia School and the "Academy on the Patowmack" is that they were projected and conducted under Jesuit auspices; and that John Carroll, the founder of Georgetown, was numbered amongst the pupils of Bohemia; he is the link, moral and personal, between Georgetown and the earlier school. (*W. L. LXIII*, 9)

### Conclusion

Are the historians and chroniclers justified in their claims? We do not think so. The "germ" theory does not hold up; a germ becomes a physical part of the organism which develops from it, and no part of Bohemia Academy became a physical part of the Academy on the Patowmack.

Further, it is not strictly true to say that both Bohemia and Georgetown were projected and conducted under Jesuit auspices. Bohemia, yes, but Georgetown, no. The latter was projected and conducted under the auspices of the Catholic Clergy of Maryland; the Society of Jesus had been extinct for sixteen years before the establishment of Georgetown.

Moreover, projection and execution under Jesuit auspices should enable every Jesuit school to trace its origin back to the first Jesuit college in Messina in 1548. We have never heard of any Jesuit school that claims such a lineage.

The mere fact that John Carroll attended the Bohemia Academy as a small boy and forty years later took an active part in establishing Georgetown College is not sufficient to make Bohemia an ancestor of Georgetown. A very complete dissertation on *The Beginnings of the Society of St. Sulpice in the United States* has been written by Father J. W. Ruane,

S.S., and nowhere does he mention any link with the Bohemia Manor Academy, and yet Archbishop John Carroll took an active part in the establishment of St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore.

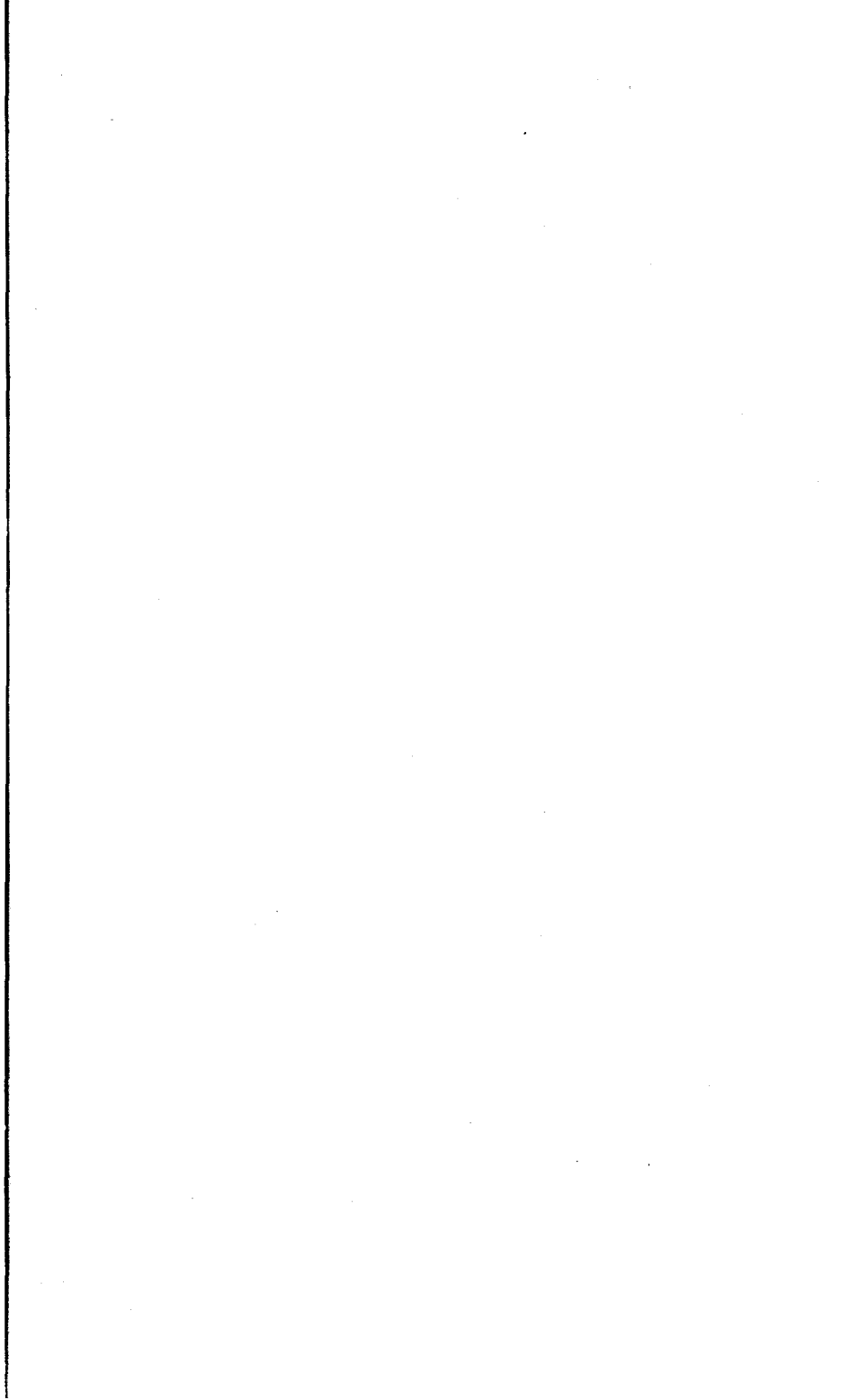
Pedigrees are interesting and serve as certificates of origin but they should be natural, not forced or metaphorical.

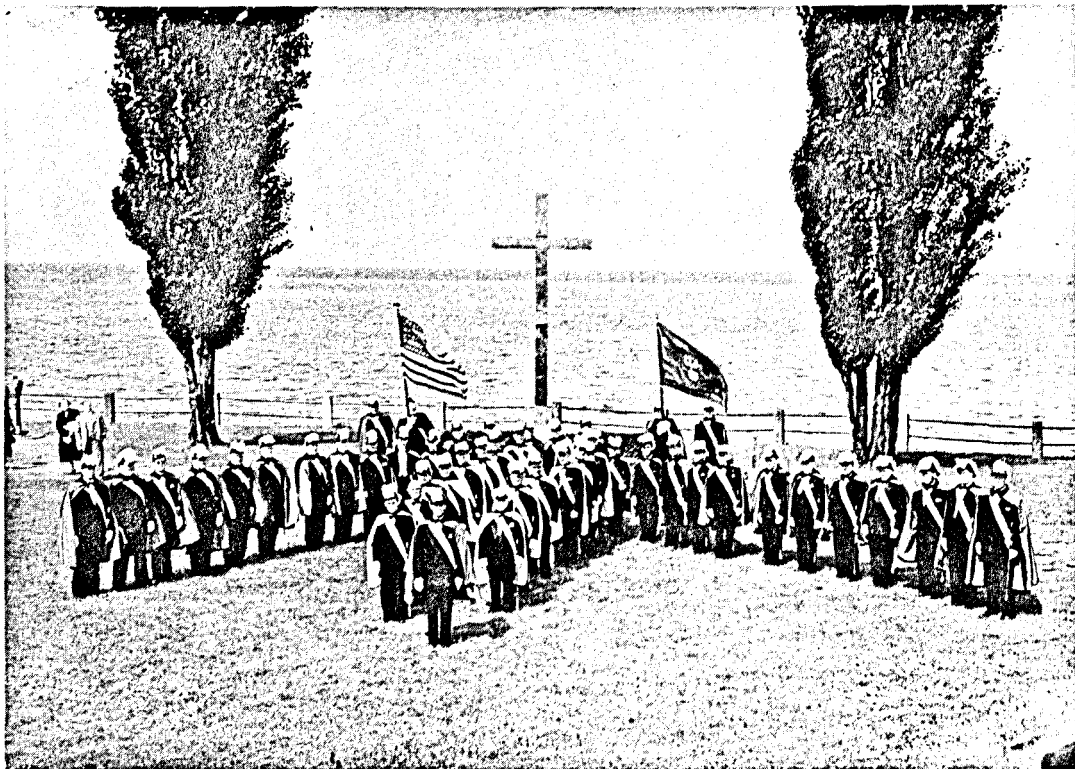
To sum up, we have reliable historical evidence for four Catholic schools in colonial Maryland; a school at St. Mary's City, for some period between 1640 and 1653, conducted by Ralph Crouch; a school at Newtown between 1653 and 1659, also conducted by Crouch; a school at Newtown 1677 and 1698, conducted by the Society of Jesus; and a school at Bohemia Manor between 1745 and for a short time, at most, after 1749, also conducted by the Society of Jesus.

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#### CHRIST AND MARY

Mary, the dawn—Christ, the perfect day.  
 Mary, the gate—Christ, the heavenly way.  
 Mary, the root—Christ, the mystic vine.  
 Mary, the grape—Christ, the sacred wine.  
 Mary, the wheat sheaf—Christ, the living bread.  
 Mary, the rose tree—Christ, the rose, blood-red.  
 Mary, the fount—Christ, the cleansing flood.  
 Mary, the chalice—Christ, the saving blood.  
 Mary, the temple—Christ, the temple's Lord.  
 Mary, the shrine—Christ, the God adored.  
 Mary, the beacon—Christ, the haven's rest.  
 Mary, the mirror—Christ, the vision blest.  
 Mary, the Mother—Christ, the Mother's Son.  
 Both ever blest while endless ages run.





Fourth Degree Knights of Columbus before the Father Millet Cross at Old Fort Niagara.  
September 16, 1951

## SILVER ANNIVERSARY OF THE MILLET CROSS

JAMES A. MCKEOUGH, S.J.

On Sunday, September 16, 1951 the Fourth Degree Knights of Columbus in the Diocese of Buffalo assembled at old Fort Niagara,<sup>1</sup> Youngstown, N. Y. to celebrate the silver anniversary of the Millet Cross with a field Mass, which was attended by some seven hundred people. This cross was erected and dedicated by the Knights of Columbus on May 30, 1926 at the suggestion of the late Peter A. Porter, well-known historian of the Niagara Frontier. The following excerpt from the *Buffalo Morning Express* for Tuesday, June 1, 1926 describes the impressive ceremony at Fort Niagara:

The fourth degree Knights of Columbus dedicated a cross in the old fort enclosure this afternoon in commemoration of one erected there in 1688 by Father Pierre Millet, a French Jesuit priest, who for many years labored as a missionary among the Onondaga and Oneida Indians and was chaplain of the French garrison at Fort Niagara [at that time Fort Denonville]. Nearly 2,000 attended the dedication ceremonies.

The Rt. Rev. William Turner, bishop of Buffalo, blessed the cross and delivered a brief address bestowing his blessing on the assemblage. At the conclusion of his remarks, Colonel R. G. Ingram of the 28th Infantry provided a military escort for the occasion. Catholic clergymen from the Buffalo diocese and men prominent in the fourth degree assembly throughout Western New York were conspicuous in the audience.

The bronze cross, eighteen feet high, stands in the open space within the old fort enclosure facing Lake Ontario. On it is a Latin inscription which Bishop Turner translated today literally for those attending the ceremony . . . At the base of the cross is a bronze tablet bearing the inscription: "To Father Pierre Millet, French Jesuit priest, who here on Good Friday, 1688, erected a cross invoking God's mercy for the plague stricken garrison. Erected in commemoration by the Knights of Columbus fourth degree, sixth New York district, Calvert province."

Since the clergy and Catholic laymen of the Diocese of Buffalo have shown such an interest in our own Father Millet by their past and recent celebrations at Fort Niagara, and since the memorial cross erected in 1926 was later declared a National Monument by the late Calvin Coolidge, I thought it would be worthwhile to give a brief account of the life and

work of a great but little-known Jesuit missionary, who labored for so many years in what is now the New York Province of the Society of Jesus.

### Agriskoue and Medicine-Men

Pierre Millet was born in Bourges, France, on November 19, 1635. After entering the Society of Jesus at the age of twenty, he continued to pursue his studies at La Flèche and Paris, and then spent the usual term as instructor at Compiègne. Upon his ordination in 1668 he came to Canada with a large group of French missionaries and was soon assigned to the Mission of St. John the Baptist at Onondaga by Reverend Father le Mercier, Superior-General of the Mission in New France.

In a long letter<sup>2</sup> to his superior written on June 15, 1670 Father Millet describes the state of the mission and gives an account of his labors. Since the people of Onondaga were steeped in the corruption and idolatry of impure and superstitious rites which placed great reliance upon dreams and invoked the devil, he decided that he had a twofold task, namely, to give the savages a knowledge of the true God and to discredit in their minds their false divinities—Dreams and *Agriskoué*, "the Demon." By accomplishing the latter he hoped to establish truth on the ruins of falsehood and fables.

To attract the attention of his childish flock he summoned them to his cabin for a period of instruction by ringing a handbell and shouting: "Fire! Fire! ever-burning hell fire! To heaven! To heaven! where are found all kinds of blessings with eternal happiness! There is only one God, there is only one God, who is Master of our lives. Come and worship Him, come to prayers!"

When the people had assembled in his cabin, he pointed out to them a porcelain collar, which signified that there was only one God, the Creator of heaven and earth, the God of war and peace, of the chase and of fishing; that this was a truth which all creatures preached to them, and which the Demons had tried to obscure throughout all the world in order to have themselves worshipped in place of the true God. Next to the collar was a map of the world to show that God made all

things; a little mirror to signify that He knew all things; some strings of glass beads to express the liberality with which He rewards all good actions; also some instruments of human justice to express to them that which God exercises in the flames of hell. Beneath the porcelain collar he placed a bible on a table covered with a red cloth, below which was to be seen the image of Our Lord and beneath which all the symbols of the dissoluteness of their tribe were placed to indicate that He had overcome them. "I tried above all," he said, "to make them conceive, by the excess of Jesus Christ's sufferings, how terrible God's justice is, and what torments must await a sinner for the punishment of his crimes, since the Son of God had suffered so great pains for the expiation of ours. Then I showed them that the Saviour, the Master of our souls, could not have given us more striking proofs of His love, than by taking upon Himself the burden of our sins, and purchasing for us with all His blood an eternal happiness."

While Millet continued to appeal to the savage mind by using symbols in his teaching, God, he said, offered him many opportunities to bring dreams and devil worship into disrepute. At a feast, to which he had been invited, one of the Onondaga captains arose and began to invoke *Agriskoué*. Immediately Millet stood squarely and in a louder voice pronounced the *Benedicite*. Since this unusual proceeding surprised them all, he added that at the banquets in France it was customary for the priest in attendance to begin with this kind of prayer. From now on they were to pray to the true God, from whom alone they must look for all things. Afterwards, at the close of the feast, he said grace; no one dared to interrupt him. After that they understood that to invite him to a feast was to invite him to make the prayer.

To banish all the commerce that was held with the Demon at Onondaga, Millet resolved to declaim strongly against their foolish and superstitious beliefs in dreams. In a council of the elders which he himself had assembled, the following oration was delivered: "My brothers, you are not ignorant that what your dreams order you to do is often very impious and very abominable. Is there anything more execrable than all your indecent feasts and those where the rule of eating everything is followed, where excesses are committed which often cause

you fits of sickness? Can these be held by the orders of a good Spirit? It is clear that the author of so many crimes must be very wicked. One needs only to know what God is, to judge that He forbids our doing evil, so contrary to reason and so prejudicial to the public good. It is not God, then, who speaks to you in your dreams, but rather some Demon of Hell who seduces you; and if that is so, why are you so blind as to obey him? Is it the Demon who made you? Is it he who is the Master of your lives? Is it he who destines you for eternal happiness if you obey him? Is it not the true God who has all these qualities? And why, then, do you choose to destroy yourselves by submitting to the former, rather than save yourselves by obeying the latter? If a child dreamed in his sleep that he must kill his father and mother, would you tell me that God, who has created you, was the author of that dream? Would you not hold him in horror? Would a father wish to kill his child, and would a mother consent to stifle him when she brings him into the world, because she had dreamed of doing it? It is clear, then, that to obey one's dream is a folly, if we dream extravagant things; and that it is a crime, if the things we dream are criminal."

After delivering this daring speech, Millet went to the chapel, while the elders held a long conference on the subject of dreams. Finally Millet was summoned and Garakontié, the Captain-general of the nation, speaking in the name of all the others, told him that the elders were thoroughly convinced of his line of reasoning. All promised that henceforth there would be no more impure feasts, no more excesses in eating and drinking, and that in the games, dances, and public assemblies, in fishing and in hunting, there would be no further talk of dreams. To give Millet assurance of the sincerity of their promises, they gave him a present of a porcelain collar, which he gladly received, and then offered to God as the pledge of the conversion of the people of Onondaga.

At the conclusion of this meeting, he writes in his letter: "It is impossible to express the joy that I felt at so great a victory as the faith had just won over infidelity. It is not that I have not still every reason to fear lest these things have been more easily resolved upon than they will be excuted,—both because there is no government here, as there is in



France, to make private individuals obey the resolutions of a council; and because our savages experience much difficulty in forgetting entirely their ancient customs. As, moreover, they are commonly inconstant and faithless in their promises, I need all the prayers of holy and zealous persons for the salvation of souls, in order to obtain for them from God the firmness necessary to keep them from falling back into their old habits."

Since Millet had been so successful in his council with the elders, and since the people were becoming more aware of the truth of Christ's teachings, he decided at once to declare himself openly against the medicine-men. One day he entered a cabin where twelve of these sorcerers were gathered around a man who had only a very slight earache. They took into their mouths a certain mysterious water, and blew it violently over the sick man's cheeks and temples. The chief of this band then ordered them to throw some of this water on the poor man's head and hair, and even on the mat where he was lying. Everything had to be sprinkled to drive away the demon of the disease in this savage's ear. The medicine-men told Millet that two little demons had already come out of the man's ear, and now only one was left, who was more obstinate than the others.

"That is wonderful," Millet said to them, "and I would be very glad to see the third one come out; so go on urging him, for I wish to be spectator of so prodigious a cure. For a long time I have been curious to see the exit of one of these unclean spirits that, as you say, torment the sick people of Canada; for thank God, they are not so mischievous in France. But I assure you that I shall be so watchful for the exit of these demons, which you say have bodies and are visible, that this one will be unable to escape my scrutiny." He continues in a letter: "I know not whether those impostors saw that I was making fun of them and I was not ignorant of their tricks, but they appeared to me so disconcerted and confused that they could not recover themselves."

While Millet continued to urge them to finish this marvelous operation which was to put the devil to flight, he also exposed their usual trick: in their mouths was a little stone, or a bit of iron, leather, or bone. These impostors would suck hard at

the part of the body where the ailment was located and would then say that they had successfully extracted what they had in their mouths—which they spat out before the eyes of the sick man, declaring that this was a veritable demon, which was the cause of his pain.

Millet was now faced by some very embarrassed people. Some of them said it was time for them to go and pray; others begged him to go to his chapel to pray for the health of the sick man; some even said they would become Christians immediately, just to get rid of him. But he would not leave the cabin until each and everyone confessed in person that he was an impostor. Finally they were forced to confess that the third demon was no longer there and even before they had cured him, the sick man was well.

### Early Successes

Now that Millet, by the grace of God, had so successfully destroyed all confidence in the medicine-men, dreams and *Agriskoué*, the entire mission of St. John the Baptist at Onondaga appeared to be in a good condition for the pious celebration of Christmas. To pass this holy day with all solemnity, he adorned the chapel as well as he could and prepared a throne for Jesus Christ, in order that He might, at the moment of His birth, receive there the homage of these new subjects, who were to worship Him in that place. "Towards midnight," Millet writes, "Christians of both sexes paid Him their devotion, while I proceeded to sing some motets in their language, and ring the bell, to awaken the people all through the village and invite them to come to the chapel. The throng was great all the morning, and the elders attended in a body to honor the Son of God by their respects and homage. 'We come,' said one of them at the chapel door, 'to salute and worship Jesus who has just been born.'

"It seems to me that I was not among savages and barbarians but rather in the midst of a country of Christians—so much piety and devotion did I remark in the people. All the confessions that I heard before and after the Christmas Festival, the holy Sacrament of the Eucharist which I had administered, and the marriages that I had happily performed

anew; the docility with which our savages listen to me, even on the subject of their errors and superstitions; their assiduity in attending prayers and lessons; the charity and zeal of some, which prompted them to go into the outlying cabins to exhort the sick to pray to God—all these acts and this air of piety made me see the image, so to speak, of the fervor and devotion of the first Christians.”

In spite of all his success on this mission, Father Millet, like many other Jesuit missionaries, always felt that if he had been more conversant with their language, he could have accomplished so much more for God. When the people reproached him for not making himself sufficiently understood, he received these kind admonitions as so many proofs of the little that he was contributing on his part to all the good that God was working in the spread of his mission. “O my soul,” he complained, “when wilt thou know how to speak of God as He ought to be spoken of; and when wilt thou be so penetrated with the truths of the faith that thou wilt have no further difficulty in suggesting to me words capable of conveying, at the same time, both the light of the faith into the minds of the savages, and the fire of charity into their hearts.”

During the winter months that followed Christmas Millet describes the return of a war-party with several captives, and the tortures that were inflicted upon them. After comforting and instructing these captives, he succeeded in baptizing them. “I told them that, since they were ready to depart from this life, it was a part of my duty to procure for them one that should be eternally happy; and that this happiness was so great that I would, in order to procure it for them, very willingly suffer the same torments . . . What I desired with the most passion in the world was to die, even in the flames, while working for their salvation.”

With the return of the young warriors the people at Onondaga once again resorted to drunkenness, debauchery, and superstitions. “Even the Elders, who ought to use all the authority that their age and experience gave them, for keeping these young men in order, often encouraged these disorderly habits in them, by either flattering the evil or conniving at it; and what is still more deplorable, some have not this year main-

tained, when the occasions arose, all the fidelity that they have solemnly promised me."

Millet notified all the elders to assemble in his cabin where he reprimanded them for their weakness and infidelity, but he did not obtain much satisfaction. "However great my sorrow at seeing an evil so universal, and so dangerous to the salvation of these poor souls, I try to console myself with this thought, that the more obstacles there shall be found here to Christianity, the more work also will there be to do; and God crowns a missionary's hardships and cares rather than his successes."

Despite the corruption and idolatry that continued to prevail at Onondaga many retained their innocence and love for prayer, particularly Garakontié, who was highly esteemed for his ability as leader of his tribe; his piety, and friendship for the French. Towards the end of his letter Millet states: "This mission is the least difficult of all those among the Iroquois, and the only regret that I have in regard to it is that I do not find here those opportunities to suffer for God which I had persuaded myself I was to encounter."

### Triumph at Oneida

After four years of apostolic labors at Onondaga, 1668-1672, Millet was assigned to the more arduous Mission of St. Francis Xavier at Oneida, while Father Jean de Lamberville succeeded him at Onondaga. In his first letter to Father Claude Dablon, the newly appointed Superior-General of the Missions in New France, Millet relates that he baptized only those whom he considered best prepared and who might contribute most toward the advancement of the Church. "The majority of the men have not the same simplicity or docility in matters of faith, or the courage to give up their vices and the superstitions of the country, in which they have been nurtured. But there is hope that the children, who here remain a long time under their mothers' wings, will be habituated with them to the duties of Christianity; and that before long, there will be a well-ordered church here in spite of intemperance and the other vices of the country."

On January 21, 1674 Millet took advantage of a lunar

eclipse to expose the false claims of the medicine-men. At the beginning of the new moon, he challenged them to predict when the eclipse would occur. When all of these sorcerers confessed their ignorance about such matters, Millet presented this argument: "But, why are you ignorant of what happens up there—you who say that your souls come down from the sky? Cannot you even predict a thing that is revealed in nature? Are you, who know fabulous stories so well, who relate such extraordinary things about the sun and the moon, who take these objects for divinities, and offer them tobacco to obtain success in war and hunting—are you, I say, not aware when one or the other is eclipsed?" After Millet made them admit their ignorance several times, he then announced that the eclipse of the moon would occur on Monday night, January 21.

Fortunately, the sky was clear that evening. As soon as the eclipse began, the medicine-men rushed to Millet's cabin. "The eclipse," he announced, "will increase and barely one-twelfth of the moon will remain visible. Then it will reappear entirely and will be at such a spot in the sky for it continues to advance; and just as you now see it gradually growing smaller, so will you see it grow larger in the same proportion." As they watched the celestial activity that night, every detail of the missionary's "prophecy" was verified. With one voice they admitted to Millet that he was a wiser man than they. "For my part," he said, "I derived great benefit from this in instructing them and undeceiving them about their myths and superstitions. Such perceptible things have a much greater effect on their small minds than would all the reasoning that could be brought to bear upon them."

After two years on this mission among the Oneidas Millet noted that the marriages, which, among savages, were dissolved on the slightest disagreement between husband and wife, were now becoming more stable. The worship of *Agriskoué* had greatly diminished; many were no longer so attached to their dreams; all the people declared themselves much more boldly in favor of the faith than they would have done in the past. "These favorable tendencies," he wrote, "lead me to hope that in a few years the majority of the

Iroquois of Oneida will have embraced Christianity. Drunkenness for which all these poor savages have a great weakness is probably the sole obstacle that now hinders their conversion."

What greatly contributed toward the advancement of the faith was the Confraternity of the Holy Family which Millet established at the Mission of St. Francis Xavier in 1675. Only those were admitted who showed themselves commendable through their piety and their devotion in practicing the duties of Christianity; through their zeal in having their children baptized and instructed; through their charity toward their neighbor; through the courage that they displayed in contending against superstitions and in resisting the evil customs of the country.

Perhaps the greatest triumph Millet obtained in Oneida was the conversion of Garonhiae, Hot Ashes, who was publicly baptized with his wife and then their marriage was solemnized by the Church. After receiving the sacrament of penance and the Holy Eucharist, he became a catechist and preacher, devoting most of his time to an unrelenting war against drunkenness. On one occasion, after returning from a hunting trip, he came across a number of his tribe in the woods, carousing around a kettle of brandy, and all gloriously drunk. Since he could not reprove them, because of the presence of some old chiefs in the party, he pretended to be intoxicated and began to dance around the kettle, singing, shouting and staggering, and finally upsetting it. Everyone thought it was an accident and laughed at his clumsiness, and then rolled over and went to sleep. Garonhiae heard two Masses every day, and never passed the chapel without entering to pray. He would even abandon the hunt to travel long distances to be present at Oneida for Christmas and Holy Week. Several other notable men in the village were animated with this same fervor, which helped to increase the faith of the people in this mission.

### Deception at Fort Frontenac

While Millet was laboring at Oneida, the Marquis de Denonville, Governor of New France, decided to convoke the Iroquois

at Fort Frontenac on the northern shore of Lake Ontario. Since the Recollect Fathers who were working at the Fort did not know the Iroquois language, de Denonville decided to invite Father Millet to act as a faithful interpreter. Happy to cooperate with what he fancied was a treaty of peace, Millet repaired to Fort Frontenac with a party of Oneidas. When all the Iroquois delegates arrived at the fort, Millet saw them manacled and then sent away to the galleys in France. Never did he dream that he was to be associated with such an infamous betrayal of his Indian friends. They could have but one thought now—that he had cooperated with de Denonville in this shameful act. Millet felt that his influence with the Oneidas was gone forever, and that his missionary career was at an end.

For the next three years, 1685-1688, Millet remained as chaplain at Fort Frontenac. When his good friend Father Jean de Lamberville was stricken with scurvy, he took his place at Fort Denonville,<sup>3</sup> arriving there on Good Friday, 1688. It was probably on that day that he erected the wooden cross in the center of the enclosure in commemoration of the eighty-eight ill-fated members of this garrison who died from starvation and scurvy because de Denonville<sup>4</sup> failed to provide them with the necessary and proper provisions for the winter months. When Millet arrived at the fort with his rescue party there were only twelve survivors. Before the cross which he had erected he said Mass and blessed the monument, upon which were written the words *Regnat, Vincit, Imperat Christus*. On September 15, 1688 by order of the Marquis de Denonville the palisades of the fort were demolished, the French withdrew, and for a time at least Fort Denonville passed out of history. Father Millet returned to Fort Frontenac.

### Captivity

In June, 1689 while he was engaged in his work as chaplain of the fort, some Iroquois Indians presented themselves at the gate with a flag of truce, informing the garrison that peace had been concluded. Millet and Surgeon St. Amand, the physician of the post, were invited to come and assist the sick

and wounded Iroquois Christians. It was a suspicious invitation, but was accepted; the priest and the doctor walked out of the palisade. The surgeon was taken to the cabin of the patients whom he was to attend, and Millet to that of the sachems and chiefs, where, as he relates, "two of the strongest fellows, who had been selected to arrest me, sprang on me, seized me by the arms, and took away my breviary and everything else I had about me, leaving me only my trousers. Everyone addressed reproaches of one kind or another for always having been very much opposed to the Iroquois; but Chief Manchot of Oneida told me to fear nothing, that the Christians of Oneida whom I had baptized would preserve my life. I needed this support, because the English, it is said, had tried me and already burnt me in effigy for having, as they supposed, betrayed the Iroquois delegates four years ago at the suggestion of de Denonville.

"But as soon as this chief left to join three hundred Iroquois of all the tribes who planned to make a surprise attack on Fort Frontenac, the other sachems and chiefs began to maltreat me; some wished to burn me on the spot; I was rescued from them, and then others threw me into the water and trampled me underfoot. While they were making the attack on the fort, I was tied to a sapling on the banks of the lake, and afterwards, when the attack on the fort had failed, I was untied from the sapling and put bareheaded into a canoe to take me, in company with three or four hundred Iroquois, to an island two leagues below Fort Frontenac, where they awaited the main body of the Iroquois army of 1,400 men.

"It was there that I was received with great shouts by the Upper Iroquois, who lined the whole shore to see me bound and brought as it were in triumph. Some rushed into the water to receive me as the canoe neared the shore, where they made me sing a song, in their fashion, and which they repeated and made me repeat several times for sport: '*Ongienda Kehasakchoua*,' 'I have been taken by my children.' To thank me for my song, a savage struck me with his fist near my eye, leaving the mark of his nails, so that one would think it was the stroke of a knife.

"I was then brought to the cabins of the Oneidas, who pro-



ted me from further insult and made me pray to God by singing the *Veni Creator Spiritus*. Toward evening we dropped down eight leagues below the fort and spent two days there. It was at this place that a woman rendered me an important service by giving me a kind of English cap, because I was bareheaded and often exposed to the rays of the sun, which had affected me greatly. God reward her for her charity which she rendered me so seasonably and with such a good grace.

"From here the army straggled to Otonniata where it remained for three days. There a council of war was held. It was decided that the Iroquois army should pursue its march toward Montreal to commit the terrible massacre of Lachine. But as for me, I was to be conducted to the camp of the Oneidas by two chiefs and thirty men.

"On my journey I was pretty well treated in all the cabins of Oneida. They prepared a mat for me, gave me a share of what they had to eat, but at night they never forgot to put the rope around my neck, feet, and hands, and around my body—for fear they said, lest God should inspire me to escape. But I had no such thought and preferred to die if God willed it at Oneida, which was the place of my former mission, rather than any other place in the world."

Millet finally arrived in Oneida, where some braves wanted to burn him at the stake, for it was their custom to give that kind of welcome to the first prisoner of war who was brought into the camp. He describes it thus: "It was the eve of St. Lawrence's day, and all the morning I had been preparing myself, as well as I could, for whatever might befall me, and to endure the fire, if need be, in imitation of that great saint." When the sachems had assembled, they summoned Millet, and one sachem, after saluting him in Indian fashion, tried to strike him in the face three times. As his arms were free, he thrice parried almost without reflection.

When the Indian had desisted, they made Father Millet sit down near the sachems. Then Chief Manchot, who had previously consoled him with the thought that the Christians of Oneida would preserve his life, addressed the sachems insisting that Millet did not come as prisoner, but as a mission-

ary to revisit his flock. He recommended that the missionary be taken to the council cabin and put at the disposal of the *agoinaders*, the people who managed the affairs of the country, and not at the disposal of the soldiery and people. After a long consultation the sachems decided that Millet's fate would be settled when the warriors returned from Lachine. In the meantime the village was to be his prison and he might visit the cabins to console the sick and the dying.

Finally the warriors returned from Lachine, where one of their leading chiefs had been killed. Since they were not satisfied with the prisoners they had brought with them, they demanded Father Millet, who would have to burn to atone for the death of their chief. As he sat before the council with the other three prisoners, his face was painted red and black and then he was denounced as a traitor who had caused the Iroquois to be seized at Fort Frontenac. While they were examining his case, he had time to hear the confessions of his comrades in misfortune and give them absolution. Two of them were burned, and he could only commend himself to the providence and mercy of God.

Through the influence of the notable Christians at Oneida, Millet's life was spared. After being initiated into their tribe, and saluted with grandiose speeches, he was given the Indian name of *Otasseté*. By the bestowal of this name he actually became a sachem of the Oneida tribe. In thanksgiving to God, he built a chapel, which he appropriately dedicated to our dying Lord, *Christus moriturus*.

The English were greatly displeased with this decision and made repeated efforts to induce the Oneidas to surrender Millet to them; but the savages refused to do so, and thus Millet was able to exert a strong influence for French interests against the English. He continued his apostolic labors at Oneida until the autumn of 1694 when he returned to Montreal. Little is known of his subsequent life, but we do know that for a time he was at Lorette ministering to the Christian Iroquois settled among the French. In February, 1697 a band of Oneidas came to live at Montreal and asked that Millet might be assigned to them as missionary. Charlevoix, an instructor at the college of Quebec during the years 1705-1709,

mentions that he lived several years with Millet, which would seem to indicate that our missionary spent his last years at Quebec, where he died on December 31, 1708.

### Symbolism of the Millet Cross

As we glance back over the life of Father Pierre Millet, we are struck by the obvious fact that he suffered for Christ. He was falsely accused by the English and Iroquois of having cooperated with the Marquis de Denonville in the infamous betrayal of the Indian delegates at Fort Frontenac. He suffered insult, injury, and near burning at the stake. If we add to all this the ordinary natural hardships that this refined, intelligent priest had to suffer by merely living with savages, whose customs and way of life were far different from those to which he had been accustomed, then we can realize why he was so devoted to Jesus crucified. In His honor he built and dedicated the chapel of *Christus moriturus*; and on Good Friday, 1668 he erected and blessed a wooden cross within Fort Denonville to invoke God's mercy for the plague-stricken garrison.

On Memorial Day in 1926, when the Millet Cross was erected by the Knights of Columbus on the shores of Lake Ontario, the Rev. Peter F. Cusick, President of Canisius College, related the history of the cross and its adoption by Christians as a symbol. "The cross," he said, "is the most important of Catholic emblems; it symbolizes the redemption of mankind and our holy faith, because Jesus Christ, our Redeemer, died on a cross." After describing the erection of the first cross at the fort by Father Millet, he concluded: "Today, in commemoration of this, we see before us a cross of the Latin form of a most enduring substance; a moment ago it held up the fearless flag of our country; around it were wrapped the red, the white, and the blue; as I looked at it I fancied I saw behind the flag's fold the figure of the God-man Himself; there was the redness of His precious blood, there was the whiteness of His immaculate soul, there was the blueness of His bruised and bleeding body, a true blending, indeed, of patriotism of our flag and of our faith, of our religion and our first allegiance to our country. Pierre Millet, Jesuit priest,

was known to the American Indians as the "Looker-up-to-Heaven"; may the sight of this cross erected today in his memory continue to direct our gaze heavenward, whence all blessings come, for ourselves and our beloved country."<sup>5</sup>

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>One of the Niagara Frontier's most historic points of interest is Fort Niagara, built by the French in 1726, captured by the British in 1759, officially surrendered to the United States in 1796, occupied again by the British during the War of 1812, and finally returned to the United States in 1815. Abandoned for many years, the fort was restored in 1927. In its present state Fort Niagara represents a composite of its appearance during the successive French, British, and American occupations. Thus it provides a cross-section of American colonial history.

In the oldest, largest, and most important building at Old Fort Niagara, known as the "Castle" or French Chateau, is the *Jesuit Chapel*, which was blessed in 1931; here Mass is celebrated from time to time. On June 3, 1951 services were held there for a group of Boy Scouts who were part of a scout encampment at the fort. On either side of the wooden altar and tabernacle are statues of St. Joseph and St. Francis Xavier. The holy water font in the doorway is the original one, a solid concave rock. Actually the name *Jesuit Chapel* is a misnomer, for the only priests who served as chaplains at Fort Niagara were Franciscans.

<sup>2</sup>The excerpts from Millet's letters are taken from the *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, Vols. I, XVII, LI-LXV, LXXI.

<sup>3</sup>Two forts had been built by the French on the same triangular point of land lying between the Niagara River and Lake Ontario, Fort Conti and Fort Denonville. It was at the latter fort that Father Millet erected the cross on Good Friday, 1688.

<sup>4</sup>Claude H. Hultzén, *Old Fort Niagara* (Buffalo: The Holling Press, 1939).

<sup>5</sup>*Buffalo Morning Express*, June 1, 1926, p. 4.

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# HISTORICAL NOTES

## WORK IN HIROSHIMA—THE FULFILLMENT OF A DREAM

Editor's Note: This article is reprinted in part from the May, 1951 issue of *Jesuit Mission News from Japan*. Father Kircher began his missionary work in Japan in 1923 and remained there until 1928. He was then sent to Brazil to work among the Japanese immigrants in the State of Sao Paulo. He returned to Japan after an absence of more than twenty years and was appointed Superior of the District of Hiroshima in January, 1950.

When you hear of Hiroshima, it is mostly of the new hall that serves us so well, or of the Memorial Church to be, or of the Music School with its lively director. There is also the new school of the Okayama Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, overlooking the whole town, Misasa with its rapidly growing Christianity, Hikari no Sono teeming with children cared for by a new Japanese Sisterhood, Gion the flourishing new parish just outside the city, and last . . . Nagatsuka, the Jesuit Novitiate, rather lonely now since the departure of the tertians and the juniors, but dreaming of the new boarders, candidates for the priesthood, who are to take their place.

Much could be said about each and every work, and its steady progress. However, what I want to speak of . . . is something that is indeed also to be found in Hiroshima, but is no less present and making itself felt at every mission station of the Vicariate: it is *the* work of the missionary, the work of conversion, that for which we have come out here and for which all the rest is only the preparation and the setting.

Let me say it . . . at the beginning: never in my life in the Society have I lived so satisfied as I do now. It is only now that I am fully employed in the things for which the Society took such care to educate and train me. Very rarely you read in missionary magazines of the work that every missionary has most at heart. It would seem to be a sort of shyness that makes the missionaries speak of their travels, of church construction, of schools, of statistics, etc., leaving out the core of it all, or giving only a general view, hinting rather than stating expressly what it all means and stands for.

You may call it the teaching of catechism, but I would call it the opening of the floodgates for the streams of a new life to pour into the hearts of people who feel, as it were, dried up and parched in the routine of a daily struggle for things that do not satisfy them, even if they were successful in that struggle. "Every scribe instructed in the Kingdom of Heaven is a householder who bringeth forth out of his treasure new things and old." That is what I feel like when I talk to these young people, and many a time I realize what a treasure I do have, seeing with what eagerness and satisfaction over the fulfillment of a long cherished desire the simplest things of our teaching are being received. By their questions and their whole attitude you notice how an article has a meaning of which you never thought because it went without saying, and how it fulfills a need you yourself never felt.

There are those who come to us with a faith all ready, without knowing what they are to believe. Something has told them that what they are going to hear is the truth, and they listen like one whom you introduce into a beautiful mansion with a splendid park, telling him that all this will be his from now on. Sometimes you notice in their faces an expression as if they had seen all this in a dream, and there is a light in their eyes when they realize that the dream has come true. With charming reverence they put their questions to make sure that it is really as they understood it. If, as Father Brunner puts it, faith is the gift to see things as God sees them, and to love them as God loves them, then these simple-minded people come to you to learn how God sees and how God loves, in order that they may put themselves in harmony with Him.

But there are others who come to your room brought to this tremendous step by a friend who has received that wonderful treasure, but who is as yet, all by himself, unable to share it with others . . .

### Difficulties of the Work

You see immediately that these people are out to seek the treasure, but full of doubt whether they can find it at a mission station so tiny and inconspicuous among the things that have surrounded them from the day of their birth. They did

not find there what they wanted: should it be possible to find it at this unsightly place about which they have heard so many distasteful things, such as narrowness, foreign spirit, womanish sentimentality and so forth? It costs them a lot to come and sit down before you to listen. They show by their looks that they are resolved not to make it easy for you to convince them; they want the real thing and are on their guard not to be duped. Any seeming slip they will point out, reminding you that it is no use trying to make them believe things they do not understand. And behind all this the earnest desire to have the truth which they have in vain tried to find in so many other ways.

As soon as they come to suspect that truth is something absolute and not relative, something that inexorably excludes anything different, you notice in them a certain hostility, hidden behind good manners, but apparent in their eyes, the tone of their voice and the slightly sarcastic color of their speech. Here it is that the mere intellectual arguing enters on moral grounds. The moment they feel that there is no escape logically, they take refuge sometimes in the most ridiculous irrationalism. You see it is the fear to be bound to something, to lose their freedom, though it be truth that is to bind them. They are not prepared to let themselves be tied down to something, whatever it may be, clinging murderously to their concept of absolute freedom as the thing that must be lost on no account. They feel that they lose their human dignity the moment they submit themselves interiorly, even if it is the working of their own reason that seems to compel them to it.

I have had a number of solipsists among my hearers. One is ready to doubt his own existence, another seeks to save himself by a resolute act of the will to stop thinking when he foresees that the conclusions will endanger his freedom as he understands it. One told me clearly that, even admitting the existence of God, he could not see his way to submitting to Him without injuring himself. Even an appeal to common sense is sometimes ineffective, because it is too common. When things have come to such a pass, it is better to break off, talk of other things and give them a week's time to fight it out with themselves.

There are even violent reactions against implacable logic. One student returning home from his catechism class packed up his things and with a bag full of books left home during the school term, without his parents' or school authorities' knowledge. Only to one of his companions at the catechism class he opened his heart: "I am going away to an aunt I have in the country. There I shall read books to forget all about what the Father told us. It doesn't matter if I go to hell (I had not mentioned hell as yet), but to the church I shall never go again." When his weekly catechism was due, it was he who, though a little shamefacedly, turned up first.

The "Kontingenzerlebnis," as they call it, is the first stage to be reached when teaching the fundamentals of our religion. The more sincere the young men are, the harder the struggle. But even when they submit to the inevitable, there is still a long way to go up to the practical comprehension of the end of man or Matthew 10:39. It is the jump into the glorious objectivity of the Church with God as the center that has to be risked. Once that has been done, the rest is plain sailing. I am afraid I have in the foregoing lines too much typified my own catechism students. They are all different, and the work is all the more interesting for that.

### Missionary Work and the Society

I feel that the Society has not given me too much, I feel that what I have by way of knowledge and religious life, all has to be invoked and thrown into the battle to meet the situation, that less would mean less efficiency, as our American friends say, in a work that is, if not the most urgent, certainly the most sublime, the one most according to the Heart of our Saviour, certainly one of the principal functions of the Church: directly to overcome unbelief and do what is necessary to carry out what we ask for in the first three petitions of the Our Father.

You may say what you like, all the other works the Society is undertaking are nothing but the scaffolding to this building, nothing but a necessary adaptation to the times when people are so utterly lost in the things of this world; they are no more than meeting them on their own ground to



show that we are not altogether of another world. But the sublime end of all this is, to bring the priest of the Society face to face with the tremendous struggle the individual soul has to go through to overcome its paganism, and to help with all the means the Society has given us that the grace of God may be victorious in that soul.

If the Society is called to do something extraordinary, if St. Ignatius wants us to distinguish ourselves, here it is. No other task in all the wide field of the Society's works requires such an amount of those higher qualities which the Society prizes so highly, as to battle with the devil in his manifold disguises, and to plant by direct influence the Kingdom of Heaven in the individual soul . . . When doing other work in the Society I have always felt that I could do something better, that my education qualified me for something far more important. When teaching catechism to pagans, I feel that I can do no better, that if I had much more knowledge and were much more of a "personality," it would still not be enough to do the work as it ought to be done. In teaching catechism to pagans I have the assurance that nothing is wasted of whatever a lifetime in the Society has given me.

When you get your catechism students to pray to the God they have found, when you begin to notice how grace is at work in them, in a different way in each but with the same result in all, viz. that they are all united in a living faith which is far beyond what you could ever have given them,—it is then that you feel you have been doing God's work, that He made use of your brains, your heart and your tongue to draw them to Himself. To be thus employed is the glorious dream of those who have come and ever will come to heathen lands as missionaries.

EMIL KIRCHER, S.J.

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### EXPANSION AT REGIS COLLEGE

Regis College, like many institutions, has been forced by increased enrollment to expand its physical facilities. The latest plant addition is a modern classroom building. It is a one-story edifice, a style of school architecture which is

becoming increasingly popular in this western country. Other considerations operated in favor of this type of structure. It saves space that is taken up by stair wells; it obviates the need and the expense of fire escapes; lowers the rate of insurance and the cost of maintenance and simplifies problems of discipline. This kind of building is not practical for schools which, owing to their location, must climb into the air when they plan expansion, but Regis, though it lacks much, is blessed with a campus of over one hundred acres.

The new classroom building embodies some unique features and, hence, a description of it may be interesting to readers of the WOODSTOCK LETTERS.

It is laid out in the form of a square "U" with an overall length of three hundred and eighty feet. Its width varies between sixty feet and sixty-eight feet so that its total floor space is a trifle under 25,000 square feet. The structural steel framework is enclosed on the outside by mottled Harvard brick. The interior walls are all of glazed ceramic tile of pastel shades, and two kinds of the latter are found in each classroom. The walls on the corridor side are uniformly of a soft buff gray; the other three walls are of a cool-looking pea green in rooms upon which the sun plays directly, warm cream in the others, for example, those that open to the north. Such tiles are costly but they seem to be a good investment when balanced against the expense of metal lathing, plaster, paint and maintenance; they can take hard usage and are cleanable with a damp cloth. One might expect that such hard, smooth material would toss the voice about with freedom and abandon, but the soundproof ceiling and the asphalt tile floor operate to make the acoustics perfect. With the exception of pilasters which encase the steel I beams at twenty foot intervals the external walls of all the rooms are of glass set in aluminum frames sixteen feet long and eight feet one inch in height. The two lower panels of the windows are of clear glass, the upper four panels are sky blue. This latter eliminates glare and since the blue is the complementary color of sunshine, the light comes through white. With such an arrangement the initial cost of installing curtains or venetian blinds is saved and so is the expense of maintaining them—no small item.

The building is heated by a small gas boiler which is oper-



Bricklayers from Baltimore pitch in after work hours and build the walls for the home of Mr. John Ernest Berry. Here Father Kavanagh, Mr. Scanlon Herbert and Mr. Berry watch the work.



Bricklayers working on a nearby high school join with St. Joseph's Welfare Club workers at Morganza, Md. The bricklayers are Vic Princes, Joe Maroni, Dominic and Joe Maggio.

ated automatically, thus saving fireman's wages. There are five zones, each taken care of by one coil of the boiler and this permits heating the whole building or any part of it. A clock regulates the night heat at 50° and a day temperature of 70°. A tunnel in which are located all pipes encircles the whole building.

The new classroom structure has been in use since its dedication in October, 1951 and has proved eminently satisfactory. So far no defects have been revealed—a happy circumstance in these days of uncertainty.

RAPHAEL C. MCCARTHY, S.J.

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### FATHER KAVANAGH'S MIRACLE

"Johnny, why don't you get married?"

"How can I, Father? I don't make enough to feed myself. How could I build a home that would house a wife and family?"

That was how the housing problem hit Father Michael Kavanagh, pastor of St. Joseph's Church, Morganza, Md. Johnny was a twenty-eight year old Negro of his parish. Father Kavanagh wondered what could be done. He knew that Johnny was typical of many Negro youths of marriageable age who were getting a mere pittance for full days of work as farm laborers. Clearly the cost of homes was muffling wedding bells. And if wedding bells did ring, the problem got worse, not better. There was Mr. B., for example, with his wife and eight children in a little four-room shack. What chance for a decent family life had he? And what chance had he for a better home? His house and the land on which it stood were owned by the man for whom he worked. And he received only seven dollars a week for full time work on the owner's farm. The family of ten couldn't live on that, so his wife worked for the owner also. She made four dollars a week. While she worked the twins took turns staying home from the third grade to mind the children.

Yet, when Mr. B. learned that the owner of the farm had sold \$10,000 worth of tobacco one year, and asked him to add another room to the house, he was told, "With the price of lumber so high, I won't be able to do it."

"It is a big problem all right," Father Kavanagh mused. Here he was in the country where nature was abundant and land everywhere. And these people had a right to a portion of this world's goods, at least enough to live, enough to enable them to marry, enough to enable them to hope someday to own a piece of land, a little home with some ordinary comforts in it, a suit of clothes, and at least one full meal a day. They needed that much to lead a decent Christian life!

But the problem wouldn't be solved easily. If a man by skimping and saving did get a home, he was usually swamped by relatives who had no home. They would move in with him and living conditions would again become impossible. The solution had to reach the whole group. But what is a priest going to do? How was he going to save the souls of people who can't marry and live decently? Almost a miracle was needed! Father Kavanagh turned to Johnny and said, "We must pray to St. Joseph to help us with this problem. He is a good helper in jobs that look too big, especially where the sheltering of a Christian family is involved."

### Foundation of the Welfare Club

That's what Father Kavanagh and his people did four years ago. They prayed. They knew nothing about housing when they began, but they formed the St. Joseph's Welfare Club. Every member of the club was interested in housing. To join it you had to put down a \$50.00 deposit and agree to donate your labor for building homes. The club guaranteed you a home to cost between \$500.00 and \$1,000.00 in all. Thirty members joined, and after the purchase of second hand material from homes that were being torn down, work began. All the members worked. Within a year twelve four-room wooden houses were built. They had no cellar, no electricity, no running water, but they were homes owned by the families on their own land and they were all paid for within the year. All thirty members had worked on all the homes and the intolerable situation in the parish was improving. The Welfare Club was getting out of low gear.

The club set up its own cement-block factory that produced one block a minute. Four stone homes were planned but the project was cancelled when the home of Leroy Butler was

half built. It was clear that the blocks were not set straight, so they were removed down to the foundation and the house was finished in wood. The project was cancelled because the cement blocks proved unworkable and because an unbelievable opportunity had arisen.

A large tract of land of 115 acres near the church was put up for sale. But there was no money, and, when the club first heard of it, there was not even a dream of buying it. Yet Father Kavanagh still had fifty-three men of marriageable age who needed homes and he had fifteen young couples and several older couples living in inhuman conditions. "Pray," he told them, "let's pray that we get that land."

That was what he said four months ago. Now he says, "It's almost a miracle. Four months ago we had nothing. Today we have the land, and the club is going ahead in high gear. St. Joseph came through all right."

Prayer, enthusiasm and elbow grease had finally paid off and the members of the Welfare Club sat down to the first board of directors meeting of their new Incorporated Club to divide their land into two to five acre home-sites. Mr. Scanlon Herbert, spark-plug and leader of the club from its first days, and the father of twelve children, was elected president of the Incorporated Club.

### Publicity Helps a Miracle

By this time publicity on what the club had already done had helped the project. After *Jesuit Missions* carried a write-up, the N.C.W.C. (National Catholic Welfare Conference) News Service released a dispatch on the housing project. The *Washington Star* featured a four-column article with pictures and the United Press carried the news to the world. From this publicity, gifts totalling \$1,500.00 in cash came to the club. One donor sent an ice box. Another sent a bedroom suite. But the prize gift was a pair of mammoth Belgian work horses donated by Major General Howard B. Davidson, Air Force Officer, whose Cremona Farms, famous for its Angus cattle, is near Morganza. The horses are already at work clearing the land and hauling logs to the mill where they will be cut for building. Tell W. Nicolet, city planner and architect, has generously donated his services to lay out the development.

But, of course, those donations don't solve the financial problem. Homes have yet to be built. The club plans to build cinder-block houses 25' x 32', one story high. The home with its plot of land will be paid for at the rate of one dollar a week for twenty years. Father Kavanagh hopes that three houses will be built this year. The homes will be wired for electricity.

The cinder-block home of Mr. "Snack" Berry is already built. This incident illustrates Father Kavanagh's magical power of arousing stirring enthusiasm. When difficulties developed in keeping the walls in true line, Father Kavanagh and Mr. Scanlon Herbert drove over to nearby Baneker Public High School where a new building was going up. They asked help from the entire crew of bricklayers. "Sure," they said, "we will be glad to help." Vic Princes, the foreman, Joe Marone, Dominic and Joe Maggio finished their work at the high school that day, then jumped in their old auto and drove over to the Berry home. "Just tell us where to put the doors and windows," they said. The walls went up true! Another difficulty had become an achievement.

I visited the home of Mrs. Marie Marshall owned by the Welfare Club. I watched Mr. Scanlon Herbert and Father Kavanagh try to estimate the value of the home in which this widow has lived for the past twenty-five years, a home which was never completed in all that time, and which she had never before had a chance to own. Now at last, she was able to purchase a home and land on an easy long-term basis from the club, the new owner of the place.

Things were looking up for Father Kavanagh and his people and they had every reason to be happy. The problem was well on the way to a semi-miraculous solution. Father Kavanagh's hopes are growing. Some Caucasian families have inquired about home-sites. He hopes that they too will come and live in St. Joseph's new settlement. He hopes to place a statue of St. Joseph in a small roadside park along the highway, as an act of gratitude for his help, and also that motorists can pull in, have a bite to eat, and say a prayer to the Saint who helps Christian families even when the help requires a miracle.

RICHARD T. MCSORLEY, S.J.



**BAGHDAD COLLEGE**

Baghdad College, situated on the banks of the Tigris in Sulaikh, a suburb of Baghdad, is conducted by the American Jesuits of the New England Province. It was founded in 1932 under the auspices of the Iraq American Educational Association, which was incorporated in Washington, D. C., on April 9, 1932, its Directors being the Presidents of the following eight American Jesuit Colleges and Universities: Georgetown University, Boston College, Holy Cross College, Loyola University (Chicago), St. Louis University, University of San Francisco, University of Detroit and Loyola University (New Orleans). The Iraq American Educational Association in Baghdad was likewise formed in accordance with the Law of Associations in Iraq and was approved by the Minister of Interior in the first part of 1934.

In 1930, following upon the request of the Iraqi Catholic hierarchy, who were unable to extend the educational system under their direction beyond the primary grades, the Rev. Edmund A. Walsh, Regent of the School of Foreign Service of Georgetown University, was sent to Iraq to survey the educational scene and to treat with the Iraqi Government concerning the opening of a secondary school. With the permission of the Minister of Education the school opened its doors to Iraqi youth on September 26, 1932. Of some 300 students who applied for admission, 103 were accepted as qualified, and were divided among the fifth and sixth primary classes, and the first and second year of high school. The primary classes were only a temporary arrangement and were dropped within two years as the students passed up into the high school department.

For the first year, the faculty was made up of four men from the Provinces of New England, New York, Chicago, and California, assisted by four Iraqis. The four men from America were: Very Rev. William A. Rice, President; Rev. J. Edward Coffey, Principal; Rev. Edward F. Madaras, Administrator; and Rev. John A. Mifsud, Librarian. All four carried a full schedule of teaching in addition.

During the first two years, three rented houses in the center of Baghdad were used for the school and the faculty dwelling.

In 1934 the school and residence were moved to Sulaikh, some twenty minutes' drive north of the center of the city, where a twenty-five acre tract of land fronting on the Tigris had been purchased as a permanent site for the school. Conveniently, a very large house, sufficient to accommodate both students and faculty, was available in the neighborhood. Since it had been vacant for a long time, it was in a sad condition, but a summer's hard work turned it into a fine school and residence.

### Early Building

In 1936 ground was broken by Father Rice for the erection of the first building, a combination administration and classroom building containing seven classrooms, a laboratory, library, offices, and other necessary rooms. In the same year the enrollment went down to 86 students (from 132 the year before) because of complications arising out of the Military Conscription Law, which provided that students attending schools where no Iraqi Government School Certificate was required would not be exempt from military conscription. Thereafter the necessary certificate was required of each new student, and the enrollment began to climb again. Students previously enrolled had to take the Government Primary Examination and secure a certificate.

In 1938 the new administration and classroom building was occupied, and the room thus set free in the rented building was used to accommodate twenty-three boarders in the newly opened boarding department. An additional residence was rented as faculty headquarters. In the next year need for more space made it necessary to erect a combination faculty residence and boarders' quarters. The old rented building on the river front was falling into ruins. During the course of construction it was decided to make the new building large enough to accommodate the whole Jesuit faculty, so that the building rented the previous year as faculty quarters could be given up. In 1941 a brick wall some 1,500 yards in length was built around the property in accordance with local custom and necessity. Pre-war prices still prevailed in Baghdad, so that the wall was relatively cheap to build. After the local war in 1941 prices began to soar sky high.

The advent of the war in Iraq halted any further building,

and multiplied the rate of increase in enrollment, both in the day school and in the boarding section. Families which had previously sent their sons to Europe, Egypt, or elsewhere in accordance with long tradition, now felt it wiser to keep them close at hand while hostilities lasted. For lack of space the College was obliged to refuse some applicants. Nevertheless, although the school originally had been planned to accommodate only 200 students, and the dormitory and other facilities only about 30 boarders, by the fall of 1945 over 425 students were enrolled in the high school, of whom more than 70 were boarders. This was accomplished by dividing the assembly hall into three classrooms, by building a temporary one-story annex of six classrooms in the summer of 1945, and by renting two houses in the immediate neighborhood to care for the overflow of faculty members and boarding students.

### Post-War Construction

In 1946 it became necessary to provide additional classroom space to take care of the increasing enrollment, and in the summer of that year another annex of six classrooms was constructed. Prices in Iraq having climbed to about five times pre-war prices, nothing more ambitious in the building line could be attempted at that time. The expected fall in post-war prices had not taken place.

Three years later another combination faculty residence and boarders' dormitory was built to provide necessary space for sixteen of the faculty and thirty-two boarders. Thus the two rented houses, which had become inadequate and which were demanded by their owners, were given up. In 1950 a science building was constructed to give badly needed laboratory and lecture room space, giving each of the three sciences—physics, chemistry, and biology—its own quarters. In 1951 plans were begun for a students' chapel to accommodate 600. These plans at the present writing have begun to come off the drawing board of Father Leo Guay, who planned the science building and supervised its construction. The buildings erected in 1946 and 1949 were likewise planned and constructed by the Fathers themselves, for their faith in contractors and other hired professional help was not high. Reasons of economy also played a part in this choice.

The rate of growth in recent years may be seen from the fact that the number of first-high classes increased from two in 1941 to six in 1947, and the number has not increased since then by force of circumstances. A table showing the growth of the student body over the years, distributed according to religion, is appended. It may be well to point out that for some years past the school has followed the policy of accepting new students only in the first-high class, because from experience we have found that students transferring to our upper classes from other high schools are usually below standard, especially in the English language.

English is the language of instruction in all subjects except history geography, civics, and Arabic. These four subjects must be taught in Arabic by teachers appointed by the government, according to the Government Educational Law of 1940. These teachers are, of course, paid by the school.

### Students

From the outset the students at Baghdad College have been drawn from all classes of society and from the multitudinous religions and rites prevailing in Iraq, whether Moslem, Jew, or Christian. Most of the students are drawn from the middle and upper classes mostly because of the tuition fee that is charged. In the beginning, the fee was ID 4.800 a year (at that time equivalent to \$16.80). At the present time it is roughly ID 25 a year, including transportation (roughly \$70 at the present rate of exchange). Despite these relatively high rates, applicants for admission to the school are as numerous as ever.

Provision has always been made for a number of poor boys of intelligence and character who would otherwise be denied an education at the school. At times as many as one-third of the students were being helped in whole or in part. The school has borne this financial burden itself almost entirely, and efforts to secure help both locally and abroad have met with little success. Students at present receiving free tuition number four per cent of the total enrollment.

There is no proselytizing at the school, and the non-Christians are not required to attend religion classes or services. If such a student were to express a desire to attend religion

class, he would be required to get the written approval of his father. In the history of the school, this has happened only once or twice. This policy seems to have allayed whatever suspicions there may have been in the minds of the Moslems at the outset, and they have of late years been enrolling in ever-increasing numbers. Roughly thirty per cent of the students are now (1951) Moslems. Jewish students have been few because they have their own private school system, which is of a high standard.

### Curriculum, Textbooks, System

The high school course at Baghdad College, as in Iraqi secondary schools generally, embraces five years. The subjects taught are Arabic, English, algebra, plane and solid geometry, trigonometry, physics, chemistry, biology and botany, religion, history, geography and civics. Prior to 1936 the program was more flexible, embracing such subjects as French, German, drawing, hygiene, sociology, economics, etc. But when the Conscription Law made it necessary to bring the program into conformity with that of the Government schools so that the students could take the Government examinations, it became necessary to restrict the program, putting much more emphasis on the natural sciences and giving each of them two years.

The English-language subjects are taught almost entirely by American Jesuits, all of whom have at least a Master of Arts degree from a recognized American college. Some few possess a Ph.D. or other degrees in addition. Most of the American teachers have had previous teaching experience in American high schools or colleges before coming to Iraq. Nearly all the students (Iraqis almost to a boy) take the comprehensive Iraq Government examinations at the end of the third and fifth year, success in which entitles them to the Iraq Government Certificate. The possession of this certificate is necessary for entrance into the Medical School and other Iraq Government institutions of higher education. It is needed also to be exempt from military conscription. Not a few boys attend school with this reason uppermost in mind, and some of them constitute a problem. The Arabic textbooks are those commonly used in the Government schools. The textbooks in

English are American. The method and principles of education at Baghdad College are in the main those that prevail in the Jesuit high schools and colleges of the United States.

The active teaching and administrative staff at the present time numbers thirty Americans, twelve Iraqis, and two Egyptians. Of the Americans, twenty-five are engaged in the work of the classroom, and five in administration. The Iraqis and Egyptians are engaged in teaching the Arabic-language subjects for the most part. In addition to the active staff, thirteen staff members are in the United States at the present time engaged in study or other work. Some of these returned to Baghdad in the autumn of 1951, others will return later, when their period of study or other work is finished.

### Land and Buildings

The College occupies a site of twenty-five acres with a 200 foot frontage on the east bank of the Tigris. It extends back some 3,000 feet towards the desert, widening out to 600 feet. Its present value would be about 50,000 dinars. The principal buildings number six: an administration and classroom building, two additional classroom building, a science building, two combination faculty and student residences. Replacement value of these buildings at present would be about ID 100,000.

Classrooms and lecture rooms together total twenty-six, each being designed to hold thirty students comfortably. An auditorium in the science building has seating capacity for about two hundred. The library occupies temporary space in the administration building, and contains about 16,000 volumes, chiefly in English. The two residence buildings can accommodate thirty-six faculty members and seventy boarders. Quarters for faculty and students are in different sections of the buildings. An unsightly wooden structure on the campus serves as the students' dining hall. It was put up in 1938 as a temporary structure, and has had the permanent fate of all temporary structures. A small chapel in each of the residences seats thirty. There are six private chapels used by the Fathers for daily Mass. Our building program calls for a chapel to seat 600 (now on the drawing board), a library and auditorium, a students' dining hall, an athletic building, and a faculty

residence. If the school continues to grow during the next ten years as it has in the past ten, further buildings will be needed.

### Athletics

Sports and games play a large part in the activity of the students. The intramural sports are well organized, and there is almost always some kind of interclass tournament in progress, with a cup for the winning class. Medals are given generously for individual prowess. The College property has ample space for sports. A large campus serves for football field and baseball diamond. There are two large basketball courts, two volley ball courts, three tennis courts, four handball courts, and nine ping-pong tables. The "small fry" indulge in marbles when and where their fancy lists. It is hoped eventually to have a swimming pool for the students.

American staff members coach the students in the various sports, and on occasion play with them. The staff has a softball team which usually stages an annual victory over the pick of the students, and frequently trounces a team from the American Embassy.

The school takes part in the various High School Tournaments that are held during the year in Baghdad, and usually gives a good account of itself. It won the City-Wide Track and Field Meet in 1944 and 1945, and again in 1947. It placed second in 1943, 1946 and after 1947.

