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# WOODSTOCK LETTERS



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VOLUME 98

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WOODSTOCK  
L E T T E R S

WINTER 1969

VOLUME 98 NUMBER 1

## INTRODUCTION

Provincial and interprovincial conferences around the country suggest that the Jesuit community—its meaning, necessity, shape and size—is still an issue for debate. WOODSTOCK LETTERS presents five papers on the subject. Two, by Frs. Rigali and Cardegna, were originally delivered at meetings on Jesuit renewal. The other three, by Frs. Tellis-Nayak, Meissner, and Mr. Papaj were written for this quarterly. While the papers take widely divergent approaches, they all agree on the need for theoretical or practical change and for continued open-mindedness.

Fr. Jurich, formerly an associate editor of WOODSTOCK LETTERS, has edited selections from the *Lettres de Rome* to the province of Montreal. They deal with the second session of the 31st General Congregation. The letters from the first session appeared in volume 96 (1967) of this quarterly. In this issue we also offer a study sponsored by the JEA on the disaffection of younger Jesuits for our current educational apostolate. Fr. Montague, the chairman of the composing committee, stresses the context of the report (cf. *Report . . .*, "Location of the Problem"). It is an exploratory work, and admits that work still must be done on the basic phenomenon as well as its causes and possible results. Mr. Coursey comments on the report in the succeeding article.

Finally, Mr. Samway, a former managing editor of WOODSTOCK LETTERS, offers a review of readings in Theology and Literature, stimulated not only by his own research, but also by his attendance at national seminars on the subject.

G. C. R.

## WINTER, 1969

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## FOR CONTRIBUTORS

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

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

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

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## THE 31ST GENERAL CONGREGATION: LETTERS FROM THE SECOND SESSION

*Edited by James P. Jurich, S.J.*

In 1967 WOODSTOCK LETTERS presented "The 31st General Congregation: Letters from the First Session," an article in two parts.<sup>1</sup> A translation of nine Lettres de Rome prepared and distributed by the Provincial's office of the Province of Montreal, this article offered a more personal account of the events of the Congregation than the official Newsletters could provide.

As it had promised at the end of the first session, the Province of Montreal continued its Lettres de Rome service during the second session, producing twice as much printed material in the process. Large portions of this material summarized the valuable work done throughout the Society in preparation for the second session. This included reports and position papers written by experts as well as preliminary drafts of decrees drawn up by the members of the Congregation. We also find personalized accounts of the discussions and debates during the sessions and of the day-to-day circumstances surrounding them. It is from this rich historical source that WOODSTOCK LETTERS now present the following article.

The 31st General Congregation is already part of history, but it continues to exert a profound influence on the Society of Jesus. Efforts to implement the decrees in various parts of the Society have already served to show how much more the thinking on the realities of our religious life can and must develop. The Congregation itself often looked forward to its successor only a few years ahead, and many Jesuits hope that ideas prematurely expressed during the 31st General Congregation will reach their maturity in the 32nd. The editors hope, therefore, that the publication of "Letters from the Second Session" will serve more than a merely historical interest, for those who will have a part to play

---

Translated by James P. Jurich and Robert C. Collins.

<sup>1</sup> 96 (1967) 5-34, 143-95.

*in the next Congregation—and that should mean all Jesuits—will have to grapple with and build upon many of the unresolved discussions of the 31st General Congregation.*

*Limitations of space and local interest require that not all of the original French text be translated here. In addition, a few short sections have been replaced by the corresponding treatment of the same events in the English-language Newsletters written by Fr. Donald Campion, who at the time of writing sometimes had the advantage of more complete documentary sources.*

*Thanks are due to Fr. Irénée Desrochers, S.J., who, as Provincial of Montreal, gave permission to publish this translation, to Montreal's "envoyé spécial" at the Congregation, the principal author of these accounts, and to the members of the Provinces of Maryland, Montreal, and New York who encouraged the editors in this translation project.*

September 4, 1966

#### Return to Rome

I arrived at the Curia after a fine, uneventful trip . . . .

They warned us that it was hot in Rome. As a matter of fact, I was carrying two pieces of luggage, one of which contained my typewriter, and I was wearing a coat. I found the heat overwhelming, but actually it was 80°. I arrived at the Curia at 2 P.M. sweating all over. I took a shower, said Mass, and went for a walk in St. Peter's Square . . . .

#### Plastic surgery

I returned to the Curia for an inspection tour of the house. In the large chapel downstairs they had completely removed the main altar and transferred the Blessed Sacrament to the small altar on the right. In the sanctuary there is now only a large, completely bare table of white marble. Along the wall in the back they set up a very small altar used only for benediction. The situation has remained the same in the domestic chapel, except that they have found a solution (an excellent one, I think) to the concelebration problem. The altar is still in the back, but every morning they place a small portable table approximately four feet long two or three feet in front of the altar steps, and on this table they say concelebrated Masses facing the people.

But the recreation room is the one that has undergone the greatest transformation. At one and the same time it has been made both bigger and smaller: bigger, because all the fathers' rooms along the main corridor have been done away with; smaller, because the recreation area has been subdivided into several rooms. Just imagine: there are two

private rooms for those who want to watch television. The larger room is for lovers of news, entertainment, and sports; the smaller one is for more serious folk. A third room is devoted to those who wish to listen to music, and a fourth to those who want to tape-record their voices or some program. All these rooms have new furniture. They have put six to eight card tables in what remains of the rec room. The whole thing is decorated in a modern style, with rather provocative colors. *O tempora, o mores!*

Bro. Gravel, who had me inspect all these changes, was very happy to inform me that all divisions between communities have been suppressed at the Curia. There is no longer a separate recreation room for the brothers; now they take their recreation in the one room common to all.

#### **Haustus-talk: the *devotio moderna***

After finishing this tour, I made my way to the haustus room, for it was 4:30. A new surprise: they no longer have haustus at the end of the refectory and in the scullery, as they did during the first session. They have set up a special room where the coffee and the Pepsi is permanently enthroned. I met a crowd of delegates there, including our Fr. Provincial Desrochers. I had the feeling that I was meeting old friends again, a little like the old days when we would come back to school. Everyone was asking: "How are things going where you are? How far have the reforms in the Society gone? And the revolution?"

The impression that comes out of this first contact is the uneasiness that a number of people have with regard to a possible split between generations or between the scholastics and the older fathers. One provincial went so far as to say that he no longer knows which way to turn. The young men threaten to leave the Society if there aren't greater reforms, and twenty-five of the old fathers have signed a letter of protest against all the upheavals already going on, and they are also threatening to leave the Society to go and live with the Carthusians if the Society continues to secularize itself.

One especially spirited father gave us a humorous description of the situation where he was:

We've been brought to the point where, if an old father wants to say his rosary, he has to ask permission from Fr. Rector, who habitually advises him to say it with his hand in his pocket so that he isn't reprimanded by the scholastics. If this same old father wants to make the way of the cross, oh! then he must go right to the provincial, who tells him not to do anything of the sort in front of the scholastics, but to wait until they have their holidays or are outside the house. And if this old father wants to say his Mass in

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private as he used to do, then he has to write to Rome to ask for that permission from the General, especially if he intends to say it every day of the week . . . !

September 5, 1966

### Hexagon or Pentagon

The dining room, too, has been transformed. They have put in hexagonal tables, and now instead of one companion for a *Deo Gratias* meal we have five. They have also put acoustical material on the walls and ceiling. But over and above all that, the General himself has been displaced. Instead of sitting at the table at the far end, as he used to, he chose a small table near the other end of the dining room. But that complicated things, because from time immemorial this end of the dining room had been reserved for the brothers, and there were some meals when the General was surrounded by them. Then some people said that this wasn't the place for the General. Now he has chosen another table near the center of the room . . . but no one knows how long that will last. One father said to me: "This is a sign that the Society is trying to find its balance: the General no longer knows where to sit in his own dining room." With these changes I lose the opportunity I had at the first session. I kept my same napkin-box, but the General not only does not enter by my door any more, but he eats at a table for six and thus will no longer have a single table-partner as before.

### Triduum

The triduum has begun. I do not believe it would detract from the triduum if I were to continue my letter and write to you about Father General's points. At 9:30 everyone went to the *aula*. There were no special places, and people sat wherever they could. Out of modesty the Assistants mingled with the crowd, and I had Fr. Small, the American Assistant, next to me. I asked him what he was doing there, and he answered that it was to his advantage to leave the upper ranks and mix in with the delegates and that he would always have the opportunity of being with the other Assistants again.

Judging from the scene provided in the *aula*, most of the delegates were there making the triduum. I would say that nine-tenths were present. According to the list they gave us, our number has increased: last year we were 225; this year there are 231 of us. The title of the list reads: *ELENCHUS PATRUM SECUNDUM ORDINEM SEDENDI*. The Assistants and provincials come first. (Fr. Desrochers is No. 28 and Fr. Fortier is No. 29, and they are therefore neighbors.) There are seventy-six of them, and then begin the "ELECTORES ET PROCURADORES," numbered from 77 to 231 . . . .

### The Congregation in Council

Father General came up, said the prayer, and gave us points for meditation. (The day includes one meditation in the morning and one hour of adoration in the afternoon before the Blessed Sacrament exposed.) They had undoubtedly warned the General about not speaking too rapidly, for he read the Latin text slowly and with careful articulation so that we were able to follow him easily. But just to be sure, as we left they provided us with a copy of the same text that the General had just read. Here is a resume<sup>2</sup> of it:

The theme of each day's conference, as one might have expected, concerned the work of the Congregation. Father General began his first talk with a reference to the will of Vatican II that every religious order or congregation hold a special General Chapter within the next couple of years to update itself according to the mind of the Church as expressed in the body of conciliar texts. Father General then went on to suggest that the Fathers might profitably put themselves in the place of those Jesuits who took part in the famous *Deliberatio Primorum Patrum* of 1539. (An English translation of that important discussion appears in the latest issue of WOODSTOCK LETTERS; all the Fathers here received copies of the Latin text and this English version.) He stated that the spirit of the Congregation's debate should be the same, though the early Fathers were true founders of the Society while the present assembly were heirs of their patrimony.

Following up this theme, Father General reminded all that they would be held responsible for what they did with this patrimony since it was given as a "talent" to them. The best guidelines they could follow here are in Paul VI's *Ecclesiam Suam*. In that 1964 encyclical, the Pope declared that no updating in the Church could be truly effective if it stemmed from archaicism, relativism, naturalism, or immobilism.

Father General then explored some thoughts on the nature of an "Ignatian election" and their applicability to the General Congregation. A valid election, he noted, presupposes: (1) genuine indifference, not one of apathy but springing from absolute preference for what Christ wills; (2) a conscious rejection of all egocentrism; (3) spiritual freedom, including especially freedom from one's own prejudices and a respect for the freedom of others as a condition of "common dialogue." Given these conditions, the Trinity can work in us. This was a commonplace of St. Ignatius' teaching.

Meaningful dialogue, on the divine model, will also mean openness to the Spirit speaking through the mediation of the Church in its pronouncements and decrees. "If our dialogue is begun in a spirit of faith, in indifference, in love of the Cross, and in spiritual freedom," Father General went on, "we will discover the suggestions of the Holy Spirit in it." This demands, he remarked, being open to light from every source, from all the rest of the Society and from the deepest yearnings of today's world.

<sup>2</sup> All resumés of the triduum conferences are taken from the English-language *Newsletter 21* of September 10, 1966.

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Finally, the General Congregation must enter on its "election" with two key attitudes: (1) a mingling of proper modesty or humility together with inner freedom and magnanimity; (2) a "holy daring" that admits of full realism in assessing the costs and consequences of a decision but will suffer no postponement or watering down of gospel principles and Jesuit ideals. Whatever the Congregation decides, it must decide "boldly and with great confidence in the sense of vocation in Ours, both old and young."

September 6, 1966

### Intermezzo—The Sound of Music

At supper last night we had a double surprise. We had been on silence since yesterday morning, that is, there was no recreation after dinner or supper. So there was no news coming from anywhere else. At supper the reader, after reading the Scripture, stopped and said something like this: "Vespere, audiemus concertum organi ex Ioannis Sebastiani Bach operibus" (This evening we will hear an organ concert from the works of Johann Sebastian Bach). I was already a little surprised to hear them telling us about an organ concert during the triduum, and I thought that this was going to be some special affair on television. But no, the organ concert took place during supper in place of the reading! I could not help smiling at hearing the first notes of Bach, but Fr. Swain, who was opposite me, gave the appearance of finding all this quite normal.

During supper I reflected on the beauty and variations of the Jesuit vocation, to the strains of Bach's "Toccatina and Fugue." But that wasn't all. Right in the middle of the piece I saw one of my neighbors get up, make the sign of the cross, and leave. At first I thought that he had been called elsewhere on some urgent business, but a little while later another did the same thing. I took them for barbarians unable to appreciate the beauties of the concert, but the exodus continued. I finally realized that each one could leave when he was finished. . . .

### Second Conference

For his points on the second day of the triduum Father General treated of the "special character" of our Jesuit following of Christ and the gospel. He found the key in St. Ignatius' conception of an apostle as an "instrument of God." What is there in the nature of an instrument or of instrumentality that can guide us here? Certainly we must be aware of the great need for union with the principal cause of the instrument's activity, seeing too that the greater the work the more intimate this union must be. At the same time, one needs an awareness of the weakness and limitations of the instrument. Thus, St. Ignatius could speak of "this least Society" in all sincerity.

We must have a sense, also, of the whole Society as a chosen instrument for the advance of the Kingdom. This depends, to be sure, on the disponibility of individual Jesuits, but the common aim must be to make the *whole* Society

a more perfect instrument for the "better, more solid, more universal" service of the Church. In the concrete, this demands of each man a deeper sense of union with God, of dependence on and openness to the will of the Father as "sons in the Son."

Finally, with that "marvelous realism, sense of practicality and sincerity" of St. Ignatius, we must face up to the necessity of death to the old man that the "new man" of St. Paul may come alive in us. If there are any who doubt the relevance of this consideration, they have misunderstood the very notion of participating in the mystery of Christ or else have focused on the meaning of separate acts of abnegation rather than on the "loving trust" that seeks expression in them. Here is something for both old and young in the Society to rediscover.

September 7, 1966

#### "Rome calling"

There is an announcement on the rec room bulletin board about the Curia acquiring a radio transmitter-receiver for the purpose of being able to contact Jesuits throughout the world. A Vatican Radio operator comes to give lessons to some of the fathers here. And here is the interesting thing for our Canadian amateurs. They advise us that if any provincial or delegate wants to speak with members of his province, he has only four conditions to fulfill, that is, to specify: (1) the day; (2) the Greenwich time; (3) the length: 20 meters; (4) the frequency. . . . The General intends to use it a good deal. . . .

#### Polyglot Congregation

It seems that the Latin language is going to lose its priority in the dining room. An announcement on the board tells us that at noon they will test having readings in vernacular languages. Four languages have been chosen: English, French, Spanish, and Italian. They will read excerpts from articles published in our periodicals and apt to be of interest to the fathers. I wonder if they are going to find such articles in *Relations* or *Collège et Famille* or *Actualité* or *Messenger*. . . .

#### And still they come

We are beginning to receive new *postulata* presented by the delegates. One deals with the Gregorian University, another with the reform of the common rules, and another with the re-evaluation of the manifestation of conscience. This last one is numbered 1959. All records have been broken, and the avalanche of *postulata* continues. . . .

#### Third Conference

The last conference of the triduum dealt with union in the Society and specifically with personal union in the General Congregation. Father General opened by noting that the unity of the Society was a living reality for St.

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Ignatius and for men like St. Francis Xavier. St. Ignatius, in fact, was convinced that a special union among Jesuits was essential for the survival of the Society and that it was equally a product of Christ's grace. We are all asked from the moment of our entrance into the Society to consider ourselves a part of it. The friendship that exists among us should thus be "fully fraternal, human, sincere, cordial, and properly the result of grace." For us Jesuits today, as for the band that gathered in Paris in 1534, our link, of course, is Christ.

Vatican II tells us that full fraternal union is the sign by which every religious family or congregation makes evident the coming of Christ (*Decree on the Appropriate Renewal of Religious Life*, No. 15). Here, then is the reason for St. Ignatius' unaccustomed sternness when he speaks of those members who threaten the unity of the Society of Jesus. Unity is essential and it is something that all must work to preserve. Particularly if we are to strive for authentic renewal and progress in unity, we must observe the rules of dialogue as laid down, for instance, by Paul VI in *Ecclesiam Suam*. At the same time we cannot ignore the importance in this regard of that "bond of wills" and "inner consensus" that should be the result of obedience and a basis of loving union in the Society. Here is one of the results that the early Fathers in their *Deliberatio* of 1539 hoped would flow from the exercise of authority in the Society as a "ministry of unity" and a "service."

On the matter of personal union in the General Congregation, Father General recalled that, if St. Ignatius saw union in general among all Jesuits as a hallmark of the Society, he looked upon a congregation as the unique celebration of that union. For him a congregation would be an event at which "the whole Society, as it were, is present." Each member of a general congregation, Father General reminded all, is to inform himself about the needs and affairs of the whole Society. Even though the electors have been named by the several provincial congregations, their real task is to do and say what they think best for the entire, undivided Society.

Once again, Father General stressed the clear importance of fostering true dialogue in the Congregation. In this regard he called attention to the deep fears expressed by St. Francis Borgia at the close of the 2nd General Congregation. The saint then voiced grave concern over the harm to union in the Society if the members of the Congregation did not let bygones be bygones and forget the debates that seem to have so deeply divided them.

On the same point of preserving union of spirits, Father General urged the Fathers to keep in mind St. Ignatius' own *Praesupponendum* at the start of the *Spiritual Exercises* for a fair hearing to every man. He also suggested that this Congregation might well borrow a lesson from a pertinent passage in Vatican II's *Decree on the Ministry and Life of Priests*, No. 8: "Older priests should receive younger priests as true brothers and give them a hand with their first undertakings and assignments in the ministry. They should likewise try to understand the mentality of younger priests, even though it be different from their own, and should follow their projects with good will. For his own part, a younger priest should respect the age and experience of his seniors.

He should discuss plans with them, and willingly cooperate with them in matters which pertain to the care of souls.”

September 8, 1966

#### A spiritual look back

The introductory triduum is finished. Now that it has been tried, I think it was a good idea, perfectly carried off. On the physical level, it was a complete success. About ninety-five percent of the delegates made the triduum. As far as I have been able to determine, there could not have been many more than a dozen missing. It is more difficult to evaluate spiritually. I think certain major ideas must have carried weight: the conditions for making a good election (i.e., for accomplishing one's duty as a member of the Congregation), the need for union with Christ to act supernaturally, and the unity which must be preserved in the Society. The doctrine is classical, even if it was dressed up with quotations from the decrees of Vatican II. Strong emphasis was put on Christ as leader of the Society, as the head from whom everything derives, as well as on the need for abnegation, fraternal charity, indifference (in the sense of preferring the will of God), etc.

#### Nostalgia

I must be getting old and sentimental. The other evening, at the end of an hour's adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, all the fathers present sang the *Salve Regina* after the blessing was given; and this took me thirty years back to l'Île Saint-Ignace where we spent holidays when we were novices and juniors. As I listened to this crowd of fathers singing our old *Salve Regina* to the same melody, I saw once again our Maison de Saint-Ignace, with all of us in the tribune at ten o'clock at night singing this hymn to the Virgin, while on the river a ship slowly passed by with all its lights shining brightly. . . . Surely Rome is making me sentimental. . . . Still, there is something there—fathers from all parts of the world, of every language and nation, being able to sing that way the same praise of the Virgin in the same language to the same melody. I wonder if it will be possible to repeat this feat at the next Congregation. . . .

#### Music, prayer, and theology

At supper last night we had two little serenades with flute and harpsichord. They're keeping it up! After supper we had our meeting with Father General in the recreation room. We got in line, and each one in turn shook hands with the General, who had some appropriate little greeting for each of us as we went by.

Beforehand we had a Bible vigil in the chapel. Note this: the whole

## WOODSTOCK LETTERS

thing was in French. The officiants were Frs. Giuliani (France), Franchimont (Belgium), Rondet (France), and Harvey (Canada). Fr. Giuliani, who presided, gave the homily entirely in French.

### Jesuit liturgy: new and old

This morning at 8:30 we had a solemn concelebrated Mass for the official opening of the Congregation. The General was surrounded by twenty-four priests representing all the assistancies, with our Fr. Fortier (Provincial of Quebec) among them. Now *there* was a concelebration with real scope to it. At the gospel, Fr. Oñate sang in a magnificent voice the otherwise quite commonplace words, "Abraham genuit Isaac, Isaac autem genuit Jacob . . ." and so on up to "de qua natus est Christus." There are hidden talents in our Society! At the preface it was the General's turn, and he sang out with vigor and ease, using all the new melodies. It was a pleasure for me to hear our fine new preface for solemn feasts. And there was something else new. The twenty-four concelebrants sang—that's right, sang—the Canon of the Mass together, even the "Hoc est . . . meum." I learn something new every day.

September 9, 1966

Today it is hot, just as it was during those fine days of the first session. In other words, the thermometer is hovering between 85° and 90°, and sometimes it goes up to 95°. This means that the delegates are much more attracted toward the Pepsi supply, to which has been added this year a new sign: MIRINDA, a kind of orange juice made by the same Pepsi company. As for the Pope, he is at Castel Gandolfo and has not seen us since we arrived. These meetings around the Pepsi cooler are very useful for picking up news and getting to know one another. Fr. Irénée Desrochers takes considerable advantage of this . . . and I am keeping an eye on his instruction. In the last issue of *America*, I read the article by Fr. Leary entitled "The Wisdom of Being Apart," on the need to maintain grammar schools, secondary schools, and Catholic universities in the United States. I was engaged in discussion with the author, who is present at the Congregation, and was congratulating him on taking a stand and telling him that in Canada the same problem has arisen, when Fr. Desrochers arrived. I told Fr. Leary, "Here is someone you must get to read your article. He's our new provincial and he has to make some decisions on this very matter of the future of our secondary schools." They introduced themselves, and Fr. Desrochers told him that he, too, had just finished reading his article. This pleased Fr. Leary, because all this uproar being made in the United States aimed at getting the Jesuits to abandon their high schools and

universities seems artificial to him: "Who's asking for this? Not our present students, not our alumni, not the parents of our students—but Catholics who want to get completely mixed in with the general mass of the population, and also Jesuits who no longer want to teach in our high schools and universities. . . ." Fr. Carrier was passing by at that moment, and I caught him, too, to read the article and chat with Fr. Leary. Two more articles are coming on the topic.

#### Linguistic poles

I've already said that with the new arrangement of tables in the dining room I lost my chance to land at the General's table. It seems now that the matter is definitely closed since the General has been given a place right in the middle of the refectory, by the wall. I would have to go back half the length of the refectory to reach there. However, I notice the new system favors small groupings by language. With the huge tables used before, you took your place in the next spot when you got there, without worrying about who was next to you. But now, little by little, the tables are being filled, if not according to nationality, at least according to language.

#### The difficulties of the job

Last night, during recreation after supper, I went up to the roof to take a walk with a group of French fathers. When they saw me arrive, one of them shouted out!

Silence! Quiet! Mum's the word! Anything you say to him is liable to be reported to Canada and eventually wind up back in France. Listen to what happened to me last year. Father came up to me and said: "Fr. Socius of Montreal would like to know if you have *déphasés* fathers, and what you do with them."

All unsuspecting, I replied: "Do we have any *déphasés*?! Enough to populate your entire province!"

"But what do you do with them?"

At that point another father, a delegate from the Near East, immediately answered: "He sends them to the Near East."

I had completely forgotten this incident until, one fine day, I received a phone call from a father arriving from the Near East: "So! I'm a *déphasé*!" I was surprised and didn't understand what he meant, and so I asked him about it. "Why, at Rome, during the General Congregation, you said that you send these *déphasés* to the Near East."

"I beg your pardon. I'm not the one who said that. It was a father from the Near East. But who told you about this?"

"I read it in a series of letters by a Canadian father. . . ."

Now you understand why I say "Silence!" Anything you say is liable to be interpreted against you.

None of this prevented the group from speaking as freely as before. . . .

Aside from the concelebrated Mass, the opening day of this second session was relatively free of ceremony. Shortly after the Mass, the Fathers took their assigned places in the aula. . . . The meeting began with a brief prayer and then Father General's address<sup>3</sup>. . . .

**Father General's allocution: Great Expectations**

The talk opened with some remarks on the importance and difficulty of the job ahead. Then Father General reviewed in some detail the work of preparation that had gone on during the intersession. Finally, he discussed what the Society expected of the Congregation and what it should do in response.

In some ways, Father General said at the start, this session faces a harder job than the first, even though it has the help of the decrees of Vatican II and the advantage that the members know one another, have had experience and added study, and can profit from the work of the *periti* and others. Still, the problems this session faces are harder because of the nature of the subjects to be treated and of developments in the intersession. At the same time, expectations both inside and outside the Society are great. The fact is that the Congregation faces "profound, complicated, and immense problems of every sort" and it faces them in what some call "a period of transition; others, of crisis; others, of evolution; others, of degeneration; others, of imminent chaos."

In speaking of preparations for the second session, Father General first mentioned the work of the Coordinating Committee under the direction of Fr. Vincent O'Keefe. He singled out for special praise the *periti* or experts, particularly those who had been associated with the work of Vatican II, for their generous work. Then he reviewed briefly a series of other meetings and events that contributed at least indirectly to the work of preparation: (1) approval by the Pope of the first session's determination on poverty; (2) work by Frs. John McGrail and Ansgar Simmel on setting up simultaneous translation systems for meetings of the Congregation that are not official; (3) various meetings of experts with a view to setting up a Council of Technical Advisors to the General: (a) on communications media, under Fr. Robert Claude; (b) on renovation and development of Vatican Radio; (c) on Ignatian spirituality, under Fr. Maurice Giuliani at Paris, and on the Exercises, under Frs. John Swain and Clemente Espinosa, at Loyola in Spain; (d) on financial operations, under Frs. Romulus Durocher and Raymond Walter together with several lay experts; (e) on educational work and the creation of a center for research and coordination, under Frs. Vincent O'Keefe and John Blewett; (f) on missionary work, one gathering of mission superiors at Syracuse, N.Y., in the United States of America, and two similar meetings in Rome; (g) on aid to less developed areas; (h) on public relations, under Fr. Vincent O'Keefe; (i) on social questions and social science, with 25 experts meeting here in Rome; (j) on a sociological survey of the whole Society, with the same experts; (k) on confronting the challenge of atheism, under Fr. Andrew Varga; (l) on work with international organizations, with fathers in that work meeting in Paris; (4) study of letters from province and house consultors

<sup>3</sup> The following summary is taken from *Newsletter 21*.

in order to review the true state of the Society and particularly the problem of defections; (5) Father General's own visits to Northern Italy, the Near East, Africa, France, and the United States of America, which he regards as a great benefit and the result of a wise recommendation from the first session of the General Congregation.

Under the heading of expectations for the General Congregation, Father General spoke first of the variety of attitudes towards the Congregation and then of what the Congregation should set as its goals. There are, in the first place, some who expect from the Congregation the answers to all problems, including those of a doctrinal nature, even though the Congregation is only "a sort of legislative body that lays down norms and practical criteria and does not dare to enunciate doctrinal solutions." Others stand off in indifference and give almost the impression of not regarding themselves as members of the same family. Still others are fearful of the Congregation, either because it may change so many things that they won't recognize the Society anymore, or because it will lack breadth of vision, openness and daring to do all that should be done. Finally, there are those who have a calm, realistic confidence that the Congregation will come up with all the necessary answers, even though not with the answer to everything.

What is the Congregation to do? Father General proposed four main tasks. The first, to affirm our basic principles in a clear, intelligible fashion. This will demand sincere freedom of spirit and a sense of the supernatural logic taught by St. Ignatius in the *Exercises* and *Constitutions*. The statement of principles must be one that can be understood by both old and young, though both may have to accommodate themselves to its phrasing in some degree. In making it, however, the Congregation must beware of historicism, psychologism, triumphalism, immobilism, or progressism. More specifically, Father General stressed that the Congregation must not be overtimid. Rather, it should say what must be said about our basic principles without fear of offending the younger members of the Society. The young of today admire sincerity, daring, realism, and brevity. Let the Congregation, then, follow the gospel injunction: "Let your speech be Yea, Yea, and No, No" (Matt. 5:37). To speak otherwise, to take refuge in beautifully phrased bromides, would not satisfy the generous youth of today.

Secondly, the Congregation must seek to clarify the concrete application of these principles to situations of today's world. This will require careful use of the discernment of spirits and the rules for election, as well as a sketching out of the proper countenance of a twentieth-century Jesuit.

The third task should be to consider how best to go about forming or developing such a Jesuit as the Congregation envisions. This will mean taking a realistic, even perhaps a radical, look at the whole present structure of formation in the Society.

Finally, the Congregation must concern itself with building up a sense or understanding of common life and community. "In a word," Father General concluded, "if we wish to achieve unity in today's Society, it will help to have a well-defined goal, to map out the path wisely, and to set forth proper guidelines with loftiness of vision and sincerity."

There has been little new since my last letter. The Congregation is digesting the tons of paper prepared for it between the sessions; it has not yet begun to sit in full session. I have spent the morning reading the results of the work done by the experts and the *periti* called upon between the two sessions.

#### From an experienced spiritual father

It seems to me that you would be interested in knowing some of the observations on the spiritual life in the Society. Here are some that came from an American father:

. . . The Congregation should not be content with producing abstract decrees and pointing out the ideal to be attained; it should also indicate the concrete means of making these decrees and this ideal become part of Jesuit living. Otherwise, they will be received as mere wishful thinking. If the Congregation really wants Jesuits to have a better formation with regard to the Spiritual Exercises, it should not be content with formulating an ideal, but it should give concrete directives.

#### The annual retreat

For a few years we have to allow wide room for experimentation. For example, after three or four years in the Society, our scholastics should be able to enjoy greater initiative in making their annual retreat. The retreat master could give points twice a day and make some suggestions concerning the matter for the other meditations of the day, or attendance at points could be *ad libitum* several times a day. That would allow the retreat master to devote more time to the scholastics, either individually or in small groups.

#### Exercises of piety

The Congregation ought to produce a statement on the necessity of Jesuits being men of a solid interior life if they wish to respond to the needs of the world and of the Church. Many Jesuits today doubt that it is useful or necessary to be entirely known by their superior, because most of the time, especially in large communities, the superior is rather an administrator.

Every decree on mental prayer should be preceded by a pastoral declaration on the place and need for prayer in the Society today. Decrees will not be enough to satisfy the aspirations of the younger men. The declaration in question should not be made up of citations from the *Constitutions*, but it should be adapted to the way of thinking of today's Jesuit. It will have to answer the most current objections now in circulation.

I believe there are more things going on each moment in people's lives today than was the case in the days of St. Francis Borgia and Fr. Aquaviva. Modern man is much quicker at getting down to work. A simple comparison between modern spiritual literature and the spiritual writing of the Borgia-Aquaviva era clearly shows that "a much more business-like approach to spiritual matters is characteristic of our age." Having to face an hour of prayer, today's scholastics, even the best of them, spend a good part of this

time for prayer waiting for the bell to ring. This problem will not be solved by better spiritual direction, better instruction in prayer, or a more mortified life. There are some excellent scholastics who have had all that and who, despite that, do not know what to do during the hour of meditation. Therefore one solution remains: to cut this hour of meditation in half.

#### The examination of conscience

The Congregation should put out a pastoral declaration on the place of the examination of conscience in the life of a Jesuit, showing that, instead of being a concentration on one's own sins, it ought to be an exercise in the discernment of spirits, a help in finding God in all things. The Congregation should also abandon a fixed length of time and specify that the examen should be made twice a day, when this is *reasonably* possible. . . .

There you have a resumé of the observations made by a good American spiritual father. And this is only one of many reports sent to us. . . .

September 15, 1966

The Congregation is getting under way slowly, too slowly to suit those thinking about the possibility of returning home by the end of October. This morning in the reading room an American reading the New York *Herald Tribune* suddenly came across an article that seemed to amuse him very much, and he exclaimed: "That's for us; that should be our motto!" Some others went over, and he told them: Read this—the paper's announcing the end of the Congregation. Across half the page was a large headline: "HOME FOR CHRISTMAS." In fact, however, it was about ending the war in Vietnam and bringing the American soldiers back for Christmas. . . .

Music in the dining room—Bach, Haydn, Handel—continues to delight us each evening. This innovation stirs up some lively discussions at recreation. Someone referred us to the article in the September, 1966, *Études* by Henri Engelman: "Musique pour tous."

#### Psychoanalysis

A provincial indicated the conditions he set for those fathers who ask to be allowed to undergo psychoanalysis: (1) that the father continue working; (2) that a supervisor of the dialogue be present; (3) that the father being psychoanalyzed also have a dialogue with his own spiritual father; and (4) that the treasurer agree to pay. . . .

We wanted more details on two of these conditions. It seemed that the first condition is the most effective: ergotherapy, that is, treatment by work. Many fathers have complexes because they are not working enough or because the work they are doing is not suited to their psychological condition. It is the role of the ergotherapist to find the kind of work that fits each one, but it must be a work that at least

defrays the cost of the treatment the father undergoes. As to the second condition, it consists in giving the father asking to undergo psycho-analysis someone who will observe him while he dialogues with others and, to begin with, to see if he actually does it.

#### Renewal in procedure

The first two sessions have, in effect, been taken up with procedural questions. It was necessary, for example, to vote on whether the Congregation would excuse Fr. Jean d'Auteuil Richard, the former Provincial of Montreal, from coming to Rome.

The procedure has been completely recast, introducing, for example, points of order, which some people seem to be just discovering. Just as at the Council, the Congregation has provided itself with a council of moderators, leaving to the General the task of naming its members. These are Frs. Dezza, Calvez, and Klubertanz. Yesterday Fr. Dezza presided at the session, with Father General present. The experience of the first session had shown that it was a great deal to ask of one and the same man, Father General, to preside over and direct all the debates every single day. . . . The General takes part in the sessions at his place, but it is the vice-president he has named who is in charge of the debates. As he usually does, Fr. Dezza carried out this job magnificently.

The first point submitted to the examination of the delegates has been a schema entitled *De conservatione et renovatione Instituti nostri*. This poor schema had been almost completely drafted last year and then finished this year before the opening of the session. The observations made on this topic by no means foreshadowed the storm that was going to sweep down on it. The storm began with the comparison some people attempted to make between the letter and spirit of this schema and the documents of Vatican II, and especially the *Motu proprio* of Paul VI, *Ecclesiae Sanctae*.

Here, for example, are some of the remarks made about this schema: "Mihi omnino non placet. . . . Sapit triumphalismum et spirat conservatismum." What attitude is the Congregation going to take with regard to the directives of *Ecclesiae Sanctae* and the decrees *Christus Dominus* and *Perfectae Caritatis*? Are we going to integrate them wholly into the renewal of our Institute, or are we going to content ourselves with a passing nod and afterwards have our own way? In *Ecclesiae Sanctae* it says: "14. Those matters which are now obsolete . . . should be excluded from the fundamental code of the institutes. . . . 17. Those elements are to be considered obsolete which do not constitute the nature and purpose of the institute and which, having lost their meaning and power, are no longer a real help to religious life." Now, the schema presented

to us aims at a fuzzy kind of canonization of everything that comes from the past. Even if the word *renewal* is there, the reality isn't there. . . .

This impression has been very strong. At our second full session a father proposed a point of order which would come down to sending the schema back to its commission to have it redone and adapted according to the letter and spirit of Vatican II and *Ecclesiae Sanctae*. And this is the way the Congregation voted. It really seems that this document *Ecclesiae Sanctae* is going to exercise a great influence on the Congregation and that certain schemas that would have easily passed last year have no chance of being adopted this year. That means that the renewal promises to be much more adequate and profound than it could have been at the time of the first session.

September 16, 1966

#### Little détente

A good number of fathers were in front of the television yesterday afternoon watching the re-entry and splashdown of the American astronauts Conrad and Gordon. It was a fascinating thing to watch. This broadcast went from 3:30 to 4:30 P.M. At 5 P.M. our session began; the American fathers were glowing.

#### Television takes over

The organizer of the night-time colloquies, talks, and conferences last year, has let it be known that the same sort of things will be impossible this year because of television and, in particular, because of the news program that comes on precisely at the time for recreation. . . .

#### The Communist dialogue

I was opposite a Belgian father at the noon meal yesterday. They had just read an article in Spanish from *Razon y Fe* on a Catholic-Communist colloquy in which Roger Garaudy and Fr. Karl Rahner, among others, took part. At Deo Gratias this father said: "I've talked with Garaudy; he's a charming man. He thinks of himself as forming part of the egghead brigade of the Communist Party."

On my right there was a Polish father who had taken refuge in London and who was serving as a substitute for the fathers who could not come from Poland. He said to me: "The Communists are all for dialogue as long as they're not in power; as soon as they are, there's no longer any question of having dialogue." I asked him if there was any chance that the Polish fathers would be able to come to the Congregation. He answered me: "It's better that they not come." And, in response to my surprised look, he added: "They will then be on the same footing as the bishops (who cannot leave Poland), and the whole Polish nation

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will know that the government didn't allow the Jesuits to go to Rome for their General Congregation. . . . It's better if it works out that way. . . ."

### The difficulties of drafting a text

The situation is different in each province or in each country. In one province, for example, there is no room for Jesuits either in education or in pastoral work, since the secular clergy takes care of that and, in general, does a good job. The fathers are in para-priestly works and are satisfied with them. A text obliging priests to do pastoral work would run the risk of being inapplicable in this province.

Another case: one Jesuit works in astronomy and maintains that he is fulfilling his Jesuit and priestly vocation, while another will not admit that a Jesuit priest should just carry on secular activity without ever doing pastoral work.

Another difficulty: in the United States the Society is especially successful when there is a community carrying on a common work; therefore, we have to recommend those works in which the Society is acting as such. But, the French, Belgians, and Canadians would answer, in our situation we are prepared to accept a well-prepared Jesuit who will work at his specialty but not at the same time to have the whole community backing him up.

### Father General intervenes

At the same session yesterday, during which a father had urged the General to intervene to put a stop to certain unfortunate experiments, Father General made a statement, the substance of which I will give you here:

All of us are for the spiritual renewal of the Society. That is the thing that matters, much more than the renewal of texts, even if this also has to be done. Unfortunately, renewal and adaptation are too often carried out today according to the method of "faits accomplis," something that has ill-fated consequences. This method continues to exist because superiors are pulled in every direction and do not have clear directives coming from the Congregation. Therefore, this Congregation has to map out the way, indicate the goals to be attained, the reforms that are necessary, and the means for accomplishing them. If the Congregation succeeds in this task, I am confident that the sounder elements in the Society will follow and will carry out the needed reforms.

We have very often alluded to the documents of Vatican II, to the decree *Perfectae Caritatis*, and to the rules for their application in *Ecclesiae Sanctae*. In my capacity as superior general I took part in the commission which prepared these decrees and rules. I personally have been greatly surprised at the respect and the reverence that the others show toward the Institute of the Society. The things we are ready to throw overboard are often the very things

the other congregations envy us and admire the most about us. The Sovereign Pontiff, when he spoke to the members of our commission, said that he wished above all for a renewal of the religious spirit, an adaptation that would bring about greater holiness in the life of each religious.