Contrary to an opinion prevalent before our arrival in Baghdad, the students take to all these games with intense zest, and their spirit of sportsmanship and fair play has grown apace.

### Student Activities

Prior to the war a school magazine, *Al Iraqi*, was published quarterly. During the war the paper shortage permitted it to be published only annually, and since that time the hope to resume quarterly publication has not been realized. The magazine contains essays, stories, and verse in both Arabic and English. It is profusely illustrated. A unit of the International Relations Club was active at the school prior to the war, sponsored by the Carnegie Foundation. Because of the

tension during and since the war, its activities have had to be suspended.

The Chrysostom Debating Society, with members drawn from fourth- and fifth-high, functions bi-weekly during the year and ends the year with a prize debate, a medal going to the best debater. The Scientific Society gives the upper-class students a chance to deliver lectures on scientific subjects, and to hear lectures from leading scientists of Baghdad. Once a year or oftener a play is put on by the students. There is both a junior and a senior elocution contest with selections in both English and Arabic. Prizes for the best speakers in both languages are given in each section. Lack of an assembly hall large enough for the student body requires that many activities be conducted out of doors. It is hoped that the school will have a hall or theater of its own eventually.

### Graduates

Including the year 1951, there have been 414 graduates, apart from those who left the school at the end of their third or fourth year to continue their studies elsewhere. From the beginning up to the present about 1,750 have entered the school. Thus it is seen that the number of students who have persevered to the end have-numbered about one-fourth of the whole. In recent years the number has been between one-third and one-fourth. Financial reasons undoubtedly account for many of the defections, the others being accounted for by the common reasons that cause boys to leave school, e.g., the difficulty of the course, lack of interest.

As a group the students of Baghdad College are on an intellectual par with the students with whom we are familiar in our high schools in America. Certainly there is no noticeable difference, and when it is remembered that Baghdad College students are pursuing their course in a foreign language, one is inclined to wonder how well American students would do if they were working under a similar handicap.

### Relations With the Iraqi Government

The relations of Baghdad College with the Iraqi Government are friendly and even cordial. A small indication of this is the fact that the Regent of Iraq, H.R.H. Abdul Ilah, accepted



an honorary Doctor of Laws from our sister institution, Georgetown University, on the occasion of his visit to the United States in 1945. The Baghdad newspapers made much of the event.

The friendly attitude of the Government is also reflected in the relations existing between Government schools and the College. Those who are familiar with the course of events in Iraq during the past fifteen years or so will realize that foreign schools were not without their opponents. But by maintaining a correct attitude in the matter of politics, by refusing to indulge in any propaganda, by paying strict attention to business and endeavoring to give the best education possible so as to turn out the best type of Iraqi citizen, the College has succeeded in great part in winning the respect and confidence of the Iraqi Government and people.

The American flag has never been flown or shown, nor do the portraits of America's heroes adorn the walls of the school. From its earliest years the school has adopted the motto: "An Iraqi school for Iraqi boys." That this attitude of the College is appreciated is shown by the increased enrollment during recent years, as well as by the names of those who have seen fit to entrust their sons or wards to the school for their upbringing and education. These names include those of the leading families and personalities of Iraq.

### The Point Four Program

Whether Baghdad College could qualify as a cooperating agency in the Point Four Program is something that will have to be left to the Point Four experts. It may be pointed out, however, that the U. S. State Department recently sanctioned a grant of \$624,000 under the Point Four Program for the American University of Beirut to finance training programs. *Time* for May 21, 1951 in a footnote under Education says this money is for "training Near Eastern technicians"—which could mean that it is to be used as a scholarship fund. If this interpretation is correct, similar help might be given to students of Baghdad College who show special aptitude in science or other branches of learning that need to be promoted for the successful carrying out of the Point Four Program.

An obstacle to any grant that might be proposed for Baghdad College lies in the fact that it is a Catholic institution. The cry of "separation of Church and State" might be raised by those patriots who fear for the hallowed institutions of the U. S. A. whenever anything Catholic appears on the horizon. It might be pointed out to these patriots that the American University of Beirut is a Presbyterian institution, which changed its name from "Syrian Protestant College" for reasons of its own years ago. But they would probably reply that A. U. B. is a "non-sectarian" institution, whatever they might mean by that. Baghdad College is "non-sectarian" in the sense that it accepts students without distinction as to religion, and also has professors among its staff who are not Catholic. But it seems that A. U. B. is "non-sectarian" in some further sense, and as there are several officials, according to report, in the State Department who were formerly connected with the Near East College Association, which looks after the interests of A. U. B., their viewpoint is the one likely to prevail.

JOSEPH P. CONNELL, S.J.

### BAGHDAD COLLEGE—RELIGION OF THE STUDENTS

	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940
Catholics .....	88	102	111	113	71	73	83	91	116
Other Christians .....	6	5	4	7	5	8	16	23	25
Jews .....	4	1	2	6	3	4	3	13	15
Moslems .....	4	4	11	6	7	4	3	12	15
<b>TOTAL</b> .....	<b>102</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>132</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>171</b>

	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950
Catholics .....	121	151	178	218	251	259	264	259	251	254
Other Christians ..	19	33	37	49	75	82	97	115	126	141
Jews .....	10	6	6	5	4	3	4	2	2	3
Moslems .....	29	55	61	72	89*	96*	113*	115*	130*	158*
<b>TOTAL</b> .....	<b>179</b>	<b>245</b>	<b>282</b>	<b>344</b>	<b>419</b>	<b>440</b>	<b>478</b>	<b>491</b>	<b>509</b>	<b>556</b>

\* Includes one Druze.

# OBITUARY

FATHER FRANCIS J. KELLY

1877-1951

Father Francis was born of Dominic and Bridget Kelly at Boston, Mass., on December 2, 1877. Though little of his early life is known to us, the records show that after his freshman year at Boston College, he entered the Society of Jesus at Frederick, Maryland, on August 14, 1897. After novitiate and juniorate, and philosophy at Woodstock, he began his regency at Gonzaga High School, Washington, D. C., where he spent the first two years. He was assigned to St. Joseph's High School, Philadelphia, for the next three years. At long last he was ready for his four years' course in theology, 1909-1913. His classmates recall that he was always most generous during these years. For example, he would often organize picnics to refresh the jaded spirits of his fellow-students; on these picnics he would always cart the food himself, get the wood, make the fire, cook the meal and wash up the dishes afterwards. Such charity and generosity were also manifest later in Jamaica when fellow-Jesuits passing through Spanish Town would be always assured of a cordial welcome to his rectory and even of a hospitality his meager mission resources could ill afford.

On June 24, 1912 Father Francis Kelly was ordained by the late Cardinal Gibbons. After the completion of his fourth year of theology he taught for six months at Brooklyn Prep, and six months at Canisius College. Tertianship was made at St. Andrew-on-Hudson during the years 1914-1915. Now the well-trained soldier was ready to seek, not the "bubble reputation" but souls and more souls for Christ! And this he did, not in the familiar environs of his native land or state but in the distant dells and hills of Jamaica.

At this time the population of Jamaica was not quite a million and there were but 40,000 Catholics, only five per cent. Bishop Collins presided over the Vicariate, which at that time had only sixteen priests, ten of whom were stationed in and around the capital city of Kingston. Father Kelly's

first assignment was to teach at St. George's College, still the only Catholic high school for boys. Father Kelly taught at St. George's until 1919 when he was made pastor of St. Mary's Church, Above Rocks. Working from this small station as his headquarters he served smaller missions at Cassava River, Tom's River, Friendship, King Weston and Devon Pen. Here at Devon Pen there was as yet no church, so Father Kelly built the Church of St. Catherine of Siena which was blessed later in 1923 by the new Vicar, Bishop O'Hare, the successor to Bishop Collins who is still revered in Jamaica.

The next stage of Father Kelly's life began in May, 1925 when he was appointed Superior of the Jesuits in Jamaica. In October of the same year he went to Rome to attend the congress of the Missionary Superiörs of the Society. Probably partly as a fruit of this contact with the birthplace of the Society, Father Kelly's administration was noted for its strictness as he strove even in the heat of the tropics to insure that all under him lived up to the letter and spirit of the Institute. Indeed it may have been characteristic of his strictness with himself that apart from the Bishop he was one of the very few of our Fathers who always and everywhere wore black, instead of white.

In appearance Father Kelly was always most dignified and solemn, his gait measured and majestic, his speech slow, calm, circumspect, and sincere. His eyes were kindly, yet a soul-piercing blue. He was slow to act, but once he started he finished what he began, holding true to his course with tenacity of purpose and great strength of will. In dealing with his Jesuit subjects he was strict but just; well-balanced, but also kind, sympathetic, and generous. In dealing with the people of the Island, Father Kelly was at ease with all classes and colors and to all he gave an excellent example of priestly charity and fatherly kindness.

But perhaps his outstanding virtue was his piety. Indeed at that time in Jamaica there were three Fathers named Kelly, and they were distinguished by being called Father Walking Kelly, Father Fat Kelly, and Father Pious Kelly; needless to say, Father Francis was known as Father Pious Kelly. In the celebration of Mass his actions were measured and even slow. In preaching—and he preached often—his deep piety

welled forth in sonorous praise of the Sacred Heart and the Holy Mother of God. Never much excited, but always with great earnestness, he exhorted all from the depths of his own sincerity and piety to even greater devotion in the service of God.

On October 11, 1926 Bishop O'Hare went to the beach just outside of Kingston for his usual swim. Leaving the chauffeur to guard the car at the road, he then walked the quarter of a mile to the beach. Apparently he suffered a heart attack in the water, for his body was later found by the anxious chauffeur just above the edge of the water on the beach. A cross marks the spot today.

After the Bishop died Father Kelly administered the business of the Vicariate and was given the rare privilege of conferring confirmation. The well-known and well-loved Bishop Dinand returned to Jamaica as Bishop in 1927, but when he went to the States in May, 1928, he did not return. His health broke down and again Jamaica was without a bishop. Again Father Francis Kelly filled in. Once he confirmed four lepers in Spanish Town. But the writer, then a student of St. George's College, best remembers the confirmation in 1929. Just before the sacrament was given one of the priests read an official papal document, first in Latin and then in English, declaring to all that though it was not usual for priests to confirm yet in the emergency these powers had been conferred on the Very Rev. Francis J. Kelly, S.J., Vicar Delegate of the Vicariate. Then began the lengthiest confirmation ceremony the writer has witnessed when over six hundred candidates were confirmed in the Holy Trinity Cathedral of Kingston. As Vicar Delegate Father Kelly also dedicated the new church at Rock Hall, a mission he himself had started five years before.

Whereas Father Kelly was not noted for his efforts to encourage and foster native vocations to the priesthood, he will be well remembered for starting with Mother Alacoque, O.S.F., the native congregation of women known as the Franciscan Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of Perpetual Help in 1929. Today the congregation flourishes and grows and in 1951 received from the newly appointed Bishop McEleney a site and house for a separate novitiate.

When in 1931 his term as Superior ended Father Kelly was sent to Spanish Town as pastor. But his successor, Very Rev. Father Charles Arnold, after only three vigorous, zealous and eloquent years as Superior of the Missions died most untimely on December 11, 1934. Following upon his death, Father McHale of Holy Rosary and Father James Becker, Dean of Cornwall and pastor of St. James Church in Montego Bay, acted as Superior. But once again in February, 1935 Father Kelly was reappointed Superior of the Missions.

Two years later, in January, 1937, when Jamaica was celebrating the centennial of the return of the Faith, Bishop Emmet collapsed under the strain. Father Kelly had once again to fill in for the Bishop and completed the program of celebrations and entertainment of visiting dignitaries. During the six months that followed he had also to shoulder the burdens of the Vicariate until Bishop Emmet's recovery and return from the States.

But by this time Father Kelly's health too had begun to decline. Shortly after the Easter of 1939 he suffered a stroke, was taken to St. Joseph's Sanitarium, the only Catholic hospital on the Island, and was anointed. Father Kelly's tenacity and strength of will were wondrously aided by the physical effects of the sacrament and he recovered rapidly. It almost became a habit of his to snap back from death's door after he was anointed; he did so half a dozen times before he passed away.

Recovering from this illness Father Kelly continued as Superior of the Mission till August, 1939 when Father Feeney, present Vicar Apostolic of the Caroline and Marshall Islands, was appointed Superior. In 1939, after twenty-five years on the Jamaican Mission, Father Kelly returned to the States and served a year at St. Robert's Hall, Pomfret, Conn., as house confessor. From 1940 to 1946 he worked at St. Mary's in the North End of Boston as an operarius. It is a tribute to his zeal and kindness that many of those who met him in one way or another while he was ill in St. Elizabeth's Hospital came to call on him later at St. Mary's.

In 1946 Father Kelly came to live at Weston, where, in the following year, he celebrated his Golden Jubilee in the Society. As the clock of his life ran down and his feet faltered, he

reluctantly permitted himself to be placed in a wheel chair to be brought to say Mass. But after a time, and much against his will, he could no longer be permitted to celebrate Mass; yet unto the end he retained his deep love and strong devotion for the Mass.

He was always cheerful when the Scholastics visited him in the infirmary. During these days as he was wheeled about the grounds or on the Concord Road it was remarkable at what distances even without glasses he could recognize members of the community.

In 1950 he again sank low and was again anointed. Again he recovered wondrously. But on August 10, 1951 at 5:25, fortified with the Holy Viaticum and his last anointing, he went to sleep the sleep of the just.

One of his parishioners from Spanish Town, now living in New Jersey, came up to Weston to see him often during his last illness and attended the funeral at great inconvenience. This was a final token of the high esteem in which this pious and fatherly priest was held by Jamaica!

JOHN J. G. ALEXANDER, S.J.

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## FATHER JOHN JOSEPH O'CONNOR

1876-1950

John Joseph O'Connor was born in Philadelphia, September 1, 1876. His elementary education was at the Cathedral parochial school; he spent two years at St. Joseph's College Preparatory School. After two or three years as a salesman, he went to Holy Cross College, Worcester, and in a special Latin Class was prepared to enter the Novitiate at Frederick, Maryland, August 14, 1896. Upon the completion of his philosophy course at Woodstock, Mr. O'Connor went to Fordham where he spent the usual regency of five years. He never lost his heartfelt loyalty to the then St. John's College and he watched with keen appreciation the tremendous growth of Fordham University. He returned to Woodstock for theology, where he was ordained by Cardinal Gibbons July 30, 1911, the year that Woodstock College commemorated the golden jubilee

of Cardinal Gibbons' priesthood and His Eminence's silver jubilee as a Cardinal. As Father O'Connor's father had recently died, he went to the Mortuary Chapel to celebrate his First Mass at which his mother was present. His year of tertian-ship was spent at Poughkeepsie; during the first two months, Father John H. O'Rourke, his former Master of Novices, acted as Instructor and directed the Long Retreat; the Instructor, Father Thomas Gannon, a former Provincial and Rector of Fordham, had been called to Rome for the Procurators' Congregation, and did not return to Poughkeepsie until November.

Father O'Connor spent the next two years at Brooklyn College as Prefect of Discipline and then returned to Fordham as professor of rhetoric for four years. He was for two years Prefect of Discipline and Director of Athletics at Fordham; he held the same position at St. Joseph's College for one year and also at Canisius College, Buffalo. He had a great dread of any position of authority and was appalled at his assignment as Minister of Woodstock in 1918; at his own request he was relieved from this position. After short experiences as a parochial assistant at Trinity, Georgetown, Chaptico and Leonardtown, he came to Georgetown in 1927 and remained as professor of Greek for the remaining years of teaching. As at Fordham so at Georgetown he gained many staunch friends; his pride and joy were the long years of loyal friendship that the present distinguished Cardinal of New York ever bestowed upon him. It was during his scholastic years at Fordham that the brilliant young student attracted attention and Father O'Connor saw for him a great future in the Church; he watched with laudable pride Cardinal Spellman's progress for two score years, nor did the highest honors bestowed on the pupil let him forget the loyalty of his old teacher. During the annual meeting of the United States Hierarchy at Catholic University, the Archbishop of New York never omitted a visit to Georgetown to spend an hour or two with Father O'Connor.

It was about 1930 that he had a serious heart attack and the chief specialist in Washington told the then Rector of Georgetown that Father O'Connor's condition was such that he might pass away at any time quite suddenly. However, Father O'Connor recovered and continued teaching a regular class of Greek for the next seventeen years. He had seemed



unperturbed by the physician's 1930 pronouncement and cheerfully faced whatever divine providence had in store for him. He never spoke of his illness nor did he yield to self-pity or self-centeredness. He had an occasional heart attack but always rallied and accepted such set-backs as something to be expected. His perfect resignation to divine providence was the source of his cheerfulness.

In 1946 on November 10, at 9 A.M. Father O'Connor celebrated his Golden Jubilee Mass in Dahlgren Chapel; the Cardinal presided in the sanctuary. As the years went along and Father O'Connor became weaker, His Eminence was most solicitous and requested that he be kept informed of his beloved friend's condition. During the morning of March 18, 1950 Father John J. O'Connor died in the Georgetown University Hospital after two years of serious illness and several years of a weakening constitution never robust. When Father O'Connor had passed away, a telephone message was sent to the New York Chancery though it was known that His Eminence was at sea returning from the Holy Year Pilgrimage. In answer to a letter describing Father O'Connor's last days, the Cardinal wrote immediately upon his return:

I thank you very much for writing to me about Father John O'Connor's death. Father Fleming had wired me and we prayed for him on the boat and I offered Mass for the repose of his soul. I most certainly would have attended his funeral had I been in New York. I had the consolation of giving Father O'Connor Holy Communion about two months ago when I said Mass at the Georgetown Hospital. I am taking the liberty of forwarding your letter to Monsignor McCaffrey, another classmate. I have written to Father O'Connor's sister expressing my condolence.

With kind regards, I remain

Devoutly yours in Christ,

F. Cardinal Spellman,  
Archbishop of New York.

In His Eminence's letter of sympathy to Mrs. Arthur Sharkey, the only sister of Father O'Connor, Cardinal Spellman offered an assurance of his prayers, and stated again that he would

have attended the Mass had he been in America at the time of the funeral.

Upon the request of a fellow novice of Father O'Connor's for some details of Father's last days, the ever gracious Minister of Georgetown, Father William A. Ryan, replied immediately: "On his deathbed he lingered for a few hours. I was summoned to his bedside the evening of Friday, March 17, 1950. There Father James Horigan, a close friend of Father's, and Father Calvert Brown, Assistant Chaplain at the Hospital, and I recited the prayers for the dying. Father Johnny was in an oxygen tent, and once when it appeared that he was on his way out, he looked up, smiled, and blessed all in the room. He was in great pain. It was a marvelously edifying sight. He passed away peacefully the next morning at 9:55."

Father O'Connor's sense of humor was pleasantly unique; even under trying circumstances he would playfully inject a remark that often saved an otherwise embarrassing situation. When he had his first serious heart attack and fully realized what it might mean, he could laugh at death and even put on a comic attitude. When the then Rector of Georgetown came to his room with a certain feeling of trepidation as to how Father might take the doctor's verdict, he was quickly reassured, for as he opened the door Father O'Connor exclaimed: "Be sure and put violets over the grave; I can rest more contented with violets above." Father Ryan has written: "In his last years what impressed me most was his cheerfulness and sense of humor. He would take a little walk in the afternoon—merely from the Mulledy Building to the front door of Healy and back. He would stand at the door on the steps and have a smile and a good word for everyone. Then he would go on back the corridor to his room. He used to look into the treasurer's office and shake his fist at Father Matty Kane, the Procurator, whom Father Johnny had had as a youngster in St. Joseph's. That stern face of his was quite an act which he used to try on all new-comers to the community. His cheerfulness and joshing won the hearts of the staff at the Hospital."

After the obsequies the Sister Superior of the Georgetown Hospital said he was beloved by all, not only the religious who were deeply edified at his constant resignation, but by all who were called upon to serve him especially at times of

excruciating pain. The Superior added that there was universal regret at his passing, that all felt a great source of joyfulness had gone, and they felt lonely without him. He had a cheering word for each one.

Father O'Connor had always been a man of prayer; he had a tender devotion to the Society, was ever faithful in community exercises and cherished not only the rules but the customs of the community. If asked to give Father O'Connor's most prominent virtue, all who knew him would say it was his masterful resignation to the divine will. For him sickness or health, a long life or a short one, it was all the same; he was predominantly reconciled to whatever God had chosen for him. And many times he was called upon to exercise this saving virtue. In 1948 suffering from coronary insufficiency with a threat of pneumonia, he was anointed; he recovered from this attack but two and a half months later was again stricken and again received extreme unction. His calm resignation was most edifying and he showed a genuine cheerfulness in the privilege of the last sacraments. He never lost his happy outlook on death as well as life. His last illness began in February, 1950 and during the month that followed he gradually grew weaker and passed away on the eve of St. Joseph's feast, a saint to whom he had great devotion as the patron of a happy death; the beloved Father had many times rehearsed for his own death; he was ever ready, even happy to have the great gift of dying piously in the Lord.

W. COLEMAN NEVILS, S.J.

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## BROTHER ROCCO QUATTROCCHI

1867-1950

Whether his lifetime covers a short span of years or the greater part of a century, there is comparatively little of a man's story which others can penetrate, especially after his death. There is always much more which escapes observation or is forgotten. It will never be chronicled but remains a story for eternity.

The life of Brother Rocco Quattrocchi was blessed with "a

length of days." Eighty-three years is more than the average life span. Yet in his case these years are so especially characterized by hiddenness that aside from some official data and a few recollections, really very little is known of him. This story has been gleaned from his fellow Jesuits who shared a common life with him and in whose memories he lives as an exemplar of the ideals to which they had pledged themselves.

The records tell us that Rocco Quattrocchi was born in Mazzarina, Sicily on January 13, 1867. He was not the only child of Gaetano and Dominica Toscana, for we know of two other sons who came to America and a third who became a parish priest in the diocese of Piazza Amerina. For the first thirty years of Brother's life we have to be content with an obscurity which parallels that of Nazareth.

When he entered the Society of Jesus on Christmas Eve in 1896, Brother Quattrocchi was almost thirty years old. At that time Jesuits were officially excluded from Sicily. Garibaldi had confiscated all their possessions and thus made it necessary for the Sicilian sons of Saint Ignatius to find other fields for their work. Sicilians wishing to join the Society at this time had to seek exile in secret and because of the obligation of military training, they were considered and declared deserters. That accounts for his entering the Society at St. Aloysius Gonzaga's Novitiate in Malta. And in Malta he spent the first six years of his religious life until 1902 when he was able to return to his native Sicily along with many of his brethren.

The following decade reveals little more than a series of assignments in the Sicilian towns of Messina, Modica, Bagheria, Acireale and Catania. His chief occupation was cook and he filled this office in various residences. If we can judge from the length of time he kept the office, he must have shown some skill in the culinary arts. Apart from some recollections of him by his former Brother Manuductor, who is still living in Sicily, we have no other material for this period. The fellow-novice recalls Brother Quattrocchi as "admirable for his spirit of work joined with an intense spirit of prayer; he was always ready for any kind of task."

In 1912 memories of the apostolic labors of Father Cataldo and other Sicilian Jesuits who labored in the Rocky Mountains

across the Atlantic were still very much alive at home. Perhaps accounts of these missionaries furnished the motivation that led Brother to ask to come to America. His offer was accepted. The ties of heart and home which bind so strongly were severed. The farewells spoken were forever. That he was truly mission-minded is proven by the rest of his life.

It was November, 1912 when the boat docked in New York, and Brother Quattrocchi at the age of forty-five was beginning another exile—this time a voluntary one. First duties brought him to the rectory of Our Lady of Loretto on Elizabeth St. in the metropolis. Then after two years, Superiors sent him to Gonzaga in Washington, D. C., then to St. Andrew-on-Hudson and back again to New York, this time to Fordham. The routine was consistent—buying, cooking and taking care of the many things entrusted to a Brother in a Jesuit community.

The United States had outgrown its official missionary status by 1920. Maryland, New England and New York were still one province and part of their missionary activity was directed towards Jamaica. It may well have been Brother's great desire for a missionary's life which prompted him to volunteer for the British West Indies only eight years after his arrival in America. By November, 1920 he was on his way to Jamaica in company with Bishop O'Hare who was returning to the Island after a visit to the States. Superiors assigned him to Winchester Park in Kingston where sixteen years of his life were spent.

Those who knew Brother during his life in Jamaica are unanimous in voicing his praises, for he proved himself a great asset to the entire mission. A staunch believer in early rising, he would be up each morning at four o'clock and on hand to serve the first Mass. The days were filled with his duties as buyer, refectorian, sacristan and carpenter. His hobby was vegetable gardening and most of his free time was spent caring for the garden. It was a pastime which afforded much pleasure for the community at St. George's—for fresh vegetables were served regularly at table. Though it is not known where he learned his carpentering, he was quite skillful as an artisan in wood. Many of the altars he made, the desks, tables and other pieces of furniture are still in use

at Winchester Park. Somewhere in Jamaica there is a fine facsimile of Bishop O'Hare carved in wood, a token of Brother's esteem for the friend he never forgot. The evenings were spent doing porter's duty and he became a familiar figure to all callers at the College as he sat at the front door, dressed in white, the little skull cap on his head, his Van Dyke beard carefully trimmed.

Brother Quattrocchi's disposition and sense of humor made him a favorite with all. The good-natured "teasing" which Jesuits like to indulge in never bothered him. In his own innocent way he provided many a hearty laugh. He never succeeded in mastering English and had a difficult time with American names. Moreover, he adopted the use of certain abbreviations and italianized forms. For him the Bishop was always "Bish," Father George McDonald was always Father "Mentano," market became "marketta." The colored boys who helped about the house were called by their Italian equivalents, so much so that they soon came when they heard him call "Giacomo" or "Giovanni."

With a genuine piety which permeated all he did, Brother rarely missed a chance to take advantage of ritual. He had great faith in sacramental blessings. The following story is related by Father Leo Butler. One year Brother asked Father Butler to bless his tomato plants and that year the plants bore a fine crop; there were tomatoes in abundance. Next year the same Father was asked to administer the blessing again but this time he forgot. In the meantime Brother had another priest bless them. After Father Butler remembered, he spoke to Brother about the blessing but was told that the matter had been taken care of. When the plants grew up Brother told Father Butler that the other priest's blessing did marvellously. "Plants very high, big," he exclaimed in glee. But when the harvest came and there were no signs of tomatoes on the table, Father asked, "Aren't you going to give us any tomatoes?" In disgust Brother replied, "The other Father's blessing make big plants, but no tomatoes." It was a typical example of his great simplicity.

In 1924 when arrangements were in process to make New England a separate province, Brother's request to transfer to the Maryland-New York Province and remain in Jamaica,

was granted by consent of Father General and the Provincial of Sicily.

Sixteen years on the missions passed quickly and there had been many changes in Jamaica since his arrival. He had shown remarkable devotion to his duties. Always solicitous for the needs of Ours, he did a great deal to lighten the burdens of other missionaries and to make community life pleasant at St. George's. The sole diversion from his work was his annual retreat which he always made at Seaford Town with Father Kempel. "To travel to various places and to live in any part of the world where there is hope of God's greater service and the help of souls" was for him a reality.

Brother Quattrocchi was nearly seventy years old in 1936 when he was recalled to the States and assigned to Wernersville. One who knew him well says that even after his return from Jamaica he hoped for a chance to be assigned to the Philippines. But, of course, he was too old for that. For some six years at the Novitiate he was able to keep up with community routine and once again he took up the tools of a carpenter, spending part of each day in the work of fashioning and repairing different pieces of furniture for the house. The altar in the lower parlors at Wernersville is among the last things he made.

Newman once wrote: "Persons influence us, voices melt us, looks subdue us, deeds inflame us." For those at Wernersville who were in the formative years of religious life, Brother offered the example of careful observance. Always very friendly, he would interrupt his meditating or his rosary to exchange a few passing words with those he met as he went about his duties. From his manner one felt he loved sincerely his fellow-Jesuits and all that life in the Society signified. He spoke kindly of everyone and anyone who won his admiration was referred to as "the beautiful man." Throughout his whole life he had a devotion to the rosary and it was a rare occasion to come across him and not find the beads in his hand. Brother Quattrocchi never preached a formal sermon, and yet his actions made a deeper impression than polished oratory could have achieved. In his courteous way he was ever on the lookout to find an opportunity to

help others. Yet he was always absorbed in prayer, closely united to God in word and action.

In 1942 it was noticeable that he was failing in health. For some time his eyesight had been impaired by cataracts. It was decided that he could have better attention if he were moved to the infirmary. The next catalogue gave him the official status of "praying for the Society." Those who visited and cared for him during the remaining years of life can vouch for the seriousness with which he took up this assignment. Though it was difficult for him to walk, he came the distance of the long corridor every morning for six o'clock Mass in the infirmary chapel. And when he could walk no more, he had himself taken in a wheel-chair. When the infirmarian came to prepare him for Mass, he would find him already in prayer. Sometimes at Mass he would answer the responses along with the server, and sometimes, too, his heavy striking of his breast at the proper moments would bring a sleepy novice back to reality. Every day there was a separate rosary for Father General, Father Provincial, Father Rector, Father Master, Father Minister and Father Spiritual, as he always called him. The faculty, juniors, Brothers and novices and many others throughout the provinces were always included in his daily intentions, many of them by name. If anyone was praying for some special favor, he always entrusted it to Brother's prayers too. His piety was simple but meaningful. The Blessed Mother was always "the Beautiful Lady" and Saint Joseph for him was "the beautiful man." To the latter he prayed every day for an increase of vocations to the Society. He had great devotion to little Theresa. It was a familiar and uplifting sight to see him standing before her statue, skull cap in hand, praying aloud.

Habit days and vow days at the Novitiate were real feasts for him. After breakfast the groups would go to his room for a visit. His message was always the same: "Thank our Lord for your vocation to the Society, and pray every day for perseverance." His favorite expression was, "Pray always." Jesuit visitors to Wernersville would not think of leaving the house without seeing him. His reverence for priests was well known. Whenever a priest came, he would request the priestly



blessing and then kiss the habit sleeve. It was his way of showing what the priesthood meant to him.

A recreation spent in his presence or a short visit to his room could have remarkable effects. One might feel burdened with many troubles at the time but as he listened while Brother spoke of our Lord and the blessings of religious life, troubles seemed to vanish. He always had something worthwhile to say and everything was spoken with assurance and profound faith.

The Golden Jubilee of Brother's entrance into the Society occurred on December 24, 1946. That the occasion might be observed in a fitting manner the celebration was postponed until the feast of the Epiphany. All grades in the community participated in making the day a joyful one. At the solemn Mass Brother was able to come to the chapel and he sat in the sanctuary, still an imposing figure. His first words at breakfast were, "Ad maiorem Dei gloriam," the epitome of his life's work. Except for the community only a few guests were present for the Jubilee dinner. He seemed very lively that day and the music and other festivities in his honor brought tears of joy to his eyes. It was obvious, too, that his long presence in their midst meant a great deal to all those who celebrated with him.

When the Jubilee was over, the routine went on just as before. He was over eighty now and still as faithful to the spirit and rule of Saint Ignatius as any of the younger religious in the house. He was very exact about obtaining permission to practice little penances and mortifications. Occasionally he sent a young Brother who visited him every day to obtain a discipline for him. And when Lent came, he asked permission to take only coffee and water for his breakfast. The fervor and zeal of earlier life remained unchanged until the end of his days. Age or infirmity, he felt, were not to deter him in his quest ever upwards towards the goal.

His great interest in all that happened in the community and the concern he showed when anyone was sick, was true fraternal charity. Nor did he forget those who were far away. The juniors assisted him with his correspondence. Every Christmas there was the list of friends to be remembered, and his memory was accurate. During the war he kept in contact

with two nephews who were in the American army, assuring them of his thoughts and prayers for their safe return.

In the last six months of life, Brother kept disposing of the few little things he had in his room. These were mostly religious articles, statues, medals and the like. Some he sent to the Rector and others were passed on to the Brothers. There was no change in his condition to warn that the end was approaching. If asked how he felt, he would inevitably reply, "Eat good, sleep good, and pray very good." Anyone recalling his devotion to Saint Joseph would not think it strange to hear that he often expressed the wish to die on that saint's feast.

On Saturday morning, March 18, 1950 he was at Mass as usual. When Father Minister came to his room about eleven o'clock, he found Brother slumped over to one side of his chair, his hand reaching for his rosary. He was lapsing into unconsciousness. The doctor gave the diagnosis as a stroke which paralyzed his entire right side and left him totally blind. He remained in a coma until the end. His beads which he no longer could hold in his right hand were now placed in his left and in the interval before death his fingers seemed to move over them. The Fathers and juniors kept vigil at his side until death came quietly on March 20, the date on which Saint Joseph's feast was celebrated that year.

His body is buried at Wernersville between Father Charles Mullaly and Father Dominic Hammer, two of his closest friends in life; his soul is surely in heaven, where as the words of Dante on Brother's Golden Jubilee program state: "he receives of His light," and sees "things which no one who comes from thence has knowledge or power to retell."

LEO P. MONAHAN, S.J.

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### Love

Love: it is almost too deep for definition. Poets have extolled it from the beginning of the world; philosophers have discussed and analyzed it; men and women have lived for it and died for it by the millions; upon it man builds up this existence, and God Himself has built eternity; it is the key to this life, the content of the next, the abiding link between both, the mortal's possession that can never die, the fire of life that leaps across the chasm made by death.

ARCHBISHOP GOODIER, S.J.

# Books of Interest to Ours

## THIS MOST AGREEABLE RESPONSIBILITY

**The Morning Offering.** By Thomas H. Moore, S.J. New York, Apostleship of Prayer, 1952. Pp. xi-162. \$3.00.

It is now five years since His Paternity, in a letter addressed to the Provincials of the Society, deplored the apathy manifested by not a few Jesuits towards the Apostleship of Prayer. Father General wrote: "Your Reverence must take measures, if there be need of such in the Province, not indeed by authoritative decree, but by the persuasive force of theological and ascetical arguments, to reform this outlook of a few individuals, since it is so injurious to our apostolate." Father Henri Ramiere's volume, written ninety years ago, is the classic work on the Apostleship of Prayer. It was published in America in 1866. A new translation from the revised French edition was published in 1889. The "theological and ascetical arguments" of Father Ramiere are still persuasive but they are couched in the language of another era. Father Moore (New York Province) presents them with vivid cogency for modern readers. He acknowledges his great debt to Father Ramiere but he supplements the French Jesuit's treatise with the contributions of recent theological thought which has clarified and developed those truths on which the Apostleship of Prayer is based.

The fourteen chapters of the book present a complete and appealing picture of the Apostleship of Prayer. The presentation is both theological and devotional. The first chapter establishes the connection between the Sacred Heart devotion and the Apostleship; it sketches briefly the history of each and shows how they coincide in what the author calls God's one intention and every man's vocation, namely, the salvation of all men. In the following chapters Father Moore explains the scheme of Providence, the importance of the element of human cooperation within that scheme, the efficacy of prayer, our solidarity in the Mystical Body whose Head is Christ, whose mother is Mary and whose function is to bring to perfection the work of Christ. The reader comes to realize that this "league of zeal and prayer" which was founded by a Jesuit and which Father General describes as "this most agreeable responsibility" of the Society is an epitome of solid spirituality and an extraordinary instrument for the accomplishment of our apostolic objectives.

*The Morning Offering* is not, however, merely an explanation. It is a summons to action. "The world is a vast graveyard of dead souls because those who have the voice to call them from the tomb are silent." (pg. 25) "Why has prayer failed? There can be only two answers. Men have not prayed well enough. Not enough men have prayed. The Apostleship of Prayer has for its task the job of getting more people to pray better." (pg. 66)

Father Moore includes in his book a wealth of ascetical direction for souls. In the short chapter entitled "The Law of Union" one finds a

brief analysis of spiritual selfishness and of the effective remedy for that vice. Penance and self-denial are discussed with sound, practical wisdom in the chapter "Apostleship of Suffering." There are excellent chapters on the Mass and Holy Eucharist and on devotion to Our Lady. The reader finds such brief but stimulating statements of ascetical truth as this definition: "Prayer is the wish for grace freely expressed"; or this statement: "The Messiah did not take sorrow out of the world. Instead, He preached it as a gospel."

Jesuits should recommend this book to others. It is more important, however, for them to read it themselves. It will give them a renewed appreciation of the Apostleship of Prayer. Readers of Father Moore's book will echo the judgment that Louis Veuillot passed on Father Ramiere's book: "I read your book slowly, with much fruit and consolation. It is not a little thing for me to learn how to pray. If I make any progress in so necessary an art I shall owe it to you, and you will not lose by it. I desire ardently that your book should be widely spread. It would make us at once humbler and higher-spirited, two things of which we stand greatly in need."

JOHN J. NASH, S.J.

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### TROUBLED TIMES

**History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages. Volumes XXXV to XXXVII (1740-1769).** *By Ludwig von Pastor.* Translated by E.F. Peeler. St. Louis, Herder, 1950. Pp. xliv-516, xii-513, and xii-458. \$5.00 per volume.

These three volumes, which offer the English translation of Part I of the XVIth and final volume of Pastor's masterpiece, will be welcomed by Jesuits. The translation is a professional piece of work and only occasionally does an expression like "practice the Exercises" betray some slight lack of familiarity with current ecclesiastical terminology. It is well known that not only this volume but its predecessor appeared after the death of the author and that Part II of this volume, which deals with the pontificate of Clement XIV and has not yet appeared in English, has been attacked. Doubts were even emitted as to whether the volumes published after the death of Pastor (1854-1928) were really the work of the celebrated historian of the popes. This view was refuted by Father Pedro Leturia, S.J. Pastor had, prior to his death, not only assembled the materials but also worked out in detail the plans of the remaining volumes, designating the chapters and the events to be treated in each. It should be pointed out, however, that Pastor in his latter years sought and received aid from a number of his pupils, among them Father Karl Kneller and Father Wilhelm Kratz of the Society. In addition the copies of documents concerning the suppression of the Society which had been assembled from various archives by Jesuit historians were turned over to Pastor for his use.

In the present volumes the chapters concerning the expulsion of the Jesuits from Portugal, France, Spain and Italy were revised by Father Kratz. It is these chapters, chapter V of volume XXXV which treats of the beginnings of the effort to undermine the Society, and chapter I of volume XXXVI which treats of the beginnings of the persecution in Portugal, which are of most importance for the history of the Society. They contain a complete account of the action against the Society up to the death of Clement XIII. The story does not contain much with which English-speaking Jesuits are not familiar. But in Pastor the story is based on the dispatches of the ministers of Portugal, Spain, France and Naples who brought about the suppression. The well-known personages, Pombal, Tanucci, Choiseul, Roda, Aranda are again presented and their principles and aims are revealed in their own words. The well-known events are again rehearsed: the affair of the Seven Reductions, the measures of Pombal in Portugal, the Lavalette fiasco, the strange actions of the French Jesuit superiors, etc. Pastor clearly demonstrates that the reason for the sudden suppression of the Society in Spain was the conviction that the Jesuits had caused the Mutiny of the Sombrosos with the intention of murdering the king and his family. There are also some statistics on defections from the Society under the stress of persecution which will be novel for some readers. These do not obscure the fact that in general the conduct of the Jesuits was heroic and all deserve the encomium which Mir wrote of one group: "In the history of the Society of Jesus there are many pages redounding to its glory, but, to my mind, none are more illustrious than those that record its death-struggle and expiry. Of these glorious chapters none can compare with those that tell us of the exertions, sufferings, and heroic virtues which distinguished the Jesuits of the Spanish Assistancy from the days when they left the shores of Spain until the time when they settled in the cities of the Papal States."

In addition to the story of the suppression these volumes contain an account of the pontificates of Benedict XIV and Clement XIII. That of Benedict XIV (1740-1758) was unquestionably an important one in the history of the Church. The learned pontiff labored incessantly to defend the faith and Christian morality against the insidious attacks of the libertines. His policy of going to extremes in concessions to the powers won him admiration even in non-Catholic circles but has been variously judged by Catholic historians. Far as he was from being "the Aufklärung on the throne of St. Peter," Benedict XIV was perhaps not entirely insensible to the credit which would accrue to him in certain quarters if this was thought to be true. Although he frequently made the Society of Jesus the butt of his witticisms, few popes have made more use of Jesuits and there is no reason to doubt his esteem for the Society. His appointment of Cardinal Saldanha as visitor of the Portuguese Jesuits was merely in line with his policy of unlimited concession.

The pontificate of Clement XIII (1758-1769) was a long Way of the Cross for the papacy. It saw its briefs and encyclicals confiscated, refused, burned by the public executioner. Europe was rapidly sliding

down the incline which led to the impiety and irreligion of the French Revolution. Jansenists and the Bourbon courts were the leaders in tormenting the pontiff. It is the story of the great dereliction of the Roman Church, defeat after defeat, humiliation after humiliation. That Clement XIII and his admirable Secretary of State, Cardinal Luigi Torrigiani, stood firm in the tempest does them and the Church honor and won the admiration even of their enemies.

EDWARD A. RYAN, S.J.

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“ . . . WITH AGONY FOR ARMS  
AND DEATH YOUR VICTORY . . . ”

*Christ Unconquered.* By Arthur Little, S.J. New York, Prentice-Hall, 1952. Pp. xix-232. \$4.50.

This is a narrative poem having for its subject the passion of our Lord. Its structure, diction and versification proclaim it an imitation of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, or, more accurately, a sequel to the great protestant epic. It is hard to conceive of a more ambitious project than that of writing an epic poem in our age of doubt and confusion, or of a more daring rivalry than that which challenges comparison with the one supreme triumph in this kind which modern literature exhibits. Indeed, Fr. Little's task is in a sense more difficult even than Milton's since his theme involves a far more complex and impressive crisis than that enacted in Eden and since he concentrates his study on the impact of the Divine Intelligence and Will upon fallen humanity in a high degree of naturalistic culture and studies this impact in the mysterious depths of the minds of his agents even daring to place the kernel of his action in the soul of the God-Man Himself.

To pronounce a definitive judgment on a work of this scope and character would be as hazardous an undertaking as it is unnecessary. Time and the taste of many readers can alone be trusted to tell the truth about this kind of a poem. The present review will indicate the impression which *Christ Unconquered* leaves upon one reader when it is approached on the several levels of imaginative narrative, of philosophical interpretation, and of poetical communication. It is presumed that simultaneous success on these three levels must be attained if Father Little's poem is to rank as a viable work of art, that is, if it is to be regarded as an epic rather than an interesting and edifying verse narrative.

As an imaginative narrative *Christ Unconquered* has great and distinguished merits. The settings are vividly impressive, the action is well knit and is driven forward with intense and compelling energy. As an example of Ignatian contemplation the poem, at least at such high points as the description of the Council of the Sanhedrin where

the death of our Lord was decided on, or the interviews between Christ and Pilate, is surely unique among writings of this kind.

The philosophical interpretation of the action again is admirable. Our Lord as the representative of the divine order, or rather as the incarnation of eternal Wisdom, Justice and Love, is confronted with persons who may be regarded as the incarnations of human thought and instinct. Thus Annas is the materialist, Pilate is the political idealist, Herod the effeminate voluptuary and so on. On this level Father Little reveals himself as a concrete thinker, a psychologist and a literary craftsman of a very high order. The gifts which have gone into the composition of these passages would surely suffice to establish Father Little high among the authors of biblical novels such as have been so popular of recent years. *Christ Unconquered* reveals a talent for fiction much superior to that displayed in works like *The Robe* or *The Scarlet Lily*. One thinks rather of *Joseph and His Brethren*.

The difficulty naturally was to present all these pictorial, human and philosophical values as unified, sublimated and energized by a genuine aesthetic vision and emotion. Father Little has not surmounted this difficulty with entire success. The reason for his failure seems to be that he has not allowed his subject to sink deeply enough into the mysterious underlayers of consciousness where the creative and transforming imagination of the artist does its essential work. This is by no means to be taken as an accusation of superficiality in the ordinary sense. On the intellectual side the work has been done with a profundity and sensitivity that would do honor to a serious theological study. It is rather that the ideas and the images which accompany them do not fuse into an organic artistic experience which creates its own distinct atmosphere and idiom. A symptom of this incomplete poetic mastery is found in a certain inequality of treatment and disharmony of style. To illustrate what is meant by inequality of treatment one may contrast the settings with the human actions which are transacted before them. The descriptions of Jerusalem, of the architecture of the city and of landscapes in the environs have a dark and ominous grandeur such as is suggested in the drawings of Fuseli. To fill such scenes the human actors would have to be simplified and magnified into Titans. They remain for the most part the common creatures which the Gospels with such touching simplicity portray. The style, again, is uneven and often inept. The heavy shadow of Milton rests upon it almost everywhere. This is no small advantage in certain passages of impassioned eloquence as in the great speech of Annas before the Council or in the soliloquy of the despairing Judas, but adherence to it results, perhaps inevitably, in occasional stiff pomposity, in the blowing up of trifles when no issue worthy of the Miltonic dignity is to be discussed. When, however, warned by a sense of monotony or incongruity, Father Little departs from the Miltonic austerity to indulge a taste for modern decorative phrase making, or when following a happier instinct, he reports the words of the evangelists in plain paraphrase, the effect is disturbing. It is hard to refrain from condemning the style as pastiche.

If these remarks on purely aesthetic matters indicate less than enthusiasm for *Christ Unconquered* as an epic they are in no wise intended to disparage the work as a different kind of poem. It is a reverent, moving and profound study of a great subject which at times rises to poetry of considerable power. If it is taken as a cento, as a series of meditations on the several stages of the passion, no doubt the limitations hinted at will be less felt. One claim and that a high one can be made for Father Little's poem. It is an aid to prayer.

The publishers are to be commended for the splendid format of this American edition of Father Little's poem. It has been designed as a gift book and contains eleven full page drawings by Fritz Kredel. Fulton Oursler has written the introduction in which he recommends the poem as "deeply moving to all who know and acknowledge the central facts of Christianity."

J. A. SLATTERY, S.J.

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### PRAYER MAKES PRIESTS

**The Seminarian at His Prie-Dieu.** By Robert Nash, S.J. Westminster, The Newman Press, 1951. Pp. 312. \$3.50.

This companion volume to Father Nash's (Irish Province) previous point-books for meditation—*The Priest at His Prie-Dieu* and *The Nun at Her Prie-Dieu*—has made its timely and welcomed appearance. The author has sounded its keynote in a quotation from the first Epistle of St. John (II, 14) which well might serve as the sub-title of the book: "I am writing to you, young men, because you are strong and the word of God abides in you, and you have conquered the evil one."

The book is written for those young men who, with the strength and idealism of youth, aspire to the glorious goal that is the priesthood. It is meant as an aid for every seminarian and religious scholastic to progress in mental prayer. The various meditations are divided into the traditional Ignatian preparatory prayer, two preludes, three points and "tessera." The length of each chapter or meditation helps to fulfill perfectly the seminary's or religious institute's requirement for a quarter-hour preparation in the evening for the morning meditation. This book makes a strong appeal to serious minded youth showing them the beauty of mental prayer and its necessity in the life of a future priest. In the preparatory prayers, the author makes a rich and varied use of the Psalms, while his first preludes are absorbing and warm concentrations on the person of Christ. His second preludes are strikingly practical for the seminarian of today who is tomorrow's priest. The three points unfold ever ancient truths in a new way, with a twist of a phrase and a story that can only flow from the pen of Father Nash. And often these points can furnish sufficient material for many days' prayer. At the conclusion of each meditation there is



a summary of the material and a "tessera" which makes the observance of the Ignatian "additions" within the easy reach of all. The series of meditations is so arranged as to cover the whole course of seminary or scholastic life, beginning with the meditation on "The Great Decision" to embark upon the quest of the priesthood and ending with Ordination, "For the Sake of the Elect." In between are proposed thoughts which are "Food for the Strong"—meditations on "Being Alone," "A Chaste Generation," "My Soul," "Four Vocations," and "Heavenly Mindedness," to mention but a few.

As a point book, it is probably one of the most flawless and practical that has been placed in the hands of the future priests of our generation. In the introduction, Father Nash expresses the hope that his book will encourage even one seminarian to aspire to the heights of prayer and familiarity with the Master; and this he will consider ample reward for his labors. But Father Nash may well expect to be blessed with a far greater reward. The seminarians, the strong young men to whom he has written today, with the spur and inspiration of *The Seminarian at His Prie-Dieu*, will be eternally grateful to him for a richer and more fruitful priesthood which will be theirs—tomorrow.

J. EMILE PFISTER, S.J.

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### THE GATES OF HELL

*Satan. Edited by Fr. Bruno de Jésus-Marie, O.C.D.* New York, Sheed and Ward, 1952. Pp. 506. \$5.50.

This volume is a translation of the collection of studies published under the same name in the well-known series put out annually by the *Etudes Carmélitaines*. It is a valuable and most interesting collection, though by no means of equal quality and authoritativeness throughout. It has already attracted considerable attention even in the secular press.

As is customary in the works of this series, a wide variety of specialists are called upon to handle the subject in its different aspects. Their contributions are divided into five main sections: the first, entitled "Satan's Existence and Nature," contains the most important general articles treating of the devil under the light thrown on him by theology, Holy Scripture, and the writings of the great mystics, St. John of the Cross and St. Teresa. The essay by the English Jesuit, Bernard Leeming, is perhaps the most comprehensive and valuable. The one on the devil in the Old Testament, on the other hand, by A. Lefèvre, S.J., is overly enigmatic and leaves considerably more questions asked than answered.

The second section, "The Place of the Devil outside Christianity," contains some valuable and highly interesting historical studies on the devil in primitive mythology, Mazdeism, and Manichaeism. It is illuminating to learn of the almost universal presence of some notion

of an adversary of God, trying to spoil the goodness of creation, in the religious mythology of even the most primitive peoples. Section three deals with "Possession and Diabolism," first in the Gospels, then in various famous cases of genuine or pseudo-possession, including the manifestation of the devil's opposition to the conversion of pagan countries. The material in this section is probably the most interesting, if one is looking for the sensational and the bizarre. But it is somewhat to be regretted that more of the scholarly, theoretical type of study were not included here, since so many of the particular cases described turn out to be ambiguous and inconclusive.

The fourth part treats of "The Devil in Art and Literature." The essays here are again usually interesting but not always profound or authoritative. For example, to interpret the art of Picasso and of various modern abstract schools as imbued with a demonic spirit because they deliberately break up the ordinary natural appearances of things to rearrange the pieces in apparent chaos is going a bit far in this reviewer's opinion. The final section deals with "Deicide" or the anti-God currents of thought in our own day and their origins in Hegel and Nietzsche.

On the whole, then, this collection of essays is one of real value and high interest. But its level is not such that it can be taken as the definitive authoritative treatment of the problems it handles.

W. NORRIS CLARKE, S.J.

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### THE IMPORTANCE OF WORSHIP

*Christ in the Liturgy.* By Dom Illtyd Trethowan. New York, Sheed and Ward, 1952. Pp. ix-150. \$2.50.

The structure of the series of lectures in *Christ in the Liturgy* is laid on one foundational fact,—that "the whole purpose of mankind is to be united in the Incarnate Word." Man makes sense only as a member of the Mystical Body, and the necessity of liturgical worship is a sequel to the truth that all graces flow from the Incarnate Word, living and working in the Mystical Body. The liturgy is the very texture of Christian life, "the cure for all disorders, the only possible solution to important problems."

This series of lectures, delivered to Catholic lay people, is the author's attempt to explain the true nature and significance of the liturgy, especially that of the Mass. The book fits in somewhere between Father Coventry's *The Breaking of Bread* and Father Parch's book on the Mass, or Father Jungmann's *Missarum Solemnia*. It can be called popular since Dom Trethowan has given a difficult and complex subject a very clear and readable treatment, avoiding the thorny theoretical problems. On the other hand this is no book for beginners. The first

three chapters,—or lectures,—all a preparation for an understanding of the Mass, are packed with an astute and scholarly development of the notions of the Incarnation, Redemption and the Christian Sacrifice. His treatment of the Mass, both historical and analytical, is surprisingly complete and solid, considering its meager allotment of only two chapters.

The second half of the book, however, is somewhat less effective. The chapters on the liturgical year are tedious and too summary, with a somewhat indiscriminate selection of facts and explanations. The final chapters, on modern liturgical problems and the Divine Office, are quite mediocre; but this final section is concluded with a splendid epilogue, on Christian Perfection and Intellectualism.

It is only fair to realize that the author intended his book chiefly as a stimulus. He calls it an "oeuvre de vulgarisation," aimed at a summarization of the work of contemporary theologians and liturgists. He has attained eminent success in presenting the essential theological truths that an intelligent Catholic must digest in order to appreciate the Mass and liturgical worship.

WILLIAM C. MCCUSKER, S.J.

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### THE SERVANT IS NOT GREATER

*The Autobiography of a Hunted Priest.* By John Gerard. Translated from the Latin by Philip Caraman. New York, Pellegrini and Cudahy, 1952. Pp. xxii-287. \$3.50.

John Gerard wrote his autobiography at the command of his superiors. In his preface he states: "It is a praiseworthy thing to make known the works of God, and on this account, I need have no bashfulness in recording the results of my own poor efforts." The consequent sincerity and frankness of this English Jesuit makes his book real—one filled with a sense of urgency and of excitement. It reminds us more of a contemporary document that spells out the imminent dangers of today or of an approaching tomorrow.

The Autobiography, written in simple ecclesiastical Latin, contains a running account of Father Gerard's eighteen years in England—years of heroic service, of zeal and fatigue, of eluding priest-hunters, and of suffering; and this Father Caraman has admirably translated into very readable English. If there are touches of naiveté and occasional overloading of insignificant details, we must remember that the author is not striving for effect, but rather relating in calm retrospect the hectic saga of a hunted man. The greater part of the book, however, brims with adventure and hazard, from the first furtive slipping ashore at Norfolk, through prison, priest-hole and torture, until the last hurried farewell.

This is more than the personal history of a recusant priest. It is Elizabethan England in action—with all its bloody cruelty and bigotry,

along with the courage and heroic suffering of a persecuted people that clung desperately to the Faith. It should be of interest to all free men and all Catholics, and a source of pride to all Jesuits.

WILLIAM C. McCUSKER, S.J.

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### "JOSEPH, HER HUSBAND"

**The Fatherhood of St. Joseph.** *By Joseph Mueller, S.J.* Translated by Rev. Athanasius Dengler, O.S.B. St. Louis, Herder, 1952. Pp. vii-238. \$3.50.

As one might easily infer from its title, this book on St. Joseph pursues a single line of inquiry. Using as a starting point the commonly accepted proposition that Joseph is in some sense the father of our Lord, Father Mueller sets out to determine precisely what kind of fatherhood should be attributed to the Saint. The author's style, as well as his selectivity of details, soon inform the reader that a thesis is being defended. It can be stated briefly: "The divine Child was given by God to both Mary and Joseph as the fruit of their virginal marriage. St. Joseph, therefore, is the father of Jesus in virtue of his true marriage with the Virgin most pure."

Without delaying on the historical development of devotion to St. Joseph, the author launches into the prenotes of his thesis, which consist in a philosophical analysis of the nature of matrimony and the dignity of the vow of virginity. In addition to the inspired word of God, Father Mueller draws copiously from the writings of the Fathers, and seeks confirmation in the sermons and works of theologians. Following the teaching of St. Ambrose and his spiritual son, St. Augustine, the author maintains that the essence of a true and valid marriage is conjugal love, and not the consummation of the union. From here he goes on to establish the existence of such a marriage—*ratum non consummatum*—between Mary and Joseph. He then discusses the three blessings of marriage, which are found most perfectly verified in this virginal marriage: *proles, fides, et sacramentum*.

In his search for an accurate term to describe this unique and miraculous fatherhood, Father Mueller rejects the titles proposed by some, namely, foster, adoptive, legal, or putative father. He maintains that the most proper and only satisfactory designation is simply "virginal father." Though he readily admits that Mary's role in the Incarnation of the Son of God was of essentially greater importance than that of St. Joseph, inasmuch as she alone was the physical parent of our Lord; nevertheless the author claims for St. Joseph a real cooperation in the production of this fruit, being careful, of course, to limit this cooperation to the supernatural order. The foundation on which he rests this claim is the fact that the virginal marriage between Joseph and Mary "was the necessary prerequisite predisposition, the

*causa dispositiva*, for the Incarnation of the Son of God, in the virginal womb of Mary the Mother of God."

Though the many penetrating and comprehensive passages cited from the Fathers lend the book a profundity which is commendable, in our opinion, the subsequent paraphrasing of these passages by the author himself, or by later theologians whom the author quotes, could have been omitted. Most of these later writers followed not only the opinion, but also the verbal expression of their predecessors; and, moreover, their reasoning was usually neither as cogent nor as complete as that of the Fathers. Consequently, the weight which they add to the argumentation fails to reinforce it, and serves only to slow down the reading.

The translation from the German is faithful to the original, and retains the sobriety and restraint proper to the treatment, which is dogmatic rather than historical or strictly devotional. The eminent dignity and holiness of St. Joseph, by reason of this unique fatherhood, are certain to impress the reader with added force, and to convince him of the veneration which is due to one who is in a special sense the "reflected image of the Father."

DOMINIC MARUCA, S.J.

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### MESSAGE TO AMERICANS

**Our Bishops Speak.** Edited by Raphael M. Huber, O.F.M. Conv. Milwaukee, Bruce, 1952. Pp. xxxiii-402. \$6.00.

In 1923 Msgr. Peter Guilday published *The National Pastorals of the American Hierarchy, 1791-1919*, a collection of the statements of Bishop John Carroll to the clergy and laity and the Pastorals of the six Provincial Councils and three Plenary Councils of Baltimore. Now in a companion volume Father Huber has edited all the National Pastorals and Annual Statements of the hierarchy, the resolutions of Episcopal Committees and communications of the Administrative Board of the N.C.W.C. from 1919 to 1951. A collection of eighty-two documents, the book includes the recent "God's Law: The Measure of Human Conduct." Many of the later documents are available elsewhere, but this carefully annotated volume gives many out-of-print pastorals and several letters and resolutions which have never been published. The foreword is a brief history of the growth and functions of the N.C.W.C., and there is an appendix containing a list of the members of the various boards within the Conference. Students of history and political science will be interested in this book because it is a good gauge of the accuracy of Catholic analysis of contemporary American society and its political and social problems. Sociologists will also find much useful material since the American church in the past thirty years has been preoccupied with the social reconstruction after

both World Wars: international peace, labor legislation, education, the sanctity of the marriage bond and the preservation of the family, the moral problems of motion pictures and books.

ALBERT J. LOOMIE, S.J.

### THE PRIEST IN THE PRISON

*Gates of Dannemora.* By *John L. Donn, S.J.* Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday and Company, 1952. Pp. 276. \$3.00.

Father Ambrose R. Hyland, for the past fifteen years Catholic chaplain at Clinton State Prison, Dannemora, N. Y., is the subject of this moving biography written in the form of a novel. Basing his characters on actual case histories, Father Bonn (New England Province) takes us behind the prison walls and reveals the tremendous power for good one zealous priest can be. The Church of the Good Thief, built within the prison by the prisoners themselves, is a symbol of the vision of this virile chaplain, who first had to win the respect of his unusual parishioners, before he could hope for their confidence in him as a priest and a friend. The many problems, both material and spiritual, involved in the construction of this church form the major part of the book.

The realistic picture of prison life and the conditions under which a prison chaplain must work, as well as a fine insight into the mystery that is our human nature, will recommend this book to all Jesuits. At times the abrupt introductions of sub-plots obscure rather than help the story in an otherwise excellent piece of literary craftsmanship.

JOHN J. CANAVAN, S.J.

### AN INTRODUCTION TO CHRIST

*Our Lord.* By *Gerard Lake, S.J.* Westminster, The Newman Press, 1952. Pp. xii-123. Cloth \$2.00; paper \$1.00.

GIs and WACS, like the British Tommies and WAAFS for whom it was written, will find this brief narrative of our Lord's life interesting and inspiring. Father Lake (English Province) in his outline life of Christ takes young service men and women into Palestine to walk with Christ, to listen to His doctrine and to witness His heroism. Of particular note is the excellent handling of the Sermon on the Mount (pp. 37-40) and of the Last Supper (pp. 100-104), the simple and clear description of the geography of Palestine, the incisive and accurate characterization of the Scribes, Pharisees, publicans and Saducees.

Best of all is the richly inspiring doctrine of our Lord: charity is the keynote and the theme. For, although the picture of Christ Him-

self is not directly drawn and leaves Him shadowy and remote, His doctrine breaks through in a powerful presentation. In the Heart of Jesus we find the supremacy of the spiritual, the beauty of humility, the tenderness of the patient, mercy toward the sinful, the value of rejection by the world, the call to heroism and the necessity of prayer and penance.

To establish this doctrine Jesus labored. He manifested who He was and by what right He spoke by living this holy doctrine, by working miracles, by fulfilling prophecies. He preached self-sacrifice and sacrificed Himself. His Father's will is supreme, and so He mounts to His death—and to the triumph of His resurrection, the signal sign for the skeptical Scribes and the prejudiced Pharisees.

Among other points scholars will note that Father Lake fails to explain the legal purification of Mary, supposes that Luke got the infancy story directly from Mary, follows the "anticipation" theory on the time of the Paschal supper and adopts Father Lagrange's chronology. Soldiers, sailors and marines, scarcely searching for such scholarly secrets, will enjoy immensely this outline life of Christ and will profit richly from its spiritual treasures.

JAMES T. GRIFFIN, S.J.

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#### NOTES OF A WISE DIRECTOR

**Searchlighting Ourselves; The Retreat Notes of Timothy Brosnahan, S.J.** Edited by Francis P. LeBuffe, S.J. New York, Jesuit Seminary and Mission Press, 1949. Pp. 288. \$4.00.

Distinguished spiritual reading of a thoroughly Ignatian character, these retreat notes of Father Brosnahan richly deserved publication, and we all owe Father LeBuffe a debt of thanks for rescuing them from oblivion. Twenty-four meditations on the *Exercises* of the four weeks, six conferences, and three special meditations provide much solid, challenging, and prayer-provoking material for reading and reflection. Aimed at priest and religious retreatants these meditations are the real *Exercises*, not a watered-down adaptation.

In his lengthy insistence that Ignatian indifference is logically, physically, and morally necessary, the author has attempted too much, and laid himself open to misunderstanding and criticism. He concludes that the Principle and Foundation is a calm thesis of reason, and that a saint is a man guided by reason. Not by love and generosity? The beautifully erected superstructure of the other exercises which the author constructs in the four weeks rests upon a far more solid foundation than this calm thesis of reason he has developed. A generous and loving resolution always to act *ad majorem Dei gloriam* stands at the head of the four weeks.

GEORGE ZORN, S.J.

## PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

The asterisk indicates that a review will be published in our next issue.

From The Bruce Publishing Co., Milwaukee:

\***Christ in Me.** *By Daniel A. Lord, S.J.*

From The Newman Press, Westminster:

\***Mary in the Documents of the Church.** *By Paul Palmer, S.J.*

\***Papal Pronouncements on the Political Order.** *By Francis J. Powers, C.S.V.*

From Sheed and Ward, New York:

\***Summary of Moral and Pastoral Theology.** *By Henry Davis, S.J.*

From Sheed and Ward, London:

\***Father Thurston.** *By Joseph Crehan, S.J.*

From P. J. Kenedy and Sons, New York:

\***One Shepherd.** *By Charles Boyer, S.J.*

From Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York:

**Successful Entertaining at Home.** *By Carolyn Coggins.*

**Immortal Bohemian.** *By-Dante del Fiorentino.*

**Understanding Your Child.** *By James L. Hymes, Jr.*

From The Catholic Social Guild, Oxford, England:

**The Christian Democrat.** (Monthly publication of the Guild).

From C.T.S., 38-40 Eccleston Square, London S.W. 1, England:

**World Conflict.** *By Hilaire Belloc* (Reprint of a lecture).

From The Irish Messenger Office, 5 Great Denmark St., Dublin:

Pamphlets: **Atonement.** *By Most Rev. Archbishop John Charles McQuaid, D.D.*

**That You May Have Life.** *By Rev. Stephen Redmond, S.J.*

**The Parables of Our Lord.** *By Olive Mary Scanlan.*

**Could This Be You?** *By "Bernadette."*

**Ambrose and the Parrot.** *By Cahill O'Sandair.*

**Pat Sees the Truth.** *By Cahill O'Sandair.*



# THE WOODSTOCK LETTERS

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## CONTRIBUTORS

Father Wilfred P. Schoenberg (Oregon Province) has just completed his theological studies at Alma College.