Father General ended his remarks with these words: "Mediocritas hodie permitti non potest in vita religiosa!" (Mediocrity cannot be permitted in religious life today.)

This evening we are beginning the discussion on grades in the Society. Each camp is gathering its ammunition.

September 17, 1966

#### "Assueta vilescunt"

The proverb *assueta vilescunt* is being realized, and a good deal of the wonder of last year has fallen off. . . . Perhaps, too, life at the Curia has become simpler, more ordinary, less liable to inspire awe. The dining room, for example, is completely transformed. When we arrived for the first session, the tables of honor, where the Vicar General, and then all the Assistants, sat, was quite a spectacle to behold. It was a forbidden place for the rest of us. . . . Some time after the General's election, the Assistants began to mix in with the other delegates. Today we don't even know where the General is any longer, and the Assistants are spread out throughout the whole dining room. I had two of them at my table at noon, and our table seemed quite ordinary.

The General also contributes to this loosening up. When he shows up somewhere—in the recreation room, or at haustus (at 11 A.M. or 4 P.M., for now there is a morning haustus with cheese, coffee, and Pepsi), life goes on, and he himself mixes in with the groups. . . .

#### "This is Father General . . ."

One of the General's favorite pastimes is trying out his new radio and contacting Jesuits throughout the world. Last night an American father succeeded in speaking with him, and the General was able to make out part of his transmission.

#### A third session . . . grades

Hang on to your hat! They've begun talking about a third session, perhaps without putting much credence in it, but they're talking about it! The occasion for this has been the debate that has resumed on the question of the abolition of grades. Some people have made this the sign par excellence of the Society's *aggiornamento*. Last year a similar debate, a very animated and impassioned one, took place, but the Congregation decided then by a two-thirds majority to keep grades in the Society, while making profession more accessible to a greater number.

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Consequently, the subcommission had prepared a decree setting forth the new conditions for admission to solemn profession, conditions which reduced the importance of the famous *ad grad* exam. It is this text which is now before the Congregation for approval. One after another, the adversaries of grades have taken advantage of the fact that this discussion had been started to call for the suppression of grades and to ask to have the debate on grades reopened. But this question is one of the substantials of the Institute and requires a qualified majority for it to be discussed and still another to be changed. Moreover, it is necessary to have the approbation of the Holy See, whence the suggestion or, if you wish, the threat of a third session. . . .

The two days devoted to this question have been quite lively. One of the principal arguments invoked is that the conciliar documents, including the decree *Perfectae Caritatis* and the *Motu proprio Ecclesiae Sanctae*, call for this move. But people do not agree on the implications of these documents.

One father was of the opinion that we should follow the example given with regard to the poverty question, The Congregations that preceded our own prepared the ground; our Congregation cannot immediately settle such a problem, but it can pronounce on the principle involved and entrust the further work to a commission. . . . If we embark upon this enterprise, all the other problems will be delayed all the more, and then a third session will be needed. In that case, I would immediately ask to pass to the rank of spiritual coadjutor!

Another declared: Since we're involved in getting rid of distinctions, I asked that the coadjutor brothers also be admitted to the solemn profession. They're part of the same family and often deserve the title as much as the others who have it now.

. . . If we embark upon this question, the Congregation is going to last longer than the Council. . . . Let's not forget that a commission is busy revising the canon law of the Church. Therefore, let's not be in too much of a hurry to change our *Constitutions*, for fear that our changes will not agree with the demands of the new canon law and that we may have to begin all over again later on.

I have saved for the end the chief attraction among the interventions, one by an Indian father:

In India, in my country, we used to have the caste system, a system that had some value in times past. But later on we made a new constitution, and we abolished this system. If non-Christians, inspired by human motives, were able to make such a gesture, how is it that we who are Christians and who ought to be inspired by supernatural motives would not dare to abolish the caste system that prevails in the Society?

And raising his voice, the father shouted out with mighty indignation, as did Cato of old: "Ego dico: ABOLEND A EST ista distinctio graduum!"

This father spoke without reading, improvising as he went along, gesturing, and raising his voice. The Congregation listened to him as it has rarely listened to any speaker, and—an extraordinary thing—it applauded him when he finished his intervention. Several people went up to congratulate him as we left.

If I were to judge from the interventions made by the fathers from India, it would seem that this distinction of grades causes scandal in that country, since it is undoubtedly reminiscent of the distinction of castes.

The discussion is going to resume. It is worth noting that no one up to now has criticized the new decree before the Congregation, but that everyone has been attacking the very structure of grades in the Society. At some point the Congregation will have to make a decision on the advisability or inadvisability of taking back last year's vote, which, by the necessary two-thirds, was not in favor of suppressing grades.

For the moment, it is not easy to foresee how the majority will decide, nor even whether a qualified majority can be obtained on such a topic at the present Congregation.

September 20, 1966

#### Walking in the Square

The other night I was walking in St. Peter's Square at around nine o'clock; it was nearly deserted. I was with an American father and a young provincial from India, an intelligent and likable man. He told us that the Jesuits of his province (about 400 of them) are far from being troubled and tormented as those of Europe or America are. Only some of them, the ones who read European periodicals, raise the same problems as in those countries. I asked him if the problem of priestly celibacy comes up in his province. He said that it doesn't, because priestly celibacy is just about the only external that draws the attention of Indians to Catholic priests. The vow of obedience is something that can't be seen. The vow of poverty isn't any more evident, since in India Jesuit poverty is not a sign for external edification, given the fact that the vast majority of the population lives in greater poverty. This leaves the vow of chastity: this is the great Catholic, religious sign, the one that attracts the people and young men to the Society. And so they don't talk about priests getting married in his province.

My other companion shares Fr. Rahner's vision of the future of Catholicism and the Church in the world: he sees both of them dimin-

ishing in numbers, while huge non-Christian masses of humanity are being formed, masses over which the Church has no hold. This is the *pusillus grex* theory, according to which Catholics are destined to become an ever smaller minority in a vast world. The father also applies this theory to the Society. In the United States, as in Canada, he believes, the Society has reached its apogee and can only go into a decline. Our formation drives us in this direction. We take young men full of life and enthusiasm, and we put them into those deep-freezers and brainwashing machines we call our novitiates and scholasticates. At the end of ten years of this treatment, they have become incapable of thinking for themselves or of revolutionizing anything whatever—and do you think that that's going to result in Jesuits setting the world on fire? They're barely capable of going out and buying bus tickets for themselves!

The young provincial from India listened with attention. He found the father's remarks stimulating and provocative, but he did not share them entirely, at least not for his own province. He recalled that he has often heard the Society blamed for taking in the best boys in the schools and not always making first-raters of them in its ministries. I pointed out to him that, this very noon, a master of novices reminded us of the question that Fr. Nadal had already asked during the first years of the Society: "How does it happen that, with such good colts, we end up with such bad horses?"

#### Obedience

This whole question of obedience, my companion said, has come down to restudying the function of society today and of the work to be done in it by the Society. We must rid it of all the vestiges of monastic orders and feudal society; we live in a pluralistic, democratic society, one that is open and subject to rapid change. The problem being posed, consequently, is one of maintaining cooperation without destroying personal initiative and responsibility.

The superior should direct the whole community and its members, who are supposed to be adults. For the authority-obedience polarity to function well, superiors and inferiors must be equally devoted to the work of the apostolate; it is the whole community, superiors and inferiors, which should feel responsible for the growth of the Mystical Body around it and within it. A Jesuit consecrated, by his vows, to the apostolate has the duty of developing himself, for if superiors are to make use of him somewhere, they ought to have something to make use of. . . . The young men must be reminded of their present duty while being made aware of the needs of the society in which they live and of its present and future needs, not those of the past.

Obedience will be an acute question when it comes up in the Congregation. No less provocative is the small pamphlet *Obedience and Authority*, published by the America Press, which the American fathers have just put in the reading room. The first article is entitled "Loyal Opposition in the Church."<sup>4</sup> This is the time, it writes, when tensions are rising in the Church over the subject of obedience. What is to be done when the authorities oppose changes that seem desirable? Some quite simply disobey, others decide they can do nothing. Both are mistaken, for a third way exists, that of loyal opposition in the Church. The Church is the people of God, the whole Church, not just the hierarchy or superiors, but the whole people. The author traces the role of loyal opposition in the Church and concludes: "Let those take heart whom responsibility compels on a given question to stand fully obedient, but in the opposition. They are serving the Church. They are the Church."

#### At work

I have just come from a three-hour session. Several decrees have been revoked and replaced by others more in conformity with the way of thinking of the Vatican II Church. In the future, provincial congregations will be allowed to treat the substantials of the Institute.

At the session just ended, those opposed to grades in the Society were to continue their argumentation. Sixteen had already handed in their names, and almost as many were preparing to follow them. In the face of this avalanche, the commission decided to put the question directly to the Congregation: Does it wish to reopen the debate? If not, the speakers will have to confine themselves to a criticism of the decree before them; if it does, then a whole new procedure would be introduced, involving a certain number of questions, the last of which would lead to a vote on the complete suppression of grades. The vote appeared to be of such importance that the Congregation decided to postpone it until tomorrow morning so that each one would have time to form a clear and accurate idea of the question.

September 21, 1966

#### Divertissement

Next week an important theological congress opens in Rome, and people here are asking about the attitude the Pope will take on the doctrinal questions. In any case, a notice posted on the board invites the fathers to attend the conferences to be given at night by some of these theologians, for example, Frs. Chenu and John Courtney Murray. The title of the congress is "The Church Between Council and Synod."

<sup>4</sup> By J. G. Milhaven, S.J.—ED.

## WOODSTOCK LETTERS

### The Society's image at the Vatican

Thunderbolt at the Congregation! At the beginning of the day's session, Father General took the floor and gave us an important communication. He had seen the Sovereign Pontiff. The Pope had shared with him his desires and wishes with regard to the Society in general and the present Congregation in particular. From the reports coming from the nuncios and apostolic delegates throughout the whole world, the Pope gave the General a sketch of the image which the Society projects at present, and this image needs serious retouching. The Pope did not wish to speak in public, for the press would be able to seize upon his statements and do more harm than good, but he confided fully in the General, commissioning him to communicate to the Congregation the wishes of the Pope. And for a good quarter of an hour, the General exposed for us, point by point, what the Pope had told him. Unfortunately, for you and for me, the General ended by asking all of us to keep the content of the Pope's message to the Congregation secret, at least until further notice. I'm losing the biggest scoop of the year . . . and so is *Lettres de Rome* . . .

### Grades again

And the debates resume. The Congregation is literally hypnotized by the problem of grades. . . . To believe some people, only the abolition of grades can restore the younger men's confidence and make the crooked ways straight.

I admit that the problems of the spiritual life seem to me to be a great deal more important and more urgent, but there is nothing to be done; we will just have to reopen the debate on the abolition of grades. Yesterday sixteen speakers took the floor on this subject, but they said little that we had not heard before. . . .

After all these fine speeches, a vote was taken to find out if we were going to reopen the debate, and the Congregation voted for the affirmative. Over and above that, the first two weeks of October have been set aside for this question. This means that it will not be before the middle of October that the Congregation will tackle the really essential questions, such as those on religious life, the apostolate, discipline, the vows of obedience and chastity, the reforms called for by the Council and the Pope. I'm beginning to believe that the newspaper was telling the truth when it said: "Home for Christmas"!

### Grinding on

After this success, the Congregation grappled with another marginal problem. Some people think that there are too many delegates to the Congregation and that the number has to be reduced. And so a com-

mission was named to study the problem, it made its report, and the discussion was opened. Here again, partisans and adversaries faced each other. One said: If the delegates are chosen well, there is no need to have a big number. It is up to the provincial congregations to do their job well. Another came out in opposition to a reduction in the number of delegates, that is, from three for each province (the argument is that the large provinces should have a representation in proportion to the number of their members). In international organizations, he said, the United Nations, for example, the small countries have the right to the same representation as the large nations; Uruguay has the same number of official delegates as the United States. At the Congregation, the elector represents the whole Society, not just a faction, a section, or a province.

Another answered that there is a considerable difference in the number of professed among the different provinces and that the greater the number of professed, the greater should be the representation. The response to this was that the argument from size is one that persuades only those who are already persuaded. The same holds true for the argument that the provinces with the most members are the ones that have the most complex problems. On the contrary, it turns out that these provinces are homogeneous, while some small mission provinces are very complex, formed from different races, languages, cultures, etc. If the provincials of the large provinces are afraid of seeing their problems neglected, let them do what the bishops did at the Council, bring their experts with them: sociologists, jurists, theologians, etc.

Someone proposed holding regional congregations in which delegates from the provinces would come together and choose some from their own number to be sent to the general congregation. Another observed that the Curia has reached the saturation point for housing everybody who comes, and he suggested holding the next Congregation at the Colegio Latino-Americano, where there is air to breathe, plus more than 300 rooms.

Another one said: "You're trying to square a circle; you want to reduce the number of delegates, and at the same time you want to increase the representation of the large provinces. He suggested a fixed number: Let's put it at 100, and let each province have its proportional representation.

Someone else was opposed to all reductions. It would be the smallest provinces that would suffer; most of the time, these would be the mission provinces, the ones that are the most important for the future of the Church. The disadvantages of large numbers are nothing compared to the disadvantages that would arise if we reduced the representation

## WOODSTOCK LETTERS

of the small provinces. Consider what happened at the Vatican Council. There were more than 2000 bishops there, and yet they ended up finding the formula for running the Council, with only one bishop from the smallest diocese not present.

Finally, an old campaigner, who was attending his third General Congregation, came up and said: All your arguments for reducing the number—more fraternal contacts, more efficient work, etc.—aren't worth much. I've taken part in the previous Congregations, where we were much less numerous, and I can tell you that our contacts weren't more personal and our work wasn't more efficient. . . .

September 22, 1966

### "Selective faith"

Last night we had a good discussion with some Americans about the *Time* article (September 16) on Catholicism in the United States (p. 60: "Roman Catholics, Selective Faith"). According to this article, young Catholics are more and more inclined to judge for themselves what they should take or leave in Catholic doctrine. In the past, a Catholic who did not want to accept the entire teaching had no other choice but to leave the Church; today, many consider themselves free to ignore or to put aside important points of doctrine and still remain in the Church. The point under discussion last night was that the same thing was happening in the Society. Faith becomes selective, that is, some Jesuits select only what *they* want to get involved with in the Society and still they remain in it with no feeling of remorse.

The article goes on to point out that a good number of baptized Catholics live their lives outside of official Catholicism; they do not leave the Church, but they no longer participate in its life. They say: "I'm a Catholic, but I no longer take the Church seriously." One person in our group said that this is the way some Jesuits act with regard to the Society: they call themselves Jesuits, but no longer take part in the life of the Society and no longer take it seriously.

For these Catholics, everything traditional and institutional becomes an object of contempt and something to be discarded. Thus the Church is passing through "a cultural crisis of the first order of magnitude." What happened to the Jews and to the Protestants is going to happen to the Church: within one and the same community of faith, it will have to allow a whole range of opinions, from the most complete submission to the most radical kind of questioning. It seems that this phenomenon is reaching the Society in the United States and in Canada. But can the Society allow such tolerance and still continue to be the Society? The question is haunting the Curia's recreation rooms, corridors,

and private rooms before it enters the *aula*, as it soon will . . . when we take up the problems of the spiritual life, discipline, and the vows.

#### Introspection

In the *aula*, talk has resumed on the advisability of reducing the number of delegates to the general congregation. There was nothing new, and not a great deal that was interesting. One speaker compared the congregation to Noah's ark: it's not necessary to have everybody get in, but a pair well chosen is sufficient. . . .

#### Book-hunting

While ferreting about in the basement, I came upon a place which our Father Librarian would certainly call a depository, if not a dumping-ground: a place filled with old papers, old boxes, old cartons, etc., and surrounded by shelves on which old issues of the *Memorabilia S.I.* and the *Annuario S.I.* lie for ages to come. I climbed a winding staircase and found myself in the main library of the Curia. This was the first time that I had set foot in it, and I took advantage of the occasion to examine the situation there. A huge catalogue is enthroned in the center of things, and it's divided into three sections: author, subject, and place. On the lower tier the periodicals are classified according to assistancies. A section is reserved for Canada, and I discovered our publications there carefully bound. . . .

The Jesuit librarian asked me if I was looking for something in particular. I said: "Yes, there are two recent works I would like to consult, one by Harvey Cox, *The Secular City*, and the other by Karl Rahner, *Peut-on croire aujourd'hui?*" He immediately replied that he didn't have either one. As for Harvey Cox, the librarian did not seem to know either the name or the book. America is far away, and Cox does not seem to have penetrated the Curia as he has the American and Canadian scholasticates. I will just have to wait, then, unless I follow an American father's advice and borrow the copy belonging to the Assistant from the United States. . . .

#### Some decisions

When I came out of today's session of the Congregation, I realized that it had been much shorter than I had thought. The main reason for that is that the Congregation voted to preserve, quite simply, the old state of affairs regarding the number of delegates to the general congregation, that is, the provincial and two elected delegates—all that, after three days of debate. It also voted on having the Assistants take part in general congregations, and it began the debate on coadjutor brothers.



## THE COMMUNITY IN RELATION TO THE APOSTOLATE

NORBERT J. RIGALI, S.J.

*growth in the understanding  
and living of Jesuit community life*

IF THE PURPOSE OF OUR DISCUSSION on the community in relation to the apostolate is to promote development in the understanding and living of community life in our apostolic order, what is presupposed by the very scheduling of this discussion is that there is room and need for such development. A possible point of departure, then, which the discussion could take, is to examine this presupposition, asking *why* there is need today for growth in the understanding and living of Jesuit community life. This is the point of departure adopted here, since it seems to be the approach best suited for achieving valid practical conclusions. For, to ask why there is need for growth in our understanding of community life is to ask what is wrong with our present understanding of it. The most intelligent way to improve something is to see clearly first just what it is that needs improvement and why.

It seems that our notion of community life is directly dependent on at least two contexts: moral theology and ecclesiology. Since moral theology is concerned with how the Christian should live and act, it must influence directly the way in which the religious understands how he should live and act in his specific form of the Christian life, religious community life. Since religious community life is by its very nature a certain kind of life within the Church, the manner in which the Church is understood must likewise determine directly the way in which community life is conceived.

Consequently, a deficiency in the methodology of moral theology or in our understanding of the Church must be expected to produce an inadequate notion of religious community.

As is well known, it is axiomatic among many theologians today that moral theology became legalistic. Equally well known is the fact that there is presently great ferment in this discipline, as moral theologians, confronted by a very serious and urgent challenge, work diligently to transform their science into one which is truly scriptural and theological. But if it is true that moral theology has been legalistic and insufficiently theological, the operative notion of community life can hardly have been otherwise.

That our understanding of the Church may be deficient will not seem to be a far-fetched idea, to be written off immediately, if we recall that in his allocution inaugurating the second session of Vatican II Pope Paul set as the first of the four goals of the Council a new, more adequate self-understanding of the Church. It is not strange, he said, if even after almost twenty centuries, the Church discovers that it needs a better understanding of just what it is, since the Church is ultimately a mystery.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, it is not surprising that the Society after four centuries finds itself today in need of a better understanding of just what it is and what its community life is. Indeed the Society must experience this need after Vatican II, if the Society has meaning and can be understood only within the context of the Church.

Primarily through its *Dogmatic Constitution on the Church* the Council fulfilled the first of its goals. Here a new mentality or perspective is presented: the Church is "the new People of God," the "messianic people."<sup>2</sup> What Vatican II taught is that this is the primary truth about the Church and the perspective in which all aspects of the Church, including authority and hierarchy,<sup>3</sup> must be seen.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, Series 3, Vol. 5, 847ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Dogmatic Constitution on the Church*, Chapter II, Art. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Chapter III, Art. 18.

<sup>4</sup> In this perspective it becomes immediately evident, for example, that laymen are not fundamentally passive recipients in relation to priests, bishops and pope; rather, they are "sharers in the priestly, prophetic and kingly functions of Christ," and "they carry out their own part in the mission of the whole Christian people with respect to the Church and the world" (*Ibid.*, Chapter IV, Art. 31).

According to the Council, then, the Church is not to be seen in a perspective of authority, hierarchy, papal primacy or any other juridical aspect of the life of the Church. Rather, the Church is to be understood as people, the total community of people chosen and called together by God himself and "sent forth into the whole world as the light of the world and the salt of the earth."<sup>5</sup> Thus, the tendency to think of 'the real Church' as the members of the hierarchy, frequently operative in the past and even in the present, has been vanquished in principle by Vatican II.

#### Pope Paul

If Pope Paul was right in stating that the Church needs to transform its understanding of itself, and if the Council in response did anything more than simply repeat the notion of the Church which was generally taught and learned and operative before the Council, then members of the Society have the duty to re-think and transform in an analogous way their understanding of what the Society is in the Church and what communities are in the Society. If the reason why the self-understanding of the Church needed reform by the Council is that the operative and official concept of the Church was excessively juridical and insufficiently theological, Jesuits must expect that the perspective in which we have been accustomed to see the Society and the community life of the Society suffers from the same deficiency. Jesuits must expect also that, if the operative notion of religious community has been inadequate, this inadequacy has affected our thinking concerning all aspects of community life (relations between superiors and other members, authority, initiative, leadership, obedience, religious discipline, daily order, etc.), and that, consequently, all these things fall within the field of what must be rethought and adapted to a new self-understanding of the Church.

A legalistic or excessively juridical approach to community life has as its starting point a juridical fact. Religious community is defined, for example, as a group of religious under the authority of a religious superior. A theological approach to community life, on the other hand, has as its starting point a consideration of realities which can never be fully externalized and are, therefore, not directly susceptible of or controllable by juridical regulation. Specific-

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cally, the theological approach sees religious community primarily in terms of mysterious realities which are the gratuitous gifts of the mystery called God:<sup>6</sup> the gifts of Christian faith and charity. This approach is demonstrated by the 31st General Congregation, when it stated:

The principal bond of community life is love, by which our Lord and those to whom He has entrusted His mission of salvation are loved in a single act. By this love which contains a real offering of one's self to others, a true brotherhood in the Lord is formed, which constantly finds human expression in personal relationships and mutual regard, service, trust, counsel, edification, and encouragement of every kind.<sup>7</sup>

While legalism, beginning with the concept of authority and defining community life then in relation to this concept, sees community primarily in terms of a distinction between the religious superior and other members, theology understands community primarily, not in terms of any distinction among members, but in terms of the ultimate, mysterious unity of all, which constitutes the very essence of Christian community and from which must flow the authentic meaning of all aspects of religious life, including the distinction between superior and other members.

<sup>6</sup> While this paper was being written, the following appeared in a press release: "Pope Paul VI has urged Catholic intellectuals to purge the common idea of God of its oversimilarity to man himself and thus counter a growing atheism. . . The Pope was speaking Aug. 29 to university graduates. . . Asking what can counteract atheism, he said 'first of all to plumb and to purify the concept, often childish and anthropomorphic, that we have made of God, in order to restore it to its sublime transcendence, to its sovereign otherness, to its extremely delicate communicability'" (*The Tidings*, 9/8/67). This address has special significance for Jesuits, on whom Pope Paul seems according to his allocution to the General Congregation to rely mainly in counteracting the growth of atheism. In light of this present address it would seem that Jesuits have a duty to rethink their operative concept of God. If it is found to be inadequate, this inadequacy will have affected, obviously, our idea of how we are to serve him in community life. But Pope Paul is saying that an inadequate operative notion of God is, moreover, a cause of contemporary atheism.

<sup>7</sup> *Documents of the 31st General Congregation*, Decree 19, No. 5 a. Similarly, a theological approach is present also in the consensus paper on community life of the Assistancy Conference: "Christ's prayer for those whom He loves is that they be one as He and His Father are one. The bond of this unity is to be their love for one another responding to the love which comes to them from the Father through Christ His Son. In the Society of

What follows now is an attempt to illustrate some of the differences in consequences to which the two approaches lead.

1) If religious community is conceived primarily as religious subjects under the authority of a superior, the essence of community is that, while all other members are essentially alike and together, one member, the superior, is essentially set apart and distinguished from the rest. If this prevails as the operative notion of what religious community is, it is assumed quite logically that the superior has privileges not shared by the rest of the community and one form of behavior is proper for the superior and another form proper for all other members of the community. For example, it is logically inferred that the superior should have a special place in the dining room: this is a proper way for the superior to live in community, whereas it would be improper for any other member of the community to live in this way.

When, however, a theological concept of community life is taken as the starting point for considerations of how community life should be lived, as was done by the Assistancy Conference, the logical conclusion concerning the superior's place in the dining-room is the exact opposite: "Let him throw away the napkin ring!"<sup>8</sup> This conclusion could be expanded: let the superior separate himself from all that the napkin ring symbolizes, all that reflects more the spirit of a by-gone form of secular government than the spirit of the Gospel.

In addition to the respect and love due to every community member as a person and a fellow Jesuit something special is, of course, due to the superior because of his office. It is by no means evident, however, that that something special is anything else besides obedience, in the Ignatian sense of the word. In fact, the spirit of the Gospel seems to direct those who hold authority in a Christian community toward a form of life which is diametrically opposed to special privilege or external honor in the community.<sup>9</sup>

2) If religious community is understood as being fundamentally a group of religious under a religious superior, a religious com-

Jesus this bond of love is the source, strength, and fruit of our community life." (*Consensus Positions and Recommendations*, C66.)

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munity can be seen to be too large only when there are too many subjects for one superior to govern. In a juridical perspective it is quite logical that the only relevant consideration in determining the size of a community is the relation of the subjects to the authority of the superior.

Size of community

In a theological perspective of community life it is immediately apparent that the question of how many Jesuits can be correctly governed by one superior is neither the only nor the most important factor in evaluating the size of a religious community. It is significant in this regard that the question of government is only the third of three reasons given by the General Congregation for their concern "that the number of scholastics in the houses of formation be not too large."<sup>10</sup> Similarly significant is that, of the four reasons given by the Assistancy Conference for its recommendation "that serious and diversified experimentation be done in dividing large communities into small communities or sub-communities," none is that communities at present are too large to be governed by one superior.<sup>11</sup>

3) If religious community is understood basically as a group of religious under the authority of a religious superior, then those things in the life of a religious which are susceptible of regulation by the superior's authority receive primary attention in considerations of community life. And what is susceptible of regulation by authority is completely external; it is not personal interiority. Thus, community life comes to mean essentially a conformity in external matters, a uniformity with regard to what is used or possessed and with regard to doing things (common exercises). Community life is identified with common life, *vita communis*, which the *Epitome*, relying on the Code of Canon Law, defines as follows:

In Societate . . . *vita communis* ita intellegi debet: 1° Quod ad victum, vestitum et cetera vitae necessaria, retineatur uniformitas tam Superiorum cum inferioribus, quam inferiorum inter se; si quid vero peculiare ob infirmam valetudinem aliamve iustam causam alicui necessarium iudicetur, id vitae communi minime repugnat.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Decree 9, No. 9.

<sup>11</sup> Op. cit., C67f.

<sup>12</sup> *Epitome Instituti Societatis Iesu*, 497, §2. It is indicative of the progress

As soon as external conformity becomes the focal center of community life, two things follow automatically: (a) there develops a tendency to regard uniformity in a religious community as an end in itself, as a self-validating value;<sup>13</sup> and (b) this absolutizing and mythologizing of uniformity creates the desire to regulate into uniformity all that can possibly be so regulated. Rules proliferate, extending into every nook and cranny of Jesuit life, as those who hold authority, conceiving their duty toward community life as a duty to regulate it into maximum uniformity, become preoccupied with such questions as when American Jesuits may eat butter and how they may wear their overcoats.<sup>14</sup>

Such regulations are, of course, ignored today. But simply ignoring some regulations and pretending that they do not and never did exist is hardly the most intelligent service which Jesuits can give to the Church and the world. What is needed is insight into

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made by the 31st General Congregation that it presented a decree on "vita communitaria" (*De vita communitaria et de disciplina religiosa*). Although the term "vita communitaria" is understood by the Congregation as designating something fundamental in the Society and very different from what is termed by the *Epitome* "vita communis," nevertheless it does not appear in the latter. The closest approximations there seem to be "unio animorum" and "unio personarum". Yet, there is still a vast difference between what the *Epitome* understands by these last two terms (702-729) and what the Congregation is teaching in Decree 19, especially in No. 5. The mentality which produced an *Epitome* which considers thematically "vita communis" but not "vita communitaria" is undeniably different from that of a General Congregation which considers "vita communis" explicitly only within the larger, theological context of "vita communitaria" (Decree 19, No. 6 d).

<sup>13</sup> Legalism regards unity as identical with uniformity, external conformity. Faith sees unity as "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace: one body and one Spirit, even as you were called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one Baptism; one God and Father of all. . ." (Eph. 4:3ff.) In the Christian community it is of no essential importance whether there is external sameness or not: "There is neither Jew nor Greek; there is neither slave nor freeman; there is neither male nor female. For you are all one in Christ Jesus." (Gal. 3:28.) It is Christ who radically relativized any oneness whatsoever which is based on something purely external; the only oneness which matters absolutely in Christianity is "the unity of the Spirit". All humanly designed conformity is subject to the "tantum-quantum" rule of St. Ignatius and, therefore, to change.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Custom Book of the American Assistancy; Memoriale* of the last American Visitation.

munity can be seen to be too large only when there are too many subjects for one superior to govern. In a juridical perspective it is quite logical that the only relevant consideration in determining the size of a community is the relation of the subjects to the authority of the superior.

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the premises from which these regulations are derived as practical conclusions. If the conclusions seem not only ludicrous but also unchristian, inasmuch as they appear completely alien to the Pauline notion of the freedom which the Christian has in Christ and seem to be concerns diametrically opposed to those of the New Testament, it is because the premises, the starting points, are in aberration from genuine theological understanding of the Church and religious communities. The problem of such regulations is only a derivative problem; it will not be solved definitively until the root problem is solved.<sup>15</sup>

4) If religious community is understood primarily as a group of religious under the authority of a superior, communities will have a built-in tendency to split into two classes, which rarely associate easily with one another: administrators and non-administrators, those who hold some office and those who do not. If community is understood from the start in terms of a difference (community is where one religious has authority and the others are subject to it) instead of in terms of a fundamental unity, authority can readily become in practice something that divides certain members off from the other members of the community.

When communities tend to divide into these two general groups, across whose boundaries "personal relationships and mutual regard, service, trust, counsel, edification, and encouragement of every

<sup>15</sup> Within a perspective which regards community life primarily as a group of religious under a superior and consequently tends to identify community life with common life, it is quite logical that all rectors and ministers of scholastics who teach in high schools meet together, after the General Congregation proposed "liberal use of the principle of subsidiarity" (Decree 17, No. 7), to establish common regulations for all the scholastics. On the other hand, within a perspective which regards community life primarily as it is seen in Decree 19 it is equally logical to present to the California Province Conference, as the regents have done, the following recommendations:

"That the Rector, with his community, should be able to determine the domestic policies which meet that community's individual needs. Community needs are most often individual, therefore complete uniformity between [sic] communities seems neither important, possible, nor even desirable. Each community is or should be unique. . .

"That house regulations be drawn up by and for the community as a whole and that those things which tend to constitute the scholastics as a separate **community-within-the-community** be abolished. . ." (*Recommendations of the California Regents* offered for the forthcoming Province Conference, 4f.)

kind"<sup>16</sup> flow less readily and easily than within the boundaries of either group, something has gone radically wrong with the function of authority in the religious community. The purpose of such authority is unity, not division. But as long as a juridical concept of religious community is operative, authority must necessarily be more divisive than unitive in the work of creating genuine Christian community.<sup>17</sup>

5) If religious community is understood primarily as a group of religious under a superior, this leads to thinking in categories of "superiors" and "inferiors" or "subjects," there is a natural tendency built into the community toward failure with regard to the com-

<sup>16</sup> Decree 19, No. 5 a.

<sup>17</sup> An excessively juridical conception of community life can be seen in the *Epitome*, for example, in the text on "vita communis" already cited: "Quod ad victum, vestitum et certera vitae necessaria, retineatur uniformitas tam Superiorum cum inferioribus, quam inferiorum inter se. . . ." The uniformity to be maintained is one "of superiors with inferiors and of inferiors among themselves." A much more obvious, facile and direct way to speak of this uniformity is to refer simply to a uniformity among all members—much more obvious, that is, unless one understands community primarily as a group of religious subjects under a superior.

Also noteworthy, apropos of this not untypical passage, is an evident and immediate danger which exists when community is conceived primarily in terms of a difference between two classes. Without further ado the two classes can be designated as "superiores" and "inferiores", despite the fact that this terminology implies that the distinction between those who have authority in the Society and those who do not is a distinction, at least, between first-class and second-class members. (Is it also significant that the word "Superiorum" is capitalized in the text, and "inferioribus" is not?) Fortunately, the term "inferiores" is dead (a logical tendency to kill the correlative term "superiores" and to replace it with "officers" can be noticed in contemporary writings). Similarly, the term "subditi," "subjects," derived apparently from long-gone political orders rather than from the New Testament, is on the wane, as is evidenced, for example, by the decrees of the General Congregation. Whereas a legalistic conception of community expresses itself in the language of the *Epitome*, a theological view of community spontaneously finds a new language. (Cf., e.g., Decree 17, Nos. 3, 6, 7, 8: "fratres sui", "sodales".)

The Assistancy Conference considered "community" a subject important enough to merit a consensus paper (*op. cit.*, C66ff.). Significantly, the paper not only does not use the words "superior" or "subject"; it is totally concerned about matters which have nothing to do with the distinction between those who have authority and those who do not. It would not be easy to find another official document on community which has achieved this feat!

munication proper to a religious community. It is much more natural for a "superior" to feel that he should simply tell "inferiors" or "subjects" what they should do than to feel that he should consult them, perhaps learning with them or even from them what should be done. And it is much more natural that a "superior" feel that he alone needs to know the most important plans and other matters than that he feel that such things are of concern to "inferiors" and should be communicated to "subjects." Dialogue, "fraternal gatherings" to "promote a common seeking of God's will" (such as the California Province Conference), are seen as an essential aspect<sup>18</sup> of community life only after a theological perspective of community life has replaced a juridical perspective, as occurred at the General Congregation.

6) When religious community is understood primarily as a group of religious under a superior, religious communities can be totally insensitive toward certain expressions of uncharity which violate the very heart of Christian community. If community is understood from the start as divided into two ranks, superior and subjects, division into various classes within the community will appear to be a natural thing. It will be taken for granted that brothers, scholastics and fathers as three ranks of a hierarchy are assigned the worst, the second best and the best places, respectively, in the dining-room, in recreational facilities and in the chapel. Even the public reading of scriptural passages such as Jn. 13:1-17 in dining-room and chapel did not awaken a sense of incongruity between what was being heard and what was being lived. In like manner, the impersonal and, therefore, uncharitable relations necessitated by fidelity to the rule of grades never seemed to be anything other than a means to religious perfection. It is, then, indicative of progress both in theology and, more importantly, in Christian living when the General Congregation states: "Priests, brothers, and scholastics should all associate with one another easily, in sincerity, *evangelical simplicity*, and courtesy, as is appropriate for a real family gathered together in the name of the Lord."<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Decree 8, No. 5. "Fraternal gatherings" is enumerated with "the account of conscience to superiors" and "conversation with the spiritual father."

<sup>19</sup> Decree 19, No. 7 c., emphasis added. Cf. also the recommendations of the Assistancy Conference:

"Our communities should be true homes in which all members, priests,

7) If community life is conceived juridically as a number of religious under the authority of a superior, the criteria used in evaluating the aptness of candidates for the Society, for vows, for the priesthood and for offices of authority are inevitably affected for the worse.

It is self-evident, of course, that for one whose conception of community is primarily juridical and not theological, the criteria by which he judges the aptness for Jesuit community life of an individual will be primarily juridical rather than theological. Concretely, this will mean that, since Jesuit community is a number of Jesuits under a superior, the fulfillment of this relations of Jesuits to a superior, i.e. obedience, will be the primary requisite for life in a Jesuit community. Logically, then, the novice who always does what he is told will be considered the ideal novice, provided that no great defects in other areas exist. Thus there is a tendency to see all other criteria, including charity,<sup>20</sup> as not only subordinate to obedience, but also as fundamentally negative criteria. And, of course, how the ideal novice is conceived will determine the way in which the living of novitiate life is structured.

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scholastics, and brothers feel equally at home. . .

“Grades and divisions of any kind leading to social distinction or double standards in whatever area must not be tolerated” (*op. cit.*, C68).

<sup>20</sup>When obedience is understood as the primary virtue of community life, charity will be viewed, unconsciously, as subordinate to obedience: there will be a tendency to think of charity as a means for the maintaining of the order of community life which authority imposes. The theological virtue of charity, when subordinated to the moral virtue of obedience, has to be reduced to a moral virtue, e.g., courtesy or gentlemanliness, as in the following:

“The order of the day . . . is to be faithfully observed particularly in houses of training, having regard for: the interior spiritual life which is to be fostered even by external helps; charity, or responsibility for those conditions (*caritatem, seu responsibilitatem erga eas condiciones*) of silence, recollection, etc., which aid the work, quiet, and prayer of others. . .” (Decree 19, No. 8 *f.* Fortunately, this is a section of only secondary importance, “More Concrete Applications,” and a different viewpoint predominates in the immediately preceding sections where the *fundamental principles* of community life are proposed.) It should be noted in this passage how charity is understood not only as a moral virtue subordinate to obedience but also negatively. Charity is courteously not disturbing others from fulfilling obediently the order of the day.

## Novitiate

Just as a juridical conception of community life can render religious insensitive to essential violations of authentic Christian community, as indicated earlier, so the same conception can lead to a form of novitiate life which actually discourages authentic Christian community. Instead of fostering growth in the love and "true brotherhood in the Lord, which constantly finds human expression in personal relationships,"<sup>21</sup> the novitiate can directly impede the birth and growth of authentic personal relationships and directly promote unauthentic, artificial relations. For example, a formal way of addressing each other, creating artificiality and aloofness among them instead of the familiarity out of which grow authentic personal relationships and genuine love, has been the rule among novices.

As long as genuine personal relationships are positively discouraged among novices, there can be no way by which the capacity of a novice to form deep, authentic, mature personal relationships with the other members of his religious community is regarded as a criterion for evaluating his vocation. Evidently a juridical conception of community life leads to creating a kind of novitiate in which something understood by the General Congregation as pertaining to the very essence of the Jesuit vocation can be neither adequately tested nor evaluated before the novice is allowed to become a member of the Society.<sup>22</sup>

The germ of a significant reform in this regard is indicated in the extensive concern of the General Congregation with the question of affective maturity,<sup>23</sup> a concern which appears obviously

<sup>21</sup> Decree 19, No. 5 *a*.