Mr. Enrico Cantore (Turin Province) was a student of philosophy at Gallarate when he wrote the article published in this issue.

Father Joseph I. Stoffel (Maryland Province) is studying the Visayan language at Berchmans College, Cebu City, Philippines.

Father John LaFarge (New York Province) is an Associate Editor of *America*.

Mr. Frederick L. Canavan (New York Province) is a third year theologian at Woodstock College.

Father Ernest B. Clements (Maryland Province), a Captain in the United States Army, is returning to teach at Gonzaga High School, Washington, D. C.

Father Clement J. McNaspy (New Orleans Province) teaches in the juniorate at Grand Coteau.

Father John J. Cassidy (New York Province) is Spiritual Father of the community at St. Peter's High School, Jersey City.

Father Kevin J. O'Brien (New York Province) is Revisor Arcarum Provinciae.

Mr. J. Richard Murray (Chicago Province) has just completed his philosophical studies at West Baden College.

Father Francis X. Curran (New York Province) is presently engaged in writing a history of the New York Province.

Father José A. Romero (Mexican Province) is director of *Buenia Prensa* in Mexico City.

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## BEGGAR BISHOP

WILFRED P. SCHOENBERG, S.J.

To most Americans Alaska is the Last Outpost, the edge of the world. To Alaskans it is infinitely more. It is a world in itself. Alaskans, except for Eskimos and Indians, are mostly citizens of adoption. They have that in common with other frontiersmen and they say that it is proof of Alaska's bewitching charms. Alaska, for them at least, is a home of preference, an asylum from something they dread more than freezing. It is the "inside," a cold but comfortable hearth carefully distinguished from the "outside," where fellow-Americans are too busy to keep hearths, or anything else for that matter.

There are really two Alaskas: the one known by tourists—land of totem poles and spectacular glaciers observed cozily from snug cruising ships or new Fords; the other known by missionaries—land of tundra or snow, of dog-sleds, mosquitoes, literally lousy furs and equally lousy villages. Tourists are always breathless when they recall Alaska's wonders; missionaries can only be weary. Their Alaska is one of loneliness and struggle with space. Whatever else it is, it is space and the missionary's danger is distance, not frosts, or even blizzards.

Alaska is almost endless. It covers three time zones and an area of 600,000 square miles which is about as much as the United States east of the Mississippi, or England, Ireland, France, Germany, Austria, and Italy combined. Yet in all this territory, there are only 2,000 miles of highways, exclusive of the Alcan Highway, and 500 miles of railroads. There are only 75,000 people, not counting the military, and they have to be reached for a great part by dog-sled or boat. What is worse, the population is constantly shifting, especially in the north where natives follow the fish and fur-bearing animals. They live on the hunt and cannot settle in large, sedentary groups. The missionary has to find them or follow them, live with them in their crude shacks and move on with them when the hunt gives out. He moves in cycles, like the animals, and his circuit covers incredible distances.

There were not many tourists or missionaries in Alaska when the alert Secretary of State bought it in 1867. In fact tourists were mostly explorers, and missionaries were Russians,

left-overs from a roaring era of exploitation and mass baptisms. The Purchase was to change all that. Under American influence a trickle of Catholic missionaries flowed in, beginning with the Oblates and Archbishop Seghers. Jesuits accompanied Seghers on his second trip and, when Seghers was murdered, the Jesuit Tosi was appointed Vicar Apostolic directly under Propaganda in Rome.

Despite many failures, Jesuit history in Alaska has been glorious by any standard. The Church has been established and if, as Père Charles would say, that is the purpose of our missions, they have succeeded beyond anyone's wildest hopes. For the Church is in Alaska to stay, and the Pope did not have to appropriate two hundred million dollars to defend it against Japanese invaders in 1941. No invading army could snatch what the Oblate Father Clut, and Archbishop Seghers and the Jesuits had come to cultivate, not even the devil himself.

On the eve of the Second Great War, in 1938, the Alaska Mission could count among its assets one bishop, twenty-six priests, two Scholastics, ten Brothers, and fifty-four sisters. There were thirteen thousand of the faithful, about one-sixth of the population. These were cared for in forty-nine churches and missions, five of which had boarding schools for native children. There were, besides, five day schools and five hospitals. Among its liabilities, other than floods, tundra and lice, were groups of bitter and articulate Quakers mostly in the north, and a sizeable debt. The aging bishop, Most Reverend Raphael Crimont of the Society of Jesus, had been trying for nearly four decades to reduce these liabilities, and until the Great Depression struck, had succeeded exceptionally well.

In early 1939 a second bishop entered the scene. He was tall and dignified, most genial in disposition, a tried and proved administrator. He was Walter James Fitzgerald, Titular Bishop of Tymbrias and Coadjutor Vicar Apostolic *cum jure successionis*, of the Vicariate of Alaska. Nature had fitted him ill for the role; he was neither fat for warmth, nor athletic, nor given to feats of physical strength. Nor was he young enough to acquire these desirables. Yet for what nature had denied him, eagerness and determination amply compensated, and his friends were predicting that he would turn in a fine performance. They were saying that his whole career had been a

preparation and no doubt they were right. The new bishop had started to become a bishop the day he was born.

### Early Years

Walter Fitzgerald came from a very ordinary background. Perhaps you would call it typical for an American bishop; perhaps not. His parents were humble folk who could, in later years, sign their letters "Ma and Pa Fitzgerald" without blushing and even with dignity. Both had been driven from Ireland by the potato famine in 1847. Pa Fitzgerald served with the 9th Massachusetts regiment during the Civil War. Several years afterwards he took a trip up to Exeter, N. H., where he met a pretty colleen from Limerick County, Johanna Kirk. He married her. Eleven years later he moved his wife and family out to the Pacific Northwest, and settled down on a farm near Peola, Washington Territory.

Here, in the peaceful quiet hills just north of the Blue Mountains, Walter was born. That day, November 17, 1883, was evidently inauspicious for nothing world-resounding occurred then, nor was there anything preternatural or prophetic about the birth. Just the arrival of a noisy little kid, who was soon smothered with love, almost worshipped, by his two older sisters and a brother; and by his mother, too, who was an old woman by 19th century standards, all of forty-three.

Walter, thank God, was a normal boy. He learned very little about farming, because he liked books too much, and attended a county grade school in the neighborhood, just a one-room-with-a-pot-bellied-stove institution, administered more or less efficiently by a certain Reverend S. M. Mathes. The Reverend Mr. Mathes was a United Brethren minister, a personal tragedy, perhaps, but he could teach and he could evidently teach well. During Walter's first term, Washington Territory became a state and one can surmise that the Reverend had a suitable patriotic program and flags with forty-two stars on the wall. Though his books kept Walter from farming, they had little influence on his outings. Whenever he could he galloped the range on horseback, pursuing relentlessly the little creatures of the brook and the meadow. Sister Kate would write of him that "he could beat Henry (Kate's husband) fish-

ing and hunting and was a crack shot with a .22 rifle." Such admiration was characteristic of Kate. She remained to the end Walter's most loyal admirer.

In the autumn of 1898 the Fitzgerald family dug deep into its resources and scraped enough together to send Walter off to boarding school. The institution selected was Gonzaga College, one hundred and thirty miles distant, which might have been China so far as sisters Kate and Belle were concerned. Ma Fitzgerald cried a lot, for Walter was always her baby, but both survived the tears, and a new era began.

Walter was introduced into his status as boarder by a good ducking in the Spokane river. His companions thought it very funny, and so did he, but the prefect, Mr. "Big Jim" Kennelly, did not. The waters of the Spokane had already swallowed up one little boarder and that was quite enough woe for a struggling school out on the Indian frontier. Anyhow, Walter survived the river and other pranks, too. In fact he thrived on the Gonzaga atmosphere and I am sure his mother would have been shocked to see him so happy away from home.

A contemporary photograph shows him in the very middle of his class, a bright-eyed little Irish Patty, typical of Irish Patties everywhere. Across his face is spread a most roguish grin, though the caption on the picture assures us that these are Holy Angels' Sodalists. His hair is parted in the middle in the approved fashion and his hands are quiet for once and his feet together. All in all he is a refreshing picture of happiness, in sharp contrast with the worried laddies about him, most of whom might have died on the spot so painful was this business of being photographed.

Walter stayed at Gonzaga three terms, distinguishing himself with "highest honors." That little phrase, "highest honors," became a battle cry in the Fitzgerald farmhouse. Walter would show the neighbors yet, the Fitzgeralds said. Perhaps some day he might even be governor.

### Los Gatos and the Jesuits

And then Walter made them all much happier (poor mother almost died with joy), this time by taking a longer trip, to Los Gatos, California. He entered the Jesuit Novitiate on the eve of the Feast of St. Ignatius in 1902, along with other wide-

eyed and innocent lads, among them David McAstocker from Gonzaga. The Rector and Novice Master at Los Gatos was the clever little Father Giacobbi who had built up a winery from almost nothing to a business of considerable importance. He was, besides, highly popular as a novice master, severe in the solid tradition but gentle enough when gentleness was needed. He used to say of his novices when they came to confession to him, "I give them absolution and they give me poison oak." That was Father Giacobbi, tit for tat.

The novitiate, perched on a shelf of some foothills overlooking the Santa Clara Valley, had a breathless view, but Brother Fitzgerald soon got used to it. In fact the valley seemed to get smaller by weeks and there came a time when he decided he did not like it at all. But this phase passed, too, and he gradually developed into the characteristic novice.

In due course he pronounced his first vows and put on a biretta. Like himself, the juniorate was normal. He listened endlessly and patiently to a professor of Latin, Greek, English, and some history in one of those high-ceilinged classrooms for which the age was famous. Thursdays and part of the summer he spent at Villa Joseph in the Santa Cruz Mountains, not far removed from the present Alma College. Father Giacobbi and Father Congiato had but lately acquired Villa Joseph and it was still a novelty for the whole California Mission. The most beautiful in America, they all said, and no doubt they believed it.

When the juniorate was over in 1906, Mr. Fitzgerald passed into that delirious state called regency, which for him took place at Seattle College. He was assigned to teach the humanities, some more Latin, Greek and English, and besides was given the altar boys to train for services in Immaculate Conception Church. The next year he was promoted with his class to rhetoric and the year after to humanities again, which must have been a promotion, too. For whoever heard of a third-year regent being demoted? That last year must have been a long one but it did end and Mr. Fitzgerald was ordered to Gonzaga to start philosophy. Nothing significant is reported of his days in philosophy; probably he was intellectually marooned the first year and sailing the high seas of discovery the following two. In the third year he rose to the dizzy heights of beadship, a simple fact which could indicate nothing, but

which, in his case at least, manifested the superior's perspicacity. Anybody that the Pope could eventually name bishop ought to be a good enough beadle for fifteen philosophers. And in fact he was.

Philosophers at Gonzaga lived in the "sheds," a rickety building not far removed from the Little Boys' and Big Boys' yards, and almost countless piles of slab-wood, and what is even more ominous, not far from classrooms and dormitories. It is to be hoped that Mr. Fitzgerald and his fifteen confreres were never pressed into prefecting service. But if one knows the times, one knows, too, the temptations of shorthanded and harassed administrators to use the always-willing philosophers. It can be safely said that prefecting did not blend too well with Schiffini, and there was always current in the philosophate a program for fewer extracurricular activities. Be that as it may, Mr. Fitzgerald at length arrived at his final examination, and after it was over, was told to move, scanty wardrobe and note system also, across the campus to the faculty section of the main building. Those were hard days for Scholastics; regents had two whirls at it, one before and one after philosophy. Accordingly Mr. Fitzgerald soon found himself back on the rostrum, this time a Gonzaga rostrum, and he took up where he left off, with humanities and rhetoric and altar boys who looked more like dead-end kids in lace than holy servers for Mass.

From the old homestead now came an appeal for a "wee visit"—it had been so long and a mother's heart was calling. "Ten years," she said, "since I gave you up to Our Lōrd forever—and asked the Blessed Mother of God to be your Mother, always to be your Mother." But Ma Fitzgerald was a mother, too, and she was putting up peaches, jelly and pickles for Walter's projected visit home. "We will have something for you to eat when you come down." Then she closed with a precious touch. "Yes, we knew you in that picture you sent. We said it was not a very good one but I said you had a generous looking mouth. You need it in your line of business."

At the moment Walter was too busy getting ready for school to make the trip. Little boys from other homesteads throughout the Northwest were arriving by dozens and most were so homesick that they needed all the attention the Jesuits could give them. The oldtimers were harder to handle. They were



busy ducking one another in the river and trying smokes behind the slab-wood piles. A standard joke for them was "blowing the lights." Some timid lad from the Montana backwoods was given the task of blowing out the electric lights in the dormitory and while the poor kid huffed away the others gathered around and roared mercilessly. Of course it was a stunt good for only one play a year, but it had many other variations, which seldom failed. The boarders slept in the fourth floor dormitory. Long and windowed on both sides it looked like a hospital during a general disaster, a vast hall with row on row of tidy beds and wash stands, towels hanging so, wash basins with the inevitable china pitcher, night shirts folded, and spare shoes beside the beds. To prefect in a place like that was not so much a task; it was a military campaign. For three years Mr. Fitzgerald had his share of it. Most of it was during the third year, whenever he was free from other duties, like teaching, directing the Sodality, or building props for some dramatic extravaganza. There was little enough time for breathing, not to mention trips home to eat Mother's pickles and jam.

Meanwhile the new St. Aloysius Church was going up on the campus, and was getting dedicated and blessed in innumerable ceremonies. Gonzaga College had become Gonzaga University, and a Law School was added. Spokane itself was growing up; automobiles were now so common on its streets that horses no longer bolted when they saw one, or worse, heard one; and even sidewalks were going down so that Gonzaga boys could keep their shoes, long stockings and short pants in a respectable state for scholars.

In the national capitol the talk was all war; could the United States stay out of it and so on. What the world needed was democracy. The United States had enough for everybody and a campaign was launched to share it. In the midst of it all, Mr. Fitzgerald was assigned to theology. He left Spokane in late summer, 1915 for Montreal, where he took up the study of God with characteristic vigor. He had left his mother ailing but hopeful that she would see him as a priest. She was in her mid-seventies now, as venerable and fragile as a Whistler's portrait.

Mr. Fitzgerald enjoyed the prestige of two nicknames, neither of them offensive or exactly suitable. "Wild and Wooly"

was the first, and the second was "Western Farmer," *Fermier de l'ouest*. Perhaps the Canadians saw something funny in them. "Wild and Woolly" did not, but he wrote his mother about them with more wit than appreciation. She, of course, was delighted that his companions had stuck such harmless labels on him. Heavens! It could have been something as bad as "Fitz!"

### A Priest Forever

May 16, 1918 was Walter's great day. He was ordained that morning by Bishop William Forbes in the chapel of the College. He said his first Mass the following day in the Church of the Immaculate Conception. Letters of congratulation poured in from every direction, one from his old Novice Master, Father Giacobbi, others from Father Joseph Malaise and Father James Malone who are still with us and still offering congratulations to scores of other new priests. From the Novitiate at Los Gatos came a spiritual bouquet signed by such illustrious men as Brothers Mark and William Gaffney, Nichols, Leo Robinson, John Fox, Louis Fink, Paul Corkery, Francis Altman, Kane, Steele and Prange. A cousin in Holyoke sent him a gift of money for a Roman Ritual. Father Fitzgerald wrote him to say that he would put the donor's name on the first page, "and when I am engaged in baptizing some dusky Redskin or a malodorous Eskimo, this little remembrance of you will make you a partaker of my apostolic work." It is hard to say whether he really meant that part about the malodorous Eskimo—maybe it was just a sudden flight into the vapors of rhetoric. But the Eskimo it would be.

Ordination day's happiness was tempered somewhat by the absence of his kin. Mother, who planned on being present, at last could not, so she sent her love and an ardent prayer that she would see him at the altar some day. It was the one great desire of her life but it was denied her. Walter was well along in fourth year when he received guarded hints that she was failing. Then she got the flu and the parish priest in Clarkston wrote to Montreal advising Walter to come home. Walter sent the letter to his Provincial, Father Dillon, and added: "And now, Reverend Father, I leave the matter entirely in your hands. I am sure that my old Rector of Seattle College knows

me sufficiently well to realize, that if he feels he must send a negative answer, his reply will be received as coming from God's hands." Father Dillon told him to hasten home, but before Walter could get started, he received a telegram stating that his mother had died very suddenly on her Golden Wedding Anniversary.

Her death was the great sorrow of Walter's life. Though he was no souvenir collector, he kept all his life the letters he received at this time, the telegram from home, and clippings and other items that recalled his mother's passing. For him they marked the closing of a happy era and he clung to them as though he could draw from them some bit of sweetness. Even bitter-sweetness like his mother's tears.

When theology was all over and his ad grad successfully hurdled, Father Fitzgerald was assigned again to Gonzaga and given a host of offices. He naturally wondered about tertianship but said nothing. He would wait and see. His patience was rewarded on the subsequent status and he left for California soon after.

In those days Los Gatos served as a tertianship as well as novitiate, and the Tertian Master was snow-white and slightly-balding Father Michael Meyer. He was particularly notable for his repertoire of animal illustrations. "Be like the chicken," he would say to his tertians. "They get out early and scratch around. You must get up early and make your meditation. Understand that now?" This last phrase was a trump card with him and he would have been tongue-tied if he did not use it.

This year Father Meyer looked his eleven tertians over, made Father Fitzgerald beadle, and started a hard season. It was scarcely done with when Father Fitzgerald was made another kind of beadle, this time Rector of Gonzaga University. He was also designated as Province Consultor. So young a man when there were two hundred and nine other Fathers in the province—plainly God had made him for ruling.

### Years as Rector

In the following six years, during his rectorship, Gonzaga made consoling progress. Nothing sensational, but progress. De Smet Hall for resident students was constructed. The stadium was enlarged. The football team attained national

fame; fickle recognition, but there it was. Summer schools were established. And Father Louis Taelman held a couple of his Indian celebrations.

Father Taelman is famous for celebrations. During these days of his eighties he does not manage more than one a year, but what he has are worth reporting. Some are called "jubilees," others "Indian Congresses" or "conventions" or anything else that implies multiplicity of Indians in one place. In 1925 he really had a "whopper," and though it was not entirely of his own making, no younger Jesuit would ever believe he played a small part in it. Indians came from near and far. They set up tepees within a bowshot of Spokane's Civic Center and had war dances and powwows to their hearts' content. They had a great Mass in St. Aloysius Church; Father Taelman read it and ninety-year-old Father Cataldo preached from his crutches. They had a great parade down Riverside Avenue, including a float on which Father Cataldo squatted with all the aplomb of a big fat Indian—Father Cataldo weighed less than a hundred. Then there was a football game between the Haskell Indians and Gonzaga, which was attended by a "colossal" throng of thirteen thousand. Meanwhile the missionaries had their own congress and a hot debate on whether or no the Indian was mentally inferior to the white. All these doings Father Fitzgerald connived at, even encouraged, and the old missionaries thought he was a wonderful rector.

In 1927 Father Joseph Piet, Provincial of the California Province, purchased an old stone mansion in Port Townsend. It looked like a gloomy chateau, tired and sleepy, or perhaps just lonesome for the sunshine of France. "Built at a cost of \$45,000 and in an excellent state of preservation," enthusiastically wrote Father Piet who transformed it into a tertianship. Father Fitzgerald was named this new Manresa Hall's first Rector and took office there on the Nativity of Our Lady. Among his subjects who were tertians that day was Father Francis Gleeson, his successor in Alaska.

For Father Fitzgerald this new tertianship did not last long. Less than two years. Seattle College across the sound needed a new rector when Father William Boland's term was completed in 1929 and Fitzgerald was the man. He took office as Seattle College's fifth rector on September 4. The new position required more than a host of friends and tact. Seattle College

at that time included a high school department and counted among its daughter residences no less than two city parishes. At the College itself a modest building program had been begun, but with Black Friday in the fall of '29 there was scant hope of extending it. Father Fitzgerald settled down as the superior of three separate establishments and acting dean in the College.

It was a few months after coming to Seattle that he learned one of those hard lessons of life: don't count chickens till they're ready to eat. It seems that a newspaper reporter came up to say that Seattle College had just inherited five million dollars. Five million dollars! Visions of Greater Seattle College began to dance before those bright Fitzgerald eyes. Was the reporter certain? Of course. There it was in the papers. Five million in the will of J. Moriarity, Nome gold miner. It was just like a miracle, altogether too good to be true. Father Fitzgerald calmly accepted the congratulations of all and waited for the bonanza to arrive. And then an Alaskan paper spoiled it all by reporting that the bequest was only five hundred thousand dollars. Half a million, even that looked pretty good. Seattle College would still rise in glory. But alas! no half-million either. Only five thousand dollars—which was a long time in coming. Seattle, so far as the records go, had no more "miracles."

### Another Step Upward

During his second year at the College, Father Fitzgerald was moved again, this time to Spokane, as the first Vice-Provincial of the newly erected Rocky Mountain Vice-Province. He took up his residence at Gonzaga, in the "Provincial's room," (that celebrated corner room on the second floor), and established Father Louis Fink as Socius next door, then went about this affair of getting a vice-province organized. There was a novitiate to build—and no money. Times were hard and getting harder. There were Scholastics to be supported, and a provincial's residence to be secured, for a province was in the making—and no money. He went ahead as best he could. Perhaps the best commentary on his success as Vice-Provincial was the shortness of time it took him to prepare for province status. The Rocky Mountain Vice-Province was officially established on Christmas day, 1930. Just thirteen months later, on

February 2, 1932 Father General Ledochowski gave it the full status of Province with Father Fitzgerald as the first Provincial. The name was changed to Oregon, and all the territory of the old Rocky Mountain Mission of the Turin Province was included. It was the mission founded by De Smet nearly a century before and the mission from which the California Province itself had sprung.

With its Alaska Mission the new Province was one of the largest in the Society in point of territory, approximately 982,000 square miles, or an area nearly as large as Argentina. It had four hundred and one Jesuits, of whom one hundred and eighty-eight were Scholastics. It had three province houses including Mount St. Michael's, one university, one college, four high schools, nineteen parishes, twenty-three missions and over fifty mission stations. In the Northwest alone ten thousand Indians were attended by Oregon Province Jesuits.

Getting province status did not solve the chronic financial problem. Money whether it talks or not seems to be about the only creature that gets things done and of money the new Provincial, like the old Vice-Provincial, had none; nor was there any in sight. Somehow he managed to keep the novitiate going, though once its closing was saved only by the arrival of a herd of sad-faced Herefords from Montana—they were not sad very long because the Jesuits ate them up—and a truckload of carrots from Yakima. These with locally produced prunes staved off disaster till something else turned up.

The money problem was manifest elsewhere. In Alaska, for example, Father Fitzgerald's missionary subjects were reduced to a diet of beans and fish. Some of them had worse, seal blubber, often enough rancid, and occasionally the rare treat of salt-preserved dandelion greens. An epidemic had swept the northern regions and left in its wake countless orphans who must somehow be provided for. Pilgrim Springs, where sixty of these orphans had been taken in, finally had to be closed entirely. From Holy Cross the Provincial got a cable, "If you can supply flour and cereal, Holy Cross will pull through." There were two hundred at Holy Cross. Akulurak was worse off. Even the fish were scarce. The usual summer runs brought in almost nothing and the Jesuits were at wits' ends seeking a substitute.

Closer to home the Indian missions were having similar

troubles. In a few short years fires had nearly wiped out four separate missions. Another was on the verge of bankruptcy—had to be abandoned several years later. Others, built in a more prosperous era, when the government had subsidized them, were now falling to pieces and there were no funds to restore them. Several day schools for Indians had to be closed, too, and great was the lamentation in the Redskins' villages. City schools were not much better off. One of them heavily in debt could not meet even the interest on the debt. Others were in no position to aid an impoverished province. Altogether it was an all-province crisis, like a war, but there were no war alarms or Red Cross relief programs to meet it.

One cannot say, as perhaps one would like to, that the Provincial faced these disturbances with an unflinching equanimity. Yet, and it seems to me this is more to his credit, he met them cheerfully and with characteristic Jesuit detachment. Often enough he could even laugh over his woes. Survival, he knew, was a kind of progress in the circumstances, and the Province in his time already was assured of survival. Since he was not notably adept at finance, he left the worrying to the Province Procurator, Father Sauer, who was generally credited with being a financial wizard. There seems to be no doubt that Father Sauer more than anyone else was responsible for survival and the Provincial never hesitated to give him the credit, though he often teased about it. "What's the matter with the Procurator? Please send me some more money!" Father Sauer would take this teasing with mock German seriousness. "I'm the Province goat," he would write back. "You see the Great Northern's freight cars with the goat? Well that's the Great Northern goat and I'm the Oregon Province goat." Then he'd draw the picture of a goat at the end of his letter, and sign it "Oregon Province Goat."

Father Fitzgerald seemed to enjoy his provincial visitations. He apparently loved travel and no less loved to meet people, so that made the official visiting just about right. He was very approachable, so much so that whenever he came to the house, everyone beat a path to his door—for an informal visit. He laughed a lot, a nice airy "ha" (pause) "ha" (pause) "ha," with his head back and face radiating pleasure.

Always on visitations he had a heart-to-heart talk with brother cook. "Brother," he would say, gravely nodding his

head, "do the best you can in the kitchen. On you depends the happiness of the whole house. A well-fed community is a happy community."

### A Visit the Pope Remembered

Once during his provincialate he made a trip to Rome. The twenty-eighth General Congregation was called for early 1938, and as a provincial, he took his place in the "Aula" for all the proceedings. Later the assembled Fathers met the Holy Father, Pius XI. "We stood in a group," Father Fitzgerald said, "and the Holy Father looked us all over, then suddenly his eyes stopped moving and they looked squarely at me. I felt so strange, with the Vicar of Christ's eyes looking at *me*." Naturally Father Fitzgerald was greatly impressed by the Eternal City. While there he did not forget his friends; for one he got some rare stamps for a collection, for another a special blessing from the Holy Father, and so on. He went considerably out of his way to visit two sisters of one of the Alaskan missionaries, just to bring home a personal message. He stopped at the usual shrines, Lourdes, Paray le Monial and Lisieux, and then he hurried onto a boat to get back to New York. "No place like the good old U. S. A.," he wrote just after landing. Because the Pope's eye was on him, he was not going to live long in "good old U. S. A."

In the autumn of 1938 Father Fitzgerald's term of office was nearing its end and naturally everyone was wondering who would succeed him and where he would go. One of the Fathers who had successively been pastor of many debt-ridden parishes jokingly appealed to him for a new status. "As a last favor," he said. "Not much, just a nice *little* parish with nothing to build and no debt."

"If I knew of a place like that," said the Provincial, "I'd take it myself."

Instead he got Alaska.

Bishop Crimont was getting old. In fact he had, without effort, been getting old for eighty years, but now the oldness was in his bones and he felt that it was time to get a coadjutor. Alone as Vicar Apostolic he had carried Alaska's burdens for thirty-four years. That was long enough for any man, even a healthy one, which he had never been; so he appealed to the Holy See and wheels started to turn. About this time rumors



began to fly around that Father Fitzgerald was going to be made a bishop. No one thought them funnier than Father Fitzgerald himself and he went about his business of relinquishing the reins of office as if nothing were happening. To his friends he wrote, "Nonsense," and as soon as another Provincial took over, he went to Port Townsend for rest, "as light-hearted as a bird." Just before Christmas he started a quiet, peaceful retreat. But on the third day the "bird" got quite a jolt, a cable from Rome: "Congratulations my prayers assured. Ledochowski." He was not sure what it meant. Perhaps, he thought naively, Father General is glad that I have a successor at Portland or that I survived my recent illness.

He had not long to wait. "Fitzgerald Made Bishop," said the papers. That must have been quite a blow for Father Fitzgerald. A bishop! Relatives back in Peola were saying, "I told you so," and fellow-Jesuits were claiming gifts of prophecy, too. Each had seen it coming a long time ago.

### Bishop-elect Fitzgerald

It did not take long for the bishop-elect to recover his poise and native wit. "I hope the mitre fits after all this hullabaloo," he wrote one of his clerical friends. And to another, "If at the consecration Mass the wine barrels for the offering are very heavy, I shall recommend that you handle one of them!"

Meanwhile the new Provincial, Father William Elliott, got things humming for the consecration. Because Bishop White of Spokane had extended a most cordial invitation, offering his diocese for any need whatever, St. Aloysius Church, Spokane, was selected. Old Brother Broderick, often referred to as "the bishop of St. Al's," gave his "placeat," which made it all "official," and other arrangements like printing and choir were concluded.

Of course photographs had to be taken, especially a formal one. In this the bishop sits stiffly, just as the Titular Bishop of Tymbrias should sit, but from behind his glasses the familiar bright eyes of Walter, prefect of Holy Angels' Sodality, shine out, softer now with a touch of sadness and perhaps reluctance to assume the new dignity. But the curve in the mouth is the same. There is the same alertness in the tense position of his hands and in the hunch of his shoulders.

One expects him to jump up and offer his chair to the photographer.

By February 24, 1939, feast of St. Matthias, Apostle, everything was ready. St. Aloysius Church was resplendent with lights and red tulips and even the dingy main building at Gonzaga looked brighter with some two hundred and fifty surpliced clergymen standing around, waiting for the signal. Bishop Crimont was radiant, too; the ice, the Pope had said, had preserved him. Perhaps it had preserved him just for this, the day his power of consecrating would manifest itself.

All Catholic Spokane was in a flutter, especially the convents. Though the day was a blustery one, crowds lined Boone Avenue from Gonzaga to the church to see the many bishops in all their splendor; their own Bishop White, Bishop Armstrong of Sacramento, who had been reared a block away and who had been consecrated in the same church, other bishops, abbots, monsignori, Franciscans, Benedictines, Dominicans, Redemptorists, Servites, Holy Cross Fathers, Oblates, Sulpicians, and many, many Jesuits and diocesan priests. Archbishop Howard of Portland was there, too, last in the procession. The bishop-elect walked gravely—he already had the solemnity of a bishop if not the indelible character—and he kept his head down, so that no one could see what he was thinking.

For the Pacific Northwest the occasion was historic; it meant that the region had reached its majority. A large and influential hierarchy now marched in procession where so recently Indians had struck their wigwams and built campfires. In the span of the bishop-elect's life, Washington had passed from Indian Territory to Statehood, Spokane from an Indian village to a modern city and Gonzaga from nothing at all to an important regional university. Bishop Fitzgerald was the first native-born son of the state to be elevated to the episcopacy. He had been associated with Gonzaga as student, teacher, rector. As rector he had welcomed Bishop White to Spokane. As vice-provincial at Gonzaga he had organized a Jesuit Province. He had pioneered in more ways than one, and now the Northwest was pioneering with him.

The epic nature of the occasion was not lost on Bishop Crimont. He proudly used historic vestments and took care that

all details concerning the same were duly publicized. The Pontifical and pectoral cross he used had once been Archbishop Segher's; the crozier Cardinal Farley's, a gift from the Cardinal on his deathbed to Bishop Crimont. The bishop-elect's pectoral cross had been presented in 1873 to Archbishop Gross by Savannah's diocesan priests. From Archbishop Gross the jewel had passed down to Archbishop Christie of Portland, Oregon, who gave it to Bishop Crimont for his consecration in 1917. There was at least one element of modernity. The crozier Bishop Fitzgerald carried was brand new, a gift to him from Father Felix Geis, a diocesan priest from Lakeview, Oregon. Bishop Fitzgerald had no other more intimate friend than Father Geis. They had been boys together at Gonzaga—with "Smiling Bob" Armstrong—and the friendship of the three had ripened with the many years.

And so the historic procession streamed into St. Aloysius while the organ boomed. It was a little after ten, a few minutes late. The choir, nearly a hundred voices from the Mount and Gonzaga, sang as never before and the ceremonies went along smoothly. When the picture-taking time came at the end, everyone was laughing. Especially the new bishop.

That evening, in a rousing reception, the bishop met his friends—an army of them. Some had been boys under his supervision when he was teacher or rector. Some had been boys *with* him, and these had gay stories to tell. Dr. John O'Shea (who was responsible for the adage: Everyone leaves his heart or his appendix at Mount St. Michael's) got up to say he had been present when the Gonzaga boys had tossed Walter into the Spokane river. Those *naughty* boys! (Loud laughter) "That was forty-one years ago, when Walter was a slender, curly-haired boy." More laughter, and the Fitzgerald family, who were present, beamed with pleasure. The main speaker for the evening, Mr. Charles P. Moriarity of Seattle, got very serious. "Bishop Fitzgerald," he said, "labored in the vineyard of the Lord and as his burdens increased the same gentle spirit of the humble Jesuit characterized his every act." And then he went on to talk about the war brewing in Europe's dark cauldron and about men who, more than ever, were looking to the message of the Church.

### The Bishop Travels and Begg

In July of that first year he left for an extensive tour of the missions and by autumn he had covered five thousand frozen miles. He had visited thirty-seven missions and confirmed a total of three hundred and thirty people. Not very many, but then they all did not live together in Hoboken. In October he was back in Spokane for the consecration of another Gonzaga alumnus, Bishop Condon of Great Falls. Then in Chicago for a bishops' meeting. Then Fairbanks again, where he generally laid the mitre when not travelling.

After a peek into his mail-box to retrieve what was there, he left for another tour of the missions. "I took the mail plane out of Fairbanks, connected with the Unalakleet mail plane, and then on to St. Michael's on Norton Sound. At St. Michael's Father Lonneux met me and I confirmed thirty-one in his church there. Next day we took a dog team to Stebbins, fifteen miles from St. Michael's, and I confirmed thirty more there. Then we took a long hike by dog team, seventy-two miles to Chaneliak, where Father has a congregation of two hundred and fifty Eskimos. I had a good 'musher' and he pushed the dogs right along. We made the trip in ten hours flat. We skirted Bering Sea on the ice and then up the river to home base. At Chaneliak I confirmed forty more Eskimos. The Eskimos are a wonderfully fine people, patient, with great faith and devotion. The whole village came to Mass and Holy Communion for the week that I spent with them.

"Then a plane appeared over our village and whisked me away, back to McGrath, where I stopped overnight in a roadhouse. The next morning, Sunday, I left by plane for Fairbanks, fasting, hoping to get there by noon. But our plane ran out of gas and we had to make a forced landing on a river and await another plane from Fairbanks which answered our radio call for help. I began Mass at 1:45 p.m. . . . I am going to Kodiak (on the Aleutians) on tomorrow's train which connects with the boat at Seward."

The bishop wrote this in April. In June he was in Los Angeles, begging. During July he made his retreat at Sheridan, and soon after left for Eastern United States. More begging for Alaska. He talked and preached from any platform respectable enough for a bishop. He wrangled, cajoled, bargained.

"By this time," he wrote, "I feel as though I could hold up a policeman and take his money."

He got to St. Paul in September and was ready to drop from exhaustion. "But," he says, "I spoke in St. Paul cathedral six times to nearly ten thousand people who attended Mass on that Sunday, and got a fine honorarium. That quickly restored my strength." He called himself "a peripatetic mendicant missionary," which had a fine ring to it, if no great dignity.

In his comings and goings he often stopped at Mount St. Michael's and regaled the Scholastics with an account of his wanderings. While he calmly smoked a big black cigar, pausing now and then to survey the ash on the end of it, he would describe Eskimos, his favorite subject of conversation. And one of his favorite stories, he repeated it often, was about Eskimos kissing.

"I told the Eskimos," he would say, "that special indulgences were granted for kissing my bishop's ring. So they came up, one by one, and rubbed their noses on it—that's the way they kiss." A big Irish grin. "Now do you suppose they got the indulgence?"

"Did the bishop find his begging tours disagreeable?" a Scholastic would ask.

"Well, now," he would answer, grinning from ear to ear, "I never thought I would live our rule so literally. . . . beg from door to door should need or occasion require it."

"How about life on the trail, did he find that difficult?"

"Remember when you were boys? No matter how hard it was you enjoyed camping trips. Well, I just pretend I'm on a camping trip, and the hardships are not so hard."

And then, without realizing he was paying himself a tribute, he would say, "Those men up there, they are the real heroes in that bleak and desolate land. They are spiritual giants and I feel very small when I meet them."

The winter and spring of 1941, the bishop spent in the Pacific Northwest. More begging: Portland, Walla Walla, Spokane—anywhere he could get an "honest buck" for the missions. In April he was at Sheridan to confer the diaconate on Mr. Matt Hoch, seminarian for Alaska. Part of May at the Mount. Minnesota for the Eucharistic Congress in June. The summer on the Lower Yukon, confirming Eskimos and slapping

mosquitoes. Clouds of mosquitoes "big enough to carry off my crozier."

### Winter and the War in Alaska

In the fall he rushed back to Fairbanks to change his summer gear for winter: fur cap, parka and mukluks. He left December 3 for "a real trip"—he wanted to try the missions at their worst. "I have spent the winter visiting the missionaries in the front line trenches," he writes to his friend Father Geis, "and it has been a wonderful experience for me. I arrived at Akulurak on the south mouth of the Yukon, close to the Bering Sea, on December 11 and remained there for Christmas. Akulurak is the central mission for about one thousand natives scattered from the Yukon south to the Bering Sea. From all over the tundra Eskimos came with their families for the Christmas celebration at the mission. On Christmas Eve there were over one hundred sleds in the village, and as each sled has an average of seven dogs, you can easily imagine how the midnight air was rent with the howling of the Malemites. Of course the mission supplies the dried salmon for the dogs and the Eskimos get one good meal, so many come for Christmas and the meal. It was a great sight to see the great number of teams leaving the mission after dinner on Christmas, scattering in all directions for their homes. Some of them came from distances that require two or three days' trip by dog team."

The bishop makes no mention of a very painful accident which occurred on this trip. With a "musher" and dog-team he had been following the Yukon trail. They came to one point where an abrupt portage had to be made and the musher tried to stop the sled to let the bishop out. But he could not stop the dogs.

"Jump, Big Priest!" he shouted.

The bishop jumped, landed on the brink and fell over the bank, head over heels. Fifty feet down his chest hit a block of ice and that was that. Minutes later his trip took up where it had suddenly stopped and no one was to know till six months later he had broken the breastbone and several ribs.

That winter war came. The bishop's pace increased. He was appointed Military Vicar-delegate under Cardinal Spellman and now had, besides his mission work, the supervision of all Catholic chaplains in Alaska. During the summer

and fall of '42 he was hard at it. He visited every military post and made a difficult trip all along the route of the Alcan Highway, then under construction, to see what need there was for chaplains in this area. In September he crossed the Gulf of Alaska, in secret convoy. He had to sleep in his clothes with a life preserver at his elbow. Normally the crossing took eighteen hours, but this time it lasted from Thursday morning till Monday evening. Then he made "a swing around the Aleutians" by army transport, covering 2,500 miles in fourteen days. "I met most of the chaplains in this sector, but no Japanese."

After six months he returned to Fairbanks for a brief rest. He caught up on his correspondence and finished reading "Song of Bernadette," which he had begun on the plane ride home. Then he left again for the Aleutians. He landed near Kiska when United States troops took the island from the Japanese. "The Japanese had, like the desert Arabs of old, folded their tents and stolen away."

Five more months of moving around, no mail, almost no contact with the "outside." In November he hustled off to Washington, D.C., for a bishops' meeting. Wartime travelling was difficult. It took him longer than usual. All through 1944, more of the same. Army posts, missions, squabbles with a local American Legion post which mixed too much Presbyterianism with its patriotism.

A highlight was Easter at Anchorage where the post chaplain, Father Hamel of Fall River, Mass., had arranged a grand turnout. "The large theatre building was used for the Mass; it seats over a thousand and it was jammed to the doors. A Solemn Pontifical Mass was sung by the soldiers' choir; the regimental band played a march as we entered the building and during other parts of the Mass; a sabre brigade lead by General Ignico with a half a dozen Colonels, Majors, etc., attended the Mass and presented sabres at the Elevation while the band played soft music and the trumpets replaced the bell. Over 800 received Holy Communion." New Englander General Ignico was a splendid Catholic and a good host. He gave a dinner afterwards for all the chaplains.

## Too Hard A Pace

The hard pace was beginning to tell. Photographs of the bishop which were appearing periodically in *Jesuit Missions* and other publications showed the strain. The bishop was much thinner and his forehead was furrowed with lines of weariness. Sometimes there was no smile or a wan one—a sure sign that the bishop was nearing the end of his rope.

"I have asked Bishop Crimont to excuse me from attending the meeting of the bishops in Washington this fall," he wrote at this time. "His health is fine and I would not be surprised if he would bury his coadjutor! He is a marvel."

After Anchorage, the bishop visited Sitka and Father Patrick O'Reilly, who represented the Universal Church locally.

"You will sleep in the bedroom," said Father Pat, his brogue thick with eagerness and welcome.

"And where will you sleep?"

"Oh, outside on the coffin. I often sleep there."

"On the what!"

"The coffin. Let me show you."

They went out on the porch. "You see," said Father Pat, "the army shipped too many coffins up here—couldn't ship 'em back, so I got this fine aluminum one for a dollar." He patted it fondly. "Beautiful, isn't it?"

"Yes," said the bishop. "For a dollar?"

"For one dollar. This army fellow said he couldn't *give* it to me. So one dollar."

"You sleep here?"

"Oh often, very peacefully."

"Ha ha," said the bishop. "That's very funny."

"I'll tell you what, bishop, whichever one of us dies first gets the coffin," said Father Pat gallantly. "It's yours if you die first."

"Do you think it will fit either of us?"

"Undoubtedly. And come, let me show you where I want to be buried."

They proceeded outside.

"Under that tree," said Father Pat, his eyes misty now. "I've thought about it a lot."

"It's a nice tree," said the bishop.





Bishop Fitzgerald in winter garb



BISHOP WALTER FITZGERALD, S.J.  
Vicar Apostolic of Alaska

"Yes," said Father Pat, "the best tree in Sitka."

The bishop left a couple of days later. So far neither he nor Father Pat have been buried in a one-dollar aluminum coffin; the bishop because he was buried in another, and Father Pat because he's still very much alive. What has become of the coffin? It is hard to say.

### Adventure and a Death

During a difficult journey in March of '45 the bishop had another sled accident. As usual he joked about it. "I had an interesting experience on my last lap of the trip from Nelson Island to Bethel, a three day trip by dog team. On the last day my sled turned over on the Kuskokwim River and I was spilled with the rest of the contents over the ice. I was merrily skidding along on my parka head-foremost, when I struck a protruding ice pack. My face was struck with the result that I got a beautiful 'shiner,' a bloody nose and a cut and swollen mouth. Since it was sub-zero weather, the bleeding stopped quickly and as I had discovered no broken bones, I got back on the sled, which the Eskimo 'musher' had righted, and within four hours we reached Bethel. Forgetting my gory appearance, I went to the roadhouse, where I was known, for a room. The woman in charge gave me a look and sternly told me that there was no vacancy. Evidently she took me for a Saturday evening roisterer. I told her that if Father Menager had returned from the up-River district, I could possibly find a room at his place. She gave me another look and inquired if I were Father Fitzgerald. On realizing how I must have looked, I humbly replied that it was what was left of him. At once she gave me the best room in the house and invited me to dinner. The latter interested me most so after removing the clotted blood, which began to run again, but still with my right eye closed and blackened, I put my feet under the dinner table and I lay to. She was celebrating her thirty-second wedding anniversary with turkey, ice-cream and everything, which rapidly disappeared under my scientific approach. I had not eaten a meal for two days; we only had tea and hardtack on the trail. The Eskimo ate some of the dried dog fish, but that was too much for me. I lost twenty-six pounds on my visit to

the missions and when I got home I tipped the beam at one hundred and fifty exactly. The following of a dog team is guaranteed to reduce the avoirdupois. As it was close to St. Patrick's Day, it was hard to convince the people there that I got my wounds legitimately! I had an Eskimo 'musher', but he could not speak a word of English in my defense."

With a big patch on his eye, the bishop said Mass next morning, preached, and confirmed as if nothing had happened.

Two months later, Bishop Crimont died. Eighty-seven in years and active to the very last. Bishop Fitzgerald took over with a heavy heart. There would be more desk work now, not so many accidents on the ice. But the burden—for a man whose health was already undermined—would it crush him? Most thought so, and as things turned out, most were right.

The end of the war in 1945 did not end problems. In a way, it increased them. There were still chaplains, soldiers, missions to be visited, hungry missionaries. There was an influx of Protestant missionaries, especially in the more habitable parts. Many parishes had to be reorganized, larger churches built, schools planned, if not established. New missions had to be started—and all this in the face of rising costs. In Alaska, where carpenters got thirty dollars a day.

### The Beginning of the End

The last two years are sad years; an ailing man struggling against the tide of weariness and sickness, determined to do his duty though he could see with painful clarity that it was killing him. Bishop Fitzgerald was not old, at this time; sixty-three is not old, but he was tired. Only God knows how tired. He had been a superior since tertianship, twenty-six years before.

And so the telling of these last two years sounds like doctors' bulletins on a royal decline, or perhaps an obituary notice. As a matter of fact it is an obituary notice, prepared after his death by his chancellor, Father James Conwell.

Bishop Fitzgerald first showed signs of being seriously ill when he returned from the annual bishops' meeting in Washington a few months after Crimont's death. When he reached Juneau on December 11 he had a cold, his asthma was

bothering him, and he was generally miserable. He tried to attend to business matters which had accumulated during his absence, but after about ten days he was so sick that he was induced to go to the hospital. There it was found that his blood pressure was abnormally high. His doctor said that the only cure would be for him to be relieved of all responsibility and go away somewhere and rest for at least six months. But to any suggestion that he do such a thing, the bishop always replied that it would be impossible, because he would get too far behind in his work. After nearly a month in the hospital the bishop's blood pressure had been brought down considerably and he was feeling much better, so he insisted that he leave the hospital. He did so and for two weeks worked very hard at his typewriter, with the natural result that he was soon right back in the hospital, with his blood pressure again very high. He was in the hospital two weeks, and again left as soon as he felt better.

About this time he received an invitation to attend the installation of Bishop Willinger, the new Coadjutor-Bishop of Fresno. The bishop at first said that it would be impossible for him to attend, but finally he was persuaded to go. He left Juneau on February 19. His friends were in hopes that once he got to California he could be induced to see a good doctor and take a very long rest. These hopes were not realized. The bishop had several attacks of high blood pressure in California. Each time he went to the hospital for a few short weeks, but he left as soon as he felt a little better. Strangely, he refused to acknowledge that he was as sick as he was, and was determined to return to his work in Alaska. He kept on his way north, and arrived in Juneau on June 9, after being away nearly four months. On his return he looked haggard and worn, his step was unsteady, and his mind was rather confused. It was necessary for a priest to be with him when he said Mass, because he would get confused. But in his letters to his friends he wrote that his trip to California had done him a great deal of good, that he was completely cured, that his high blood pressure was gone. He continued to refuse to acknowledge that he was ill. He tried to do his work, but it would usually take about two days of intermittent typing for him to complete a letter.

Finally, on July 5, the bishop had a great deal of difficulty

getting through his Mass. After Mass the Sisters prevailed on him to go to the hospital, and he submitted quite readily. His blood pressure was found to be exceedingly high, so it was decided that he should be anointed. To this he also agreed very readily, and he received the sacrament of extreme unction with great piety. During the days that followed, the bishop did not appear to be very sick, but his blood pressure stayed very high and all efforts to bring it down were fruitless. He received Holy Communion every day, and was very cheerful in talking with everyone. As the days passed he became more and more restless, and wanted to leave his room, so it became necessary for someone to stay with him all the time.

There were limited facilities for caring for him in Juneau, so it was finally decided that he would receive more adequate care in Seattle. His doctor said that it would be safe for him to travel by air, so on Monday, July 14, he went by plane to Seattle, accompanied by one of the Fathers, and on arrival was taken at once to Providence Hospital.

### Death and a Memoir

During the next few days there was no improvement in the bishop's condition, in spite of all efforts to bring his blood pressure down. Finally, on Saturday morning, July 19, the Sisters called Seattle College and said that the bishop was worse and should be anointed. Father Harold Small, the Rector of Seattle College, went at once to the hospital, reaching there about ten o'clock. He anointed the bishop and stayed with him till he passed away quietly just after noon. The cause of death was a cerebral hemorrhage, the result of high blood pressure and sclerosis of the brain.

The bishop had frequently expressed his wish to be buried in the Jesuit cemetery at Mount St. Michael's, near Spokane. The funeral was therefore arranged for Thursday morning, July 24, in St. Aloysius Church in Spokane. The Office of the Dead was chanted by the Jesuits of Seattle on Monday evening in St. Joseph's Church, Seattle, and the body lay in state there all the next day. Tuesday night the body was transported to Spokane and lay in state in St. Aloysius Church the following day. Thursday morning Archbishop

Howard of Portland was the celebrant of the Pontifical Requiem High Mass, assisted by four bishops and seventy-five priests. All the beautiful and impressive ceremonies of the liturgy for the burial of a bishop were carried out to perfection. Bishop White of Spokane preached an eloquent sermon.

"From authentic information," said Bishop White, "I know that Bishop Fitzgerald shortened the term of his natural life in filling his duty in a territory so large and in a climate so rigorous. Like a good shepherd, he, too, lay down his life for his sheep. . . . Bishop Fitzgerald's earthly career is over. His labor is ended. What hardships he endured surely, now, seem small. We shall continue to pray for him. May he rest in peace."

At the cemetery Bishop White gave the final absolution. The body of Bishop Fitzgerald, enclosed in a mahogany casket, was laid to rest beside Father James Brogan, his associate in many labors for many years.

A few weeks after the funeral Father Thomas Martin, of the Novitiate at Sheridan, wrote (at my instigation) what he calls "Some Random Notes."

"From my first acquaintance with Bishop Fitzgerald, as a fellow novice, he impressed me as a *typical* novice of the *old Jesuit tradition*, simple, very good-natured, bubbling over with fun and laughter, on excellent terms with his companions. I do not recall that anyone ever disliked him or showed any aloofness from him—he was simply one of those men you had to like. He took to the novitiate life wholeheartedly, not a John Berchmans or a Stanislaus, but as pious and obedient, as observant and diligent as they came in our day, rather simple, methinks, in comparison with present times.

"He was not an *outstanding* character. He had good intellectual powers, tried to develop them diligently and, as I believe, succeeded well. The same also in regards to his moral powers. He was a thoroughly good novice, junior, Scholastic, who used all the means the Society supplies us with, and in my judgment, turned out a far better job than most of us did.

"One of the things I used to say, in his later life in the Society, was that I could always see in him a developed picture of what he had been in his youth. That may not always be to a man's credit, but in him it was. To put it

scripturally, he seemed to preserve the virtues of the child. Instead of becoming a child, I think he always remained one.

"I have said that he was not *outstanding*, but perhaps a correction should be made. He did have a rather exceptional gift for making friends. As priest, rector, and finally as bishop, he had a host of friends. I think we should attribute it to the natural simplicity of the man, his unfailing thoughtfulness of others, his abundant good humor.

"It is obvious, (how often do biographers mention it?) that the early scholastic years of a Jesuit are much on the same pattern—and monotonous by reason of this. We can say the same of Bishop Fitzgerald's early years. All I can say of them is that they *were* according to the Ignatian pattern, and as such worthy of great praise.

"P. S. Excuse my penmanship. Fitz had a nice hand."

There is an epilogue to Bishop Fitzgerald's life, an aftermath that need not have been, but as a matter of fact was. It concerns the establishment of a diocese in Alaska, a trivial detail, perhaps; just another diocese on American soil where croziers and episcopal thrones seem to be popping up like magic. But Alaska is difficult. It is "inside," a land apart, and a diocese there is as epic as a diocese in Greenland in the eleventh century.

On October 3, 1951 Bishop Francis Gleeson, S.J., Vicar Apostolic of the Vicariate of Alaska and successor of Bishops Crimont and Fitzgerald, consecrated Reverend Dermot O'Flanagan as the first bishop of Juneau. That event marked the passing of a mission era, a Jesuit era, in Southern Alaska. It turned over to the normal administration of the Church another field, which if it were not ripe for a big harvest, was at least planted and by the grace of God, promising. Henceforth the Jesuits would concentrate in the north, to till a little more diligently another ice-hard field until, please God, another diocese could be established—if ever. Meanwhile Bishop Gleeson could pretend, like Bishop Fitzgerald, that he was on a picnic "so that the hardships would not be so hard," but no matter how earnestly he pretended, he would have no picnic.

His predecessor, Bishop Fitzgerald, surely did not.



## THE ANNUAL CONVENTION OF CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHERS AT GALLARATE

ENRICO CANTORE, S.J.

There were seeds of recovery in war-torn Italy, despite the fact that her cities were heaps of rubble.

God's terrible warnings were listened to by righteous people. They realized that the frightful catastrophes they experienced, hatred and fratricidal murders, were but the logical implications of the principles on which modern civilization had been founded. The most serious responsibility, however, rested on modern philosophy, and most philosophers were ready to acknowledge that they themselves and their predecessors had been wrong. "Even after World War I, many problems, chiefly those about God's transcendency and man's religious duties, had focused again the interest of thinkers after positivistic and irrationalistic blasts." (Cfr. M.F. Sciacca, *Il problema di Dio e della religione nella filosofia attuale*, 2 ed., Brescia, Morcelliana, 1944, p. 11). But in the wake of World War II, the renewal was more active. And this is the background wherein was framed that grand Italian philosophical movement that goes under the name of "Christian Spiritualism," or the "Gallarate Movement."

Against such a background it may not sound strange to say that the Conventions were born out of circumstances. They had not one founder, but many co-founders, a group of university professors, who also make up the program committee of the Conventions: Professors Battaglia of Bologna, Guzzo of Turin, Sciacca of Genoa, Padovani and Stefanini of Padua. To launch the new undertaking they needed an organizer and secretary; this is the role Father Carlo Giaccon has played from the start. For many years a professor at the Aloysianum and now at the State University of Padua, he is known for his many publications, among them two volumes on Occam and three volumes that have appeared so far on the history of "Second Scholasticism," that is, Scholasticism from 1500 on.

Looking back at the last fifty years we see that modern philosophy, in its increasing bitterness towards God and Theism, went ever more astray, misunderstanding and ridiculing the perennial philosophy. Of this spectacle, Father

Cornoldi bluntly stated: "Modern and contemporary philosophy is the extremest aberration of human thinking to the elation of its pride, a pathological case of human reason." Today, on the contrary, we can rejoice as we see this unexpected new approach to philosophical problems on a religious basis that is the Gallarate Movement.

Gallarate is a small, rich industrial city near Milan. There we find a school of philosophy of the Jesuits known as the Aloysianum. This school is the continuation of the one at Piacenza which was, more than a hundred years ago, the cradle of neo-Thomism. Enough to recall the names of Fathers Sordi, Cornoldi, Mauri, Mattiussi and the Foro Julii series of text books in philosophy.

The fine modern building of the Aloysianum has been the scene, since 1945, of the annual Convention of those laymen, professors of philosophy in the state universities, who profess the Catholic faith even in their public teachings and philosophical principles. Adherence to one rather than another system of philosophy is not demanded but only the simple avowal of the conclusions of Christian philosophy and the willingness to prove that they can be arrived at by the use of reason alone. Such conclusions are: the existence of God, the immortality of the soul, the rational and historical prolegomena to proving the divinity of Christ, and the divine establishment of the Roman papacy.

In fact, the most diverse currents of thought are represented at these Conventions: Anti-Intellectualists, Existentialists, Augustinians, Blondelians, Thomists. Each one reflects the color of the school he represents. Indeed some of the participants are well-known men who have returned to the Catholic faith of their baptism. It would be too long to recall all the names of those who "returned," but we cannot help mentioning two leading personalities. One is Giuseppe Tarozzi, the dean of Italian philosophers, successor to the ill-famed apostate, Canon Roberto Ardigò, in the Italian field of Positivism. The other, a respected old man, is Armando Carlini, once a leader in Gentile's Actualistic Idealism and a prominent member of the Italian Academy of Sciences.

Each year the number taking part in the Conventions grows. They meet as a private organization bound by personal friendship and in search of mutual understanding.

Today, about half the "full" professors of philosophy in the state universities that have departments of letters and philosophy or of education (Bari, Bologna, Cagliari, Catania, Florence, Genoa, Messina, Milan, Naples, Padua, Palermo, Pavia, Pisa, Rome, Turin, Trieste, Urbino) are included in the Gallarate Movement.

Exponents of Catholic philosophy in other countries are also invited. So far the Catholic University of Louvain the University of Liège, La Sorbonne, the Catholic Faculty of Lyons, the Catholic University of Freiburg and the Spanish National Academy of Philosophy have been represented. Other Italian philosophers who do not profess the Catholic faith have asked to be allowed to attend in the capacity of observers. Among them is the outstanding Italian Problematicist, Ugo Spirito, professor at the University of Rome.

The work being done deals with the most urgent present day problems of philosophy. The program committee, during the year, studies, and then puts forward the subjects of discussion for the next Convention. Actually, the meetings are characterized not by the carefully thought out addresses which are given, but by a free, common discussion of points of philosophy touching on the faith. Two principal speakers set forth the *status quaestionis*, and the ensuing discussions center around the issue presented. Each year, except the first one, the *Proceedings of the Conventions*, edited by Father Giacon, have been published in volumes of 400 to 500 pages.

### A Summary of the Conventions

**1945: The First Convention.** This Convention was an experimental one and no proceedings were published. There were two proposed topics: the concept of philosophy and relations between Intellectualism and Voluntarism, and characters of Christian and non-Christian philosophy. This Convention brought out the two great trends that were going to continue and grow stronger every year. They were the Aristotelian-Thomists: Bontadini, Del Noce, Gentile, Giacon, Mazzantini, Padovani; and the Augustinian-Blondelians: Bongioanni, Flores d'Arcais, Sciacca, Stefanini; plus the "leftwingers" of the second group: Lazzarini and Castelli.

**1946: Philosophy and Christianity.** This second Convention

aimed at deepening and broadening the themes already discussed the previous year. Here they are in particular: relation between Christian and ancient philosophy; relation between Augustinianism and Thomism; relation between Christian and modern philosophy; and appraisal of modern philosophy.

**1947: Philosophical Actualities.** Two main themes: one of really burning interest in modern thinking, namely, the philosophical teachings of Blondel, which drew comment from the author himself with further explanations; the other, rather old, but always interesting, the point of departure for philosophical inquiry.

**1948: Reconstruction of Metaphysics.** This Convention set the record, both for the interest shown in the chosen theme, and the attendance. Besides the presence of the world-renowned professor Le Senne, two high-ranking Italian officials visited the assembled philosophers. They were Ildephonse Cardinal Schuster, Archbishop of Milan, and Mr. Guido Gonella, Secretary of National Instruction. Discussions made it clear that the two main metaphysical formulas of Being and of Personality, even though quite distinct, were not utterly opposite; instead, they required mutual compenetration; not contrast, but integration.

**1949: The Foundation of Ethics.** That year things were not easy. One might be baffled reading the record of the proceedings for the first time . . . *quot capita, tot sententiae!* but a more attentive examination of the speeches and discussions shows an inner unity and mutual understanding—which fails to be grasped on the first approach—of the fact that man has been created for happiness or beatitude.

**1950: Human Personality and Society.** This Convention took a step ahead in the work of furthering Christian philosophy in Italy. It agreed upon and got under way a series *Cristiani di Gallarate*. It will consist of: 1) a comprehensive during the past year. *Ed.*); 2) a complete Italian philosophy of Italian philosophical literature from 1951 on.

**1951: The Latest Convention.** The discussion of this Convention was directed toward a determination of the meta-ical bibliography from 1900 to 1950; 3) an annual bibli- of publications to be edited by the *Centro di Studi Filosofici* philosophical dictionary (This dictionary was published

physical basis for a Christian Philosophy of Esthetics. Once more a large group of the leading Italian professors, representing nearly all the leading State Universities, took part in the Convention, and wholeheartedly underwrote the necessity for a solid metaphysical foundation as a *sine qua non* for a sane science of the arts. The distinguished delegates were also honored at an official reception by the municipal officers of Gallarate.

### Conclusion

A wonderful amount of work has been done, a much greater one is being tackled, but we can not overlook the practical organization it required and the complicated problems which needed to be solved.

It costs money and toil to get ready comfortable lodgings, send out letters of invitation and press reports, and pay expenses; briefly, everything an annual convention demands. The two major needs have been met brilliantly by the manifold activities of Father Giacon, and by the Jesuit Scholastics of the philosophate at Gallarate. Money is provided by a committee of industrialists who pay the expenses of the meetings and of the professors' publications. This is a major accomplishment of Father Giacon.

An alert crew of young Scholastics supplies labor behind the scenes at the Convention. For days, early in September, typewriters are kept clattering while other teams throughout the big house sweep, dust and prepare corridors, dining and meeting halls, and rooms for the guests. A good bit of bustling. But, after all, we keep grinning as usual, although some of the guests wonder why we do not look weary.

This brings to an end our description of the Gallarate Conventions. Summing up we notice two major fruits, either of which is of great importance. The first is a practical one. It is evident how great a force this movement constitutes for training and guiding the young men who are now preparing to become university professors. It is also evident how the efforts of these men, united because they are Catholic thinkers and professors, enable them to win in the competition for university "chairs" and to gain professorial posts.

The other is on the theoretical level. Speaking in general, the unity of all present in the one faith, despite the personal

differences, channels imperceptibly, but effectively, the forms and formulas of thought, brings out the areas of agreement among them and the compatibility, at least, with the traditional Scholastic forms in which the official doctrine of the Church is vested. In particular, the Catholic philosophers meeting at Gallarate have been confronted with two basic problems: the historical problem about Christian and non-Christian philosophy, and the theoretical problem on the right way to achieve truth and prove God's existence. Obviously, no general agreement has been reached on either of them, but the outcome is nevertheless a satisfactory one. Instead of the former confusion, a definite clarification has been attained on modern trends in Italian philosophy. Then, still more hopefully, touching on the theoretical problem, all have come to realize that both of the major tendencies of Christian thinking need each other's completion and integration. So a broad path is paved for work ahead.

Therefore we may easily assume that the Conventions, born out of circumstances and nurtured by inner resources, face a bright future. Italy and the whole world need rebuilding of spiritual and moral values based on the immovable rock of Christian truth. That is just the purpose of the Conventions of Christian philosophers at Gallarate.

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### Humility

Those whom Christ saves are they who at once attempt to save themselves, yet despair of saving themselves; who aim to do all and confess that they do naught; who are all love and all fear; who are the most holy, yet confess themselves the most sinful; who ever seek to please Him, yet feel they never can; who are full of good works, yet works of penance. All this seems a contradiction to the natural man, but it is not so to those whom Christ enlightens. They understand, in proportion to their illumination, that it is possible to work out their salvation, yet to have it wrought out for them, to fear and tremble at the thought of judgment, yet to rejoice always in the hour and hope and pray for His coming.

JOHN CARDINAL NEWMAN

# HISTORICAL NOTES

## LAMITAN PARISH

The parish of St. Peter the Apostle, Lamitan, Basilan City, Republic of the Philippines, covers about two-thirds of the island of Basilan, an island exactly to the south of Zamboanga City, separated by a channel 18 nautical miles wide. The parish covers an area of approximately 300 square miles, which includes seashore, valleys and mountains, the highest mountain being Mount Basilan, 3,000 feet high.

Basilan Island is a chartered city with the city government headquarters at the town of Isabela on the northwestern shore of the island. The town of Lamitan is near the northeastern shore of the island. The Lamitan parish includes the town and civil district of Lamitan with its many villages, called barrios. This area includes about half the population of Basilan. In the parish there are at present writing (1951) about 25,000 Catholics (i.e., at least nominally so classified), about 25,000 Mohammedans (both Yakan Moros and Joloano Moros, plus a few Samal Moros, the Yakan Moros being in the majority), and about one to two hundred Protestants.

The Protestants are hardly conscious of adherence to any particular sect, but the only sect that is active on the island is the Evangelical and Mission Alliance. It has a chapel for Christians in the town of Lamitan, with a Filipino minister, and a mission for Yakans in the mountains, with an American minister. The sect which calls itself the Church of Christ also has a small chapel in Lamitan, with a registered membership of exactly one. The American minister comes from Zamboanga occasionally to hold services to which the lone church member brings his Catholic grandchildren in order to swell the congregation. Sometimes free food is served to draw a crowd. There are no other heretical sects on the island.

But traces of paganism can still be found, especially among the Catholics. Among the Protestants, who abhor statues and the cult of sacramentals and among the Mohammedans, who follow the Mosaic ban on graven images, paganism has pretty well died out, although some of the Mohammedans do believe in magic charms. But among the Catholics there are a few

very ignorant and uninstructed people who misunderstand the legitimate Catholic cult of images, and for them it is largely a baptized form of idolatry. Many professing Catholics resort also to so-called quack doctors when they are sick. These practitioners are remarkably skilled in the use of medicinal herbs, but they combine their applications of natural healing plants with pagan incantations and rituals mixed up with fragments of orthodox Catholic liturgy. In their prescriptions they are fond of using, for superstitious purposes, such sacred things as holy water, blessed candles, Mass wine, the Holy Oils (if they can manage to steal them), and pieces broken off from the altar stone. Latin prayers are especially esteemed as having powerful magical qualities, and the priest has to guard his missal and breviary in some places lest pages be torn out of them. Most of these quack doctors profess to be Catholics and see no inconsistency between the superstitious pagan elements of their semi-religious ministrations with natural herbs and true Catholic worship. They revere the priest as a superior kind of magician, more powerful than themselves.

### First Governments in Basilan

In 1860, by virtue of the "Organic Law," Mindanao was divided into six civil districts, of which Basilan was the sixth, under a civil governor with his office in Zamboanga. The naval commandant of Isabela continued to exercise jurisdiction over the naval base, but in civil matters Basilan became subject to the civil governor of Mindanao. This civil governor was, however, also a military official, holding the position of major in the army.

The local civil government of Basilan consisted of a council with headquarters in Isabela. The councillors were elected by the people. There was also a Justice of the Peace at Isabela, under the jurisdiction of the Judge of First Instance in Zamboanga. Ecclesiastically, the entire island of Basilan constituted a parish, with the parish priest residing at Isabela. The priests were Augustinian Recollects.

The Yakans were permitted to follow their tribal form of government subject to the Spanish authorities. Outstanding among the tribal chieftains were the Salip Abdula and the Ulan kaya Papalapi, who had both come from Jolo. The Salip



Abdula owned a large tract of land from the sea to Cabon Bata and received a salary from the Spanish Government. He married Albaa, the daughter of another prominent Moro, and was buried on his plantation where his tomb is still preserved and venerated by his descendants and the Moro community. His son, Salip Abubacar, who died at Ugbung, was a close friend of Datu Pedro Cuevas who is revered as the founder of Lamitan.

These conditions obtained in Basilan until 1899, the time of the American invasion of the Philippines. During the last thirty-eight years of this period the missionaries of the area were Jesuits. The Augustinian Recollects had turned over the parish of Basilan to the Jesuits on December 1, 1861. Father Francisco Ceballos, 1861-1867, was the first Jesuit pastor. He was succeeded by Father Pedro Llausas, 1867-1888; Father Francisco Foradada, 1888-1890; and Father Pablo Cavalleria, 1890-1899, who was the last resident Jesuit in Basilan under the Spanish regime. The next Jesuit to reside in Basilan was Father Juan Rebull, who assumed the pastorate of the Lamitan parish in 1940.

### The Lamitan Parish

In 1899 the Spanish Jesuit pastor of Basilan Island, who lived at Isabela, evacuated with the other Spaniards. For a long time the parish was vacant and no priest regularly attended to the spiritual needs of the Catholics in Basilan. It was necessary to go to Zamboanga for the sacraments or await the occasional visit of some priest from Zamboanga. There is evidence in the baptismal records that after the Maryland-New York Province took over the Jesuit Philippine Mission, Filipino Jesuits from Zamboanga periodically visited both Isabela and Lamitan.

Then, secular priests were appointed as regular resident pastors. Notable among these was Father Vicente Magto. Padre Vicente, as he is affectionately known, is a Filipino secular priest, a man of unusual zeal, humility and childlike simplicity. Lamitan was still part of the undivided parish of Isabela during his pastorate. He lived at Isabela but made frequent visits to Lamitan and even to a number of barrios in the Lamitan area. At that time there was no road from Isabela to Lamitan and dense jungles intervened. The Padre

would therefore travel afoot, starting from Isabela at 5:00 a.m. and arriving in Lamitan at 10:00 p.m. Now, the trip can be made by jeep in an hour.

Padre Vicente lived in great poverty and his parishioners took undue advantage of his kindly patience. Sometimes he had reason to complain that when called away from his simple meal of rice and fish to go on a sick call, he would return to find his rice and fish consumed by some hungry parishioner. His almsbox in the church was forever being robbed.

One time this holy priest incurred a debt for some parochial enterprise which, in his simplicity, he expected to pay with money that parishioners had pledged to contribute. It was a small debt, but one of terrifying proportions to poor Padre Vicente. When his creditors pressed for payment and parishioners failed to fulfill their pledges, the distressed priest appealed to his bishop for help. Bishop José Clos gave the Padre little sympathy, chided him for his imprudence and refused to give him any help. In desperation, the simple-hearted priest, unable to think of any other way out of the difficulty, resorted to the idea of going abroad to work as a common laborer and earn enough money to pay the debt. This escapade, while undertaken with the best of intentions, technically constituted an abandonment of his parish and rendered him a fugitive from the priesthood. In his travels, he reached a place in Misamis Oriental where he made the local rural dean his confessor. The latter persuaded Padre Vicente to work for a while in a vacant parish on nearby Camiguin Island and exercised his authority as dean to give the Padre a temporary assignment pending the bishop's disposal of the case. Meanwhile, Bishop Clos, realizing that he had made a mistake in his manner of handling the case, had set out personally to find the runaway priest and bring him back. But the bishop died suddenly on the way, and Padre Vicente is still at Camiguin where the holy priest happily continues to go about his priestly ministries with his customary zeal, humility and childlike simplicity.

### Canonical Erection of Lamitan Parish

- In 1936 Basilan was divided into two parishes. The Isabela parish retained the civil districts of Isabela and Maluso while the Lamitan district was canonically erected as a distinct

parish. Bishop Luis del Rosario appointed to the pastorate of Lamitan Father Antero Constantinopla, a Filipino secular priest, an alumnus of the Jesuit-administered San José Seminary in Manila. The Isabela parish remained vacant but Father Constantinopla tried to serve its needs as well as he could in addition to those of his own newly created parish. There was now a road joining Isabela and Lamitan, and the bishop gave the pastor of Lamitan an automobile which permitted him to celebrate one Mass in Lamitan and one in Isabela on Sundays.

Father Constantinopla built the present church and rectory in Lamitan and set about organizing his parish. A young man, not long out of the seminary, he possessed a charming personality and made use of this gift in attracting members to the parish societies which he formed. Among them was a young ladies' sodality called the *Hijas de Maria* and a group of men called the *Caballeros de San Pedro* in imitation of the Knights of Columbus. One of the good effects produced by the latter was the fact that it induced many of the most prominent Catholic men in the parish to have their civil or otherwise illicit marital unions canonically rectified, for no one was allowed to be a *Caballero de San Pedro* who was living in concubinage.

But it was a mistake to place so young and immature a priest all alone in so wild and isolated a place as Basilan, especially at Lamitan which, with its background of lawlessness, had not yet acquired an atmosphere of convention and discipline. After less than four years of ministry the career of this promising and able young priest unfortunately came to a tragic end.

### Protestantism in Lamitan

As there are no hotels in Lamitan, visitors must find hospitality in the homes of the townfolk. The Datu's home is always filled with Moro guests; sometimes he does not know how many. And for more distinguished visitors the homes of the more prominent families are the natural places of hospitality. Thus the homes of families belonging to the Cuevas clan were among the common places of hospitality for guests of distinction. Before there was a residence for the priest, sometimes he stopped with the Navarros (a

pioneer family of whom the husband is from Pangasinan, the wife from Cebu), whose beautiful home today is the usual hostel for transient government officials; and sometimes the priest would stop with one of the Cuevas clan. Protestant ministers, too, especially Americans, began to visit Lamitan occasionally in order to try to wean people from their faith in places where it was impossible for the busy priest to keep in constant contact. It was natural for these Protestant ministers to stop with families of the Cuevas clan, and, of course, they exercised as much influence as they could upon their Catholic hosts.

On the occasion of Father Constantinopla's defection, therefore, many of his *Hijas de Maria* who belonged to the Cuevas clan became Protestants. Their religious devotion, it would seem, was centered more on the captivating personality of the young priest than on more solid foundations; and when the priest dropped out, the Catholic religion ceased to exist for them. They turned, consequently, to Protestantism whose ministers they knew well and had often entertained in their homes, and whose services they had sometimes attended out of courtesy. Not all the members of the Cuevas clan are Protestants today, for some are among the best Catholics in the parish, but this group does form the nucleus of the present Lamitan Protestant community.

Later on, during the pastorate of the aged Father Vila, a few more joined the small Protestant group. It is well known that in old age people are often more sensitive to annoyances than in their youthful vigor and become a little testy and difficult to deal with. Old Father Vila was no exception. Most people, mindful of the dear old priest's many years of sacrifice for them, goodnatureedly indulged an old man's prerogative to exercise a few harmless eccentricities. But a few unreasonably took offense when his duty and conscience would oblige him to insist on the fulfillment of some law of the Church, and because he did it with perhaps a little less tact than might have been desired, they childishly tried to spite the priest by giving up the practice of the faith which they never really had, and joined the Protestant group.

While the writer was pastor of Lamitan, a few of these so-called Protestants returned to the practice of the Catholic religion, but for the most part the writer's activities suc-

ceeded only in making the Protestants of the town more bitterly anti-Catholic. Thus nearly all the Protestants of the town of Lamitan are renegade Catholics, who are the more bitterly anti-Catholic because they have given up their heritage.

In the barrios, however, the "Protestants" were mostly ignorant, neglected people who were hungry for religious attention and followed along with any passing Protestant minister merely because the priest was not able to attend to their needs. During the writer's incumbency when roads and a jeep made it possible for the priest to visit them regularly, most of these well disposed but misguided "Protestants" in the barrios returned to the practice of their Catholic Faith.

### The Jesuits Return

The immediate occasion of Father Constantinopla's defection was the Bishop's attempt to transfer him from Lamitan and appoint in his place his former seminary classmate, Father Pio Saavedra. The former's transfer was never accomplished, but Father Saavedra did succeed him as parish priest of Lamitan.

Father Pio Saavedra is also a Filipino secular priest, a member of the old Saavedra family of Zamboanga which had contributed some pioneer settlers to Basilan in the early days of colonization. It was now realized how acutely difficult was the lonely life in an undeveloped place like Basilan for a young and inexperienced priest, and Father Saavedra was kept there for only the short time needed to keep the post filled until an older and more experienced Jesuit could be appointed. In 1940 Father Juan Rebull was appointed pastor of Lamitan and Father Saavedra was transferred to a better developed region where he has displayed great talent for promoting parochial education, a talent that would have been wasted in Lamitan where conditions were not yet ready for this stage of development.

Father Rebull was a Spanish Jesuit, a hardened and well-seasoned veteran missionary. During his pastorate at Lamitan the pastorate of the mother parish of Isabela continued to be vacant because of the acute shortage of priests, and the lone pastor of Lamitan continued to serve both parishes.

However, in 1943 Father Ramon Vila relieved Father

Rebull as pastor of Lamitan and the latter was appointed pastor of Isabela. He was the first Jesuit to reside in Isabela since 1899. He was succeeded in that post by Father Eduardo Rodes, 1947-1948, whose successor, in turn, was Father Fenton Fitzpatrick, the last Jesuit to fill the Isabela post when the parish was turned over to the Claretian Fathers on January 26, 1951.

But Father Vila was eighty-three years old and very feeble when he took over the responsibilities of the Lamitan parish, and Father Rebull, by no means a youngster himself, gave Father Vila as much aid as he could, residing at Lamitan almost as much as at his own parish in Isabela. It was from Lamitan that Father Rebull was brought to Zamboanga by Father Eusebio Salvador, the Jesuit local superior of the Zamboanga area, when Father Rebull suffered an attack of cerebral malaria. The sturdy old missionary was still trying to perform the works of the ministry although the disease had rendered him mentally unbalanced, which subjected the faithful to many startling experiences. Father Rebull never recovered and died shortly afterwards at Zamboanga.

During this period there was also a lay brother at Lamitan. One time when the brother was critically ill, the two old priests had a coffin made in anticipation of his death. But the brother recovered, and there was much debate in the household as to what should be done with the coffin. Finally it was argued that since any one of them was likely to die very soon it would be a waste of money to make another coffin, and they decided to save the one already provided. During the writer's pastorate the coffin was still in the church attic where it used to scare the wits out of houseboys venturing into the forbidden area of the attic. Meanwhile, Father Rebull is dead, and the moribund brother still has a good chance of surviving Father Vila, too.

### Father Ramon Vila

Father Vila, an aged and feeble Spanish Jesuit, was resident pastor of Lamitan from 1943 to June, 1947. During the early part of World War II life went on pretty much as usual at Lamitan, but finally the Japanese did get around to occupying Basilan. Father Vila remained at the rectory as he was too feeble to evacuate to the hills with most of the

people. He and his lay brother companion, together with Father Rebull, kept themselves from starvation by raising chickens and growing fruits and vegetables. The rectory, church, and church furnishings fell into hopeless disrepair. When the presence of the American armed forces in 1946 brought quantities of money and materials to the town, the old priest, then eighty-five years old, was beyond the point of being able to take advantage of the opportunity to rehabilitate the material installations of the parish. He was too feeble to visit barrios or even go out on sick calls, and consequently the parish deteriorated spiritually, also. He did secure a small lot, and built on it a bamboo and nipa shack where a handful of children were taught catechism, but in the twelve public schools throughout the parish, including the 900-pupil central school directly across the street from the church, nearly three thousand Catholic children, without religious instruction of any kind, were rapidly growing up to be baptized pagans.

Pathetically aware of his helplessness to cope with the situation, the old priest kept sending letters to superiors pleading to be replaced by someone with more vigor, until finally a much younger priest was selected to replace him. In response to his urgent representations, Father Vila was relieved of his responsibilities at Lamitan in June, 1947 but his immediate successor was to fill the post only temporarily until the next active pastor could be released from the position he was then holding. Father F. X. Rello, another Spanish Jesuit, also an old man but amazingly vigorous for his seventy-three years, occupied the post from June to September, 1947 when Father Joseph I. Stoffel was released from the office of Mission Procurator in Manila and arrived to assume the pastorate of the neglected and badly run-down parish of Lamitan.

Old Father Vila is still living at the present writing. Determined to die with his boots on, the venerable missionary rendered such help as he could to the parish priest of Tetuan, Zamboanga, after leaving Lamitan. Until his ninetieth year he heard confessions, celebrated Mass, even High Masses, and, to the amusement of the faithful, insisted on preaching although he could no longer be heard or understood. However, for some months now, he has not been able to celebrate

Mass or exercise any ministry as he has lapsed into senility. At the age of ninety-one, he now lives in the novitiate infirmary at Novaliches, near Manila, patiently waiting for the Angel of Death to carry him to his eternal reward.

### Last Jesuit Pastor

Father Stoffel, forty years old at the time of his installation, was the first American priest and the last Jesuit to occupy the pastorate of Lamitan. When he took up his duties he scarcely knew where to begin. The parishioners had lost their first enthusiasm which came with the canonical erection of the parish, and since then it seemed as though there had been more deterioration than development.

True, there had not been much war damage to the property. At one time during the war a two-seater Japanese observation plane used to visit Lamitan once a day and drop out of its cockpit a small captured American bomb just to keep the people properly subdued. These bombs never hurt anybody. Several were intended for the church but merely made holes in the road in front of the church. Concussion blew out the boards of the front of the church and bomb fragments put a few small holes in the galvanized iron roof, but there was no really serious damage. The termites and general decay had done more damage than bombs. One of Father Vila's eccentricities was that he kept everything locked up at all times, trusting the keys to no one, not even the Brother, and would not allow houseboys or workmen in the house. The result was that there had been no repairs or even housecleaning for years, except that every Saturday some little girls would bring brooms and scatter the dust on the church floor so that it settled on everything else. The residence was hardly fit for human habitation. The kitchen was in a state of collapse, there were practically no kitchen or table utensils, there was no dependable source of water, and candles, which pious people placed in the church as votive lights, were promptly removed and used for general illumination in the church and rectory.

The spiritual decay was even worse than the material. A few women and children attended Mass in the dark on Sundays, one pious old man and a woman were the entire congregation on week-days, and the people of the barrios were



hardly aware that they had a priest. There were baptisms and funerals, but few marriages and no sick calls.

The first obvious task for the new pastor was to contact the barrios where approximately 24,000 of his parishioners live. To do this, transportation was necessary, and within a few weeks the pastor was driving a brand-new jeep on Sundays to four of the principal barrios in rotation, and putting the jeep to good use for sick calls. In order to multiply himself he obtained from the Bishop the unusual permission to celebrate three Masses every Sunday, and two Masses on barrio fiesta days.

Beginning the first January of the new pastor's incumbency, a mimeographed parish bulletin was sent to all barrios every month in order to keep the scattered people of the parish informed of parish activities. One of its important notices was the calendar of the month showing the schedule of barrio Masses. As a result, barrio representatives began requesting to be included in the list of barrios regularly visited, and in the course of three years seven barrios, which never had chapels before, constructed new chapels without any urging by the priest. By the end of his incumbency the parish priest was regularly visiting twenty-four barrios, or all the barrios in the parish which had chapels. With Mass attendance brought back into the lives of the barrio folk, many began coming by bus to Lamitan on their off-Sundays, and Mass attendance in the church at Lamitan increased by more than two hundred percent including many men.

This manner of administering a parish involved a considerable amount of office work which would have taken the priest from ministerial duties, so a competent secretary was engaged at a good salary to do the desk work in the parish office. This made it possible to keep careful financial accounts, which were reported to the people every month in the parish bulletin. The result was an increase of the people's confidence in the pastor's administration of parish finances, and the parish income increased by several hundred percent.

### Improvements in the Parish

After the first Christmas the new pastor started catechetical instruction in the public schools, the pastor himself teaching catechism in the fifth and sixth grades of the central

school across the street. By the end of three years, eighteen hundred children were attending religious instruction classes three times a week in seven public schools, under more than forty catechists.

It was hard for the old Spanish Brother to remain with the new American pastor because the Brother spoke only Spanish, with which the American priest was not conversant. The priest learned to speak Chavacano, the local dialect of the people, but although the Brother could understand this dialect, he could not speak it. The Brother was therefore transferred, and houseboys were engaged to take care of the ordinary household and sacristan duties. The boys were trained by Brother Augurio Miranda, a Filipino, who was assigned to Lamitan for a period of time long enough to organize the household and church staff. A carpenter was engaged for a few minor repair jobs, but one job led to another and the carpenter continued working steadily for more than three years. At the end of that time the residence was quite habitable and the interior of the church considerably remodeled and repaired and refurnished. Nearly all the old vestments and church linens which the new pastor found on his arrival were unfit for use and had to be burned. New vestments and linens, as well as other sacred implements, were begged and bought.

Early in his term of office the pastor found candles and oil lamps inadequate for illumination and installed a small electric generator which provided ample light for residence, church, and later on, the school. After nine months of taking his daily bath in a wash basin, the pastor at last enjoyed the comfort of a modern shower bath and improved sanitation with running water in the kitchen and a modern toilet. But these were only the receiving end of a complete water supply system using rain water collected from the roof, and installed at a cost of \$1,000.

The biggest improvement for the spiritual development of the parish was the inauguration of St. Peter's parochial high school, which held its first class on July 1, 1948. Beginning on a shoe string, the school held classes the first year in temporary quarters, one class in Father Vila's nipa catechism school, the other on the ground floor of the Navarro family residence. The parish priest was one of the teachers. In its

second year of operation the school was housed in a school building erected next to the church which gradually evolved into housing facilities for ten classrooms, auditorium, library and school office. By the end of the third year of operation the high school had an enrollment of 250 boys and girls, a library of 7,000 volumes (mostly begged from benefactors in the United States) and a fully equipped high school science laboratory, not to mention a brass band of 15 pieces. The high school students served as catechists for the religious instruction classes in the public elementary schools.

Availing themselves of the facilities provided for receiving the sacraments, more and more high school boys were being seen at the Communion rail; and, encouraged by their example, other men, young and old, began to frequent the sacraments in ever increasing numbers. The high school students urged their relatives and neighbors living in concubinage to be married properly in the church, with the result that from their example during the last fiscal year of the writer's pastorate there were only twelve civil marriages registered at the town hall, none of them Catholics.

Beginning with the third year of the parish school's operation, two Sisters of the Religious of the Virgin Mary, a native congregation, were secured to work in the schools together with the staff of seven lay teachers, with the idea of eventually turning over the administration of the school to the sisters of this congregation.

### Problems and Progress

But it was not all smooth sailing. A Protestant lawyer in town opened a rival "non-sectarian" school as a commercial enterprise. His school was not doing so well, while the Catholic school was flourishing, and he caused a considerable amount of trouble. At one time there were even threats made against the priest's life. (A not entirely unheard of occupational hazard for priests. A Filipino secular priest in Luzon was murdered under much the same circumstances.) There were internal squabbles in the school's Parents-Teachers Association, factional disputes between barrios, difficulties with the government Bureau of Private Schools, the usual run of disciplinary problems in the school, and

friction with the Spanish Jesuits in Zamboanga who disapproved, as is easily understandable, of some of their American brother's strange missionary methods to which they were not accustomed and which they viewed with well-intentioned suspicion and alarm. Financial worries turned the priest's remaining hair almost entirely grey in six months, and his weight dropped thirty pounds. He ruptured himself changing a tire on the jeep, broke a bone when the jeep skidded into a non-elastic rubber tree, and was preemptorily ordered to Manila for a rest one time when the local superior feared that a complete physical and nervous breakdown was imminent.

Concerned with the Lamitan pastor's health, the Mission Superior sent temporary assistance on several occasions when he had a priest to spare for a short period. Father Richard Anable, an American, arrived to help for a while but after only one week an unexpected turn of events in Manila demanded his recall for an important task there. Father Luis Torralba, a Filipino, was loaned to Lamitan for the end of a school year before taking up his position as Dean of the Ateneo de Zamboanga. Father Austin Dowd, an American, was released temporarily from the Mission Band in Manila to help at Lamitan for two months while the pastor was a semi-invalid because of a major surgical operation. Father Justo Perez, a Spaniard, enjoyed the longest stay at Lamitan as a temporary assistant. A refugee from Communist China, he was a semi-invalid, who eventually had to be completely retired from duty and sent back to Spain. And so the pastorate of Lamitan continued at all times to be essentially a one-man job, although it could well have used the services of several.

However, at the end of three and a half hectic years in office, this pastor turned over to his successor a parish establishment valued at approximately \$32,500, with a cash debt of \$6,000; or, net assets worth about \$26,500. More than two-thirds of these net assets had been acquired during Father Stoffel's term as pastor.

Spiritually, there still remained a tremendous amount to be done, but the spiritual development had kept pace with the material development and a beginning had been made. Properly instructed children were now making their first

Holy Communion and continuing in the practice of frequenting the sacraments, well instructed high school students were preparing to found intelligent Catholic families, all marriages of Catholics were being performed in the church, people were beginning to call the priest to give the last sacraments to the dying, Mass attendance and reception of the sacraments by adults was still only a small fraction of what it should be, but was on the increase and many men, especially the more influential ones, were beginning to appear at Mass and the Communion rail, and, finally, the people were beginning to develop a consciousness of their responsibility for the support of their parish.

By this time the parish had developed beyond the capacity of the lone pastor to handle the huge volume of work, and he was happy to be relieved of his pastorate. Besides, according to the rules of his Order, it is the function of the Jesuit missionary to do the spade work, and when the task has progressed to a certain point to turn over the results of his efforts to others, while he seeks other, more primitive fields elsewhere to begin the cycle all over again.

On January 27, 1951 Father Anthony Briskey, C.M.F., was canonically installed as pastor of the Lamitan parish, and two hours after the ceremony, Father Joseph I. Stoffel, the last Jesuit pastor in Basilan, freed of worry and responsibility, was on his way to a new assignment.

### Jesuits Say Farewell to Basilan

The Zamboanga diocese has always suffered from an acute shortage of priests. The Bishop, a Filipino Jesuit who was educated in Spain and belongs to the Spanish culture, naturally prefers Spanish priests for his diocese, or Filipino priests trained in the Spanish tradition. Nearly all the Spanish Jesuits remaining in the Philippines after the revolution were therefore concentrated in the Zamboanga diocese. But these were dying off, all the survivors were advanced in age, and the Jesuit Mission now had only Americans or American trained Filipinos to offer for work in the diocese, and even these in not nearly sufficient numbers to satisfy the growing needs of the diocese. The Bishop's appeal to the Jesuit General for Jesuits from Spain was vetoed because

the Spanish Provinces need all their men for their own missions. By agreement with the Jesuit General, therefore, Bishop Laís del Rosario invited the Missionary Sons of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (Claretian Fathers), a Spanish foundation, to take over all the parishes in his diocese which, until the present time, have been staffed by Jesuits. Although a much smaller organization, the Claretians can better afford to place more men in this field because they operate in fewer places than the Jesuits. They plan eventually to place ten priests in Basilan, previously served by only two Jesuits.

The first parishes to be turned over to the Claretians were Mercedes in Zamboanga and the two Basilan parishes of Isabela and Lamitan. In Isabela, Father Fenton Fitzpatrick was replaced by two Spanish Claretian Fathers. In Lamitan, Father Joseph I. Stoffel was replaced by Father Anthony Briskey, C.M.F., an American Claretian. But Father Briskey, destined for Japan where English speaking-priests are in great demand, was to hold the Lamitan post only until Spanish Claretians could be appointed.

In his short term of less than a year at Lamitan, Father Briskey added to the school building and expanded the school to include normal school courses, with night classes for adults, which will provide Catholic trained teachers for the public schools of Basilan. The parish school had an enrollment of 350 students at the beginning of its fourth year of operation.

At present writing, Father Briskey is preparing to sail for Japan and two Spanish Claretians are expected shortly to replace him and maintain the level of development in the parish achieved by Father Briskey and his predecessor. The Claretian Fathers are keeping intact the parochial system which Father Stoffel established and are continuing the procedures which he introduced. With the parochial mechanism organized and working, there is every reason to expect that the two Spanish Claretians will be able to keep it in operation. We can therefore confidently count Basilan Island as one more corner of the apostolate where Jesuit missionaries have permanently established the Catholic Church.

JOSEPH I. STOFFEL, S.J.

## THE BLESSING OF PIUS X ON ST. ALOYSIUS PARISH, LEONARDTOWN, MD.

When visiting St. Aloysius Parish, Leonardtown, Maryland, early in April, 1952 I found in the house diary of St. Aloysius Residence for July 4, 1912 a reference to a signed picture of Blessed Pope Pius X which I had obtained that year. I was stationed as assistant to Very Reverend Laurence J. Kelly, Pastor and Superior of Leonardtown, from 1911 to 1915, when I went to St. Ingoes (later Ridge), and kept the house diary during those four years. I had busied myself organizing the St. John Berchmans' Society for altar boys, while at Leonardtown. The unit was composed partly of the boys of St. Aloysius parish, partly of the pupils at Leonard Hall, an academy conducted by the Xaverian Brothers. My study of Pope Pius' *Motu Proprio* on Church Music had given me the idea of starting a boys' sanctuary choir, so I undertook to train the boys in elements of the liturgical chant, and especially in the Holy Week chant. Using the old Woodstock settings, I taught them to sing the Lamentations in polyphony, and I do not think they did so badly, all things considered.

The idea then occurred to me to ask a blessing for the boys from the Holy Father, and I wrote to the Baroness Schönberg-Roth-Schönberg in Rome, asking if she could get it for me. Baron Ernst Schönberg-Roth-Schönberg, her husband, was a papal chamberlain of thirty years standing, a native of Saxony, and a convert from Protestantism in his early youth, when he was befriended and quasi-adopted by Pope Pius IX. His wife was an American, Miss Elizabeth Ward, related to Mrs. Justine Ward, author of the Ward Method of chant study and founder of the Pius X School of Liturgical Chant in New York City. I had come to know the Schönbergs at their residence near Brixen in Austria, when I was a theological student at Innsbruck.

The Baroness succeeded in obtaining the picture, in a way that is described in a letter from her which I transcribed for the Leonardtown house diary, and quote herewith. It was written on May 27, 1912; the underscoring is hers.

The moment your letter came I bought a fine photograph of the Holy Father. It is the very last one, and is, we think, perfect,

besides being artistic. I took your Latin inscription to a Jesuit Father, who made a slight alteration, had it written under the photo and we took it with us for the signature. The Holy Father has not been well for some time, and it was doubtful if he could sign it, doubtful even if we could have a private audience. However, the unexpected always happens in Rome, and so after taking the lowest seat in the audience room, (we) were promoted up to the very top, I clinging to the photograph. There were many good sisters, and others with photos, and I heard the order passed along that none but I should be allowed to take in our photograph. It went to my heart to see the sad, reproachful glances when we later came out triumphant with your photograph. I told the Holy Father about you and your work and the boys, and the conditions, etc., and he wrote, as you will see, a small chapter. Never before has any Pope written so much for me on a photograph . . . I told him this photograph would be framed, and find a place in the church. He did not say that would not be suitable. I should think it might find a place in the church not near the altar. It represents a perpetual blessing. He said besides to tell you he sent his most especial blessing, not only to you and the boys, but to the parish priest, and clergy, and *all the people*,—to the whole parish most especially also. He sat at his writing table between the crucifix and statue of the Curé d'Ars, a wonderful picture of strength, and purpose, and humility. When I asked his prayers for someone afflicted with many trials and discouraged, he looked at the crucifix and said: "No day passes that trials, and very heavy ones, do not come to me. . . But one must never lose courage, never lose cheerfulness; always bow in humility to the Master's will. He wills it, and it is good."

I tell you privately, what you may know, as it has been in the papers—but the Holy Father disclaims all merit, and does not wish the things mentioned in any way, through his prayers several miracles have been performed. Who knows but he will be canonized some day? A saint he is now.

The Fathers were at first skeptical about the survival of the picture after so many changes through the years at St. Aloysius, but it was finally located by Father Charles Rohleder in the attic of St. Aloysius' Residence, and it is now hung up for view. The discovery was particularly moving for me, since I had attended the beatification ceremonies of Pope Pius X last June 3, 1951 in Rome, and had received Holy Communion from his blessed hands shortly before my ordination in 1905. The frame that encloses the picture I obtained from Baltimore shortly after receiving the photo from Europe. The Leonardtown Fathers hope that eventually



it may be featured in a shrine to the Blessed—by that time very likely Saint—Pius X, in the proposed new St. Aloysius' Church.

**Translation of the Holy Father's writing:**

Cordially congratulating Our beloved children and begging for them from the Lord those rewards which are stored up for all who sing the divine praises, as a token of our gratitude and good will we affectionately impart the Apostolic Benediction. From the Vatican, May 18, 1912.

Pius PP X

**Translation of the Inscription on the Photograph:**

Most Blessed Father, we, members and choirboys and acolytes of the St. John Berchmans Sodality, who belong to the mission of St. Aloysius at Leonardtown in America and are trying as best we may to carry out the Holy See's prescriptions on church music, prostrate now at Your Holiness' feet most humbly seek and request the Apostolic Benediction.

I trust that two items gathered by the American interlocutor from the Holy Father's words will never be lost sight of: that the saint intended his blessing to be *perpetual*—which gives it a new meaning now that he has been raised to the altar; and that it should be for *all* of St. Aloysius' Parish—"to the whole parish most especially also." For "all" means *everybody*.

JOHN LA FARGE, S.J.

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## THE NEW GREEN HOUSE AT WOODSTOCK

The ashes of the old Green House were hardly cold before discussion started about building a structure to replace it as a home for the workmen employed at the College. The need was obvious. The twenty workmen who had miraculously escaped from the building on the night of the fire were dispersed around the neighboring countryside in boarding houses and with friends. This made it inconvenient for them to get back and forth to their work at the College, and deprived them of the spiritual advantages afforded by life in a building with a chapel.

With Woodstock in transition from a more general to a more specialized role in the training of the Jesuits of the

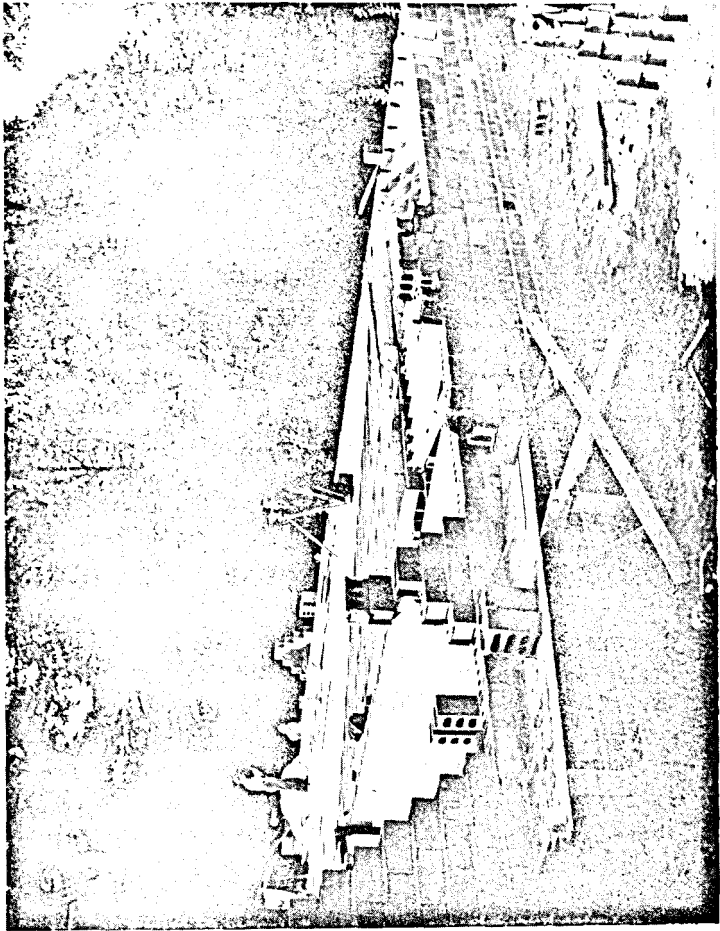
Maryland and New York Provinces, it was difficult to gauge the future needs of the College with any degree of accuracy. Hence, although suggestions were made for the inclusion of everything from speech studios to sacristy store rooms in the new structure, it was decided to put up a building that would be simply a home for the workmen.

For the sake of mutual privacy, the plot between the garages and the print shop where the old Green House had stood was left vacant and a new site was chosen on the old handball courts between the former site and the Mile Path.

Father Charles Neuner, newly-appointed subminister, became architect and contractor. With the help of Joe Peach, our head carpenter and man of many talents, he drew up plans for an el-shaped building of two stories with no basement, but with a large attic that would provide plenty of dry storage space. The first floor contains six living rooms, a large chapel, a recreation room and a wash room. The second floor, which can be entered on a level from the front porch, contains thirteen living rooms and a wash room. The boiler room is located at the front end of the building with its floor slightly below the level of the first floor. An interesting feature in the plan was the inclusion of a boiler of much larger capacity than was actually needed to heat the house. This makes it possible to supply steam to the print shop and the tailor shop and thus to ease the load on the main boilers in the power house.

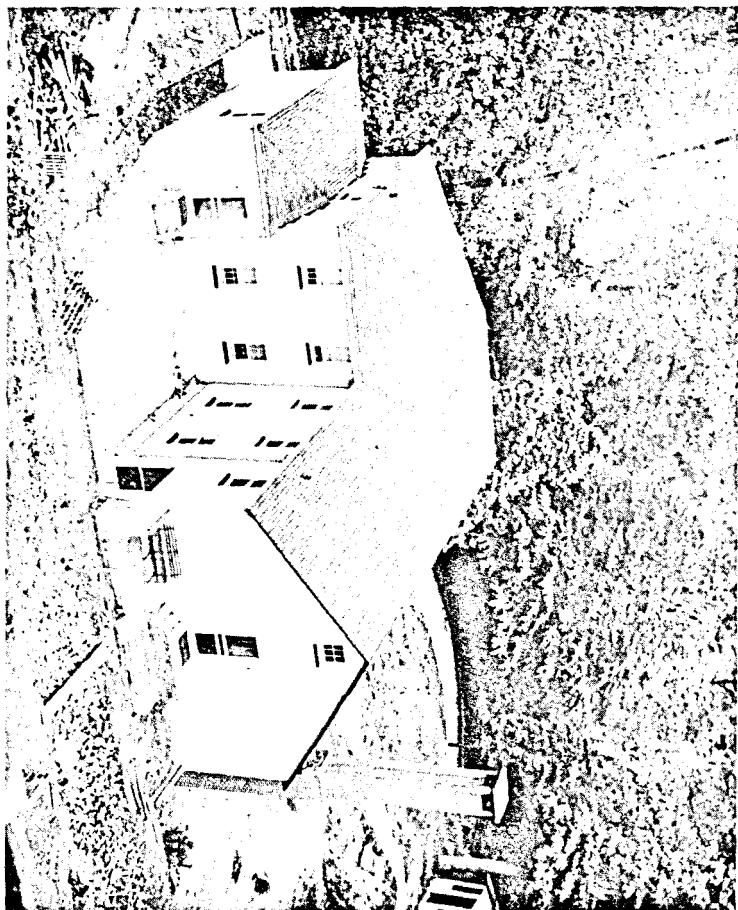
The plans called for a structure with a cinder block exterior shell and a frame interior. The floors are quartered oak over a pine subfloor. The interior walls are finished with plaster on rock lath and have been left unpainted for the present. There are modern ceiling fixtures in all the rooms and ample provision has been made for electrical outlets. A special feature is a heat-actuated fire alarm system which rings bells in the building and in the main house whenever the temperature of the corridors becomes abnormally high.

Construction started on September 12, 1951 with the digging of the foundation and the pouring of the footings. Aside from the three masons who were brought in to lay the cinder block and the plastering and plumbing contractors, the entire edifice was erected by our own workmen with the



The new Green House under construction

THE NEW GREEN HOUSE



sporadic help of willing Scholastics. The outer shell was up and the roof on and shingled within six weeks. From there on the progress was somewhat slower, since the plasterers could come only on weekends, and the installation of the plumbing was complicated by the necessity of making connections to the other buildings. As soon as the exterior was completed it was painted with a light green waterproof paint that contrasts pleasantly with the dark green of the trim and window sills.

A substantial saving was effected by bringing down spare doors from Bellarmine Hall, the villa at Blue Ridge Summit, Pa. These were reconditioned and hung in the building. Before leaving to assume the post of electrician at Bellarmine College and Novitiate at Bluff Point, Joe Brown wired the building and installed most of the fixtures.

The individual living rooms are bright and airy. The average size is ten by thirteen feet, and they are all uniformly furnished with simple, durable furniture. The carpenter shop turned out writing tables and a number of large wardrobes which were given to the Scholastics in exchange for their old-type wardrobes. These last were reconditioned and put in the workmen's living rooms.

The chapel is fifteen by forty feet in size and will accommodate forty people. The altar and organ from the old chapel at Loyola College have been installed, and the carpenters have made a set of colonial style pews that are painted ivory and mahogany. There is a compact little sacristy with built-in vestment cases and closets. Mr. Schemel, who has assumed the duties of sacristan, is at present hanging drapes and arranging the final details of decoration.

Reverend Father Rector blessed the building on March 22, 1952 and the workmen moved in on the same day, glad to be back at the College in so comfortable a new home. Presently the Scholastics and some of the faculty are busy landscaping the surrounding ground. They are rapidly providing a setting of beauty for a snug, attractive structure that is doing its best to live up to a great tradition.

FREDERICK L. CANAVAN, S.J.

### OPERATION: ROUTINE

The Army Chaplain doesn't have many days to rest. A telephone call comes through to the Replacement Company for him to report at Eighth Army Headquarters that afternoon, bag and baggage. So, loading his equipment on the three-quarter ton truck, he holds on tight to the wooden seat while the vehicle bounces along over a few miles of rutted terrain politely referred to as a road.

Arriving at Eighth Army, he is introduced to the Army Chaplain, a full Colonel in rank; the Deputy, a Lieutenant Colonel; and the Personnel Chaplain, a Major. Receiving his assignment does not take too long, as the matter is thought out in advance. Age, previous military and professional experience, religious denomination, and state of health seem to be the main considerations.

In deference to the writer's advancing age, the EUSAK Chaplain (EUSAK being the abbreviation of Eight United States Army Korea) cuts orders assigning the newcomer to the Advance Section of Headquarters Eighth Army, and that night the Padre boards the EUSAK express which rumbles on, blacked out for security, and at dawn deposits him at his destination. At the railroad station, a jeep from Headquarters Commandant's section is waiting to take the Chaplain through the streets of a bombed-out city to Headquarters Eighth Army Advance.

First on the agenda is visiting the Headquarters Commandant to report in and be assigned office space. Next, a trip to the Billeting Officer to draw a canvas cot and a few blankets, and to be shown his barracks room.

The Padre experiences a chill of disappointment when he looks at his office space—it really is space and nothing else. But he envisions the office as it will look after he has finished with it. The Korean houseboys, with the GI to supervise the work, will clean up the room; all the Chaplain has to do is pick up some 446 forms, borrow a typewriter, and requisition a desk—double pedestal, a table—camp, folding, for religious literature, a few chairs—folding, metal, and another chair—rotary, with arms. Then there is the business about having a phone installed, ordering pictures for the walls, picking up maps of Korea, and providing other office facilities.

While waiting for his room to shape up, the Padre makes himself familiar with the various offices in the compound, locates the mess hall, looks over the theater where he will celebrate Mass, and then decides to take a trip around town.

Not yet having a jeep, although that will come shortly, the Chaplain starts on his walking tour about the city. Among other things he sees a patient ox, plodding along, pulling a wagon burdened with a ten foot stack of wood or a casket-shaped nightsoil container, and looking neither ahead, nor right, nor left, but on the pitted, washboard road beneath his feet. The driver, walking beside his beast, is a sturdy-looking Korean, bareheaded, clothed in a dirty cotton shirt, woolen blanket trousers tied at the ankles, and rubber slippers over heavy socks.

The narrow road seems hardly wide enough for the ox-drawn wagon, but an Army jeep manages to squeeze by and turns off into a wide avenue with street-car tracks. The GI driver coasts slowly along, looking at the merchandise displayed in the little open-front stores that are operating in the street level entrances of bombed-out buildings. The Padre follows afoot.

Inhaling the aroma, strong to American nostrils, of *kimche* and other Korean food, the GI's stand in front of one of the stalls, examining the heterogeneous assortment of sun-dried squid, pencils, strips of inner tube for blousing trousers, ash-trays made from beer cans, chocolate bars, brass bowls, lacquer-ware boxes, and what have you.

No one seems to be tending store except a little girl, nine or ten years old, but she knows enough English to make herself understood, especially, "Have-a yes" and Have-a no"; besides she can use her hands for pointing and her fingers for counting if her English fails to register. Mama-san (the GI word for a Korean mother, the *san* coming from the Japanese for "honorable") soon puts in her appearance, baby-san strapped to her back, to help girl-san close a favorable deal. The price asked does not meet with GI approval and, at this impasse, papa-san shuffles in from a neighboring stall, bows in greeting, and to the GI's "Too much," he counters, if he wants to sell the article, "You speakee *how* much," and the GI now has his chance for a bargain.

The Padre, while watching the business transaction, notes

that the Koreans have no traffic sense, for they will walk right in front of approaching vehicles, but that they do have a sense of humor. The papa-sans and mama-sans laugh heartily as the GI, on making his purchase, picks up a bell from the stall, rings it, and imitates the Korean newsboy's paper call.

The Padre continues his walk past midget department stores with pillows and comforters (a cross between a mattress and quilt), past hardware items such as rusty nails, rusty tools, battered clocks, fancy dishes, books, and odds and ends. Surrounding the Padre is a group of boy-sans who faithfully promise, "shoe shine number one," and if he is not wise enough to bargain before he steps up on the homemade boxes, he will find himself paying 1,000 won apiece (total of 33 cents) to two of the boy-sans.

### Problems of a Chaplain

Back in his office, the Chaplain begins to unpack his assemblage of unassorted office and personal equipment, and to line up his religious services. As it is impossible to cover all units by personal visits, the Padre settles upon two or three central places to which outlying units can truck in with their men to hear Mass. Few chapels exist, so Mass must be said in the theater, or day room, or mess hall, and at times which will not conflict with long-standing schedules of meals and entertainment. After checking by phone or personal visit with the Commanding Officer or maybe with the First Sergeant in the orderly room, the Padre completes his arrangements for Masses, at least for the time being, hangs out his shingle on the door, and is ready for the run-of-the-mill calls that take up much of his time.

Private first class, John Doe, unable to find solace in his problem of adjustment, visits the Chaplain as a last resort. It seems nobody likes John Doe, everybody is against him, nobody will give him a break. He tries his best, so he asserts, but the fellows make fun of him. He was much happier at home before he got into the service. The doctor has seen him, says it is just a question of nerves, and that he will settle down gradually into Army life.

The Padre finds himself faced here with an adjustment



problem which is difficult to handle. If he could observe the boy at close range, perhaps he could prescribe a specific solution, but, as that is impossible, about all he can do is give general hints such as the following: "Try to do your job to the best of your ability, then there will be no complaints about your work. Remember that you have to live and work with others, so try to understand them." And if the GI has any religious background, the Padre can appeal to spiritual motives, such as working for the love of God and seeing His Image reflected hundreds of times in the men about the company.

After settling down for a few minutes to read the *Stars and Stripes* on the slim hope that there may be something encouraging about the truce talks at Panmunjom, the Padre is interrupted by a soldier who wants to marry a Korean or Japanese girl. The GI is only nineteen, but he is sure this is real love. This girl is nicer than any he ever met, and so forth. Here is a problem, the magnitude of which dwarfs the preceding adjustment difficulty. How to begin? There are at least a hundred questions the Padre would like to ask, so, considering the soldier's age, he starts off with the fourth commandment, asking the GI if he has written to his mother and father about the proposed marriage. The answer is sometimes evasive but more often couched in some such generalizations: "My parents say that whatever I want to do is OK by them. It's my life, and I'm old enough to decide." Does the GI have on his person the letter from his parents? No. What did he do with it? Tore it up. Does he have any proof of his parents' consent? No, but he could write to them and ask them for a letter just like they wrote before. The Padre, remarking that he would like to see the letter when it arrives, and reminding the boy that a baptismal certificate and proof of freedom to marry are required, dismisses the lovelorn soldier, who may or may not return to visit the Chaplain. If he receives regular letters from Mary Doakes back in the States, the chances of the GI's returning are reduced considerably.

The Padre picks up the *Stars and Stripes*, and starts flipping the pages over when another knock on the door announces the presence of Corporal O'Brien. "Just thought I'd stop in for a few minutes. If you're going to be in this

afternoon, I'll bring a friend around to see you. He should be a Catholic; in fact, he is, I guess. He tells me he was baptized but never made his First Communion. By the way, Father, could you bless my throat now; I was travelling last Sunday; couldn't make it to Mass."

### Further Adventures

The siren sounds the noon hour; a raucous reminder that the mess hall is nearby. The Padre finds himself seated at table opposite a Major, who strikes up a conversation by asking where the Padre comes from back in the States, and whether he knows Father So-and-so. The Major has just returned from the line, wants to go to confession before the five o'clock Mass, and receive Holy Communion. He did not have the chance to go on Sunday, and, "I almost forgot, here's \$50 for the missionaries, and I wrote home for some clothes for the orphans."

It is afternoon—a snowy one, and the Padre is standing by the window, saying a little prayer to St. Anthony or whatever saint there is up in Heaven who does not like snow; let him get busy and stop it. It is going to make the roads very slippery and dangerous on the forty mile trip through the mountains to say Mass for the Engineers. So, whispering a little aspiration to the Blessed Virgin to find the right saint or to do the job herself, the Padre pulls on his sweater and jacket and overcoat, picks up his gloves, grabs a blanket and passes it on to his driver who is shouldering his carbine, and goes out to the jeep. The Blessed Virgin did not find the right saint, or maybe the right one was off on some other errand, but she certainly found St. Christopher and a couple of large trucks to pull the Chaplain and his driver out of two ditches a few miles apart.

Come the first of the month, this time New Year's Day, and it is report time—the report in triplicate to the Chief of Chaplains, and another to the Military Ordinariate, that means Cardinal Spellman, who is still here in Korea. Just yesterday a group of the Chaplains around Seoul were at his Mass at the Cathedral and ate breakfast with him at the Columban Fathers. This was a wonderful day for the Padres—and it was the first time in history that a Cardinal had visited Korea.

Time out for a day of recollection at the Columban Fathers in Seoul. There are forty Padres attending; they park their jeeps in the yard and, arms loaded down with bread, hams, chickens or something else, climb up the stairs to greet their confreres. The inevitable war stories start flying, punctured at times by bursts of incredulity, until the large brass bell calls the Padres into the Chapel for the first spiritual exercise.

It is spring again, but, somehow or other, the Korean birds just do not seem to be as nice as the Maryland Province kind. Olive drab woolen shirt and trousers have yielded to cotton fatigues, a sure sign that summer is at hand. And summer promises a return to the States, after a year overseas, and a change back from military to Ignatian obedience.

ERNEST B. CLEMENTS, S.J.

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### THE NEWLY PUBLISHED MUSICAL COMPOSITIONS OF SAINT FRANCIS BORGIA

It may come as a note of interest to Jesuit musicians and choir directors in our houses of studies that several musical compositions of St. Francis Borgia are now available for general use. For a number of years the editor has been on the lookout for this music. However, though everyone spoke of them and many of our Spanish Fathers remembered having heard them before the last revolution, no one seemed to know where to find them. Father Jorge Blajot, S.J., the well known poet and musician, did succeed in uncovering them in a library of Madrid, where he had them microfilmed and mailed to America.

The editing process consisted mainly in transcribing the music from sixteenth century manuscript notation (a different clef for each voice). In addition, adaptations for male voices were made, keeping the key of the original and simply rearranging the distribution of parts. These adaptations have been experimentally used in the juniorate at Grand Coteau for the past year and enthusiastically received. At present we are publishing only the *Sanctus* and *Benedictus*, and may, if there is sufficiently good response, publish several of the available motets.

St. Francis' music is well authenticated, particularly by the research of Father Baixauli, S.J., in several articles of *Razón y Fe*, 1902 (pp. 155-170 and 273-282). The style is that of sixteenth century polyphony, notable for lucidity, respect for the sacred text, and a Palestrina-like serenity. Some striking points of resemblance to Vittoria and Di Lasso may be noted, suggesting that these masters may have known St. Francis' music (it antedates theirs). A somewhat fuller account of the music may be found in a forthcoming issue of *Caecilia*.

C. J. McNASPY, S.J.

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O God, the strength of the weak and glory of the humble, it was Thy pleasure that Thy servant Alphonsus, by continual mortification and singular humility should rise to illustrious sanctity; grant then that in imitation of him, we too, mortifying our flesh and faithfully following Thy divine Son on the humble way of the cross, may attain to everlasting glory; through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

—Prayer from the Mass of St. Alphonsus, Oct. 30.

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Grant, Lord God, that in serving Thee, we of Thy household may follow that same pattern of innocence and loyalty with which the holy youth John hallowed the springtime of his life; through Christ our Lord. Amen.

—from the Mass of St. John Berchmans, Nov. 26.

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O God, Who for the defense of the true faith and the authority of the Apostolic See didst fortify Thy blessed martyrs Edmund and his companions with invincible courage, please let their prayers persuade Thee to help us in our weakness, that we may stand firm in the faith and resist the enemy to the end; through Christ our Lord. Amen.

—from the Mass of Bl. Edmund, Dec. 1.

# OBITUARY

FATHER ROBERT HAYNE JOHNSON

1875-1952

Father Robert H. Johnson was born in Manhattan, November 4, 1875 and died in St. Vincent's Hospital, January 25, 1952 in his seventy-seventh year. He entered the Society on July 22, 1893 in Frederick, Maryland, and so he was in his fifty-ninth year in religion. His health, as far as it is known, was always of the best. On his seventy-fifth birthday he is said to have remarked to one of Ours, "Well, here I am celebrating my seventy-fifth birthday; have had excellent health, always been able to work and enjoyed my daily walk, so if sickness comes, it is a gift of God, too, even as was my long continued health and happiness." One wonders whether he had begun to think that sickness was soon to take the place of health. I know that in his last year he shortened the length and time of his daily walk. Fatigue, perhaps, was his first warning. Those who knew him well were surely surprised to learn of his sickness and death.

Robert Hayne Johnson's parents were William Johnson, a well-known New York lawyer, and Lucy O'Connell, said to have been the first woman to preside at the meetings of the New York Board of Education. It is interesting to know the reason for the middle names given to Robert and to his brother, George; neither was a family name, as middle names frequently are. George was named "Farquar" and Robert was named "Hayne." Both names are those of prominent lawyers of the early seventies. Robert was not a product of the public schools. After private teaching by his mother, he went through the grammar grades of the Cathedral Parochial School. The two brothers, George and Robert, for years daily served Archbishop Corrigan's Mass, and so were highly regarded around the cathedral. Robert was intended for West Point through the appointment of Mr. John D. Crimmins, a prominent parishioner of the Cathedral; with West Point in mind he chose to go to De La Salle Institute, a military school, in his days situated at 59th Street and Central Park. On his graduation in 1892, he decided to enter the

Society, thus joining his brother, George, who was to enter the novitiate on August 14 of that year. The course at De La Salle was not a full classical course, so Robert took up a special course at Holy Cross in Latin and Greek. He had as his professor a very famous Canadian Jesuit, Father Langois. In 1892, Father Langois known to us boys as "Pop" was a famous figure at the Cross. He had then spent twenty years teaching "Special," a class which enabled apt students who were willing to keep pace with Father Langois' urging to enter the Freshman class in the college. At the end of the year we find Robert Johnson applying for entrance into the Society. He had had a brilliant year and left no doubt of his fitness in the mind of the Provincial, Father Thomas J. Campbell.

He entered the Society on July 22, 1893 at Frederick, Maryland. His Master of Novices was Father John H. O'Rourke who was also rector of the novitiate. The tertianship in those days was also at Frederick, and the tertian master was a well-known director, Father Burchard Villiger, who became Rector of Woodstock at the advanced age of seventy-eight. Among the tertians that year were the Fathers who formed the first contingent from our province to the Jamaica Mission; Father Collins, later Bishop of the Mission; Father Patrick Mulry and Father Gregory, the Father Minister of the Novitiate; all three were stalwarts—over six feet tall, and to us novices awesome and impressive. Also that year Father John Wynne and Father Henry Van Rensselaer were tertians. Father Wynne became very famous as the founder of the Catholic Encyclopedia and of the National Catholic Weekly, *America*. Father Van Rensselaer was a convert from a distinguished New York family. Also a tertian was Father Thomas E. Sherman, son of General Thomas Tecumseh Sherman. Among the novices of those days we number the future Father Richard Tierney, who later was the militant editor of *America*, and with him Robert's brother, George, whose name and fame are written in juniorate annals during many years.

On August 15, 1895 Father Robert's class was admitted to first vows, and then began its juniorate. In his rhetoric year, Father Robert gave a public specimen in all of Virgil. Father Edward I. Purbrick, the Provincial, was present. After congratulating him he said: "Now this young man

(he was then 22 years old) is well fitted to teach in college, and I am sending him to teach Freshman in Boston College as of now."

At the end of the year Mr. Johnson was at Woodstock for his philosophy, and at the end of his course in 1901, he was sent to Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore to study advanced Latin under Professor Gildersleeve. In 1903 he went to Boston College and taught Freshman. In 1904 he was transferred to Holy Cross where he taught Freshman classics and history. In 1905 he began the study of theology at Woodstock. His contemporaries knew him as an untiring student. He was a good theologian and daily read and discussed the lectures with his brother George, who at that time was suffering from eye trouble and unable to read. On July 30, 1908 Father Robert was ordained by the then Apostolic Delegate, Diomedo Cardinal Falconio. From 1909 to 1910 he made his tertianship at St. Andrew, Poughkeepsie, under Father Thomas J. Gannon, former provincial. In 1910 he was appointed prefect of studies at Xavier, and on February 2, 1910 was promoted to the profession of four vows. In 1912 he became prefect of studies at Fordham, both of the College and the Preparatory School. On July 20, 1919 he was appointed Rector of Canisius High School in Buffalo. From 1924 to 1925 he was again in the classroom in his favorite class, Freshman, at Boston College. In 1925 he was prefect of studies at Loyola College, Baltimore, and in 1926 he taught Greek at Georgetown University. In 1927 he was prefect of discipline at St. Peter's, Jersey City, but did not finish the year.

While the remarks credited to Father Johnson on his seventy-fifth birthday spoke of uninterrupted good health during his life, the next years from 1927 to 1939 entirely obliterated it from his memory. During these years spent recuperating at Monroe, he was for some time in various hospitals when he suffered from migraine headaches. These too were the reason of his enforced relinquishing of college work. At Monroe he took every means to rid himself of his headaches—he rested conscientiously, engaged in manual labor, sacrificed himself in his love for reading and literary pursuits. But his guardian angel must have found it a hard task to reckon his mileage in walking, in all weather alike.

In 1939 Father returned to Fordham and for five years taught religion both in the downtown division and on the campus of the college. In 1944 he taught religion in the high school for one year. He gave all his energy to the preparation for his classes, a work that was hard for him. In 1945 he was assigned again to teach religion in the college. When the status was published in June, 1951 he became spiritual father of the community which also included giving the exhortations at Spellman and Kohlmann Halls. Little did any of us think that his next status was not labor on earth but reward in heaven. He had been engaged in school work for more than twenty-six years. He brought to bear in teaching the same conscientious, painstaking preparation that characterized every duty assigned him. Thus he merited the praise that all would give him as an excellent dean of studies, an office he filled for many years both at Xavier and Fordham. As rector of Canisius High School in Buffalo, he renovated a fast declining old building into a very attractive and creditable school building, and made the rooms of the members of the faculty pleasantly liveable. His community regarded him as a kind superior and as sincerely interested in all that concerned its religious life and temporal health and happiness. His devotedness to his brother, George, will long live in the memory of all. They were almost literally like two souls who lived as one, the devotedness of Father Robert and its reciprocation by Father George being a byword among Ours. When Father George was dying in great suffering at Holy Name Hospital in Teaneck, N.J., Father Robert daily made the long journey from Fordham to solace the last days of a brother whom he dearly loved. As the last days of Father George drew on, Father Robert remained in his brother's room through many nights, ever alert and attentive. He was an example to the Sisters and to the doctors of undying devotion.

After the death of Father George the reaction was one of complete desolation. Father Robert had no illusions that his brother had not gone at once to God's reward, and he prayed that God would call him soon. They could not long be apart in death as they were never separated in brotherly companionship in life. Father Robert survived his brother by only a few months but these were heightened into magnitude by lingering delay, as he often said. The last years of Father Robert were



somewhat saddened by a failure, not his own, to see his great work come off the press. The delay and final abandonment were due to the publishers. He had worked for over two years to put into the hands of our pupils a new edition of Father Wilmer's Catechism, but it was fated to be shelved by publishers' rights against new editions held by Benziger Brothers. We hope to see it some day in all our schools. It adds much in explanation to old editions.

When I saw Father Robert in St. Vincent's Hospital, New York, in January, 1952, he had already been languishing in bed for eighteen weeks. He had grown remarkably thin, all the lustre had gone out of his eyes, his cheeks were sunken and his skin was ashen. "Quantum Mutatus." But his spirit was sanguine. He wanted to get well, and it seemed for a time, he thought he was getting well. I went to see him every week while he was in the hospital and he never moaned about pain or even spoke to me about the greatness of suffering. He would close his eyes in greater paroxysms and say: "John pray for me." The nurse and the doctors gave me some idea of what continual pain Father was experiencing. He wanted to suffer without any human solace. Up to his last days, he never mentioned death. He did speak of returning to Fordham to remain in the infirmary for a while and then to resume his appointed work as spiritual father. He seemed to think it was a matter of time until he would be well, and again at work. When his mortal remains were laid in our parlor at Fordham, one realized by the large number of those who came to pay their respects to him that he had a host of friends in all walks of life. The number of religious was particularly noticeable. He had earned the eternal gratitude of the diocesan Sisters of Charity whose self-sacrificing confessor he had been for many years. They came in large numbers from distant parish schools and from Mt. St. Vincent to say a last prayer for his soul. Nuns from other orders filled the middle aisle at the funeral Mass. The Most Reverend Joseph F. Flannelly, Auxiliary Bishop of New York, representing His Eminence, Cardinal Spellman, presided at the Mass and gave the final absolution. He was told at the end of the Mass that his presence was particularly appropriate as Father Johnson had

been from 1884 to 1893 a faithful altar boy at St. Patrick's Cathedral during the rectorship of Monsignor Lavelle.

JOHN J. CASSIDY, S.J.

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## FATHER JOSEPH T. KEATING

1871-1950

On the campus at Fordham University stands a magnificent Gothic building, housing the Graduate School, with the words "Keating Hall" inscribed in letters over the main entrance. The financing of the Graduate School was always one of Father Keating's favorite worries, but happily, the rest of the time-worn expression,—“and it sent him to an early grave”—was never true.

Joseph T. Keating was born on April 14, 1871, in Ingersoll, in the Province of Ontario, Canada, one of the eleven children of Robert and Bridget Bowen Keating. He had some business experience working for *The Ingersoll Tribune*, and attended Holy Cross College in Worcester, Mass., for one year before entering the Society in 1892. He made his noviceship and juniorate at Frederick, Md. During regency he taught fourth year in the old Academy at Holy Cross. He made both philosophy and theology at Woodstock, Md., and after ordination taught mathematics at Boston College for two years, and then was treasurer there for one year. Many years later, after the passage of time had healed the wounds, he could heartily enjoy telling stories of that one year as treasurer at Boston, which must have been a hectic one. Father X, the Rector, had an odd habit of using currency of small and large denominations as bookmarks. That was puzzling to Father Keating. Of course it was also annoying, but not half as annoying as the Rector's additional habit of making out checks and selling securities without notifying the treasurer. Such amazing experiences left the methodical Father Keating with the strong conviction that, all things to the contrary notwithstanding, only the treasurer should have the custodianship and direct signing power of anything in the house that is negotiable. How he managed continually to make good the periodic shortages at the bank and with the broker was a lifelong secret.

In 1909 Father Keating went to Poughkeepsie for tertianship. The year of contemplation left him calm in spirit again, and he was prepared but very wary when he was appointed treasurer at Fordham in 1910. He also taught mathematics in the Preparatory School for a short while, but regretfully had to give that up because of the pressure of work. He was Revisor of the Province Arca from 1933 until 1946, and was relieved of all his duties in June, 1948.

To many, who did not know Father Keating very well, he was a financial genius who spent wily, scheming hours in a relatively quiet office, turning all his ideas and hopes into gold. This is far from the truth, and not fair to him. He was not, nor did he ever claim to be, a genius. He was embarrassed when others suggested such a thing. Whatever he accomplished was the result of prayer and hard work, with no romance about it. His prayer was marked by regularity and simplicity, and his hard work by minute attention to detail. In 1948 he approached the solution of financial problems with the same care he had used in 1908. Near the end of his life he frequently and solemnly advised another treasurer, "Never lose your nerve, never lose your nerves, and get on your knees."

At the time of Father Keating's Golden Jubilee and also at the time of his death, there were newspaper articles about his business operations which were crammed with false statements. But one was happily put down correctly, his own summation of his life's work, "There is no such thing as a sparkling treasurer. It is a humdrum existence. A treasurer is seldom interesting, unless he gets into trouble."