<sup>22</sup> Since Christian charity, understood correctly as a theological and not a moral virtue, as well as psychological problems, inasmuch as they involve an inability to relate genuinely to other people, both have something to do with a person's capacity for deep personal relationships, it is understandable that, if novices are not allowed to develop authentic personal relationships and their vocation is not evaluated precisely with regard to their capacity to form such relationships with fellow-novices and Jesuits, it can easily happen that, very shortly after he has made his vows and is placed in circumstances different from those of the novitiate, a Jesuit will manifest long-standing but previously undetected serious psychological problems.

<sup>23</sup> Decree 8, Nos. 6, 7, 13, 17, 18, 22-26, 36, 39; Decree 9, Nos. 5-9; Decree 19, Nos. 8 *c*, 11, 12. Cf. also the paper of the Assistancy Conference on "Psychological Development" (*op. cit.*, C29ff.).

fundamental within a genuinely theological perspective of religious community.

8) If religious community is conceived fundamentally as a number of religious under the authority of a superior, and if, as shown already, this leads to thinking of the obedience of religious to the authority of their superior as the fundamental virtue and activity of a religious community, then "doing the will of God" must eventually come to be understood as synonymous with doing the will of the religious superior (and discovering the will of God will become identified with discovering what the superior wants). In such a context of initiative on the part of the religious must be understood as something, at best, superfluous and, at worst, suspect and to be discouraged. And if initiative on the part of religious is not positively encouraged, it is hardly possible that talents of leadership will be developed.

Progress was made in the area by the General Congregation when it explicitly recognized that finding out the will of God is not synonymous with discovering the will of the superior, but a much broader reality, and then consequently affirmed explicitly the need to cultivate initiative. In the words of the Congregation, the "divine will is concretely revealed to us especially by the inner promptings of grace and the direction of superiors, as well as by the example of our brothers, the demands of our apostolic work, common life, and rules and contingencies of our own life and the spiritual needs of our time. This objective is unattainable apart from the constant cultivation of a spirit of initiative and responsibility within obedience. . . ."<sup>24</sup> When doing the will of God is equated simply with obedience to religious authority, obedience is absolutized and mythologized and the very essence of Christian life is misunderstood. Obedience becomes an end in itself because for the religious doing the will of God is an end in itself. *What* the superior commands, provided it is not sinful, becomes more or less irrelevant; and it seems that obeying a command to plant cabbages upside-down is doing the will of God in just the same way as obeying a command to plant cabbages right-side-up.

<sup>24</sup> Decree 8, No. 7. There might be recalled in this context the emphasis placed by St. Ignatius, at the very beginning of his Constitutions, on "interna caritatis et amoris illius lex quam Sanctus Spiritus scribere et in cordibus imprimere solet" in relation to "ullae externae Constitutiones."

Since to obey the will of the superior for the love of God is exactly synonymous with doing the will of God for the love of God, a religious need not concern himself about whether he is ordered to water a dry stick or the garden-patch. What happens in the world, what gets done or what does not get done, becomes a matter of indifference to the religious, since only the superior has any positive responsibility for this, while all other religious have only the negative responsibility of not obeying when sin is commanded. The *unum necessarium* for the religious is to obey without sinning.

Religious authority becomes a self-validating reality: whatever the superior commands (sin excepted) is automatically the will of God simply because the superior has religious authority, i.e. power from God, and that is all there is to it. Thus, religious authority is conceived mythically as a magic power: the superior has some esoteric, inexplicable capacity for determining what the mysterious, unpredictable will of God is (concerning, for example, how the cabbages are to go into the ground today), and this capacity is designated gnostically as "the grace of state."<sup>25</sup>

When, on the other hand, obedience is understood within a theological context of religious community, there is no tendency to absolutize and mythologize it. Religious obedience is vowed not because it magically turns anything it touches into the will of God, but because it is seen as a practical means toward an absolute end, the will of God, which is not just anything at all, but something very definite which God himself has publicly revealed to his

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<sup>25</sup> Since the concept of the 'grace of state' seems to derive more from magic and gnosticism than from fact and theology, it is understandable that this concept, inasmuch as it implies anything different from or more than what is understood by a theology of actual graces offered to *all men* and of charisms breathed where *the Spirit* wills, not only leaves unexplained but also renders unintelligible certain obvious facts, e.g.: (a) that since the days of Peter, Paul and Judas religious authority has sometimes been exercised well and sometimes poorly, has sometimes succeeded and sometimes failed utterly; (b) that it has not infrequently happened in the history of the Church that someone holding a position of authority has had to be removed from office, not necessarily because of sins, but simply because of incompetence in the exercise of his office; and (c) that, before anyone is appointed to an office of religious authority, there is ordinarily extensive investigation made precisely to ascertain that the individual under consideration does indeed *already* possess the qualities requisite for the competent fulfillment of the office.

people. The General Congregation affirms the relative character of obedience as a means in relation to an end, an absolute, the will of God publicly revealed by himself, in these words: ". . . Through the vow of obedience our Society becomes a more fit instrument of Christ in his Church, unto the assistance of souls for God's greater glory."<sup>26</sup> The work cut out for Christ in his Church and revealed publicly by God as the work *he* wants carried out in this world is called by the Congregation "the assistance of souls,"<sup>27</sup> and obedience is understood as a reasonable, not magical, way to accomplish this work. And it is precisely because obedience was seen in this way that it was introduced by Ignatius and his first companions into the Society in the first place.<sup>28</sup>

If, then, doing the will of God is understood, not legalistically as identical with obeying religious authority, but theologically in a context of faith as using intelligent means and taking reasonable steps to accomplish the work that God himself in Christ has assigned to his People, then (a) "the direction of superiors" is clearly seen as only one of many ways to discover what the will of God is "concretely";<sup>29</sup> (b) the need for "fraternal gatherings" to "promote a common seeking of God's will" becomes apparent;<sup>30</sup> and (c) it becomes also evident that, "since all who work together in God's service are under the influence of the Holy Spirit and his grace, it will be well in the Lord to use their ideas and advice so as to understand God's will better," and that, consequently, "Superiors in the Society should readily and often ask for and listen to the counsel of their brethren. . . ."<sup>31</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Decree 17, No. 2.

<sup>27</sup> The term "the assistance of souls" (*auxilium animarum*), derived more from scholastic philosophy than from the New Testament, is unfortunate. Repeatedly Vatican II clarified what the mission of Christ in His Church is, speaking of it always in ways which directly reflect the message of the New Testament and not the filters of philosophy. Cf., e.g., *Dogmatic Constitution on the Church*, Nos. 24, 45, 93; *Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity*, No. 2.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Decree 19, No. 1.

<sup>29</sup> Decree 8, No. 7.

<sup>30</sup> Decree 8, No. 5.

<sup>31</sup> Decree 17, No. 6. Such conclusions of the General Congregation concerning how the will of God can be found represent the logical result of a demythologizing of obedience, which a decade ago Karl Rahner recognized as a need:

". . . Obedience in religious life is not the obedience of children. There-

**Limits to obedience**

When religious obedience has been absolutized by the legalistic mentality, it is natural that obedience then is expected to be found everywhere, even in areas where it cannot possibly exist. If, however, obedience is not absolutized, it is self-evident that there are limits to religious obedience and that the fundamental limitation is that it can exist only vis-à-vis religious authority. Religious obedience can exist only as a response to the exercising of an office of religious authority, and such authority exists only in religious communities.

The Assistancy Conference has called attention to the fact that "it is characteristically Jesuit to be simultaneously a member of a number of communities. Our vocation is to serve, foster, and even create communities which interlock with the Jesuit community through our presence."<sup>32</sup> Since the Society does not exist for itself

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fore, the religious superior should not play the role of an Olympian papa. . . The superior should not try to give the impression that he stands under the immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost, but should be courageous enough to seek approval for his commands by giving reasons for them. It is incomprehensible how such an approach to mature and much-loved brothers and sisters in the Lord should be a threat to the authority of the superior, who, according to the command of Christ, should see in the authority of his office only the greater obligation to serve. . . . It is not true, even in religious communities, that all initiative should take its rise from superiors. . . One frequently gets the impression, both in religious orders and in the Church in general, that initiative, action, militancy (*Initiative, Einsatz, Offensive*), and the like, are indeed considered necessary and desirable in subjects, but only on condition that the go-signal be given 'from above', and only in the direction which has already been unequivocally and authoritatively determined by superiors. . ." ("A Basic Ignatian Concept. Some Reflections on Obedience" in: WOODSTOCK LETTERS, 86 (1957), 293ff.

If, however, improvements in theology and operative religious notions can only through education (and for some this will mean re-education) come into existence, it is understandable that ten years after the article just cited was published in English translation the Assistancy Conference feels that still "urgently needed is an up-dated theology of authority and obedience in response to the workings of the Spirit among the people of God today, a theology of special relevance to the place of the members of the Jesuit community and of participative decision-making in seeking and finding the will of God in the policies and choices of the Society and their implementation by individual superiors" (*op. cit.*, C39).

. <sup>32</sup> *Op. cit.*, C67.

but in order to further the mission of the Church, the Society exists, obviously, to serve others besides its own members. Involvement, membership, beyond the Jesuit religious community in other, non-Jesuit communities, formally organized or informal, is therefore essential to the fulfillment of the Jesuit vocation.

Since its origin the Society has regarded schools, educational communities, as communities pre-eminently suited for furthering the mission of the Church through the involvement of Jesuits. Historical circumstances (always subject to change) directed Jesuits to take alone (rather than with other religious, diocesan priests and/or laymen) the initiative to bring into existence new educational communities (rather than participate in such communities already existing). This initiative entailed on the part of Jesuits financial expenditures for the necessary physical facilities of the educational community, the making available of themselves for all teaching and administrative offices of the community, and the inviting and accepting of boys or young men to complete as students the membership and constituting of educational communities. Thus, a way was found by which many Jesuits would fulfill their vocation of furthering the mission of the Church by involvement in communities outside the Jesuit community, i.e. in the non-Jesuit communities commonly designated as "Jesuit schools."

A Jesuit school is not a Jesuit community. A Jesuit community is a community of religious of the Society of Jesus, and its common purpose is the living of Jesuit religious life. A non-Jesuit community is any other community in the world, and its common purpose can be anything else besides the living of Jesuit religious life. It is the latter category which includes "Jesuit schools."<sup>33</sup>

<sup>33</sup> With regard to *non-Jesuit* communities, which Jesuits in fulfilling their vocation join: (a) they may or may not have Jesuits (one, some, even many) as members; (b) they may or may not have been created by the initiative and financial expenditures of only Jesuits; (c) they may or may not have Jesuits as (one of, some of, many of, all) their officers; (d) they may or may not have as major officers men who are Jesuits holding also major offices in their religious communities; (e) they may or may not have names associated with the Society of Jesus (e.g. Jesuit High School); (f) they may or may not use in the pursuit of their purposes property and facilities on which the home of a Jesuit community is also located; (g) they may or may not use property and facilities owned legally exclusively by the Society of Jesus; and (h) they may or may not have legal arrangements by which Jesuit

Authority exists for community; community does not exist for authority. Authority is a function of community, and the kind of community specifies the kind of authority. Religious authority can exist only in a religious community, and other authority can exist only in another community. Since Jesuit schools are not Jesuit religious communities, authority in these schools is not Jesuit religious authority. And since religious obedience can exist only as a response to religious authority, no Jesuit should attempt to see obedience to authority in Jesuit schools as Jesuit religious obedience. It is just as much and just as little Jesuit obedience as is obedience to the civil authority of the civic community in which the Jesuit school is located. This does not mean that Jesuits in Jesuit schools should be rebels; it means simply that they should know what they are doing.

Religious obedience, however, is involved indirectly in both obedience to authority in a Jesuit school and obedience to civil authority in the civic community. When a religious superior assigns a Jesuit as his apostolate a position outside the Jesuit religious community, and in a non-Jesuit, educational community, he is *ipso facto* assigning the Jesuit to fulfill *all* the duties which having that position in the non-Jesuit, educational community (and also in the wider civic community) will entail. The superior is *ipso facto* assigning with religious authority a Jesuit to fulfill all duties of membership in non-Jesuit communities, because it would be immoral to neglect some duties (moral or Christian obligations) of membership in non-Jesuit communities. Some of these duties can be foreseen by the superior; he knows, for instance, in assigning a Jesuit to teach in a school, that the Jesuit has the duty to teach.

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superiors can by religious authority assign Jesuits directly into these communities. Whatever the case may be in all these matters, non-Jesuit communities remain non-Jesuit communities. This fact is, of course, becoming increasingly recognized. And this for many reasons. But one worth being stated in the present context is the fact that, since some Jesuit communities have already been, or are now considering the possibility of being, incorporated as legal entities distinct from the legal entities of the educational communities in which most of their members are involved, it is obviously becoming impossible for even a person who understands community in a legalistic way to ignore the distinction between the Jesuit religious community and the non-Jesuit educational community and to regard in practice the latter as either identical with or an extension of the former.

Some of the duties no one can foresee because they depend on circumstances; no one knows when a Jesuit is assigned as a teacher in a school whether or not he will have the duty of putting a tourniquet on a student's arm, because this depends on what circumstances arise. Teaching class at the time assigned by the principal of a high school is neither more nor less religious obedience than putting a tourniquet on a student's arm when need arises. Both are indirectly religious obedience inasmuch as they are the fulfillment of duties incumbent on a Jesuit by his membership and/or position in the non-Jesuit, educational community to which religious authority has assigned him. Only when legalistic thinking absolutizes authority does "duty" appear to be a synonym for "obeying the orders of authority." When authority is seen, on the other hand, as existing for community, then community, not authority, can be understood clearly as the primary source of duty: duties are duties toward those with whom one lives, and authority exists to further the fulfillment of these duties. All duties toward authority are therefore derivative from duties toward communities.

Therefore, if a Jesuit is assigned as a teacher into an educational community, whose *raison d'être* is, obviously, the education of its student members, his primary duty within the community is toward the education of students, not toward those who hold gubernatorial or administrative offices in the community. It is only because of his duty in the community toward the education of students that this Jesuit has any duty at all toward those who hold these offices, which exist only to make possible and to facilitate the education of students. If, therefore, there should ever arise a conflict of duties in this community, primary duties, here as everywhere else, take precedence over secondary duties. To decide otherwise would be immoral. In such a conflict, acting in accord with primary duty would be precisely the fulfillment in that situation of the apostolate which the Jesuit has accepted in religious obedience to his religious superior.

#### Justice

Membership in a community involves a *fundamental* duty and responsibility toward *all the community*. This means, at least, a real concern that justice prevail in all intra-community relations. Should an injustice occur toward any member, and should that

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injustice originate with some who hold offices in the community, as happened recently at Catholic University, it is then a fundamental duty of all other members to see that justice is restored. It changes nothing in regard to this fundamental duty of membership in the community that most of the trustees in Washington, D.C., responsible for the injustice are also archbishops in various archdioceses throughout the nation. Moreover, since some of the faculty members who acted to restore justice in the community are secular priests, it is conceivable that a trustee who collaborated in the injustice is also the archbishop who with religious authority originally assigned one of the priests who resisted the injustice to Catholic University for his apostolate. This priest's protest against the injustice of the trustees would be, in this case, precisely the fulfillment of his duty derived from his religious obedience to his archbishop, whether the archbishop eventually realizes this or not. *Mutatis mutandis*, what has been said applies also to the notorious case of St. John's University.

It is, of course, very unfortunate that members of a religious order who have authority at St. John's University should be slower than others to recognize injustice and the misuse of authority. It is more unfortunate when this is the case with men who are archbishops in the Church. There is indeed some crisis of authority in the Church when religious who hold offices of authority and archbishops must be forced by others to reverse the injustice which their misuse of authority creates. Authority by its very nature should serve justice; something has gone radically wrong with the understanding of authority when it can proceed so easily into injustice without even recognizing where it is going. The crisis of authority is that a legalistic conception of authority inevitably creates injustice and insensitivity to the injustice created, while contemporary man becomes more and more concerned about both justice and charity. If authority is being undermined in the Church today, the evidence seems to show that it is being undermined through the public scandal given to the world by those who exercise authority as if it were absolute.

It matters both within our Jesuit communities and within the other communities into which our apostolate takes us whether our notion of religious community is legalistic or theological.

## THE JESUIT COMMUNITY AS A COMMUNITY OF SERVICE

FELIX F. CARDEGNA, S.J.

*a rector's view*

IT IS WITH A CERTAIN DEGREE of frustration that I launch into a discussion of the relationship between community and apostolate in the Society of Jesus. One has the feeling that we have said all that there is to say about the thing. It was one of the fundamental issues underlying the decrees of the 31st General Congregation. The fathers of the Congregation were divided on a number of key issues, and I think this was one of them. From the viewpoint of my particular bias, the good guys in this case were those who opted for the primacy of apostolate over community. Actually, I think this is the view which prevailed in the Congregation. If there is one word which characterizes the 31st General Congregation and its decrees, it is the word "apostolic". Not only are the largest number of chapters concerned with the apostolate, but most of the other chapters, e.g. the chapters on prayer and each of the vows, as well as the one on community life itself, are permeated with an apostolic orientation. It seems to me that there were two basic mentalities among the fathers of the Congregation with respect to this question. There were those who felt that the Society must seriously and urgently examine its apostolates, with a view to dropping some, revitalizing others, and entering upon new ones; and that community life within very broad limits is to be tailored to these new and renewed apostolates. These men would in general be more open to

change in community patterns and style of life, principally in order to further apostolic effectiveness, but not exclusively for this reason. The other mentality opted for a closer adherence to the concrete patterns of community life with its regimen of prayer, Mass, other spiritual duties, community exercises and practices, such as they have experienced in their lifetime as Jesuits and which have been spelled out in laws, rules or customs. To these men, this style of community life is a very large factor in what makes a man into a Jesuit, gives him the Jesuit style, passes on to him the Jesuit spirit. One cannot break up this pattern too drastically without threatening the unity of the Society and Jesuit community. Apostolates which are radically at odds with such a style of life,—if there are any—would in effect be beyond the scope of the Society.

I have already said that I favor the first view, which places apostolate in the place of preeminence. However, I should point out immediately that I do not think that by doing this I am reducing community to a means. For, as I see it, the comparison here is not between the values of apostolate and community as such, but between apostolate and a concrete set of details which define a particular pattern and style of community life,—one form of community life. Outside of some very general factors, I think it is an illusion to look for one style of community life which can be called Jesuit; just as I think it is an illusion to look for a Jesuit religious discipline beyond obedience and the manifestation of conscience. This is one of the unique things about us. We do not go in for minutiae. We are, or should be, free, flexible, and large-minded. And I think there is a *de factó* proof of this absence of one particularized form of community life. Just look at the differences in daily living in a university or college community, a retreat house, a high school community, a parish, a house of writers, a philosophate, a mission station out in the bush, a labor school, a theologate, a novitiate,—not to mention that archetype of them all—the provincialate.

I once heard an older father complaining about the style of life in a provincialate. He thought it was such a rigid, artificial, constricting, isolated kind of living. He once asked why they live that way. He was told that it was because the provincialate had to give good example. To which he replied, "To whom are we giving good

example,—the novices? It seems to me that the only other place in the province that lives like this is the novitiate, and now not even the novices live this way.” The provincialate, like every other house, should have a style of its own. There is a tremendous variety *de facto* in the various houses of any province. Extend this to the entire Society all over the world in so many different countries and cultures,—and I doubt that we need to be concerned about the breakdown of unity or community due to diversity, very great diversity, in the concrete style of community living. We have been living in this diversity for centuries—and thank God for it. In fact, I doubt that we have *de facto* ever lived any other way.

To sum up, in the option between apostolate and a somewhat detailed description of a particular style of community life, I think the preeminence has to be given to apostolate. I suspect that this was the general framework in which the question was posed among the fathers of the 31st General Congregation and, by and large, the good guys won out.

#### Santa Clara

Then I went to Santa Clara and after about six or seven days of dialogue, one day we got launched into a full-fledged discussion of the relationship between community and apostolate. One of the scholastic delegates sparked the discussion by saying something to this effect: “The Ignatian notion of community put the main emphasis on the group of men gathered together to perform a work. In the Society today, in the Church, there is a notion of community which we could briefly say is this: A community is a group of men who love one another deeply and whose actions spring from this love. The two views could possibly be reconciled, but again there is the question of emphasis, which is very important. The first view seems to distort the Gospel notion of community so as to use it as a means to an end, and the second view would say, community is the important thing; our job is to build community in all forms” (Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 172-3).

This statement evoked a reaction, almost a cry of pain, from one of the weightier members of the conference, who had slugged his way through two sessions of the 31st General Congregation as one of the good guys described above. He said that they had shed blood, sweat and tears to establish the apostolic dimension as

more important than the monastic orientation of community for its own sake. He said he thought this was the progressive, the young mentality; and now he finds that the scholastics, the young men, want community first. He sounded as though he had been stabbed in the back. And then the succeeding discussion struggled hard to break out of a structuring of the argument which characterized the emphasis on community as monastic and the emphasis on apostolate as the General Motors approach, with the implicit demand that one choose between them.

A lot of good things were said in this discussion, and they can be found in Vol. 3, [Pt. 2], pp. 178-199. Here I think the relationship between community and apostolate was posed in different terms than above. Some of the points made were the following:

1. In the genesis of the Society, the original group of Jesuits started with an apostolic commitment which grew out of making the Spiritual Exercises. Then they decided to join a group to achieve their apostolic goals, rather than to pursue these goals as individuals. Then they decided on the structure of authority in the community they formed. So, there seems to have been a certain priority of apostolate over community, at least temporarily.

2. The concept of community was to St. Ignatius a joining together of companions in Christ. We come together with Christ in this particular community, and with one another. Then the community itself extends Christ in a particular way.

3. The concept of community in terms of the Church is really a relationship among persons and Christ. Being with Christ is sharing in his presence in the world. We speak of various modes of the manifestation of Christ in the world. From the New Testament point of view, a good case can be made for saying that the one thing which unifies these modes is that Christ is present in the community. One could go even further and say that the Christian community *is* the presence of Christ. Christ's presence in the world is Christian community as a dynamic concept that broadens itself constantly from the cell unit, whatever that may be, to a wider and wider dimension.

4. This brings us to an attractive possibility for the resolution of the tension between community and apostolate. Our mission, our only genuine apostolic purpose, is the fulfillment of Christ's mission.

Christ's mission is summed up in His priestly prayer for community at the Last Supper. "Let them all be one. Just as you, Father, are in union with me and I am with you, let them be in union with us, so that the world may believe that you sent me. I have given them the glory that you gave me, so that they may be perfectly unified and the world may recognize that you sent me and you love them just as you love me" (John 17, 21-23). The Christian mission is to create community in the human family as the People of God. To create community among men on all levels in my apostolate as a Christian.

This awareness of the apostolate of the Church being to create community has been restored to a kind of central position of eminence in recent years in the light of the Council and the thought connected with it. We have moved away from most of the institutionalized understanding of the Church and its apostolate to a more personalistic approach. Person exists only in community. If you look at it this way, the most important and basic apostolic task is the intensification of the life of the community itself which intends to be apostolic; and a most important Christian witness is to one another within this community; and only in terms of this deepening is a community capable of really bearing more effectively and more profoundly the presence of Christ to the world.

5. One of the things which a person achieves in community life in the Society, if it is authentic community life, is the ability to create other communities. He takes on not only the desire to create other communities, but in the process of living in community, he takes on those qualities which will enhance his ability to form other communities and he rubs off the sharp edges which will diminish this ability. The community really creates the power of creating other communities. You have a series of interlocking circles, all of which are united in a way in this Jesuit community in which we participate.

#### Participation

It is only by participation in many different communities that you can actualize the virtualities you have. The person develops in community, so that what has often been given as the description of the individual Christian is now being applied to this grouping of Christians or Jesuits. This grouping of Christians manifests to

the world in some way all the qualities such as openness and welcome and love which we claim to be characteristic of the Christian: that we help one another, and enable one another to do more than we would be able to do if we were isolated. The Christian wants to do things together because it is in the constant giving and receiving that we grow and become better persons and at the same time better apostles. What we are now groping for in this area is a person-centered community life. We are moving away from the kind of thinking which considers apostolic activity to be "doing something to someone"; and away from the structure-centered religious life which is imposed on everybody, to a person-centered religious life.

The fear that a lot of us have concerning the person-centered religious life is that it is open to a great deal of individual anarchy; everybody goes his own way and nobody is really concerned about what the group does. We need a profound faith and deep confidence in the value of the person and especially of the Christian person; that deep within him there is a movement outwards to others, and out of this orientation towards others comes a community. Community, therefore, emerges from the very meaning of person and especially a Christian person, rather than being imposed from outside. It is not something that has to be built into the person, but is rather an innate tendency which has simply to be set free to develop by removing obstacles that may be obstructing its development.

6. So while it is true that there is no explanation of why we have this particular community which we call the Society of Jesus except in terms of the apostolic goals that we as a group wish to accomplish, this may be conceived in too utilitarian a way. If you start out with a specific apostolic goal in mind and shape persons and community to it, you could very well reduce persons and community to means. But, if you have a broad apostolic purpose which is fundamentally to create community in the world and which urges you out into the world to meet people, to share the Christian presence, then the tension between apostolate and community may be a creative one. In this case, the community is created by apostolic effectiveness and apostolic effectiveness is there because of a certain strength of community.

So much from the Santa Clara conference. Next I would like to make reference to the Conference on the Spiritual Formation of Ours which was held in Rome during the first ten days of September. The impression I got upon arriving at the Conference was that we had been called together to help draw up some prescriptions which would constitute a follow-up on the decrees of the 31st General Congregation. Evidently Father General was receiving requests for more detailed directives to be given to the Society concerning the spiritual formation of Ours. A great deal of time was spent on novitiate and pre-novitiate programs. However, as you can see from Father General's Instruction "De Nostrorum Institutione in Spiritu", dated December 25 of last year, there was considerable preoccupation with the question of community life. The rectors of scholasticates who were there were asked to discuss and respond to a detailed list of questions submitted to them by Father General. Under the rubric of "our style of life", the following topics were listed: silence; fixed time for rising, retiring, prayer; visits to the Blessed Sacrament; obligation of attending classes; limits and norms for the use of television; our style of dress, inside and outside our houses; the problem of alcohol; smoking; our dealing with externs; visits to our relatives; visiting the city; social gatherings; movies; taking part in public demonstrations; and so on.

From the very outset there was a great deal of resistance in the group against universal prescriptions for the entire Society going into such detail. In fact, one group of rectors stayed on the larger questions of the role of the rector and the spiritual father; the re-education of rectors needed; the question of self-government in small communities of theologians; unity in the Society; the role of the general, etc.; and simply did not go into the details listed above. I mention this only to point out what appeared to me to be another manifestation of the two mentalities on this question. Among those who called the Conference, there were some whose approach was still to get a set of prescriptions which could then be applied throughout the Society; and this would reduce the uneasiness and the apparent disorder which seemed to prevail. They were concerned about the unity of the Society and, though in a genuinely mitigated way and with lots of consultation, were still basically using the way of uniformity to resolve the problem of unity. A large majority of the elected delegates at the Conference resisted

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this approach and insisted on the principles of regionalism and subsidiarity. This applied especially to the area of our style of life, especially in the novitiate and houses of study. I do not think I heard anything new on the general question of the tension between community and apostolate, but I was extremely encouraged by the experimental stance which most of the delegates took with regard to the resolution of problems in this area. The experience of the Santa Clara and Roman Conferences was a great boost to my vocation in the Society.

### Apostolic

In his Instruction of December 25, following up on the Roman Conference, Father General, in nos. 22 and 23, describes the community of the entire Society as apostolic and says that our community life takes its origin from our common apostolic vocation and it is not to be sought as an end for its own sake. The term or center where all our apostolic activities converge should be placed outside the ambit of community life and in the people whom we serve. The note or element of our "action" must be protected and promoted by the internal life of the community, which however is necessarily ordered according to the multiple exigencies of our apostolate. Community in the Society is dynamic. It is vivified by that presence of Christ which is promised in Matthew 18:20 to brothers gathered together in His name, and receives its peculiar strength for the apostolate from this presence of Christ. By it we are inserted into the universal mission of the Society.

The values of love, simple conversation and spontaneous communication drawn from the image of the family are proper to our community life. However the analogy of the family can be applied only with discretion to our life. Our houses and style of life are marked by their own adult, manly, religious, and apostolic character. If, even with mutual charity, we experience a certain psychological austerity, is not this a realistic experience of the sacrifice by which we renounced family life to devote ourselves completely to God and man?

The last event I attended in this saga of the relationship between community and apostolate was the Conference on Apostolic Community held at Spring Hill during this past Christmas week. Among other presentations, Fr. Fichter contributed a very stimulating

paper on the nature of community from a sociological point of view, with reference to the Society of Jesus. He approached community from a variety of angles, two of which may be of interest to us here. From the viewpoint of organization, i.e. as a social structure, a community may be typed as *gemeinschaft* (i.e. the smaller, communal, primary group) or *gesellschaft* (the larger, associational, secondary group). Fr. Fichter characterized the Society as the first breakthrough of a religious group into the *gesellschaft* structure, characterized by a rational, impersonal relationship and built on a rationality that gets things done. It is a voluntary grouping of professional colleagues and peers. Fr. Fichter then proposed the principle of instrumentalism, namely, that form follows function, or structure follows performance. If, therefore, certain communities are useful for our purpose, let us promote them to obtain our goals. If not, let us change them. The debate about small groups versus large groups is a reflection of an age-old problem of the tension between autonomy and dependence, personal freedom and institutional restraints, the balance of voluntary consensus and patterned restraints. Since one cannot escape institutions, the basic question is: what kind of people need what kind of structure to do what kind of things?

There was a certain amount of resistance to this approach which appeared to reduce community to a means in the pursuit of specific apostolic works. It did not seem to satisfy the expectations of many of the participants on the level of the human and Christian values of brotherhood and personal relationships.

So much for the history of the recent discussion on Jesuit community and apostolate. I shall now attempt a brief statement of matters as I see them. Community and apostolate are the twin poles of our Jesuit existence and are in some sense essential and necessary values of our way of life. Abstracting for the moment from particular styles of community life and forms of apostolate, I consider the values of community and apostolate as correlative; the relationship in the concrete being one of dynamic tension between these two poles of our life. On the broadest plane, it is possible to try to resolve this tension by saying that our apostolate *is* to create community on all levels in the human family, and this includes our own communities. But I do not think this resolves the

question of the relationship between our community life and our apostolates outwards, whether or not you characterize these as in some sense creating community in various areas of human existence. And this is the real problem. However, what this approach does do is to remind us of the importance of community in our lives, and it makes us at least hesitate to reduce community to the level of a sheer means to our apostolates.

In the view which makes community a means to the apostolate, there is a tendency to say that we decide what we want to do and then we tailor our style of community life to meet the demands of our apostolates. "Form follows function" is interpreted to mean that style of community life follows apostolic demands. If a certain style of community life is necessary or useful for our apostolic purposes, we promote this to achieve our apostolic goals. If not, we change the style to accomplish this. Within limits as to the extent to which one can stretch styles of living and still call them community life,—and I consider these limits rather broad,—I suppose one can structure his thinking about the relationship between community and apostolate in this framework. I think it is at least a working model that serves well in the practical order.

However, I have some difficulty with it. I hesitate to identify function with apostolate and form with community life, and then say that form follows function, i.e. community style of life follows apostolate. I think that both apostolate and community can be considered as functions and both must take concrete forms in relationship to their respective functions and also in relationship to the interdependence, interaction, and mutual influence of the two functions.

#### Community itself

The necessity of the apostolates in our lives is more than evident from all that has been said here at this Institute thus far. What is the necessity of community in itself? Human and Christian existence demand it of man. He is made for community. He becomes human, person and Christian only in community. A celibate religious especially, I think, needs his religious community in a special way, if he is to live humanly and as a Christian outside the community of married life. I take it as clear that his growth emotionally, intellectually, and spiritually are enhanced by community life, and

in some sense demand community life. I would conjecture that many of the losses from the priesthood into marriage are precipitated and aggravated by the absence of a community of concern for the individual priest in which his problems of loneliness would be reduced or at least gotten to in time. Community also assists a man in the discernment of spirits, makes it more reliable. It seems to me that discernment in serious matters can only be done in the context of the Christian community in which I live. Finally, it is the heart of the gospel message, to live in community, to build community, and the religious life is to provide an ideal for Christian living. For the moment, I prescind from the contribution to the apostolate which comes from a communal approach to our work. I am looking for the personal and religious rather than apostolic function of community. What I am trying to do is to establish the value and need for community life in its own right, though for a Jesuit never without reference to the apostolate as the co-essential element of his existence. Briefly, I am trying to avoid casting community simply in the role of a means to apostolates, even if a necessary one.

The position I have taken is some sort of middle position between the monastic approach which makes the community the essential value and apostolate secondary, and the associational approach which makes the apostolate the essential value and community secondary. Can we get a third kind of explanation which makes them correlative in importance? Would this be the sort of person-centered religious life we are groping for? Is it Jesuit?

Getting away from all the theorizing, I think there is a basic practical agreement on what we are looking for in all this. Maybe the theoretical discussion is getting in the way. What do we want of Jesuit community life? Practically, we want genuine personal human relationships with fellow Jesuits, friendships with them, just plain human living conditions, to be at home at home, just to live a human and Christian life. We want *these* as the basis of community. We do not want impersonal structures as the *basis* of community life, realizing always that some structure is necessary for any society. We also do not want a community to be turned in on itself in a state of constant, neurotic self-examination, a kind of navel-gazing sometimes referred to as seminary-itis. Our commu-

nities are apostolic and are to spring out of themselves and to be preoccupied with creating community outside of themselves in the world. I think this is basically what we want, and I would call such groups *person-centered communities of service*.

How do we go about getting them? Well, I am not sure of many things in this area except that we can only proceed through the instrumentalities of dialog and experimentation. The dialog is picking up and, in fact, I am beginning to get the feeling, where I come from at least, that we have just about talked ourselves out on this question. Just reviewing the material presented in this paper from various institutes, conferences, and meetings gave me the feeling that I have been through all this before, and more than once, and that there is very little left to be said, and we have got to *do* something now. All of which means we have got to move into the area of experimentation more boldly if for no other reason than to test what we have been saying and to find out what validity it has. Of course, I am not advocating just trying things indiscriminately. But we have set down the norms for serious experimentation elsewhere. And we have simply got to get some more content for the on-going dialog, some more substance to talk about. I get the feeling that we are beginning to go around in circles now with the talk. We need experiences, live attempts at solutions to our problems; to evaluate and either abandon, adopt, or change them.

This has been encouraged by the 31st General Congregation itself. Under the heading of *apostolate*, the Congregation came out strongly, as you know, for the re-evaluation of our ministries. Chapter 21, entitled "The Better Choice and Promotion of Ministries", and chapter 22, entitled "The Commission for Promoting the Better Choice of Ministries", are obvious enough proof of this. In the provinces I am most familiar with, Maryland and New York, these commissions are moving along rather well. The Sociological Survey or Province Self Study in some places is moving along and in others it seems to have vanished, gone into hibernation, or perhaps is re-grouping itself for another push forward.

Some of the questions put to me were: "How does the Society of Jesus serve the Church precisely as a religious community within the Church? What is the value of a community of service rather than one man working alone?" Well, I see a great deal of value both

to community and to apostolate from Jesuits working together in communities of service. Team work in the apostolate should not only improve the efficiency and the impact of our work but also strengthen the bonds of community among the men in such groups. The use of communal resources, i.e., not just physical facilities and equipment, but the pooled emotional, intellectual, spiritual and total personal resources of the members, it seems to me, would enhance both the work of the group and the personal development of the members in the group.

#### Broader terms

However, I would hasten to add a few comments to this basic response. When I speak of a community of service, I conceive this community apostolate or apostolic community in broader terms than what we might call our Jesuit institutional apostolates. This gets us into the much-discussed question of the ownership of our universities, colleges, and even other institutions, and the distinction which has often been made between control and influence. It is at least possible to carry on communal or corporate apostolates without ownership of institutions. This would be more evident in smaller team apostolates which we have always had to some degree or other in mission and retreat work, and which seems to be possible now in scholarly fields of professional specialization. My point is that we can distinguish the ownership of institutions as one form of community apostolate, but it does not exhaust the types of communal apostolates. Between the valuable large institutional apostolates and the individual apostolates, there is a whole range of team or communal apostolates.

What about the question of the so-called individual apostolates, where a man is working alone or as part of a non-Jesuit group, e.g. in a secular university or in a diocesan apostolic group? Well, I think we have always had men engaged in work like this in the Society; perhaps, some of our most famous men. I see no reason why we cannot continue to have both communal and individual apostolates. In fact, in this time of rapid and profound change, I would consider it important and even necessary to keep as many options open as possible as we search our way into the future. Individual apostolates are all the more acceptable if the men engaged in them are living in Jesuit communities. The General Con-

nities are apostolic and are to spring out of themselves and to be preoccupied with creating community outside of themselves in the world. I think this is basically what we want, and I would call such groups *person-centered communities of service*.

How do we go about getting them? Well, I am not sure of many things in this area except that we can only proceed through the instrumentalities of dialog and experimentation. The dialog is picking up and, in fact, I am beginning to get the feeling, where I come from at least, that we have just about talked ourselves out on this question. Just reviewing the material presented in this paper from various institutes, conferences, and meetings gave me the feeling that I have been through all this before, and more than once, and that there is very little left to be said, and we have got to *do* something now. All of which means we have got to move into the area of experimentation more boldly if for no other reason than to test what we have been saying and to find out what validity it has. Of course, I am not advocating just trying things indiscriminately. But we have set down the norms for serious experimentation elsewhere. And we have simply got to get some more content for the on-going dialog, some more substance to talk about. I get the feeling that we are beginning to go around in circles now with the talk. We need experiences, live attempts at solutions to our problems; to evaluate and either abandon, adopt, or change them.

This has been encouraged by the 31st General Congregation itself. Under the heading of *apostolate*, the Congregation came out strongly, as you know, for the re-evaluation of our ministries. Chapter 21, entitled "The Better Choice and Promotion of Ministries", and chapter 22, entitled "The Commission for Promoting the Better Choice of Ministries", are obvious enough proof of this. In the provinces I am most familiar with, Maryland and New York, these commissions are moving along rather well. The Sociological Survey or Province Self Study in some places is moving along and in others it seems to have vanished, gone into hibernation, or perhaps is re-grouping itself for another push forward.

Some of the questions put to me were: "How does the Society of Jesus serve the Church precisely as a religious community within the Church? What is the value of a community of service rather than one man working alone?" Well, I see a great deal of value both

to community and to apostolate from Jesuits working together in communities of service. Team work in the apostolate should not only improve the efficiency and the impact of our work but also strengthen the bonds of community among the men in such groups. The use of communal resources, i.e., not just physical facilities and equipment, but the pooled emotional, intellectual, spiritual and total personal resources of the members, it seems to me, would enhance both the work of the group and the personal development of the members in the group.