The reporters were right in their quotation, but Father himself was wrong in what he gave them, because he was a sparkling treasurer. Existence in his office, to use his own word, was never humdrum, and he was always interesting without getting into trouble. Much of the material progress at Fordham during his thirty-eight years as treasurer was due to his good work. Not all of it. Nor would he claim such credit for himself. He knew too well the mystery of what might be behind the scenes in an exchange of checks, and he was too sane to pose as an alchemist. Actually, the main reason why Father Aloysius J. Hogan, then Rector, suggested that the new building be named "Keating Hall" was that

Father Keating had been handling the office of treasurer simply the way the Society expected him to handle it. In the first chapter of the *De Administratione Temporalis* we read, "The temporal possessions of the Society should be looked upon as the special possessions of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and the patrimony of His poor, on which the spiritual things, and even the good estate of the Society in a large measure depends, and without which, moreover, our spiritual ministry itself could scarcely flourish. Let Superiors and Officials, therefore, exercise their office of temporal administration with great care and fidelity, not as owners, acting according to their own good pleasure, but as mandatories, obliged to use the temporals in accordance with the laws of the Church, and of the Society."

That explains Father Keating. With that spirit strong within him, he could go through extremely difficult financial crises, not easily, but better than some. Because he was human, he made mistakes. Because he was a good religious it could be said of him, for instance, during and after the disastrous October of 1929, "*Si fractus illabatur orbis, impavidum ferient ruinae.*"

But he would say that there was one dark evening in that October when he wondered whether it would not be all right if he gave up trying to be the *impavidus* one. The news out of Wall Street, all the way from the graveyard to the river, was particularly frightening that day. Panic had seized thousands of financiers. He himself was close to the breaking point. He left the office late in the afternoon, unable now, as in the past, to leave his problems on his desk. Falling prices were so many spots before his eyes. He went to the chapel to pray, and then to what he hoped would be a peaceful dinner. The Rector gave *Deo Gratias* that night, and the opening greeting from one of Ours was a cheery, "Well, Joe, how much did you lose today?" Laughing about it, twenty years later, he still was not sure whether the desire to cry was stronger than the desire to commit something terribly violent.

Father Keating tried time and again during his life to kill the widespread legend about the acquisition of some of the property on Fordham Road. He died before this work was finished. The legend is that Fordham lost some of the lots on Fordham Road through "squatters rights," and then had to

buy them back again. In his memory, let us put down the facts. There is now a fire hydrant on the lawn between Larkin Hall (the biology building), and Kohlmann Hall. It used to be on the curbstone of what was Emmet Street. All the houses and property west of Emmet Street, with the exception of the one occupied by the Heitman Van & Express, were the property of the University, duly purchased by them at various times before 1910, before Father Keating arrived at Fordham. East of Emmet Street, where Kohlmann Hall and *The Messenger* are now located, there were other houses and a vacant lot. All of these were purchased from the owners in the early 1920's and later sold to *The Messenger*, at a price decided on by the then Provincial, Father Joseph Rockwell. The Heitman property was purchased in 1926, and Emmet Street was purchased from the City of New York in 1932. All of the deeds and abstracts of title to these various properties show unbroken recorded continuity of ownership and transfer even before Fordham existed. These are on file and properly indexed in the vault under the treasurer's office at Fordham. Furthermore, the tenants in those houses paid reasonable rent to the College from the time they became our property until they were demolished for the construction of the buildings now there. Repeating the legend is a useful way of keeping conversation going at haustus, but if the story is told again, it should begin, "Once upon a time . . ." It would please Father Keating if the legend of the "squatters' rights" were interred with his bones.

Whether he was protecting justice or dispensing charity, he kept pretty much the same expression on his face. It was often inscrutable, and as a result he was frequently misinterpreted. The same actions were called harsh by some, but the more discerning called them kind. His closest friends were disturbed by this. He was not. He was too big to be victimized by human respect.

He could be charming on occasion and a most pleasant companion. You would never tire hearing him at a dinner or a banquet when he would rise, hold a glass partly filled with water, tip it over another glass, and in tones of affected gravity propose his famous "Toast to Water."

Asked once what should be the day-in-and-day-out attitude of a good treasurer he answered that over the door of every

treasurer's office there might be a sign which read: "*In quantum possum et tu indiges.*"

Maybe it would have been better to omit all that has gone before this and merely say that all the years that he was treasurer at Fordham there was a statue of Saint Joseph on the top of the safe in the vault. When he retired he asked if he could take it to his room and keep it until he died, adding quietly, "He built Keating Hall." That, too, explains Father Keating. He retired on June 21, 1948, and died suddenly on October 3, 1950.

KEVIN J. O'BRIEN, S.J.

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### MR. BERNARD J. SWABEY

1928-1950

Now death in a cloister is fundamentally different from death in the world. Death in the world may be likened to an accident during the building of a skyscraper. One of the sweating riveters plunges from the scaffolding; for a few seconds his comrades take their pipes out of their mouths; stealthily they blink into the abyss, knowing that today or tomorrow the same fate may be theirs. In the cloister death is the festivity that marks the completion of a soul, such as the guilds of masons and carpenters celebrate when a house has been finished. Timelessly one has been working towards this great day. Now one can take a deep breath and hope that one's sure dwelling place is forevermore established. Franz Werfel, *The Song of Bernadette*.

Grace is given to us in many forms. The sacraments are a means to grace. Prayer is a means to grace. The external world of rivers and valleys and sunsets is a means to grace if we care to accept it as such. And sometimes grace takes a form so common that we may never look upon it as a grace except in retrospect. The God who has declared that He loves us to folly often raises up men in our midst to inspire and encourage us. He feels that if the example of His life and agony will not inspire us as a memory, it may move us as it is repeated in someone we know and love dearly. This is the common form of grace that we overlook until a friend's heroism or death shocks us. Then that kind of grace can hardly pass unnoticed. We see, for example, a member of our community, a close friend, suffer and die with the spirit of

Christ. We look to his greatness and instinctively wonder if we could have been as great. We put ourselves in his place and say, "What would I have done?"

Mr. Bernard J. Swabey died at St. Joseph's Infirmary, Louisville, Kentucky, February 4, 1950, the feast of St. John de Britto. He was twenty-one years old. He was a member of our community, a close friend of many of us. He was a means of grace.

"What would I have done?" we said. We had to admit that we would have been saints in our trial, complainers, or cringing failures. We were one more proof to ourselves of the age-old principle that we die pretty much as we live.

In this principle we find the clue to the evaluation of a religious who died before he could be assigned offices important enough to show his mettle. He will have lived his quiet scholastic life in the manner in which he died. Perhaps then, when we see the manner in which Bernard Swabey died, we will be more disposed to interpret correctly the many things he said and did before his sickness which seemed average, normal, ordinary, and were not.

Just when did he begin to die? Who can tell? Perhaps death was in earnest as far as he was concerned in September or October of 1949. At least that is when we first noticed that "Bernie," as he was universally known, was not acting himself. He had always loved to play ball. Now in the autumn afternoons when there was just enough chill in the air to make pass ball exhilarating, you did not see his long, bobbing figure racing downfield under passes. He was six feet three inches of speed that we always wanted on our teams, but he was not playing much. That was certainly odd. But if you asked him about it he would usually reply that he was a little tired, or that he had his path to finish. He was working on a stone path from the swimming pool to the walk around the house. It would be only about fifteen yards long when completed, but it was being made out of large, flat stones, so that took some time. He would go on to describe the path, point out how necessary it was, and then trap you with his offhand, "Want to help?" And there you were using a pick during recreation.

He had to have no alibi for working on a path. He was doing little jobs like that whenever he could. And he cer-

tainly needed no alibi for being tired. So there was not as much reason then to suspect that he was failing as there is now. The only clue besides his sudden absence from the ball field was a throaty cough that kept up through October and into November. Few of us paid much attention to it though, because it just seemed like a little cold. It is a rare Jesuit and, incidentally, one we do not care to meet, who keeps his eye out to see who will die next.

It is interesting now, however, to speculate just how much he knew about his condition. He told somebody that he was not feeling well, that is true, but just how much did he know of the seriousness of his illness? We will never know because he told no one. It is only in the light of some of his actions that last month or two before he was forced to bed that you wonder. He worked feverishly for his missionaries in Patna, writing letters, arranging permission for others to write more, sorting stamps, collecting books and magazines for Father Brennan's drive in Patna, and beginning his sale of Christmas cards and seals. This much is true, that if he suspected anything serious, you would never know. Perhaps it was because he worried a lot that he thought everyone else did, too, and was slow to alarm them. A case in point is the night on which the fever hit him. That was the night of December 8-9. He said later that he was in agony through most of that night. But it was not until after the rising bell had sounded that he hammered on his wall to call his neighbor. He had a fever well over 100 degrees. When asked later why he did not wake somebody during the night, he said he had not wanted to bother or worry anyone.

On December 9, West Baden College was preparing for Christmas, and more proximately, for semester exams. There was no snow. We had little reason to hope for any in our part of the country. Southern Indiana was just a little cold, a little gray, a little boring for tourists. That impatient feeling was in the air which always precedes Christmas. Nothing much was happening. Everything was going to happen.

Rumors flourish in such an atmosphere. Everybody you met who was interested, had a different version of Bernie's illness. Some said it was just ordinary stomach gripe. Others described how the fever was so high that Brother Infirmarian



was doing everything possible to reduce the fever and not succeeding, was sitting up nights with his patient. There was a little truth in both stories. The Doctor had thought the fever came from three-day stomach grippe. Brother was worried about his condition. Between classes on Tuesday, December 13, something certain was released for the rival camps. Bernie had been taken that morning to the hospital in Louisville for a checkup. Well something was happening after all. The rumors started again. Some said that if Swabey ever got sick he would get really sick. Why? Oh, he had that look about him, that is all. Others predicted that he would be home in a week.

From December 13 to Christmas Eve, all we knew about him for certain was that the fever was still high, that the doctors had been unable to determine its cause. None of us doubted, though, that the cause would be found. Few of us had considered the possibility of death. Then too, it is very difficult to believe that a man is really seriously ill when he is so actively concerned about things he had to leave behind him when he went to the hospital. He sent a message back to one Scholastic asking him to mail his Christmas cards for him. He had written about half of them before December 9 and placed them in his drawer until mailing time. Somebody else was to contact the Minister of Scholastics about a box of toys Bernie was expecting from home. Every year the Scholastics have a Christmas party for the children of our parishioners in French Lick, a small town about a mile from the College. Bernie had written home for some toys and knick-knacks of his that he could give to some children for Christmas.

But he was really seriously ill. The community realized that for the first time, I think, on Christmas Eve. It is customary here at West Baden to have a community gathering, some songs, and a few greetings on Christmas Eve around the fireplace and Christmas tree in the famous 150 foot high atrium. Towards the close of the program Father Rector always says a few words. He surprised us this year. Rather he stunned us. After the usual greetings and a promise of remembrance in Christmas Masses, Father went on to speak very seriously about Mr. Swabey. He remarked that if Mr. Swabey recovered it would be because of prayer. In the

natural run of things there seemed no hope. We all sat very still. His voice and an occasional crackle from the fire were the only sounds in the huge atrium.

The community reacted fully the following day. That Christmas morning, at the suggestion of one of the theologians, we began adoration for Bernie. You could visit the sixth floor infirmary chapel of the Sacred Heart any time after that for the next forty-some days, and you would always see at least one of the men kneeling before the tabernacle. If you had difficulty sleeping during those weeks, you might hear an alarm clock at two or three o'clock in the morning. You would not wonder about it. You would know that was just somebody getting up for Bernie. We used to sign a chart for half hour periods of prayer just to make sure that someone was adoring all the time. If the man next to you left a Christmas week movie just before Joe Schmaltz escaped from prison, or better yet, during the comic shorts, you did not wonder about it. You knew it was time for him to get up to the chapel. When your turn came you would leave bed or the movies, too.

Mrs. Swabey had come from Chicago to Louisville about three days after Bernie was taken to the hospital. Just before Christmas his sister, Frances, also arrived. They had been told how serious was his condition, and they, like all of us, found the uncertainty of his ailment the hardest thing to bear. We all kept thinking that if the disease were known it could be easily cured.

And then on December 27, within a period of about forty minutes, we were certain of two things, the disease, and his chances of recovery. Bernie was eating supper that evening propped up in bed. Without warning his head fell back, his fork slipped from his fingers. Doctors were called. They said he was dying.

Two fourth-year Fathers came in just after this. And then two Scholastics, philosophers with Bernie. They best describe the scene, telling how they were met in the hall by a young doctor who told them Mr. Swabey was dying, how they hurried down to his room, how they knelt by the bed saying the rosary over and over again with the frantic mother. One of the Scholastics was holding his hand. Bernie had not lost consciousness. Each of the three times the fifth sorrowful

mystery was quietly introduced, he gripped the Scholastic's hand tighter for a few seconds.

He fought for about forty minutes. Then his head stopped turning and he was quiet. The stroke had passed. He would not die that night unless he suffered another stroke.

What had happened was that an embolism had passed through his brain. The symptoms were now clear to the doctors. They very calmly reported that he was suffering from acute bacterial endocarditis due to a hemolytic staphylococcus condition. It was as bad as it sounded. The name of the disease was not as important to anyone though, as was his chance of recovering from it. Doctors said it was about 95% fatal.

When the two Scholastics returned to West Baden that night they found half the philosophate inquiring about Bernie. Some portion of the news had preceded them home with the two fourth-year Fathers. Father Rector had been called to the hospital, too, so they knew Bernie had taken a serious turn for the worse. Questions flew from all sides. To all the answer was the same. "He is not expected to live much longer." Somebody decided there ought to be an early Mass for him. The idea circulated rapidly. What was originally intended to be an early morning Mass in the infirmary chapel attended by a few philosophers, turned out to be practically a community Mass in the main chapel at 1:30 a.m.

We expected a call that night telling us that he had died. But there was no *de profundis* in the morning, or no notice on the chapel doors to awaken the tired community filing in for Mass.

The stroke had left him half paralyzed. His whole left side was useless. He spoke thickly, almost unintelligibly. But he was clear enough to make himself heard when he told a classmate the morning after the attack, "I want to go to God." Words were precious now because he had not the strength to spend many. But he was so insistent that he make those words heard that with his good right arm he coaxed his friend's ear next to his lips as he spoke them. "I want to go to God. It's not despair. I want to go to God."

That Wednesday morning, December 28, no one actually thought he would linger long even though the doctors said it was possible. If he did last, it was expected that he would

just "hold on." Bernie had something different in store for everyone, a sense of humor, and a spirit of prayer.

We should have been with him the day he kidded the doctors about the need of central authority in their hospital. "How do you expect me to get better? Every doctor who comes in here gives me a new set of pills. Do you know how many pills I took this morning? Sixteen. What this place needs is a little central authority!" (All of this out of the one good side of his mouth, and with eyes shining.)

There were a lot of doctors on the scene. At times there would be as many as eight around the bed at once. His disease made him a medical rarity. That, coupled with the fact that he was getting the most thorough sort of attention, accounted for their number.

One day some Scholastics who had met five or six of the regular doctors, began the inevitable round of mimicry. Bernie joined in, laughing cheerfully, "Does it hurt here, Bernard?" as he jabbed himself in the stomach where they jabbed him when they asked the question. "Of course it does," he answered. "Let me hit you there and see if it hurts."

His sister, Frances, used to knit now and then as she sat in his room. One day the nurse decided to do a little too. He stared at the two of them for a minute and then grinned, "How am I going to get well? Frances knits. The nurse knits. Everybody knits." His sister told us that she almost tricked him into knitting one day, but his pride (and the fact that he had only one good hand) got the better of him. Those were the days when he would stop Frances from saying something by whispering, *tolle et lege*. She was reading a little to him every day when he felt strong enough for it. The session usually began with the command in his beloved Latin, "Frances, *tolle et lege*." Apparently that is how he got her off the subject of knitting.

He did not make jokes out of everything. If he could he did. If he could not, then was the time for his, "Thy will be done." The intravenous feedings were long and frequent. He was getting penicillin every hour for a few weeks. It was then when the fever made him perspire, the needles hurt, and his head or leg began to flare with pain, that you would hear him muttering over and over again, "Thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven."

He was creating a world of his own humor and pain and prayer for all who were with him. A hundred yards from his window was the street and people, normal, healthy people, going to work, riding, laughing, lost in daily and rather consequential necessities. But inside his room the issues were clearer and larger; life or death, sanctity or mediocrity. Nothing could be more consequential. It is a shame for us that we could not have lived those seven weeks with him. Prayer was the obvious thing. A childlike petulance on occasion was the confessed sin. Gratitude was the radiant virtue. He would thank the Scholastics who had been near him through the day. He would thank his mother and the priest on hand. He would be long in his praise of the Sister who was in charge of his floor and who, he said, helped him out so many times with just the right word or motive. To Frances he showed a particularly sweet and manly tenderness. If he were awake about midnight when she was preparing to leave the room, he would wait till she got to the door, then call her back. "Thanks, Frances. Thanks for everything today." Then he would kiss her good-night. He was always asking about the men at Baden. For about ten days he wanted to write them a letter but was not strong enough or clear enough to dictate what he wanted to say. Finally on January 8, he succeeded. This is the letter that went on the board.

To All the Fellows at Baden,  
Pax Infantis Amoris!

This letter is long overdue, but let's begin with a litany of "thank you's" now for all the letters received from everybody and the prayers and the Christmas packages. Those prayers are really necessary right now for I'm suffering a great deal. I really "Out-Duffed" Duffy in taking penicillin. The intravenous feedings are no fun. I had one the other night that took eleven hours. My left arm is very sore from lack of action, and my whole back is beginning to get sore from lying down too much. They gave me so many pills I don't know how to take them anymore.

Let me take this opportunity to thank you for all your wonderful cooperation in Christmas letter writing to the missionaries. I'm sure you helped them have a better Christmas. (Incidentally, the letters didn't cost much after all.) Keep up the fine spirit.

I won the nurses' hearts by giving them pounds of candy. All the toys from Sav went to the kids upstairs. It seems like part of Baden is here as long as Murray and Cahill are around—at least they're noisy enough.

Father Rector is right across the hall from me, and Father Milet is on the prowl. He must think I'm a real sinner. Every time he comes in he has to absolve me.

I really need your prayers. Don't let me down, please.

Your brother in the Sacred Heart,  
Bernie

His goodness had an effect upon many people. It should not be too much to say that those effects in others highlighted his own virtue. When you have men praying night and day for you because they want to, not because they are told to, you reflect on the qualities of the person they are interceding for. When you get Jesuits out of bed at all hours of the night and morning during vacation for a half hour's adoration, and they do not complain about it, you wonder. God and Bernie Swabey were the big interest during his illness. Ask the Scholastics coming home from Louisville night after night if they could judge anything important besides God and Bernie. They will tell you how it would be dark and the automobile headlights would be carefully searching out turns and twists on the narrow road, but they would not be thinking much of the road. It was more than fatigue that affected them. It was more than just shock in the nearness of death. It was an awareness that they had a daily vision of God in the living death of this high-spirited Jesuit.

What was a day like with him? About 7:55 in the morning you reached St. Joseph's Infirmary in Louisville. You walked carefully through the busy corridors to the first floor east wing and a room numbered 142. Mrs. Swabey or Frances was always at the door with a cheerful greeting and a report of his condition through the night. Then you took off your coat and went in. The long right arm raised up and the tired eyes smiled their greeting. From that early morning moment until you left in the evening, you were in a land where holiness was obvious and human. What had he said that day that made him look so holy to you? Nothing much really. It was just that he was so interested in others, in you, in your mother whom he knew to be ill, in one of the Fathers who had undergone an operation. And when you asked him how he felt, he probably pushed the hair back from his forehead and begged again for the barber. He needed a haircut badly but the doctors did not want to risk the trouble involved which might

over-exhaust him. About three o'clock in the afternoon when you were changing his sheets, still reflecting on his goodness or marvelling at his quiet in pain, he may have grown suddenly sharp with you and complained crossly of your roughness or slowness. You would be about to answer him (after all, you got tired too) until you looked down and saw the hot perspiration boiling on his face this cold January day. You would not say anything. You would just suddenly realize all over again how sick he was, and what the struggle to remain generally cheerful and uncomplaining was costing him. In the evening he would be certain to apologize for what he had said, and would tell you that he was already praying for your safe journey home. Then you had sixty miles of dark, winding road to think it over. You would mention other things, philosophy, sports, to your companion, but they would not stick. Something else was always coming out. You were becoming like Peter babbling on of Thabor and tabernacles and enjoying your mood. For you had felt that you too had seen His shining face, and you could not reason properly for the sight.

We have mentioned that Bernie was cheerful and prayerful during his suffering. But he went further in Christlikeness than that. He was intensely determined that no bit of his suffering be wasted. During his first days at the hospital he had offered all of his suffering for the Patna Mission in India. He renewed his intention constantly, especially at the end of December when every day was supposed to be his last. If he prayed for a sign that his offering was accepted, he never told us, but he did receive a very visible one. A Negro orderly at the hospital, the adopted child of two Jehovah Witness ministers, wanted to become a Benedictine lay brother. He had already caused much family trouble by entering the Church. His parents, of course, refused the necessary permission, saying they would never listen to such a request. Bernie told the orderly he would offer a little of his suffering for him. About a week later the orderly went home for a day. When he returned to the hospital and Bernie's room, Bernie immediately asked him what had happened. The boy was excited and laughing as he told Bernie that his parents had consented to his wishes. "See what good suffering will do,"

Bernie told him. "Perhaps someday I will see the good my suffering has done for Patna."

The quickly approaching "someday" was preceded by one last prayer crusade at West Baden. One of our Brazilian Jesuits told us the story of the saintly Father John Baptist Reus, S.J., who had granted some cures among South Americans. We began a novena to him at the College, having mimeographed the prayer to be said and passed it around to everyone. Our intention, of course, was that God's will be done in Bernie's regard. Bernie himself, along with his mother, sister, the Scholastics and the priest on call, made the novena at the hospital. There were afternoons of special pain when Bernie would look over to the picture of Father Reus stuck on the dresser mirror and murmur, "Help me John Baptist Reus, help me."

For a time it seemed that God's will was Bernie's cure. He rested better. Some few of the doctors began to speak of hope. On Thursday, February 2, he was remarkably rested and well. His mother and sister, with their sense of the practical, had already begun to look for slippers and a robe. He was not thinking too much of slippers, though. They were unimportant. He had work to do. He began thinking about a thesis he had planned. The Scholastics who came to visit him that morning were amused to hear him outline a thesis on his beloved Virgil. He told them, too, of the way he was going to take care of himself when he got out of bed. He would work hard, but carefully, so as not to strain himself.

The news went back to West Baden that he was improving steadily. The philosophers and theologians were more hopeful than ever. Even a sudden call from the hospital Friday night that he had developed a disturbing cough, was not too frightening. He had been worse than that before.

Saturday morning a call came from the hospital that he was worse. However the Sister who called did not think he would die that day. Mrs. Swabey, though, with unfailing intuition, called Father Rector and asked him to please come in. For forty-six days she had been with her son. Now she was certain that God was taking him. Father Rector left immediately for the hospital.

And then it was 1:25 p.m., Saturday, February 4, feast of St. John de Britto. The prayers for the dying had been said.



He stopped his calm breathing and was gone. He was twenty-one years old. He had entered the Society of Jesus five years, five months, and fifteen days before.

We buried Bernie Swabey at West Baden College three days later. There was some grief. There always is when a friend dies. But the general feeling seemed to be that now there was a great void. Timelessly—or so those seven weeks when he was sick had seemed—we had been working together towards this great goal. Now the day had come and it seemed that he alone had reaped the reward. As we walked back to the house from the cemetery, we reflected that we had books, prayer, and play to turn to now, nuisance values almost, in the light of what we had been dealing with these past weeks. It was as if the theatre were emptying and your companion made some commonplace remark which instantly shocked you from the grand emotions of the world of make believe, to the petty concerns of everyday prosaic life. Something came to mind again about Peter and Thabor and tabernacles. But we, too, had to come down from the mountain.

But coming down from the mountain could not erase the experience from our minds and hearts. We talked often of him. We compared him with Stanislaus, Berchmans, and Aloysius, and then almost always with another Aloysius who had died a novice in 1947. Aloysius Yarosh is always important to us, but he is especially important here because he had a profound effect upon Bernard Swabey. Aloysius, too, died young, of cancer, in Kennedy's Veterans Hospital, Memphis, Tennessee. In pain and suffering his prayer had always been, "Thy will be done." Those were his last words. It is no accident or coincidence that Bernard Swabey adopted the same words on his deathbed. He was imitating his young friend. Aloysius, too, had given Bernie plenty of time to meditate on the meaning of an early death. Listen to what Bernie wrote for our juniorate publication, *Ripples*, about Carissime Yarosh.

Certainly being bed-ridden and helpless must have been hard for one who had great hopes of doing wonderful things for Christ's kingdom. Surely he saw that the fields were ripe for the harvest and that he had been chosen to help reap them, but his sickness put an end to all these plans. Yet he was able to say that God had given him the grace to remain happy in spite of all his trials.

Now . . . (he) never preached a sermon, never gave a retreat or

heard a confession, yet the good he did by his suffering and his heroic and saintly acceptance of that suffering, will live on to eternity. The novices who lived with him will never forget that example of holiness in life and death. . . . How is it that he did so much and yet seemingly performed no great work? He did this by understanding and living out Christ's command that "Unless the seed falling down die, itself remaineth alone; but if it die, it beareth much fruit." Aloysius Yarosh truly allowed the seed of his own hopes and plans, his health and comfort, his very existence, to be crushed; and from the crushed seed has risen and will continue to arise the fruit whose worth can only be fully appraised in heaven. He realized that death on the cross was the only way to true happiness, and that suffering was an indispensable means for the diffusion of Christ in the souls of men.

And so now we talk on of Bernie, comparing him with Carissime Yarosh, admitting that because he had been with us longer, we knew Bernie much better than we had known Aloysius Yarosh. We spoke of the ordinary, everyday things of Bernie's life which we now knew manifested the fiery heart and determined will of a young man rushing along to heaven. We remembered how red his face would get in a ball game, especially in the last innings or last quarter, when we were behind. We remembered what that impatient toss of the head meant in a classroom discussion. We knew that he was very serious about his vocation because there was a long furrow which used to plough its way across his broad forehead at crucial times. For blessed with the defect of his virtue, Bernie could never conceal the obvious fact that for him the hard things were always hard and the easy things were always easy, and come what may, he was going to do them all extra well. You always knew he was trying.

A person like that could be an arch- nuisance in a community if he did not have a sense of humor. Biographers of St. Aloysius are still trying to get over the disturbing story that one day when he was too ill to come to the Villa one young Jesuit exclaimed, "The Censor is not coming. We shall be able to have some fun." You will never read anything close to that about Bernie Swabey. But you will hear people who knew him constantly remarking that the infectious thing about him was his "terrific" smile. One man wrote a little note to me when he heard I was working on this article. "Whatever you do," it read, "don't leave out his terrific smile. Out-of-province men really noticed this. I've heard them mention it."

You may have thought that his smile was the ordinary thing for a man who was naturally friendly. One man wrote this of Bernie's cheerfulness:

When I first came to the juniorate Bernie had been there for six months already. We'd been living apart for those six months and I hadn't been giving Bernie the daily once-over which you give to men you rub elbows with every day. One of the first things I noticed about Bernie was that he was always cheerful and laughing at recreation. After that I took his cheerfulness for granted. But almost a year later Bernie and I were admonition partners. One day he asked me if I ever noticed that he was frowning or wearing a worried expression. Then in sort of explanation of why he asked me that particular question, he added something about the exterior expression being able to aid the interior. I didn't take this as an indication that he was often tortured by worries or anxieties interiorly, but I do think that it indicated that his cheerfulness and equanimity were not entirely natural.

In his meditation book for Gaudete Sunday, 1948, we read, "The Lord loves a cheerful giver, He loves service with a smile. By willing it, by practicing it, by rousing myself, by throwing off attachments, I lay the foundation for true joy."

You had to see the thin length of him moving through the recreation room with a smile on his face to appreciate just how well he lived out his ideal of true joy. His smile was never painted on. It was living and moving and reacting to what other people said and did. If you saw that smile when you were particularly worried about something, you might have been quick to assume that he was a man who never ran into any troubles or worries. He seemed to fly along in the service of God. Even his frown was concerned with advancement in his service and was most evident when little things went wrong—things you may have considered small and insignificant. That was all he had to bother about. You had the problems.

He probably never told you that he came to the Society but two weeks after the sudden death of his father. He was the only boy. A sister and an aunt were left with his mother. But then, there were a lot of things he never told you or anyone.

I wonder how many people ever knew that just after he came to West Baden a sickness came upon him which caused him some stomach pain. We find noted on a piece of scrap paper that he must learn to adjust himself to the incon-

venience of it. Very few people knew that he was bothered by some sort of a worry that he himself could not determine.

He wrote on the back of an envelope:

Our philosophy of life produces happiness and no worry. Now I am worrying and upset. Therefore something is wrong in my understanding and practice of this philosophy. Now I must find this out and clear the tracks and have smooth sailing. I am studying AMDG and therefore all worry and nervousness is a distraction and a temptation and a draw-back to my advancement in studies.

He felt pretty bad when he was not sent to Patna from the juniorate, so bad that he told one of the men, "I feel like I've been kicked in the stomach!" He was deeply hurt, but who was it who organized the farewell celebration in the refectory for the Milford missionaries? Yes, you might have said from looking at him that nothing ever happened to him. But you would have been so wrong, which is the way he meant you to be.

Maybe his appearance contributed to the deception. He was a tall, handsome man with laughs in his feet. All you had to do was look at the length of the brogans and you forgot whatever it was you were being very serious about. They made a noise too, (we said) like flat paddles on smooth water. We used to tease him about them constantly, but especially when he tried to come into the library quietly. He was built long and loose. Things like elbows and feet were always knocking into tables or book racks. Then the blush would come. It did not take him any time to cheer you up at study in the library. All he had to do was try to be very quiet.

Then there was the matter of the letter "R." He just could not say it correctly five times out of five. At least two of the times it would come out a "W." Despite all the kidding he himself did about it, he took the matter very seriously, and while he was in the philosophate he was beyond the stage of warming us at table by reading a martyrology which began with, "At Wome . . ."

He took all the kidding very well and gave plenty in return. We had a little three word song however, which always stopped him. If he were near to cutting up anyplace, all one person had to do was begin the ditty and he would be sure to have a full chorus by the third word. It sang very simply to the tune of the first three words in the song "Sweethearts."

Only this song repeated, "Sway-buy, Sway-buy, Sway-buy." It was just another indication of how much he was a part of the community.

We liked to joke with him. There is something very wonderful about a strict Jesuit who loves to laugh. This man was strict with himself. Perhaps one of the most revealing notes he scribbled about his approach to the spiritual life was written as a bit of practice writing that no one ever would have seen had he not died so young. It read:

How often do we think and hear these words: "Now be careful and don't overdo it or cause any nervousness." How often we tell ourselves, "Oh, I would like to make this visit or perform that act of charity or self-denial, but work and duty come first. I simply can't afford it."

And yet I think it is about time we all *stop* pampering ourselves spiritually and *start* exercising in our spiritual life some of the energy we put into other activities. During retreats we feel the deep conviction that our spiritual life comes first, and that when we die only one thing is going to count. However, do we not fail to exercise this belief during the year when we constantly prefer the "wiser" course, the "safer" (and in truth the easier) way?

The world is in a terrible plight today, but will never be helped by men who are constantly showing that 'prudence' which is a camouflage and a poor one, for their self love. Christ did not say, "Take up your cross but be careful that you don't stub your toe. Be careful lest you get a sliver." Christ tells us, "Come, take up your cross, carry it to Calvary and die with me."

He was entirely sincere in those words. In another part of his notes he has copied down and underlined a challenge which he answered with his life. "Who is to prevent us from becoming saints, since we have hearts to love and bodies to suffer?"

All the glamor went out of that dramatic question when you witnessed his response to it. What was suffering for him? In another part of his meditation notebook he has written, "If anyone will come after Me . . . Christ says this now in glory, but we can't have glory unless we carry the cross. Where is my cross? Daily life, charity, sickness, misunderstandings, anything hard."

We watched his daily life. He worked hard. Both years in the juniorate he was assigned to the A class for Latin and Greek. By mid-year each time he had done so well that he was moved up to the double A class. Outside of the classroom

he was also busy and as far as some of us were involved, almost too busy. He was forever commandeering five men for some project or other. Whether it was painting, cementing, cutting trees or building little protective shacks for push carts, he was on the job. Looking back now it is not difficult to see where a lot of those little tasks involved suffering. He loved to play ball and go on picnics as much, if not more, than any of us. In the juniorate he volunteered for jobs so often that he told someone that when Father Dean saw him at a certain job one day he asked, "Whose idea is this? Yours or the Minister's?"

We still talk about his charity. Charity can be a suffering, as all of us know, but is there not something significant in the fact that four times in his notes he mentions what he says is an old Chinese saying, "The greatest charity is to the un-charitable"?

Sickness? We need hardly mention how he endured that. Just recall his humor and prayerfulness along with his determination that no bit of his suffering be wasted.

There is not much to say about misunderstandings except his attitude towards them. There is no mention of trouble from them in his notes. But he considered them a form of suffering, a means to sanctity, as the first quotation above about suffering showed.

The last form of suffering he mentioned was "anything hard." That is certainly generic enough to be universally acceptable, and it seems a truism in this context, but there must have been times when he neglected to appreciate that "anything hard" was a suffering to be borne as a cross and not a nuisance to be avoided. It sometimes takes a lot of insight to see just how a fifteen minute wait outside Father Minister's office is a cross sent by almighty God to make saints of us. So Bernie wrote down as a means of becoming holy through suffering that "anything hard" is a form of suffering.

"Who is to prevent us from becoming saints," he had copied, "since we have hearts to love and bodies to suffer?"

He was strict, but the Christlike paradox was in him. He could be hard on himself, could speak of suffering almost like Christ spoke of the baptism wherewith he was to be baptized, while remaining loving and gentle towards others. The only explanation of the paradox has always been love, love of God

and love of fellow man because of God. If we begin with the assumption that Bernie must have been deeply in love with God, and then examine his writings and actions, we are in for a thrill. Our judgment will have been correct. For if anything stands out in the man's actions and words it is his personal love of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Both of his juniorate sermons were on the subject. He composed a special examen status for the devotion. His notebooks are full of typed pages of quotations about Christ from spiritual reading books. He wanted to know Christ. Six of the articles he wrote either for *Ripples* or for practice writing concern the devotion. One speaks of different means of establishing the Apostleship of Prayer in the high schools. One concerns the problem Scholastics have with the devotion in general and the Apostleship of Prayer in particular. We read that he had planned to spend one hour each day of his first Christmas vacation at West Baden studying the Mass under the aspect of devotion to the Sacred Heart. In his notebook we read for one New Year's day:

The Sacred Heart devotion goes to the heart of a man. The heart is the man. According to his heart are his acts and character. What is the heart of Christ like? Go to the crib. Here He shows His desires and likes and values. So contrary to the world . . . Why? Because "I have loved you with an everlasting love." He tells us, "Learn of Me . . ." i.e., study and imitate Him.

He lived to work in Patna. Somebody noted that he must have enlisted secretly the prayers of half the community to be chosen for India. His study partner at Baden remarked that after five minutes of minor logic their study period invariably became a mission circle with the two of them speculating on his chances of going that summer. His missionary spirit was summed up by a note he kept on his desk blotter, "What have I done today to spread the kingdom of Christ?" And in another place this young Jesuit who was already in the Hindu class and preparing in every practical way for India, wrote, "De Britto shot the works. Shoot the works!" When we reflect that he died on the feast of St. John de Britto we wonder if maybe St. John did not want another man who "shot the works" for India to celebrate his feast day with him in Heaven.

He wanted very much to go, but he was not going to

complain if he were not sent. He was too obedient for that. He might show hurt, but hurt is a far cry from complaint. One man remarked of him when speaking of his obedience in general, "You name the rule and I think I can tell you how he observed it very well." He would not complain about not being sent to the missions and he would not complain about anything else. Bernie the worker must have been puzzled a few times by Superiors' orders. At least you are tempted to think that when you read in his notebook two times, "I would rather be obedient than efficient."

Those were the ordinary things about Bernie Swabey. They have been consecrated to their true value, we think, by the example of his heroic death.

There is the man we lived with for five and a half years and learned to love so much. His shoes were the size of piano boxes, he had trouble with his "R's." He had a terrific smile. He was a fine athlete, a hard working student. He was neat. He was going to be a missionary. He was a good Jesuit. Before he died we may have thought of him as nothing but a good religious and a fine companion, an ordinary Jesuit. But his death has changed all that. We now seem to see him for what he truly was, a holy Scholastic, and we reflect on the strong meaning of another one of his little slogans that he must never have forgotten, "The religious who is not a hero is less than a man."

If you ever come to West Baden you can walk up the broad red walk that leads to the cemetery and go over to his grave. There you will see the simple Jesuit tombstone. There will not be any signs around praising him. There never were. In death as in life he remains a quiet religious, like so many other Jesuits and religious the world over. Perhaps he is different from them only in that he died so young. And maybe he died so young that we may have the courage, we who are left behind, to accept the grace that was Bernard Swabey as a challenge and a promise. We take one last look at him now as he sits at his desk, his forehead furrowed by that serious frown, his head cocked to a side, his back slightly bent. He is writing for us, "Who is to prevent us from becoming saints, since we have hearts to love and bodies to suffer?"

J. RICHARD MURRAY, S.J.



# Books of Interest to Ours

## TENTATIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN ANTI-JESUITIANA

FRANCIS X. CURRAN, S.J.

"Anemic" is the word for it. The Society of Jesus has been restored for a century and a half. In most European countries, our Fathers can point with pride to a large, flourishing, virulent library of anti-Jesuitiana, written since the Restoration. And what have we to show?

The state of American anti-Jesuit literature is feeble. During the Forties and Fifties of the last century, we had some real, red-blooded anti-Jesuitiana. A close examination, however, would have shown that most of the red corpuscles came from transfusions of European books and European ex-priests. With the Civil War, leukemia set in. American anti-Jesuitism, if it can be considered alive today, lives in a moribund state.

Is that a good or bad thing?

Some carping critic might say that American Jesuits are too insignificant to waste words on. He might point to the present bibliography as proof of his contention. But the compiler makes no claims that this list is complete. He hopes that readers can supply him with items he has missed, enough items to refute the contention that American anti-Jesuitiana is anemic.

The present bibliography, omitting periodical literature, lists books and pamphlets attacking the Society and published in the United States or Canada.

It does not include American editions, published without anti-Jesuit intent, of European classical authors. The reader, then should not look for Pascal's *Provincial Letters* or John Donne's *Ignatius his conclave; or, his inthronization in a late election in hell*.

It omits the few European publications attacking American Jesuits. For the curious, this list would include Patrick Smith's *Present State of the Catholic Missions conducted by the ex-Jesuits in North America* (Dublin: P. Byrne, 1788) and Charles P.T. "Father" Chiniquy's *Die Ermordung des Präsidenten Abraham Lincoln eine That der Jesuiten* (Barmen: Wiemann, 18—?).

Nor will Chiniquy's *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome*, from which the canard that the Jesuits assassinated Lincoln was translated into German, be found on the list. Most anti-Catholic publications in America, a tremendous list of which can be found in Ray A. Billington's *Protestant Crusade*, have a few kind words for the Jesuits, as does Chiniquy. But the present list is restricted to works which specifically attack the Society.

In gathering titles for the present list, the compiler came across a few books about the Jesuits which do not fall into the *pro* or *con* classification. One frequently republished example was the Rev. Michael Hobart Seymour's *Mornings among the Jesuits at Rome* (New York: Harpers, 1849, 1856, 1860; also published in London in 1856), a discussion of the Anglican position. Such volumes have not been listed.

For the sake of convenience, the present bibliography is divided into sections.

The first part lists American editions of the *Monita Secreta*. It will be noted that nine editions appeared between 1830 and 1860, and only one since 1900.

The second section gives "histories" of the Society, ranging from the unsympathetic to the downright vicious. It is a bit distressing to note that many libraries, including Jesuit ones, catalogue even the worst of these volumes as serious histories. Only two of these "histories" have been compiled by Americans, published since 1900.

The personal commentaries of ex-Jesuits have been gathered together under the title of memoirs. Again, most of these have been published in the 20th century. Only one is by an American.

Under the heading of "Jesuit in fiction" have been gathered the anti-Jesuit novels and plays. It is noteworthy that practically all were written by Americans and before the Civil War. The Jesuits are stock characters—usually in disguise, sly intriguers, rapists, murderers. A feature of many of these works is the female Jesuit, generally with a high-sounding foreign title, usually married, and invariably proving that the female is more deadly than the male.

The fifth and final division heaps together all other attacks on the Society. The authorship of these attacks is, roughly, half European and half American. By far the great majority

of these works was published before 1865. Only half a dozen have come out in the present century.

A note on American pro-Jesuitiana might be of interest. Apologias for the Society are few in number; and very few, indeed, were written by non-Jesuits. Mention might be made of Father John B. Eis' *The Jesuits: a eulogy of the Society of Jesus* (Columbus, Ohio: Columbian Printing Co., 1889), and "Observer", *Six Letters in Defense of the Order of the Jesuits* (Montreal: John Corcoran, 1843). And it is more than likely that "Observer" was a Jesuit. A third title would be that rare thing—a good word for the Jesuits from a Protestant minister. The good word was only an exposé of the *Monita Secreta* as a forgery; but we can be grateful to Leonard W. Bacon for his *Fair Play on Both Sides* (New Haven: T. J. Stafford, 1869).

The 19th century also produced a number of works of fiction presenting Jesuits as heroes rather than heels. One of the most successful was James McSherry's *Père Jean*, if one judges by the number of editions. *Père Jean*, which also came out under the title of *Father Laval*, was originally issued in 1849 and reissued in 1860, 1903 and 1907. The Jesuit characters in several pro-Jesuit novels, however, were as far removed from actual Jesuits as the anti-Jesuit Jesuit in fiction. Some examples would be Orange McNeil's *A Jesuit of Today* (New York: J. S. Tait, 1895), which by the way is catalogued as a biography in one Jesuit college library, and M. Bouchier Sanford's *The Romance of a Jesuit Mission* (New York: Baker & Taylor, 1897).

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## I. Monita Secreta

1. *Secreta monita Societatis Jesu. Secret instructions of the Jesuits, printed verbatim from the London copy of 1725. To which is prefixed an historical essay: with an appendix of notes, by the editor of 'The Protestant.'*

Princeton, N. J.: J. & T. Simpson, 1831. 166 pp.

This edition gives only the English translation. The editor of 'The Protestant' was William McGavin (1773-1832).

2. *Secreta monita . . .*

Princeton: J. & T. Simpson, 1831. 232 pp.

Same title and editor as the first. This edition, however, has Latin text and English translation on facing pages.

3. *Secreta monita Societatis Jesu. The secret counsels of the Society of Jesus, in Latin and English.*  
Baltimore: E. J. Coale, 1835. 2nd American ed. 103 pp.  
Edited by Robert J. Breckenridge (1800-1871). No earlier edition by Breckenridge has been discovered.
4. *Secret instructions of the Jesuits, translated from the Latin of an old genuine London copy; with an historical sketch.* Edited by W. C. Brownlee.  
New York: Charles K. Moore, 1841. 104 pp.  
This edition by William Craig "Parson" Brownlee (1784-1860) was the one most frequently reissued, sometimes with a change in title. Hereafter, it will be noted simply as the Brownlee edition.
5. *Secret instructions of the Jesuits; with an appendix, containing a short historical account of the Society.*  
Philadelphia: F. C. Wilson, 1844. 72 pp.
6. *Secret instructions of the Jesuits . . .*  
New York: American Protestant Society, 184-? 104 pp.  
Brownlee edition.
7. *Secret instructions of the Jesuits . . .*  
New York: American and Foreign Christian Union, 1854. 143 pp.  
Brownlee edition.
8. *A Startling Disclosure of the Secret Workings of the Jesuits; by a former French Roman Catholic, but now a Protestant and Colporteur; together with the Secret Seal of the Confessional, the Obligations of the Confessor and the Confessed; the Creed and Oaths of Popery; the Secret Instructions of the Jesuits . . .*  
N.p.: The Author, 1854. 103 pp.  
Pages 65-103 are devoted to the Monita.
9. *Secret Instructions of the Jesuits . . .*  
New York: American and Foreign Christian Union, 1857. 143 pp.  
Brownlee edition.
10. *Secret Instructions of the Jesuits. In Latin and English.* With an historical sketch by the Rev. W. C. Brownlee, D.D.  
Boston: T. E. Leyden, 1888. 142 pp.
11. *Secret instructions of the Jesuits . . .*  
Somerville, Mass.: T. E. Leyden, 1894. 142 pp.
12. *Secret instructions of the Jesuits . . .*  
New York: Truth Seeker Co., 1899. 60 pp.
13. *Secret instructions of the Jesuits . . .*  
New York: Truth Seeker Co., 190-? 60 pp.

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## II. 'Histories' of the Society

14. **Boehmer, Heinrich (1869-1927)**  
*The Jesuits: an historical study.*  
Philadelphia: Castle Press, 1928. 192 pp.  
Translated from the 4th German edition by P. Z. Strodach.

15. Freer, Arthur S. B. (1866- )  
*The early Franciscans and Jesuits: a study in contrasts.*  
New York: Macmillan; London: S.P.C.K., 1922. 141 pp.
16. Griesinger, Theodor (1809-1884)  
*The Jesuits: a complete history of their open and secret proceedings, from the foundation of the order to the present time.*  
New York: Putnam, 1883. 2 vol.  
Translated from the 2nd German edition by A. J. Scott.
17. Kidder, Daniel P. (1815-1891)  
*The Jesuits: a historical sketch.*  
New York: Lane & Scott, 1851, 220 pp.  
Published for the Sunday-School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church.
18. McCabe, Joseph (1867- )  
*A Candid History of the Jesuits.*  
New York: Putnam; London: Nash, 1913. 451 pp.
19. Ridley, Francis A. (1897- )  
*The Jesuits: a study in counter-revolution.*  
Toronto: S. J. R. Saunders; London: Secker & Warburg, 1938.  
298 pp.
20. Steinmetz, Andrew (1816-1877)  
*History of the Jesuits from the foundation of their order to its suppression by Pope Clement XIV, their missions throughout the world, their educational system and literature, with their revival and present state.*  
Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 1848. 2 vol.
21. Taunton, Ethelred L. (1857-1907)  
*History of the Jesuits in England, 1580-1773.*  
Philadelphia: Lippincott; London: Methuen, 1901. 513 pp.
22. Walsh, Walter (1847- )  
*The Jesuits in Great Britain: an historical inquiry into their political influence.*  
New York: Dutton; London: Routledge, 1903. 358 pp.

### III. Memoirs of ex-Jesuits

23. Barrett, Edward John Boyd (1883- )  
*Jesuit Enigma.*  
New York: Boni & Liveright, 1927. 351 pp.
24. Barrett, E. J. B.  
*Magnificent Illusion.*  
New York: Ives Washburn, 1930. 321 pp.
25. Hoensbroech, Paul Kajus, graf von (1852- )  
*Fourteen years a Jesuit; a record of personal experience and a criticism.*  
New York and London: Cassell, 1911. 2 vol.  
German original, published in 1909, has chapters omitted in this English translation by Alice Zimmern—"Abuses in the Jesuit Order" and "The Suppression of the Order."

26. Miel, Charles F. B. (1817-1902)  
*Pèlerinage d'une âme: ou, expériences religieuses de C. F. B. Miel, D.D.*  
 Philadelphia: G. W. Jacobs, 1899. 236 pp.
27. Miel, C. F. B.  
*A soul's pilgrimage. Being the personal and religious experiences of C. F. B. Miel, D.D.*  
 Philadelphia: G. W. Jacobs, 1899. 190 pp.  
 The author, an apostate priest, had been a Jesuit novice in France. Lived as a Protestant minister for many years in the United States.
28. Steinmetz, Andrew (1816-1877)  
*The Novitiate: or, A Year among the English Jesuits; a personal narrative, with an essay on the constitutions, confessional morality, etc., of the Jesuits.*  
 New York: Harpers, 1846. 334 pp.
29. Truman, Ernest (pseud.)  
*Leander: or, Secrets of the Priesthood.*  
 Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, 1869. 76 pp.  
 Author, an agnostic, had been a novice at Florissant.

#### IV. Jesuit in fiction

30. Alencar, José Martiniano de (1829-1877)  
*The Jesuit. A drama in four acts.*  
 Boston: Bruce Humphries, 1938?  
 Considered one of the greatest Brazilian plays. A version from the Portuguese had appeared in *Poet Lore* 30 (1919) 475-547.
31. Binder, William Earle  
*Madelon Hawley, or, The Jesuit and his Victim. A Revelation of Romanism.*  
 New York: H. Dayton, 1857. 277 pp.
32. Reissued: New York: H. Dayton, 1859.
33. Reissued: New York: D. W. Evans, 1860.
34. -----  
*Carlington Castle: a tale of the Jesuits.*  
 New York: 1854.
35. Clark, Felicia Buttz  
*The Jesuit.*  
 New York: Eaton & Mains; Cincinnati: Jennings & Graham, c. 1908. 282 pp.
36. Clark, F. B.  
*Der Jesuit. In freier bearbeitung von Friedrich Munz.*  
 New York: Eaton and Mains; Cincinnati: Jennings & Graham, c. 1911. 303 pp.
37. Dhu, Helen (pseud.)  
*Stanhope Burleigh: The Jesuits in our homes.*  
 New York: Stringer & Townsend, 1855. 406 pp.

Real author unknown; attributed to Helen Black or Charles E. Lester.

38. Farrenc, Edmund  
*Carlolina and the Sanfedisti: or, A Night with the Jesuits at Rome.*  
New York: John S. Taylor, 1853. 432 pp.
39. Luke, Jemima Thompson (1813- )  
*The Female Jesuit: or, The Spy in the Family.*  
New York: H. Dayton, 1851. 353 pp.
40. Reissued: New York: H. Dayton, 1859.
41. Reissued: New York: H. Dayton, 1860.
42. Luke, J. T.  
*A Sequel to the Female Jesuit; Containing her Previous History and Recent Discovery.*  
New York: H. Dayton, 1852.
43. Michon, Jean Hippolyte (1806-1881)  
*Le Jésuite.*  
New York: H. de Mareil, 1865. 2 vol. in one.  
Also published in 1865 in Paris and Frankfort a/m.
44. -----  
*Helen Mulgrave; or, Jesuit Executorship; being Passages in the Life of a Seceder from Romanism. An autobiography.*  
New York: 1852. 2 vol.
45. Reissued: New York: De Witt & Davenport, 187-? Also published in London in 1853.
46. Spindler, Karl (1796-1855)  
*The Jesuit: an historical romance.*  
New York: J. Winchester, 1844? 110 pp.  
German editions issued in Stuttgart, 1847 and Leipzig, 1904.
47. Whitley, Thomas W.  
*The Jesuit: or The Amours of Captain Effingham and the Lady Zarifa. A national melo-drama.*  
Washington, D. C.: U. S. Democratic Review, 1850. 20 pp.
48. Smith, J. F.  
*Fred Arden; or, The Jesuit's Revenge.*  
N.p.: n.d.

## V. General Anti-Jesuitiana

- 49 Achilli, Dante  
*Dealings with the Inquisition: or, Papal Rome, her Priests and her Jesuits.*  
New York: 1851.  
Achilli was an ex-priest.
50. -----  
*An appeal to Caesar; a sequel to the Provincial Letters.*  
N.p.: n.d.
51. Baxter, Richard (1615-1691)  
*Jesuit Juggling. Forty Popish Frauds Detected and Disclosed.*

- New York: Craighead & Allen, 1835. 312 pp.  
American edition of an old English book.
52. **Berg, Rev. Joseph F. (1812-1871)**  
*A lecture: delivered in the Musical Fund Hall . . . Dec. 23, 1850, on the Jesuits.*  
Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson, 1850. 29 pp.  
Author claims the Jesuits would destroy America. In the North, they are Abolitionists; in the South, rabidly pro-slavery. Thus they undermine unity.
53. **Bert, Paul (1833-1886)**  
*The doctrine of the Jesuits.*  
Boston: B. F. Bradbury, 1880? 612 pp.  
Translated from the 13th French edition. By Gambetta's minister of education. Largely an attack on Jesuit moralists—e.g. Jean Pierre Gury.
54. *Book of Tracts, Containing the Origin and Progress, Cruelties, Frauds, Superstitions, Miracles, Ceremonies, Idolatrous Customs of the Church of Rome; with a Succinct Account of the Rise and Progress of the Jesuits.*  
New York: 1856.
55. **Carlyle, Thomas (1795-1881)**  
*Jesuitism. Latter-Day Pamphlets* #8.  
New York: Harpers, 1850. 48 pp.
56. **Cooper, Rufus T. (1861- )**  
*Jesuitism in Methodism: or, the ecclesiastical politics of the Methodist Episcopal Church under lime-light.*  
Washington: National-Capital Press, c. 1915. 150 pp.
57. **De Sanctis, Luigi**  
*Rome, Christian and Papal: Sketches of its Religious Monuments and Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, with Notices of the Jesuits and the Inquisition.*  
New York: Harpers, 1856. 261 pp.  
By an ex-priest. In form of letters from a fictional character.
58. **Dow, Lorenzo (1777-1834)**  
*Analectic history: touching nullification, Northern and Southern; the last warning of Lorenzo Dow.*  
Washington: 1834. 36 pp.  
The last warning chiefly concerns the Jesuits, who were shipped to America by the Holy Alliance to destroy American institutions.
59. **Drummond, Louis H., S.J. (1848-1929)**  
*Controversy on the constitutions of the Jesuits, between Dr. Littledale and Father Drummond.*  
Winnipeg: 1889.  
Drummond was a Canadian Jesuit; Littledale a Protestant minister.
60. **Duff, Alexander (1806-1878)**  
*The Jesuits: their origin and order, morality and practices, suppression and restoration.*



Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1845. 107 pp.  
From the 2nd Edinburgh edition. Written by a Scotch minister who declares, *inter alia*, that Jesuits, on the orders of their superior, will kill their parents, and did in fact poison Clement XIV.

61. **Fulton, Justin Dewey (1828-1901)**

*Washington in the Lap of Rome.*

Boston: W. Kellaway, 1888. 265 pp.

Finds that the Jesuits dominate Washington—not only the government, but society. Has a chapter: "The Jesuits in the Parlor: or, Fashionable Life in Washington."

62. **Gaylor, N. M.**

*Kossuth and the American Jesuits.*

Lowell, Mass.: 1852.

63. **Giustiniani, Luigi**

*Intrigues of Jesuitism in the United States of America.*

Philadelphia: 1846.

Another ex-priest warns of the Jesuit threat to America. One of the foulest books on this list. Billington, in his *Protestant Crusade*, mentions a seventh edition of this book. Only one edition has been discovered by the present writer.

64. **Griffin, John Smith**

*A historic sketch, descriptive of Jesuit warfare, together with a defensive appeal, addressed to the younger ministers and intelligent laymen of the Congregational Churches of Oregon and Washington.*

Hillsboro, Ore.: The Author, 1881. 49 pp.

The author, a Congregationalist minister, has been continually persecuted since his arrival in the Northwest in 1839 by the Jesuits, allied with the Congregationalist ministers sent out by the Home Mission Society.

65. **Gury, J. P.**

*Doctrines of the Jesuits.*

N.p.: Rail-splitter press, 1924. 3rd ed.

In spite of the three editions, no copy of this book has been discovered. It may be a revision of Paul Bert's (q.v.) attack on Jean Pierre Gury.

66. **Henne am Rhyn, Otto (1828-1914)**

*The Jesuits: their history, constitutions, moral teaching, political principles, religion and science.*

New York: J. Fitzgerald, 1895. 90 pp.

Translated from the German. Only unusual charge: Jesuits favor prostitution.

67.

*Jesuitism secretly at work. An exposure of the mental methods used by Roman Catholic adepts, to manipulate and control politics and politicians, and other persons in the United States.*

- New York: American Standard Press, 1924. 8 pp.  
A favorite idea of the founder of Christian Science.
68. **Lehmann, Leo H. (1895-1951)**  
*The Ins and Outs of the Jesuits.*  
New York: Converted Catholic Press, 1942. 4 pp.  
List of expulsions of the Society by ex-priest, formerly editor of *The Converted Catholic.*
69. **Lewis, Arthur W.**  
*The Monroe Doctrine Unveiled and the Mexican Crisis.*  
Aurora, Mo.: Walker Pub. Co., c. 1914. 79 pp.  
From the presses of the notorious anti-Catholic periodical, *The Menace.*
70. **Mangasarian, Mangasar M. (1859- )**  
*The Jesuits and their morals. Report of a lecture delivered before the Independent Religious Society.*  
Chicago: Rationalist Press, 1913. 19 pp.
71. **Michelet, Jules (1798-1874) and E. Quinet.**  
*The Jesuits.*  
New York: Gates & Stedman, 1845. 225 pp.  
Translated by Charles Edwards Lester, to whom it is sometimes attributed.
72. **Morse, Samuel Finlay Breese (1791-1872) (ed.)**  
*The Prescribed German Student: Being a Sketch of Some Interesting Incidents in the Life and Death of Lewis Clausing; to which is added: A Treatise on the Jesuits, a Posthumous Work of Lewis Clausing.*  
New York: Van Nostrand & Dwight, 1836. 244 pp.  
The profits of this work may have helped finance the telegraph, patented in 1840. The treatise on the Jesuits occupies pages 59-244.
73. **Murray, Oliver E.**  
*The Black Pope: or, The Jesuits' Conspiracy against American Institutions.*  
Chicago: Patriot Co., c. 1892. 2nd ed. 255 pp.  
Lectures delivered in a Methodist church by its minister.
74. -----  
*Pith and Marrow of the Closing and Coming Century and Related Position of Freemasonry and Jesuitry.*  
New York: The T. P. Co., 1899. 2nd ed. 17 pp.  
Masons, leaders of progress, have fought against Jesuits, leaders of reaction, in the past. They must continue to do so in the 20th Century.
75. **Pitrat, John Cladius**  
*Americans Warned of Jesuitism: or, The Jesuits Unveiled.*  
New York: J. S. Redfield, 1851. 266 pp.
76. Another edition: Boston: 1855. 3rd ed.  
2nd edition not discovered. Author, a French priest, left the Church in America and made a career here of anti-Catholicism.

Jesuits foster simony, perjury, usury, duelling, rebellion, murder, suicide, rape and adultery.

77. Porter, Noah (1811-1892)  
*The educational systems of the Puritans and Jesuits compared. A premium essay, written for the Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West.*  
 New York: M. W. Dodd, 1851. 95 pp.
78. Another edition: New York: M. W. Dodd, 1852.
79. Poterie, Claude Florent Bochart de la  
*The Resurrection of Laurent Ricci: or, a true and exact history of the Jesuits.*  
 Philadelphia: 1789. 28 pp.
80. Another edition: Boston: Edmund Freeman (?), 1789.  
 Largely an attack on Bishop John Carroll.
81. Potts, William Stephens (1802-1852)  
*Dangers of Jesuit Instruction. A sermon, preached at the Second Presbyterian Church in St. Louis, Sept. 25, 1845.*  
 St. Louis, Mo.: The Congregation, 1845. 21 pp.
82. Potts, W. S.  
*Dangers of Jesuit Instruction.*  
 St. Louis: Keith & Woods, 1846. 126 pp.  
 The reason for the much-enlarged second edition was that the first had fallen into the hands of Orestes Brownson. The second edition includes Brownson's criticisms and Potts' answer.
83. "Protestant"  
*Protestant Jesuitism.*  
 New York: Harpers, 1836. 295 pp.  
 An attack on the Temperance movement by comparing it to Jesuitism, which is exposed in an unfavorable fashion.
84. Scrimger, John  
*Jesuit morals.*  
 Montreal: William Drysdale, 1890. 89 pp.  
 The author, a Presbyterian minister, disagrees with Father Arthur Jones of the Canadian Province on Jesuit moral teaching.
85. -----  
*Speeches of Mr. Hopkins of Northampton on the Bill to Incorporate the College of the Holy Cross in the City of Worcester, Delivered in the House of Representatives, April 24th and 25th, 1849, with an Introductory Letter to the Members of the House.*  
 Northampton, Mass.: 1849.
86. Starbuck, Charles C. (1827-1909)  
*The true and the fictitious Jesuits.*  
 Richmond, Va.: Presbyterian Quarterly Press, 1893.
87. Taylor, Isaac (1787-1865)  
*Loyola: or, Jesuitism in its rudiments.*  
 New York: Robert Carter & Bros., 1849. 416 pp.
88. Another edition: New York: Carter, 1851.
89. Another edition: New York: Carter, 1857.

90. Thompson, Richard W. (1809-1900)  
*The Footprints of the Jesuits.*  
 Boston and New York: T. Y. Crowell; Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts, 1894. 509 pp.  
 By a former Secretary of the Navy. Gives a 'history' of the Society, pages 32-282. Jesuits made Pope infallible, threaten American institutions.
91. Townsend, Luther Tracy (1838-1922)  
*Jesuitical influence on the secular press.*  
 Boston: American Citizen Co., 1892. 35 pp.  
 This Methodist minister found a Jesuit at the elbow of every newspaper editor.
92. Vedder, Henry C.  
*Life of Ignatius Loyola.*  
 Girard, Kansas: Haldeman-Julius, 1925. 59 pp.
93. Webber, Charles Wilkins (1819-1856)  
*"Sam": or, the history of mystery.*  
 Cincinnati: H. M. Rulison; Philadelphia: Quaker City Publishing House, 1855. 550 pp.  
 The French and Indian Wars were really fights between Uncle Sam and the Society of Jesus.
94. Webber, C. W.  
*Historical and revolutionary incidents of the early settlers of the United States.*  
 Philadelphia: D. Rulison, 1861. 416 pp.  
 A shortened version of "Sam."

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## A NEW JESUIT REVIEW OF OPINION

JOSE A. ROMERO, S.J.

New Year's Day of this year was the third anniversary of the Society's new review of opinion, *Latinoamerica*. On January 1, 1949 this new publication was added to the imposing array of similar magazines edited by the Fathers of the Society. Among these descendants of the original Jesuit review of opinion, *Civiltà Cattolica*, can be found such internationally famous reviews as *Etudes*, *Razon y Fe*, *Stimmen der Zeit*, *Studies*, *The Month* and *America*. *Latinoamerica* does not yet enjoy a reputation as great as that enjoyed by its more venerable associates. Nevertheless, its editors are confident that the day will come when it may justly consider itself one of the Society's more important reviews. It is a magazine with a real future since its prospective readers are the educated classes of that vast reach of territory which runs from the Mexican border to the tip of Tierra del Fuego, not to mention the islands of the Caribbean. One of the unique features of *Latinoamerica*, which is the result of the large and varied nature of

its reading public and its contributors, is its tri-lingual character. In its pages can be found articles in French, Spanish and Portuguese, although the latter two languages are the ones which are generally employed for its feature articles. Contributors and correspondents send their material to the new review from practically all the Latin American republics.

The origin of our new Latin American magazine can be traced to a meeting which was held in Mexico City in 1946 at the suggestion of Father Tomas J. Trávi, the present Assistant for Latin America. Father Trávi, who was then Provincial of Argentina, wished to hold a meeting to which representatives of all the provinces and vice-provinces of Latin America could come to discuss the possibility of co-ordinating their work in the field of publication. Since the Mexican Province had established its "Asociacion Nacional de Buena Prensa" many years previously, and through it was successfully putting out a good number of magazines and other publications in the Mexican Republic, Mexico City seemed the natural place for such a meeting to be held. Father Trávi, therefore, wrote to Father José de Jesus Martínez Aguirre, the Provincial of Mexico, and suggested that he invite representatives of all the Latin American provinces and vice-provinces to attend a convention on publications to be held in Mexico City. Father Martínez Aguirre fell in with the suggestion and commissioned the author, who is Director of the "Buena Prensa," to organize the meeting and send the invitations to the various provincials and vice-provincials. Cuba, Central America, Brazil, Colombia, Argentina, Bolivia and Venezuela accepted the invitation and sent the delegates who constituted this first Assistancy-wide convention on publications. At this meeting, and at a second convention held at Bogotá, Colombia, in 1947, to which delegates came also from Ecuador and Peru, it was decided that a review of opinion should be established as an Assistancy-wide venture and that the various provinces and vice-provinces should collaborate in its publication. Father General, who had been kept informed of the progress of the discussions, gave his warm encouragement to the project. Even before the second convention was convened at Bogotá he sent a letter urging the author to continue his work along these lines, and wrote also to Father Alberto Moreno, the Provincial of Colombia. Father General designated Father Moreno as the one to preside at the Colombian convention, and in his letter of appointment suggested that steps should be taken toward the establishment of a Latin-American house of writers and an international magazine which would be supported and directed by all the provinces and vice-provinces of the Assistancy.

As a consequence of these conventions, the first issue of *Latinoamerica* was published in Mexico City on January 1, 1949. The "Obra Nacional de la Buena Prensa" took charge of all details relating to publication and distribution, and this responsibility is still in its hands. The magazine is printed in Mexico City every month and sent by air

mail to its distributors in each of the Latin American capitals. The hoped-for house of writers has not yet been established, and so far, although we have an excellent group of contributors in Latin America, Europe and the United States, the full burden of publication has fallen on the shoulders of Father Alvarez of the "Buena Prensa" and the author. We have had, however, the very efficient assistance of our Superior, Father de la Peza. If the editorial department is to function as it should, however, we must have the full-time services of an additional Father from one of the Brazilian provinces to handle our Portuguese articles and of another Spanish-speaking Father to assist us in handling our articles in that language.

The financial situation of *Latinoamerica* is still precarious. Our circulation is still small (3,000 copies monthly) and our expenses are considerable. The largest items are the authors' *honoraria*, which must be paid in dollars, and the expense of circulating our copies by air mail over so large an area. Although financial help has been received from other sources, the chief burden in this field, too, has fallen on the "Buena Prensa." In the first three years of operation, *Latinoamerica's* indebtedness toward the "Buena Prensa" has reached the sum of 40,000 Mexican pesos, and the Mexican organization, which has already the responsibility of financing some nineteen publications of its own and a book-publishing department besides, cannot stand this drain indefinitely. Just as a permanent solution to the difficulties of the editorial department can be found only by the establishment of a permanent corps of writers resident in Mexico, our business department can hope to end its worries only by discovering substantial financial supporters in the same republic, since our widely-scattered circulation drastically limits the amount of advertising which we can hope to secure.

Despite our difficulties, however, much good has been accomplished by *Latinoamerica* in the three years of its existence. Although the Latin American region is relatively homogeneous, its vastness has resulted in the relative isolation of each of its component parts. Consequently, the citizens of one nation know comparatively little about historical or current events which have taken place in the other countries. *Latinoamerica* has performed a valuable service by filling this cultural lacuna. Its articles have been a faithful mirror of the life of each of the Latin American nations and its pages have described the important events in each country and indicated their bearing on the life of the Church within its borders. It has made its readers conscious of the vitality of the Church in Latin America and of the principal dangers which face it there in our times. Letters of praise and encouragement have come to the editors from the Latin American episcopate and from writers and leaders of public life in the various Latin American countries.

The editors have placed *Latinoamerica* under the protection of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus and they are confident that He will see it through its present difficulties and make it a great instrument for the good of souls.

**The Sacred Heart and Modern Life.** By *François Charmot, S.J.*, Translated by Kathryn Sullivan, R.S.C.J. New York, P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1952. Pp. xv-261. \$3.50.

Every new work on the source of a Jesuit's life and love deserves our attention. This book, by the eminent French humanist (Lyons Province), is especially worthy of prayerful reflection because it presents in a scholarly manner Christ's vehement plea for love to a century heedless of his mystical presence.

Since the author's purpose is not to produce an historical or theological study of the devotion to the Sacred Heart, he refers the reader to the classic works on these aspects of the devotion (e.g. Bainvel, Hamon, Ramière, et al.). He limits his treatment to the actual conditions of the world in which the modern apostle must work, and to how we can exploit to the full the infinite riches of the Sacred Heart for our own sanctification and for the sanctification of others.

To achieve this goal, he first reminds us of Christ's infinite love for men and of His compelling appeal for the unity of His mystical body. Then he emphasizes the importance of devotion to the Sacred Heart by explaining how it is the unique source of every apostolate: "There is only one true apostolate: union in love." The remainder of the book is concerned with formation of active apostles "after Christ's own Heart," in view of the contemporary needs of our pagan world. Though there is an undisguised emphasis on action, the author tempers his remarks by the frequent reminder that contemplation and suffering are the well-spring and acid test of every fruitful apostolate of love.

The theme of the entire book is in the form of a challenge: "The modern apostolate must be an apostolate of love, and only those souls who are afire with Christ's love and with love for Christ will be fit to take part in it." Apt quotations from the papal encyclical *Mystici Corporis*, the writings of Blessed Claude de la Colombière, Sister Josepha Menendez and others are well suited to engender the confidence and courage necessary to meet this challenge.

DOMINIC MARUCA, S.J.

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**Mary in the Documents of the Church.** By *Paul F. Palmer, S.J.* Westminster, The Newman Press, 1952. Pp. xxii-129. \$2.25.

What we know of Our Lady comes in great part from tradition. In an example cited by Father Palmer (New York Province), "It is only in the light of the Church's long tradition on the absolute sinlessness of Mary that we begin to understand that Christ's tremendous occupation with His 'Father's business' (at Cana) is in no sense a repudiation of His Mother or her interests." Unfortunately for the student, while the New Testament is gathered into a single book, the documents of tradition are scattered down two thousand years. It is Father Palmer's object, therefore, to collect the more important writings of the Fathers of the Church, the Popes and the Councils in a single volume.

Beginning with the early Church there are the various Creeds, the Hippolytine and Rufine, in which the Church's belief of Mary is stated positively; and in fighting the various heresies of Gnosticism, Arianism and Nestorianism, the belief is stated in its negative form, what the Church does not believe of Mary. Following this there are the writings of the Eastern and Western Church, of St. Jerome, St. Augustine, St. John Damascene and others, from the fourth to the eighth century. In the ninth century discussions arise concerning Our Lady's Immaculate Conception and Assumption. St. Bernard of Clairvaux was reluctant to admit the Immaculate Conception; in opposition to him came the famous norm of God's gifts to Mary: "Potuit, decuit, ergo fecit." The book continues down to the present day, to Mary's titles of Mediatrix of All Graces, Co-Redemptrix and Mother of the Mystical Body.

Each section of the book has a short introduction putting the cited documents into their historical context. The book, while intended as an historical justification of the Church's devotion to Mary, is also helpful to the preacher and Our Lady's ordinary followers who want to find out about her from the best possible source: the living tradition of the Church.

GERARD F. GIBLIN, S.J.

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#### PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

The asterisk indicates that a review will be published in a later issue.  
From The Bruce Publishing Co., Milwaukee:

\*The Ignatian Way to God. *By Alexandre Brou, S.J.*

\*Joseph and Jesus. *By Francis L. Filas, S.J.*

From The Eucharistic Crusade of the Knights and Handmaids, St. Louis:

\*K.H.B.S. Eucharistic Prayerbook. *By Daniel A. Lord, S.J.*

From The Newman Press, Westminster:

\*St. Prosper of Aquitaine, The Call of All Nations.

From The Bookstore, Loyola University, New Orleans 18, Louisiana:

Catholic Colleges of the U.S. of A. at the Middle of the Twentieth Century.

This report, compiled by Father James F. Whelan, S.J. (New Orleans Province), furnishes valuable statistics on Catholic Higher Education. It merits careful study on the part of all who are interested in that field of Jesuit activity.

From The Catholic Social Guild, Oxford, England:

The Right to Resist. *By Max Pribilla, S.J.* 36 pp.

The Christian Democrat (May and June, 1952, issues).

From C.T.S., 38-40 Eccleston Square, London S.W. 1, England:

St. Anthony of Padua. *By Benedict O'Halloran, O.F.M., M.A.*  
16 pp.

Why Enclosed Nuns? *By Dom Bruno Webb, O.S.B.* 16 pp.



# THE WOODSTOCK LETTERS

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## THE RESURRECTION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS

PAUL DUDON, S.J.

We can readily imagine that during the conclave which assembled after the death of Clement XIV the Jesuit question remained in the foreground. The ministers of the Bourbon courts let it be known that no pope could be elected who was not determined to keep the brief, *Dominus ac Redemptor*, in force. Ambassadors and cardinals were to cooperate in seeing to that. Naturally, the cabinet at Madrid was the first to communicate its views on that subject, and it did so, not only to Paris and Naples, but also to Lisbon and Vienna. Even before he had been informed of the wishes of the Court, Moñino was working on Cardinals Bernis and Orsini at Rome. Everything done at the conclave should be directed toward preserving the *status quo*. Even the letters of condolence sent to the Sacred College made it quite clear that the work of the late Pope was to be left untouched.<sup>1</sup>

After the humiliations of Clement XIV's reign the cardinals felt an irresistible urge to throw off the princes' yoke. This sentiment was very strong among the *zelanti* and even some of Clement XIV's cardinals, starting with Marifoschi, shared it. So strong was this feeling that, from the beginning of September, Brunati, the Imperial agent of Vienna, predicted the election of a candidate whose attitude toward the rulers would be as far removed from servility as it would be from opposition.<sup>2</sup>

The conclave opened on October 5, 1774 with twenty-eight cardinals present. The rest arrived at different times—the French cardinal, Luynes, on November 4, the Austrian cardinal, Migazzi, on November 23, and the Spanish cardinal, Solis, on December 15—until eventually forty-eight *porporati* were taking part in the balloting. The ballotings were numerous and occasioned considerable excitement. On the morning of February 15, 1775 Gianangelo Braschi was unanimously elected, with the exception of his own vote, and took the name of Pius VI. This was the 265th ballot.<sup>3</sup>

The *zelanti* had taken the initiative in Braschi's candidacy. On January 21, 1775 the Cardinal Protector of Austria, Alessandro Albani, had presented his name at Vienna as the only

possible choice; Solis had taken the same position on February 1, and later Bernis and the Crown Cardinals had followed suit. Braschi had been a pupil of the Jesuits in his youth. Although he had been made a cardinal by Clement XIV he had not approved of the brief, *Dominus ac Redemptor*. He let it be known in the conclave, however, that he had no thought of re-establishing the Society. After this assurance, Corsini, the Emperor's envoy, and Alamada, the Portuguese ambassador, found no more reason for hesitation about accepting Braschi's candidacy. Solis reported to Madrid the remark which Braschi had made to him, "The Society should not be restored, in my opinion, even if every one of the Bourbons should wish it to be." And so the new pope was elected.<sup>4</sup> In this respect the conclave of 1774 was a repetition of the one of 1769—with this single difference, that Braschi was a different man than Ganganelli and that the thunder and lightning of the Revolution would teach him a thing or two.

#### Delay in Prussia (1773-1780)

A year before the fatal signature of the brief, *Dominus ac Redemptor*, three sovereigns had divided Poland among themselves. It is to our purpose here to recall that act of brigandage.

Maria Theresa, Frederick II and Catherine II are renowned for their mastery of statecraft. Vision, boldness and perseverance in realizing their objectives took the place of their missing consciences. Their people have given each one of them the name of "great." The Polish crisis sharpened their appetites without justifying them, and the treaty of partition which they signed is a manifest piece of iniquity.

After the death of Augustus III on October 3, 1763, Catherine II opened negotiations with Frederick II on August 14, 1764. The object of her negotiations was to make the election of Poniatowski more certain. The Confederation of Bar was formed in 1768 subsequent to the provocation given by Repnin's excesses in Poland. The Russians crushed the confederates and occupied Warsaw in the same year. Austria became alarmed and sent Nugent to inform the King of Prussia that she was definitely giving up all claim to Silesia. Having learned this, the King hinted at the advantage which

could come from the dismemberment of Poland. During 1770 interviews between Frederick and Joseph II followed. Kaunitz was present at the second. The Empress of Russia at the time of this meeting was engaged in fending off the attacks of Mustapha III's soldiers. These interviews, therefore, made her uneasy. Fortunately, the war turned out well for her. Walachia and Crimea were conquered. The Turkish fleet was destroyed in sight of the Dardanelles in 1771. Catherine could now accept the invitation to make the Polish game a three-handed one. Treaties followed (January 15, February 19, March 5, 1772). On July 21, the treaty of partition was signed "in the name of the Most Holy Trinity," and Frederick II wrote to Prince Henry of Prussia with his usual cynicism: "This will unite the three religions, Greek, Catholic and Calvinist, because we are communicating in the same eucharistic body which is Poland and if it is not for the greater good of our souls it will surely be for the great good of our states."

The Diet of Warsaw and Poniatowski resisted for twelve months and finally agreed to the dismemberment on September 18, 1773. After negotiations about the frontiers which lasted more than a year (March 15, 1775 to August 22, 1776), the definitive division into four Polands, Polish, Russian, Prussian and Austrian, became an accomplished fact. Contrary to expectations, Catherine II took the smallest portion—160,000 people; Frederick II took four times as much—600,000 people; and Maria Theresa took twice as much as her partners—1,600,000 people.

There were Jesuits in each of the conquered territories. What could they expect at the hands of their rulers? Maria Theresa had the brief of suppression executed. Poniatowski and the Diet did likewise. By an unexpected paradox, Catherine II and Frederick II protected the order which had been maltreated by the Pope and the Catholic monarchs.

Frederick had been confronted with the Jesuit question since the end of the Seven Years War, when the Treaty of Hubertusberg on February 15, 1763 had added Silesia to his kingdom. His first thought was to drive out the sons of St. Ignatius. His minister, Schlabrendorf, was given the order to draw up a plan for their expulsion. But this policy of prejudice was soon abandoned and the Jesuits were not disturbed.

In 1768, the King even proposed to the General, Lorenzo Ricci, to receive in Prussia the learned Jesuits who had been driven from other countries. Two years later, on June 30, 1770 he ordered his agent in Rome, Father Ciofani, to inform the Pope that he was most anxious to have the Jesuits of Silesia exempted if the Society should ever be suppressed.<sup>5</sup>

This policy did not flow from the slightest chivalrous feeling in the King. Still less did it come from any trace of religious feeling. He was in regular correspondence with Voltaire and d'Alembert. In unison they longed for the "crushing of the infamous thing" and applauded the progress of reason, that is to say, agnosticism.<sup>6</sup> With more daring than the French philosophers, the Prussian foretold, without however setting a definite date, the certain disappearance of Catholicism. His reasoning was very simple. Everywhere in Europe, the monks were looked on with unfavorable eyes and everywhere in Europe finances were in a bad state. It followed, therefore, that the plundering of monastic property was inevitable. This would bring about the disappearance of the monks and that of itself would bring about the disappearance of Catholicism, since the monks were its only effective support.<sup>7</sup> We can imagine the astonishment at Ferney and Paris among the friends of the Prussian King, when they heard that he, a declared infidel, had become the protector of the Jesuits. They wrote him that he had chosen his time poorly, and that he was running a great risk. Frederick II replied with calm irony that he knew quite well how to make provisions against dangers to his throne; that those who preached tolerance should be the first to practice it; and that before long the French who had closed the Jesuit colleges would have reason to repent of it; furthermore, he had promised to maintain the *status quo* in the lands that he had recently conquered; and since he was a heretical king, the Pope could not dispense him from keeping his word.<sup>8</sup> This was the reasoning of the philosopher of *Sans Souci*. And anyone who wishes to learn the real secret of his policy has only to read one of his letters to Voltaire:

I have saved this Order for better or worse, although I am a heretic and an infidel, too. My reasons are the following: there is not a single educated Catholic to be found in our land outside the Jesuits; we

have no one who can take over their classes; we have neither Oratorian Fathers nor Piarists; the other monks are crassly ignorant; therefore, I had to save the Jesuits or let all the schools go to ruin. The Order had to remain, then, to provide professors as the need for them arose and as far as the foundation could provide the funds for their maintenance. It would not have been sufficient to meet the salaries of lay professors. Furthermore, it was the Jesuit university which formed the students of theology destined to administer the parishes. If the Order had been suppressed, the university would no longer be in existence and it would have been necessary to send Silesians to study theology in Bohemia, and that would have been contrary to the fundamental principles of government.

All of the above reasons have made me the champion of this order.

And the letter ends with a pleasantry in the Voltairian vein:

Remember, please, Father Tournemine who was your nurse . . . and make your peace with an Order which in the last century bore and gave to France men of the greatest merit.<sup>9</sup>

It was easier to make fun of the Patriarch of Ferney than to solve the problem of saving the 350 Jesuits of Silesia and conquered Poland. The King of Prussia set himself to the task with decision.

He happened to be in Breslau on the very day, August 29, 1773 when the brief, *Dominus ac Redemptor*, reached the Bishop, Maurice von Strachwitz. He instantly forbade him to publish it and on two further occasions, September 6 and September 16, sent the same prohibition to all the bishops of his new states.

This bold stroke proved most disconcerting to the parties concerned. The bishops of Prussian Poland, either through friendship for the Jesuits, lack of zeal or simply as a means of providing more effectively for the preservation of Catholic apostolic work, had determined upon a policy of delay, or were inclined to do so. Bajer of Kulm and Strachwitz of Breslau were rather inclined to execute the brief. The Jesuits were divided in the line of conduct they should follow. In Prussian Poland, they held that the brief was sufficiently promulgated. The Provincial of Silesia, on the other hand, had in mind the possibility of a Northern Society of Jesus, in which the Jesuits of England and Holland would be united to the Prussian Jesuits, and he thought that a provincial congregation could

elect a Vicar-General of the Order. Ricci was in prison, and Frederick gave his support to the whole scheme. He even let it be known that Father Karl von Reinach could be Vicar-General. In reality nothing was done. Not everybody in Rome spoke in the same vein. The Commission of Cardinals *Suppressionis Societatis* was urging the observation of the law quite energetically; the Secretary of State and the nuncio at Warsaw wanted to negotiate. The agents of the Holy See agreed on one point only: since the decision of Clement XIV was so plainly manifested, the Jesuits themselves were under a strict obligation to disband.<sup>10</sup>

Although this rigid solution was convenient for the authorities, since it gave them an excuse for doing nothing, there were three disadvantages connected with it. It might seriously provoke the King of Prussia; it meant the end of Catholic educational and apostolic activity in the new states of the King; and it deprived the Jesuits of the canonical support from those lands, which the legislator himself had taken care to provide for them.

The papal document, as we know, was unusual in a good number of its provisions. Its most unusual features, as the Jesuits of the time remarked, were that it was addressed to no one, and that it was not posted in any of the customary places in Rome. It is true that by the tenor of one of the paragraphs, it entailed immediate effects but only after promulgation. And yet clear and distinct directions for the ceremony of the promulgation were given in the circular drawn up by the Congregation *Suppressionis Societatis* which Clement XIV established. The circular required that the local ordinary see to it that the brief was made known to the assembled community in each house of the Society. It followed, therefore, that in the strict sense of the law, until such time as the ordinary carried out this formal notification, the houses were not dispersed and the religious were not, in point of fact, secularized.<sup>11</sup> This was the point of law in which, after a little hesitation, the Jesuits of Silesia and Prussian Poland were to take refuge.

At first they expressed sentiments of respectful obedience.<sup>12</sup> The Provincial of Silesia, Gleixner, asked the minister to inform the King that the Order could continue in existence only



with the approval of the Pope. He arranged towards mid-December, 1773 for a request to be made to Krasicki, Bishop of Ermeland, that the latter open negotiations to obtain this approval. On August 16, 1774 Father Karl von Reinach, Rector of the College of Wartenberg, wrote to Frederick II that he should make clear to Rome, through the Bishop of Breslau, his firm determination to keep the Jesuits in existence and his great desire to be authorized to do so.

Under the insistent pressure of Macedonio and Garampi, Strachwitz and Bajer brought matters to a head. The first refused to ordain Jesuit Scholastics and the second refused to grant ecclesiastical faculties. The Provincial, Gleixner, complained to the King on April 5, 1774. The King rebuked Strachwitz on April 6 and, as the latter continued to defend himself, reminded him on April 21 of the obedience due to his sovereign. Garampi expressed his regrets over the action of Bajer.<sup>13</sup>

At Rome, the incident was not looked upon favorably. Palavicini consulted a professional canonist who said that the bishops were in the wrong. Finally, Clement ordered that a conciliatory reply be written to Krasicki, Bishop of Ermeland, and Garampi quickly communicated it to all the prelates who had asked his advice. According to the reply: *the Pope authorized all Jesuits, whose help the ordinaries should deem necessary, to teach in colleges, to preach and to administer the sacraments, and the fact that they lived in common was no bar to authorization.* This decision of March, 1774 opened the door to negotiations. Garampi and the nuncio at Vienna took steps toward negotiations and Augustine Felbiger and the King did likewise. The death of Clement XIV interrupted the conferences.<sup>14</sup>

These conferences were resumed after the election of Pius VI on February 15, 1775. Ciofani saw the new Pope, and Frederick sent a memorandum to Cardinal Rezzonico. The King's refrain did not change. There were Catholics in Prussia. Therefore, Catholic schools were a necessity and the Jesuits were the only ones who could run them. The Bourbons had no concern with what was done outside of their domains. Pius VI's reply could have been foretold. The brief of Clement XIV was to stand. The displeasure of the Bourbons

was not a thing which could be taken lightly, but if the King of Prussia could find some way of keeping the Jesuits in existence, the Pope would not oppose it. With that concession, Frederick II thought that his case was won and said so in writing to Garampi, the bishops and Father von Reinach. The King's letter made its way to Rome through unknown channels and the ambassadors of the Bourbon Courts were loud in protests against the scandal. Pius VI explained to Ciofani that the *status quo* to which he had given his agreement applied to Jesuits who had been reduced to the status of secular priests. Frederick II yielded. Strachwitz promulgated the brief at Breslau on February 5, 1776.<sup>16</sup> The Bishops of Prussian Poland were slower to move. A good number were not resident in their dioceses; others were without resources; some were friends of the Jesuits. But the Coadjutor of Kulm, Charles von Hohenzollern, was very insistent with the new nuncio and with the King. He made the proclamation of the brief a matter of personal concern to himself. Finally, at different dates, the Bishops promulgated it, and by the summer of 1780 Archetti could send the joyful news to Rome.<sup>17</sup>

He was rejoicing over ruins, however. The "Literary Institute" which Hohenzollern had established on the model of the one in Silesia was not a success. Funds sufficient to support it could not be found, nor could teachers be discovered who were suited to the work.<sup>18</sup> Frederick, his minister, Carmer, and Father Zeplichal had projected a Corporation of Priests of the Royal Institute of Schools but their project had no more lasting results than Hohenzollern's. The King had wisely enacted that the property of the Silesian Jesuits be applied to the Institute<sup>19</sup> and that the Royal Institute be obliged to support twelve students at the University of Breslau where they would prepare themselves for the work of teaching.<sup>20</sup> At Frederick's death, however, his successor sold the property of the Corporation, and it was dissolved on July 26, 1800. The proceeds went to the support of Protestant schools.

Thus the attempt of the King of Prussia to save the Jesuits in his states ended in complete failure.

### The Smoldering Fire In Russia (1773-1799)

Catherine II was more fortunate in her endeavors in White Russia. Her good brother, the heretic, had prolonged the canonical existence of the Society, for better or worse, until about 1780. She, the schismatic, was able to keep it in existence *sine die*. She understood the situation better than Frederick II, and in turning it to her advantage she displayed to the full the pliability of a woman and the determination of a Tartar. The motives of the Semiramis of the North were, of course, no different from those of the philosopher of *Sans Souci*. It suited her to play the role of protectress of arts and sciences, and she did it with a stubborn persistence which overcame completely every bit of resistance which was offered to her design.

The essentials of this episode were given us long ago by Crétineau-Joly,<sup>21</sup> and, since then, copious details have been added by the works of Father Gagarin<sup>22</sup> and the Polish Jesuit, Father Zaleski.<sup>23</sup> We can give a more accurate account of this remarkable episode today, thanks to the documents which have been quoted in the works of Father Pierling<sup>24</sup> and in the Acts of the cause of Father Pignatelli<sup>25</sup> before the Congregation of Rites, which are reproduced in the last volume of Pastor.<sup>26</sup>

On her own territory, the Czarina had to deal with only one prelate, and that was a bishop who owed everything to her. The adventurous career of Stanislaus Siestzrencewicz gives a complete explanation of his conduct during the negotiations concerning the Jesuits of White Russia. He was a Lithuanian noble, Protestant by birth, who had begun his career as a student of Protestant theology at Koenigsberg, Amsterdam and London. Later on, he enlisted in a regiment of Prussian hussars and rose to the rank of captain. After this, he entered the service of the Radziwill family as tutor to the children. About all he had to recommend him was a knowledge of foreign languages and of the ways of the world. He became a Catholic in hopes of marrying a Catholic girl, but she would have nothing to do with him. After this misadventure, he attracted the attention and won the patronage of a court prelate, Massalski, Bishop of Vilna, who had known him while

he was in service with the Radziwills. Massalski ordained the young man, despite his ignorance and lack of religious convictions, gave him a parish, made him a canon, and finally put forward his name for bishopric. Poniatowski made him Bishop of Mallo *in partibus*; the bulls came from Rome and Siestzrencewicz was consecrated on October 1, 1773. The Czarina ordered him to come to Petersburg and once there, he succeeded in winning her favor. Soon after his arrival, by a ukase of November 22 of the same year, this prelate of forty-two was named Latin Bishop of White Russia and of all the Latin Catholics of the Empire.

He was so happy at receiving this extraordinary title that he went to Mohilev immediately and sent a pastoral letter to his people. The neighboring bishops took offense and contested his jurisdiction. The terrified nuncio, Garampi, who feared a schism might result, proposed a compromise which would give regular episcopal powers to this ignorant interloper, and Clement XIV, through fear of even worse consequences if it were refused, gave his sanction. Siestzrencewicz, moved by feelings of gratitude, sent a letter of perfect submission to the Holy See on August 9, 1776.<sup>27</sup> Such was the character of the man who would have to give the ecclesiastical decision on the validity of the brief, *Dominus ac Redemptor*, in Russian Poland.

Stackelberg, the Russian minister to Warsaw, had sent the pontifical document to Petersburg on October 2, 1773. The Czarina's reaction was instantaneous. The brief was considered as not having been delivered. Publication was prohibited, and an order was given that any copy which might enter Russia was to be delivered to the agents of the government. The governor of Polotsk, General Kaetchnetnikov, sent a letter to the Rector of the college in that city, giving assurance of the Empress' good will, and reminding him that no Roman document could be received by anybody in the country, no matter who he was, without the sanction of the government.<sup>28</sup> The Bishop of Vilna, Massalski, went so far as to order the Rector to keep the *status quo* until further orders.<sup>29</sup>

Stanislaus Czerniewicz, Rector of Polotsk, had made his studies at the Roman College, and had been for several years

secretary for the Polish Assistancy at the General Curia of his order. He was a man of education, active and resolute in character, and an excellent religious. He sent an exact account of the state of affairs to the nuncio, Garampi, who did not reply. Father Czerniewicz was summoned to Petersburg by the Czarina on October 26 and was received by Czerniszew, the Governor of White Russia, to whom he frankly explained the embarrassing situation in which the silence of the nuncio had placed him. Czerniszew advised him to send a memorandum to the Empress. In his letter of supplication to her, the Rector of Polotsk asked simply to be allowed to obey the brief of suppression. Catherine II replied in these words:

You owe obedience to the Pope in matters of dogma; in everything else you should obey your sovereign. I see, however, that you are overscrupulous. I will communicate with my Ambassador at Warsaw, therefore, and have him reach an understanding with the Papal nuncio and free you from your scruples.

Czerniewicz sent Catherine's letter and his own memorandum to Garampi. Still no answer was forthcoming.<sup>30</sup>

Garampi, although he was a man of exceptional intelligence, had no idea what to do. He could not extract a single word on the matter from Stackelberg, the Russian minister. He was receiving urgent instructions from Rome but he considered that they were impractical. He had asked Siestzrencewicz to promulgate the brief and had received as an answer from Petersburg: "The most high will is immovable in its decrees. I have received orders to leave the Jesuits as they are, and Her Majesty must be obeyed."<sup>31</sup> Several Jesuits were sending him inquiries regarding their status, and Garampi could not remain silent forever. He sent a letter one day to Father Komonowicz, the Rector at Dunaburg, and instructed him to take measures at Petersburg to bring about the promulgation of the brief of Clement XIV, and to continue his apostolic and educational work while he was awaiting the outcome. All the letters of the nuncio to Warsaw, however, are not in the same tone.

Czerniewicz saw Siestzrencewicz during his stay at Petersburg, but the latter avoided anything like a definite answer to his questions. His visits to General Czerniszew were received with unflinching cordiality, but the general made it quite clear

that the Czarina's decision would not change, and that she considered that she alone was the judge of what should be done in her empire. The Rector explained the financial situation of the college at Polotsk in a memorandum. There was no difficulty in that. By a formal ukase, the lands of the college were completely exempted from taxation.<sup>32</sup>

It would appear that when Czerniewicz told his brethren what had transpired at Petersburg after his return to Polotsk, and when they considered these events in the light of what had taken place in Prussia, they must have had reason to perceive in these remarkable coincidences what they could reasonably believe was a providential preservation of the Order.<sup>33</sup> The commentaries which the diplomats of the Bourbon courts at Petersburg and Rome made on the *Gazette de Varsovie*, however, ran in quite a different vein. Catherine was pleased when her tolerance provoked the comments of the entire European public. Moñino was enraged as he saw the master stroke of Spanish diplomacy put in danger. The French and Spanish Ambassadors at Petersburg questioned each other anxiously about the doings of a certain Don Benevenuti and a certain Don Cigala in Russia and they sent home ridiculous and unfounded stories in their dispatches.<sup>34</sup> Azara wrote from Rome to his friend Roda, Minister at Madrid, that he found it very difficult to believe in the death of the Jesuits.<sup>35</sup> The Commission of Cardinals *Suppressionis Societatis* tried to believe in it with all its might, for the honor of Clement XIV.

The question whether the Jesuits of the northern countries had faculties to administer the sacraments was a serious one. The Commission of Cardinals, as we have already seen in the case of Prussia, wanted to answer it in the negative. Garampi, who was better able to estimate the consequences, since he was on the spot, was more inclined to uphold an affirmative answer. The attitude of the Commission of Cardinals finally softened. Clement XIV gave his consent to the change of attitude and Cardinal Consalvi sent a recommendation to the bishops that they authorize the apostolic ministry of the Jesuits; for short periods, however, so that the periodic renewal of their faculties might remind the parties concerned of their precarious position.<sup>36</sup>

In all the phases of the dispute whose history we will now

narrate, one point remained fixed: the Czarina was determined to protect the Society. Czerniszew was given assurance of this from the first, and the subsequent difficulties would only make that point more obvious.

In the tangled skein of events, three principal ones must be kept in mind: the opening of a novitiate at Polotsk, the election of a Vicar-General of the Order and the mission of Benislawski to the Pope.

It was clear that if parishes were to be kept manned and colleges opened, some way of finding replacements for tired and aged workers would have to be found. The Czarina ordered the construction of a novitiate at Polotsk, and to accomplish it canonically she had at her service the ambition and the docility of Siestzrencewicz. This gentleman was playing a double game. With Father Czerniewicz he would sometimes assume the manner of a superior and attempt to act with a superior's power, while at other times he would deny that he had any authority whatsoever. He expressed his regrets to the new nuncio who was pressing insistently for the secularization of the Jesuits, and suggested some measures for bringing it about. He said plaintively that Czerniewicz considered himself exempt and maintained that the Jesuits of Russian Poland were true Jesuits. A very simple means of bringing these abuses up short and seeing that the brief of Clement XIV was respected would be to name some bishop, himself or some other, superior of all the Jesuits in White Russia. The nuncio thought that this scheme, which had been proposed to him secretly, was an ingenious one, and suggested it to Rome, only to meet with a rebuff.<sup>37</sup> Siestzrencewicz began his insinuations anew when he supplied a complete report on the religious of his diocese upon the request of the nuncio.<sup>38</sup> Archetti then asked for and received a decree, which the Pope approved, appointing Siestzrencewicz Apostolic Visitor of all the religious houses of White Russia for a period of three years.<sup>39</sup> Faithful subject that he was, Siestzrencewicz saw to it that the chancellery at Petersburg ratified the Roman document. Czerniszew got the idea of using the apostolic mandate as a means of canonically erecting the Jesuit novitiate. The Czarina gave her approval, and, at the same time that the Bishop received the order to

open the novitiate, he received the outline of a pastoral letter which would announce the event. He did as he was told and the novitiate opened on February 2, 1780 with eight candidates.<sup>40</sup>

Archetti was terrified; the Bourbon ministers were furious; the Pope asked Propaganda for a report of the affair, and Pallavicini wrote a sharp letter to the nuncio. The newspapers printed the news from Polotsk and the Secretary of State issued denials at Rome and Cologne.<sup>41</sup> Finally, Archetti called for an explanation from Siestzrencewicz who took refuge behind the Czarina's authority. The good of souls had been his only guide in conducting his pastoral office, but if Rome was determined to brave the wrath of the Empress of All the Russias he was prepared to resign his office in a spirit of sacrifice.<sup>42</sup> Catherine protected the Bishop by informing the nuncio at Warsaw, through her minister Stackelberg, that she was the author of the whole proceeding and that she intended to be mistress in her Empire.<sup>43</sup>

Faced with this determined attitude, what could the Bourbon ministers do, or what could the nuncio at Warsaw or the Secretary of State do? Moñino, who was in power at Madrid, used violence and diplomacy. He seized the Russian ships which were in the harbor of Cadiz, and proposed commercial agreements which were to Russia's advantage, conditioned on the destruction of the Jesuits in White Russia. He also tried to gain his end through the expedient of mediation in the Polish dispute. But all his schemes fell like so many stones in a well.<sup>44</sup> Archetti defended himself by sending exact copies of his entire correspondence to Propaganda. Pallavicini, who was in the pay of Spain, sent urgent orders to Siestzrencewicz, through the nuncio, to promulgate the brief, *Dominus ac Redemptor*. He held stubbornly to this unworkable policy<sup>45</sup> even after the solemn visit of Catherine II to Polotsk and her meeting with Emperor Joseph II at the College of Mohilev,<sup>47</sup> and he persisted in it even after he had been warned by Garampi, the nuncio at Vienna, that nothing would overcome the obstinate determination of the Czarina, since it tickled her vanity to keep the Jesuits in a flourishing state so that they could later on spread through all of Europe.<sup>48</sup>

The unforeseen election of Father Stanislaus Czerniewicz



to the office of Vicar-General of the Order on October 17, 1781 provoked a new round of the same sort of distressing and useless diplomatic manœuvres. It had taken place, despite the obstacles put in its path by the incorrigible Bishop of Mallo, on the suggestion of Father Korycki, the former Polish Assistant who was living in Rome.<sup>49</sup> When Potemkin was informed of Siestzrencewicz's attempt to block the election, he gave assurance to Czerniewicz that the Empress was completely favorable to him. The diplomatic defeat which Spain had suffered could hardly be more stinging or more open. Grimaldi took strong measures at Rome in his attempt to have the election declared null and void but he had to be satisfied with the publication of a fresh denial in the Roman journal. Then Moñino took matters into his own hands. He got Grimaldi and Bernis to work together and demand that a brief be sent either to the Princes of the House of Bourbon or at least to the King of Spain. Pius VI resisted their demand for a long time but finally wrote to Madrid and Paris declaring that what had taken place in Russia was null and void, and that the brief, *Dominus ac Redemptor*, was still in force. At Pallavicini's request, the courts gave their promise that this compromising letter would be kept secret. In return, the Spanish Ambassador at Petersburg was ordered to take no further action concerning the Jesuits.<sup>50</sup>

After this stroke of diplomacy, some way had to be found to get Siestzrencewicz to retract his pastoral and Catherine II to dissolve the novitiate. At the first mention of retraction the Empress came to the Bishop's defense, nominated him for the Archbishopric of Mohilev and demanded confirmation and the pallium from Rome. Stackelberg was told to "speak plainly and bluntly" to the nuncio and make sure that his threats were heard at Rome.<sup>51</sup> The Russian diplomat informed Warsaw and Vienna of his orders. Archetti wrote to Rome from Warsaw that concessions were in order. Garampi wrote from Vienna. He promised that he would intervene, but would make it clear that the Pope's good will had limits which must be respected.<sup>52</sup> At last, Pius VI wrote a conciliatory letter to the Czarina. He would overlook Siestzrencewicz's misdeeds but he earnestly asked Catherine II to nominate a Uniate archbishop for Mohilev and insinuated that the

settlement of the disagreements which still remained could be facilitated by the dispatch of a legate.<sup>53</sup>

The Empress had settled on her plan of action even before she received the papal message. The Provost, Benislawski, would go to Rome where he was to secure three things: his own nomination as Coadjutor of Mohilev, Siestzrencewicz's pallium, and the preservation of the Society in Poland.<sup>54</sup>

Benislawski, who was a former Jesuit, consulted the nuncio, Garampi, and the Russian Ambassador, Galitzin, at Vienna, secured letters of recommendation from them, and arrived at Rome, March 1, 1783. He was received by the Holy Father that same day. Pius VI questioned him in a kindly manner about all that had transpired in Russia. He listened to his three requests, granted the second which concerned Benislawski, reserved decision on sending the pallium until the Czarina replied to his letter of January 11, and gave no answer to the third. Benislawski threw himself on his knees and told the Pope that his instructions were to leave Rome if any of his requests were not granted. The Pope spoke a few hopeful words to him and asked him to send a memorandum on the three points under discussion. At a second audience, the Pope seemed colder and more indifferent but he accepted the memorandum brought by the Provost. On March 12, Benislawski was received again. The Czarina's letter had come. Pius VI gave a favorable reply to the first two requests. To the third, he merely repeated three times: "*approbo.*"<sup>55</sup>

Pallavicini wrote to Archetti that this approval was an invention of Benislawski. Archetti repeated the story and added that the Provost was a fanatic like all the recalcitrant Jesuits and a madman like all northerners. But this two-fold denial—which really is only one—cannot stand up against the account of Benislawski. He had spoken to Korycki at Rome and to Garampi and Galitzin at Vienna, and at Polotsk he signed a written statement under oath. Furthermore, the dispatches of the Venetian Ambassador at Rome clearly confirmed the entire account which he had given. Czerniewicz sent the happy news to all the members of the Order in a circular letter from Polotsk.

There is no lack of further proof to corroborate the fact of the *approbo*. A dissertation is in existence which was written

in that year, 1783, at the request of Father Korycki by the canonist Sanz, on the value of an *oraculum vivae vocis* of the Pope. When Archetti was appointed Legate to Petersburg in 1783 none of the official documents which he carried with him, either from the Pope or Propaganda, said a word about the Jesuits. If Archetti touched on that point during his mission with the Bourbon ministers, Potemkin and Vice-Chancellor Ostermann, it was on his own initiative and fruitlessly, as he admitted himself in his dispatches to Pallavicini. The Duke of Parma used the triple *approbo* as a sort of argument in his correspondence with Pius VI, and the Pope said nothing in reply. At Rome itself, Joseph II criticised the action of Clement XIV before the Pope at a public reception held by Princess Doria during his visit of 1786, and the Emperor went on to praise the Jesuits and to boast of how useful their services were to him in Austria.

Bernis reported the event in a dispatch to Vergennes and added in a discouraged tone, "The Pope was satisfied with expressing his opinion, and that not as forcefully as the occasion demanded, since he was most careful not to provoke a party to whom he was most closely allied in the past."<sup>56</sup>

The conduct of which Bernis complained is quite easy to understand but it was motivated by considerations very different from those which he alleged. We cannot forget Braschi's conversation with Solis in February, during the conclave of 1774. The weight of those words were to press down on Pius VI until his last day on earth. They were the source of the lack of forcefulness in his speech over which Bernis lamented, and they are the explanation of the reserve which he kept in dealing with Benislawski. They also account for the briefs which he sent to the Bourbons and of the remarkable letter which the Pope was to write later to Ferdinand of Parma. But in his heart, Pius VI thought, and more sincerely than Joseph II, that the brief, *Dominus ac Redemptor*, was a mistake whose consequences were being felt in every part of Christendom. From that conviction came the verbal *approbo* of March 12, 1783 at the summons of the dread and imperious monarch in Petersburg.

After the death of Czerniewicz on July 18, 1785 several Vicars-General were to be elected,<sup>57</sup> and of these Gabriel

Gruber would be pre-eminently *persona grata* at the court of the Czars because of his remarkable gifts.<sup>58</sup> The course of events was to be unchanged by the death of the great protectors of the Society, Czerniszew and Potemkin. Even the death on November 3, 1796 of Catherine II herself would bring no disturbance to the Jesuits. The unbalanced Paul I would show himself just as zealous a benefactor as his mother had been, and the intrigues of the incorrigible Siestzrenczewicz did nothing but discredit their author. The nuncio, Litta, who was sent to represent the Pope at the coronation of Paul I, cautious though he was by disposition, finally came out openly at Rome as an advocate of the Russian Jesuits.

So it happened that Providence, by a paradoxical turn of events, made use of the caprice of the Semiramis of the North to keep smouldering under its ashes in Russia the fire which Ignatius of Loyola had lighted in Rome in 1540.

#### First Signs of Resurrection (1774-1779)

The first signs of resurrection were soon to appear. They were visible in many lands and could be seen in events of great significance. In France, the weak Louis XV was in no way hostile to the Society, even though he allowed the parliaments to work their will. He gave a favorable reception to the memorandum on the re-establishment of the Jesuits drawn up by Christopher de Beaumont and presented by Mme. Louise de France in 1774. The Duke d'Aiguillon and Bernis opposed it in the Council, and, at the death of the King, the project was buried.<sup>59</sup> The ministers, however, had all they could do to prevent the episcopate from appealing the matter to the Council.

In the Austrian Netherlands, Feller, who had been sent into exile, was given permission to return. In 1790 the Treasurer of Brabant presented a document to the States which called for the return of the Jesuits.

The same request was made in several of the Polish Diets. The nuncio, Saluzzo, was able to stifle the project with the assistance of the Spanish Minister. Nevertheless, Lepski introduced the measure to recall the Jesuits once more on July 16, 1796.<sup>60</sup>

Cardinal Migazzi, Archbishop of Milan, presented the same

petition to Emperor Francis II in December, 1793. The question was re-opened by the Elector of Trier, Clement August, who worked at it stubbornly from 1794 to 1797, sending one memorandum after another, casting about for allies, working in company with the nuncio, Annibale della Genga, who had taken flight from Cologne, and talking personally to the Emperor. He might have succeeded in his enterprise were it not for the opposition of the old Prime Minister, Kaunitz, who never let go the reins of government and was never able to shake off the spell of his atheist philosophy.<sup>61</sup>

The fires of the French Revolution, which were casting their glow across the continent of Europe, enlightened men who were capable of reflection and honest courage. In a few months it had shaken the old regime to its foundations, sent Louis XVI into prison and under the blade of the guillotine, undermined the old national religion, murdered and exiled priests by the thousands and sent victorious soldiers marching across the French frontiers to bring down the tyrants and overthrow the altars. Events such as these taught lessons whose significance could not be missed. One of the sovereigns of the day who understood them most thoroughly was Ferdinand, the young Duke of Parma. When he was twenty he had driven the Jesuits from his states, at the urging of his minister, William du Tillot, and to please his uncle, Charles III. Ten years later, his one concern was to bring back to his territory the men whom he had sent into exile, and he worked at that project with a determination and a constancy which are unbelievable.

He broached the matter first to the King of Spain on January 26 and on April 20, 1787 and, as we can imagine, was completely rebuffed. How else could the King, who was watching so narrowly to see that the brief of Clement XIV kept its deadly efficacy, receive the advances of a young and inexperienced Duke?<sup>62</sup> Ferdinand turned to Catherine II and the Vicar-General Lenkiewicz on July 23, 1793 to ask them for a handful of the "precious seed" which had been miraculously preserved in Russia. His interviews and correspondence with Father Borgo sustained the young prince's courage, and he sent a formal request to the Pope for permission to employ the Jesuits in the schools of the Duchy. The Czarina and Lenkie-

wicz sent gracious replies and Pius VI sent a good-humored answer: Jesuits were being employed everywhere, even at Rome. The good of souls must take precedence over everything else. This answer, however, remained secret. Three Jesuits left Polotsk for Parma.<sup>63</sup>

Encouraged by this first success, Ferdinand had spirit enough to speak a few plain truths to the Pope. Since the Society had a legitimate existence in the Church of God, even if only in one corner of Europe, was there any reason why it should not exist elsewhere? If the request for its existence had to come from a Bourbon, he, in whose veins flowed the blood of the Bourbons, was making it. The Czarina would be pleased, the Catholics of Parma would have the advantage of a Christian education, strength would be given to consciences which were still fearful, and the Holy See would have a few more fearless defenders. Europe would not be in the sad condition in which she was, if the Jesuits had been re-established sooner. The letter is long, effusive, outspoken and completely free from diplomatic reserve.<sup>64</sup> The essential passage of Pius VI's reply is worth quoting:

We have never said nor thought that it was a good thing to disband a body of men which served the Church well in the field of education, whose founder is praised in her official liturgy, and whose absence today has led to the disastrous consequences which we can plainly see. If we consider the way in which the Society was suppressed and the views of the men who took the leading rôle in her suppression, we must say that neither has our approval or support. The law is in force, however, and it should be observed. But we will act as though we knew nothing about what is going on, just as we did with those who took refuge in the North. But if some of the great Catholic princes take umbrage (at your enterprise) either at the instigation of some regulars who are jealous (of the Jesuits) or at the urging of certain *Filosofanti* who have set this whole machine in motion, we will be forced to disapprove the determination of Your Highness which we are pleased to ignore at the moment although we are quite well aware of it.<sup>65</sup>

The Duke took the reserves of the Pope in good spirit. He understood that he was not being given the approval which he had asked. He would be discreet in his actions. The Jesuits of the College of Parma would dress like secular priests although their internal government would follow the rules of their Institute. Furthermore, Spain had been informed of

what was going on at Parma and Placentia. What he was doing could not fail to serve the interests of religion and the Church more effectively.<sup>66</sup> In a second reply Ferdinand assumed a bolder tone and his pleas and statements were made with eloquence. The Russian Jesuits were not rebels. An attestation had been made under oath that the Pope had given them a triple *approbo*. The College of Nobles had become "a scandalous inn of immorality and irreligion" since the departure of the Jesuits. The religious who were in charge of the College of Placentia were teaching error and Jansenism. Priests and religious other than the Jesuits had been working in the Duchy for more than twenty years, "and what advantage had the Church, religion, the schools, piety or the principality gotten from their work? Let His Holiness answer that!" All that was needed to effect a complete change for the better was the recall of the Jesuits. Neither the "unhealthy passion" of some regulars nor the "rage of the *Filosofanti*" gave the Prince the slightest desire to take precautions. "Let His Holiness grant him Jesuits under the conditions which he had requested or such conditions as His Holiness thought best."

Other letters of what appears to have been urgent insistence followed. In the reply of Pius VI to the letter of August 1, the Pope thanked the Prince for having written to Madrid and urged him to keep pressing the matter. Then he remarked:

The report that we do not wish to receive questions on this matter is one of the usual false and calumnious stories. The truth is, on the contrary, that it is one of the dearest wishes of our heart, and we will accede to each request as far as it is possible. Our disposition must remain a secret, however, for it is by giving the appearance of indifference that we can be of most service.<sup>67</sup>

From that date, the true sentiments of the Pope would become more and more transparent in his correspondence with the Duke of Parma and the citations which will be quoted in the following paragraphs will make that quite evident.

Spanish diplomacy was still mounting a faithful guard over the brief of Clement XIV. The Court of Madrid had taken on itself the mission of seeing that the extermination of the Jesuits was carried out to the very end, and the death of

Charles III on December 14, 1788 had not concluded that mission. His ministers alerted Charles IV to the grave danger which was hatching at Parma.<sup>68</sup> Ferdinand, however, was too open-hearted a character not to be the first to let his brother-in-law know what he had in mind. The King's reply was blunt and categorical: "I will never give you my approval." Ferdinand, far from being discouraged, returned to the attack with vigor. A moving dialogue took place between the two rulers during the long months. The words of the Duke were heated and full of faith. The King spoke in a much drier tone. The following is a summary of their exchange.

*The Duke of Parma:* "The re-establiſhment of the Jesuits is the will of God." Those who will come from White Russia to Parma are Italians. The Duke has taken advantage of the *approbo* which the Pope gave to the Society in White Russia to bring schoolmasters into his states who will bar the road to disorder in ideas and morals. The enemies of the Jesuits are the enemies of religion. God will bless the King of Spain if he will only open the gates of his kingdom to the sons of St. Ignatius.

*The King of Spain:* Irreligion and immorality have passed all bounds, it is true. It is a son's duty, however, to respect the memory of Charles III. The expulsion of 1767 was "advised by holy and virtuous men and solemnly confirmed" by Clement XIV.

*The Duke of Parma:* Charles III was a religious sovereign, but "he was deceived by the treachery and malice of unbelievers," who are only too successful in "seducing many worthy men." Far from being a dishonor, "undoing the damage caused by his father's mistake" will bring glory to his son if it is done through a desire to save his country. He should write to the reigning Pope, taking care, however, to keep the correspondence secret.

*The King of Spain:* If Charles III were alive he would act now as he acted in the past. His sentence of banishment was an act of justice. A good son should adhere to his policy. If the re-establiſhment of the Jesuits is the will of God, He will make it known. Until He does, the King of Spain will continue to consider the Jesuits enemies of his kingdom. A



great deal of reflection would be necessary before writing to the Pope.

*The Duke of Parma:* Although the Duke is not a prophet the King can believe, as though a real prophet had spoken to him, that the re-establishment of the Jesuits is the will of God. The indications of that will are numerous: the moral state of Spain, the initiative which the Duke has undertaken. If the King were to write to the Pope, that would be still another indication of the divine will.

*The King of Spain:* There is nothing to add to what has already been said on the Jesuit question.

*The Duke of Parma:* The obstinacy of the King is a cause of great sorrow. How can he fail to understand that what is taking place today is a divine punishment of the kings and the peoples who have allowed evil doctrines to prevail! "The men who wanted to destroy the Society wanted only to destroy religion." The Duke will write to the Pope in the name of the King.

*The King of Spain:* Since the Duke has urged the matter so energetically, an answer must be given. The advice of a defender of religion is not a sufficient indication of the will of God. Furthermore, the good offices of the Duke with the Pope are not acceptable to the King.

*The Duke of Parma:* In the extreme sorrow which he feels he has at least the consolation of knowing that he has done all in his power to realize the designs of God. Please Heaven that some stroke of the Divine Hand may not come some day to force the King to yield!<sup>69</sup>

Pius VI, however, was counting on the intervention of the Duke of Parma to win over Charles IV to the cause of the Jesuits. The Pope's anticipations were not justified but, at least, his correspondence with the Duke revealed his true sentiments and hopes.

One day, the Pope was to write to Ferdinand that if the King of Spain were to send a letter to Rome, it should come through the Duke, in order to make sure of its secrecy, and that the Queen of Spain and her children should work together to make the King yield. "If the Jesuits should ever be re-established in Spain," declared Pius VI, "we hope to see the example of Spain followed everywhere and we would be one of the first to imitate it."

A little later, he recommended that the Duke attach an Italian translation to the letter which was to come from Madrid, so as to avoid any possibility of misunderstanding. Then he asked the Duke to tell him which language should be employed in his reply to the King of Spain. At last, he sent the news that he had seen the confessor of the Queen of Spain at Rome and had spoken frankly to him concerning the re-establishment of the Jesuits. The prelate was "very favorable to it" and since he had "good sense" as well as "good intentions" there was no doubt that his cooperation would be "active and able." The Queen of Spain should help him by her personal efforts. "The incalculable evils which have come from the suppression of the Jesuits are only too well known from experience" and there is no necessity to dwell on them at length. If it is not the wish of Spain that the Jesuits exist within her frontiers, let her make it known, at least, that she "has no objection to the Pope's granting permission to establish the Jesuits to anyone who asks him for it."<sup>70</sup>

These words date from 1797. They have little in common with those which the Pope used in 1794, when he reminded Duke Ferdinand that the brief, *Dominus ac Redemptor*, was still in force. They are even less in conformity with the words of the Secretary of State and the nuncios of Warsaw, who spoke in the name of Pius VI. We can believe, however, that the secret thoughts of Pius VI were the same from the very beginning. The courageous initiative of the Duke of Parma, and the events in Italy too, without doubt, were needed to draw them out of the hiding places of his heart. When the Pope signed the brief of September 17, 1797 which we have just quoted, he was suffering under the conditions of the harsh treaty of Tolentino, which a victorious Bonaparte had forced on him eighteen months previously, and on February 10, 1798 General Berthier was to occupy Rome.

All know how the Pope's life ended. That kindly man whose reign had been passed in endless conflicts with Viennese Josephism, with the doctrines of Febronius and Scipio Ricci and with the French Constituents, who were attempting to establish a Civil Constitution of the Clergy, was to experience in his last days the full brutality of force. He was torn from the Pontifical Palace on February 20, 1798 and on February

25 arrived at Siena where he was to spend three months in the house of the Augustinians. He was brought to Florence on June 1, and was lodged in the Charterhouse of that city until March 29, 1799. Since he was still too close to his states and to the battle-fields of Italy, the journey began once more, through Parma, Turin, Briançon, Grenoble. At last, he came to Valence on July 14, and died there, crucifix in hand, on August 29, worn out by old age, sickness and sorrow, and fortified by Holy Viaticum and extreme unction. He was eighty-two years old and in the twenty-fifth year of his pontificate.<sup>71</sup>

During that rough and agonizing journey from Rome to Valence, in the course of which his entourage expected to lose him more than once, the Pope displayed unbelievable gentleness and courage. It caused him great sorrow to see his kingly dignity exposed to the mercy of an impious and cruel soldiery, made more brutal by their fear of not following the orders of the Paris Directory to the letter. His agony and affliction were even greater when he was forced to witness so many violations of the law of God and of the Church, and to see how the law of the triumphant Revolution had put the salvation of so many souls living under it in danger. Yet even in the midst of such unrestrained sacrilege, there was reason for hope. In France itself, bishops, priests and great numbers of ordinary Catholics had given an example of most heroic fidelity. Moving letters were written to the Pope by the exiled bishops. At Siena and Florence, the Pope had received the homage of young priests who were anxious to re-establish the Society of Jesus with his benediction. A long dispatch had come from the nuncio, Litta, setting forth the urgent reasons which called for a clear declaration recognizing the survival of the Society in White Russia.

Marotti, the private secretary of Pius VI, was a former Jesuit. We have four of his letters to Litta, all written from Florence.<sup>72</sup> In the letter of March 2, 1799 he transmits the following official reply:

Let your Most Reverend Excellency have the Court of Russia and the Bishops send a petition, and have the Jesuits send one too, insofar as you shall judge opportune. In the meantime, in your dealings with them follow what you understand to be the wishes of the Court and the Bishops.<sup>73</sup>

In giving these orders, Pius VI was speaking from his heart. His true sentiments were known by those to whom he could speak freely. In that same year of 1799 there were a number of people of consequence in Austria who definitely favored the scheme of re-establishing the Society in the Empire. The Emperor, Francis II, was favorable to it. It was with an eye to this project that the nuncio at Vienna, Gaetano Albani, had thought of regularizing the Jesuits' whole position by a provisional *placet* of the Sacred College. Consalvi and the Dean of the Cardinals, John Francis Albani, foresaw this move.

Without hesitation Consalvi wrote to the nuncio at Vienna:

You do me wrong, great wrong, when you think that there ever was a time when I was not strong in my belief that the Jesuits must be re-established. As God is my witness, that has always been my firm conviction. . . . There was a time when, even though I was on their side, it seemed to me a little on the fanatical side to say that the Church could not live without them since she had lived without them for so many centuries. That, however, is an error of which I had been disabused long before the French Revolution when I learned what the true nature of Jansenism was. I believed then, and I believe now that the Church lives very badly without the Jesuits. If I were master, I would re-establish them tomorrow. I have told the Pope so many times and he has always been most anxious to do so. However his fear of the princes who opposed the measure made him delay (this re-establishment) in the hope of being able to realize it some day. If he lives and recovers his liberty he should do so without delay, and if he does not live, his successor should do so.<sup>74</sup>

Cardinal John Francis Albani is no less clear in his assertions. According to him, the provisional *placet* of the College of Cardinals would not suffice. Beside the fact that there were those who opposed the idea, this *placet* would offer no stable guarantee of existence. The Fathers of the Faith were an even less satisfactory solution. "Pious, learned and zealous" though they were, they were not Jesuits. "They (would) not be Jesuits until the day on which they were aggregated to the Body of the Society of Jesus canonically existing in White Russia." The Jesuits who had been kept in existence there were "truly such by the explicit or secret authority" of the Holy See, explicit<sup>75</sup> on the part of Clement XIV and secret on the part of Pius VI. The way to solve the Austrian problem

was to unite the former Jesuits who were living in the domains of Francis II to the Jesuits of White Russia.

The matter is one of concern to me and to our holy religion. The welfare of the Church depends on it. . . . No one could be happier than I at the news that the good Emperor desires to have Jesuits in his states without any modification (of their institute). . . . A way to secure this would be to have the Emperor send the Pope a letter asking for pontifical approval. . . . There is absolutely no reason why his Majesty should fear to do so because of the present circumstances of the Holy Father (captivity), for the Holy Father is quite convinced of the necessity of the Church's securing means of educating well a generation of young people which is very different from the young people who came to her for their education years ago. As for the Pope's entourage, the only person who can act in the name of the Pope in grave matters is Don Marotti, a former Jesuit, and so there is no doubt whatever about his cooperation in this work of God.<sup>76</sup>

The request which the Cardinal advised was not made. By that time the Pope was already at Valence. A letter of Francis II would have found the faithful Marotti still at the Pope's side. But how was it possible, in 1799, to send a letter from Vienna to Valence? The question would be taken up again later and we will discuss it again in the course of the article.

So it was that in his last days, when he would certainly have been most pleased to undo in part the damage done by the mistake of Clement XIV,<sup>77</sup> the dying Pope had to be satisfied with an act of good will toward the remnant of the Society which still existed in the states of Paul I.

### Efforts At Revival In France and Rome (1790-1814)

Doubtless the survival of the Institute in a corner of Russian Poland was a remarkable event, perhaps even a miracle. But is it any less of a miracle that men of faith should endeavor to take up the work of St. Ignatius once again in the very midst of the French Revolution? Such an enterprise was inspired by the compassion of saints, who saw before their eyes men whose souls were in danger of being lost forever. Humanly speaking, everything seemed against the success of such a project, and the time seemed ill-chosen. Nevertheless, these ardent apostles began their work just the same, in the hope that God would be with them, since they were working out of love for Him.

One of them, Picot de Clorivière,<sup>78</sup> was a former Jesuit who had become a parish priest of Paramé after the suppression. On July 19, 1790 at Dinan, he conceived the idea of forming a secret congregation which would be completely animated with the spirit of St. Ignatius. He submitted his plan to the Bishop of Saint Malo, Cortois de Pressigny, and asked for his approval, which was granted on September 18. When "The Society of the Heart of Jesus" had spread to several dioceses, Father de Clorivière sent two of his priests, Astier de Gap and Beulé de Chartres, to Rome. This was in 1800. The two messengers whom the founder sent to Pius VII informed him of the Society's plan of action<sup>79</sup> and the results which had been achieved so far. The Pope was more keenly aware than anybody else of the extreme need of zealous apostles in France. He gave them his blessing and handed them a brief addressed to the Bishop of Saint Malo.

That mission, secret as it was, had not escaped the notice of some of the important men of the day. Maury mentions it in his correspondence with the Duke of Avaray. Spina and Consalvi paid some attention to it in their diplomatic dispatches. The Abbé d'Auribeau speaks of it in his *Mémoires*. It would be difficult, however, to attach to the mission of Father de Clorivière's two representatives the importance which is given to it in some of the old brochures, which were published at Chartres, and which have been brought to our notice once again, thanks to the research work of Abbé Marcel Langlois. Unless I am mistaken there is no proof that they had been commissioned by "some of the best heads among the bishops" and by the "French government" to convey to the Pope some interesting secret information concerning the Concordat, which was being negotiated at that time by Spina and Bernier, under the watchful eye of the First Consul.<sup>80</sup>

Whatever may have been the truth of the case, the report of Portalis on June 8, 1804 gave as its conclusion that the "Society of the Fathers of the Heart of Jesus" should be dissolved. Its head had been under unjustified suspicion for quite some time. The suspicion arose from the fact that the men involved in the attempted assassination, which has become known to history as "the infernal machine plot," had gone to confession to Father de Clorivière. This implicated

Father de Clorivière in the case, and he was forced to become a fugitive, whom the police pursued vainly for three years before running him to earth in Paris in 1804. He remained in prison until 1809, and though he was able to pray and meditate in his cell, he could not work effectively there to promote his congregation, and, even after 1809, his Society had very few members. It would appear that the very fundamental principle on which his congregation was based—dispersal of its members who were united by secret bonds—stood in the way of any sort of continuous and powerful action.

The history of "The Society of the Heart of Jesus" and of the "Fathers of the Faith" is quite different.<sup>81</sup> The first owed its origin to two seminarians from Saint Sulpice, who had taken flight before the republican armies, which were invading Luxemburg. Their names were Éléonor de Tournely and Charles de Broglie. The second was founded by Nicholas Paccanari, an illiterate merchant's son from Trent. Both societies were endeavoring to realize, in a religious community, an ideal of the apostolic life which was based on the Society of Jesus, and lived according to rules which were analogous to the Constitutions of St. Ignatius. The first was founded in 1794 at Antwerp after a pilgrimage to Notre Dame de Hal, and the second was established in 1797 at Rome following a pilgrimage to Loretto. Both societies made profession of boundless devotion to the Roman Pontiff.

The "Society of the Heart of Jesus" rapidly drew to itself excellent men, whose names can be found among those of the earliest members of the Society in the first days of the Restoration. They numbered thirteen when they endeavored to reach Pius VI at Rome in 1796. Their delegates were unable to go further than Ferrara, however, and were forced to turn back to Hagenbrunn in Austria, three miles from Vienna. Tournely died there on July 9, 1797 and Varin became superior. He drew up a memorandum which is a sort of sketch of the new Institute. It is a complete copy of the Constitutions of Saint Ignatius. The document was countersigned by Migazzi, Archbishop of Vienna, and some thirty French bishops who had taken refuge in Germany. The nuncio, Ruffo, sent it to the Pope and Pius VI who had already been driven from Rome replied by sending a most encourag-

ing brief, dated September 19, 1799 from the Charterhouse of Florence.

"We praise," said the old Pope, "the faith, charity and constancy which has animated you to choose a way of life which can bring you nothing but hard work and continual trials as long as you remain among men. We exhort you to persevere in your design. Form yourself in all sanctity and wisdom by unfailling prayer, the practice of ecclesiastical virtue and the study of theology, so that when circumstances give the opportunity, you may be able to devote yourself to the apostolic ministry for the greater good of the Church and the service of your neighbor."

The Pope advised against the journey to Tuscany in view of the difficulties involved and the tumult caused by the war. He was aware, moreover, through the letters which he had received, of the devotion of these young priests to the Holy See. He left it to the discretion of Migazzi, Archbishop of Vienna, to determine whatever he should think best and to act accordingly in granting canonical approval.

Despite the distance and the political disturbance of the times, news had spread in France about this group, cut off though it was by its position beyond her borders. By the end of 1799, "The Society of the Heart of Jesus" numbered forty young, ardent and determined members. At its foundation, Tournely had written to Father Lenkiewicz, Vicar-General of White Russia, and offered him his tiny band. Lenkiewicz had advised him to wait. They waited, but in their hearts, they felt that they were the brothers of the Jesuits who had remained in existence in the Empire of the Czars.