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gregation mentions in the chapter on community life: "Our community life should likewise be improved by our common apostolic work. So we must promote the closest possible cooperation among Jesuits, by having all or very many in a community devoted to the same work—" We have already mentioned this advantage to community coming from a common apostolate. However, I think some diversity among the members of a community might not be bad for community life, and could perhaps even add a dimension to it. Sharing different experiences might very well be a source of vitality in a community, as long as the differing demands of the diverse apostolates do not pull the community apart in interests and opportunities for being together in moments when genuine communication and sharing can take place.

There is a more radical situation, however, which we should also mention. What about the man who not only works in an individual apostolate, but also lives outside the community? Is this in any sense acceptable, compatible with being a Jesuit? It must be, in some sense, since we have men in such situations, and perhaps always have had,—some rather famous. However if this situation were accepted as the normal occurrence, I would say that we have had it as a society. There are some who would say that this is the desirable goal for mature and competent formed fathers of the Society; that living in community is necessary in the earlier years of formation to absorb the spirit and tradition of the Society, to form one's Jesuit identity; but not after that. This is an illusion as far as I can see, and would result in the disintegration of the Society as a community of any kind. However, I can see the possibility of a certain number of our men living this way out of the practical necessities of a particular apostolic situation and for a limited length of time. In fact, we do have this to some degree with some of our men teaching in secular universities or among our military chaplains, to give but a few examples. And frequently enough these men develop a keen sense of their identity as Jesuits and a pride in the Society, I think, because they are forced by the circumstances in which they find themselves to articulate even to themselves what being a Jesuit really means. I also think that they develop a sort of homing-device which not only helps them to have recourse to Jesuit communities when possible but also gives them a Jesuit com-

munity with which to identify even from a distance. When these ties break down, I think they are in real trouble precisely in their identity as Jesuits and their relationship to the Society. In other words, I am saying that such men can be Jesuits only because there are existing Jesuit communities to which they can relate in some way.

Let us close these remarks on apostolate by another reference to the need for experimentation in this area. Our apostolates simply have to be important ones, ones that make a difference. Our men need this badly. We have to have a sense of doing worthwhile things. The sacrifices this life asks of us are too big to be made for trivial things. We have to be dealing with real and important issues. We have to have a sense of belonging to an organization which makes a difference to men and to the world, which is sensitive to the important issues of today's world, and which is capable of doing something about these issues. This esprit which comes from a felt sense of competence in worthwhile work as Jesuit apostles is one of the greatest helps to community life, prayer, the spiritual life, and everything else. The selection of vital apostolates is utterly important to the entire life of a Jesuit from the very beginning. It not only influences the structures of our formation and our style of life, but it touches upon the very heart of our existence. It determines the type of young men we shall attract to the Society, and even whether we shall attract them at all.

So much for apostolate and its implications for community. Now let us take a look at some practical questions arising from the side of *community*. Here again we need an experimental attitude with which to approach this problem. First, some truisms. (1) Size alone will not solve the problem. There are unsuccessful communities of all sizes, large, medium, and small. (2) It seems to me to be an unrealistic expectation to assign men annually to houses and to expect to have communities right off. It takes years to make a community. If a good community already exists, a small increment can probably be absorbed into the community to the mutual benefit of the old and new members. But large and frequent changes are hard on the community as well as the new men. Of course, if no community exists there, large changes may be a help towards creating a community in time. (3) We should not expect that there is one type of ideal community for which we are searching. Different

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temperaments need different living conditions. And even if there were some ideal type of community style for some ideal type of Jesuit, we are all less than ideal, with *de facto* limitations that have to be faced. But I do not believe in ideal types anyhow. I like differences and diversity. So it seems to me there should be a variety of styles available, within which men may be able to find a way to find themselves. Even age is a factor, from the very young in the time of training, to the professionally skilled apostles, to the older men of the Society. It seems to me that the style of life I want to live would be different as I move along through these stages of life in the Society.

### World-wide phenomenon

There are a couple of tendencies in the air these days concerning styles of community life. Perhaps the most evident is the mystique of the small community. This is not just a national phenomenon. It was evident at the September meeting in Rome that this pre-occupation is world-wide. The desire for the experience of community has led many to want to live in communities small enough so that one's personal presence is felt on the physical, emotional and spiritual level, and one has the opportunity at least to enter into a personal relationship of greater or lesser intensity with each member of the community, so that anonymity is next to impossible. Such living also makes greater demands upon a person and places greater responsibilities upon him. Unlike life in the large institutional seminary, he is not as free to remain on a superficial level in his personal relationships. He cannot as easily avoid the demands of really living *with* others and all the pain and growth that close personal relationships involve. Nor should he be encouraged to avoid such experience.

Another trend of this communitarian sense is the desire to open our houses to non-Jesuits, to extend our hospitality to others, to share our goods and ourselves with them much more readily than we have been accustomed to do in the past. Many do not want our houses to shield us or cut us off from others, but rather to be places where we can welcome all in a true spirit of Christian hospitality. Conflicts arise here between the values of hospitality and privacy, but other people manage to resolve these conflicts without going to either extreme. We can, too.

There are so many possibilities in the air these days. I think it would be wrong to close them out before they have been tried. I resist those who feel that we are floating too freely and without clear directives, and that we should get some order back into the chaos, and quick. First of all, I do not think we can artificially generate order and control when we are not sure what it should be, i.e. order for its own sake. Besides we may have suffered from too much order and control. Secondly, this is a period of change and it is only beginning, if my reading of the signs of the times is at all accurate. I would hate to opt out of all the excitement just as it is getting started. Thirdly, experimentation is the key to living in a period like this, so much so that I would be willing to say that we not only need individual experiments as we face the future, but our whole attitude of life should be experimental. We should develop an experimental cast of mind, even seeing our whole style of life in experimental terms. And besides, what's wrong with a little bit of chaos anyhow? In moderate doses, it's good for us. Life is chaotic to some degree. It is part of being alive and open to the future.

When Woodstock moves, how are we going to live, all 225 or 250 of us? We have talked this thing into the ground. It is time to try things. There are at least four different styles available to us. One rather large central building housing anywhere from 40 to 80. Brownstones housing from 10 to 15. Apartments housing 3 or 4 each, and sections of the boarding facilities of several Protestant seminaries, housing about 20. What should we do? I think we should try all of them simultaneously. With regard to our scholasticates, I think, at least for the theologians, that the large institutional seminary style of living is dead. At present, for our plans for the new Woodstock, I favor a medium-sized central installation of about 40 or 50 people. I would also like to have in this building dining facilities large enough so that the members of the satellite communities could also come there for dinner; and facilities for a late evening social hour for all; plus other recreational facilities. Around this location, I would like to try, in the satellite communities, the other types of living I mentioned earlier, and perhaps even others. I think people should have some variety in the styles of living open to them. I just like variety. There are a whole host of detailed questions about how to decide who lives where; where

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the faculty will live; who runs the satellite communities, etc. It might be interesting to know that Father General posed the question to the Rectors of scholasticates at the September meeting in Rome as to what they thought of the idea of self-government in the satellite communities under one overall Rector for the entire complex, in the case of the theologians. Then, before they had a chance to answer, he settled it by saying that, if our men are not capable of this by the late twenties and early thirties, we are in trouble and we are doing something wrong in our formation program.

In all of this we are looking for better community life for its own sake and for its impact upon our apostolate; to be a better community, of apostolic religious. Some experiments will succeed and some will fail. But that is the very nature of an experiment. It might, and at least sometimes, it has to fail. If you need to exclude the possibility of failure before acting, you are not experimenting. Experimentation even needs the possibility of failure as a value. Failure in a given experiment gives you new experience and raises new questions, and leads you on to more thinking, talking and acting. In the long run, failure serves success. There is no pure failure, unless we let it be so. Problems are solved by moving ahead. The goal is not the elimination of all problems but the search for the proper problems. We cannot afford the luxury of solving last century's problems, or even last year's problems. Things are moving too fast for that these days. Moving ahead to resolve our present problems is necessary, while at the same time we realize that our solutions will only create new problems. That is fine. The secret is not to be without problems, but to have the right set of problems, —problems with a future.

At the outset, I was asked how the Society of Jesus serves the Church precisely as a religious community. I would like to add the word "today" to that question. How does the Society of Jesus serve the Church today precisely as a religious community? I am sure I cannot give an adequate answer to all that we should be doing. That is what the whole process of the evaluation of our ministries is concerned with. But there is one immense service we can render in this area of concern. We can serve the Church by courageous experimentation in the forms of community and apostolate, thus showing the way for religious life today and into the future. People, religious especially, expect at least this much of us.

## CHANGING PATTERNS IN THE JESUIT ORGANIZATION

VIVIAN TELLIS-NAYAK, S.J.

*exploring general developments  
and changes*

THE SOCIETY OF JESUS as a formal organization that has endured through four hundred years presents a unique field for a variety of interesting sociological investigations: the varying emphasis placed in its history on the bureaucratic or institutionalizing aspects of its administration; the impact of local and central leadership on its morale and performance; and the emergence of formal and informal structures in its diverse cultural environments and situational challenges. The present investigation focuses on one limited aspect of the Jesuit organisation. It is an attempt towards an exploratory study of certain of its general developments and changes, not in terms of a descriptive survey but with a view to identify a few dominant patterns in these developments, to chart their directions and to search for their main organizational causes.

The main hypotheses of the paper are based on a sociological interpretation of Jesuit history and thus refer to the Jesuit Order as a whole. The direct illustrative references to the Indian scene reflect the author's closer and longer familiarity with the men and institutions of the Indian Assistancy which with its nearly 3,000 men is not only the third largest concentration of Jesuits in one country but also somewhat represents the Jesuit traditions of ten European and American countries.

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If we take a broad approach to Jesuit history in order to discern the more salient trends in the developments and characteristics of the Order, we might discover that the Jesuit organization has shown a marked emphasis *away* from group action and team effort *in favor* of individual achievement. Whether or not this Jesuit proneness towards individualism has resulted from a manifest attempt on the part of the Order, it has in fact stood out as a dominant feature particularly in its later history.

It should be insisted upon that this lack of group thrust and accent on individual performance is the broader and more marked pattern which stands out in the history of the life and activity of the Order. Deviations from the patterns have occurred, and as we shall later maintain, the trend of events is definitely shifting in our own days. But by and large these deviations have till now been the exceptions rather than the rule. These exceptions are the more significant in a compact, mobile and centralized body of men who have in fact projected an image of being the most well knit and well disciplined religious body in the Church, as well of group solidarity and group impact.

This individualistic trend in Jesuit history is best identified in two of its expressions: a lack of united effort in their work; and a lack of affective group consciousness in their living.

### A lack of united effort

An Order which sets for itself the goal of ready service to the Church, and therefore lays importance on its flexibility and promptitude to move into urgent situations and to assume any commitment, the Society of Jesus has not been significantly noted for its coordinated planning, united action or group thrust. This is evidenced by many Jesuit characteristics as they are manifested in their behavior and performance.

A study of the origins of many of the prestigious and successful ventures of the Jesuits would yield one proof. Many of the remarkable Jesuit achievements are not the result of well thought out and planned activity on the part of the Order as such, or even of the local province men. Often these works have had their origins in the vision, zeal and daring of individual charismatic men. Except in the early stages of founding a new province, these zealous pioneers have been less frequently the superiors themselves and

more often the men from the rank and file. Thus many of the more famous Jesuit universities, houses of writers, scholarly journals, social and technical institutes, welfare projects and training institutions grew out of the insight of individual Jesuits who recognized a problem, saw an emerging challenge, and had the courage and strength to launch into a new venture. Not infrequently these new challenges have come as welcome occasions for them to move out of over-institutionalized works and find an outlet for their apostolic zeal in these new tasks.

They have had painfully to convince a not very eager superior, rally enough enthusiasts inside and outside the Order, seek their own financial resources, and go through a very similar process of trial that characterizes the initial effort and drive of charismatics, zealots and revolutionaries. In some instances the Order has come forward with generous financial and personnel assistance only after the new venture had weathered its initial crisis of survival. By and large then most of the historic achievements of Jesuits grew not out of the prevailing mood, initiative or vision of the local Jesuit body as a whole, or even primarily of the superiors, but out of the idealism and drive of individual Jesuits.

A study of the Jesuit staff of most of the larger Jesuit institutions will afford another proof of the lack of cohesive, corporate effort among the Jesuits. Some of the Jesuit universities are a case in point. It is not rare that they have on their staff some brilliant, creative minds remarkable for their administrative or scholarly abilities. And yet many Jesuit universities show a conspicuous lack of team effort, common planning or even scholarly intellectual communion among these intellectuals. More often than not they are lone scholars brilliant in their individual performance, bringing prestige to their Order through their individual scholarly achievements. But they often lack any notable sense of corporate mission in terms of the institution they are working for. They are dedicated in their service to their department and to its growth and development, but they do not necessarily carry a missionary sense towards the whole institution of which their department may only be a part. Thus it happens that many of the bigger Jesuit institutions lack a sufficient interdepartmental communication and support, not in an administrative or bureaucratic sense, but in Jesuit terms, in terms

of personal contribution, common interest and responsibility that might be expected of the members of a religious Order.

**Absence of long range policy**

A third indication in the same direction could be found in the absence of long-range policies in the choice of ministries and the deployment of forces in individual Jesuit provinces. The commitments a province makes in men, money, effort and time have generally been the decision of the provincial. The relevance and apostolic effectiveness of these commitments have largely depended on the insight and temperament of the provincial. The direction and wisdom of the course a Jesuit province has taken has often depended on the inspiration of the reigning superior. But provincials come and provincials go. Sometimes the newcomers have had radically to reverse the policies of their predecessor when they have not been condemned to perpetuate his mistakes in policy or commitments due to the sheer volume of investment in money and effort.

There is no official administrative body in the province that continues through the reign of more than one man, and which can decisively and consistently affect the policy decisions regarding the province ministries. The provincial consultors lack deliberative power and their nomination depends much on the provincial himself. Whatever organizational or operative benefits might derive from this structure, it is a historical fact that, for instance in some of the Indian provinces, provincials not unduly blessed with leadership, charism, or vision have exercised their zeal and good will so determinedly and decisively that it has taken considerable time and wisdom for their successors to reverse the ill-conceived trends and allay the consequent frustrations in the province.

In rapidly changing societies like India this type of power invested in the leader can redound enormously to the achievement of the Order's goals as well as to their stultification. To a service and apostolate oriented organization like the Jesuits it is crucial that it is equipped with an administrative machinery that can perceptively analyze, and swiftly and wisely decide on the best responses to the continually shifting or growing apostolic challenges that present themselves in a society caught up in an upheaval process. Opportunity or possibility shows itself as unexpectedly as

it slips away and disappears. Only a trained band of experts under the provincial perhaps will be able to remain ever alert to these emerging possibilities and to suggest action that might demand the total mobilization of forces and men. This approach has been largely foreign to Jesuit thinking till now, or at least to their actual behavior. And this perhaps accounts partly for the fact that in rapidly changing societies like India the Jesuit Order has seen an emergence of remarkable individual charism and the initiation of new projects by individual charismatics. But the Order as a whole, at least on the province level, has shown a marked lack of far reaching vision or policy, rationalized planning or organizational thrust in its sporadic and scattered efforts.

All these expressions of Jesuit character and performance indicate that the Jesuit characteristic has not been that of any remarkable team achievement, united action or corporate effectiveness which indeed are a modern concept and technique increasingly evidenced in the team effort of scientists and researchers. The Jesuit organization originated in pre-modern times, times that needed individualists of self confidence and discipline, and produced them.

#### **An absence of affective group consciousness**

That was one expression of the individualist slant in the Jesuit. Another is a lack of affective group consciousness and group feeling. This of course is not meant to mean that there is any noteworthy lack of affective unity or feeling of group solidarity among the Jesuits. A group of men sharing the same ideals, formation and religious motivation, not only develop a familial spirit, but they do often feel a legitimate pride in the prestige and achievement of their Order. But still this sense of identification of a Jesuit with his Order is perhaps more of an identification with the world body, its prestige, its public image, rather than any notable group affinity and corporate mission in terms of the local enterprises and institutions he is immediately and directly involved in.

This is particularly true of the more institutionalized institutions of the Order. The larger Jesuit universities where there is a large group of Jesuits living together are again a pointed instance. They are at times a community of scholars living under one roof, but not always or necessarily sharing a distinctive affective interest in the progress of the institution beyond the department under their

care. They live under one roof but are not particularly concerned with the general problems that confront the institution; not spontaneously inclined to study them, get involved in them or volunteer their services to fellow Jesuits affected by them. Rather they are more likely to feel that the larger interests of the institution are the duty of some specified officials perhaps higher up in the hierarchy.

The larger a Jesuit community and a Jesuit institution, the greater is the probability of the incidence of such a phenomenon. Of course every Jesuit community has its informal groups drawn together through friendship, common interest or temperament. Their mutual interest, help and cooperation, which are typical of any such friendship group, really accentuate the fact that the total community lacks a similar emotional group feeling towards the work, well being or excellence of the institution as such.

Thus it seems that the individualistic slant of the Jesuit character can be detected in two of its main expressions: a lack of united, organizational effort and team achievement; and an insufficiency of group consciousness, corporate interest and common responsibility in communities, institutions and regions.

The trend of individualism in Jesuit history, whatever its depth and intensity, is distinctive enough to affect the Jesuit character at various levels and in different ways. Its roots likewise can be traced to different levels of Jesuit existence. At the deepest level its main cause stems from the general orientation of Jesuit training and spirit.

The *Constitutions* of the Order and the Jesuit philosophy of life have geared Jesuit training to produce fully equipped, self sufficient, well rounded individualists, rather than men trained to depend and rely on, cooperate and join forces with their fellow men.

The theory and technique of Jesuit training have aimed at producing men suited for the purpose of the Order with its heavy emphasis on mobility and adaptability. If it purports to be of ready service to the Church in any urgency, then the Society of Jesus should cultivate the only Jesuit characteristic, as the present general has been fond of saying, of not having any characteristic at all; it needs then to be highly centralized in its command with full operating authority vested in the superior at various levels; it finds it necessary to solemnly bind itself in direct obedience to the Pope; but above all it needs to have at its disposal and at its ready command

dependable men with a generalized training, confident of singly facing the more common challenges of the apostolic life, prepared to switch roles and places and often pioneer alone into new forms of activity.

The theory and practice of group dynamics are largely absent in the Jesuit *Constitutions*, training and life. The times and situations in which the Jesuits had their origins neither knew nor very much needed team apostolate and team activity (as we know them today) for the planning and execution of strategies. St. Ignatius and his *Constitutions* are in this respect very much the creatures of their age.

#### Group solidarity

In the Jesuit *Constitutions* and tradition, group solidarity and loyalty are much more viewed as a religious requirement and Christian principle, rather than as a technique and strategy for the success and effectiveness of the Order. The familial feeling that the Jesuit *Constitutions* try to foster is much more love oriented than action oriented. St. Ignatius who so ingeniously provides his men, through his *Constitutions* and *Spiritual Exercises*, the psychological aids and structural pressures needed for attaining whatever important purposes he thought were essential to his Order, significantly relies mainly on religious exhortation and Christian motivation to promote the harmony and unity he deemed essential among his men. He structured his Order on paternalistic lines not fraternal, monarchic not democratic. The subjects have direct and immediate access to the superior, but it is always in secret and in confidence, never through group representation. The creation of public opinion among Jesuits or the generation of any social or group pressure to influence the judgement or action of the superiors, is entirely foreign to the Jesuit *Constitutions* and thinking.

A major contributory element in a Jesuit's training and life is his intimate and repeated association with the *Spiritual Exercises*. Jesuits as a whole, like all their General Congregations, have with near unanimity claimed to base their personal and their Order's spirit and inspiration on the *Spiritual Exercises*. The *Spiritual Exercises* on their part lay insistent and heavy emphasis on the personal encounter of an individual with Christ. There is barely any mention in them of communal techniques or group dynamics in the attaining or sustenance of the religious experience. Neither do the

*Spiritual Exercises* rely very much on group liturgy as of central importance for their purpose. The more recent introduction of group techniques or of some forms of liturgical practices into the *Spiritual Exercises* has not been unanimously welcomed even among the experts. The *Spiritual Exercises* stress the face to face meeting with Christ of a Christian, alone and not in the company of fellow believers. The *Exercises*, like the *Constitutions*, rely entirely on personal prayer, personal meditation, particular examen, general examen and such like individualistic techniques for the attaining of self discipline and self perfection. The aid of the superior or the spiritual father in this process is asked for and received in private.

All through his formation the procedures utilized to encourage a Jesuit to receive criticism from and offer it to his fellow Jesuits, again focus on the discipline and perfection of the individual and thus help train a perceptive and ready critic rather than a cooperative team mate. This orientation begins in his noviceship and ends in producing within the Order the whole spectrum of theological positions, approaches to life, ideas and opinions. It has been suggested that every type of Christian, conservative or liberal, liturgist or antiliturgist, reactionary or enlightened, can search and find among the Jesuits a staunch ally.

The Order's concern for producing a "perfect" individual is again evidenced in the remarkable variety and yet the generalized quality of the academic training which a Jesuit receives—or used to till recently. Specialization was always in addition to this generalized training. Jesuits were, and in some places even now are, not told till the last days of their training what their future work would be, or what was to await them once they left the formation house. They were supposed to be generally equipped and emotionally detached enough to accept any one of the diverse and unrelated functions in the Province—parish work, education, missions.

This practice is indeed suggestive of the lack of a general, long-range plan on the part of the local superior as to the deployment of his men. But nonetheless this practice is in part a survival of an older tradition and a relic from older times when an intensified humanistic, philosophical, and theological training sufficiently equipped a Jesuit to meet effectively the demands of his times and vocation. But a deep rooted tradition dies hard; so even in an age

of specialisation and of declining vocations which would demand a wisely economical utilization of talent, Jesuit parish priests, missionaries, spiritual fathers etc., hardly receive any specialised theological or practical training in their specialized vocation.

#### The concept and practice of Jesuit obedience

The general theory and direction of Jesuit training are one cause of Jesuit individualism. This has been further complemented by the concept of obedience prevalent in the Order. Obedience in its concept and practice in the Society of Jesus was indeed only a reflection of the thinking and practice in the Church. For a religious the will of God was manifested through the will of the superior, and the religious perfection of the subject lay in its conformity to it. The central thing was the content of the superior's command, not its wisdom; the subject's compliance, not his initiative; his execution of the deed, not his contribution in its planning. This militaristic Jesuit approach was not designed to encourage the participation of the subject in the joint planning and mutual exchange of ideas between the superior and the subject, and even less among the subjects themselves. Dialogue, an open give-and-take approach and corporate effort are almost entirely a recently phenomenon among the Jesuits.

Again Jesuit obedience, perhaps much against its founder's intent and its earlier tradition, came to be looked upon more as a means for the subject's sanctification rather than for apostolic effectiveness. There are very recent and striking instances where individual superiors have utilized religious obedience to test the religious spirit and religious detachment of their subjects even when it has resulted in individual frustrations and damage to the quality and future of Jesuit works. This accent on the "sacrificial" aspect rather than the functional in obedience, is also the cause, though not always the only or the main one, for the wasteful employment of Jesuit talent, as seen for example in the fairly abundant and widespread instances even in recent history when highly qualified men have been assigned to tasks for which they had little talent or interest. As early as in the time of Father General Ledochowski, the General had reminded the superiors of the gravity of their responsibility in this regard.

An obedient and ideal Jesuit has sometimes been characterized

as a person standing with his one foot raised ready to march when and where the superior might order him. This stress on the militaristic, "sacrificial" and unpredictable aspect of Jesuit obedience, conducive as it is not to let a Jesuit get institutionalized or anchored to any task or position, nevertheless has stressed the vertical aspect of his obedience and not sufficiently the importance of the horizontal dimension of his life.

A further cause of the individualistic trait in the Jesuit character is the historical development of the existing form of Jesuit community living. The stress in many Jesuit communities has been on "common life" rather than on "communal living". The insistence on common rules, procedures and practices which promote physical presence and contact rather than meaningful interaction among intellectuals, has tended to breed frustrations, escapist mechanisms and individualistic deviances which in fact are the common malaise in most of the bigger Jesuit communities. Rarely do these larger communities exhibit any distinctive family spirit. Personal problems, sickness or absence, like Jesuit guests, hardly attract the notice or the affective interest of the community members preoccupied with their individual work and commitments. Though small compensatory circles of friends do develop along lines of interest or common work, Jesuit communities not rarely resemble hostels where individuals return for board and lodging rather than for inspiration, understanding and support as to a religious family.

A final cause of Jesuit individualism might spring from the sheer size of the Order as the largest in the Church. Numerical growth in provinces and communities renders frequent and meaningful communication difficult between superiors and subjects as well as among subjects themselves. As the superior finds it harder to maintain full knowledge and control of his men, to keep ready and direct contact with them and to render inspiring and effective leadership, the subjects' communication with the superior tends to become less frequent and more difficult, hurried, and impersonal. In the Jesuit structure, the role and leadership of the superior play a vital cohesive function through the enthusiasm, cooperation, and team participation he elicits among his men for the common tasks. Impersonality and impotency in the exercise of his leadership therefore can foster an atomization of forces and an individualism among the personnel.

In summary, therefore, it might be said that the Jesuit Order which organizationally is so well knit, centralized in its command and disciplined in its training and form, has not exhibited a proportionately organized and concentrated thrust in its team effort or in its corporate effectiveness to attain its goal. This development which has been characterized by a certain individualism among Jesuits, is not merely an accidental historical development, but in fact it has its roots in the *Constitutions*, the structural set-up and the peculiar philosophic bias of the Jesuit system.

#### Complementary developments

The individualistic development which we have tried to identify was a predominant characteristic of Jesuit history. More recently rapid and radical changes have been taking place in the thinking and behavior of the Jesuits. These new trends which seem to be on the whole complementary to the previous developments found expression in the deliberations of the 31st General Congregation and received their official sanction in its *Decrees*.

The General Congregation though not entirely representative or reflective in its participating delegates of the opinions and ideas among the Jesuits, yet for curious reasons did reflect their dominant mood and aspirations in its *Decrees* which were therefore accepted with surprising and almost universal satisfaction even among the younger, restless section of the Order. This favorable response more than their binding force is likely to make these *Decrees* the guiding norms, which they are meant to be, for the current developments, changes and experiments that are taking place in the Order and are explicitly encouraged by the *Decrees* themselves.

Among the vastly different areas and forms in which these new experiments are being conducted one can observe the emergence of a somewhat general pattern and theme. The direction of this emerging pattern seems to run counter to the earlier individualistic trends and in essence serves to complement them. This new pattern of events is highlighted in the following trends.

There is a marked new trend towards fostering a group consciousness through personal and corporate involvement in the commitments of the Order. It seems to be increasingly realized in the Order that common traditions, life, and goals have to be supple-

mented by common action and participation in order to generate group feeling. There are a number of changes that are encouraging this united effort.

The General Congregation has called for a "Commission on Ministries" to be set up in every province for the study and suggestion of priorities of action. It is intended to be a kind of permanent task force represented by experts from various province activities, who remain sensitive to emerging challenges in their region and suggest appropriate action. This experiment is meant to be a step towards rationalizing the province effort; but like the current General Sociological Survey of the Society of Jesus it has also the latent function of involving the men of a province in the study of their common apostolic problems and in the planning and execution of the strategy to meet them. This new experiment in different forms is being tried at different levels in communities and regions where expert bodies, study groups, and committees are set up for the dual purpose of keeping in mutual contact men directly involved in different particular problems, and also for studying and suggesting solutions to different problems of Jesuit life and activity.

An even more far reaching change in this direction is the new participation of every formed Jesuit in the government and official policy of the province and the Society. In the future the delegates to the province congregation will not be the senior most professed men of the province, but those from every rank of the formed Jesuits elected by the personal vote of every province man. This is entirely a new and bold step towards democratic behavior hitherto alien to the Jesuit system. It is very-likely that this participation will soon be even more democratized with the levelling off of the grades among formed Jesuits which will entitle every Jesuit priest to be elected for the General Congregation.

#### Isolationism

Along with democratic developments goes a new effort to break down isolationism among provinces. Inter-provincial cooperation, exchange and communication are indeed an innovation where formerly Jesuit provinces were patterned after Catholic dioceses where the provincial, like the bishop in his diocese, was solely in command and answerable only and directly to the general in Rome. Not only are inter-provincial meetings becoming the order of the day, and

provincials of a country are being obliged to meet annually for a review of policy, but in some regions the general is experimenting with new tasks assigned to super or inter-provincials in the interest of better efficiency in planning, cooperation, and use of personnel.

The installation of the four general assistants, of expert consultants and advisors to the general can be viewed as steps in the same direction though at a higher level; which fact highlights the paradoxical nature of the new pattern of events: a decentralization of authority and emphasis on localism which go hand in hand with centralized planning and heightened communication.

Another sacred tradition of the Order went overboard when the General Congregation dropped the absolute secrecy imposed on its delegates and itself set up an efficient information service that kept the whole Society briefed on the current developments in the discussion and mood of the Congregation fathers. In stark contrast to previous comparable experience in congregation history, this innovation evoked a keen sense of participation and involvement among the Jesuits in the tasks and decisions of the Congregation.

Perhaps encouraged by this experience the 31st General Congregation further decreed the erection of an information center at Rome, more efficient and expert than before, to keep the 35,500 Jesuits in the world informed, in a more readable medium than Latin, about the major activities and problems of the Order. Jesuits from many countries or group of countries are seeking to set up, as in Asia for example, similar and more functional regional centres that could render specialised service to a group of provinces to facilitate exchange of men, means, news and ideas. The 31st General Congregation has also in an unprecedented decree asked the general to be in personal and frequent contact with his men around the globe through regular journeys. The journeys Father General Arrupe has already undertaken to meet and live with his men span the entire globe; they have served as a potent factor in engendering enthusiasm, interest, and a sense of affinity among Jesuits regarding the tasks confronting the Order as a whole.

Thus through common action, involvement, participation, and representation in government, as well as through meaningful inter-provincial cooperation, the Jesuits are trying to achieve a new deepened sense of group consciousness.

Democratic ways in government and style of life are one major trend; the other, on a different level, can be noticed in the new forms of community living being evolved in the Order.

#### Communal living

A Jesuit's life is not necessarily a community life, and where it is lived in large, institutionalized communities it has generated many problems. One of the important new changes in this regard is the attempt to break down large communities in order to establish small houses in the hope of fostering a personalized living and interaction. In some provinces Jesuits attached to a university live in rented apartments in small groups, while the existing large communities are experimenting in new forms to create opportunities for more meaningful communication among the members. Thus committees or groups are set up to assume the responsibility for the efficient functioning of some areas of community life. Some times the community is assembled by the superior in small or big groups for dialogue sessions for the purpose of communicating information about his problems or policies, for eliciting ideas, or for deliberative action on their part regarding some of their common problems.

Where the big communities had fostered anonymous living and impersonality of contact, these new forms of cooperation, dialogue and group action are slowly encouraging the responsibility and interest of everyone towards the community at large. Unfamiliarity and artlessness in the use of the tools of group dynamics are the cause in some places of fresh frustrations or resentment on the part of some too accustomed to an old form of life. But in some other quarters the experiment is subtly and surely changing the style of Jesuit living. For example Jesuit refectories no longer remind one of military barracks with their long rows of dining tables; in their place now one discovers small tables around which men meet, relax and dialogue during meals.

This same trend is more markedly obvious in the formation houses which are generally the largest communities of the Jesuits. Significantly the General Congregation chose to promulgate its first decree about scholastics in training; specifically regarding these bigger houses the General Congregation decreed that a new pattern of life must be encouraged in the future whereby young Jesuits live in small separate communities in different houses from where they attend common classes and are guided by one and the same faculty.

Experiments in small group activities, including the celebration of liturgy in little intimate groups, find a variety of expressions in these communities, on the theory that personalized contact and training in dialogue and team responsibility during one's formation years are going to equip a Jesuit with the openness of mind and faith in team effort needed for the future work of the Order.

#### A new theological approach

A third and in a sense deeper trend can be noted in the new Jesuit thinking and approach to religious obedience. There is a growing importance now being placed on the obedience of function rather than the obedience of faith. The General Congregation in its *Decree on Obedience* and Fr. Arrupe in his press conference of November 24, 1966 at the close of the Congregation widely reflect the thinking in the Society when they place religious obedience in a perspective of the cooperative effort of the community and the superior to find the objective will of God defined in terms of the best possible service to the Church and to the world. Obedience thus is being seen as a concern for a goal oriented rather than a law oriented living.

This mentality can be seen operative in many of the new changes. Obedience is now becoming a means for efficiency and the maximum utilization of individual resources and talents, while on the other hand personal fulfilment and the conscious interior growth of the subject is getting equal attention. The young Jesuit is no more just assigned to acquire specialization in any field according to the needs of the Order and not with much regard for individual interest or talent. He is now on the contrary encouraged early in his formation to assume personal responsibility for the choice of the area of his development and life's task in the light of the needs of the Society.

Conformity to rules and regulations as the sole criterion of perfection is a notion that is being replaced by the conviction that the Rule affords one only a general guidance for the meaningful interpretation of one's situation in the context of the common good. Thus decisions regarding prayer times and prayer duration are largely left to the discretion of individuals. The hitherto grave Church obligation of reciting the breviary is in many places being commuted, with official approval, to the reading of Scripture or

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other prayerful activity. "Custom Books" had become an institutionalized tradition in the late history of the Jesuits. Many provincials had edited new "Custom Books" and had them approved by Father General Janssens a little before the Congregation took place. These "Custom Books" with their heavy legal overtones detailed norms for the practical behavior of individuals in different provinces even to the extent of defining their behavior on the beach, their partaking of liquor outside the Jesuit house, and their modes of travel. The General Congregation has suddenly rendered obsolete the very idea of the "Custom Books".

This new emphasis on personal growth and fulfillment seems to be oriented to foster and sustain the corporate feeling of community which the Jesuits are looking for. Individuals make an aggregate; only persons can make up a family or community. Individualism accentuates self sufficiency, independence, and isolationism, while openness to others through personalized living, fruitful cooperation and pooling of strength, contribute to personal fulfillment and make for the cohesive affinity and strength of a community of men.

## PSYCHOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS OF THE "JESUIT FAMILY"

JOSEPH J. PAPA, S.J.

*evaluating the traditional*

THE USE OF METAPHOR, IMAGE, FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE in general, to express deeper realities in a way that can be more easily comprehended by an individual is not a modern phenomenon. Far from being a dangerous approach, furthermore, it has been a valid source in the history of man's continuing quest for knowledge. Danger, however, does arise when the image is taken to represent literally the reality towards which it points, or when the image has, in the course of time, changed its connotations or means something other than when the image was first used. Such is the danger which faces the Society of Jesus (and probably other religious orders as well) today as it directs its energies toward a renewal in the sphere of community life.

The Jesuit community has traditionally been viewed as a "family" in which each individual lives out his life in carefully defined actions of charity to his "brothers" and of obedience to his superior, whom he theoretically regards as a "father". The origins of this figurative way of speaking of a Jesuit community are difficult to trace; the Jesuit "family concept" is much more an oral sort of tradition rather than a carefully worked out written thesis. Nonetheless, it did begin and is still very much in vogue today. Edward Heenan, S.J., in suggesting small task-oriented communities as a solution to our contemporary quest for more realistic communal

living, points out a primary function of any religious community, large or small. "The religious community," he writes, "should be a family, an in-group, or a primary group. . . ."<sup>1</sup> Or again, the recent American Assistancy Conference at Santa Clara recommends that, as a help to fostering our community life, "our communities should be true homes in which all members . . . feel equally at home,"<sup>2</sup>—an implicit recognition of this traditional family image.

The thesis of this paper maintains that, at least unwittingly, such an approach to the Jesuit community is rooted in a false understanding of the meaning of "family." As will be shown, the equating of community with family reflects an identification with a pre-contemporary model of the family. This model, under the force of a consistently growing technology, has rearranged itself into a newer reality—a "nuclear" family where roles have shifted, functions have changed. Unless this fact is recognized and taken into consideration on the practical level of daily living all efforts at community renewal are doomed to inadequacy and, paraphrasing Cornell psychologist Urie Bronfenbrenner, to depriving member Jesuits of essential human experience.<sup>3</sup>

After an examination of the shift in the family model the paper further contends that a more fruitful approach to community life can be found in the findings of modern theological studies, and that these can be reconciled with the concept of "family" so traditional among Jesuits. Only in this way will the establishment of a Jesuit family offer any meaningful value to the individual member of the contemporary Society of Jesus.

#### The family model

Even a cursory glance at some of the materials available on recent scientific studies of the concept of "family" will immediately reveal the complexity involved in applying such a concept to a reality such as Jesuit community living. One must accept the fact that the word "family" has many emotional associations and is

<sup>1</sup> Edward F. Heenan, S.J., "A Quest for Religious Community," WOODSTOCK LETTERS, 96 (1967), 297.

<sup>2</sup> *Proceedings of the Conference on the Total Development of the Jesuit Priest* (Santa Clara, 1967), Vol. 3, Prt. 2, C68.

<sup>3</sup> Urie Bronfenbrenner, quoted in the *Time* essay: "On Being An American Parent," *Time* (December 15, 1967), p. 31.

understood in different ways by different people.<sup>4</sup> One must also accept the difficulty that confronts any attempt to establish a general picture of those characteristics which constitute the "normal" family and which may be applicable to all families;<sup>5</sup> family characteristics will vary with ethnic backgrounds, cultural contexts, immediate social environments, and a variety of other factors. Nonetheless, these studies do offer a number of specific areas where, phenomenologically considered, the change that has taken place in the family model may be discerned.

The first of these areas is the father. It has been pointed out that before the technological advances of our modern society the father's role had a clearly defined function: he was the "bread maker." As such, he was evidently the most important member of the family, holding a position of honor that carried with it a demand for respect from all other members of the family. The family structure, thus, was markedly lineal. In his examination of the family pattern in contemporary society, Dr. John Spiegel highlights this hierarchical rather than individualistic patterning by considering an American family with Irish ethnic background. One of his observations on the discernible traces of the former family set-up in Ireland (where technology had not as yet so powerfully influenced the family as in America) is striking for its relevance to Jesuit living. "At mealtime," he states, "the father and the male children are served before the wife and the girl children."<sup>6</sup> Making the necessary change in reading "older members" for "male children" and "younger members" for "girl children," a Jesuit need only recall his experience at dinner time in most of the refectories he has been in to see how this former trait of the family is still very much in vogue with the Society today.

With the entrenchment of technology in modern life, however, the father has become a "bread-winner" and with this shift there was entailed a number of ramifications in the family structure. His

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Norman W. Bell and Ezra F. Vogel, "Toward a framework for Functional Analysis of Family Behavior," *A Modern Introduction to the Family* (New York, 1960), p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Elizabeth Batt, "Norms and Ideology: The Normal Family," *ibid.*, p. 435.

<sup>6</sup> John P. Spiegel, M.D., "Homeostatic Mechanisms Within the Family," *The Family in Contemporary Society*, edited by Iago Galdston, M.D. (New York, 1958), p. 86.

new role now necessitated his absence from the home; there resulted a number of negative effects on family members ranging from the diminishing influence of an authority figure to low self-esteem to hunger for immediate gratification to susceptibility to group influence.<sup>7</sup> Again a Jesuit need only reflect on the superior's position as it has been put before him from the novitiate on, and on the ideal type of relation between subject and superior which accompanies that position to see how outmoded is this kind of son-father paradigm. Given this new type of family background it becomes easy to find, in this unrealistic approach, an explanation for the absence in young Jesuits of warm, cordial feelings to superiors and a positive cause of many of the tensions in community living.