The group which Paccanari had gathered round him at Rome was of lesser importance and had less religious spirit. Its head was also a man of debatable character. The "Fathers of the Faith" numbered only ten when they took their first vows in the Chapel of the Caravita at Rome on August 15, 1797. They established a foundation at Spoleto, however, at the beginning of 1798, and, on April 12 of the same year, Paccanari was at the feet of the Pope at Siena. In the course of a journey, on which the brutal insistence of the soldiers of the Revolution had already hurried him far from Rome, the Pope gave a gracious reception to a founder who was offering him the services of faithful priests. He gave his benediction



to the project which was submitted to him and granted some privileges. But in view of the identity of the aim of the Societies of the Faith and of the Heart of Jesus, he advised that they unite.

The union was agreed to after a discussion with Paccanari, who had suddenly appeared at Hagenbrunn in April, 1799. A week was spent in deliberation concerning the articles of what would henceforth be their common rule, and on April 18 the definitive act of union took place at the foot of the altar. Paccanari was elected superior, an act of obedience was made to him, and all present sang the *Te Deum*. The new superior immediately proceeded to scatter his apostles. He ordered his men precipitously to Germany, France and Italy while he himself returned to rejoin the companions whom he had left at Rome.

Signs of mistrust were soon to appear. The new superior spoke well, but he spoke too much. He was much too fond of flashy and spectacular performances, and too elusive as well. When Varin had asked him what his relations were with the Fathers in White Russia, Paccanari had taken refuge in vague explanations.

In 1802, a conference of local superiors took place at Rome. Rozaven came from London and Varin from Paris. They were shocked and disturbed with Paccanari's small concern for his personal interior life. In a subsequent journey, Rozaven observed still more faults and he considered it his duty to speak to Pius VII about them. His decision was made and upon his return to London he set out for Polotsk with some of his English companions.

Varin's state of mind was different. He had been impressed by the important results which had been obtained in France, in spite of the paucity of workers, and he concluded that, by that very fact, Providence was inviting him to continue the good work which had been begun. But he concluded, too, that they should separate from Paccanari. Spina was in Paris negotiating the Concordat with the First Consul. Varin consulted him and found that Spina also believed that the break was advisable. Pius VII ratified the decision when he came to Paris to crown Napoleon.

From 1804 on, each of the Societies followed its own des-

tiny. The Paccanarists quickly passed out of existence after their founder had fallen into disgrace. The suspicious conduct of the latter caused his citation to the Holy Office and his condemnation to ten years' imprisonment. He remained in prison until he was released by the French, on their invasion of Rome in 1809, and there is no trace of him after that date.

In France, the Fathers of the Faith—who kept the name which they had taken at the union—enjoyed a better and more enviable fate.<sup>82</sup> The decree of Messidor on June 22, 1804 forced them to begin an undercover existence, and for years they were hounded by the police, a new hue and cry arising every time the wrath of the King and Emperor was provoked by their memory. Nevertheless, cities called on them to open colleges and bishops called on them to evangelize the faithful and preach to the priests of their dioceses. Napoleon's uncle, Cardinal Fesch, protected them openly, even after the decree of Messidor, and after this decree, they were engaged in the education of youth at Belley, Amiens, Montdidier, Roanne and Largentière and continued their apostolic ministries. This state of affairs lasted into 1810 and 1811.

Then Napoleon manifested an extremely hostile attitude toward the clergy. He imprisoned the bishops and put the seminaries under the control of the University. The Fathers of the Faith were in his eyes dangerous papal grenadiers who were not to be trusted, and he ordered that they "be sent back to the dioceses from which they had come." Thus dispersed, Father Varin and his companions could only wait in patience for happier days. They would be ready to spring into action again on that day in 1814 when Pius VII, after his return to Rome, would re-establish the Society of Jesus: Ignatius' conquering spirit dwelt in them.

### The Triple "Veni Foras" of Pius VII (1801, 1804, 1814)

Since Pastor's history ends at the conclusion of Pius VI's pontificate, we can no longer draw on his abundant citations of diplomatic material. We are not without reliable sources, however, for the rest of our narrative. Our chief source will be the collection of documents made by Father Gaillard which has been incorporated in the *Summarium Additionale* at-

tached to Father Pignatelli's cause for beatification. This collection will supply us with our most valuable information.

During the French invasion of Italy, the attention of Pius VI had been taken up by the future conclave, and he had drawn up a bull of January 3, 1797 which laid down the conditions which would govern it. A second bull of November 13, 1798 supplanted the preceding one,<sup>83</sup> and negotiations with Vienna succeeded in securing the guarantee of imperial protection for the cardinal electors at Venice.<sup>84</sup>

The thirty-four *porporati* who had sought refuge in Venezia assembled in the Benedictine convent of St. George in Venice on November 30, 1799. Cardinal Hertzan, the Austrian Ambassador to the Holy See, soon joined them and the balloting began immediately. Eighteen votes were cast for Bellisoni on the first balloting, without any previous agreement. Hertzan had been given instructions by his court to secure the election of Mattei without, however, stating openly that Bellisoni was unacceptable. He began, therefore, to see what he could accomplish by diplomatic manœuvring. With the complicity of the Dean, Cardinal Albani, who was weak enough to agree, he hurried a courier off to Vienna to find out what he should do. When no answer came from Vienna, the balloting was begun again. For months, it got nowhere. The cardinals who had voted for Bellisoni were steadfast in their decision, and the cardinals whom Hertzan had rallied behind Mattei refused to change theirs. Then Cardinal Maury, who was tired of this humiliating diplomatic game, took steps to break the impasse. His battles with the Constituent Assembly had made a reputation for him, in the ecclesiastical world at least, and he was practiced in the art of managing assemblies. This time his work would be helped by the skillful support of Consalvi, the Secretary of the Conclave. The two of them were able to persuade the leaders of the opposing factions, Braschi and Antonelli, to give their support to Barnabas Chiaramonti. Their cleverly organized alliance had no difficulty in achieving its object.<sup>85</sup> On March 18, 1800, Chiaramonti was unanimously elected, with the exception of his own vote, and took the name of Pius VII.

He was a Benedictine monk, gentle and pious in character, whose fine mind had been developed by an excellent education.

He had a lofty ideal of the obligations of his state, and was not long in showing his mettle. Austria had given its protection to the conclave and paid the expenses of its maintenance at St. George. She had remained in possession of the Legations<sup>86</sup> after the Austrian and Russian troops had driven the French out of Italy, and she was bold enough to ask the new Pope to retain the *status quo* in regard to them, and to make a trip to Vienna before returning to Rome. Pius VII quietly refused both requests.<sup>87</sup> It was a good beginning for a pontificate which was to experience terrible conflicts.

Although Consalvi's interesting memoirs of the conclave make no mention of the Jesuits, we know that the question was raised at Venice. A good number of the cardinals wanted them to be re-established. The Dean, John Francis Albani, wrote to Father Panizzoni at Parma to have him draw up a memorandum. Panizzoni who was one of the three Italian Jesuits sent by the Vicar-General in White Russia to the Duke of Parma, was well prepared to fulfill his commission. He came to Venice as the bearer of a letter from Ferdinand IV, saw the Pope, read his memorandum and was given a most encouraging reception. The Pope was prepared not only to give his sanction to the existence of the Society in White Russia by a special brief, but he was ready also to re-establish it in any state whose head would make the request. Panizzoni was commissioned to send the apostolic benediction to Polotsk and to give the Vicar-General a reliquary containing some fragments of the true cross.<sup>88</sup>

The Pope gave the same answer he had given to Father Panizzoni to Cardinal Hertzan, when the latter informed him of Francis II's intention to re-establish the Jesuits in his states.<sup>89</sup> The Duke of Parma was not content with conducting his business with Pius VII by letter or through his ambassador. He made the journey to Venice<sup>90</sup> and, on June 1, 1800 he was kneeling at the feet of the new Pope. Naturally, the latter gave his full approval to all that the Duke had done with the secret approbation of Pius VI. Both agreed, moreover, to work in common to bring the court of Madrid to a better way of thinking. In the mind of the new Pope, as in the mind of his late predecessor, Spain remained the obstacle which must be removed at all costs, so that Rome might re-

gain its freedom of action. The Duke of Parma, accordingly, began his campaign by writing to Charles IV, in an effort to persuade him to yield in his opposition to the restoration of the Jesuits. But neither the Holy Father's brief, nor the urgings of Ferdinand could break the unyielding obstinacy of the Spanish monarch.<sup>91</sup>

In White Russia, since Benislawski's *approbo* in 1783, everything seemed to promise a most hopeful future. When Paul I had succeeded his mother in 1794 he had persevered in the good will which had been shown at Polotsk in 1781. There had been good grounds for fear because of the treacherous intrigues of Siestzrencewicz and the prejudice of the nuncio, Litta. But these storm clouds were dispelled in the course of time by the gracious words of Paul I in his visit to the College of Orcha on May 8, 1797 and the final success of Father Gruber's journey to Petersburg during February and May, 1799. The ecclesiastical control of Siestzrencewicz over the Society was abolished. Litta forwarded to Gruber highly encouraging letters which he had received from Marotti. The Czar spoke to Gruber in a familiar and friendly fashion and told him most definitely that he would tolerate no interference with the Institute, and that, if a memorandum were sent him by the Jesuits, he would be most happy to ask Pius VII to confirm the Society in White Russia.<sup>92</sup>

The memorandum was prepared without delay. It consisted of a recapitulation of the vital facts: Clement XIV's brief had never been promulgated in Russia; Pius VI had given his oral approval to that state of affairs; a good number of Jesuits from the foreign provinces would join the Society in White Russia, if a brief of confirmation were given to it; Catherine II had asked for such a brief at the time she was trying to put her Chinese mission scheme into operation;<sup>93</sup> the Duke of Parma had recently taken the same step; the nuncio, Litta, had been given assurance by Marotti, the Pope's secretary, that the brief would be sent, if the Emperor of Russia asked for it. The Emperor put the crowning touch to his years of benevolent protection by obtaining that brief.<sup>94</sup> His journey to Rome in 1782 had made a very strong impression on Paul I, and he retained from it a deep feeling of gratitude toward Pius VI, who had received him most kindly. The Czar had

promised his assistance on December 14, 1798, when the Pope, on being driven from Rome asked for his protection on March 29, 1798, and Suvarov's troops just missed making contact with the prisoner on the slopes of the Alps.<sup>95</sup> It was the Pope who had just been elected at Venice, however, who received the request which the Czar would have liked to have made of Pius VI.<sup>96</sup>

Unfortunately, the Imperial letter had been entrusted to a prelate named Badossi, a brainless braggart, who lingered for months at Vienna, talking in a very self-important way, and trying to give the impression that he was being sent to Rome to negotiate a union between the Churches. A supplication from Father Kareu, the Vičar-General in White Russia, had been enclosed with the Czar's letter.<sup>97</sup> Despite his delay, the messenger whom Father Gruber had unfortunately chosen finally reached the Eternal City. Pius VII himself had not reached it until July 31, 1800 when he made his appearance amid the wild acclaim of his people.

The Spanish diplomats were there, too. They had discovered the new danger to Clement XIV's brief at Vienna, where Badossi had done too much talking. Count de Labrador had put the prime minister at Madrid on his guard on December 10, 1801, before the prelate had even arrived at Rome. The minute Badossi set foot in the Vatican, the ambassador knew exactly why he had come.<sup>98</sup> He saw Consalvi and decided to see the Pope and represent to him "the immense evils which the slightest yielding on the Jesuit question would bring down on the Roman court," and "the firm resolve of the King of Spain to resist by every means at his command the re-establishment of a body" which is so harmful to sound morality and the rights of kings, January 10, 1801.

None of these moves weakened the determination of Pius VII. At the same time that he sent his gracious reply to Paul I on March 9, 1801, he informed Charles IV that he was giving his canonical approval to the Russian Jesuits. Charles IV, who was every bit as stubborn as his late father, sent back the following blunt reply: "I can never agree in allowing the individuals to whom you have referred to incorporate themselves in any of the northern countries, and I assure Your Beatitude that my viewpoint on this matter will never

change." His Queen, although she was the sister of the Duke of Parma, added her name to the King's harsh reply, and developed its theme, with a feminine variation of her own, an affected one, we might add, in very dubious taste: "I assure Your Beatitude of my particular affection for your Sacred Person, and my desire that the glory of the visible head of the Church may ever increase, and I assure you also that I wish for you everything that may lead to the veneration and respect (which are your due). In union with my husband, I am equally attached to the policy of firmness which will prevent their being undermined by any such novelty as this. In this way we will assure the welfare of our state and our vassals." To show that these were not empty words, a royal order followed that all the Jesuits who had lately received permission to return to the Peninsula were to be sent back to Italy.<sup>99</sup>

Spain's ill humor had further consequences. The cardinals who had been called into council believed that it would be better to weaken the tenor of the brief of confirmation destined for Father Kareu at Polotsk.

Marotti, who enjoyed the confidence of Pius VII, as before of Pius VI, had made a draft of the brief. He submitted it to Cardinal Leonard Antonelli, whose vivid portrait has come down to us in Consalvi's *Mémoires*, where he is described as a "man whose great integrity and unquestionable ability won the respect of all, but who was liked by no one because of the harshness of his character; whose ambition it was to be the dominant figure in all quarters,"<sup>100</sup> and who, for that very reason, "very seldom praised what other people had done."<sup>101</sup> Antonelli, therefore, rejected Marotti's draft because "the effluvia of the Jesuit mentality rose from every line of it." The Cardinal, doubtless, meant by that, that the brief spoke very highly of the Jesuits, and it was scarcely a cause for wonder that a letter written by Marotti should do so. Antonelli sent the text back to Consalvi with the assurance that it had been given his most careful attention. He requested that the Secretary of State go over it again carefully, and that Gerdil and some other man "of good judgment," like Litta,<sup>102</sup> do likewise. He had also drawn up the brief which was to be sent to Paul I. It may be that the documents which

would show us the results of Antonelli's revisions<sup>103</sup> are still in the Vatican Archives, but, however that may be, the considerations which moved him to make them are not hard to find. Pius VII made them clear in a letter to Charles IV,<sup>104</sup> and Consalvi gave a clearer and longer explanation of them in a lengthy instruction which he sent to Benevenuti, the prelate who had stayed behind at Petersburg when the nuncio, Litta, left.<sup>105</sup> Rome was trying to get around Spain and the Catholic rulers who were hostile to the Society, and though she was acting against the brief, *Dominus ac Redemptor*, she wished to avoid coming out against it in direct and open terms. These were the reasons given by Consalvi to justify the "sobriety and circumspection" of the brief, *Catholicae*, and to account for its *amarezze* which might, perhaps, cause the Jesuits of Polotsk pain. Benevenuti was asked to prepare them for the blow.

As often happens, these precautions, for all the trouble they had given, turned out to be quite useless. The court of Madrid did not thank the Pope for his reserve. The King and Queen complained that the Pope had paid no attention to their wishes, and they protested once more that the justest of reasons made it imperative for them to refuse their approval to the existence of the Jesuits, in their own states or anywhere else.<sup>106</sup> At Polotsk, the brief, *Catholicae fidei*, was well received. Father Kareu and Father Gruber sent their expressions of deep and unreserved gratitude to the Holy Father and his minister Consalvi.<sup>107</sup> Pius VII had written a long personal letter in French to Emperor Paul with the intention of disposing him to accept the brief. In it, he informed the Emperor, that he was happy "to fall in with the wise views of Your Imperial Majesty" by granting "a formal sanction to the existence of the Jesuits in Your Majesty's Empire as you requested in your letter."<sup>108</sup>

Consalvi was afraid that the Emperor would take offense at Rome's refusal to grant him the title of Grand Master of the Knights of Malta, and had sent suggestions, either to Father Gruber or Benevenuti, as to how that difficulty could be avoided.<sup>109</sup> Pahlen's band of conspirators, however, solved that problem by assassinating Paul I on the night of March 24, and when Father Gruber broached the subject to his successor,



Czar Alexander, the new Emperor informed him that he had no interest in the title of Grand Master. It may be that Panin's intrigues were able to delay a good many things, but nevertheless, after seventeen months, the original brief which had been sent to Kareu was finally delivered to him with a friendly letter, written in the Emperor's name.<sup>110</sup>

The important point was now won. It was no longer permissible for anyone to question the canonical existence of the Society in a corner of Russian Poland.

The news of Pius VII's action made the round of the European courts. Vienna, Naples and Turin received it with curiosity and sympathy. It brought joy, too, to the former Jesuits, who had witnessed with heartfelt sorrow the death of the Society, by a sentence which they considered without justification. Pius VII was rolling the stone from the tomb and, like the Saviour, he was giving the order: *Veni foras*. The Jesuits, it was true, existed canonically only in the Empire of the Czars, but there were high hopes that these restrictions would soon be lifted.

They had come within an inch of being lifted at Vienna, and they had been lifted in Naples since 1804. In all the houses of White Russia earnest prayers were going up to heaven for the re-establishment of the Society in the form it had had before that fatal day in 1773. Gradually, those prayers were heard.

In Vienna, the unrelenting demands of a Josephist bureaucracy had frustrated Francis II's well-intentioned plans to restore the Society. His ministers had envisioned a corporation of priests, who would live under the rule of St. Ignatius, but who would be subject to episcopal inspection. Their first provincial, moreover, was to be named by the Crown.<sup>111</sup> Pius VII was in Paris at the time for the coronation of Napoleon. Antonelli, who was acting as Secretary of State in Paris, objected to the Austrian scheme but, nevertheless, requested Consalvi to give him his definitive opinion on the matter.<sup>112</sup> Consalvi had already observed that yielding to the Viennese proposal involved the risk of losing all hope of re-establishing the Society in Austria,<sup>113</sup> and so he did nothing more than forward Colloredo's dispatch to Ambassador Khevenhuller.<sup>114</sup> At

this date, Father Angiolini had been at Naples for some time. He had been sent there by Father Gruber, as a sort of procurator general, to conduct negotiations leading to the re-establishment of the Society in that kingdom. From there he sent an impassioned supplication to Pius VII in protest against the *modus vivendi* which Vienna had in mind.<sup>115</sup> Cardinal Michael di Pietro was also consulted. He was a courageous and competent canonist, whose hard work and enlightened counsel had been of great service to the nascent congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs, on which he had served since its inception. When Antonelli asked for his advice, he gave a favorable *voto* to the Austrian plan at first, but Angiolini's "spirited and pathetic" supplication was forwarded to him and touched his heart, so that his final conclusion was in the negative.<sup>116</sup> Thus, the project which the minister Colloredo had transmitted from Vienna came to nothing.

Naples' request met with a happier fate. Her king was the same Ferdinand IV who had driven out the Jesuits in 1767. The revolution had taught him to regret his act, and he appealed to the Pope for their return in a respectful letter, with which a supplication from Angiolini was enclosed.<sup>117</sup> Consalvi informed the court of Madrid of the fact through the nuncio, Gravina. Gravina replied that the Prince de la Paz had informed him that Charles IV was not concerned about what had taken place in Naples.<sup>118</sup> Vargas, the Spanish ambassador at Rome, however, had lodged a formal protest with the Cardinal Secretary of State, in which he had stated that the King's views on the subject had in no wise changed. Consalvi naturally asked Gravina for an explanation of this contradiction.<sup>119</sup>

By that time, Spain no longer counted in European politics. At the beginning of the French Revolution, Moñino, and after him, Aranda, had endeavored to follow an anti-French policy. When Manuel Godoy rose, through the favor of the Queen, Maria Luisa, from the position of a member of the personal guard to that of a prime minister, and, after the Treaty of Basle in 1795 was made Prince de la Paz, he made an alliance with the Directory and subsequently with Bonaparte. The latter, in a remarkable blend of diplomatic skill

and arbitrariness, embarked on a high-handed policy toward the Spain which would one day be his ruin. But in 1805 we are still at Trafalgar and on the eve of the odious meeting at Bayonne. It would have been remarkable indeed, at a time when events had made him a plaything in the hands of Napoleon, if Charles IV had spoken to Pius VII as though he were Charles V.

The fact of the matter was that Vargas had acted on outdated instructions, when the first reports of the move at Naples had become public. When Charles IV and Godoy had been informed of Ferdinand's intentions by the Neapolitan ambassador, they had informed him they had no interest in the matter "one way or the other."<sup>120</sup> The King and Queen of Naples, in consequence, opened their states to the Society of Jesus. The Pope, to whom they had written about the matter, gave his benediction to their decision. The papal brief was soon followed by a royal edict.<sup>121</sup> Father Gruber wrote immediately from Petersburg to thank Pius VII and Consalvi for the new extension which had been given to the Order.<sup>122</sup> On August 15, 1804 the Jesuits took possession of the Gesù once more, in a solemn religious ceremony at which Ferdinand and Maria Carolina were present.<sup>123</sup> Pignatelli became superior of the house and his government of it revealed the profound religious spirit, zeal, and lofty ideals which were habitual with him.<sup>124</sup>

Before these ceremonies took place, Alquier, the French minister to Naples did not fail to inform his government of the danger lurking in this Jesuit invasion. After having described Father Angiolini as "a wily, insinuating man and a resourceful schemer of unquestionable ability," he went on to observe:

A man, whom I know to have a good mind and whose word I can trust offered his congratulations to the procurator general (Father Angiolini) on the success which he had just had in Naples. "Well, you are back in Italy," he said to him, "but there is one fair land which seems to be closed to you forever, and that's France."

"Leave that to the Almighty," answered the Jesuit. "France is a country in which we have many friends. The servants of God and the House of Bourbon are on our side. There are intelligent men at work there preparing our path secretly,<sup>125</sup> and it may be that the day is not far distant when we will play our part in restoring its former lustre to the Church of France."<sup>126</sup>

Alquier concluded his report with the observation that the whole business deserved "most serious attention." Napoleon was quite capable of that sort of attention. Proof of that are the decree of Messidor against the Fathers of the Faith and the orders sent to Joseph to suppress the Jesuits.

Joseph Bonaparte had entered Naples on February 15, 1805. The expulsion of the religious from the country and the confiscation of their property soon followed (July 3). Pius VII, who had just raised the great apostle of Naples, Francis Geronimo, to the honors of the altar, granted the exiled Jesuits a haven in his states. Among these exiles, the most eminent, by reason of his sufferings, his noble birth, and his virtue, was Pignatelli. He had been driven out of Spain by Charles III, out of Corsica by Marbeuf, and out of Parma and later out of Naples by the French. When the valiant Jesuit went to see Pius VII at Rome, both shed tears of sorrow over the doleful past, and encouraged each other by expressions of unshaken hope for the future. Before his death in 1811, this great Spanish Jesuit was to see the French masters of Rome once again, and would have to treat with General Miollis concerning the peace of his last days.<sup>127</sup>

All have read of Napoleon's gigantic effort to make use of his family as a means of circling Europe with a ring of feudal kingdoms from the North Sea to the Strait of Gibraltar. A policy which was such a violent affirmation of his power roused Europe against him. He could imprison the Pope, but he could not avoid the blows of the armies which were leagued against him. The year 1813 witnessed the Russian disaster, the Battle of the Nations at Leipzig, the passage of the last cavalymen across the Rhine, and the forced surrender, one after the other, of the occupied German towns by every French commander, with the exception of Davoust. At last, Napoleon, at the center of his crumbling Empire, was forced to defend his own frontiers against invasion.

Pius VII, despite his captivity at Fontainebleau, found a means of helping the Jesuits. Father Brzozowski, who had succeeded Father Gruber, sent a request from Polotsk to the Pope for the extension to the Jesuits of England, Ireland, North America and the Near East of the privileges enjoyed

by the restored Society in White Russia and Naples. The pontifical rescript was signed on November 10, 1813 and carried by a Dutchman from Maestricht, Charles Van der Vracken, to the nuncio at Vienna, Severoli, who forwarded it to the General.<sup>128</sup> Thus in spite of the terrible cataclysm which was convulsing Europe, the first steps of the great plan, which Pius VII had conceived after the conclave of Venice, were carried out.

A day came when the Emperor wearied of his gaoler's role. A little before he began his magnificent French campaign, he ordered the Pope to leave Fontainebleau. On April 20, a vanquished Napoleon bade farewell to the Old Guard. By that time, Pius was quietly making his way through the Papal States. He entered Rome on May 24, 1814, amid the cheers of his people. On June 10, after an audience with the Holy Father, the Spanish Jesuit, Father Monzon, wrote to the Duchess of Villahermosa that the Pope was going to re-establish the Society in the entire world.<sup>129</sup> Father Panizzoni had been dogging the Pope's footsteps since his entry into Italy, as we learn from his letters to Angiolini.<sup>130</sup> He had prepared a supplication which was to be presented to the Pope. On June 17, he submitted it, and Pius VII replied that he would accede to it in his own good time.<sup>131</sup>

He had conceived the pious thought of re-establishing the Society on July 31, the Feast of St. Ignatius, and he had said so openly to Pacca. Delays caused by its revision, however, retarded the completion of the bull. Litta's draft was considered too fulsome in its praise; di Pietro's too reserved and harsh; a third draft, written by Pacca or his theologians, was finally given the preference, after Mattei had suggested a few modifications in its text, some of which were adopted. Rome was still most anxious to avoid provoking Spain. She wished also to respect the memory of Clement XIV, and to spare the susceptibilities of the enemies of the Society. Final agreement on the matter was achieved at the last meeting on August 3, over which the Holy Father presided.<sup>132</sup>

On Sunday, August 7, the Octave of the Feast of St. Ignatius, Pius VII came to the Gesù. A huge throng filled the church. The cardinals and some hundred Italian, Spanish and Portuguese Jesuits accompanied the Pope. Pius VII cele-

brated Mass at the altar of St. Ignatius, and then went to the chapel of the Sodality of Nobles. There, before the cardinals and the Jesuits, Monsignor Cristaldi read aloud the bull, *Sollicitudo Omnium Ecclesiarum*, and the Holy Father placed it in the hands of Father Panizzoni. It was an hour filled with great emotion for the sons of St. Ignatius who were present. They had wept over the dead Society, and now Pius VII was calling it to life again by a definitive *Veni foras*. They were aged, for the most part, but their faces and eyes shone with joy as they were permitted, one after another, to make their obeisance to the Pope, who said a few words to each one. The angelic smile of Pius VII removed all trace of the suffering of his captivity from his countenance. As they received the benediction of the Pope who had prevailed against the conqueror of Europe and who was repeating the action of Paul III, those old men, who had lived forty years under proscription, experienced a minute of celestial bliss; and the crowd clapped its hands and cheered Pius VII as he left the church to return to the Quirinal. His voice drowned out the voice of the unfortunate Clement XIV, as it echoed those of the twenty Roman Pontiffs who had showered the Society of Jesus with their blessings and favors since the time of Paul III.

Charles IV and Maria Luisa had been in Rome, as monarchs in exile, since June 18. They had not the courage to be present at the triumph of the Order which they had held in abhorrence. But they visited the Gesù one day, and all the Spanish Jesuits who were in Rome came to kiss their hands. One of them related how tears sprang to the King's eyes more than once during that visit, and we can surmise the sad and heavy thoughts which must have weighed on the soul of Charles III's son.

The Prince de la Paz remarked to Father Gaspar Sanchez on that occasion, "Your order will soon return to Spain."<sup>133</sup> That was true. On July 15, 1814 Ferdinand VII (who was back in Madrid since the month of March) asked the Pope for his opinion on the re-establishment of the Society in the Peninsula. Pius VII encouraged the King to make a formal request. The royal edict appeared on May 29, 1815 after the usual delay in the Council of Castile. Later, the minister,

Casa Trujo, requested the Spanish ambassador at Petersburg to ask for fifty subjects for South America. Vargas supported the action of the ambassador by making the same request of the Holy See. The Father General (who was still held in Russia by the suspicious government) responded to the request, as far as his means would allow, by sending seven Fathers.<sup>134</sup> Charles III's mistake had been repaired, as far as it could be by so unreliable a king as Ferdinand VII.

One after the other, the European provinces were established and then the foreign missions. Fifty years after Pius VII's act of reparation, the Society of Jesus numbered more than seven thousand religious, scattered through the Old and New Worlds. Her professors had brought an excellent reputation to the numerous colleges in which they were teaching; her missionaries were winning new lands for the gospel and, before long, her theologians would be serving on the Vatican commissions and drafting conciliar definitions. All her sons would unite their efforts to bring about the splendid achievements of the reign of the immortal Pius IX, of whom Leo XIII would say, in his first consistorial allocution, "*Universam Ecclesiam amore et admiratione sui complevit.*"

## NOTES

This article was translated from *Revue des Questions Historiques*, vol. 67, pp. 21-59, by Father Gerald McCool.

<sup>1</sup> Pastor, *Storia dei Papi*, XVI, 3° parte, 5-6.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 7, 10-18.

<sup>4</sup> Pastor, 15, 17-18; Pacheco y de Leyva, *El conclave de 1774*, 470-485. Dispatches of Solis to Grimaldi, February 10 and 12, 1775; of Grimaldi to Solis, February 28. Father March has given a very exact account of this affair in an article in the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, 1925, 264.

<sup>5</sup> *Storia*, XVI, II, 321-323. Crétineau-Joly, V, 463; Zaleski, I, 203.

<sup>6</sup> For example, the letters of Frederick to Voltaire on March 17, 1759, January 1, 1765, January 8 and November 25, 1766, January 18, 1776, February 10, 1777.

<sup>7</sup> Letter of August 3, 1775.

<sup>8</sup> Letter of December 1, 1773.

<sup>9</sup> Letter of November 18, 1773.

<sup>10</sup> *Storia*, XVI, II, 325-327, 329-330.

<sup>11</sup> Sebastiano Sanguinetti, *La Compagnie de Jésus et Son Existence Canonique dans l'Église*, 261-272.

- <sup>12</sup> *Storia*, XVI, II, 332, 334.
- <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 333-334.
- <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 334-336.
- <sup>15</sup> *Storia*, XVI, III, 140-143.
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 144-145.
- <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 156-158.
- <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 156-160.
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 146-153.
- <sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 154-161.
- <sup>21</sup> *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, V, 470-535.
- <sup>22</sup> *La Compagnie de Jésus Conservée en Russie; Un Nonce du Pape à la Cour de Catherine II.*
- <sup>23</sup> *Les Jésuites de la Russie-Blanche*, I, 239-432.
- <sup>24</sup> *La Russie et le Saint-Siège*, V. ~..
- <sup>25</sup> *Summarium Additionale*, I, 88-147.
- <sup>26</sup> XVI, III, 162-240.
- <sup>27</sup> Zaleski, I, 257-263.
- <sup>28</sup> Text in Zaleski, I, 249.
- <sup>29</sup> Text in Zaleski, I, 451, and in *Summarium Additionale*, I, 88.
- <sup>30</sup> Zaleski, I, 243-246; Crétineau-Joly, V. 472-473; *Summ. Addit.*, I, 89; *Storia*, XVI, III, 168-169; Pierling, V, 53. Czerniewicz gives the text of Catherine's answer to his supplication in his letter to Garampi.
- <sup>31</sup> Text in the *Summarium Additionale*, I, 90-91.
- <sup>32</sup> Zaleski, I, 268-269; *Storia*, XVI, III, 169.
- <sup>33</sup> Was there a private letter from Clement XIV to Catherine II which authorized her to leave the Jesuits in her states as they were? There were frequent assertions that this was the case in the newspapers of that period. Joseph II said that he had seen the letter and on one occasion he made that assertion to the Duke of Parma in the présence of the Marquis of Rosales. Cardinal John Francis Albani, Fâther Panizzoni and Father Lustyg (*Summ. Add.* I, 31, 37, 39) mentioned the letter as well. Father Zaleski believes in the existence of the letter (I, 283-289). Father Duhr is of the opposite opinion (*Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, 193-14 458-469). Pastor is on the same side of the question as Father Duhr. I wrote to Father Pierling about the question at the end of January, 1901. Father Pierling replied that the Grand Duke who was in charge of historical documents would be in Paris shortly. His Highness would be requested to look for the document in the Imperial Archives. The Grand Duke very kindly agreed to do so, and a few months after his return to Russia, stated that he had found no trace of the papal document either in St. Petersburg or Moscow.
- <sup>34</sup> Text of the dispatches in *Summarium Additionale*, I, 98-100; Zaleski, I, 275-279.
- <sup>35</sup> Letters of April 24, August 7, October 3, 1777.
- <sup>36</sup> *Storia*, XVI, III, 178-179.
- <sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 191. Letters of December 20, 1777; January 21, 1778; February 28, 1779.
- <sup>38</sup> Zaleski, I, 318-319.



<sup>39</sup> Zaleski, I, 191. Letters of June 4, 1778 and August 15, 1778.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 191-193. Text of the decree of Propaganda in the Pastoral Letter and of the Pastoral Letter of June 29, 1779 in the *Summarium Additionale*, 124-127.

<sup>41</sup> *Storia*, 197.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 198-199. Text of the letter (September 13, 1779) in the *Summarium Additionale*, 128-129. Text of the letter from the Bishop of Mallo to Stackelberg (November 1, 1779). *Ibid.*, 131-136.

<sup>43</sup> *Storia*, 201.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 203, 205-207.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 204.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 211.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 211-212; Zaleski, I, 350-352. This journey took place in June, 1780.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 214. Letters of March 5 and 26, 1781.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 220. After consulting with a number of Roman Jesuits, Father Korycki set it down as his basic principle that, since the Society had not been dissolved in Poland, there was no reason why it should not be governed according to the Constitutions.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 221-223. The date of Pius VI's briefs is January 29, 1783. Briefs of the same character were sent to the Queen of Portugal on February 20 and to King Ferdinand of Naples.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, Letters of March 7 and July 4, 1782.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 219. Letters of November 15 and 30, 1782.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 222. Letter of January 11, 1783.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 223-224.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 224-226; Zaleski, I, 381-389. Text of Benislawski's memorandum in the *Summarium Additionale*, I, 137-145.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 226-230; Zaleski, I, 389-399. Benislawski gives an account of his first audience in a letter to Potemkin. Pastor quotes some lines from it (p. 225). The text of Benislawski's memorandum to Pius VI can be found in the *Summarium Additionale* (p. 146); and there, too, we can find the texts of the declaration written in Benislawski's own hand and signed by him at Polotsk (p. 146), of Czerniewicz's circular letter on the triple *approbo* (p. 147-151), and Pallavicini's letter to the nuncio at Madrid concerning the secret brief sent to Charles III (p. 151-153).

<sup>57</sup> The following is the list of Vicars-General in White Russia: Stanislaus Czerniewicz (October 17, 1782-July 7, 1785), Gabriel Lenkiewicz (September 22, 1785-November 10, 1798), Xavier Kareu (January 1, 1799-July 30, 1802), Gabriel Gruber (October 10, 1802-March 26, 1805), Thaddaeus Brzozowski (September 2, 1805-February 5, 1820).

<sup>58</sup> Crétineau-Joly, X, 497-501; Zaleski, II, 53-115.

<sup>59</sup> Regnault, *Christophe de Beaumont*, II.

<sup>60</sup> *Storia*, XVI, III, 244-245; 245-246.

<sup>61</sup> *Storia*, XVI, III, 246-253.

<sup>62</sup> Texts in *Summarium Additionale*, II, 1-5. Letters of January 26, February 20, April 20, May 8, 1787.

<sup>63</sup> Texts in *Summarium Additionale*, II, 8-20. Letters of July 23, December 22, 1793; I, 1-3, replies of Pius VI (May 23, 1783) and Catherine II (November 13, 1793).

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 21-27. Letter of January 20, 1794.

<sup>65</sup> *Summarium Additionale*, I, 4-5. Brief of February 15, 1794.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 7-10.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 12. Brief of August 9, 1794.

<sup>68</sup> Texts in *Summarium Additionale*, II, 30-34. Letters of Azara, February 19 and 26, 1794; two letters of the Duke de la Alcuia, March 11, 1794.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. the text of these letters in *Summarium Additionale*, II, 36-56. Letters of April 5, 10, 29; May 23; June 17; July 25; September 1 and 7; October 30; November 11; December 1 and 30, 1794; January 30, 1795.

<sup>70</sup> Texts in *Summarium Additionale*, I, 43-48. Briefs of August 15, September 20, November 1, 1794; June 27 and September 17, 1797.

<sup>71</sup> Canon Gendry, *Pie VI, Sa Vie, Son Pontificat*, II, 300-308, 314-328, 378-384, 406-426.

<sup>72</sup> *Summarium Additionale*, I, 19-21. Litta's letter is the only one to be found in this collection. Father Pierling has published its complete text in *À Propos du Centenaire du Rétablissement des Jésuites*, 27-35. The author of this little work has collected the letters which Marotti wrote to various people on the subject of White Russia from 1800 to 1803.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 24-25.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 25-26.

<sup>75</sup> The Cardinal believed in the existence of a letter from Clement XIV to Catherine II.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 28-31.

<sup>77</sup> Canon Gendry confined himself to the use of diplomatic dispatches in his two volumes on Pius VI. He failed to grasp the importance of the Jesuit documents which were published before 1900, and was unaware of the ones we are dealing with here. In consequence, his treatment of the Fathers of White Russia is inaccurate.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Father Jacques Terrien on Clorivière.

<sup>79</sup> The Abbé Langlois published this memoir in the *Revue des Études Historiques*, April-June, 1922.

<sup>80</sup> My reasons for so believing are given at further length in *Études*, July 20, 1922, 213-216.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Guidée, *Vie du P. Varin, Vie du P. Sellier, Notices sur Quelques Membres de la Société du Sacré-Coeur*.

<sup>82</sup> I have described their work and their sufferings as they are found in the accounts in the archives in *Études*, March 5, July 5, October 20, 1902; August 20, 1903; September 5, 1907.

<sup>83</sup> Gendry, *Pie VI*, II, 325-328, gives the letters in more detail than Pastor.

<sup>84</sup> Pastor, XVI, III, 656.

<sup>85</sup> *Mémoires de Consalvi* (Ed. Créteineau-Joly), I, 218-284; Maury,

*Mémoires*, I, 183-375; Artaud de Montor, *Histoire du Pape, Pie VI*, I, xxx, 80-106.

<sup>86</sup> The Treaty of Campoformio had given the Legations to Austria.

<sup>87</sup> *Mémoires de Consalvi*, I, 293-301.

<sup>88</sup> Zaleski, II, 79-81. The text of this memorandum is missing.

<sup>89</sup> *Summarium Additionale*, II, 59-66. Text of Thugut's letters to Hertzian, March 20 and 26, 1800, and of Hertzian's to Thugut, April 16 and 23, 1800.

<sup>90</sup> The Pope had written to the Prince on April 25, 1800 in answer to the letter brought by Father Panizzoni. (*Mémoires de Consalvi*, I, 315).

<sup>91</sup> *Summarium Additionale*, II, 47-72. Letters of Ferdinand to Charles IV, October 14, November 13, 1800; of Charles IV to Ferdinand, October 15, 1800; of Pius VII to Charles IV, December 10, 1800 (*Ibid.*, I, 156-159); letter of Charles IV to Pius VII, October 8, 1800.

<sup>92</sup> Zaleski, II, 57-77.

<sup>93</sup> For Catherine's plans in 1792 cf. Zaleski, I, 426-427. Father Gruber even wrote to the Jesuits in Pekin on that subject. The plan came to nothing.

<sup>94</sup> Zaleski, II, 76.

<sup>95</sup> *Storia*, XVI, III, 652.

<sup>96</sup> Text in Créteineau-Joly, V, 408; in Zaleski, II, 84; in Pierling, *op. cit.*, 17.

<sup>97</sup> Text of Paul I's letter (August 10, 1800) in Créteineau-Joly, V, 408; in Zaleski, II, 84; text of Kareu's supplication (July 31, 1800) in *Summarium Additionale*, I, 72-73.

<sup>98</sup> Text of the dispatch in *Summarium Additionale*, I, 74-77.

<sup>99</sup> Text in *Summarium Additionale*, I, 97-101. Letters of the King and Queen, March 15, 1800; Dispatch of March 25, 1800. Consalvi is incorrect when he says in his *Mémoires* (II, 317) that Charles IV did not object to the Pope's plan.

<sup>100</sup> *Mémoires*, I, 247.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 271.

<sup>102</sup> *Summarium Additionale*, I, 80-81. Antonelli to Consalvi, January 31, 1801.

<sup>103</sup> Text, *Ibid.*, I, 74. Brief of March 9, 1800.

<sup>104</sup> *Summarium Additionale*, II, 101-103. Briefs of April 10, 1801 to the King and Queen of Spain.

<sup>105</sup> *Summarium Additionale*, I, 69-70. Letter of March 9; II, 83. Instruction of March 9, 1801.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 97-100. Letters of the King and Queen, May 15, 1801; letter of the same date from the minister, Covallas, to Charles IV.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 130-131. Letters of Kareu to Pius VII and to Consalvi, June 26, 1801.

<sup>108</sup> *Summarium Additionale*, I, 74-75.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 83-95. Instruction of March 9, 1801.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, II, Gruber to Consalvi, September 12, 1802.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 169. Colloredo to Khevenhuller, December, 1804.

- <sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 173-179. Letter of March 2, 1815.
- <sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 169-172. Letter of January 5, 1805.
- <sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 180. Letter of March 27, 1805.
- <sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 181-183. January 22, 1805.
- <sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 185-191. February 14, 1815.
- <sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 151-153.
- <sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, 163-164. Letters of May 16 and June 15, 1804.
- <sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 165-168. Letters of July 6 and 15, 1804.
- <sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 169. Angiolini to Consalvi, July 21, 1804.
- <sup>121</sup> Texts in Créteineau-Joly, V, 509-511.
- <sup>122</sup> *Summarium Additionale*, II, 172-182. Edict of the King, August 6; the King to Pius VII, August 14; Gruber to Pius VII and to Consalvi, September 15, 1809.
- <sup>123</sup> Zaleski, II, 389-390. Letter on the events at Naples. Créteineau-Joly, V, 512-513. Article in *Débats* on the same subject.
- <sup>124</sup> Nonell, III, 12-109.
- <sup>125</sup> An allusion to the Fathers of the Faith.
- <sup>126</sup> I have given extensive quotations from that dispatch of Alquier to Talleyrand (27 Ventôse, Year XII) in my article on the origins of the Decree of Messidor. (*Études*, July 5, 1902.)
- <sup>127</sup> Nonell, *Pignatelli*, III, 111, 142, 173, 221, 229.
- <sup>128</sup> Albers, S.J., *Liber Saecularis*, 179; *Summarium Additionale*, I, 200-204. Severoli's rescript, December 24, 1813; Severoli to Pacca, August 1, 1814; Zaleski, II, 200. Letter of Father Brzozowski, communicating the news to his subjects (January 13, 1814).
- <sup>129</sup> Nonell, III, 303.
- <sup>130</sup> Albers, *Liber Saecularis*, 20.
- <sup>131</sup> Albers, *Liber Saecularis*, 21.
- <sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, 23-26.
- <sup>133</sup> Nonell, III, 297-300.
- <sup>134</sup> *Summarium Additionale*, II, 183-215. Ferdinand to Pius VII, July 15, 1814; Pacca to Consalvi, October 8; Pius VII to Ferdinand, December 15; Ferdinand to Pius VII, January 15, 1815; nuncio at Madrid to Pacca, January 15, May 31; Ferdinand to Pius VII, June 1; Pius VII to Ferdinand, July 2; Vargas to Consalvi, March 5, 1819; Circ. Brzozowski, July 7.

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#### Note to Contributors

It would be well when submitting contributions to the WOODSTOCK LETTERS to observe the following: type *triple* space, leaving a one-inch margin on either side of the page, i.e., approximately sixty spaces to a line. This will aid greatly in determining ahead of time the length of articles submitted to us, and leaves sufficient room for the insertion of printing directions. Subheadings should also be used, at least one to every other page, in articles and Historical Notes.

## THE NEW RUSSIAN CENTER IN FORDHAM UNIVERSITY

FREDERICK WILCOCK, S.J.

On December 9, 1951 we celebrated the official opening of our new Russian Center. It was a simple quiet ceremony. The Provincial of the New York Province, Father John McMahon, the Rector of the University, Father Laurence McGinley, and other superiors came to the blessing of the house and my official inauguration as superior.

The plan to open a Russian Center in the States was decided on in late 1949. I was in a refugee camp in the Philippines with sixty-five hundred Russians when Father General called me to Rome to study the project. He decided that we should open a house of the Russian rite, preferably in New York, with about fifteen bedrooms, a chapel, library, and the other community rooms. Four Fathers who had been working among the Russians in Shanghai and were now scattered, were to start the new community. They were Father F. Brannigan (English Province), Father M. Meyers (Chicago Province), Father A. Ouroussoff (Roman Province) and myself (English Province). Later we were joined by Father E. O'Kane (Chicago Province) and Father N. Bock (Roman Province). Soon we expect a Czechoslovak lay-brother and another Father.

The work proposed for the Center was: 1) to develop a Russian faculty at Fordham or some other big Catholic University, 2) to produce books in Russian and also in English on Russian questions, 3) to be a Catholic center of information on the Russian Apostolate, 4) to train priests and others for the Russian Apostolate, 5) to lecture on Russia and the Eastern rites anywhere in the States, 6) to do relief work among the Russian DP's, and 7) to keep contact with the Russian Orthodox, and engage in any other Russian activities.

Everyone agreed that New York was the ideal site for such a Center. It was also agreed that we should be near Fordham University; for fourteen years it has sponsored the Fordham Conferences on Eastern Rites, and it was just opening an Institute of Russian studies. But there arose a big difficulty about getting a house in New York, and for some time it looked as if we would have to choose some other city.

In January, 1951 just after my arrival from Rome, a clearly providential solution appeared. The Rector of Fordham University generously offered the use of a large army barracks on the campus when it would be evacuated by the students, who were waiting for a new dormitory to be completed. The barracks were solid, but needed a thorough overhaul. It could not be our permanent home, but was quite suitable for a beginning. In two or three years we would have to find another place to build. His Eminence, Cardinal Spellman, and our Jesuit superiors gave their approval; so when the students moved out in November, 1951 we moved in. After removing some partitions between rooms to make a chapel, library, etc., we found ourselves with exactly fifteen bedrooms. This was just the size and the ideal location which in Rome had been decided on as the best for our work. Surely this was providential and showed how God's blessing has been on this work, from the very beginning. Similarly, when I had asked in Rome for some financial help to start this work, they had answered that they were unable to give anything at that time, but they assured me that God would bless such an important work and everything would be all right. They also pointed out that American Catholics would quickly realize its importance and would never let it down. They were quite right, as experience has shown.

We had the building free of rent from the University, together with much necessary furniture. A number of people all over the States sent furniture and other equipment, so we already have all the essentials for the community. For the library we had rescued many of our books from Shanghai and were lent a valuable collection of Russian books from Rome. We have also over a thousand books in English on Russia. The chapel is, of course, in pure Russian style, with over a hundred Icons and other equipment which we managed to get out of Shanghai just in time. The chapel has an Iconostasis built by some New York Russians and has a typical Russian cupola at the entrance. The house is in the form of a "T", with three wings. One wing is the cloister for the community, the second has offices and guest rooms, and the third has the chapel, library, dining room and kitchen. In general, one may say that army huts can be adapted quite well to a Jesuit residence.

### The Institute in Action

Already our activities follow almost exactly the plan which was made in Rome. Two Fathers teach in the Russian Institute of the University which offers a very full course in Russian language, literature, history, philosophy, religion, etc. It is the only Institute of this kind in any Catholic university. We are all busy writing Russian and English works. Frequently, we are invited to lecture in all parts of the country; practically every day one of our Fathers is lecturing somewhere. Incidentally, this is our main source of income. We also give talks over the radio. From all over the States and from abroad, people are applying to us for information on Russian questions. We are directing several candidates for the priesthood. Russian DP's turn to us for help and advice, and we do what we can for them. With all these activities you can realize that we are always kept busy.

Our plans are definitely long range. We do not expect to see results immediately. Human nature is impatient and finds it hard to wait for God's moment. However, our duty is to make the normal preparations so that when God's moment comes we are ready. At this moment the Catholic Apostolate for Russia is not ready. Very few priests have been trained for this work. We have hardly any Catholic books in Russian, and not even a children's catechism. Why? The chief cause has been lack of means. Most of the priests trained for the Russian Apostolate have been working among the poorest DP's and were overwhelmed with pleas for food and clothing and other urgent necessities of these unfortunates. They could not think of spending anything on printing books or for other long range preparations. Anyone who sees their work cannot help but admire it and agree with them. Such long range preparation can only be done here in the States. If we do not get it done, then nobody will, and when the propitious moment comes we will be unprepared. Meanwhile in the States, the Y.M.C.A. and other non-Catholics have printed hundreds of beautiful religious books in Russian. However, it will not be too late if we get down to it now. The work of our new Russian Center in the States is really urgent.

I mentioned above that four of our Fathers came here from Shanghai. In Shanghai before the war there was a big Rus-

sian colony of about thirty thousand, living mostly in the French Concession. We had a parish among them and opened a boarding school for boys. The Irish Columban Sisters had a school for Russian girls. The work was interrupted during the war when the Fathers were taken to Japanese camps. This experience ruined the health of one of the Fathers, Father H. Milner, who died in Ireland last year. He was a wonderful priest and much loved by the Russians and everyone else. We had hoped that he would work with us in this Center, but God took him to his reward.

When the Communists approached Shanghai early in 1949, most of the Russians managed to get out in time. It became clear that there would be no work left for us if we remained, so we were told to go with the refugees. The Philippine Islands offered them a temporary home on the small island of Tubaldao in Samar. Sixty-five hundred of them went there, and Father A. Ouroussoff and I joined them. Father F. Brannigan went to San Francisco to await a new appointment.

In the Philippines we found ourselves in a camp in the jungle, living in old United States army surplus tents. Life was very primitive at first, but gradually, with hard work, a little Russian town grew up in the jungle. We built a church out of tents and trained a choir. There was a great deal of work to be done, such as teaching the children and helping people to get to some permanent home in other countries. For a time, I was chosen director of the camp. Eventually, two thousand of the people were resettled in Australia, thirty-five hundred in the United States, others in San Domingo, Paraguay, France and other countries. Very few are still left in the Philippines.

### The Institute's Personnel

In June, 1949 Father Ouroussoff fell seriously ill and had to be sent to a hospital in Manila. Afterwards, he came to the States to recuperate and to work with the New Russian Institute in Fordham. A real Moscow Russian, he entered the Catholic Church in 1935, became a Jesuit in 1939, and was ordained a priest in 1946. He now teaches at the Russian Institute and does research work on modern Russian ques-



tions. He has been invited to lecture in cities all over the States.

Father Maurice Meyers entered our Russian Mission after philosophy (the usual time for those entering this work) in 1936. He was at the Russian College and the Gregorian University till 1939, when Americans were ordered to leave Italy. He was ordained deacon and sent to Shanghai via Baghdad and other devious routes. He finished theology at the Zikawei Scholasticate and then taught at our Russian school. During the Japanese occupation he was interned in Zikawei, where he was able to make his tertianship. In 1948, he returned to the States to study with the Russian faculty of Columbia University.

Father Fionan Brannigan had tried to enter the Society in a Slav Province, so that he could work more directly for Russia, but this proved impractical. In 1923, he entered the English Province, but was not applied to the Russian Mission till 1946, and a year later he was sent to Shanghai. When our Mission closed there, he went to San Francisco and was there till our Center opened.

Our Father Minister, Father E. O'Kane, was not in Shanghai, but came to us direct from the Russian College in Rome, where he had been studying for a year. From the Russian College also came Father Nikolai Bock, an elderly Russian. During the Czarist regime, he was in the diplomatic corps and was the last acting Minister for Russia to the Vatican. In this capacity, he knew the present Holy Father very well personally. The victory of the Bolsheviks in 1917 left him stranded, so he went to France and then the Japanese government offered him a position as a professor in Japan. There he became a Catholic, and eventually asked to become a priest. His old friend, who was now the Pope, arranged everything for him, and he was ordained in Rome in 1948. He then entered the Society and taught at the Russian College in Rome. In February of this year he joined us.

Father John Ryder, who works in Los Angeles and San Francisco, is also a member of our community. He entered this work with me in 1931, and after our tertianship together in Tronchiennes under Father Janssens was sent to Esthonia. He was sent to Los Angeles in 1938 and has worked there since that time.

Our second rule about travelling to diverse places certainly seems aimed at our Fathers of the Russian Mission, as can be seen from the above examples. My own case is very similar. After tertianship, I was sent to Poland for a time, then Belgium again, then in 1938 to Shanghai and for a time to Harbin in Manchuria (where there were eighty thousand Russians). After living in the Philippine camp and returning to Rome, I visited the various Russian works in Europe and came here in January, 1951.

The above should give some idea of our community and of this new Russian work.

All the main works for Russia are at present run by the Society. The main ones are: the Russian College in Rome, a seminary for secular priests; St. George's boarding school for boys at Meudon just outside Paris; a parish and small school in Buenos Aires. A center similar to ours is to be opened soon at Munich in Germany.

One note characteristic of the Society is that we take on any urgent work of the Church which nobody else is doing. We are the shock troops of the Church, ready to fill any breach in the line. If the Society does not take on this Russian work, nobody will. During the past few years about a hundred Jesuits have been transferred to the oriental rites, most of them to the Russian rite. Of these two were Americans, but one of them, Father Walter Ciszek (Maryland Province), died in Russia just after the war. But when the auspicious moment arrives for work in Russia, what are one hundred priests (some of them old and sick) for such a tremendous apostolate? In his last letter to me, Father General wrote that he considered it "*magni momenti ut in futuro nostri scholastici, quaestione orientali attracti, studia sive linguae russicae sive historiae in Instituto Fordhamensi peragant.*"

The Society owes a great debt to Russia, so it is only suitable that we should lead in this work for its salvation.

# HISTORICAL NOTES

## THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS AS A BASE FOR THE CHINA MISSIONS

It is more or less traditional in the Society of Jesus, in time of persecution, for members of one province or mission to be driven out of their normal pursuits in that field, then to establish themselves somewhere else and there carry on their work *Ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam*. We have scores of such examples. In the past the Philippines were closely connected with the China missions, so much so that we read: "By 1589 Father Aquaviva had come to the general conclusion that the Society should be established in the Philippines which should not be considered merely as a base for Chinese and Japanese missions." And one of the recommendations submitted to Father General for the selection of subjects for the Islands in those days was: "They must have their minds fixed on the Philippines and divest themselves of all ideas of China and Japan."

In 1948-49, as the Communists swept triumphantly down through China, formal orders came from Rome that the Catholic missionaries were not to abandon that country. This was interpreted as referring especially to priests, who would be able to carry on their apostolic activities, at least for some time, under the Reds. But what about those still in formation—seminarists, Jesuit novices, juniors, philosophers? The consensus of opinion was that these future priests should, as far as possible, be educated abroad in more peaceful surroundings, so that when the proper time came they might be thrown into the battle for Christ as replacements for those who had been left behind in China to carry on the heroic struggle under the Red regime.

The Philippines were not at first considered in this program. Reverend Father Francis Burkhardt, S.J., official Visitor of the Jesuits in China, left on April 5, 1949 for Macao to look into the possibilities of opening there the Chabanel Language School, which had left its home in Peiping and was functioning temporarily in Shanghai. In the month of May he decided that the next first-year language recruits would begin studying at Macao in buildings offered by Monsignor Ramalho,

S.J.; but a couple of weeks later this decision had to be changed because eighteen hundred Portuguese refugees from Shanghai were given leave to use the buildings.

### The Search for a House of Studies

Then began a simultaneous quest in three countries for a suitable location for Chabanel. Father John Desautels, who had been named the school's superior, began negotiations with the California Provincial, Very Reverend Joseph O'Brien, who offered him the use of Phelan Park, the theologians' villa at Santa Cruz on Monterey Bay in California. After visiting the site on June 23, Father Desautels believed it could, with some alterations, be made suitable for the purpose envisaged. In the meantime, Father Paul Pfister was exploring the possibilities of a site in Japan, and Father Albert O'Hara was looking for one in the Philippines. Father O'Hara, aided by Very Reverend Leo Cullum, Superior of the Philippine Mission, discovered a magnificent government-owned summer camp at Los Baños, not far from where so many New York Jesuits had been interned during the Pacific War. It would cost \$750.00 per month to rent it, if they could get a favorable reply from the government authorities.

Father Desautels arrived in Manila on September 1, 1949 to learn that hopes for the Los Baños site had been dashed by the government's definite refusal to part with it. It was then decided that, with Father General's permission, the first year of the language school would be in California, at Phelan Park, from which the community would be transported to the Philippines if and when a suitable location had been secured. But on September 14 Father Cullum found a former prison camp at Mandaluyung, some four miles outside the city of Manila. It had been used first for American and later for Japanese prisoners of war, and was still surrounded by barbed wire, with a high platform topped by a guard's penthouse overlooking the enclosure. There were some twenty-four military barracks in a more or less dilapidated condition, arranged symmetrically on either side of a banana-lined boardwalk raised a foot or so from the good earth.

Impressed with the possibilities, Father Desautels and Father O'Hara decided it should be secured at once, for the

Chinese seminarists, badly overcrowded at Araneta Farm, could wait no longer for a permanent place. But the eight buildings set aside for the language school were in such bad repair that they thought it would be impossible to have them ready for the Chabanel students that year, and suggested to Father Burkhardt that freshman language students should start at Phelan Park in California, as had been planned, with the prospect of moving out to the Philippines for their second year. But at that juncture, Father General wrote saying it would be better not to open in America if it was at all possible to find a suitable location either in the Philippines or in Java. Hence, the final decision was to begin getting the barracks in condition at once, even if the opening of classes should have to be delayed.

One big difficulty was, how to obtain student visas for all the incoming pupils, since the school did not yet officially exist. The only means for doing this quickly was to affiliate Chabanel to some institution already recognized by the Philippine government. After consulting the Board of Education, the superiors decided to join Chabanel to the San José Pontifical Seminary. On the night of September 16 letters of recommendation were sent out to the future first-year pupils, and on September 19 the work of reconstructing the barracks began under the direction of Father Desautels. Fortunately the United States Army had put in excellent water and sewage systems. The first contractor who started on the rehabilitation project brought around a dozen men who claimed to be carpenters but evidently were not. The work progressed so slowly that it soon had to be turned over to an established company.

By October 26 the seminarists were able to move from Araneta Farm to Mandaluyung, and the next morning, with the transfer of Father Desautels from Xavier House, the residence of the mission superior, Maison Chabanel was formally opened in the Philippines. The first group of language students arrived on November 1, the second on November 4, and the third on November 11. Soon Jesuit students from Spain, Canada, France, Italy, Austria, South America, Mexico and the United States were puzzling away at Chinese.

### Pioneers at Mandaluyung

A New York Jesuit recently expressed amazement at the progress made in a year and a half at Mandaluyung. "Those Chinese missionaries came here without a thing," he said, "but it didn't seem to bother them. They went to work smiling, and now they have built up quite an institution."

He did not know all the inside story though. Some of those courageous young language students who stepped into Chabanel that first day were a bit appalled. They had made a generous offering of their lives for the China missions, but they had not at all expected that the first step would be exactly like this: a room, yes; a bed, yes; a mosquito net, yes. But not everyone had a chair; very few had a table; and there were other things, once considered essential, that nobody had. It was up to each one to complete the furnishing of his own room. There was plenty of wood on the property and hammer and nails were available. Little by little the rooms were equipped with everything that is normally considered necessary for the modern young Jesuit. Yet even today his quarters are the closest thing to living in the open air that one can imagine, with not only the wide window but the whole lower side of each room open to the elements. The newcomer instinctively shivered at the thought: "This will be pretty drafty in winter, won't it?" He had heard, but still could not believe, that the tropical temperature he was experiencing was *almost* the same the year round, with nights a bit cooler in the "cool dry season." The winter problem will never be one of, "What's wrong with the central heating?" but of, "How to keep cool in December?" After a month or so the changelessness of the temperature made some of the newcomers a bit panicky. They had never lived through a year quite like one in the Philippines, and did not know at first whether they would be able to stand twelve months of summer. The aging members of the faculty though, enjoyed the prospect. For the first time in their lives they would not have to suffer misery from drastic seasonal changes.

So on November 14 the Chinese classes began, only a month later than the traditional date for opening at Peiping. Un-

fortunately, it had been impossible to obtain visas for the fine Peiping staff of Chinese lay-professors, because the Philippine government was not anxious to have any more Chinese in the country. Hence, Father Benjamin Mendiburu, a Spaniard, was in charge of all the classes. He had to put his lessons on a wire recorder so as to give his pupils a chance to go over them privately. It was not until November 23 that a native-born Chinese teacher, Mr. Ch'en, was secured. He was an elderly man who knew not a word of English, French or Latin, and who found it hard to adapt himself to the difficulties of his pupils.

The new minister, Father William Klement, arrived from California on January 8 and kept the work crews busy putting buildings and grounds in order.

Summer vacations begin early in the Philippines. It was important to secure a villa house to keep the health and the morale of the men in good condition. Whereas it had been impossible to rent the Los Baños property for a year-round language school, arrangements were made to get it for a couple of months in the summer. It was a magnificent spot, formerly occupied by American naval officers and their families, and during the war the Japanese General Headquarters had been located there. Tall overhanging acacias shaded well-screened bungalows from the summer heat. A basket-ball court and a swimming pool gave ample opportunity for exercise. A few days before the villa was scheduled to begin, the Huks staged a raid on Los Baños, and the jungle-covered mountains across the highway from the villa were put out of bounds by the army. Nevertheless, the language-school students and faculty were there on the first day of the major vacation. The community took a prominent part in the colorful Holy Week ceremonies, much to the delight of the Los Baños faithful and their genial pastor, who had never had so many Fathers and Scholastics whom he could call on Sunday after Sunday for special Masses, sermons and singing. Later the Chinese juniors came from Araneta Farm, and this gave an excellent opportunity to the language students for practising their newly acquired Chinese vocabulary.

### Philosophate Established

Reverend Father Paul O'Brien, Visitor in charge of all Jesuit China missionaries outside of China, arrived from Communist Shanghai on April 24. Soon the important decision was made to establish the philosophate also at Chabanel. Shortly afterwards, on May 9, work on a large and airy new chapel began, and most of the community shared some way in its construction or ornamentation. The ever-growing community was further enlarged on June 1, when a group who had just finished their juniorate at Araneta Farm arrived to start their philosophy.

Some thieves made a determined effort on the night of October 8 to invade the property. An exchange of shots between them and the guards took place. One of the latter was wounded in the knee and had to be taken to the hospital.

The main purpose of the Chabanel community is an intellectual one, but on Sundays there is an exodus of priests to help out at various parishes and military camps. This is a big help especially in the Philippines, which has not nearly enough priests to handle the millions of Catholics. The arrival of so many China missionaries has in some ways been a blessing. The Fathers have also been giving retreats both to religious communities and to students. Father O'Hara organized a fine group of Chinese Catholics at the Ateneo. This was not done without difficulty. Father O'Hara arranged everything diplomatically with the ecclesiastical authorities, and then started his special Sunday Mass for the Chinese, during which he gives a sermon in Mandarin. Large Chinese communities are scattered all about the Philippines, but most of the people speak South China dialects. This language problem opens an almost untouched field for a thriving future apostolate if the language school remains here long enough to make it practical to train some of the missionaries in those dialects.

Only a small part of the language school library could be transported from Peiping, but constant additions to it are being made from Europe and America. Hence, if the exile in the Philippines should last very long, the brilliant staff of Jesuit professors, mostly young men, the pick of all the China



Jesuit missions, who have just finished their biennia at Rome, should be able to make Chabanel an intellectual powerhouse for the training of outstanding missionaries for the Communist aftermath in China.

JAMES F. KEARNEY, S.J.

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## THE MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY BUILDING PROGRAM, 1948-1952

When Father Edward J. O'Donnell became President of Marquette University on August 15, 1948 he met a situation quite unprecedented in the history of the institution. Owing to the presence of a great number of government-financed veterans the enrollment had reached an all time high of eight thousand seven hundred students. This large undergraduate population created a problem due to lack of space for lecture and study halls, reading rooms, bookshelves, housing and recreation facilities. On the other hand, the heavy debt, under which Marquette had labored for the past quarter century, had been paid off during the regime of his immediate predecessor, Father Peter A. Brooks, and, through the efforts of the Board of Governors some money, known as the "Marquette Fund," was in the bank.