A second area in which the family model changed is in that of the mother. No longer merely a childbearer, she now assumes a significant portion of that responsibility which was formerly her husband's. She finds herself in a situation where a closeness with her children, formerly unthinkable, is now possible. When the children reach the age of four, however, contemporary society assumes the task of educating the children and the wife finds it possible to obtain a job and/or become involved in various activities that take her out of the family circle. Precisely how this fact has altered the power structure of the family is disputed and open to discussion.<sup>8</sup> Nonetheless, the point is that the mother's role has shifted and, as will be pointed out, such a change contributes significantly to today's family model.

The implications contained in the previous considerations of father and mother regarding a third area—that of the children—need not, for the purposes of this paper, be fully developed. The fact that change has taken place here too should be obvious. It is only necessary to point out the development of the freer, more individualistic position which children hold today in the family. Parents' expectations of what their children are to be are no longer confined, for the most part, to following in the parents' footsteps.

<sup>7</sup> These are the findings of studies on father-absent homes referred to in "On Being an American Parent," *op. cit.*, p. 30.

<sup>8</sup> Robert O. Blood, Jr. and Robert L. Hamblin, for example, maintain there is no significant alteration. Cf. "The Effects of the Wife's Employment on the Family Power Structure," *A Modern Introduction to the Family, op. cit.*, pp. 137-142.

Likewise, the assimilation of values no longer relies solely on the family but has widened to make room for the influence of the peer group. Finally, the children of today are expected to contribute much more to helping reach decisions regarding family concerns. Granted that a communication gap seems to be a widespread, communal characteristic of the family, nonetheless the new family set-up, especially as a system in which an interchange of roles is predominant<sup>9</sup>, has produced a generation which has experienced a new freedom in family activities never before possible in the family model. It is imperative to keep in the background these new traits of freedom and mobility in our later discussion of the family concept in the Jesuit community.

#### New roles

From this examination of the family system one may correctly conclude that a change in the process to which the concept "family" has been attached has taken place, and is still going on. Contemporary society finds a new, albeit generalized, family model in which the roles of members has shifted. But accompanying this shift of roles is likewise a number of new characteristics in the functions performed by individual members of the family. Authority no longer lies in the person of one member alone but now extends to the mother who has been forced to accept much of the responsibility in this area. The family is no longer the major economic unit in which the children help with the task of "making bread"; unifying economic functions were lost and the individual has become the major economic unit. Thus, one of the principal causes of family cohesion has given way to a new emphasis on individual competency. Furthermore, it is precisely in terms of this competency that the current family policy of a corporate decision-making practice had developed, replacing the former policy of "father says 'do this!'" and everyone followed. Co-relative with the breakdown of cohesion are the various manifestations of a new diffusion in the

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<sup>9</sup>Morris Zehlitch, Jr., in "Role Differentiation in the Nuclear Family: A Comparative Study," *A Modern Introduction, op. cit.*, pp. 329-338, studies this phenomenon in some detail. While he concludes that the nuclear family "differentiates in the direction expected and allocates the relevant roles to the persons expected," p. 337, his observations in its variation in specific activities are highly relevant to the ideas presented in this paper.

family, recreation outside the family circle and involvement in outside interests, to mention just two examples. And finally, we may add the characteristic of competition that takes place within the family, a process which has gone to such an extreme that one may observe a new phase germinating: the striking alienation that is taking place today between the young generation and their parents.

At the outset this paper submitted that Jesuit community life has failed to take cognizance of the change in the family model. While again this is a generalization, and as such is necessarily opened to modifications, at this point the author would like to show from personal experience how such thinking manifests a pre-technological understanding of the family. The connection of this with the remarks just presented will be sufficiently evident by themselves to make further development unwarranted.

The example of the Jesuit refectory has already been cited. More significant is the charge frequently levelled whenever younger Jesuits try to make honest suggestions about improvements in time order, the way work may be more efficiently carried out, and the like. "They are trying to take over," "they're ruining our hard work," and similar remarks are typical of the comments that can be heard in the haustus room. Surely no recognition is given in such instances to the fact that this kind of thing has been part of the young Jesuit's upbringing in his family.

Another instance personally experienced is the superior who feels that villa or mid-term vacation periods should be spent by having the younger members of the community pack their bags and retreat to some far-off site for a joyful period of togetherness. To widen the scope of this way of thinking, what Jesuit doesn't recall a superior who criticizes members because they will not join in with the others at communal recreation after dinner or because they bury themselves in the evening newspaper? Or again, what of the often repeated argument that everyone should be together for, as an example, Christmas day? The contemporary family does not operate this way and yet it is still expected that the Jesuit family will.

Finally, in the area of competency, many Jesuits are still expected to teach in high school for three years—even though it quickly becomes obvious that not everyone is capable of this. Likewise, one's interest in his own special field must be subservient to the course

requirements expected of all Jesuits, and his future is determined by his success in this. Recently a theologian received a communication from a prefect of studies in answer to his request to accept a position with a university offering him a fellowship during his fourth year of theology in conjunction with doctoral work in history. Permission would be withheld pending high marks by the scholastic in his theology courses. And how many Jesuits have been complemented by either superiors or fellow members for success achieved in fields of endeavor in anyway out of the ordinary, run-of-the-mill works of the Society?

These comments, admittedly, do not represent the total experience of Jesuit community life, nor, perhaps, even the more significant aspects. They do indicate, however, a fair representation of how the Society's image of "family" has failed to embrace a newer reality operative in community life. The question then arises: how should such life be conceived? One answer might be to think of it still in terms of the family image but as now including the newer reality outlined above. Perhaps a more fruitful approach can be found in some of the suggestions developed in recent theological studies; it is to these, then, that attention is turned.

#### Recent theological findings

Modern science's challenge, represented by such writers as Sigmund Freud and Julian Huxley, to the significance of religion in man's life has been met by a number of Protestant and Catholic theologians. In examining the charge that religion is only a psychological device to enable the projection of wish-fulfillments or to explain the mysteries of the natural world these theologians have responded in a variety of ways which reflect several points of view; two main streams, however, can be discerned. On the one hand, the cry of God's death, first shouted by Nietzsche in *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, has echoed in some writings. William Hamilton summarizes this approach when he states: "the death of God must be affirmed; the confidence with which we thought we could speak of God is gone, and our faith, belief, and experience of Him are very poor things indeed."<sup>10</sup> An attempt is made, on the other hand, to

<sup>10</sup> William Hamilton, "The Death of God Theologies Today," *Radical Theology and the Death of God*, Hamilton and Thomas Altizer (New York, 1966), p. 41.

speak of God today in a non-religious way by focusing on the trait of secularism characteristic of contemporary society. Harvey Cox is typical of this treatment when he characterizes today's world as the secular city which is the emergent kingdom of God and states that man's task is to make Christianity something which works in the world.

Both of these streams of thought contribute material relevant to the concerns of this paper. First of all, man's capabilities and autonomy are given recognition on grounds that cannot be rejected. Secondly, the person of Jesus Christ is given a renewed centrality in the contemporary thoughts of religion. The role of revelation, finally, in man's life is highlighted in a meaningful way. When all these patterns are woven together a design of man's life results—one which is fruitful, relevant, and authentic to his everyday existence. According to this design God has revealed himself in Jesus of Nazareth. This Christ is the perfect man, like to us in all things save sin. This Jesus had one predominant characteristic which is set before all men as the ideal to be attained: the service of others. In imitating those actions of service which Christ has revealed as man's way of being related to the divine, contemporary man waters the seeds of the divine which exist in his nature because of God's revelation of his word in the human form of Christ. Furthermore, by so serving his neighbor, man accepts God's continual revelation of himself in man and gives reality to a theoretical God-man relationship grounded in a valid theological foundation.

#### Conclusions

In view of these considerations of the family model and of recent theological developments a theoretical solution to the question "in what terms should the Jesuit community be conceived?" is possible. Such a community must be a place where the ideal of Christ's service to others can be realized. The primary function of each member will be to help the others with whom he is associated and, in turn, be helped by him. As this is done force is gathered so that the individual Jesuit can extend his service to his neighbor living outside the community. Such a situation is not incompatible with the family image that has become associated with it—at least understood in its modern characteristics. One characteristic predominant in the ideal family model of contemporary society, mu-

tuality, directly complements the scheme of man's relationship with God set forth above. Basically mutuality means that the members of the family function for the benefit of the other members. It involves a certain amount of give-and-take; it involves creating the possibilities for enabling each person to fulfill his own unique identity and to help the others fulfill theirs. Dr. Martin Goldberg gives a clearer idea of the meaning of mutuality when he describes the emotional functions of the family as: somehow meeting the needs of each individual member for love and/or intimacy; providing the opportunity for the opposite quality of privacy; helping each member to achieve a solid, satisfying sense of identity; and helping each other to find a meaning in life.<sup>11</sup>

Exactly how this community is to be realized and function in the concrete is a problem beyond the scope of this paper. The concern here has been to show how and why the family notion in such a community is an impossible way of thinking—at least as long as it shows remnants of an earlier family model. Furthermore, the groundwork has been laid for a possible replacement to this type of approach in the Society. Although refinements are necessary, which undoubtedly will take surprising and unexpected forms, a community of members living in service for others nonetheless appears to be a fruitful avenue to follow. Not only does such an approach capture the spirit of the second rule in the *Summary of The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*; it is also good psychology and good theology.

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<sup>11</sup> Martin Goldberg, M.D., "The Dynamics of the Family Unit," *Family, Church, and Community*, edited by Angelo D'Agostino, S.J., M.D. (New York, 1965), pp. 67-80.

## THE PLACE OF COMMUNITY IN JESUIT LIFE

WILLIAM W. MEISSNER, S.J.

*community life  
is a skill*

I AM PROMPTED by some of the ongoing experiments in community living to bring together some random thoughts and reflections on the impact and implications of community in the lives of Jesuits. The 31st General Congregation placed a new emphasis on the importance of community life for the stability of the religious life of the vows. In the decree on "Community Life and Religious Discipline" the Congregation made the following statement:

When community flourishes, the whole religious life is sound. Obedience, for instance, is a very clear expression of our cooperation toward common ends, and it becomes more perfect to the extent that superiors and subjects are bound to one another in trust and service. Chastity is more safely preserved, "when there is a true brotherly love in community life between the members." Poverty, finally, means that we have made ourselves poor by surrendering ourselves and our possessions to follow the Lord. Community life aids and assists us in this surrender in a great variety of ways, and in its own unique way is the support of poverty. When the religious life is thus strengthened, unity and flexibility, universality, full personal dedication, and the freedom of the Gospels, are also strengthened for the assistance of souls in every way. And this was the intention of the first companions.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, there is in the experience of individual Jesuits an abundance of evidence which bears out the importance of community life for the individual. I would like to discuss some of the aspects of community life which seem to me to have some importance for the individual members participating in it.

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<sup>1</sup> *Documents of the 31st General Congregation*, Decree 19, No. 4.

*Formative aspects of community*

Participation in community life, especially the community life of the Society is not a natural gift. It is a skill, a learned capacity. The novice brings with him, when he enters the Society, a certain set of skills in community living which he has acquired and developed in the context of the microcommunity of the family. He has learned there the rudiments of obedience, interaction with authority figures, participation in shared activities and cooperative effort for the attainment of group goals. The experience of his school years and the adjustments of adolescence all contribute to an enlargement and amplification of these basic skills by which an individual interacts with and participates in a group.

Consequently, the novice initiates his experience in the life of the religious community with a certain backlog of experience and with a set of relatively well evolved mechanisms by which he can cope with the demands of living in the novitiate community. The possession of these skills and experiences is both an asset and a liability. They are assets in so far as they promote or enable the process of coping and adjusting. The mechanisms are necessary and adaptive since without them adjustment to the demands of community life would not be possible. But they can be and usually are liabilities as well. They are liabilities in so far as they must be modified in their very use or they become maladaptive. In a sense this is in some measure true of all major human adaptations. The mechanisms and skills learned in some other adaptive context are the ones which are available to the person as he enters the new context. The persistence in the use of previously acquired adaptive capacities in a context in which they are no longer suitable becomes inappropriate. The capacities learned in the interactions of the family and with his peers can carry the novice along the first steps of his participation in the life of the community. But he cannot rely on those skills and must modify them and acquire new ones in his interaction with the community.

The necessary adaptive skills are not transmissible by any mode of formal instruction. What needs to be learned is not easily formulated in a set of propositions. It is woven out of the fabric of human interaction. The novice must learn by an ongoing interaction with the community and the community must teach through its continuous presence to the novice. The community shares what is

uniquely its own with its newly adapting member. It exerts itself to modify that member in the direction of becoming a participating part of the community. The community communicates its values, ideals, attitudes, beliefs, customs, and whatever else is constitutive of itself as a viable community. In so doing, it exerts a subtle but nonetheless definite pressure on the novice. He is forced to come to some compromise with the pressures of the community. His membership is a function of his adaptability in that membership is defined in fact by the degree to which the individual accepts and internalizes the implicit standards and characteristic values of the community.

Thus the first importance of community in Jesuit life is that it serves a formative function. That formative function is all the more significant in that those who subject themselves to it are by and large in that developmental phase of the life cycle called late adolescence. In that period of personality formation there is a more or less definitive crystallization of value-orientations, the basic configuration of adult character structure is being constructed, the personality is forming itself in the mature and adult modality. That time of life is a sort of second chance to redeem the mishaps of early deprivations or developmental deficits. Its significance for the emergence of adult character cannot be overemphasized. The impact of the community pressures are of major significance, therefore, and it is well to remind ourselves of the fact that the community as such is one of the major vital influences in fostering or impeding the growth to maturity of young religious.

One of the persistent and chronic problems in the Society and more generally in religious life is the kind of cultural discontinuity that exists between the formative phase of community life, which obtains in the novitiate setting specifically and more generally in the houses of formation, and the post-formation phase of community life which obtains after the formal training is completed. It is as though the novices were cultivated in relation to an ideal of community life which persists only in houses of training. The formative influence is exercised in isolation from the demands of community life as it obtains in the active apostolic communities. I have no wish to debate the relative merits of novitiate versus apostolic forms of community life; I wish only to note the discontinuity that presents itself and comment briefly on its implications.

The disruptive influence of such cultural discontinuities was originally noted by Ruth Benedict. The adaptive style formed in a life context are confronted by the demands of a new role and function forced on the individual by the inexorable processes of maturation and development. The old mechanisms of adaptation do not answer to the new demands and the result is told in terms of anxiety, conflict of values, ambivalence toward authority, etc. The style of interaction with the community which is developed in the early formative years may have little relevance to the style of interaction which emerges in more mature years. The point I wish to emphasize, however, is that it is the community which places the demand on the individual to adapt and which dictates the interactive context in terms of which he must adapt. Thus it is not individuals who create the discontinuities, but the divergent quality and structure of community styles.

#### Identification

The basic mechanism by which the interrelation of individual and community is achieved is that of identification. The mechanism is complex and a full discussion of its psychodynamics is beyond the scope of the present essay. Suffice it to say that identification is a largely unconscious process by which the individual internalizes the value-system of the community and in the process evolves a sense of his own identity as a functioning and participating member of the community. The internalization of community values in the Society has to do with values held at large within the Society as a whole and the Church as a larger context, as well as values at the level of the particular community in which the individual lives. The degree of overlap in shared values from community to community within the Society facilitates the process of adapting when moving from place to place, but existential value-system is always unique to the community.

Moreover, the community recognizes an individual as a member when it recognizes the mark of itself in him. Psychologically speaking, becoming a member of a community does not take place when the individual's name is added to the list of community members. Becoming a member can often be a rather drawn-out process in which the individual gradually assimilates the values of the community and the community gradually comes to recognize in him

the pattern of its own value-orientation. The process takes time, more for some than for others. Some individuals may never become members of the community in this sense. The new participant in community life gains a sense of evolving membership as he comes to be regarded by other community members as a functional part of their shared life and experience. His recognition as member by others is complemented by his own growing sense of sharing in community values, goals, and attitudes—his own sense of identification with the community and with the other persons who compose it.

The shared sense of identity as members of the community is the psychological substructure on which the sense of community is raised. This is a truism in any real community structure; it is more than applicable in the Society. One can go further and say that the sense of community is a vital aspect of the inner life of every Jesuit. If an individual cannot achieve a sense of shared values, meanings and activity, he must preserve some sense of participation in the larger structure of the Society or the psychological forces at work to preserve the integrity of the community will inexorably drive him out of the organization. The sense of shared values and purposes is so central to the notion of the religious vocation that perseverance in the face of their absence becomes difficult. From the point of view of the individual, the failure to develop a sense of community has fairly dire implications. Human beings require a sense of purposefulness and meaning in their lives without which they become prey to frustration, ambivalence about their life situation, depression, diminished self-esteem, and a sense of unfulfillment. If an individual is caught up in the life of a community without a sense of sharing in the values and purposes of the community, he is in a psychologically untenable position. The dissonance between inner feelings and outer involvements will resolve itself by either changing the inner feelings or by the individual removing himself from the situation.

I would like to emphasize the more or less implicit and unconscious nature of identification. One does not identify oneself with a group; one becomes identified. Just as one does not identify oneself with one's parents; one becomes identified with them. In identification with the religious community, there are unquestionably conscious processes which enter in and facilitate or hinder the process.

But conscious acknowledgement and acceptance of values and purposes does not yet constitute identification. At the same time, it would be difficult to fathom identification in the face of rejection of values and purposes. They tend more or less to reinforce each other. But one can also acknowledge and accept values and purposes without really becoming identified with the group holding them. They must become internalized; they must become a part of one's own inner structure; they must become one's own before we can speak meaningfully of identification.

The significance of the mechanism of identification, as I see it, is that it establishes a link between the inner psychic life of the individual member and the life of the community which he shares with others. These are not completely independent and unrelated streams. They feed each other, they interact with each other in complex and important ways. This is particularly relevant in the religious life where so much of the personal, non-job-oriented involvement of the individual is caught up in the community interaction. Similar processes are at work in the family involvements of laymen and in this regard the community is a form of substitute for the family. One must be cautious of the family analogy precisely because it has traditionally been so abused. Clearly the family serves other functions than the religious community, but they both share the dimensions of life in a group, and provide the basic matrix for personal interaction, mutual support, intimacy, and the sense of belonging. As someone once said, home is where they can't throw you out when you come back to it.

The important point, however, is that the community through identification becomes relevant to the inner psychic functioning and processes of the individual. It provides the basic matrix for his emotional and personal sharing and communication with others. The individual religious may be able to complement or compensate for the quality of his relations within the community by friendships and involvements outside the community. But they do not provide the context for basic identifications as the community does. To use Turner's distinction, they may serve as interaction groups, but they do not serve as the basic group with which the individual identifies. [See my discussion in *Group Dynamics in the Religious Life*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1965.]

**Diversification of roles**

One of the functions of the group process in the structure of community is to achieve a diversification in role-functions of the members. In so far as the community is formed and maintained out of the complex interaction of roles, role-functions and role-expectations, the mechanisms which integrate the inner life of the community are constantly at work to bring each individual member into a specific set of roles and functions which more or less characterize his position within the community. Thus the group evolves over time a set of expectations of each member. The member's participation in the group is predicated in terms of these implicit expectations and conversely his own expectations of his role and function in the community tend to mirror these expectations. The group, on the one hand, defines the status of each member, and the member, on the other, responds by fulfilling the demands of that status in the group.

The structure of the community, then, is a major determining factor in the manner in which roles become diversified in the community. A more repressive and organized structure tends to modify the tendency toward diversification in the direction of more narrow range of diversified roles. The more liberal and unstructured form of community organization gives the tendency to diversification greater play and allows a greater range of functional roles to emerge. This set of relationships also reflects more complex factors at work in community life. Role conformity, as a situation in which the diversity of role styles tends to cluster around a central more or less idealized style, reflects a more rigid community structure, authoritarian organization, bureaucratic modes of functioning which operate in terms of the communality of role capabilities and the relative interchangeability of members, and a relative subordination of individual members to the requirements of order. The kind of community structure which reinforces role conformity tends to find itself more congenially realized in larger communities. The mere force of numbers tends to bring about an organization of community elements which emphasizes conformity, ritualization of function and administrative efficiency, while it tends to minimize individuality, initiative and idiosyncrasy.

It should be noted that for the most part the houses of training in the Society have been large. Novices, juniors, philosophers and

theologians are trained in large communities. The economic advantages of this arrangement are obvious, but the impact on many aspects of personality and motivation may be less obvious. It is in this climate that attitudes and fundamental dispositions to authority and obedience are formed. It is to be wondered whether the fundamental models of community life which are proposed and to some extent internalized in the formative communities are relevant to or consistent with the patterns of community life which are evolving outside the houses of study.

If one reflects for a moment on the exigencies of novitiate formation, the engendering of some central core of shared meanings and values seems to be a matter of considerable significance. Members of the Society share with one another a community of values and ideals which is only partially enshrined in the Constitutions and Rules. The shared value system is what uniquely constitutes and characterizes the group. The individuals become members in so far as they internalize those values and become identified with the group. There is, therefore, a need for common indoctrination and a sharing of formative experiences. In a way, the traditional apparatus has been rather successful in achieving these objectives. In another way, it has perpetrated too much of a good thing. It has gone beyond identification and the sharing of values to a reinforcement of conformity and passivity. The times are changing and the forces have been set loose to correct these excesses. But the task for the community remains the delicate one of fostering the basic mechanisms of identification while giving play to the basic forces towards diversification of role within itself. This remains a formative concern certainly, but in a more persistent manner continues to be an ongoing concern in the post-formative years. It is perhaps fair to say that life in community is always formative and that members of communities are always in the way of being formed by their communities. But formation is also most profoundly affected in its initial stages. So that the concerns of the interplay of identification and diversification are at their most poignant at this stage of the game. Large novitiates, therefore, can be seen as reinforcing identification at the cost of diversification—and perhaps rightly.

It may not be altogether out of order to suggest that some greater service to diversification might be made even at the novitiate level. It might be possible that the novitiate program be modified to allow

the full canonical year with the novices together in a single community. Their program might emphasize the ideals of the Society, spiritual formation, instruction in prayer, and other essential indoctrinations. The second year might permit distribution of the novices to the various houses of the Society where they could participate according to their skills in the ongoing work of institutions and individual Jesuits. They could continue in more intensive spiritual direction emphasizing the problems of integrating what they have learned about contemporary life in the Society with the ideals, values, and purposes of their vocations to the Society.

### Support

A major function of the religious community is the support that it provides for its members. It is often quite difficult to specify the ways in which the community offers its support. I feel that it is one of the primary derivatives of the basic identification between individual and group which we have already considered. The individual's sense of identification with the group enables him to see the goals and functions of the group as in some sense relevant to himself. By identification the group vicissitudes become personalized. The other side of the identification coin, however, is the sense of alliance of the group with the individual. The group becomes reciprocally identified with its identified members and this reciprocal position creates a sense of involvement and commitment of the group to the individual. The sense of alliance is fundamentally a group phenomenon and obtains as supplemental to the more direct and immediate identifications which arise between individual members.

Support is an effect of community integration on the level of emotional processes which reflect the inner and often unconscious dimensions of the group life [See chapter on "The Group Process" in Meissner, *op. cit.*]. The notion of "support" has some current uses in psychology, particularly in the context of psychotherapy. Supportive therapies are generally those which direct their efforts toward diminishing the patient's anxiety. But the term has much more general application. Support from fellow human beings is an essential aspect of normal human interaction and social participation. It is an ongoing aspect of all manner of community organizations. Support in all of these settings has the function of alleviating

anxiety, enhancing self-esteem, and providing the intangibles of acceptance and a sense of belonging. This is the kind of support that a family offers its members, a corporation offers its workers, a therapeutic community offers its patients, or a religious community offers its members. It involves an affirmation from the community of shared values and beliefs which are held in common by the individual and the group and thereby reaffirms and reinforces the inner values of the individual and lends them the shared security of group conviction. Support in all these cases and more is analogous, expressing itself in a variety of ways and degrees. In each instance, however, the community communicates something basic and essential to the individual without which his participation in the life of the community is difficult and to some extent deprived of meaning.

It is fairly obvious that structure of a community more or less determines the supportive style of the community. Where the community structure tends to be more bureaucratic and authoritarian, support tends to be more formalized and less personalized. The role of the individual in such a structure tends to become ritualized and less idiosyncratic. Similarly the support which the group offers the individual is less in terms of his individuality than in terms of his membership. Where the structure of the community tends to be less bureaucratic and more democratic, support tends to become more informal and certainly more personalized. The community alliance with the individual is much more individual and personal. In very large communities, bureaucratic structure tends to be the rule with a resulting impoverishment of support or with a style of support which does not meet the personal needs of many of its members. Often a subgrouping within the larger community compensates for this deficiency and forms a subcommunity which then offers a more personal and meaningful kind of support. There is no necessary connection between size and bureaucratic organization but there is a more or less general law of organization by which community size and bureaucratic organization tends to be related.

More important is the value system that obtains within the community. The crucial dimension, it seems to me, is the extent to which individual prerogatives, personal dignity, personal responsibility, personal freedom and initiative are valued and are vital parts of the community value system. Where such values are operative in the community, regardless of size, there is a much more explicit

sensitivity to individual needs and anxieties which sets the stage for community response to such personal needs in the form of emotional support. Where community prerogatives, community goals and objectives, submission of the individual to community needs, obedience and conformity are the predominant values, individual needs and anxieties are diminished in the impact that they make on community processes and emotional support becomes more remote.

Jesuit life almost necessarily must find its support within the religious community. The normal layman finds his emotional support in his family. The religious person deliberately declines this source of emotional support. He can find other tangential sources of support, but if he does not find it in the primary locus of his most basic identification something would be psychologically at least out of whack.

#### Intimacy

The community is also the situation in which Jesuit life obtains its measure of intimacy. Intimacy is a profoundly important psychological notion. Erikson defines it as an individual's "capacity to commit himself to concrete affiliations and partnerships and to develop the ethical strength to abide by such commitments, even though they may call for significant sacrifices and compromises."<sup>2</sup> Intimacy is more specifically interpersonal intimacy which is reflected in warmth, acceptance, friendship, love, mutual trust and dependence (in a healthy sense). Where intimacy is not attained, the result is spelled out in terms of isolation, alienation, personal relations which at best can achieve only a sort of stereotyped and formal quality. They never attain that spontaneity, warmth and mutual responsiveness which enriches those who share in them.

Intimacy both requires a developed sense of personal integrity and identity and affects them. One cannot enter into warm and meaningful relations with other human beings unless there is a profound sense of one's own trustworthiness and autonomy. One must carry a sense of one's own integrity as a person in order to engage that sense of self in a truly intimate relationship. If that inner sense of self is not firmly fixed, the closeness of relation to other persons blurs the boundaries which delimit the self and close-

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<sup>2</sup> E. H. Erikson, *Childhood and Society*, 2nd edition (New York, 1963), p. 263.

ness can become threatening. Persons who lack the security of inner selfhood sometimes react to the threat of interpersonal contact with a tenseness and anxiety, a reserve of inner commitment which serves to maintain a certain "safe" distance between themselves and the other. Thus the capacity for intimacy is an intrapsychic and developmental quality of the personality. To reach out to the other, to be meaningfully related and involved with the other, is a natural human urge. Closeness and mutuality of human relationships, moreover, is the human way of working one's way to increasing levels of personal maturity. In the closeness of truly intimate relationships one becomes more truly oneself.

In the normal course of things, the relationship within which the problems of intimacy are worked out is that between man and woman as husband and wife. It should be obvious that the question of intimacy is not the same as the question of sexual intimacy. Husband and wife might enjoy the latter freely without ever attaining the former. In the marriage relationship, however, they are complexly related. For the religious the problem of intimacy persists for it is a human problem. But the religious has elected to set aside the opportunity for attaining intimacy in the usual ways. He must seek intimacy elsewhere. He must look to the community as the place and the situation within which his fundamental need and capacity for self-communication may seek fulfillment. The psychological language of intimacy can easily be translated into the language of fraternal love and charity, but I think it loses some of its specificity in translation. Intimacy within the community is by no means an automatic thing. It is refreshing to read the accounts of the relationships of the first companions of Ignatius, simply because one senses the degree of intimacy that they shared with one another.

Intimacy within the community must build on a foundation of prior identification with the group and of members of the group with each other. It relies on a rather significant degree of commitment of members to each other and a degree of mutual involvement and concern. Many religious communities have, as the sociologists say, a primary organization in the sense that the relations within them are of a more or less face-to-face character. The size and structure of communities, however, can minimize the primary group structure and introduce a more secondary style. Unquestionably this is a large area to consider within the scope of this essay since the

problems of achieving intimacy in communities have often deep psychological roots. I would like to make the point though that while intimacy for Jesuit life is not found exclusively in the community, it is found primarily in the community. It is the place where he is able to share with others his inner anxieties, concerns, ambitions, hopes, projects, in a word himself.

**Relation to institutions**

One of the overriding characteristics of Jesuit community life in this country is its affiliation to institutions. The community is organized around some sort of institutional function. Most typically our institutions are educational, both on the secondary and the college and university level. This circumstance has a profound impact on the structure of community life. Historically the organization of such communities has moved in the direction of large numbers living together in a single faculty residence. The community in our school tends therefore to be large in size and to be dominated by the work interests of the educational institution. The community is organized in highly specific ways as are dictated by task-oriented goals of the community.

The community in this setting tended to be more or less bureaucratic and authoritarian. This was all the more evident where the authority in the religious community was synonymous with the authority in the institution. There had to be a chronic tension between the demands of the group as a religious community and the demands of the community as a group of professional workers in an educational institution. Superiors and subjects were involved in an organizational duality and ambiguity with its resultant tensions and anxieties. The task-oriented and functional demands of the institution had to be brought into some sort of uneasy compromise with the more emotion-oriented and personal demands of the community. The balance of this compromise has been more or less on the side of institutional demands and requirements to which the community was more or less forced to adapt.

Much of this overall structure is changing these days. The institutions are being little by little turned over to lay direction so that the community is becoming increasingly disengaged from the organization of the institution and is achieving a certain autonomy of its own. Increasing attention is being paid to more individual apos-

tolates wherein individual Jesuits or small groups of Jesuits would be able to teach and carry on apostolic work on secular campuses. The momentum for education of graduate students in secular universities has moved us in the direction of permitting small communities of students to be set up in houses and apartments outside the houses of the Society. These changes show every sign of continuing so that we must perceive them not merely as temporary expedients but as more or less perduring features of community life in the Society.

Along with this pattern of change in community size and organization, we must be aware of certain important concomitants. The diversification of community life tends to undercut more authoritarian styles of organization. The particular circumstances of community life are multiplied so that increasing reliance must be placed on individual judgment and responsibility. The cohesive influence of the commitment to an institution and its works is diminishing. It must be reckoned that this gradual process of disengagement from large institutions will have far-reaching effects on the inner life of the Jesuit community which will call for important adaptations all along the line.

#### Trend to individualism

One of the important offshoots of these developments is the emergence of the importance of the individual. It is perhaps inaccurate to speak of the trends to individualism as an offshoot since the trend is a much more general cultural phenomenon. There is a concern and insistence on individual rights and freedoms which is a quite apparent and powerful force in contemporary society. Its impact stretches from the Supreme Court to the streets. It is not without important influence on the religious community. There was a time when the vow of obedience dictated unquestioning submission to the will of the superior as to the will of God. That dictation is now in question and the view of religious authority and obedience in the face of that questioning is evolving toward a more balanced appraisal in which individual freedom, initiative and responsibility are given important emphasis.

The trend has important implications for the community. The emphasis on the individual tends to place the community and its demands in a somewhat different light. There is a shift from a

context in which the community and its task-oriented goals were a dominating concern, particularly in relation to institutional involvements as we have seen, to a more complex context in which task-orientation is diversified (less institutionally committed) and individual needs and concerns are more prominent. The mode of discourse is shifting from that of question-and-answer to that of dialogue. The tasks are less clearly defined and the cohesive and organizing potential of a unified and clear-cut community goal is lacking.

Increasingly, therefore, the Jesuit community will come to function more in terms of inner emotional orientations and less in terms of external goal-orientations. Whereas the community tasks provided major stimulus to community cohesiveness, that influence is diminishing and the forces of cohesion will have to derive from more basic and less conscious emotional sources. The community will have to become increasingly sensitive to and attentive to its functions as supportive and emotionally sustaining resource for its members. The large scale involvement in institutions puts the emphasis on task-orientation and thereby provides a means by which community cohesion can be attained without more emotional kinds of involvement. Not that the level of emotional involvement is ever absent, but is the highly structured and task-oriented community it can be muted and its importance overlooked. In so far as the task-orientation has become diversified and modified, cohesion must increasingly be accomplished through satisfaction of emotional needs of the members of the community. Otherwise the community ceases to be a community and becomes an aggregate of individuals living together as a matter of convenience.

Thus the trend to individualism, it seems to me, has at least two faces. It involves an increase and an evolution in attitudes toward the individual which increasingly recognizes his individual autonomy, dignity, responsibility, initiative and capacity. The individual, therefore, enjoys the opportunity to exercise that responsibility and initiative in ever broader and more meaningful ways. The gain in this in terms of personal development, maturity and self-realization ought to be considerable. The other side of the coin, however, is that the individual accepts by reason of his religious commitment the responsibility of deeper involvement in the life of his commu-

nity. I am addressing myself specifically to a deeper involvement in the life of the community. I am addressing myself specifically to a deeper involvement in the emotional life of his community. The trend to individualism becomes divisive and destructive if it is not balanced with a commensurate increase in mutuality, mutual support and intimacy.

I would like to add a final word about the matter of community size since the number of persons in a community has become a significant variable recently. The Santa Clara conference made the recommendation that small community groupings be organized for the purposes of providing opportunity for freer and more intimate liturgical functions, increased sensitivity to the personal growth of each member and a more visible sign of poverty. It is my feeling that the small community (a number of such experiments are being organized) carries with it a number of advantages. It intensifies the primary quality of interpersonal relations, it maximizes the personal involvement, it may serve to increase the elements of support and intimacy and it places greater reliance on individuals. The small community of half a dozen men brings individuals into much closer contact. That tends to emphasize the emotional interaction among them and such interaction can be for good or ill. It increases the opportunities for real intimacy and at the same time it increases the opportunities for abrasive interaction. The quality of interaction becomes very much a product of the personalities involved. It must be recognized that there are some very good religious who find themselves at ease in the relative distance which is permitted in a large community but who would become increasingly anxious in the warmer context of interpersonal closeness.

Further, authoritarian organization is practically impossible in a small community. The attempts of other religious groups to maintain such structure in small communities is rather unrealistic, whatever one might feel about it as an ideal. Consequently, the distance between the individual and his effective superior is increased rather than shortened. The individual becomes largely responsible for himself. It is also true, I think, that the community becomes more responsible for him in the sense that the community is much more closely involved in his life and activity. There is a new balance of interaction between individual and his community which obtains in virtue of something other than a structure of relations between sub-

ject and superior. The pattern of relations between subject and community become much more vital and much more meaningful.

Another important and practical aspect of the diversification of community size and style is the impact on the community at large. What social meaning does such a variety of smaller communities acquire for the surrounding lay community? How will people perceive a small group of religious men living together, particularly when the tendency is also operative to restrict the wearing of distinctive garb? In the dissolution of institutional communities and the gradual loosening of ties to educational institutions, what effect will be felt on religious vocations?

I hasten to add that I have no good way of knowing how the experiments in small community living are going to work out. I suspect that the outcomes will be rather variable and will assume some proportion to the personal characteristics of participants and their respective dedication to the principle of small groups and their concomitants. The point that I wish to urge at the moment is that a variety of influences are at work in the contemporary scene which radically alter not merely the size and location of Jesuit communities. The changes are considerably more radical than that. They ultimately touch very fundamental issues of community life, community structure, the sense of identification with and involvement in the Society, the structure of authority, the attitudes toward and meaning of obedience, increasing personal responsibility and autonomy, even the issue of religious poverty. It should be obvious that increasing personal responsibility creates a situation in which individuals are much more in control of the management of personal finances. This must raise or at least intensify certain questions about the vows of poverty. The small community circumvents the appearance of affluence created by large and impressive community structures but it also diminishes the degree of dependence in poverty.

My only observation is that in undertaking such experiments in community we must both be aware of the implications and consequences of such attempts and be ready and willing to modify traditional concepts and structures to meet the exigencies created by these experiments. Without that willingness to adapt, we are either condemning the experiments to failure before the event or we are asking for new tensions and anxieties which may pose a new threat to the heart of the Jesuit vocation.

## A REPORT ON THE PROBLEM OF THE DISAFFECTION OF YOUNG JESUITS FOR OUR CURRENT EDUCATIONAL APOSTOLATE

The JEA Coordinating Committee Meeting in Washington on April 15-16, 1967, passed the following resolution:

It was moved, seconded and passed unanimously that Fr. Montague, Chairman of the Commission on Houses of Study, promptly appoint a Committee to work on the problem of effectively presenting to young Jesuits the values of our institutional apostolate in education.

In acting on this motion, Fr. Klubertanz, Chairman of the Committee on the Regional Order of Studies, was asked to allow the seven members of this committee to serve as an *ad hoc* committee to discuss and suggest proposals on this problem of our younger Jesuits and the educational apostolate.

The reasons for appointing this group:

- 1) The seven members of this Committee were selected by all the members of the Commission on Houses of Study, and so should adequately represent the entire Commission.
- 2) The composition of this Committee was sufficiently heterogeneous: two men from the schools of theology, two men from the schools of philosophy, two men from the juniorates, plus the chairman. Further investigation could well be done by a committee with members from the other Commissions.
- 3) This Committee from widely scattered institutions was already scheduled to meet at North Aurora on June 23-24. This would obviate the expense and difficulties in forming still another committee at this time.

This topic was also discussed with the elected scholastic representatives at the Santa Clara Conference on the Total Development of the Jesuit Priest. These discussions are summarized in the following pages under three headings:

## WOODSTOCK LETTERS

- I Location of the Problem.
- II Reasons for this Disaffection.
- III Proposals and Suggestions.

**I LOCATION OF THE PROBLEM.** The report on this part of the discussion can be brief; the Minutes of the JEA Coordinating Committee for April 15-16, 1967, pages 12-13, and Fr. Reinert's preliminary and confidential paper included in the same set of Minutes, pages 29-32, present the general lines of the problem and were generally corroborated in the discussion of this committee.

However, it was felt that the problem is not as acute as it was even one or two years ago; or at least, it has shifted ground somewhat. Where earlier there seemed to be a rising dissatisfaction with the whole academic apostolate, it now seems that the disaffection is directed more at our own schools, not with education as a whole. Even here, some felt that there was a selective opposition to some of our schools, not with all. There is a real concern and desire for higher studies on the part of the vast majority of the scholastics; most of these scholastics see themselves working in and through various educational agencies and institutions.

**II REASONS FOR THIS DISAFFECTION.** Again, many of the reasons brought out in the Minutes of the JEA Coordinating Committee, referred to above, were reiterated in the discussion. Some were given a new emphasis, and this leads us to mention these explicitly.

- A. The scholastics feel that the Society in America has a deep and unquestionable commitment to certain immobile and fixed structures. This conflicts with the scholastics' desire for mobility and flexibility in a world and in a church in process. We are over-committed in the number of our schools in such a way that these giant monsters eat up the individual Jesuits. With our limited resources of money and man-power, most of these schools can never rise above mediocrity. For a young Jesuit to commit himself to these is a commitment to mediocrity on the institutional as well as the individual level. This attitude has been lessened recently with the talk of giving up the actual ownership of our colleges and universities.
- B. The intellectual apostolate seems so long range and so far in the future that it is never seen as an ultimate good. The actuality of immediate work in the social apostolates during the course from the novitiate on allows the men to experience values that leave our educational apostolates more remote.

- C. The scholastics tend to feel that intellectual grounds and factors do not ultimately make that much of a difference. The most pressing problems in the world and for the church are not ultimately ideological problems that demand intellectual solutions, e.g., peace, poverty, racial injustice, the division of the churches, etc.
- D. The increasing contact of the Jesuit scholastics with the lay-students on Jesuit campuses tends to disillusion our young men about the effectiveness of Jesuit education. The scholastics meet a constant negative barrage from our lay students about our schools and they talk with many of our lay students who have lost or are losing their faith. Specifically Catholic education does not seem too efficacious in making these laymen and laywomen dedicated apostles.
- E. The scholastics meet and talk with lay students who are not impressed by the image of the Jesuit priest on our college campuses. The few priests who are obviously concerned about the students, both outside and inside the classrooms, are the exceptions. The majority live in a separated faculty building, do their work in the privacy of their own living rooms, teach their classes and then disappear again. The scholastics hear this from the lay students and also observe the almost negligible impact of the majority of Jesuit priests on the students in our universities.
- F. Still a further factor that increases this disaffection of our scholastics with our educational apostolate is what they see to be the rapid secularization of our colleges and universities. It is not that the scholastics would necessarily oppose this, but it then becomes difficult for them to see any ultimate distinction between a Jesuit or Catholic university and a secular university, and consequently any ultimate reason why they would prefer a Jesuit or Catholic university as the locus of their own future apostolates.
- G. With the division of the Jesuit community from the university (and this split is foreseen as possible for the Jesuit community and the high school as well), there is a tendency to stress the efficacy of the apostolate of the individual. The Jesuit educator of the future will be accepted or rejected by a school on his individual merits or deficiencies—not on his identification with some corporate group, i.e., just because he is a Jesuit. If a Jesuit can be accepted or rejected by a Jesuit school, the scholastic and young priest see no reason why they should not also be in the position of choosing or rejecting the Jesuit school along with sought-out

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opportunities for teaching in non-Jesuit and non-Catholic institutions. The Jesuits who are most admired by the scholastics are often free-lancers who do much of their work independently of Jesuit universities.

- H. A major and permeating reason for the disaffection of our younger men for our schools—and for our Society—is the denigrating influence on them of older men in the Society. To the scholastic so many of our priests appear to be unhappy, unfulfilled, dissatisfied, unproductive. They seem to be lonely, embittered, frustrated, sour men. Scholastics looking at Fr. X, Y, and Z, don't want to turn out to be like Fr. X, Y, and Z—and yet they feel there is no guarantee that they won't turn out to be pretty much the same. Too many of the older fathers give the impression that they don't like the young scholastics, they don't want them around, they disapprove of their "crazy new notions." They talk as if the scholastics were destroying everything the older Jesuits have lived for. The failure of many older Jesuits to go along with Vatican II, liturgical changes, Bible vigils, concelebrations, changes in religious garb, their open criticism of bishops who do introduce modifications and changes; their open and blistering criticism of scholasticates and the scholasticate superiors who are turning out this new breed of irresponsible scholastics, all have their deleterious effect on younger Jesuits.
- I. The scholastics tend to think that the schools don't particularly want or need them. The high schools and colleges show no interest in them at all until they are actually assigned to the institution. Too typical would be the quoted remark of an official in one of our schools: "We have to plan for our school as if the scholastics and young priests did not exist; we can never be sure how many, if any, will be assigned to us on the next status. So we plan as if we would get no one."

**III PROPOSALS AND SUGGESTIONS.** The group did not have sufficient opportunity to reflect on and discuss the possible solutions to this problem of the disaffection of our scholastics toward the educational apostolate. Consequently, the actual proposals and suggestions mentioned here were limited; further considerations might add or modify the items listed here. Rather than expand these recommendations—almost all of which call for further discussion—I shall be content to list them under certain general rubrics to which they seem more pertinent.

- A. Santa Clara Conference on the Total Development of the Jesuit Priest. It was hoped that this conference would take a stand on the question of our educational apostolates, not only regarding scholastics, but also for priests. It was thought that, at least implicit in the various background, presentation, and consensus papers, some new and viable ways of confronting and meeting this problem of disaffection might emerge.
- B. What provincials might do:
- 1) The provincials should "shake up our schools." (This is admittedly ambiguous—but I suspect that what is meant here is that the provincials should rouse the schools themselves from their educational slumber and their ordinary ways of doing things that mark them as just another ordinary school in the city. Jesuit schools should be doing things that other schools cannot do and yet that are needed in our time and world.)
  - 2) Close some of our schools in order to tighten up and improve those that remain.
  - 3) Encourage inter-provincial cooperation in practice as well as in theory, so that new outlets will be offered to our men so they will not be forced to work into too narrow educational horizons.
  - 4) Retire from teaching—though not necessarily from all apostolic work—those priests who are clearly unfit for the educational apostolate and therefore find it a continuing source of frustration and embitterment.
  - 5) Instruct the older men about their apostolate toward the younger men in a school, i.e., help them realize that their attitudes definitely affect the younger men and make it more difficult in many cases for them to be the dedicated Jesuit teachers they want to be.
  - 6) Our men should be assigned to a college or high school from their first-year of theology (or at least as soon as possible) and for their regency even from first-year philosophy. This would help our scholastics identify with our schools.
  - 7) Have our men assigned to teach in the areas of their specialization and let them be assured of this well in advance. Cf. Santa Clara Conference.
  - 8) Assign not just one man or another individually to a school (high school or college), but a group of three or four who think along the same line and could as a team effectively

influence the school rather than be absorbed by it.

C. What the JEA might do:

- 1) Start a survey of opinion—perhaps in the pages of *JEQ*—on this issue, both regarding the depth and seriousness of the problem and possible remedies.
- 2) Have our scholasticates and the prefects of studies ask our young men for their solutions to this problem.
- 3) Distribute the results of this meeting and discussion on the causes and possible solutions of the difficulty of scholastic disaffection for the educational apostolate—to president, rectors, principals, ministers, etc.

D. What our schools might do:

- 1) Have community meetings within the school to discuss how the high school and college can take positive steps to restore or strengthen *group* loyalty to the school—especially as the religious community becomes more separate from the school itself.
- 2) Have our schools more decisively promote the good (scholarship) of the individual Jesuit rather than ask him equivalently to subordinate his scholarship and future to the institution. Perhaps this is an overstatement, but some of our schools give such an impression, not only to younger scholastics not currently on the faculty, but even to those Jesuits who are already teaching in the institution.
- 3) Instruct the older men about their apostolate toward the younger men in the Society (both those who are already teaching and those still in their studies)—i.e., their attitudes definitely affect the younger men and make it more difficult for them to be the dedicated Jesuit teachers they want to be.
- 4) A greater attempt on the part of the presidents and all Jesuits in our colleges and high schools to sell the educational apostolate to younger Jesuits. This is to a large extent a question of information and communication: e.g., what are the plans for the school over the next ten years (and also ask for ideas from our younger men regarding these future plans), etc.
- 5) Have our schools actually interview our men for possible appointments in the future in the various departments and services of the university and/or high schools.
- 6) Invite the scholastics, especially the theologians, to become in-

volved in some part-time teaching and counseling in our schools (both colleges and high schools) during their time in the divinity school.

- 7) Make use of our scholastics in giving group retreats to our students.
  - 8) Take positive—and even extraordinary—steps to make Jesuits who are entering or visiting a school feel welcome and at home there. Many scholastics mention that they are made to feel anything but welcome in the dining rooms and recreation rooms and corridors of our colleges and high schools.
- E. What our scholasticates might do:
- 1) Present this problem of disaffection to the scholastics for an open discussion and pass on their observations and solutions to the provincials *et al.*
  - 2) Invite officials and staff members of our schools to the scholasticates for lectures, informal discussions, etc.
  - 3) Promote apostolic works among our scholastics that are in some way connected with our schools, e.g., giving retreats, teaching, etc.
  - 4) Have the scholasticate professors also teach either concomitantly or full-time for a semester in one or other of our schools.

## SCHOOLS, JESUITS, AND DISAFFECTION

ROBERT D. COURSEY, S.J.

*a critical look*

THE *Report on the Problem of the Disaffection of Young Jesuits for our Current Educational Apostolate*<sup>1</sup> offers little new in pointing up institutional shortcomings. Unlike many recent reviews of the topic,<sup>2</sup> it does recommend a wide program of specific actions to counteract disaffection. The *Report*, however, contains a number of serious deficiencies, among them several unexamined presuppositions.

The first and most obvious assumption is that a problem exists. Without providing any empirical evidence, the *Report* only suggests reasons why disaffection *should* exist. This method of attack is reminiscent of several discussions at a recent province workshop where the issue was: Why do the scholastics appreciate the liturgy, while the fathers do not; and why don't the scholastics appreciate prayer, while the fathers do? Much eloquence and emotion could have been saved had a participant consulted the statistics. In response to the question, "How meaningful in your spiritual and religious life currently is the Mass?" 94% of the fathers answered

<sup>1</sup> Washington, D.C.: JEA, 1967.

<sup>2</sup> E. E. Grollmes, S.J., "Jesuit High Schools and the Younger Jesuits," *JEQ*, 29 (1966), 41-8; W. J. O'Malley, S.J., "Staying Alive in High School," *JEQ*, 30 (1967), 41-63; J. W. Sanders, S.J., "The Jesuit University: Vestige of the Past or Vanguard of the Future," *JEQ*, 29 (1967), 149-154; A. M. Greeley, "The Problems of Jesuit Education in the United States," *JEQ*, 29 (1966), 102-120.

“very much so” or “quite a bit,” while a somewhat smaller percentage of scholastics (87%) felt as strongly. On the other hand, only 39% of the fathers found meditation “very much,” or “quite a bit,” meaningful, while 57% of the scholastics found it so.<sup>3</sup> Further, a recent survey of theologians indicated that during regency 89% meditated at least 15 minutes a day, 60% thirty minutes or more.<sup>4</sup> These statistics, contradicting the “well-known facts,” should alert future committees to the importance of establishing the problem’s existence if the ensuing discussion is not to be mere shadowboxing. Here I am not suggesting the rumors of disaffection are false, merely that the existence of disaffection was not empirically settled and that rumors sometimes deceive.

The second unexamined supposition is that the problem has been properly stated. Two polarities emerge in the literature. The first is exemplified by the resolution of the JEA Coordinating Committee in April, 1967, which appointed a committee “to work on the problem of effectively presenting to young Jesuits the values of our institutional apostolate in education.” Underlying this resolution is the JEA’s view of the problem, “Young Jesuits are disaffected,” and the solution, “Convert scholastics to the present apostolate.” The disaffected, however, would view the problem as “Jesuit educational institutions are awry,” and the solution, “Reevaluate these institutions.” The JEA resolution rests on the assumption that the future apostolate of scholastics should be in our schools. This is precisely the point at issue for the disaffected and the one not resolved by the *Report*. Moreover, this is the point that must be proven and, unfortunately, the one that probably cannot be. It probably cannot be proven because those who will try to prove it are of the institution and, thus, accomplices in the crime. A logician would not accept as valid this *ad hominem* fallacy of rejecting an argument because it is presented by “a member of the establishment.” But he would concede that such an approach is entirely convincing to everyone, including young Jesuits.

<sup>3</sup> E. Gerard, S.J., and J. Arnold, S.J., *Survey of American Jesuits* (Vol. I of the *Proceedings of the Conference on the Total Development of the Jesuit Priest*, 1967), Tables 26 & 27, pp. 28-29.

<sup>4</sup> G. R. Sheahan, S.J., “Problems of Formation During Regency,” *Presentation Papers* (Vol. II, Part 2 of the *Proceedings of the Conference on the Total Development of the Jesuit Priest*, 1967), 153-201.

## No univocal concept

A third unexamined assumption is indicated by treating disaffection as a univocal concept. Disaffection, on the contrary, is a multitude of emotions and cognitions; disaffection towards colleges differs from that towards high schools, which differs from that towards all our present institutions. There is no one problem—and it was a disservice of the *Report* to compound the confusion. “The Jesuit educational institution” is a fiction, and the Jesuit college, the Jesuit high school, and the Jesuit scholastic are each only a category of our black-and-white minds. There are Jesuit universities that do not belong to Jesuits, high schools that are not in debt, and even scholastics who find the rosary very meaningful in their spiritual life (although less than 2%).<sup>5</sup> Even the degree of disaffection is probably marked by a complexity of contributing factors: (1) the dynamism and quality of the school, (2) the knowledge and involvement of the scholastic in that school, and (3) the intellectual orientation of the young Jesuit. Greeley, for example, found in a survey of 35,000 college graduates that criticism of Catholic schools by their students increased among those who had higher marks, among those who viewed themselves as intellectuals, and “among those who went to Jesuit schools”!<sup>6</sup>

Furthermore, since disaffection is nowhere defined, it is hardly surprising that the *Report* inadvertently demonstrated that disaffection, in a number of cases, is not disaffection at all. For the *Report*, “disaffection” can be the conclusions implied in present educational policy. For example, Jesuit universities are becoming increasingly secular. Then why not teach in a fully secular university? Professional hiring procedures leave the Jesuit college free to contract a Jesuit or not. Then why cannot the Jesuit himself be free to contract the college of his choice? The university hires laymen when no Jesuit is available. Then why not hire laymen when the Jesuit is not available because he is employed in another university or apostolate? “Disaffection,” it seems from the *Report*, can also mean accepting the implications of dwindling Jesuit man-

<sup>5</sup> Gerard and Arnold, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

<sup>6</sup> A. M. Greeley, “The Changing Scene in Catholic Higher Education,” in G. Gordon Henderson, S.J., (ed.), *Proceedings of the JEA Workshop on Jesuit Student Personnel Programs and Services* (New York: JEA, 1965), p. 227.

power and the demands for increased diversification of apostolates. Finally, "disaffection" seems to apply to cases where there is a positive evaluation of Jesuit schools coupled with the judgment of equal or greater value elsewhere. Thus, many Jesuits feel the Society cannot afford the luxury of 30 to 100 Jesuits within one institution which serves only a very small percentage of middle-class Catholic students, though this is valuable in itself. Here "disaffection" is nothing else than recognizing that the Ignatian *magis* implies something more should also be tried.

Lastly, the problem loses perspective by not being placed within the wider context of current criticism of all educational institutions, or linked to the widespread debate on the place and value of Catholic schools, or viewed as part of the struggle in American ecclesiastical and secular life between the primacy of the institution and the primacy of the individual.

Some core problems, then, remain unexamined by this *Report*. Does disaffection exist and with what dimensions and complexities? Can and should our educational institutions be preserved as Jesuit and Catholic? Should the individual Jesuit have greater freedom in pursuing his own specialized apostolate?

#### Attitudes towards our high schools

To date, some of the best evidence of disaffection towards our high schools comes from a survey of theologians. One of the questions asked was, "If you knew that you were to return to the same community after tertianship, how would you feel?" 26% said they would feel discouraged, 11% were indifferent, 35% satisfied, and 28% very pleased.<sup>7</sup> A more direct confrontation with disaffection will be possible when the data is analyzed from the recent Part II of the *Special Study of the High School Apostolate of American Jesuits*.<sup>8</sup> The survey will disclose what the teaching regents think of the quality and results of their high schools, whether they consider the high schools the most effective way to utilize men and resources, and which schools of the province should be phased out. This study could also make clear whether disaffection is a free-floating

<sup>7</sup> Sheahan, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

<sup>8</sup> D. R. Campion, S.J., (New York: Office for Research and Interreligious Affairs, 1967).

cynicism towards education, or a situation-specific response, that is, a response appropriate to perceived value or lack of it.

The reasons conjectured for high school disaffection have been incubating in haustus rooms over the past decade where the problems of the burnt-out father, the uncreative principal, the rule-oriented disciplinarian, and the lethargic institution which devours living men and spews back dry bones have all been masochistically dissected. Administrators and the JEA may rightly think the accusations inaccurate. But what is significant here is that the accusations are believed by men who have actually lived within the belly of the dragon. Some indications of the extent and nature of these beliefs and, therefore, of disaffection are the following allegations:

1. Mediocrity of the schools. The charge is frequently made that our schools are living on past achievements without knowledge, skills, time, money, or equipment for innovation. Whether there is a basis for this charge will be clarified by evaluations such as the one being carried out on the high schools of the New Orleans Province by Columbia Teachers College. Whether priests and regents believe the charge of mediocrity will be established by the forthcoming *Study of the High School Apostolate*. What ex-regents think about the apostolic effectiveness of their school's community is already established: 59% regard it as very good or adequate, 38% as poor.<sup>9</sup>

2. Lack of effective educational aims and their primacy over the economic. Again, among the theologians, only 29% thought that there was enough reflection on, and awareness of, the goals of the school.

3. Lack of professionalism and the proper utilization of talent. 88% of the theologians thought their academic preparation was at least adequate; 40% or 75%—depending upon the region—thought their teaching preparation was at least adequate. Three-quarters regarded the opportunities to improve themselves as teachers were adequate to very good. But in the light of their goals of excellence, 98% felt that increased opportunities to improve teacher competency should be provided. Particularly missed were up-to-date resources and teaching aids.

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<sup>9</sup> Sheahan, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

4. Need for creative leadership among administrators. Principals who are educational pace-setters were called for by the theologians. "Again and again principals were charged with inefficiency, unapproachability, closed-mindedness, even indifference to the aims of good education."<sup>10</sup>

#### Communications gap

5. Communication gaps both vertical and horizontal. 61% of the ex-regents thought that communication ranged from adequate to very good between faculty and administration, 59% considered communication adequate to very good between administration and students, 67% felt it adequate to very good between Jesuit and lay faculty, and 78% believed it adequate to very good between faculty and students. In another recent survey the percentage of high school teachers and administrators who felt that their problems were not sufficiently understood by the provincial was larger than any other occupational group within the province.

6. The split Jesuit community of entrenched traditionalists versus transient rebels. 15% of the theologians found relationships within the high school community tense, while another 15% found them unpleasant. 63% of the scholastics occasionally, or more often, dropped a project due to criticism from the community or from fear of such criticism.

7. Time to prepare classes, read, grow humanly, professionally, and religiously. An informal questionnaire in one high school, for example, found the scholastic's average load was 21.8 hours of class per week and the average extra-curricular load—using the smallest estimate given—was 12 hours per week. This is in contrast to a nearby university which requires its professors to teach only six hours per week. Concerning time for religious development, the recent Committee on Prayer in the New York Province found that three out of four respondents said they did not think their workload was much of a problem in regard to prayer.<sup>11</sup>

8. Weak religious and theological programs. At the time of the Fichter report, over two-thirds of the students ranked the interest

<sup>10</sup> Sheahan, pp. 186-187.

<sup>11</sup> R. P. Kane, S.J., (ed.), "Committee on Prayer," *WOODSTOCK LETTERS*, 96 (1967), 93-99.

of the subject matter and the teacher of religion in the lowest or medium category when compared with other classes and teachers.<sup>12</sup> Nor do social and moral values, as measured by this report, seem to improve through the high school years. What cannot be discovered, because of a lack of a comparison group, is whether the high schools at least prevented a significant decline in social and moral attitudes.

9. The need for money probably needs no documentation, but the problem should be viewed in relationship to comparable institutions in order to give it some perspective.

10. Lack of motivation and rewards, lack of appreciation for the fine arts, the low status of high school teachers, the need for shared responsibility among teachers, parents, and students, all at present lack the evidence which would prove them sources of disaffection among young Jesuits.

In addition to these cognitive aspects of disaffection, numerous emotional components can be hypothesized. Considerable frustration is experienced by the young Jesuit because impossible demands are constantly made on him which he feels morally obliged to meet but cannot. The persistent frustration of unfulfilled ideals both for the school and for himself can lead to considerable depression and discouragement. Such frustration may be attributed partly to the situation but partly to his own perfectionistic superego or uncompromising idealism, so unrealistically encouraged during the course of training. Moreover, this perfectionism may foster emotionally consistent but logically *non-sequitur* convictions such as "If our high school is only mediocre, it should not exist." This frustration coupled with the realistic fear of diminishment (no time to advance professionally through reading and study) may thus easily result in abandoning interest in the high school apostolate. If the feelings are strong enough, one can expect a defensive reaction of hostility towards the institution that heedlessly inflicted pain and ruthlessly "used" him. This is disaffection.

While no empirical data is advanced to support the reasons for disaffection,<sup>13</sup> the rebuttals are equally unconvincing even on the

<sup>12</sup> J. H. Fichter, S.J., *Send Us a Boy . . . Get Back a Man* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge Center for Social Studies, 1966), pp. 75, 89.

<sup>13</sup> In Sanders, *op. cit.* or Greeley, "Problems." But see A. M. Greeley &

non-empirical plane.<sup>14</sup> The attitude survey of special students towards teaching in a Jesuit college recommended by Sanders remains undone. This only increases the speculation that the results would range from indifference to despair.

#### Attitudes towards our colleges and universities

The number one charge seems to be that of mediocrity: the average quality of students and programs, inability to compete for the best professors due to finances, weakness in theology, lack of impact on the student's religious life, and so forth.

The second general indictment includes a program of action as well: phase over or out. It is based on the belief that a Jesuit university in post-Vatican, post-ghetto American Christianity is anachronistic. With fewer vocations, the colleges can no longer be staffed anyway. Concentrating too heavily on a single apostolate, the Society has lost its flexibility. The weary debate about Jesuits teaching on secular campuses drones on.

These alleged reasons for the alleged disaffection are challengeable, especially since global statements about Jesuit colleges simply cannot be made. While this escape is convincing, the suggested excuse of a communications gap between the college and scholastics is not. Young Jesuits take courses on a large number of Jesuit campuses such as St. Louis, Fordham, Spring Hill, and Loyola of L. A.

Whole congeries of emotional reactions are evoked when the special student faces the prospects of teaching in a Jesuit college. First, a loss of self-esteem follows from the feeling of being consigned to academic obscurity and a college without prestige. Secondly, there is a loss of support from highly specialized colleagues who spur the student to productivity. This may be joined by a fear that, without this support, the newly-discovered and appreciated productivity will end. Thirdly, a general let-down can accompany the return from the frontiers of knowledge and research to the rudimentary level of teaching general courses to undergraduates.

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P. H. Rossi, *The Education of Catholic Americans* (Chicago: Aldine, 1966); and M. M. Patillo, Jr., & D. M. Mackenzie, *Church-Sponsored Higher Education* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1966).

<sup>14</sup>J. P. Leary, S.J., "All Vestige, No Vanguard: A Rejoinder," *JEQ*, 30 (1967), 3-7; P. C. Reinert, S.J., "In Response to Father Greeley," *JEQ*, 29 (1966), 121-129.

Isolation from critical fellow specialists and the lack of research facilities and time generate problems comparable to the depression of elderly persons who must face the future of an impoverished and restricted life. Fourthly, the special student might well feel guilty over having to abandon a life of research—the one goal and standard by which he is taught to live and by which his peers judge him. Even more traitorous in the eyes of his professors is the likelihood of becoming an administrator if he is successful at teaching. Finally, a sense of constriction and loss of freedom is often felt by the student who faces a return to the paternalistic and over-structured atmosphere of school and community.

If one wishes only to debate the objectivity of the perceptions which evoke these emotional problems, then he has misunderstood a whole dimension of disaffection.

#### Extra-institutional apostolates

The group of professional men outside of education seems to be growing. One of the larger subgroups which we empirically know little about are those who plan to work in the social apostolate. The schools are generally not attractive to this group because the schools do not appear sufficiently concerned and effective in social problems. And, indeed, the facts seem to suggest this. Only one third of the high school principals are clearly convinced that we are being very effective in producing social awareness through our religion courses and social studies (which reach only the average or poorer student in almost two-thirds of our schools).<sup>15</sup> The Fichter study discovered only slight improvement in racial attitudes and a slight deterioration in most other social attitudes measured.

Whether the schools will improve fast enough to attract those dedicated to the social apostolate is problematic. Perhaps the amount of institutional lag will be measurable by the response to Fr. Arrupe's recent letter. At any event, it is a rare school in which the social apostolate assumes the proportions of the football team, much less that of the speech club. Will the school be willing to put its resources behind involvement in the inner city, possibly compromising its "standards" and its revenues? Will it dedicate even a

<sup>15</sup> T. V. Purcell, S.J., "Administrators Look at the High School Social Apostolate," *JEQ*, 29 (1966), 59-73.

single full-time staff member to programming and coordinating student involvement in social work? If not, the social apostles will go elsewhere, disaffected but happy.

Like the patterns of disaffection mentioned above, an emotional component exists here, too. Institutional inertia, i.e., the inability to adjust quickly and accurately to new needs, breeds frustration, as does paternalistic and restricting structures. Corresponding to this negative valence is the positive attraction of the poor and dispossessed. No doubt a touch of romanticism often exists in regard to the poor, but it is an eminently Christian romanticism. In a similar vein is the scholastic's "need for nurturance," the need to serve, to comfort, to help the helpless. The training of the past did not allow much expression of this Christian instinct. Finally, many feel a need to escape the overly-ideational, intellectualistic atmosphere that marked the course of studies, at least in the past, and to deal with humans on a human level.

No paper such as this should be concluded without some reflection on the values of disaffection. Disaffection should encourage our educational institutions to sell their product to the hardest of all customers—to the young Jesuits whom the institutions helped develop. This means they will have to provide an outstanding product, an apostolically and educationally excellent school with humane teaching conditions. Sociologists tell us that revolutions take place when progress is occurring, only not as rapidly as people's expectations. It must be admitted that our educational institutions are progressing. But are they as rapidly as the young Jesuit's expectations? Through disaffection the young Jesuit in his own way has delivered to our educational institutions the mandate formerly used only by themselves: Improve or quit the school.

## THEOLOGY AND LITERATURE: SELECTED READINGS CONCERNING METHODOLOGY

*(Listing prepared and commented upon by Patrick Samway, S.J., a deacon at Woodstock College.)*

WITHIN THE LAST TWENTY YEARS, writers and literary critics have begun to investigate more carefully the problems connected with theology and literature. As an interdisciplinary field, theology and literature is approached by men of different backgrounds. Some, like Nathan A. Scott and William F. Lynch, S.J., are ministers and priests who teach literature as a profession and others, like Cleanth Brooks and J. Hillis Miller, are critics interested in the theological dimensions of literature. Each of these critics approaches theology and literature according to the style of his training and according to the authors he considers valuable. It became clear at the First Theology and Literature Conference held at Emory University in October, 1967 that the various critics presented their ideas almost independently of each other. Instead of a deepening penetration into the basic problems associated with theology and literature, there was a horizontal array of papers and critiques which widened the scope of the two separate disciplines rather than bringing them together into some coherent pattern. Most of all, what was lacking was an attempt at some type of epistemology into theology and literature as a valuable form of knowledge.

Books which attempt to discuss methodology in this field must be careful to respect the autonomy of both theology and literature. It would be the grossest error to maintain that literature can be ultimately defined as theology or that the components of theology are really the same as the components of literature. It is necessary to limit the scope of the analysis and seek a formulation of the most significant questions. If the right questions are asked (and this is no mean trick), then, one can

explore the possible solutions to these problems. In the field of literature, unlike the other academic disciplines of history, sociology, philosophy, or the sciences, critics have generally shied away from trying to formulate methodologies. Literary critics feel to a great extent that if one comes to a text with predetermined categories, it would be impossible for the text to speak for itself according to its own inherent vocabulary and forms. Works of art, unlike paintings-by-number, have a spontaneity and originality which resist analysis by an apriori listing of color, shape, or texture. The following pages will briefly look at the methodologies presented by five of the leading theology and literature critics.

#### TeSelle

In her book, *Literature and the Christian Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), Mrs. Sallie TeSelle discusses the two coordinates of literature and the Christian life with perception and skill. She rightly notes that Christians are often uneasy about art in much the same way as artists and critics are suspicious of Christianity. But this suspicion does not prohibit an investigation by her into the significant relationships between literature and the Christian life for our contemporary world: "Granted the chasm that separates them—the absoluteness and exclusiveness of their truth claims—there are nevertheless bridges that span the divide" (pp. 2-3). Mrs. TeSelle states in her introduction that she will discuss the nature and function of literature, the nature of the Christian life, and show the relevance of literature to the Christian life. As a committed critic, she opts for the position of a Christian, "one redeemed by the love of God," who seeks to understand how literature can be appreciated by today's Christian.

The major criterion by which Mrs. TeSelle assesses a work of literature is "precisely the degree to which it does 'violence to neither faith nor art.' This criterion is simple enough: it merely says that whatever may be the relationship between Christian faith and the arts, there can be no relation that sacrifices the integrity of either" (p. 8). She reprehends critics like Nathan Scott and Amos Wilder who, in her opinion, have art serve as the negative pole in the *condition humaine*, where all too often Christianity is understood either as a type of general metaphysics or as a leaven. Neither the full dimensions of the artistic enterprise nor the specificity of the Christian faith is taken seriously.

In *Literature and the Christian Life*, the religiously oriented critics are divided into three groups under the headings of religious amiability, Christian discrimination, and Christian aesthetics. Briefly, religious amiability means that Christianity is the answer to the search for ultimate meaning; Christian discrimination means that Christianity is a structure

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of beliefs either as a set of doctrines or as a morality; and Christian aesthetics means that Christianity is the Incarnation. "The first area", she states, "speaks to the problem of doubt; the second concentrates on one doctrine or a narrow moralism; the third exalts the incarnation. I do not think any of these is the heart of the Christian faith" (p. 58). To various degrees, Mrs. TeSelle criticizes the writings of Nicholas Berdyaev, Roland Frye, William Lynch, and Nathan Scott and praises the writings of George Steiner, Erich Heller, and Erich Auerbach. Her main complaint against many theologian-critics is that their criticism tends to be primarily theological and not literary. In contrast, her particular body of Christian prejudices center around a dramatic concept of man:

The basic intuition here is that man is a finite, temporal being, who is set in a real world and whose task it is to understand this world through his insight and make something of himself through his decisions. The main point is that man and his world have a given structure, a structure best suggested by such words as temporal, finite, open, free, and dramatic. The conviction is stated in terms of the form, not the content of reality, for the very reason that from the Christian perspective the unique thing about man in contrast to the natural world is not his given nature but his ability to become something, yet to become something only by taking one step after another . . . It is a vision that sees life as inexorably dramatic, with all the ambiguities, complexities, reversals, and doubts of the dramatic genre (p. 62).

In this way, Mrs. TeSelle fuses many of the ideas concerning theology, literature, and the Christian life as found in the writings of Lynch, Brooks, and Auerbach.

### Four main topics

This book treats four main topics: religion and the arts; the nature and function of literature, especially the novel; the Christian life; and the relationship between literature and the Christian life. She places particular emphasis on the aesthetic experience and the aesthetic object in order to clarify her ideas. Basically the aesthetic experience is the "willingness to be really open to the uniqueness and newness of something, even if it means tearing up the neat cartography of one's world" (p. 74). Two examples of this type of experience can be seen in Buber's I-Thou relationship where one is able to bracket his preconceptions and let the other come to him in a new splash of knowledge and secondly, in the absorption of a good novel whereby careful attention is rewarded by an immediate and palpable apprehension of the particularity of this book.

The aesthetic object or art object has the capacity to concentrate attention on itself and on its unique insights:

Whereas other objects (ideas, emotions, natural objects, human faces, and so forth) are bound into a nexus of memories and relations, the art object encourages us, though it cannot force us, to look at *it* and, for the time being, at nothing else. It is a world in itself, a complete structural whole, which attracts the wandering eye and mind into intense concentration and through this concentration into an understanding of the novelty and freshness of its immanent meanings (p. 79).

When a person reads a novel, the novel may influence him to act in a certain manner because he is a unique person who unites different modes of perception within himself and applies these insights to his behavior. Usually this translation of intellectual perception into existential action is not systematic, but vital. Such an approach is reminiscent of T. S. Eliot's remark in his essay "Religion and Literature" where he maintains that the common ground between religion and fiction is behavior. Eliot believes our "religion imposes our ethics, our judgment and criticism of ourselves, and our behaviour towards our fellow men. The fiction that we read affects our behaviour towards our fellow men, affects our patterns of ourselves." According to Eliot, we may consciously read literature for different purposes, such as entertainment or aesthetic enjoyment, but our reading affects us as entire human beings and has an impact on our moral and religious existence. Mrs. TeSelle sympathizes with this orientation.

The natural direction of such an orientation is to unite the novel with the reader. With such a unity, one could well ask: does a work of art have an ontological status which evokes the reader to go beyond the mere story? And if there is an invitation to the "beyond," how is this related to the spiritual and psychological make-up of man? Mrs. TeSelle believes that if literature is appreciated as something more than therapy or pleasure, then it must be relevant to some type of reality beyond itself. With Wimsatt and Brooks, she realizes that any discussion of the "beyond" character of literature presupposes some notion of the ultimate nature of reality. She states that at "this point there is no possibility of avoiding metaphysics or what we have called earlier a body of prejudices and convictions about the way things are" (p. 90). Whether one's doctrine of man is carefully systematized or merely notional, it will be imperative to attempt an articulation of it in any literary discussion.

Mrs. TeSelle holds that literature has a relationship to ordinary reality because it reflects the structure of human experience, especially in terms of limit and possibility, "the possibility only attained by going through the tensions, conflicts, complexities, and irresolutions within the limits of time and concrete decision" (p. 93). Like drama, life is replete with confusion, richness, reversals, and uncertainties. Put as succinctly as

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possible, "literature is about man experiencing, so the reality to which the aesthetic object is relevant is the mode or structure of human experience, and the truth of literature is therefore its adequation to the form of limitation and possibility, conflict and resolution, complexity and insight that is intrinsic to human reality" (pp. 93-94). The novelist praises neither God nor man, but the significance of the human in all its depth and diversity.

The main point of Mrs. TeSelle's book is that literature offers the Christian "invaluable acquaintance":

It gives to the Christian, who is called upon to adhere totally to God in spite of the negative powers that appear to rule the world, an understanding of the depth and breadth of powers that his response must embrace if it is to be realistic . . . Literature also offers to the Christian, who is called upon to love his fellows with a profound and appropriate love, an entree into the crannies of the human heart that a realistic love cannot do without (p. 114).

In her discussion of man, Mrs. TeSelle analyzes man as one who stands before a God who created the world for him. Man is basically a disciple of the Lord, one who imitates not the content of Jesus' actions, but the form and style. Man must be willing and determined to be open to God and to others because it is "the task of deepening, of making more realistic, sensitive, and appropriate our response to God and man, that literature's wisdom about man and the world speaks" (p. 134). Following Lynch's suggestions, Mrs. TeSelle sees man as struggling with the finite density of our experience, as working progressively through time, space, and limitations in an endeavor to reach the heights and depths of the human spirit.

A realistic appraisal of man avoids the dangers of angelism and brute animality. Literature displays man's situations according to the complexity in which man finds himself. From his appreciation of literature, man can see and reflect upon his condition so that the meaning he achieves will inform his whole being. He is able to gain experiential articulate wisdom. Mrs. TeSelle believes that literature is relevant to the Christian insofar as it is good literature and not to the degree that it deals with religious topics:

Because the Christian is called upon to love man as well as to trust God, and because he must know man in order to love him properly, any and every aspect of the human situation that is portrayed with depth and profundity is relevant to the Christian . . . Thus, the so-called secular novel is as relevant to the Christian as is the religious novel. Theoretically, the relevance should already be obvious in what has been said so far: novels educate our sensibility in the contours of the human spirit for the sake of a more appropriate response of love to our fellows. (p. 175)

Man is able to appropriate this literary knowledge and put it into a "doing" situation. Not that literature is a sermon, or a moral directive, but it entices our imaginations to react creatively and increases our sensitivity to the shifting patterns and complex indeterminacy of man in the world.

Mrs. TeSelle asks, "How is literature relevant to the Christian?" and not "What is the intrinsic relationship between theology and literature?" Her question is more ethical than metaphysical. Unlike Karl Rahner, S.J., she avoids explaining categories of thought essential to theology and literature which can be used as avenues to explore the relationships between theology and literature. Unless there are operative avenues of communication based on similar modes of existence, critics will continue talking to mirrors. At all costs, one should avoid the creation of new jargon, a new patois which would only add to the confusion. We should use the available language of both disciplines and see where they have common channels of thought. However, Mrs. TeSelle has admirably answered the question she set out to explore and her work will have a major influence in this field.

Another aspect of the problem is that of communication. Theology is a study of God communicating himself to man through word and works. Mrs. TeSelle suggests that the place "at which God impinges principally on the world—the selfhood of man, rather than directly in nature or history—and the way he does it—as the qualifier and goal of human intention and action—is a model for the integration of the human and the divine that is viable to modern man" (p. 224). A theologian's task is to appreciate man's place before God in this world. A writer's task, on the other hand, is to find an expression of his place in the world as explicitly related to God, or working out of a Christian environment and culture, or as indifferent to God, or as explicitly separate from God. A writer, therefore, does not have to be a believer in order to write good literature. This presents a further difficulty in looking at the relationship of theology and literature: can one articulate a methodology of theology and literature when a large number of writers are atheists or indifferent to the divine? Or must theology and literature be concerned only with the religiously-minded writers? If this question is not answered, then, presumably, theology is relevant to a select group of literary works of art.

#### Panichas and Reilly

In a recent anthology of essays on literature and religion, *Mansions of the Spirit* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1967), the editor, George A. Panichas notes "the fear is sometimes voiced that the attempt to explore the connections between literature and religion will lead to the

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conversion of criticism into theology. Those who express this fear contend that to judge literature according to whether it adequately illustrates religious doctrine, or whether it correctly captures the essential mood of a particular faith, would constitute an abrogation of the functions and the responsibilities of literary criticism" (p. 11). For Panichas, what is needed is a critic "who can discern spiritual sources of art and can communicate religious essences of art which are applicable and complementary to human existence" (p. 13). He warns against literary scholarship which limits itself to categories, criteria, and methodology because it lacks the breadth and acuteness which inhere in a critical sensibility. Like Mrs. TeSelle, Panichas affirms the basic issue in theology and literature is "whether or not a critic is prepared to admit the relevance of religious elements, aesthetically and intellectually, in art and to elucidate these in his interpretations. That literature and religion are not discrete entities, and that there is a living relation between them: these are truths that must be fully affirmed by a critic who in any way believes that criticism is the 'pursuit of the true judgment'" (p. 14). Such a conviction, however, leaves the scope of literature ambiguous. Should one consider all literature or just literature which has religious and theological overtones? The latter position would place the writings of T. S. Eliot, Waugh, Hopkins, and Dante somewhere towards the center with an outer perimeter of lesser religiously oriented writers.