Expansion in several directions at once was requisite, yet it was not easy for the new president to determine the point at which student attendance might level off, when the veterans had all graduated. He had to start a building program, without absolute standards to go by, and without sufficient means to warrant general expansion. Under these circumstances, the decision was made that roomy accommodations for a student body of between five and six thousand would be a pretty safe estimate for future needs. The "Marquette Fund" was too small to finance the necessary material development which would care for this number of young men and women. Obviously the president had to go begging.

The fact that Father O'Donnell is a native of Milwaukee and an alumnus of Marquette with the ability to win friends easily, helped very much in gaining the support of his home-

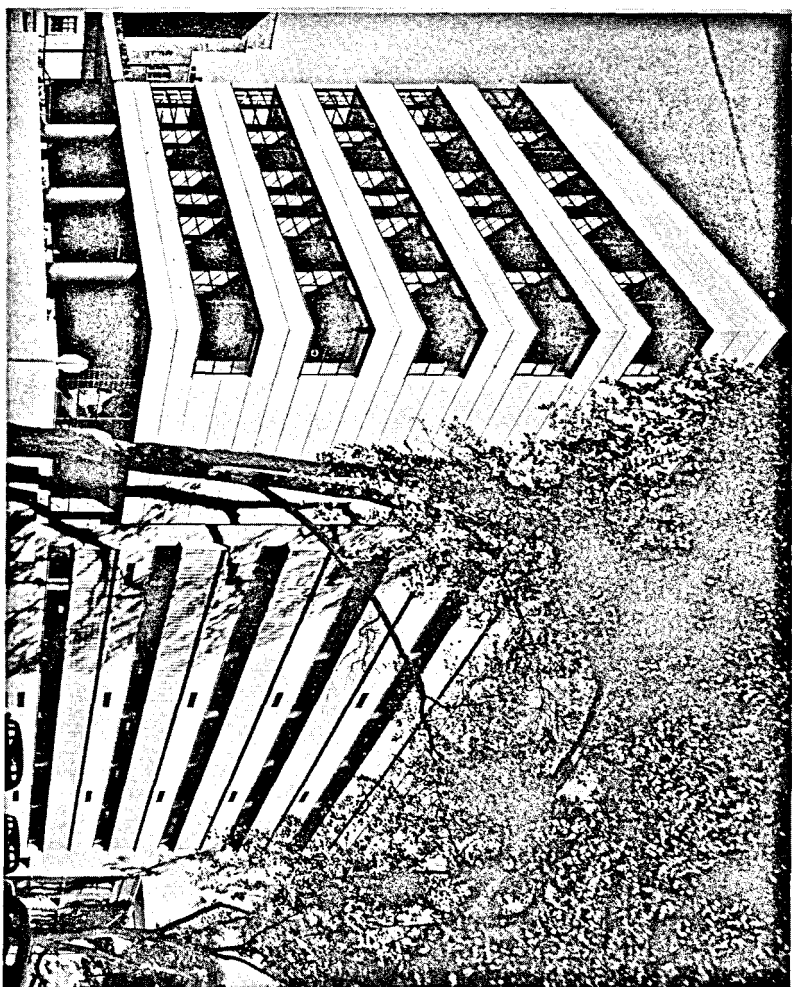
town people. However, he realized that without more time than the ordinary rector of a Jesuit community has, he would not be able to convey his message to the public efficiently. Hence, he undertook certain preliminaries which would assure himself more freedom.

With the authority of Very Reverend Father General, the high school was separated from the university and Father Richard D. McGloin became its rector in the fall of 1950. The university helped to organize a drive for the purpose of building the necessary residence for the new community. Next, Father O'Donnell, with the cooperation of higher superiors, appointed Father William McCabe as his assistant and delegated to him the authority to handle most of the things which a local superior has to do for those under his charge. During the previous administration, Father Max G. Barnett had received power to supervise the academic activities of the school on a similar basis. Thus unencumbered, the new president went to work.

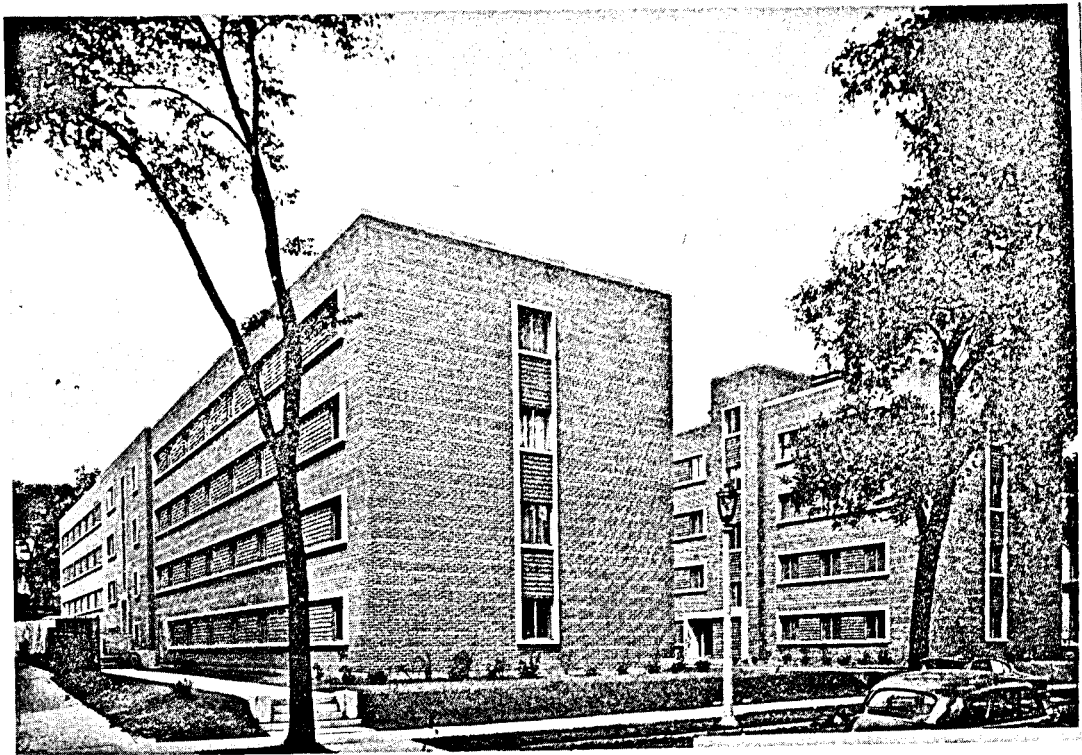
### The President Begins His Work

With accommodations for about six thousand students as a gauge, sketches were drawn which envisaged the best possibilities for placing buildings on a hypothetical campus which included an area of ten city blocks, about half of which were in the possession of the university. A large residence, which stood on the site of the future College of Journalism adjoining the present campus, was acquired and on January 2, 1950 the offices of that department were moved into it.

In the meantime, businessmen of the city had been approached with the proposition of contributing toward a new College of Business Administration. The idea that this unit would supply the reservoir of manpower from which they would be able to draw, appealed to them. Their contributions came in so generously that it was considered safe to break ground, according to plan, on January 10, 1950, and the structure was completed in the spring of 1951. Its sound-absorbent ceilings, artificial ventilation, tile wainscoting and glass brick windows, which refract light to all parts of the classrooms, make it an ideal place to teach in and not hard to keep spick-and-span. Under this roof, there are eighteen



The new College of Business Administration building at Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.



O'DONNELL HALL

The recently completed Marquette University's Women's Residence, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

classrooms, a large assembly hall, lounges and offices for fifty faculty members and the administration.

Housing out-of-town women students at Marquette presented something of a difficulty. Locally, since 1938, the women graduates of Marquette have been most helpful in the solution of this problem. Their first move was to buy, with borrowed money, an old but substantial apartment, which they remodeled to care for eighty-five co-eds. From this point, the alumnae carried their dormitory project forward so successfully that, by 1948, they had acquired five or six buildings, turned them to this use, and were, nevertheless, debt free.

In 1950, they cleared the ground where some of these old buildings were grouped and, on property about two blocks from the university, they began a million dollar residence for young women students. They obtained the money for the construction by means of a low-interest loan to be liquidated over a period of forty years. From past experience of their business ability there remains no doubt that the Marquette women will meet their debt. In the meantime, the new rooms for three hundred and fifty young ladies, the attractive dining room (supplied by a model kitchen), a really beautiful reception room and a devotional little chapel have won the approval of the feminine element on the campus, ever since classes began that fall. Every room was occupied.

Marquette has possessed a Student Union building since 1923. At that time a cafeteria and a few meeting rooms seemed to fill the needs of students. That was all that could be found within its walls. However, in a city institution, such a meeting place should offer more than this if the students and faculty were to be attracted to remain under school influence during periods of recreation. In 1948, the Union Board could show that it had made money at the old location. Out of its profits, it had purchased property for expansion some years before. After that it had constantly put aside some annual earnings in the hope of erecting a new home. The students and alumni in general have been called on to help toward the realization of such a center of campus life. By the fall of 1950 their cooperation had proven so active that the new Student Union building was begun. Today, construction is almost complete.

The roomy edifice, which will be occupied by February, 1953 leaves nothing to be desired. There is a ballroom which is eighty-five feet square. The "snack-bar" is about the same size. The main dining room can seat five hundred at one time. Beside these features, there are playrooms, meeting rooms, faculty rooms, faculty dining rooms, reception rooms and offices for the manager, the Dean of Men, the Dean of Women and the Alumni Secretary. If the Union ever becomes too small again, the foundations are capable of carrying the weight of an added story.

### Further Progress

The principal frontage of the university is on Wisconsin Avenue, which is Milwaukee's "Main Street." Between the Engineering School and the Liberal Arts College there are two blocks facing the "Avenue." One of these which was vacant had belonged to the university for several years. There, in 1951, a Memorial Library was commenced. It will have shelves for 500,000 books and afford ample reading room space for a student body of 6,000. The plan includes study rooms for the faculty, carrels, microfilming facilities, apartments for visual aids and music auditions, lounges, a reception room and a "Hall of Honor" where Marquette's friends will receive recognition. It was decided to apply the "Marquette Fund" to the Library; and owing to the continued efforts of the Board of Governors, there was enough money available in it to undertake the erection of this building with financial security.

When, in 1948, the rest of the university was bursting at the seams with veterans, the Medical and Dental Schools did not feel the strain, because the number each may enroll was limited. Nevertheless, from another angle, because of the demand of standardizing agencies that these departments participate in ever wider fields of research and postgraduate work, they were in need of more room.

When Eben J. Carey, M.D., Dean of Medicine, died in 1947, and was followed to the grave by his wife, a few months later, it was found that a provision of her will left more than \$100,000 for a special library to be dedicated in memory of husband and wife. Starting with this, Father Clarence J.

Ryan, who became Alumni Regent in 1949, immediately began a national appeal to Marquette physicians. He asked them to add enough to what had been given so that a wing might be added to the Medical School which would not only house books, but incorporate laboratories and research facilities. Father Ryan's work has taken him to every state in the Union and the medic alumni have been generous. Their gifts and pledges made it possible to begin work on the expansion in May of the present year.

The Dental School is waiting a while before undertaking the enlargement of its quarters, because, though a good many dentists have been visited, the complete rounds have not yet been made. The returns from those whom the Regent had contacted made him feel that it would not be long before this Department would also have additional space.

The response to Marquette's requests for help has manifested marvelous good will toward the institution. True, Father O'Donnell and his helpers are still obliged to continue their begging, but several bequests which have come to the university since 1948 have supplied additional confidence that things can be taken care of when the bills come due.

Thus, with God's help, the unselfish effort of a rector and the munificence of friends and alumni of the university, five permanent buildings have been added to the campus in the last four years without leaving any heavy burden on Marquette's future. Never before was so much done in so short a time and with such happy results.

The outcome might not have been so felicitous had not a sane attitude toward architectural style been adopted. The new structures all have a modern functional design which is simple when compared to the more ornate Tudor Gothic edifices which were their predecessors on the present campus. This economy kept costs within bounds. However, two considerations will prevent any untoward contrasts if and when the future campus becomes a fact. All units, whether they were built before or after 1948, are covered with the same type of brick and stone; and the new ones are arranged at sufficient distance from the old to prevent any inharmonious effect.

Just now, as this article is concluded, news has come that

800,000 Korean veterans are to be given government aid for education and more will follow as they are discharged from the various branches of military service. Before the university has had a chance to enjoy its recently acquired elbow room, it may be overcrowded again. However, it will be better prepared to receive the veterans, and, when normalcy does return, the estimate that the enrollment will level off at about 6,000 students seems to be pretty well substantiated by statistics for the past year. The roster shows 6,700 men and women in attendance at classes during the six months just completed.

RAPHAEL N. HAMILTON, S.J.

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#### Father Robert Persons

An *Opera Omnia* of St. Gregory Nazianzen, printed in Paris in 1583 and owned by the General Theological Seminary of New York City, carries on the title page, lower margin, a neatly lettered signature: P. Robertus Personius. This probably is the Latin form of the name of the famous English Jesuit, Father Robert Persons (1546-1610). The WOODSTOCK LETTERS are indebted for this information to Professor Bernard M. Peebles of Catholic University who writes: "Certain diagrams on the fly-leaves offer possible further interest but these pages have been obscured by the overpasting of marbelled end-papers, which must be removed before further study can be prosecuted."

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The 1953 edition of the *Christian Life Calendar*, originated by Father William Puetter, S.J., gives a spiritual thought for each day of the new liturgical year beginning November 30th. (Bruce, \$1)



# OBITUARY

FATHER JOHN B. FURAY

1873-1951

Father Furay was born in Omaha, Nebraska, March 25, 1873. He studied at Creighton University there and at St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kansas. He was graduated from the latter institution, together with two of his older brothers, in a class of ten on June 19, 1890. On March 31 of the following year he entered the novitiate at Florissant. Even as a novice there was a certain dignity and mature reserve about him. Lest this trait become the occasion of pride, his novice master, Father Hagamann, found means to remind him of his insignificance by pretending to forget his name. When some distinguished visitor was asked to address the novices and these were introduced to him by name, Father Hagamann would pause when he came to John Furay and say quite innocently, "And, Carissime, what is your name?" In later years Father Furay used to recall this incident and the evident purpose intended.

After a year of juniorate at Florissant he was sent to St. Louis for philosophy. Here he was beadle of the philosophers just as in due time he was to become beadle of the theologians. Mr. Furay had four years of regency, one at St. Louis University as professor of physics and mathematics, and three at St. Ignatius College, Chicago, where he taught the classes of humanities and rhetoric. In 1903 he began his theology at St. Louis, where he was ordained in June, 1905 by Archbishop Glennon. On the completion of his theology he returned to Florissant for his tertianship under Father Grimmelman. His first assignment after this was the teaching of Latin and Greek to the juniors. After one semester, when Father James Finn was made novice master, Father Furay was called to replace him as professor of philosophy in St. Louis.

The summer status of 1908 transferred him to St. John's College, Toledo, with the assignment of prefect of studies. During the preceding year the Buffalo Mission of the German Province, to which Toledo belonged, had been dissolved and St. John's College was taken over by the Missouri Province. To

adapt the conditions of this institution to the traditions of the Missouri Province, with due consideration for all concerned, was a task that required both prudence and charity. So well did Father Furay perform this task that two years later he was appointed Rector of St. Ignatius College, Cleveland, where a similar situation prevailed. Here, too, his kindly consideration won the esteem and confidence of all. As one who was a Scholastic under him there testified in later years, "We all regarded Father Furay as a real Jesuit, a perfect gentleman." One instance will indicate his delicate regard for others. To help some of the older Fathers and Brothers, whose native tongue was German, to feel more at ease with him, Father Furay had his admonitor, the aged Spiritual Father, give him lessons in that language; and he delighted his old teacher a few years later by writing him a letter in rather boyish German.

After six years as rector in Cleveland, Father Furay was given a similar appointment at St. Ignatius College, Chicago. In both these administrative positions he took an active part in the formation and development of the National Catholic Educational Association. He was equally interested in the meetings of the colleges and universities of Illinois, and he was both gracious and courageous in representing to these non-Catholic educators the purpose and methods of our own Catholic institutions.

In 1915, Most Reverend George W. Mundelein was appointed Archbishop of Chicago. The first fact that led him to form a very favorable impression of the good being done in his Archdiocese by the Jesuit Fathers was that, for many years without remuneration from any source, three of them had been and still were devoting themselves to continuous night and day service in the large Cook County Hospital. The second fact, was the good being done at St. Ignatius College, very largely through the wise direction of Father Furay. So impressed was Cardinal Mundelein with the more than ordinary prudence and conscientious fidelity to duty that characterized Father Furay, that he chose him as his personal counselor in many of the problems that arose in the administration of the great archdiocese. Hence it was no surprise that when the time came for the establishment of the archdiocesan seminary,

the Cardinal chose Father Furay to head and personally select a Jesuit faculty to whom was to be entrusted the studies and spiritual direction of the seminarians. The administration of the seminary itself, the finances, discipline, library, and department of music, were taken over by members of the diocesan clergy. This arrangement was unusual; and the fact that throughout the twenty and more years that followed, a genuine harmony and good feeling prevailed in this mixed faculty, was due in large part to the prudence and courtesy of Father Furay. He realized the importance of the task assigned him, and the opportunity it offered the Society to exercise a wholesome influence on the priests and people of this large archdiocese. He always regarded it as the greatest of all his assignments; and he was very humble in recognizing his own limitations. When he was nearing the completion of five years as superior, and feared that the influence of Cardinal Mundelein might bring about his continuance in office, he wrote to Reverend Father General giving his reasons for asking for relief. He mentioned his own limitations—the burden he felt of sixteen continuous years of superiorship. Some one else, he wrote, could do fully as well—probably much better than himself—nor would his successor have any difficulty in meriting the confidence of Cardinal Mundelein.

But Reverend Father General saw fit to refuse his request, and Father Furay continued for fifteen years more at his post. It was only when a heart attack sent him to the hospital for two months, followed by a gradual general debility, that Father Furay obtained permission to return to St. Louis to spend his remaining days in very welcome retirement. He was appointed Spiritual Father of the philosophers, then of the whole community. But partial blindness, a defective heart, high blood pressure and, eventually, a cancerous condition slowly brought to a close his years of active service. Until the week before he died he was regular in attending community exercises in the chapel, refectory, and recreation room. He sought no exceptions and graciously declined them when offered. He offered his last Mass on Thursday, January 10. Next day he was taken to the hospital. His brother, Harry, visited him there on the twelfth. Father was able to converse fairly well, though tiring noticeably from the effort

it cost him, and then his mind began to wander. But he seemed fairly strong and the doctors thought he might linger on for some weeks. During the next two days there was no change. On the night of the fourteenth, Father Connelly, S.J., the chaplain at the hospital, who had been Father Furay's confessor at Mundelein, called at his room as usual about ten o'clock, stayed for a few minutes and then gave him his blessing. At about eleven o'clock the nurse stopped to look into his room. She found him seated on the side of the bed leaning up against the chair. He had apparently endeavored to get up, had a heart attack, and quietly passed away. It was the manner of dying that he had desired: fully prepared, but without bothering anyone.

Father Furay spent practically his entire priestly life in the Society as a superior. His mode of government was what the Society desires of her superiors: *Fortiter in re, suaviter in modo*. To some who knew him less intimately it may have seemed that the *fortiter* was slightly more apparent than the *suaviter*, at least during his earlier years in office. The explanation of this appearance lay in Father Furay's almost scrupulous conscientiousness, especially in matters of obedience. Whatever lay in his own personal power to give or grant, he gave most generously. But when there was question of preserving the spirit and the traditions of the Society, or the enforcing of a definite order of higher superiors, Father Furay did not allow human respect or his own personal preferences to interfere. He truly loved the Society and was determined to hand down to the younger generation the highest ideals of the Society as he had learned them.

He left very little in writing, but among the things he did leave was a small notebook in which he had written down extensive excerpts from Justine Ward's life of Father William O'Brien Pardow. The very fact that he took pains to write them down indicates that these thoughts and sentiments were re-echoes of his own mind and heart. To one who knew Father Furay intimately, this is evident. Though unlike Father Pardow in many external activities, Father Furay apparently found in Father Pardow's life much that corresponded with his own ideals, with his own traits of character, with his own difficulties in measuring up to these

ideals. A reading of this life of Father Pardow, or at least a reading of the excerpts Father Furay selected, would supply a sketch of his own personal spiritual life—far more detailed and far more enlightening than the present one offers. A few sample excerpts will reveal this.

“There is something about regularity and self-conquest which in itself conveys to people who are less regulated the impression of coldness, of being not quite human—as though humanity included only humanity’s weaknesses. It would seem impossible were it not a fact of common experience, that a man should be misjudged for the very reason that he applies logically a principle that all believe in, but that others grasp superficially. Ignatius was thought cold-hearted because of the very fact that he acted through choice and not by impulse.”

Regarding Father Pardow as Instructor of Tertians: “He poured out the ideals of the Society as he saw them, and the height to which each Jesuit should aspire, with all the eagerness which he himself felt, with all the detached personal ardor which could not allow for the recoil of wounded self-love. Only gradually did it dawn on him that even in this rarified atmosphere (of the tertianship) meat must be tempered to babes. His words discouraged some; the ideal seemed unattainable. His written record shows how hard he tried to analyze the trouble. ‘One told me, weeping,’ he said, ‘that the effect of my words on him had always been depressing—I seemed to have no sympathy—I am like cold steel. . . .’”

And yet, though these details may lead one to believe that Father Furay was an unsympathetic individual, those who lived with him for many years, and knew what efforts he made to make himself accessible to others, realize that Father Furay truly was “a real Jesuit—a perfect gentleman.”

FRANCIS X. BUSCH, S.J.

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### FATHER JAMES H. KEARNEY

1891-1947

The death of Father James Kearney on November 21, 1947 at the age of fifty-six came as a sudden shock to the New York and Maryland Provinces and to his many friends both here

and abroad who admired him for his genuine priestly and human qualities. His health had never been very robust, and of recent years he had patiently endured a great deal of suffering from various ailments which made him very nervous and had necessitated a change of status from Woodstock, where he had taught Moral Theology for sixteen years. For the last two years of his life Father Kearney was a member of Fordham University's faculty of philosophy and religion.

On Wednesday, November 19, Father Kearney had suffered a slight heart attack, but thinking it was of minor consequence, shrugged it off and taught his usual classes in Ethics and Evidences that day and the next. On Thursday afternoon, however, the pain recurred and the doctor was summoned. The doctor diagnosed the case as coronary thrombosis and prescribed hospitalization and a complete rest. Father requested that he be sent to St. Michael's Hospital in Newark, N.J., where his sister, a Franciscan nun, was stationed and where he had recovered from a serious operation a few years before.

Father spent a quiet night, but was unable to get much sleep because of the distress which remained after the attack. Shortly before nine o'clock Friday morning, while he was resting comfortably, the severe pain in his heart returned. The hospital chaplain and doctor were summoned immediately by the nurse in attendance. Father was anointed and the doctor administered usual treatment, but to no avail. Within three minutes, even before his sister had time to descend from her X-ray laboratory to the sick room, Father Kearney had gone to his eternal reward.

The Jesuit life that thus came to an end had been spent almost entirely in houses of formation of Ours. His regency and the last two and a half years of Father Kearney's life were the only exceptions. His apostolate was completely devoted to the training of our Scholastics to be worthy priests.

James Kearney was born in New York City on May 9, 1891, the youngest of five children of James H. and Margaret McKeon Kearney. He was the only boy in the family. Three of his sisters later became nuns, one a Sister of Charity of Mt. St. Vincent, N.Y., another a nun of the Presentation Order, and the third is Sister Mary Angeline of the Sisters of



FATHER JAMES H. KEARNEY .





the Poor of St. Francis the lone surviving member of the family. In later life Father was to show especial interest in the work of this nursing order, particularly in the communities of St. Francis Hospital, Bronx, N.Y., St. Michael's Hospital, Newark, and St. Mary's Hospital, Hoboken, N.J., where his cousin, Sister Priscilla Marie, is stationed.

As a boy, James attended St. Ignatius parochial school on East 84th Street in New York. Father often spoke laughingly of playing ball on the side street outside the Church with a boy named John Grattan (later to be Father Grattan, who was Rector of St. Ignatius at the time of his death in 1949). It seems that the youngsters would frequently be chased by the police, who would have preferred the boys to play in Central Park rather than on the street. As soon as the policeman's head would appear around the corner, the boys would run and take "sanctuary" in the basement of St. Ignatius Church, where not infrequently they would meet Father George Quinn. Father Quinn would claim the boys' attention for some time till the patrolman had passed. Father Kearney would say in after years that he believed the patrolman and Father Quinn arranged these meetings, for the boys loved Father Quinn who brought home to them many lessons and wise counsels.

After the family moved from Yorkville to the then more rural Bronx, Father Kearney attended Public High School for two years. At the close of his second year, he told his parents that he wanted to leave school and start working. This was very much against their desires, but, in the end, his father told him to get a job during the summer, and, if he did not like it, he could still return to high school in September. James found a position in a bank, and, to his family's sorrow, when September came, he continued to stay with the bank.

In August of the following year, 1908, his mother died. James had always been her pride and joy, the only boy with three sisters, and he felt her loss deeply. Returning from Calvary Cemetery, where his mother was laid to rest, James startled his father and sisters by saying, "Dad, may I go back to high school in September?" His father hesitated. Things were changed now with mother's going. But one of his sisters asked him, "What is your object in wanting to return to school?" James replied, "I want to go to Fordham. I

want to become a priest." Needless to say, full permission was given.

James entered Fordham Prep in the fall and in two years completed all the high school work in Latin, Greek and other subjects required for entrance into the Society. He had taken none of these subjects at the public school. Gifted with an excellent memory, he loved his work and made rapid strides in studies. Nevertheless, he remained truly humble all his life. He confided to his sister on several occasions, "I know my capabilities and my limitations, but I also know that God has given me all that I have. If I said I did not know what I do, I would be telling a lie and depriving God of honor." Honors meant nothing to him personally.

Just before graduation James was able to fulfill his ambition of the last two years: to enter the Society. He was accepted and entered St. Andrew on August 14, 1910 where Father George A. Pettit was novice master.

Mr. Kearney made his juniorate from 1912 to 1914, a period he once described as the most difficult part of the course for him. This was in part due to the fact that his two years at Fordham Prep were the only preparation he had for his work in Latin and Greek. Nevertheless, here it was that he continued to develop the power of his memory. Thirty years afterward one could say in his presence *Endoi Praxinoā?* and Father Kearney would give from memory line after-line of this poem of Theocritus. He could do the same with *Autar epei kosmethen* and many other leads in Greek, in Latin and in English.

In later years, too, it was with admiration that one watched him prepare his notes for an ordinary Sunday sermon or an hour's lecture to laymen on some special question in moral theology. Several sheets of paper would be lined up on his desk, their several headings being the *loci* learned in his rhetoric year. After ruminating on the various *loci* and the evolution of thoughts therein suggested, he would begin to put them into place, trying this one here, and another there until he had a work of art. He had not merely memorized his principles, but knew them as practical sources and brought forth the elegant fruits that only well-ordered and correct principles can produce.

In 1914 he went to Woodstock for his three years of

philosophy. In these studies Mr. Kearney's mind seemed to have found its natural habitat. Philosophy was studied with even more painstaking accuracy and thoroughness than had characterized his work in the juniorate. In the winter of his third year he was given the defense in the house disputation in Natural Theology by Father William J. Brosnan, and he ably acquitted himself of the task.

At the end of the year, instead of being sent out to regency, Mr. Kearney was held over at Woodstock to do the Grand Act in philosophy. The Grand Act required an additional year's preparation. Visiting ecclesiastical dignitaries along with theology and philosophy professors from Dominican, Sulpician, Benedictine and Franciscan seminaries came to Woodstock to test the Scholastic's knowledge not only of St. Thomas, but also of Kant, Descartes or some other well-known philosopher. Mr. Kearney's task was to defend the whole field of Ontology and Natural Theology against the difficulties raised by Kantian metaphysics. Many of his confreres then could not appreciate the well-rounded and integrated knowledge that he had, but from talks with him in later life it could be seen that he remembered with exactitude the various difficulties and the solutions which were given that day in 1918.

Mr. Kearney's regency was spent at Fordham. For the first year he taught senior Latin, Greek and English at the Prep, and the next two years he was assigned to a freshman college class in the same subjects. He gave the same energy to the preparation of his classes as he had to his own studies of the classics and philosophy. The result was inevitable—an interesting, interested, informative and successful class. Many of his students are now outstanding men in the professions in New York City and State. With many of these men he was able to keep in contact during the later years of his life.

His interest in his class extended to the out-of-school hours. When the sophomore-freshman battles would take place, he was out there cheering on the freshmen in the struggle and protecting them when things became too rough. As prefect on the corridors, he showed the tact and foresight necessary to win the good will and good behavior of his charges. At the same time he was in charge of the Fordham Maroon, the College's literary monthly, and he showed a remarkable capacity for getting the best out of the budding authors.

He was enthusiastically interested in all things connected with Fordham and a fervent follower of the famous Fordham football and hockey teams of those days. Fordham averaged about seventeen Scholastics during the years 1918-1921 and it was possible to find them playing touch football or baseball in the afternoons and on holidays. A fellow Scholastic vividly recalls a basketball game which lasted interminably because of the plentiful substitutions among the regents. Father Kearney was always in the midst of this activity. He was a grand community man, a successful teacher and an understanding counselor. He never strove for popularity, but received it nevertheless from the boys because of his evident endeavors to be just, fair and equitable.

After three years teaching he was sent to Oña, Burgos, Spain for his theology. One of his letters after arrival in France tells of how he influenced his fellow voyagers. He writes on the day of his landing at Le Havre: "We landed on the eighth after a truly glorious trip in which by our zealous enjoyment we made two converts. One, a fallen-away, said to me, 'Father, I wish I knew you sooner.' I had only performed the works of the apostolate of being happy, and he envied my real pleasure. He is on the right road now, and the conversion was made without the slightest effort at being a reformer. He just wanted to be happy and caught my enthusiasm for a sunset on the ocean. The other, a prim Y.W.C.A. lady came to me two days before landing and asked to speak with me. We chatted regularly after that. Her remark was 'If you can be so human, I would not be afraid of your faith.' I proceeded at once to be super-human and I think I accomplished much. I was really surprised how people were anxious to be friendly, especially, since in the beginning of the trip, they were so formal to us. We did mingle in and keep the ball rolling."

Shortly after he writes again: "Leaving Notre Dame we taxied to Montmartre where St. Ignatius and his first companions took their first vows. You would never recognize this famous little chapel from the outside, situated as it is in the worst part of Paris. The Helpers of the Holy Souls keep it now. We entered and knelt and I cannot describe my prayers in that holy place. Noviceship dreams were realized. We signed our names in a book where Saints had signed be-

fore us and where the Archbishop of Paris, on the page before ours, had commended his city to St. Dennis."

Travelling south toward the Spanish border the American Scholastics stopped at Lourdes, and Mr. Kearney records his impressions in another letter, "Believe me," he writes, "my eyes were dim many times as I walked up the big path to the shrine. And there at the great heart of France I finally stood, a few feet away from where Bernadette knelt when she beheld Our Lady Mother. At last, the keenest ambition of my life was fulfilled. I was at Lourdes! No one is a sight-seeing wanderer here. You might come to see the sights, but in a moment you are a praying pilgrim. Everyone is praying and singing all the long day. And what devotion! People, altogether unmindful of those around, kneel and kiss the ground and then with arms extended, ask their favors."

Keenly sensitive to all the inspiration given by the European shrines he and his companions visited on their way to Oña, he writes later on, "From San Sebastian we travelled on a crawling train right through the heart of the Pyrenees to Loyola. We walked through the holy house, through the room of St. Ignatius' birth and the room of his conversion. We kissed his sacred relics here and in the morning I served two Masses and received Communion in this sacred room. We saw the great cleft in the three-foot thick wall, which tradition tells us was made by the devil at the moment of the great conversion. We knelt where St. Francis Borgia said his first Mass and where many of our Saints have come to pray. The past is becoming real to us as we become more intimate with these sacred places."

Before the first year of theology was out it became apparent to superiors at Oña that neither Mr. Kearney nor his two companions could weather the cold, and so they returned to Woodstock for their remaining three years of theology. One never heard him complain of his hardships over there. He would only mention the humorous.

After two years at Woodstock, James Kearney was ordained at Georgetown University on June 27, 1924 by Archbishop Michael J. Curley. It was during his fourth year that Father Provincial called Father Kearney to the bedside of his sister, Teresa, who was dying at St. Francis Hospital in the Bronx.

At the same time there happened to be another patient occupying the room directly opposite hers, who noticed Father Kearney and his other sister, a Franciscan nun, coming and going on their frequent visits. This patient remarked to Teresa how happy she must be to have a brother and a sister in religion, and she often sent little gifts across the hall, sharing with Teresa whatever she thought would give her pleasure. The remark was once made to Father Kearney that it would be nice if the Kearneys could do something nice for Mrs. F., the patient across the hall. At the time all that Father replied was "Just wait. Surely an opportunity will offer itself."

Shortly after Father Kearney returned to Woodstock Mrs. F. died. His sister learned from her nurses that Mrs. F. had had one great sorrow in her life—her oldest son, then about twenty-five years old, would not frequent the sacraments because of some trouble he had had as a boy with a priest. He went to Mass at his mother's pleading, but received no further help from his religion. His sister passed the story on to Father Kearney.

One year later on the anniversary of Mrs. F.'s death, Father was in New York on his way to Fordham. Since the family of Mrs. F. lived just a few blocks from Fordham, Father decided to call on them. He found the young man home and spoke of his beloved mother. The son remarked, "Yes, we had a Mass for mother today." Father asked if all received Communion. He replied, "All except myself." Father asked why. Then the boy poured forth the whole story of his long absence from the sacraments. He concluded by saying that he would return some day but it would take time. Father asked the boy to walk with him to Fordham as he wanted to get in early. On the way Father asked all the questions for a general confession and received sincere answers from the young man as well as his expression of sorrow for absenting himself from the Holy Table. When they reached Fordham, Father asked him up to his room. He then told him to kneel down, while he put on his stole, and said, "You have made a perfect confession. I will now give you absolution." Amidst tears the young man arose. Father referred him to another priest in New York, because he would soon be returning to Woodstock.

Father later called his sister and said, "Sister, we have paid Mrs. F. back for her kindness—so all is well."

Immediately after theology Father was sent to Rome for a biennium in Moral Theology and returned with the degree of Magister Aggregatus from the Gregorian University. Characteristic of his attitude towards these scholastic honors is the following anecdote. Father had been told by the provincial that when he was through at Rome he was to return home. His last class was at 11 o'clock one morning and he reported to his superior that since he was through he would like to leave Rome that evening. His superior expressed surprise and asked, "Won't you remain for your marks and certificates?" "Oh, no," Father Kearney replied, "they mean nothing to me. Send them to my provincial in America. He is the one that wanted them, not I."

After tertianship at St. Andrew-on-Hudson in 1927-28 under Father Peter A. Lutz, and a summer status on the mission band, Father Kearney was assigned to teach Ethics at Woodstock, to pinch-hit for the year until the man regularly assigned returned from Rome. A copy of the three hundred pages of mimeographed Ethics notes he composed that year were recently sent over to San José Seminary, Philippine Islands, where they were duplicated for the use of the seminarians. The thorough, careful work that went into those notes still bears fruit twenty-five years after.

The next year, 1929, saw the beginning of Father Kearney's career as Moral Theology Professor at Woodstock. Some idea of the high quality of his work in this position for the next fifteen years may be gained from the following lines penned by a close associate on the Woodstock faculty all these years: "Father Kearney wrote out every lecture and delivered it exactly as it was written. As the cycles of the course returned every second year, he was constantly rewriting his lectures, ever striving for clarity of expression. He was forever striving to get the reasons for a proposition down to the clearest application of the principle of contradiction. He was far from contented with the reasons given in the Moral manuals and continually sought the ultimate reason why some given statement was the *sententia communis*. No one who paid attention in his classes ever denied that his lectures were

exceptionally well ordered, the *status* clear, the proof to the point and the applications practical. He would discuss without heat with others whom he knew to be of an inquisitive mind. Personalities never entered into the discussion and frequently after a lengthy discussion he would say, 'That is the first time you have ever seen that so clearly.' He never resented the rejoinder, 'And it is the first time you have seen it so clearly.' His files on Moral matters were voluminous and his cross references were neatness itself. Persevering thoroughness, accuracy and clarity were among his outstanding characteristics."

He was perhaps rightly afraid lest he be misquoted, as is not the unusual fate of Moralists, and on that account was more conservative in class than he was in his own room, when he would solve a definite concrete case. He never dodged the solution of a definite problem, if it were taken up with him privately, and his reasons were given with precision. But he was very quick to detect a case to which some hypothetically irrational conditions were added.

During the last years of his life he was almost continually in poor health. The doctor told him that he had an ailment closely connected with his heart. Outside of days in the hospital, he never missed a scheduled class. During these later years he could not put his accustomed energetic application into his private studies. He had great difficulty getting four hours sleep and his nervousness was evident to all. For several years he debated about asking Reverend Father Provincial for a change from Woodstock. Serious operations marked the end of the scholastic years, 1943-1944. So he calmly sat down and drew up the *pros* and *cons* in the light of reason and the rules of the Society, and after consideration of these he asked for a change.

Father Kearney spent the summer of 1944 at Mount Manresa Retreat House, Staten Island, and in the late fall was assigned parish work at St. Peter's, Jersey City. In January he was back in the classroom as Professor of Ethics at Hudson College. September of 1946 found him back at Fordham, this time teaching Psychology and Natural Theology, subjects to which he had not given serious attention in almost thirty years. Nevertheless he settled down with the



energy of a philosopher to the study of these new subjects that his class might have the best that he could give. He did not hesitate to write in a letter, "The subject is just vast enough to make me want to cover as much as I can from day to day. I have my own way of studying and it takes up much of my time. This year I am devoting all my time to learning something!"

The next scholastic year, which he was barely to begin, he was asked to take Father Ignatius Cox's classes in Ethics. Once more he was back in his familiar field. And he taught right up to the day before his death. Death was never more vividly realized by his senior class than the next morning when they assembled for Ethics class and it was announced that Father Kearney had passed away. The editorial tribute of the *Fordham Ram* is eloquent: "Sincere, humble and intensely devoted to his work, Father Kearney won the respect and admiration of all those who came under his influence, particularly those whom he taught in the classroom. Having had him for class the day before his death, Senior A experienced a great shock and a sense of deep loss when the news reached them the next morning. To them he was more than just a teacher. He was a gentle, kindly and lovable man. To them he was a friend as well as a teacher, a counselor as well as an instructor. At the end of each class one would inevitably find him in the center of a group of his students, answering their difficulties and objections with the ease which comes from many years of teaching."

A close friend writes the following, "I do not believe that anyone ever heard him say anything against the character of another. And I never heard anyone say anything derogatory of another's character in Father Kearney's presence, but that he was asked immediately on what facts he based his statement. He was ever ready to assist the mentally ill and he would spend hours in a day and days in a week to help them. His was a solid and dependable character. One who had him for a friend could be absolutely certain that Father Kearney would do his best in time of trouble."

Father Kearney had the gift of setting people at their ease in his presence. The natural gift was the foundation for his supernatural zeal for souls that was his preoccupation in every

contact with people outside the faith. Father Kearney exercised a remarkable influence on non-Catholics who met and knew him even briefly. A Southern family with ingrained prejudice against everything Catholic, particularly priests, changed remarkably in their whole attitude after a few talks with Father Kearney, and would never allow anyone to say anything against the Church in their presence. On a number of occasions Protestants and Jewish parents, who had met and conceived a great admiration of Father Kearney, and through him, of the Catholic clergy and the Church, not only showed no hesitancy in giving their children in a Catholic marriage ceremony, but were even happy to have them subsequently become converts, despite their former attitude of deep-rooted antagonism to the Church.

Father Kearney's supernatural life, as far as it can be known from the unconscious manifestations in the company of his brothers in religion, was characteristically Jesuit. His tender devotion to the Blessed Virgin seemed to be its basic component. On more than one occasion it was remarked that his conferences on Mary, the Mother of God, were among the most inspirational talks of his retreats to religious communities. All his life he kept up his noviceship practice of reciting daily the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin. In later years, he confided once to a friend, he was able to recite the entire Little Office from memory.

His religious life was thorough, deeply implanted, without show and constantly solid. Only a truly supernatural man could have stood up so perseveringly under the physical beating of ill health that he underwent. His solid piety and Jesuit character were never more clearly shown than in drawing up the reasons for and against remaining at Woodstock in the weakened state of his health. His influence in the Maryland and New York Provinces will be felt as long as a single one of his students lives.

JOHN J. McLAUGHLIN, S.J.

# Books of Interest to Ours

## THE AGE OF CHRIST

*Per Un Mondo Nuovo.* By *Riccardo Lombardi, S.J.* Rome, Civiltà Cattolica, 1951. Pp. 716.

This is a startling book, one of those written once in a century. It tells of an even more startling campaign, of the kind that not even every century sees. Indeed, to find any real parallel, one must go far back into history, perhaps back to St. Bernard. Surely an exaggeration? Perhaps, but it is more likely that the description falls short of the reality.

The author's career has been amazing. From conference room to theater; from open square preaching to sermons given simultaneously in two hundred churches of Rome linked by radio. A full week's mission to the twenty-four thousand parishes of Italy; from Italy—without knowledge of the foreign tongues—to Austria, Germany, Holland, Belgium, France, North and South America. Everywhere Father Lombardi's Crusade of Love has met with the same enthusiastic response in the hearts of his millions of listeners. In the Soviet sector of Berlin it is the Communists themselves who insure order while he speaks. In Rome, at the conclusion of his sermon, the Holy Father leads the most gigantic procession Rome has ever seen, from Santa Maria Maggiore to St. Peter's, and on three consecutive nights recites the Rosary amid the millions who had listened in the churches and in the squares to the broadcast sermons. And in the midst of all this unprecedented success Father Lombardi remains the same humble, childlike religious whose sole purpose is to transmit the message of Jesus.

Small wonder, then, that four months saw five editions of this book in Italian, to say nothing of translations into other languages. One may discuss the book, agree or disagree with various parts of it—far from resenting criticism, Father Lombardi invites it—but one can no longer afford to ignore it, least of all we who are “*ejusdem Societatis; nostra causa agitur!*”

The first part of the volume analyzes the present world situation and outlines the new world-order as envisaged by the author (pp. 1-267). That we are witnessing the doom of our present epoch of civilization and the rise of a new age, has today become a commonplace. Fr. Lombardi's concise analysis of the situation, an analysis in which evaluation from a social viewpoint predominates, could easily be supplemented by additional references to our marvelous technical inventions and scientific discoveries and to the revolutionary effect which these are bound to have on our geographic and cosmographic outlook and our whole way of life in a world truly one. This revolution can only be compared to the physical and astronomical revolution initiated by Galileo in the dawn of our modern age, or to the great geographic discoveries of the fifteenth century. It was these latter discoveries which inaugurated the era of colonial em-

pires which has apparently now come to a close with the awakening spirit of nationalism and independence in the subdued and exploited races of Asia and Africa. Reference might also be made to the present-day reunification of Western Europe—the fulfillment of a dream that has failed to come true for a thousand years, since the days of Charlemagne. Our two World Wars and the world-wide repercussions of Fascism, National Socialism, and Bolshevism, these are like so many earthquakes: only symptoms of a far more deeply rooted cause of unrest which is to change once more the face of the earth and to inaugurate a new age.

But is it really going to be a *Christian* age? Fr. Lombardi is unshakeably optimistic. The coming Age of Christ, "L'età di Gesu," is the key note, the leitmotif, of his entire book. Are his arguments convincing?

There is no doubt that the era of liberalism and individualism, with its unrestricted freedom of initiative, but also with all its social injustice, is definitely at an end. There is no doubt that the contrary solution, that of totalitarian collectivism with its atheistic, materialistic disregard of the most elementary rights of the human person, is bound to fail, and fail miserably. For, if the unrestrained freedom of the individual leads to the oppression and enslavement of the proletarian masses, unrestricted mass-collectivism, on the other hand, destroys personal freedom. The solution must lie in a social structure which offers as much individual freedom as is compatible with true social solidarity, and as much social solidarity as is compatible with true individual freedom. Such is our Christian solution: equally opposed to the enslavement of the proletarian masses under the oppression of capitalism and to the enslavement of the individual under the tyranny of a collective state; opposed to any form of unjust oppression because the Christian sees in every human being a child of the one heavenly Father; opposed to any form of selfishness, be it that of the capitalist individual or that of the collectivist totalitarian state.

We wholeheartedly agree when Fr. Lombardi concludes to the tremendous responsibility which rests on each of us in this all-decisive hour; we firmly renew with him our resolution to do our utmost to hasten the coming of Christ's Kingdom on earth. But must the Age of Christ come *now*? Must it even come at all? *A posse ad esse non valet illatio*. Its mere possibility and desirability do not prove its reality. God in His divine economy permits evil, it is true, because He knows how to bring good out of it, and the greater the evil He permits, the greater the good that will come of it (pp. 90-91). As our present Holy Father has repeatedly stated, the present gigantic assault of militant atheism against the very idea of God exceeds in extent and virulence all such previous attacks. The optimistic conclusion is that we shall meet with an equally unprecedented triumph of the forces of good. But must the reaction set in *now*? Have we already reached the bottom of the pit? Are we really entitled to expect such an extraordinary triumph, when Sacred Scripture clearly foretells *the* great persecution

and apostasy as occurring precisely towards the end of time? To these questions Fr. Lombardi might reply in the words of his preface: "If I have had the courage to write what I have written, it is because I have *seen* it before having thought it. . . . I think I have had a privileged window open to the future" (pp. 10-11). There can be no discussion of a claim to intuitive knowledge, but such intuitive certitude cannot be communicated to others. Fr. Lombardi himself, however, gives repeated warning against a false optimism that would expect the conversion of the whole world; for Scripture clearly says that there will always be weeds and cockle amid the wheat (p. 60), that there will always be persecution and treason to keep us from childish hopes in a millennium (pp. 248-50). The whole forecast of the Age of Christ is conditioned on our free cooperation (p. 263).

What are to be the main features of this coming Age of Christ? Fr. Lombardi prefaces his outline with the remark that the natural resources of the earth, intended for the common use of mankind, are unfortunately most unequally distributed. He then states three principles.

1) Men have the right to own private property. This right is based on Sacred Scripture (the Seventh Commandment [p. 100]); on the nature of man who, as a rational animal, has the desire and the right not merely to live from day to day, but also to make adequate provision for his future; and on the common good which demands the possibility of acquiring private property as an incentive to the individual to work and to produce (pp. 100-2).

2) Man's dignity as a human person and his instinct for self-preservation give him the right to a decent livelihood, not only for himself but for his family as well. This right is based on God's command in Genesis (1:28): "Increase and multiply, fill the earth and subdue it" (pp. 102-5).

3) In a conflict between the right of some to private property and the right of others to a decent livelihood, it is the duty of the state to intervene, for the state has the right to demand of the individual all that is needed for the common good: in this case, to make demands on the individual with extensive private property, in order to secure work and a livelihood for all. This principle (pp. 105-9) is the most difficult one to handle. Its ultimate foundations are in the text of Genesis (3:17): "With labor and toil shalt thou eat [of the fruits of the earth] all the days of thy life," for here we have proved the duty—and consequently the right—to gain one's livelihood by working. This third principle implies far-reaching powers in the state: for example, to impose on industrialists the employment of a larger number of workers, or to forbid further dismissals, except in cases of serious neglect; to impose higher taxes; to redistribute the land; to prohibit monopolies and trusts, etc. (p. 108). It is always assumed, of course, that private industry be not completely ruined by such public measures, for these instead of being a remedy would then only lead to still graver evils. Fr. Lombardi is quite aware of the revolutionary character of some of his proposals (p. 112). It is quite surprising, however, that in estab-

lishing his principles he has recourse, not to the natural law or even to Papal pronouncements, but solely to Sacred Scripture.

To evaluate in detail these social reform measures would exceed the scope of this review and the competence of the reviewer. Nor are such practical considerations the most important ones for the reader of Fr. Lombardi's book. For even one who does not agree with every practical detail cannot but give warm welcome to what is of primary moment: the underlying spirit, the desire to revive our Christian socialmindedness. This is indeed Fr. Lombardi's main object: the renewal of the true Christian spirit. "Ricostruire l'amore" is one of the most beautiful and deeply moving chapters of the whole book. Love was the great victim of the last war. Communism has ever since been busy fomenting hatred by preaching only the rights of people, only their grievances and the injustices they are suffering from others. The promotion of mutual love demands that people now be reminded first of all of their duties rather than their rights, of the evil they are doing rather than the evil they are suffering. It is with this delicate task that Fr. Lombardi finds himself entrusted. No wonder he shrinks from it at first—but Jesus urges him on (p. 151). Therefore, in his charming manner, Fr. Lombardi addresses the various groups within society—the rich and the poor, the young and the old—and with childlike candor tells them their faults. Then: "Suddenly in the depths of my heart Jesus warns me: 'You must tell the priests too their faults.' Yes, the priests too: 'O my brethren, how greatly to blame we are for what has happened! Mankind would never have reached its present state, had we always been what we should. . . . Men have done evil, a great evil, in leaving the Church of Jesus just because we personally were mediocre servants . . . because we were not saints. But let us admit it, a great deal of the blame is ours. . . . Let us therefore bow our heads, for our own faults and for the faults of those who have preceded us; and in our goodness souls will find Jesus once again'" (pp. 155-56).

Then Fr. Lombardi turns to non-Catholics. "Jesus looked at them, His heart full of love, but of immense sadness too. . . . 'Your forefathers were all Catholics; why have you gone away? For so many centuries the world knew only the Catholic Church; that was the only Church, My Church . . . All Christendom was Catholic. Why have you gone away?' And Jesus continued with great sweetness: 'The fault is not yours, it is the fault of others who are no longer alive: the fault of princes and kings, the fault of priests who were unworthy. But why do not *you* return to the faith of your fathers? Why must your faith still be the victim of those old passions. All Catholics your ancestors were, Catholics every one of them. They were all in My Church, and so should you be. The division in the faith has pained Me more than the wounds of My Passion; and, like every other division, it has remained a wound in the body of humanity. Bow your heads, you, too, and repent'" (pp. 156-57).

The second and longer section of the volume explains the methods and measures by which the new world is to be built (pp. 271-711). With charming simplicity the author faces the difficult question of what

Christ would do for the world today (p. 274). His answer is in the form of a complete plan of organization for a General Staff of the Ecclesia Militans.

He begins on the top level of the Church with the Pontifical Curia (p. 293). While convinced that it was a special divine Providence which put such outstanding personalities on Peter's Chair in recent decades, he finds that unfortunately the Holy Father's staff of collaborators has not always come quite up to expectations. He suggests the creation of a permanent ecclesiastical World Council, "Consiglio dei Ministri," composed of the chief representatives of the Roman Congregations, and the creation of a supreme Senate of the Catholic Laity, "Senato del Mondo" (pp. 304-5). The task of this composite World Council would be to deal with problems which cannot be adequately handled on a national or even a continental level, e.g., the more equal distribution of clergy throughout the world; the establishment of a world center of information for press, radio, television, charity and relief activities, etc. Among the most powerful aides to the World Council would be the religious orders and congregations. For their magnificent achievements of the past Fr. Lombardi has only praise, but he is severely critical of a certain stagnation and lack of adaptability in some religious communities.

On a second level, the author envisages a National Council, composed of the National Bishops' Conference, and of the various Catholic Action organizations, which would have consultative voice. This Council would handle problems which cannot be adequately dealt with on the diocesan level, e.g., the demarcation of dioceses; the distribution of secular and religious clergy; a more concentrated and uniform, and therefore more effective, policy; a "united front" on the national level in all questions concerning Catholic life, such as schools, press, labor-management relations, etc. (p. 358 ff.).

The Diocesan Council is found on the next level, and is formed on the same basis: the hierarchy leads and the laity assists in a united approach to the problems of social and charitable activities, public morals, vocations, etc. (p. 405 ff.). The author then discusses other units in order: the parish (p. 541), the family (p. 599), and finally the great mass of the people divided according to its social classes and occupations (p. 627).

The renewal of the Christian spirit on these different levels and within these different groups is to be the work of a specially trained élite of militant Christians, well versed in mental prayer and in the science of the spiritual life. The author at this point writes a most inspiring chapter on prayer (pp. 657-86). It is a masterpiece of spiritual psychology: with great facility and clarity he describes prayer from its most elementary vocal forms to its highest mystical stages. The author seems here to be in his element, and the ease and lucidity with which he writes tells of extensive personal experience. He lays particular stress on the eminently practical value of mental prayer, on the intimate connection, the action and reaction, which exists between

mental prayer and practical life. Mental prayer is illusory if it does not foster greater perfection in our daily lives; and, conversely, only he who sincerely strives to overcome himself and to give himself entirely to God, will progress in mental prayer.

The final and crowning chapter summarizes the plan of the invasion and conquest of the world in this Crusade for Christ. It emphasizes, too, the fact that the renewal in a given locale need not wait upon the initiative of higher ecclesiastical authorities; on the contrary, anyone, anywhere, may initiate it, provided, of course, that local ecclesiastical authority does not forbid a given activity. "A final word to those upon whom it will depend in great measure that this plan not remain a dream: the priests. Let them be convinced that they are the light of the world and that the darkness is waiting to be dispelled; let them be holy and humanity will be saved. Their scepticism in the face of the possibilities for good is one of the most terrible obstacles to the action of divine grace. Their fervor, on the other hand, communicates itself immediately to the faithful. This does not mean that they are to do the layman's work in meeting every problem; but it does mean that they are to gather the laymen together, to counsel them, to inspire them, to sustain them, and to nourish their interior spirit. . . . The Lord will do the rest. Above all, let the priests be united with one another in charity. If the priests act in harmony, the Catholic world reacts immediately and humanity will be saved. It is in the perfect union of the priests that the right spirit of renewal must primarily be incarnated; from them it will spread out, in the confessional and in the pulpit, when they baptize and when they console the relatives of the dead, when they catechize and when they instruct for marriage. No one resists if a united body of clergy is determined to save the world by the complete gift of themselves. So many priests and religious *are* joining the Crusade, becoming crusaders and apostles of unity in this fashion, in the very environment in which they find themselves! Wither the tongue of him who would destroy their unity!

"It is Jesus who shall bring this enterprise to a successful conclusion. For the general level on which it operates is divine, not human, and the only possible success is a divine one. History, under the guidance of divine Providence, has reached the point where it has an agonizing need of Jesus. Providence too will afford the solution for this crisis, and that solution will be Jesus Himself. Our role is to be faithful to Him, ever more faithful, until at last we no longer are because He alone does all things in us. Then we shall advance like blind men; we shall look back from time to time and see that we are executing a plan that is not ours, a plan that is much more beautiful, much greater than we" (pp. 709-10).

This rough outline has conveyed most inadequately the vast inspiration and the dynamic power of this book. But on the basis of what has been said, a few comments may not be out of place.

Fr. Lombardi primarily envisages conditions in Italy, or at least in Latin countries, where intense *activity* is the need of the hour. Other



nations, already suffering from excessive activism, might rather stress the contemplative part of the modern apostolate. Prayer and sacrifice are their need of the hour. A similar observation may be made in regard to Fr. Lombardi's emphasis on *organization*. The Latin countries undoubtedly have great need of this, but there are other countries—I am thinking, for example, of Germany—which have in the past suffered rather from over-organization to the detriment of a full and harmonic development of Christian character and personality. Fr. Lombardi also lays heavy stress on *centralization*. This stress does not seem to be excessive, yet centralization, too, when carried outside the field of faith and morals, can constitute a danger. A pronounced tendency towards standardization, mechanization, "Gleichschaltung," is characteristic of our day, and we cannot entirely escape its influence. Such uniformity has, indeed, become to a certain extent necessary, if we are to survive in deadly struggle with a highly centralized totalitarian enemy. But let us at least not be guilty of the same extremes as our opponent; let not uniformity be bought at the cost of that freedom of regional diversity which the children of God have developed throughout Christian history and which they legitimately enjoy today.

So much by way of precautionary and supplementary remarks. For the rest, this book as a whole, its fundamental attitude and tendency, deserve nothing but praise. One of its most heartening features is its decidedly *positive* attitude towards the modern world. There is no taint of false pessimism, of any eschatological doomsday mysticism or martyr complex. Far from denying or minimizing our responsibility, Fr. Lombardi again and again impresses upon us the duty we all have of constructive cooperation in the building of this "Mondo Nuovo," this new world.

Equally heartening is the truly catholic, the *cosmopolitan* outlook of the author. He regards our world always as one world, and parochialism, provincialism, nationalism are words unknown to him. This is as it should be. Why is it that any tendency in modern art, any economic system, any scientific theory, any political movement, any philosophical school is able quickly to spread the world over, while we Catholics remain ever divided, ever immured in our own narrow provincialism? Where, for example, are our Catholics working towards a truly catholic, a world-wide solution of the highly explosive and painful situation created by contemporary mass-shifts of population? Where are our global Catholic Information Services, our film-, radio-, and television-agencies? Shall it always be said that the children of this world are wiser than the children of light? That they are more anxious to spread their error and hatred unto the destruction of mankind, than we to spread divine Truth and Love unto its salvation?

Another inspiring and encouraging feature of Fr. Lombardi's message is his intrepid demand for *reform* where reform is needed. His approach is discreet and tactful; it takes existing difficulties into account. Yet, with that childlike candor which we have already remarked, he states facts often passed over in silence. This is the more notable in a

book written in Rome under the gaze of the Holy Father himself (Fr. Lombardi is on the staff of *Civiltà Cattolica*). But the author knows only too well—and says so, openly—that our Roman Pontiffs have, in recent years, been far more favorable to progress and reform than have their immediate entourage and many a member of the hierarchy elsewhere. Therefore—to mention one example—Fr. Lombardi unequivocally demands that high and responsible positions be given only to men possessed of the necessary qualifications, and not, by way of “pension” or reward, to men retiring from active life, however well-deserving these may be. In this connection, Fr. Lombardi inevitably finds it necessary to speak of envy and jealousy among the clergy, and of over-conservative attachment to antiquated forms and traditions, especially on the part of some religious communities.

We must praise, finally, Fr. Lombardi’s undaunted *optimism*. Such optimism is a crying need in our day of wars and revolutions, of persecutions and economic upheavals. To be ever in a minority, ever on the defensive, may paralyze our wills. Mere lamentation, of course, is useless; nor should we underestimate the viciousness and ferocity of the adversary, nor be blind to the signs of weakness and defection in our own midst. But despite all these difficulties we must not lose heart. Our optimism is firmly rooted in Christ’s promise of abiding; and to us too were said the consoling words, “Fear not, *little flock!*” It was a very small flock indeed, that once before conquered the world. Once again we need pioneers, but we must trust them, leave them some scope, some initiative of their own. It is well to be proud of our glorious past; but the past must not become a strait jacket to hinder progress and improvement.

Let us hope that Fr. Lombardi’s books, which have already had several editions in German and have been translated into most other languages, including Japanese, may soon be available in English—as well.

BERNARD WELZEL, S.J.

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### HELPS FOR DEVOUT THANKSGIVING

Christ in Me. Prayer Book for Communion Mass. *By Daniel A. Lord, S.J.*  
Milwaukee, The Bruce Publishing Company, 1952. Pp. xx-319.

For those who know Fr. Daniel Lord (Missouri Province) only through his books, “Christ In Me” is a rich source of information. This series of thanksgivings comes from the heart of a sincere and zealous priest. They are the results of Fr. Lord’s own private prayer to our Savior and then of the public thanksgiving made for students and religious. Naturally they reveal something of the inner soul of the author, which only continues to affirm the high opinion that his friends and admirers have always maintained.

More important, however, is the value of the book as a help to a devout thanksgiving after Mass and Holy Communion. Fr. Lord has not discovered a new method nor does he offer anything unusual in the line of prayer. These same thoughts have all been pondered before, but not often have they been proposed in so orderly or usable a form. Each thanksgiving is a practical and sensible guide for the soul who possesses our Divine Lord and who finds it difficult suitably to express his gratitude and love.

The thanksgivings with our Lady and those based on our Savior's Hidden and Public Life are especially appealing. Lay people and religious—of all ages and degrees—will find this a welcome help to proper prayer to our Eucharistic Lord.

WILLIAM C. MCCUSKER, S.J.

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### PHILOSOPHER AND MARTYR

**Edith Stein.** *By Sister Teresia de Spiritu Sancto, O.D.C.* London and New York, Sheed and Ward, 1952. Pp. viii—238. \$3.25.

This biography serves to introduce the reader to the life of its remarkable subject, but it does so by exciting without satisfying his curiosity. Edith Stein was born into a devout Jewish family, October 12, 1891. August 7, 1942, now Sister Benedicta, she disappeared from view, a Carmelite in the hands of the German police, traveling eastward. Perhaps she died that same year in the gas chambers of Auschwitz. Between these dates she had attained prominence among German philosophers (she was friend and disciple of Husserl), become a Catholic and then a Carmelite. As a philosopher she had, in the judgment of many, brought together Phenomenology and Thomism, a work which she reviewed and completed in the convent, besides producing others, among them a study of St. John of the Cross. Along with these labors she lived fully the Carmelite life of prayer which she crowned with martyrdom—her death an act of retaliation for the hierarchy's defense of the Jews. Such a person with not only spiritual but high intellectual gifts must have brought her Jewish inheritance, her philosophy and her Catholicism all to bear on what is, I believe, her sanctity. This sanctity, if it is to help us, must have its own flavor, its own color and flowering; it must resemble, and yet be quite different from that of—let us say—Teresa of Lisieux. But as we need the autobiography of Teresa to perceive the distinct and personal character of her holiness, so we need someone to act as our interpreter for Edith Stein who can, I believe, give us something quite as individual. This remains to be done; for the disappointment of this biography is that it fails to show in Edith Stein that which is peculiarly her own. It is, I am afraid, a narrative of externals.

To be fair, it hardly pretends to be more; so perhaps I am asking for too much too soon. At any rate a more profound treatment is some-

thing to hope for. Meanwhile, a reading of this biography will show why Sister Benedicta is attracting more and more interest and may well inspire someone to undertake the interpretation we need.

JOHN MANNING FRAUNCES, S.J.

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### SCHOLAR AND CONTROVERSIALIST

**Father Thurston.** By Joseph Crehan, S.J., London, Sheed and Ward, 1952. Pp. viii—235. 12/6.

When Father Herbert Thurston died in 1939, he left behind him an international reputation as a scholar and as a writer on current topics. He wrote for the *Catholic Encyclopedia* and revised Butler's *Lives of the Saints*. For sixty-one years, from 1878 to 1939, he was a contributor to *The Month*. Perhaps less known are two other aspects of Father Thurston's life which Father Crehan treats in this memoir: Thurston, the controversialist and Thurston, the confessor. As a controversialist Thurston was involved in a dispute with Father George Tyrrell and the Modernists. On a more popular level he fought the common English prejudices against the Catholic Church: the immuring of nuns, selling of indulgences and Pope Joan. As a confessor he was learned (he was an authority on the Spiritual Exercises) and, according to multitudinous testimony, courteous and gentle.

If this book suffers from a defect it is a result of a factor that is always present in the writing of the life of any controversialist and writer of contemporary affairs. Persons, places and arguments which once meant very much to an interested world now mean little, and it takes elaborate introductions to put them into their context. Von Hügel, Dr. Coulton and Rider Haggard, the *immurati* and the Kiev Ritual Murder case are almost unknown to America and American readers. Father Thurston, the confessor, suffers the same fate in a section which is necessarily a compilation of anecdotes and Thurston's personal notes.

In general, however, the book gives a good appreciation of Father Thurston's talents as a writer and his integrity as an historian. There is one striking instance of Thurston's hatred of pseudo-scholarship. In 1903 he criticized *History of Confession and Indulgences* by a Dr. H. C. Lea with the seemingly rash statement, "in any ten consecutive pages ten palpable blunders may be unearthed." When he was challenged on this criticism thirty-three years after he wrote it, a disinterested third party was appointed to select at random ten consecutive pages for the test. Thurston found not ten, but fifteen errors on those pages. Father Crehan summarizes the life of Father Thurston: "Nor was it only completeness of information that men found in him, or serenity of thought, or integrity in the search for truth, but all of them compounded together and into one thing wrought."

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