Some writers have been more specific than Panichas in the formulation of their questions. Following the suggestions of Northrop Frye and Ezra Pound, R. J. Reilly in his "God, Man, and Literature" (*Thought* 42 (1967) 561-83), prescind from the conventional approaches to literature and asks "what is the single most important thing in the world, and does literature have any real and important connection with it?" (p. 563). Reilly says that we can spot the most important thing in the world rather quickly because it has to be connected with God and man. He states that if we postulate both the existence of God and man, then both are related and "everything man does has some relevance to this relationship because the relationship is part of man's identity, as part of what he is. And thus literature, which has from the oldest times been called one of man's highest or noblest activities, must also be relevant to this relationship" (p. 563). As Reilly attempts to find meaningful patterns in the history of literature, both pagan and religious, he is confronted with various problems. Specifically, while trying to construct an hypothesis about the God-man relationship, he formulates two problems: that of the Incarnation which is difficult to assess in concrete language and that of the operations of grace as discernible in literature. However, these problems are not insurmountable and Reilly lists five classifications

of writers according to the degree of contact the writer thought he had with God:

1. The "rapt" writers (Theresa of Avila, Wordsworth, Whitman, Plotinus, Blake, Emerson) who have an awareness of their intimate union with God.
2. The "excited" writers (Donne, Dante, Thoreau, Eliot, Hopkins, de Chardin) who perceive an intimate union with God in a manner less mystical and more intellectual than those in the first group.
3. The "normal" or "humanistic" writers (Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Dryden, Byron, Browning, Faulkner) who are religious but this is not central to their philosophies.
4. Those writers who have less than normal recognition of the God-man relationship (Homer, Sophocles, Swift, Milton, Pound, Keats, Poe, Joyce, Orwell).
5. The "fervid deniers" of the God-man relationship who have a negative view of theological concerns. Here there are subgroups: (Housman, Twain; Kafka, Melville, Hawthorne, Camus, Salinger, Mailer; Arnold, Conrad; Dreiser, O'Neill, Zola; Hardy, Dickinson, Crane).

If the writer's awareness of his relationship with God is the informing spirit of his literary imagination, then Reilly feels that this norm should be the key towards any classification of his works. For this commentator, such a form of classification is too subjective and could possibly do great injustice to the various writers insofar as each writer's personal vision of life might be suppressed to emphasize his religious orientations.

#### Hanna

By classifying authors according to the style and mood of their writings, a critic must be careful in maintaining a balance between his own personal taste and the nature of literature itself. If one catalogues religious writers, it presupposes such a genre as religious literature. Thomas L. Hanna, author of *The Thought and Art of Albert Camus* and *The Lyrical Existentialists* and Professor of Philosophy at the University of Florida (Gainesville) begins his recent essay, "A Question: What Does One Mean By 'Religious Literature?'" in *Mansions of the Spirit*, by asking a question which Reilly presupposes: is there literature which is religious? By positing such a category, does one indicate at the same time the categories of nonreligious, unreligious, or antireligious literature? Hanna cautions critics about establishing a priori too many literary categories. Within the religious literature category, however, Hanna sees

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three ways of exploring what it could mean: an autonomous structured category, an upper gradation of value, or an objective historical typology. He dismisses the historical typology which subsumes religious symbols and personages: "It is historical because its very use involves pointing away *from* the literary piece itself in its own autonomy and pointing *to* matters of historical documentation" (pp. 75-76). Likewise there are similar categories which could be established by consulting an IBM programmer. Hanna believes the most "natural of all reflexes is to reduce literature to something else, that is, something of a personal or practical or historical familiarity, and by this reduction one is able to *use* literature for perhaps interesting purposes" (p. 76). Too often literature is accepted because of its religious doctrine, both to the detriment of literature and doctrine.

Hanna bases his aesthetics not on the actualities which literature has structured, but on the possibilities of life:

The ordering of its [literature's] structural possibilities is different from any one person's life, and it is this difference which is the uniqueness of literature and its interest. It is the recognition of this uniqueness that lies behind the insistence in belle-lettres that literature is autonomous and self-justifying. And, because it is an autonomous artifact of life, it is to be *enjoyed* and not *used* or *reduced*. (p. 76)

In attempting to determine whether a religious literature exists and what it is, Hanna suggests that we should consider this term either as a category of literature or as an "honorific valuation of certain types of literature" (p. 77). This formulation of the problem separates literature horizontally and vertically. Those who hold the vertical view "feel that truly great literature, literature that has fully and triumphantly fulfilled its possibilities of creating an impressive artifact of life, is by the same token a literature which has religious dimensions, which has tapped some religious source simply by virtue of the magnitude and density of its literary fulfillment. This is a viewpoint which somehow spies a direct relation between the ultimate aims of literature and the ultimate apprehension of reality which is called religious" (p. 77). This position, Hanna argues, is only possible with the assumption that the purpose of literature and the achievement of its end are the creation of an artifact of life which incarnates the religious dimensions of life. Many tend to look on the vertical view with scepticism because it is too personal. The vertical conception embraces what might be called the highest values in life, but on further investigation, the rationale for positing this aspect is that if it is good, it must be religious at the same time.

One would expect a religious man to uphold the vertical view, although Hanna is vague about what a religious man is and does. Hanna

believes that it is natural "for the literary amateur to use his literary experience for other and extraliterary purposes; it is also natural for the religious man to hold that the ultimate fulfillment of literature is the literary representation of the ultimate religious dimensions of life as he, the religious man, sees them" (p. 78). The main danger with subscribing to the vertical conception of literature is that one can discuss it only with those who share a similar philosophy or theology. Thus, literature loses its universality. Hanna bases this lack of universality mainly on the assumption (not really proved or provable) that those who hold this view are incapable of apprehending the greatness of the classics outside their culture, such as the humanist culture, or the Buddhist culture:

But the patent parochialism of this conception of what is religious in literature is not the only reason for its insufficiency as a useful expression. Even though this view is fatally constricted by an implied tyranny of values which insists that *this* kind of literature is truly great and none other, there is yet another consideration to be set forth: namely, that in this attitude there is implied as well an insistence that literature, as an artifact of life, must by its nature move toward conformity with certain modes of life. Such an insistence ignores that a literary piece is not the artifact of an *actual* personal life but is the representation of a *possible* career of life and that, as a projection of possibilities, a literary work creates a unique structure and denouement which stand in clear, autonomous detachment from the modes of actual life against which and beyond which the religious man projects his vision of faith. (p. 79)

Hanna believes that part of the literary enterprise is to unfold the possibilities in an artificial present and not to concern itself with the divine finalization of human actualities in a timeless situation. He also thinks the historical type and the honorific type insufficient.

#### The presence of the divine

The most acceptable approach is the third possibility which considers literature religious when it exhibits the presence of the divine as *dramatis personae*. Either a work of literature has a divine presence operative within the literary structure or it does not. Examples of this third possibility can be seen in Homer, Eliot or Graham Greene. With this, the search for religious literature is "thus ended: we have found out that there *is* religious literature and *what* it is" (p. 81). Such a discovery, however, will not be without its sceptics, such as the American Protestant who has rethought the traditional theology and arrived at a new set of conclusions and formulations which are sympathetic to Christian humanism, liberalism, and existentialism. Hanna sees a problem with the "anti-Prufrockian *littérateurs*" who "cannot conceive of the divine as a person" (p. 82). The newer caste of Christians tend to look on God (*Theos*) in

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temporal and relational terms rather than in the more substantial scholastic categories. Presumably, Christian theory has changed and transformed itself. If the divine is considered immanent to the structure of life either as love, peace, redemption, grace, etc., these concepts or relational structures incarnate the divine presence in such a way that the divine can be considered as an actual *persona*. Thus, this approach is a legitimate concern of literature and an extension of theology.

As he draws near the conclusion of his essay, Hanna asks if there is anything wrong with the view which accepts literary works as autonomous artifacts representing life and with the view which sees certain literary creations as having their thematic and relational structure incorporating the same immanent theological structure which one sees in life. Naturally, these positions are acceptable. Literature often transposes the presence of wrongdoing, guilt, and judgment into their religious equivalents:

What we are saying, then, is that it is possible to have an approach to literature which isolates certain categorical types of literature according to immanent themes and structures which display certain aspects of nature and limits of men as they move through a background of the nature and limits of their social and natural world; but this approach to literature—which brings with it specific conceptions of the nature of reality, time, process, and human and natural possibility—is unquestionably a metaphysics of literature. Its claim to be a theology of literature or a literary approach to religion is a claim only and is an assertion within the midst of an internecine dispute within theology that is only tenuous. (p. 84)

Hanna concludes that there is no theology of literature and no specific religious literature other than the one which contains the presence of the divine. He believes in a metaphysics of literature which is proposed by those in favor of articulating the proper structure of literature in a religious manner. Such a metaphysics for him is open to the richness of literature.

### Miller

Finally, J. Hillis Miller, Professor of English at Johns Hopkins University and author of *The Disappearance of God* and *Poets of Reality*, is most aware of the problems connected with theology and literature. In his recent essay, "Literature and Religion" (*Relations of Literary Study: Essays on Interdisciplinary Contributions*, New York: Modern Language Association, 1967), Miller notes that the relationships between theology and literature involve methodological problems which can be readily indicated, but not necessarily solved. He divides the problems into two areas: one set of problems concerns the relation between the critic and the artistic work and the other between the work and the

personal, cultural, or spiritual reality it expresses.

In any work of literature, critics attempt to explore the work in order to find its meaning. A difficulty arises when the reader comes to the novel or poem with his own background and personality and is confronted with the problem whether or not he is imposing his own views and thereby changing the novel:

The problem arises when a critic, with his own religious convictions, confronts the religious subject matter of a work of literature. Critics have usually chosen one of three characteristic ways of dealing with this problem. Each may lead to its own form of distortion. The critic may tend to assimilate writers to his own religious belief. He may be led to reject writers because they do not agree with his religious views. He may tend to trivialize literature by taking an objective or neutral view towards its religious themes. (p. 112)

No one would deny the critic has his own set of religious beliefs. Many great writers have been committed to religious truths and ideals. Because of this Miller holds "the first responsibility of the critic, it appears, is to abnegate his own views so that he may re-create with objective sympathy the way things seemed to Homer, Shakespeare, or Stevens. Literary study must be pluralist or relativist because its object is so" (p. 112). A critic must have the capacity to adapt to the mentality of the author he is investigating.

Yet a critic might become schizophrenic by denying or totally suspending his beliefs. On the other hand, if the critic "tries to reconcile his religious belief and his love of literature he may be led to say that the works he reads agree with the insights of his faith, though when viewed with different eyes they do not appear to do so" (p. 113). One could press Christian views out of Kafka or Camus to such an extent that they lose their own particularity in their own historical context. Miller cites Maritain, Tate, Amos Wilder, Scott, and Auden as critics who tend to criticize literature as a theological dialogue with the author. A critic must realize that while formal, organized religion is on the decline, literature can never be a substitute. Literature should never become a theology. A further development of this could result in the type of criticism Maurice Blanchot engages in, whereby he fuses his own ideas with those of the author to create a *tertium quid* which often proves difficult to assess. (See Maurice Blanchot, *La Part du feu* [Paris, 1949]; *Lautréamont et Sade* [Paris, 1949]; *L'Espace littéraire* [Paris, 1955]; *Le Livre à venir* [Paris, 1959].)

But if a critic avoids these traps and still wishes to keep his own beliefs intact, he might "take a work of literature seriously enough to put in question the truth of its picture of things, and will have the courage to reject those works which seem to him morally or religiously mistaken"

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(pp. 115-16). If, in Eliot's view, an author wrote a work which was not in conformity with the historically authentic tradition, then, this work has what could be called a negative value and, in a sense, is heretical. What this approach does, however, is to offer a limited range of suitable authors and fails to recognize the "heretic" as a mature writer with his own personal vision, different perhaps, but not necessarily less rewarding.

What happens if a critic tries to keep his views out of his criticism? Miller suggests this critic "must efface himself before the experience of literature, seek nothing for himself, give his mind and feelings to understanding of the work at hand and helping others to understand it through his analysis" (p. 117). Literary criticism could become a trivial pastime if purely objective criticism were written: "The student of literature, quite properly wants to know what's in it for him, and a pure historical relativism, to the degree that it answers that there's nothing in it for him, reduces the study of literature to triviality" (p. 120). Thus, a critic must guard himself against reconciling his religious views with those of other authors, or of making the views of others his own, or of failing to take the religious themes of various works seriously enough.

A new set of problems faces the critic when dealing with the external context of a literary work. Words have histories and have been used in myriad situations before. A poem or a novel can be analyzed successfully in relation to other poems or novels by the same author or by different authors:

Its [a poem's] relations to its surroundings radiate outward like concentric circles from a stone dropped in water, and it may be extremely difficult to give a satisfactory inventory of them. Moreover, this investigation tends to disperse the poem into the multiplicity of its associations until it may become little more than a point of focus for the impersonal ideas, images, and motifs which enter into it. (p. 120)

Another alternative would be to reject the circumstances and look to the poem as a separate entity. In this case, one may be reduced to mere repetition of the poem or to silence.

### Meaning of meaninglessness

In a religious literary context, such as an evaluation of Hopkins' poems, should one deal with just the single poem or see it in relationship to Hopkins' other poems, and his letters, notebooks, essays, and other additional writings plus the authors and ideas which influenced him? Miller acknowledges the validity of each approach and suggests that each approach implies a different notion of the way the religious themes are presented. This brings him to the problem of what it means to say that religious meanings are present in literature. A critic could look at

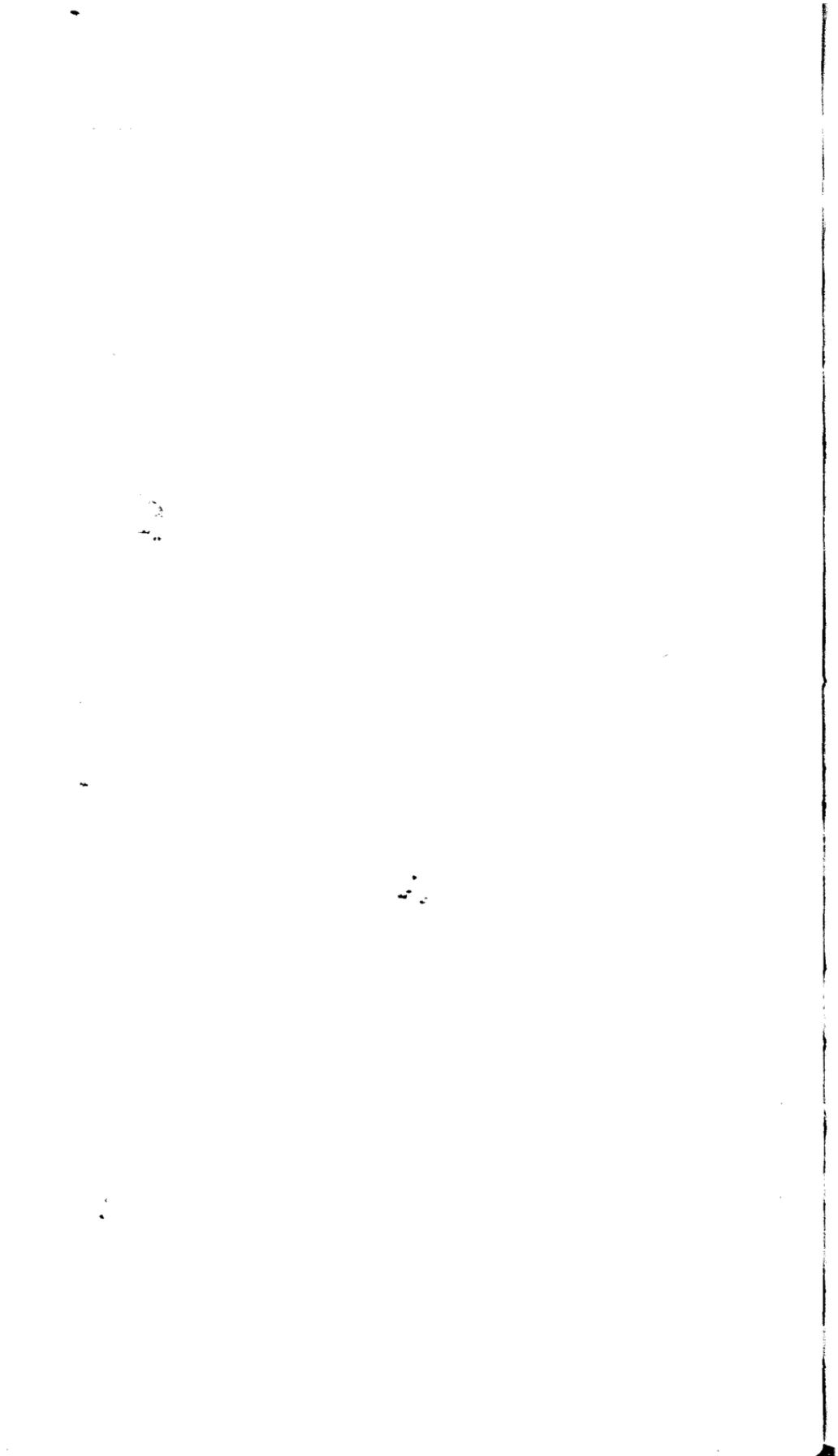
the culturally orientated religious beliefs of an author insofar as the author mirrors his age. Or if one follows some of the approaches used by the structural linguists, the religious element in a poem or novel would be seen as interacting with the other religious themes and words achieving a sort of literary intrinsicism. A critic could end up with Paul Ricoeur's reproach against Claude Lévi-Strauss: "You save meaning, but it is the meaning of meaninglessness, the admirable syntactic arrangement of a discourse which says nothing." If the words do not lead beyond the author, then any religious significance is deprived of its divine dimensions.

Miller has handled the various problems without going to extremes. He has highlighted the difficulties and problems which plague a scholar-critic. He warns against approaching literature from the viewpoint of the draftsman who plots the interrelation of various words or from the viewpoint of the psychiatrist exploring a self-inclosed mind. Miller looks to the writer interacting with the divine as a source of religious significance in literature:

Only if some supernatural reality can be present in a poem, in a mind, or in the cultural expressions of a community can there be an authentic religious dimension in literature. Only if there is such a thing as the spiritual history of a culture or of a person, a history determined in part at least by God himself as well as by man in his attitude toward God, can religious motifs in literature have a properly religious meaning (p. 125).

For Miller, the critic must face the problems of literature not by denying his religious convictions, but by broadening his knowledge in history, philosophy, theology and the other academic disciplines in order to avoid error. In this way, the critic will achieve a certain balance and perspicacity in elucidating the proper meaning of the work he is treating. A critic should approach the work respecting its integrity and, like a person in love, let the other come to him in all its originality.

The above critics are representative of the methodological material being written in this field. Their approaches range from Reilly's overly schematic view of religious writers to Miller's more balanced view of exploring the various tensions inherent in theology and literature and showing how a well integrated critic is able to deal with complexity without setting up false and unrealistic dichotomies. These books and articles are valuable insofar as they indicate various ways in which theologians and literary critics are able to expand their visions of life to incorporate realms of meaning outside their own particular interests. Hopefully, future scholars will build on the insights and research of these five critics whose vision is not limited by parochial concerns.



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## INTRODUCTION

TWENTY-FOUR YEARS AGO, WOODSTOCK LETTERS published a startling series of memoirs, "Philippine Jesuits Under the Japanese" (WL 74 [1945] 171-283). In this eyewitness account of the Japanese occupation of Manila and of Jesuit life during it, the name John F. Hurley, wartime Jesuit superior of the Philippines, figured prominently. We now publish the late Fr. Hurley's own account. Special thanks for this event must go to Rev. Francis X. Curran, S.J., of Fordham University. Not only has Fr. Curran released Fr. Hurley's manuscript to us; he was also instrumental in getting the modest author to record his memories in the first place. In the present issue we print the first nine chapters of "Wartime Superior in the Philippines." We omit chapters ten and eleven, "The Catholic Welfare Organization" and "War Claims," which are technical in nature and of less general interest to the reader.

Rev. Horace B. McKenna, S.J., of St. Aloysius Parish in Washington, D. C., records in this issue a night he spent last summer in Resurrection City. Few Jesuits, young or old, shared the experience of Fr. McKenna, a Jesuit for fifty-three years; few perhaps also share his gracious and observant eye.

In this issue we also include two reports on New York Province renewal. Advisory in nature, rather than province policy, the reports deal with Fordham University and the New York secondary schools. WOODSTOCK LETTERS would gladly receive any other reports of such a nature, particularly from provinces farther away from its home base.

G. C. R.

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## FOR CONTRIBUTORS

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

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

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

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## WARTIME SUPERIOR IN THE PHILIPPINES

*when bombs fell on Manila*

JOHN F. HURLEY, S.J.

IN 1936, the Rev. John Fidelis Hurley, S.J., a powerfully built and indomitable young man of forty-four, assumed office as the superior of the Jesuit mission in the Philippine Islands. On December 15, 1945, Fr. Hurley, with a body no longer young and its health permanently impaired, but with a spirit still indomitable, gladly relinquished the reins of his religious office to other hands. The years of his superiorship had been a most memorable decade in world history. The Japanese conquest of the Philippines and the subsequent three years' occupation of the islands had been a period of intense anguish and trials for the people in the Philippines, Filipino and American, Catholic and non-Catholic. In those difficult years, Fr. Hurley—"Father Mercy" as he came to be called—emerged as a tower of strength. Not only did he inspire the brethren of his own religious order, but he assisted and encouraged and influenced the prelates, priests, brothers and sisters of the Filipino Catholic Church. He took immense risks and spent huge sums of borrowed money to succor sick and starving prisoners of war, internees, and fugitives in the boondocks of Luzon. As he himself often had reason to know, his chances of coming out of the war alive were minimal.

But, by some miracle of divine grace, survive he did. Terribly emaciated, with a permanently impaired heart, he

looked about the wreckage of Manila and the Philippines and at once set to work on rehabilitation and reconstruction. At his suggestion, the Apostolic Delegate to the Philippines (Archbishop William Piani) used his special faculties from the Holy See, created the Catholic Welfare Organization, designated himself as President-General and Fr. Hurley as Secretary-General. This proved to be the largest and most useful of the private agencies in the work of aiding the Filipino people in the aftermath of the war. On his return to the United States, he labored long and successfully in the halls of Congress to see to it that the American people did not forget the debt of gratitude and of justice that they owed to the people who had suffered for them in the Philippines.

Clearly, Fr. Hurley's story should be told. Obviously, he was the man who should tell it. To this desirable objective, however, there was one major obstacle: Fr. Hurley. And it took a score of years to move that obstacle. But as the dripping of water will wear down stone, so the constant appeals of his brethren, the reiterated desires of his religious superiors, and possibly the appointment of the present writer as a kind of gadfly, at long last had their effect. The prime mover in the appointment of this gadfly was the late Fr. J. Franklin Ewing, S.J., who, after his constant urging of Fr. Hurley proved of no avail, laid the case before the New York Provincial, who enthusiastically issued the order. To Fr. Hurley's constant objection that he did not want to blow his own horn, the constant answer was that he had a duty to his Society of Jesus, his Church in the Philippines and his Filipino people to put down on the record his memoirs of years of trial and torment and eventual triumph.

So, for the benefit of future historians, the present pages were prepared. In their preparation, Fr. Hurley used many sources. He well knew that the human memory is fallible, especially in attempts to recall events which are receding into the dim past. Therefore he checked his recollection of events against the thousands of documents in his files. A preliminary draft of the present pages he sent to a number

*of his brethren who were with him in the Philippines, in order that they might offer suggestions and corrections. In this connection, he wished to express his thanks, particularly to Frs. Henry W. Greer (R.I.P.), John P. McNicholas (his loyal and devoted socius and secretary respectively), William C. Repetti (R.I.P.), and Arthur A. Weiss, who spent many days organizing the documents of the War Claims and the Catholic Welfare Organization. The present record, then, is as accurate as Fr. Hurley can make it.*

*The function of the present writer was simply to assist Fr. Hurley in putting the following pages into shape.*

Francis X. Curran, S.J.  
Professor of History  
Fordham University

November 21, 1966

## I) THE WAR COMES

VERY EARLY on the morning of Sunday, December 8, 1941, I left the Jesuit residence on Arzobispo Street in the Intramuros section of Manila, the old Spanish walled town. I headed for the civilian airport at Grace Park, just north of the city, where I planned to catch the seven o'clock plane for Baguio, the resort town about 125 miles north of Manila in the mountains of Luzon. Manuel Quezon, President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, was there at the time, and I hoped to have a brief interview with him.

The cause of my journey travelled with me. He was a novice scholastic of the Society of Jesus, Teodoro Arvisu. The young man had recently achieved his long-nourished ambition to become a Jesuit. His parents, Dr. and Mrs. Teodoro Arvisu, had long and bitterly opposed their son's vocation. But when the young man had graduated from our college of the Ateneo de Manila and had reached the age of twenty-one, he applied, I accepted him, and he had entered the novitiate of Novaliches, a few miles north of Manila. His parents thereupon instituted a law suit to force his withdrawal from the Jesuits. When the court ruled against them, his father, who was the personal physician of President Quezon, asked the President to intervene. Mr. Quezon had given orders that the young man should be drafted into the Philippine Army. When the order came, I got in touch with Maj. Gen. Basilio Valdez, Army Chief of Staff, to protest. The general agreed with me that the draft order violated the law, and he further told me it was against army regulations. But if the Commander-in-Chief had given an order. . . . My plan was to present young Arvisu to the President, and let him speak for himself. If, at the end of the interview, the President could inform me that the young man wished to leave the Jesuit order, I, as superior of the Jesuit missions in the Philippines, would cease to protest.

When we arrived at the airport we found a scene of great agitation. The news of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor had just come in and had spread like wildfire. I knew that President Quezon would be a busy man indeed, but I still hoped that he would be able to find a few minutes to discuss our little problem. Conse-

quently young Arvisu and I boarded the plane, which took off at the scheduled time. When we had been airborne about fifteen minutes, I noticed from the position of the sun that we were no longer flying north, but to the south. The dozen or so passengers were quite mystified, and the mystery remained until a few minutes later the plane landed again at Grace Park, the door opened, and an official informed us that we must all disembark. The American Army command had ordered that the plane be recalled and sent for safety to southern Luzon. As we disembarked we discussed the question whether or not we would not have been just as safe going on to Baguio. Later we learned that the Japanese began bombing the airfield at Baguio, just at our estimated time of arrival.

Young Arvisu and myself headed back to the residence in Intramuros where I learned that Gen. Valdez had been on the phone insistently. When I phoned Philippine Army Headquarters and was connected with the general, he said: "Padre, please get over here as soon as you can and bring Arvisu with you. I have orders to arrest you, but I cannot do anything like that. So please come over at once." We hurried to headquarters, which understandably were in pandemonium. Valdez, a good friend of mine, had arranged to have us brought at once to his office, where in a fury of activity and concern, he took the time to express chagrin at the order that Quezon had issued that Arvisu be drafted at once, and passed the young man his orders to report immediately to General Vicente Lim in Manila.

*Inter arma silent leges.* The time for protest had passed. I escorted Arvisu to the headquarters of Gen. Lim, another good friend of mine, who was preparing to move south of Manila to defend the coast against possible Japanese landings. I turned the young novice over to the general and returned to the Jesuit house in Intramuros. (During the war, Gen. Lim was killed by the Japanese. Young Arvisu survived, re-entered the Jesuits, was ordained priest, and after only a few years of brilliant service, suffered an early death.)

At Jesuit headquarters, I too had decisions to make. The war would affect everything in the Philippine Islands, including the Church and the Jesuit Order. What stance should we take? Where could our young scholastics best and most safely continue their training? Work that first fatal day was continually interrupted. Late

in the morning, Clyde "Chappie" Chapman, head of Mackay Radio in Manila, phoned to inform me that the attack on Pearl Harbor was far more serious than people thought; it was a disaster. Word was coming through of the terrible destruction there when suddenly reports were cut off and orders came through that the reports were to be kept from the public.

Later heavy gunfire broke out. From the windows of our house in Intramuros, we could look over the port area, only a few hundred yards away. There we saw a U. S. Navy ship, heavily camouflaged, firing its anti-aircraft guns. High above the reach of the flak, Japanese planes were dropping bombs on the shipping in the Port Area. Later we learned that the Japanese had heavily bombed Clark Field, north of Manila; that night we could hear the bombs explode on Nichols Field, just south of Manila.

#### Inventories

The coming of the war was not altogether unexpected in the Philippines. Early in 1941, Gen. George Marshall, Chief of Staff in Washington, had ordered the return to the United States of the families of all Army personnel in the islands; the Navy had issued similar orders previously. At the time so remote did the possibility of war appear that there was considerable grumbling by members of the armed forces. The orders for evacuation did prompt some speculation by American civilians, particularly those of the business community, about the advisability of returning to the States. As I recall, very few left. Most businessmen judged that there would not be any serious conflict in the Far East. Indeed their chief concern was to build up large inventories before the war in Europe cut into their sources of supplies. When the Japanese did attack, Manila had the biggest inventory that it had ever known.

On July 4, 1941, I attended a large gathering at the Manila Hotel on the waterfront of the bay. We were addressed by the American High Commissioner, Francis B. Sayre, and Admiral Thomas C. Hart, commander of the U. S. Navy in the Far East. Both officials, while warning that we might be in for some little difficulties, issued soothing and reassuring statements. Obviously it was the policy of the American government to encourage American civilians to remain in the islands. The wholesale flight of the American community to the States would unquestionably have a deleterious effect on the morale of the Filipinos.

For the evacuation of the families of the members of the armed forces was already having bad effects on the morale of our American soldiers, airmen, and sailors, so much so that the high command was concerned. One day at Arzobispo Street, I received a visit from the chief Catholic chaplain to the American forces in the Philippines. I was surprised to learn from him that he came at the suggestion of High Commissioner Sayre and Maj. Gen. George Grunert who was in command of the Department of the Philippines. The chaplain requested that, in order to help morale, I should assign American Jesuits to give lectures to the men at the various military installations in the islands. My instinctive reaction was that the idea might be self-defeating; members of the armed forces might resent exhortations to courage coming, not from professional fighting men, but from civilians, and civilians moreover whose white cassocks showed that they would not take up arms themselves. I asked the chaplain for time to think it over and to discuss the matter with other Jesuit fathers. When he returned a day or two later, I proposed, and he agreed, that we might accomplish his purpose by sending American priests to lecture under the formal title of "The Psychology of the Filipino."

Indeed a course of lectures on the psychology of the Filipino would of itself have been useful to American servicemen in the islands. Filipino culture is not European or American. Lack of mutual understanding between Filipinos and Americans could and did cause unpleasant incidents. When the Japanese occupied the islands, their complete ignorance and disdain of Filipino culture was one of the major reasons for Filipino hatred of their occupiers.

A few days later, I proposed my ideas at a luncheon at the Army and Navy Club in Manila, which was attended by the high commissioner and the commanding general and members of their staffs, and from which the press was excluded. I was pleasantly surprised at their enthusiastic reception of our plan, and I readily agreed to set up schedules of lectures by American Jesuit priests at the various military installations.

I myself went to Clark Field, our major airbase in the islands, and gave a lecture to our airmen. Among those present was Brig. Gen. Edward King, at the time military advisor to the Philippine office of the USAFFE. The initials stood for United States Armed

Forces of the Far East, or as the fighting men at the time declared, the United States Armed Forces Fighting for England. Later Gen. King was given command of the Army in Bataan and had the humiliating task of surrendering and participating in the infamous Death March.

My visit to the base demonstrated to a mere civilian as myself that we were far from ready for combat. Some of the young flying officers had little experience in piloting their planes. Indeed some had no experience whatever in night flying, and they could not acquire it at Clark Field, because neither the field nor the planes were equipped for night flights. The officer who drove me back to Manila summed it up: "Padre, we have the best typewriters of any army in the world."

And the airmen knew their precarious situation. Nichols Field, the air field south of Manila, was just a few miles from the campus of our Ateneo de Manila on Padre Faura Street, and many servicemen used to attend Sunday Mass in our college chapel. On the Sunday preceding Pearl Harbor, numbers of these airmen gave the fathers and scholastics at the Ateneo their home addresses and mementoes for their families back in the States, with requests that the Jesuits get in touch with their families in the event of their deaths. They reported that Japanese reconnaissance planes were flying over Nichols Field, and the Americans could do nothing about it. Their planes were not equipped to reach the high levels of over 10,000 feet at which the Japanese planes flew.

In the Philippines, November 30th is National Heroes Day. The outstanding event of the day, attended by thousands of Filipinos, is a formal review by the President of the Commonwealth of the cadet regiment of the University of the Philippines. In 1941, Mr. Quezon informed the university officials that he would, as usual, take the review, but that he would, contrary to custom, address the audience and the cadets.

I had forewarning that the speech would be of more than usual importance. Fr. Edwin C. Ronan, C.P., who at the request of the Philippine government had come over from America to organize the chaplain corps in the Philippine Army, informed me that during the week before the review, the President, obviously under great nervous tension, was busy working on his address.

On the afternoon of November 30, I made my way to the reviewing field and was escorted to a seat a few feet away from the podium erected for the President. The audience was large and included practically all the ranking officials of the Commonwealth. Supreme Court justices, senators, congressmen, cabinet members and the upper echelons of their staffs were there in profusion. The day was cool and cloudy, threatening rain. The actual review passed without incident, but when the President stepped to the podium to begin his address to the assembled audience and the cadets in serried ranks before him, the clouds poured down a heavy, drenching rain. The cadets, without waiting for orders, simply broke ranks and ran for cover. Obviously annoyed, Quezon bellowed out at them. Sheepishly, the cadets returned and reformed their ranks.

#### President Quezon

At the podium Mr. Quezon shuffled the pages of his speech for a moment. But the next moment, he pushed the pages aside and with one arm resting on the podium he leaned towards his audience with a most serious mien. His first words were: "I am here to make public confession of my first failure in my public life." At this there was a titter throughout the audience; obviously they believed he was joking. But his glare should have removed any misunderstanding; he was *not* making jokes. His next sentence was bellowed: "If bombs start falling on Manila next week . . ." At this there was an uproarious laugh from the audience. Only a few feet away, I could see the President in a fury. His eyes flashing fire, he shouted "You fools!" Shocked into immediate silence, his auditors waited in apprehension. The President resumed: "If bombs start falling on Manila next week, then take the traitors and hang them to the nearest lamp post." He went on to tell the Filipinos that war could come to their islands at any moment and that the armed forces were not ready for it. Several months before he had complained to Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt about the weakness of Filipino defenses against the dangers threatening the islands. He informed his audience that he had told Roosevelt that he felt it his duty to warn his people. The American President had begged him not to make any such public statement, for it would have a bad effect on a delicate international situation. But now, Quezon declared, the situation had

become so perilous that he would be derelict in his duty if he did not inform his people of the dread prospect before them.

The speech of Pres. Quezon was one of the most magnificent I have ever listened to. Never have I seen a man so sincerely honest and forthright and courageous in his remarks. He aimed to arouse his fellow countrymen to their danger. But it appeared that he failed. As the audience broke up, I sensed that the reaction of those present was incredulity.

A further incident demonstrated that I had gauged the reaction of the audience aright. On returning to Intramuros, I wrote a brief letter to Mr. Quezon, to congratulate him on his magnificent effort to arouse the country to the dangers he so clearly saw. I knew from experience how to get the letter to him quickly. I went to Malacanan Palace, the official residence of the President on the banks of the Pasig River, and entrusted it to the American ex-soldier on guard at the gate.

Early the next morning I received a phone call from Malacanan Palace. The speaker was Mrs. Jaime de Veyra, the President's social secretary, who told me what had transpired. Mrs. Quezon had told her that the President had not slept all night; nor did she, for her husband walked the floor of their bedroom continuously. Mrs. de Veyra said that at the breakfast table the President looked more troubled than she had ever seen him. At the table, the President received my note, ripped it open, read it, and then tossed it down the table to his wife. For the first time, Mrs. de Veyra said, he seemed to get a grip on himself. He spoke to his wife: "Here, read that, Aurora. That man has no axe to grind. He is not afraid to talk honestly and frankly, as he has done to me on several occasions. He is absolutely honest and I trust every word that he says. That note means more than anything that these fools think or say." (Quite an encomium from a man who in a few days would order my arrest!) Mrs. de Veyra informed me that she was phoning on instructions from the First Lady, to express her gratitude for the encouragement I had afforded her husband.

An hour later, Mrs. de Veyra arrived at our house in Intramuros. She told me she came at the President's order to deliver his note of acknowledgment and to express verbally his sense of gratitude; she was forbidden to send any lesser messenger. Mrs. de Veyra fur-

ther informed me that I was the only man in the Philippine Islands who had sent a word of encouragement to the President. While cables of reproach were pouring in from the United States, the members of his own government were silent, a fact which troubled Quezon exceedingly. For the only time in Mrs. de Veyra's experience, the President called for pen and ink and wrote the message in his own scrawl. (Unfortunately, the missive vanished in the later destruction of Manila.)

Pres. Quezon tried to warn his countrymen, and failed. Next week came. And the bombs started falling on Manila.

## II) AWAITING THE JAPANESE

IN SUBSEQUENT DAYS, bombs fell intermittently on Manila. Japanese planes flew unimpeded over the city by day and by night. Usually the bombardiers aimed for the shipping in the Pasig River, which bisects Manila, or those ships anchored in the bay itself, or tied up at the piers in North Harbor. Often the planes missed their targets, and their bombs fell into the city itself, notably into Intramuros. In our residence on Arzobispo Street, we found it useful during air raids to take shelter in a stairwell between the residence and the church, an area safe from any but a direct hit. When the planes had passed, our priests would go out with the oils for Extreme Unction to be of service to the wounded and dead. At times we would find the street in front of our house littered with shrapnel. Often enough the dead we discovered bore no marks of wounds; they were simply killed by the force of the bomb blasts. The Manila Fire Department did heroic work with inadequate equipment, rescuing those trapped in bombed buildings, putting out the tremendous fires which raged in the area, working twenty hours a day.

Immediately upon the outbreak of war, the authorities rounded up all Japanese civilians in Manila and put them in small internment camps. Few if any of these Japanese were Catholics, but they requested religious services and the American Army asked me to supply them with temporary chaplains. I assigned Fr. Henry Avery as a resident chaplain in an internment camp of the Japanese just south of Manila and I myself on several occasions said Mass for Japanese interned in a building in Manila. The Japanese were most

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courteous and appreciative of our services. Apparently our presence reassured them; they were not going to be turned over to the tender mercies of a mob, or killed by the military.

While all Japanese were rounded up, Japanese agents were at work in Manila. Who they were, no one ever discovered. But at night, apparently to guide the bombing planes, or more likely as a bit of psychological warfare, flares would be lit by unknown hands. One night flares were placed right beside our house in Intramuros. We were awakened by a tremendous rapping on our front door. When the great door was opened, in burst a group of Manila police, members of the American and Filipino Armies, and of the Philippine Constabulary. They were of course searching for the men who had set off the flares. When they discovered who occupied the building, they moved to leave. But I insisted that they search the building, lest one of the saboteurs had entered without our knowledge. Search parties went through the building. I led one, and as I approached the door to the roof, a young American sergeant stopped me by getting a grasp on my white cincture. He refused to let me go on the roof; in my white habit I would be a perfect target. He had a valid point. Sporadic firing of guns went on throughout the city by day and by night, and particularly in areas where flares were flaming. As one Army officer explained, the men were so jittery they were just firing their guns into the air or aiming them at any suspicious object. On my insistence that I lead the party onto the roof, the sergeant gave me a memorable answer: "No indeed, Padre. I don't want to be responsible for you getting shot. I am getting \$55 a month to get shot at." While the flares might not have been particularly useful to the Japanese air force, their reiterated flaming and the subsequent raids and shootings added to the troubles of the defense forces and heightened the fears and apprehensions of the people of Manila.

Nor was Manila able to find reassurance in the news that came into the city. The Japanese had made good their landings on the major islands of the archipelago. On Luzon they were present in strength and were closing in on the Philippine capital. And preparations were being made for the evacuation of Manila by the defense forces and the Commonwealth government. To celebrate Christmas in the usual fashion was impossible, when the people of

Manila could see the ships steaming away from the city to Corregidor and the Bataan peninsula.

On December 27 Manuel Quezon transferred the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippines to Corregidor, and Gen. Douglas MacArthur formally designated Manila an open city.

We in Manila waited in dread the coming of the conquerors.

In the meanwhile, I had taken such steps as I thought necessary and proper to safeguard and continue the work of the Society of Jesus in the Philippines. The Jesuits had had a long and not inglorious history in the islands. If we could help it, it was not going to end due to a war.

The Spaniards had begun the occupation and Christianization of the Philippines in 1565, under the leadership of the soldier Legaspi and the Augustinian friar Urdaneta. The first Jesuits had come to the islands in 1581 and served until in 1767 orders were given that all Jesuits were to be expelled from the Spanish Empire. The Spanish Jesuits had returned to the archipelago in 1859 and had resumed their earlier works.

In 1921 the Jesuits of the Province of Aragon began the transfer of their endeavors in the Philippines to American Jesuits. During World War I, the mission fields in India staffed by Jesuits from Germany were largely denuded of priests due to the internment of the German Jesuits by the British government and their repatriation after the end of the war. It was decided at Jesuit headquarters in Rome that the place of the Germans should be taken over by American fathers. But when the Americans assigned to India applied for visas, they met inexplicable delays and postponements at the hands of British officials. Apparently the British Raj did not want American Jesuits in India. Finally higher Jesuit superiors decided to see if Spanish Jesuits were more acceptable to the British rulers of India. They were. Thereupon the Province of Aragon was asked to take over the former German missions in India, and the Province of Maryland-New York was assigned to supply men for the Jesuit works in the Philippines.

#### American Jesuits

The first contingent of American Jesuits to the islands numbered a dozen priests and ten scholastics, of whom I was one. We reached

Manila in July, 1921. While some of the Spanish Jesuits sailed to India, a large number remained to break in the new-comers and to continue the works to which they had devoted their lives. A catalog which we drew up under date of June 12, 1942, shows that some 17% of the Jesuits in the islands were Spaniards: 19 priests and 14 brothers. Fortunate it was that they remained. When the Japanese rounded up the American Jesuits in concentration camps, the Spaniards, as citizens of a neutral nation, were left undisturbed to continue their necessary services. Together with Filipino Jesuits, they continued the life of the Church in the barrios of Bukidnon and Zamboanga, the missionary areas assigned to the Jesuits in the large southern island of Mindanao.

In the years subsequent to 1921, other groups of American Jesuits appeared in the island, and a large number of young and eager Filipinos entered the Society of Jesus. According to the catalog mentioned above, there were in the islands in the first summer of the war 264 Jesuits. Of that number, some 47% were Americans; 85 priests, 35 scholastics and 5 brothers, a total of 125. The Filipinos were about 36%: 28 priests, 62 scholastics and 14 brothers, a total of 104. (The catalog notes that one Filipino, Juan Gaerlan, serving as a chaplain in the Philippine Army, had been killed in unknown circumstances. Later we learned from two eye-witnesses the manner of his death. With other prisoners of war, Fr. Gaerlan was on the infamous Death March. He escaped but later was recaptured, together with about 100 other escapees, by the Japanese, who simply wired them together and then bayoneted them to death.)

The major houses of the Jesuit Philippine mission were, apart from the works in Mindanao, concentrated about and in the city of Manila. My chief concern was the safety of the young students for the priesthood. Our Jesuit novices, juniors and philosophers, about fifty in number, together with a dozen of our brothers and another dozen of our priests were stationed at Sacred Heart Novitiate and Scholasticate at Novaliches, a rather isolated area a dozen miles north of Manila. Closer to the capital at Balintawak was San Jose Seminary where, maintained by the income of a pious foundation called El Colegio de San Jose, our fathers educated minor and major seminarians for the secular clergy coming from dioceses all over the Philippines.

Japanese planes were flying regularly over the large and prominent buildings at Novaliches, possibly using them as a landmark. Since they might consider them a military target and bomb them, the Jesuits at the novitiate camouflaged them as best they could. But I was more concerned about the possibility that the novitiate and the seminary at San Jose might become battlegrounds between the USAFFE and the Japanese armies rapidly approaching from the north.

Manila seemed to be the safest place for the young men. Therefore I sent instructions to the fathers at San Jose to send the minor seminarians back home to their parents and to bring the philosophers and theologians into the city. Similar instructions were sent to the Jesuits at Novaliches. On Christmas day, the instructions were carried out. Leaving a few Filipino fathers and brothers at Novaliches, in order, if possible, to save the buildings from the ravages of plunderers, the Jesuit community and the San Jose major seminarians came into Manila. Christmas night the novices, juniors and philosophers spent in the Ateneo de Manila grade school next to the Jesuit residence in Intramuros. But since Japanese bombers were still flying over the city and occasional bombs were dropping in the area, on the following day I sent the young men to join the San Jose major seminarians at the main campus of the Ateneo de Manila, which in the southern section of the city known as Ermita was not close to any military targets.

The Ateneo de Manila was our most important school in the islands. Following the common pattern of Philippine schools, it comprised an elementary school, situated in Intramuros, and a high school and college, located at the main campus on Padre Faura Street. The campus of some thirteen acres was a few hundred yards from Dewey Boulevard, which skirted Manila Bay to the west, and even closer to Taft Avenue, a major artery on the east. The Ateneo was equipped to house boarders and since the college boys had gone home at the outbreak of the war, our scholastics and the Josefinos, as the seminary students were known, could find adequate facilities ready for them. Also on the campus was the Manila Observatory, the chief meteorological station of the Philippines, which had been created and was staffed by our fathers.

When the young men arrived, they found they had to share the

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campus with a temporary hospital which the Red Cross had set up in the compound to take care of some of the numerous war casualties.

Before the Japanese entered the city on January 1, 1942, I had concentrated practically all the Jesuits in the Manila area at the Ateneo campus. A few of our men remained at the house of retreats known as La Ignatiana in the Santa Anna area on the Pasig River, and a few, as I have mentioned, remained at Novaliches. At the Ateneo, according to the catalog of June 12, 1942, were 161 Jesuits: 58 priests, 92 scholastics and 11 brothers.

The only other Jesuits on the main island of Luzon were a few of our men at the Ateneo de Naga, a small school in its days of infancy, in the town of Naga, over a hundred miles southeast of Manila. It appeared that in this little backwater our men would be safe. Indeed, the superior there, Fr. Francis D. Burns, telegraphed me in the first days of the war that everything was normal and suggesting that the Jesuits in Manila might be sent to Naga for safety. But the Japanese who had landed at the nearby town of Legaspi appeared, so we later learned, so suddenly in Naga, that they captured the train in the station waiting with steam up to depart for Manila. While the Filipino Jesuits were allowed to remain at our little school, Fr. Burns and the other American Jesuits were hurried off to the local *calabozo*. Later, they were sent to the Ateneo de Manila.

### The families

Not only was I worried about the safety of our men in the Philippines, but I was concerned about the distress of the families of the Americans back in the States, and the concern of their religious brethren. I sent off a series of radiograms to Fr. Provincial in New York, keeping him informed as best I could. On December 29, an American demolition team destroyed the transmission tower of Mackay Radio. Chappie Chapman, I recall, persuaded the officer in charge to delay demolition until my last message, and the last message of Mackay Radio from Manila, was sent off. After the war, I discovered that the message was still remembered in New York, and I was given a copy: "All well, fathers, scholastics, magnificent work Red Cross, firemen, spirit superb, cheerio. Up Kerry. Signed,

Hurley." This ended our communications with mainland America.

Communications between Manila and the great southern island of Mindanao were severed early in the war. Only later did I learn of events there. Our brethren were able to maintain contact with mainland America after the lines to Manila had been cut, and Fr. Joseph Lucas was vice-superior pro tempore for the Jesuits in Mindanao. Our works were largely devoted to two sections of the enormous island. On the long peninsula stretching out to the southwest of the island was the town of Zamboanga. In this area we had a large number of churches, staffed chiefly by Filipino and Spanish Jesuits. When the Japanese entered the area, they did not intern these fathers. Consequently throughout the war the fathers in Zamboanga were able to remain at their posts and serve their parishioners.

Most American Jesuits in Mindanao were located in the other area, the northern coast of Mindanao, centered on the town of Cagayan de Oro, a few more were situated at the town of Davao on the south coast. Early on, some of the American padres hopefully believed that the Japanese would permit them to continue their services as pastors of their parishes, and therefore presented themselves to the occupying forces. They learned they were mistaken; they were immediately imprisoned by the Nipponese. One of these was James Hayes, Bishop of Cagayan de Oro, where we had our only school in the island, the Ateneo de Cagayan (now Xavier University). Others were captured by Japanese troops. All told, about a dozen American Jesuits ended up in Japanese hands and after a period of internment in Mindanao were shipped to Manila. Bishop Hayes in Manila managed to avoid internment, but the others were present to greet me when I was interned in Santo Tomas camp early in 1944.

But about twenty of our American padres in Mindanao remained free throughout the war. The island is so enormous that the Japanese had to be content to maintain garrisons in only some of the more important towns. Of course patrols frequently were sent out to visit the innumerable barrios in the boondocks. Our fathers would flit from place to place, never remaining too long in any one settlement, and relying on their faithful parishioners to warn them of the coming of the enemy. There were hairbreadth escapes by the score. For

example, an American padre, Clement Risacher was saying Mass when a Japanese patrol entered the barrio. While still wearing his vestments, he had to get to the nearest hiding place. He simply crawled under his altar, and hoped that the Japanese would not poke a bayonet through the long altar cloths. While the Japanese inspected all possible hiding places in the barrio, they ignored the altar.

Stories of two Jesuits in Mindanao may indicate the spirit of the Filipinos during the war. When the American pastor of the parish of Ligan had to take to the beconcocks, his church was taken over by a fearless Filipino, Fr. Augustin Consunji. Violently pro-American and anti-Japanese he did little to conceal his feelings. The local guerrillas found him a useful friend and the Japanese found him a thorn in their side. Eventually he was seized and vanished from sight. We do not know the details of his imprisonment and death. Obviously he was treated abominably in the jail at Cagayan de Oro. The last bit of information we learned of him came from some Belgian sisters who travelled on an inter-island ship from Mindanao to Manila. On board they saw lying on the deck a prisoner, clad in a filthy shirt and trousers and tied hand and foot. They recognized Fr. Consunji and managed to speak to him briefly before they were driven away by the guards. What happened thereafter to this courageous priest we to the present day do not know.

Fr. John R. O'Connell was one of the American padres who avoided Japanese capture. He lived with the guerrillas in the Mindanao mountains and for some thirty months continued his priestly ministry as best he could. In the early summer of 1944 he fell deathly sick. By this time, the guerrillas had radio communications with the Allied forces, and they called for help. The American Navy sent a submarine. The faithful Filipinos carried the sick priest on a litter from the mountains to the coast over difficult trails and in increasing peril from Japanese patrols on a journey that took several days. They reached the appointed rendezvous and set the signal for the sub. Unfortunately the signal code had been changed, and the guerrillas had not yet received the new code. After surfacing for two nights at the appointed spot, the submarine commander gave the order, when the proper recognition signal had not been displayed, to sail for base. The disappointed Filipinos could only carry

the sick priest back to the mountains where shortly thereafter he died.

### III) THE JAPANESE OCCUPY MANILA

BEFORE THE JAPANESE had entered Manila, I moved to the Ateneo de Manila on Padre Faura Street where I set up a cot in a room on the first floor just beside the main entrance to the Ateneo compound. At two o'clock in the morning of January 2nd there was a loud pounding and shouting out at our heavy gate. I got up, donned a bathrobe and went out to see what the rumpus was. I found a group of Japanese soldiers, probably fifteen or twenty, demanding entrance. I unlocked the gates and they entered. They were very nervous, very cautious, and watched me narrowly; understandably, for at the time the Japanese were not yet in Manila in force and did not know quite what was going to happen.

The officer in command pointed to a spot on his map marked "Manila Observatory" and obviously wanted to know if this was the place. I nodded that it was. (He, of course, knew no English and I knew no Japanese. Recourse however to the international sign language worked well.) Then by pointing to his eye to indicate inspection, he pushed his way into the foyer of the building. He saw the big Red Cross flag hanging at the door. Putting my fingers to my lips, I indicated that he was not to disturb the sick and the wounded. But by impatient pointing to his eye, he insisted on inspection. He was soon convinced that these were sick and injured people present. Apparently under instructions to secure the Observatory, the Japanese officer distributed his men. In the patio were piled some bags of sand for use as protection against bombs. He instructed his men to carry out the bags of sand and set up a barricade at the entrance. Thereupon sentries were posted.

The next morning many people coming to the Masses in our chapel were stopped by the Japanese sentries who relieved them of their wrist watches. Some of these soldiers had as many as six watches strapped on their arms. They also relieved people of their fountain pens. They designated a pen merely by calling it a Parker, and a watch, an Elgin. We were compelled to supply these sentries with cooked rice. For the rest of his meal, each sentry had a fish,

supposedly impregnated with vitamins and minerals, about ten inches long and as stiff as a board. One of these fish and a plate of rice was an iron ration for hours.

During the next two days, we were left just to wonder what would happen. We heard that many Americans were being taken to the Manila Hotel on Dewey Boulevard, about half a dozen blocks from our campus. We could see others on the campus of the University of the Philippines across the street. Others were summoned to Santo Tomas, the university run by the Spanish Dominicans on the other side of the Pasig River, which had a large campus with some tremendously large buildings.

On January 6th, I was at the residence of the Apostolic Delegate, the Most Rev. William Piani on Dewey Blvd. only a few minutes away from the Ateneo compound. While I was there a number of Japanese trucks drove up to the Ateneo and Japanese officers ordered all Americans to mount the trucks and go to the University of Santo Tomas to register. When the Japanese had gathered all the American Jesuits at the front door, they wanted a list of their names. Suddenly, all fountain pens disappeared; among the ninety American Jesuits, there was only one pen. Someone in the meanwhile telephoned me at the residence of Archbishop Piani, and I returned at once. There was with this group of Japanese one man—later we found out he was a Protestant clergyman—who understood a bit of English, and who was acting as interpreter. He began to explain to me, "All sirs will go to Santo Tomas to register." I told him we could not go to Santo Tomas but that we would register here. Very politely he insisted, "Oh no; Sir, all sirs go to Santo Tomas and then return." One of the soldiers sensed that I was causing a delay and he gave me a push on the shoulder. I stood back a pace or two and by my scowl showed resentment at this insult. At that time I did not know that for a Japanese to put his hand on a person indicated complete disdain. We were dressed of course in the usual costume of long white cassocks. I pointed to my habit and I said, "We are not accustomed to this kind of treatment." The interpreter very soon got the point and thought that I knew also that this was a very personal insult and that I resented it. He said something to the soldier who disappeared into the rest of the group. The interpreter then called for the commanding officer of the group who

came and told him to tell me that I must come with all the others but we would return in a short while. I made a gesture from my shoulders down indicating the garb, and stated that we were accustomed to being treated differently. Therefore we would register at the Ateneo and not go to Santo Tomas. While the officer and the interpreter insisted that we go to Santo Tomas, I continued to demur. There was some consultation and then the interpreter said to me, "Headquarters say you must go." I answered that they should telephone headquarters and tell them that we could not go, that we should register at the Ateneo because we could not leave these premises. To my utter astonishment, they said that they would get in touch with headquarters.

#### *Fabius cunctator*

But meanwhile they would like to have a look at our campus. I conducted the group to the rear of the main building out on to the grounds where we had our four laboratories, all housed in separate one-story frame buildings built just for that purpose. Incidentally, these were considered the best equipped laboratories in the Philippines. They wanted to take a look inside, but I explained that I had no key. After we completed our tour, the interpreter asked me for a floor plan of the buildings. His English was so bad that it was difficult to understand at first what he wanted. But when he used gestures I understood his meaning. I decided however not to understand too quickly. Better, I thought, to follow the old Fabian delaying tactics. Eventually, I pretended to understand what he said and declared that we would have the floor plan made in a short while but it would not be ready for several days. Thereupon the Japanese made movements to depart and the interpreter announced that they would return on the following day at eight o'clock. I insisted that that was too early; nine o'clock was my counter offer. After shouting back and forth for some time, the Japanese interpreter became so angry, he jumped up and down. Then suddenly out of a blue sky, I said, "8:30," and to my utter amazement, he said, "O.K., 8:30." With that, they all left, and the trucks waiting to take us to Santo Tomas were sent away.

The following morning a group of Japanese officers appeared at our entrance. Rather surprisingly, there were six colonels. They were

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accompanied by the interpreter and also by a young Japanese Catholic priest, named Fr. Ignacio Tsukamoto. He spoke no English and I, of course, knew no Japanese; however, we were able to communicate by means of Latin. Fr. Tsukamoto was quite nervous, even more nervous than I, because he had no rank whatsoever as far as I could make out. He was a member of the religious section of the propaganda corps which included a number of Catholic priests and a bishop whom I had met during the Eucharistic Congress in Manila in 1937; it also had some seminarians and some Protestant ministers. None of these held any Army rank. The religious section of the propaganda corps was commanded by a Col. Narusawa who proved to be a fine gentleman. I was very pleased to be able to talk with Fr. Ignacio even though we had to resort to Latin, because I was very suspicious of other interpreters. Fr. Ignacio was very well disposed to his fellow priests and I was anxious to give him some stature before these colonels. I let the Japanese officers see that we could get along faster in Latin than in the halting English of the other interpreter.

Rather to my surprise the colonels did not demand that we go to Santo Tomas to register but they did want to expel all of us from the Ateneo compound. I could very readily understand this. Not only did it contain the Manila Observatory but our compound had several large buildings; further, it was surrounded by a thick adobe wall about four feet thick and six to eight feet high. I stated through the Japanese priest that I could not give the Ateneo to them. "Why not? Are you not No. 1 and therefore in full charge?" I answered, "That is so, but I do not have the authority according to canon law to give up this building." The colonels asked where I could get the authority. I answered, "As you well know, it must come from Rome." At the word, *Roma*, the colonels all began to suck in their breaths to show respect. Later on, I learned that the more cubic feet of air that they drew in, the more respect they were manifesting. I could only spot one word and it was "*Hota Roma*." Despite my assiduous inquiry later on, I could never find out the meaning of *Hota* and no doubt I misunderstood their pronunciation.

The colonels then wanted to know how I could get the authority. I answered, "in writing." Since there was no way of communicating

with Rome, the officers assumed a more aggressive tactic. "We can capture the building." I expressed surprise when the interpreter translated this to me and told them that I was chagrined that the officers used the word, "capture." Then to Fr. Ignacio I explained that Army officers are considered gentlemen and gentlemen never use the word "capture" to a civilian. To my great astonishment, the colonels all smiled and bowed and said that they did not wish to offend. They proposed then that I give them this compound, in exchange they would give me the campus of the University of the Philippines, which was right across the street from the Ateneo and covered several square blocks. I answered that they could not give me that campus because they did not own it. To their inquiry as to the ownership, I said that it belonged to the Philippine government. This answer seemed to please them, as it apparently gave them a way out. They immediately explained that since it had been the property of the Philippine government, it was now the property of the Japanese Army. I answered, "No, that is not quite true, because according to international law, any property of a government used for charitable, scientific, religious or educational purposes cannot be taken by an army except in case of military necessity." I was an expert in international law; I had read some chapters in a text book about two days previously. The discussion went back and forth for some time. The Japanese officers apparently could not understand why I refused to give up a campus worth about \$1,000,000 in exchange for a property worth \$14 or \$15 million. However, I continued to insist that I needed authority from Rome in writing before I could give up the Ateneo campus.

At this point I began to realize that I was one against six. Stepping to the door, I told a priest passing in the corridor to bring in reinforcements. In a couple of minutes came Fr. Miguel Selga, the Spanish Jesuit who was director of the Weather Bureau of our Observatory, together with four or five of our American Jesuit priests. When they entered, the colonels stood up and bowed very politely. While the Americans all stood there rather stiffly and somewhat mystified, Fr. Selga, true to his European training, made a very urbane bow; adding to his dignified look was his beard which helped considerably. The Japanese colonels had come to take over the buildings; they had not yet succeeded and of course

they did not like to leave without obtaining something. Luckily Fr. Selga, having been introduced as the Director of the Weather Bureau, offered a way out to the colonels. They wanted to know when they could see the Observatory. Fr. Ignacio translated this idea to Fr. Selga who immediately asked if they wished to come by day or by night. The colonels at once and very courteously protested that they wished to come only during daytime. Having gotten permission to visit the Observatory at any time they wished during the day, they felt that they had obtained something. At least this was my impression of what was going on in their minds. For they immediately paid respectful bows to us all and departed with their swords clanking at their sides. It was a fantastic interview. Nobody was more surprised than myself because I did not expect we were going to be able to hold on to the Ateneo. We did know however, that this was only the beginning and that we would have many such visitations later on. We certainly did, at least a hundred or so, on one pretext or another. But we always managed a toehold at least on the campus on Padre Faura Street.

#### Tension and danger

Life in the Philippine Islands under the Japanese occupation was tense and dangerous. This was early demonstrated to us on the Ateneo de Manila campus. As I have mentioned, a Red Cross hospital had been established in our main building. One of the American volunteer nurses had brought her *muchacha*, the common term for a servant girl, with her as a nurse's aid. Within a week of the Japanese occupation, one evening just as the sun had gone down this American woman came to see me in great excitement. One of the Japanese sentries had told her *muchacha* that he wished to take her that evening; the girl had become hysterical while she was trying to tell her employer. When the nurse pointed out the sentry, I made signs to him that the girl would not go with him. He became sulky and sullen, and he did not desist from his menacing mood. I told the *muchacha* to disappear while I kept arguing with the sentry; she got away successfully to the quarters where the women were domiciled.

Seeing that the sentry was not going to desist, I followed instructions that in case of any problem the Manila police should be

called. I phoned the police and in a very few minutes four or five policemen, armed only with small bamboo sticks, came to the Ateneo. They were very courteous and cooperative but explained they could not possibly do anything. They suggested that we call the Kempetai, the dreaded Japanese military police, who were the equivalent of the Nazi Gestapo or Russian N.K.V.D. We did so, and in a short time a detachment of about a dozen Kempetai arrived. Some of them obviously were officers, for they wore their swords; the others had rifles with fixed bayonets. The Manila policemen explained the situation to the officer in command. The officer in command then proceeded to interrogate me in Japanese and of course, we could not understand one another. They had brought along with them a Filipino interpreter who knew very little Japanese. So the interrogation took place in a mixture of Japanese, English, Spanish, and Tagalog.

Just when I thought we were making some progress towards restraining the sentry, the Japanese officer began to look at me quite scornfully. Suddenly without notice, he unleashed a big wide hay-maker. His very tight-fitting chamois glove made a quite solid fist. Although it was a sneak punch, he telegraphed it a little ahead, giving me time to tuck my chin inside my shoulder. The blow landed high on my temple, knocking off my glasses. I remonstrated with him in gestures with as much dignity as I could command under the circumstances. This seemed to mystify him a bit as he stood in front of me with his arms folded, muttering something in Japanese. After a minute or two of this scornful searching of my face, he turned around and walked away about six or eight paces. Suddenly he drew his two-handed sword and with a shout rushed at me with the naked blade. There was absolutely nothing I could do about the situation so I just stood there, made a quick act of contrition and wondered what the hereafter was going to look like. He brought the point of the sword to within three or four inches of my stomach. Meanwhile the other Kempetai ranged themselves in a semi-circle about me, leaving a way for me to escape. The other officers also drew their swords and the fixed bayonets were pointed at me. The officer who had threatened me, again withdrew, and again suddenly turned with a yell and rushed at me, waving his sword in both hands in exactly the same fashion. (Later

the suggestion was made that the Kempetai had acted in such a fashion that if I had broken and run, they could have killed me for attempted escape.) I stood motionless; and my antagonist suddenly sheathed his sword, folded his arms, glared at me, and shouted in Japanese. He then summoned the interpreter, who took his place between us, facing the Japanese officer with his back directly to me. The interpreter would talk to the officer, then immediately make an about face, with his back to the officer, and explain what the Japanese had said. As I mentioned, the Japanese of this interpreter seemed to be very meager and he had great difficulty. One of the Manila policemen who was very sympathetic and very cooperative stepped in to help with his Tagalog. While all this was taking place down in the patio just inside the main door, several American fathers and many others were witnessing it from the second floor window just outside the domestic chapel. One of them rushed to telephone the Japanese colonel in charge of the religious section. How he ever got in touch with him, I could never possibly figure out. While the fracas was going on, a telephone call came to my office for the Kempetai officer in charge of the detachment. While the officer was on the phone, I, together with a Filipino scholastic, Horatio de la Costa, was ordered to sit on a bench just outside the office. One of the Japanese officers began prancing up and down before us with a bared sword, practicing strokes for cutting off heads. We were not amused.

After he had finished a rather long phone call, the officer summoned me, the interpreter, and the very helpful Manila policeman. After a few minutes, the policeman, completely amazed, said to me that the officer seemed to be saying that he wished to forget the incident. So amazed was the Filipino that he cautioned that he was not absolutely certain and so he would try to learn more. After again discussing the matter with the Japanese military policemen, he turned to me and, registering great pleasure and complete amazement, asked was I willing to shake hands and forget the whole unpleasant episode. Was I willing to shake hands? At that moment I would have agreed to embrace the Japanese Kempetai officer. At this point, Col. Narusawa with two or three of his men from the religious section arrived on the scene and conferred with the Kempetai commander. The colonel further phoned the com-

manding officer of the area and apparently some other officials. At any rate the upshot was that the Kempetai officer and I again shook hands and the Kempetai detachment departed. Before they left, I wanted to make sure that the offending sentry would be ordered to stay outside the main gate of the Ateneo compound. The officers, however, wanted him left inside; they pointed to a bench, and explained that the sentries needed it for sleep. I persisted and finally we settled for moving the bench outside the gate. The doors were finally closed, with all the sentries outside the compound.

Pleasant and courteous

A day or two following this incident Col. Narusawa with several others of his staff called on me. After we entered my office, the colonel very politely put his sword on the desk and removed his cap. Later we learned that when a Japanese puts his sword on your desk and removes his cap, he is coming as a friend. If, however, he keeps his headgear on and his cutlery attached to him, you must watch out in the clinches—he is not there as a friend. With the colonel was Fr. Ignacio to interpret. The colonel stated that the purpose of the Catholic Church was “peace in expanding world.” He claimed also that the purpose of the magnanimous Japanese army was “peace in expanding world”; therefore the Catholic Church and the Japanese army should collaborate. I recall the exact phrase of the colonel, “Peace in expanding world,” for he used the English words. I must say that Col. Narusawa was always very pleasant, very courteous, and not at all belligerent. In every sense he was a gentleman and was treating me as if I were perfectly free to bargain. I took advantage of this favorable atmosphere to explain to him that despite the aim of the Japanese to promote “peace in expanding world,” they were not pursuing that objective in a very practical way in Manila. I called his attention to the way Japanese were treating the Americans whom they were interning in the University of the Philippines right across the way from us, where they were forced to sleep on the bare terrazzo floor. In answer to a request from these Americans, I had sent over scholastics with food and blankets. Our scholastics, after several deliveries, had been ejected rudely. The colonel made a note of this. Next I called attention to the way that Japanese soldiers had burst in on the

Convent of the Filipina Sisters of the Beaterio. The Superior General, Mother Andrea, had told me of the rough treatment which her sisters had received at the hands of the Japanese soldiers who came there to demand collaboration. They had ordered the sisters to remove their headdresses because they did not like them. The soldiers (Mother Andrea did not think there were any officers among them), were very abusive to the nuns. While I was giving the colonel these and other examples of the way the Japanese army was intimidating the people, I asked him how he could expect people to collaborate when they were thus being mistreated. He noted all the incidents down.

During this discussion with the colonel, the telephone on my desk rang. On the other end was Sr. Georgia, a Maryknoll sister on the staff of St. Paul's Hospital in Intramuros. This hospital had been transferred at the request of the American Army to the Philippine Women's University on Taft Avenue where they had nursed, among others, the casualties from Clark Field and Nichols Field before the wounded soldiers had been transferred to Australia. Sr. Georgia was highly excited, for Japanese soldiers had just burst into the hospital. She had called on me to get help. While I was trying to get some details, the connection was suddenly broken off. I turned to Col. Narusawa, and told him the tale. Quite excited and very upset, he left at once. I sent a scholastic with him (as a guide) and I learned later what had transpired. On arrival at the Philippine Women's University, the colonel and the scholastic found that all the sisters, nurses and the entire hospital staff were lined up along the walls of the lobby of the building. At the entrance a Japanese soldier was lying prone in back of a machine gun trained on the women, with his finger on the trigger and he was backed up by soldiers with drawn pistols and fixed bayonets. Sr. Isabel and another Maryknoll nun had been taken upstairs at pistol point to search for American soldiers who, of course, had already been evacuated.

The incident had developed because of a misunderstanding. Some of the Filipina nurses were going off duty at five o'clock and, as was their custom, they were leaving immediately so as to arrive home before dark. At the door, they were stopped by a handful of Japanese soldiers who had suddenly appeared. The nurses very

naïvely told the Japanese they were going out because "Sister said we may go home." As they tried to brush by, the soldiers grabbed them and pushed them back into the lobby. One of the Japanese panicked and blew his emergency whistle. It was easy to understand the reaction of the Japanese because they were in constant fear of an uprising. At the sound of the emergency whistle, Japanese Army headquarters was notified at once and immediately dispatched units of the military police to the temporary hospital. The soldiers rushed into the hospital and at bayonet point herded all the staff down to the lobby. While the sisters and the hospital personnel were lined up in the main lobby, Sr. Georgia happened to be near a room inside which there was a telephone and she managed to make the call to me. During the conversation, a Japanese soldier discovered her telephoning, thrust her back into the lobby, and at the same time pulled the phone out of the wall.

Col. Narusawa managed to reassure the military but it took some doing. Around eight o'clock he arrived back in my office. The poor man looked very weary and was sweating profusely. He explained that everything was now settled, that the cordon which had immediately surrounded the hospital had been withdrawn, and that he had explained to the satisfaction of the military authorities the way the matter had begun. The colonel said no more about collaboration; the subject had been forgotten, very much to my relief. I asked him for some sort of written guarantee against invasion such as the Maryknoll sisters had just experienced. He wrote out a sign in Japanese, then fished in his vest pocket and brought out a small pouch with an ink pad and a rubber stamp which proved to be his personal seal and which he applied to the sign. This he thought would guarantee us against a similar invasion.

Despite Col. Narusawa's note with his personal seal on it, we were continually bothered by inspecting Japanese of all sorts of organizations. To meet this problem, I stationed Bro. John Dio, a charming Filipino colleague, in the lobby with a desk and a chair. His chief and only duty was to remain there and act as a catalytic agent by his mere presence. He would observe everybody and anybody who came into the building. The iron gate to our building was fifty-five feet in front of the building itself. Whenever a Japanese contingent would appear at this gate and head for our door,

Bro. Dio would simply turn to the telephone operator also located in the lobby and announce, "Smith Brothers." Immediately she would ring the signal on all the telephones located throughout the building. This signal meant that the Americans should keep out of sight as much as possible and that the interceptors on every floor should go into action. The interceptors were bands of two or three Filipino scholastics. Their function was merely to interrupt the Japanese wherever they happened to find them, because sometimes they would get up to the second floor before the interceptors were able to locate them, lead them around a bit and as quickly and as conveniently as possible, conduct them to the front door and with profuse and profound bows bid them adieu. This strategy of Brother Dio constantly on station as forward observer, his warning of "Smith Brothers," the immediate telephone signals to alert the interceptors, worked with remarkable success.

The term, "Smith Brothers," mystified some. It was the ordinary code signal adopted by the Americans and the Filipinos to warn of the appearance of Japanese. Obviously, "Smith Brothers" is euphemistic. Its meaning, of course, was quite soon clear to most; if not immediately evident to some, the meaning dawned once its abbreviation was used. In Washington, S.O.B. stands for Senate Office Building, in medicine, S.O.B. means shortness of breath; in an occupied country, where one must constantly have recourse to his wits, the meaning is not the same as in Washington or medicine. We had been using "Smith Brothers" for several weeks, when an American Father came into my room and asked me with a chuckle, did I know what "Smith Brothers" meant? "Yes," said I, "it means the Japanese are on the horizon." "No," he said, "I mean: do you know what its derivation is?" "Yes," I answered, "that is quite apparent." He laughed uproariously, because despite the fact that he had been using it for weeks and wondered why "Smith Brothers" had been selected as a code, the meaning had only dawned on him, or had been explained to him. The humor of it kept him in fine fettle for at least two or three days. Every time he mentioned it or saw me he would enjoy a good laugh.

In Santo Tomas concentration camp, the use of the euphemism, "Tally-ho," was common at that time. Almost everybody was familiar with the story of the American who while out riding with the

hounds and spotting the fox announced it in American lingo that shocked the Britishers. His British sponsor suggested that in giving vent to his enthusiasm in spotting the fox, he would use the less uncouth British expression, "Tally-ho."

Besides the circumlocution "Smith Brothers," the irrepressible Filipinos developed a whole dictionary of hidden meanings for common phrases. To the Filipinos, DOMEI, the Japanese news agency, stood for Department of Military Erroneous Information. The buses in Manila, which soon—due to the shortage of gasoline—turned to the use of coconut-shell burning for fuel, were named by the Japanese by a phrase new to the Filipinos: City Bus. This soon was interpreted: Come Immediately, Try Your Best, Uncle Sam. Since Leghorn chickens are white, soon the term Leghorn was used to designate an American. Gen. MacArthur was commonly known as Macario. When our forces on the way back from Australia took the Solomon Islands, we received a number of telephone calls which included information about the family pet, the good news that "Our cat (or our dog) Macario is eating salmon for dinner."

#### An observer

The plan of an observer in the front lobby behind a desk which had nothing on it or in it I learned from the Japanese themselves. Whenever they took over a place, they sat one of their trusted men at a bare desk; all he had to do apparently was to observe. As a policeman on his beat, his mere presence prevented many a problem before the problem ever got started. It will never be known how much the presence of Bro. Dio at the door did to save us from a lot of unnecessary bother by the enemy. I was under pressure from many of our colleagues to use Bro. Dio for many essential jobs, but in my estimation his station at the door was much more important. And I know of nobody who could have carried it off with the same eclat as did the brother. He was graciousness itself. He was always pleasant, met everybody with a charming smile, knew practically everybody who came in and out and everything that happened in and about the lobby. Bro. Dio was a most welcome sight to the many people who came to our chapel throughout the day for confession, daily Mass and daily benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. Sr. Isabel of Maryknoll suggested that we equip him with a hat

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with a long feather in it so that Bro. Dio could sweep it in a grand semi-circle and bow. "One could not imagine," said she, "a more gracious, graceful and courtly attendant to any king." The strategy was not only highly successful but also at times contributed a great deal of amusement. After long years as dean of discipline at the Ateneo, I knew that the young Filipino had a keen sense of humor, is quite fearless, and seemingly always ready for a bit of interesting adventure albeit it carried calculated risk and trouble. The young Filipino scholastic is no exception. The sight of Bro. Dio manning his station cheered all of us up.

When the Japanese inspected the Ateneo, invariably they wanted to see "Fadder Harry John." With the Japanese inability to pronounce the letter *l*, this was about the closest they could come to the pronunciation of my name. Obviously I was not at all desirous of seeing them. The room next to my office I had fitted up with a bed. As soon as the alarm "Smith Brothers" was sounded, I retreated into the room, shed my cassock and shoes, and climbed into bed. Beside the bed, I kept a table equipped with a glass of water, a spoon, a towel and a tube of Baume-Bengue (now known as Ben-Gay) which had a very strong menthol odor. My forehead I would smear with the Ben-Gay, cover my face with the towel, and wait.

When the Japanese would insist on seeing me, the interceptors would conduct them to my door. I would not answer to the knocking; frequently the Japanese would then go away. But several times they entered the room. The sight of my prostrate form and the smell of the ointment always made them hesitate. Under my towel, I would hear the forward steps halt, reverse themselves, and then the quiet closing of my door.

The scholastics told me that the procedure thereafter was almost invariable. The Japanese would ask the nature of my sickness. When the scholastics answered they did not know, the Japanese, with their mortal fear of germs, would immediately whip out their handkerchiefs, cover their nostrils, and head at once for the open air. This defense worked perfectly. In spite of very many inspections, probably over a hundred, the Japanese never penetrated this cover.

## IV) THE JAPANESE DEMAND COLLABORATION

WITH THE JAPANESE in control of the Philippines, they demanded Filipino collaboration with the Empire of the Rising Sun. The conquerors spoke often of a New Order in a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Juan de la Cruz, the Filipino man in the street, soon had an answer to that. In the Tagalog language the particle "ko" added to a word indicates possession—that is, "mine" or "our." Juan soon declared that when the Japanese spoke of co-prosperity, they really meant prosperity-ko.

During the occupation the Philippines had to have a civil government and it had to be staffed by Filipinos. Some of the men who took office were truly collaborators, seeking their own private advantage. But the great majority were patriots who reluctantly undertook the unwelcome task in order to serve their own people. Indeed even before he left Manila, Pres. Quezon had instructed some of his closest associates, among them Jose Laurel and Jorge Vargas, to deal with the Japanese.

It was understandable that the Japanese would seek the collaboration of the Church to which the great majority of the Filipinos belonged. I have described the first approach to me of the head of the religious section, Col. Narusawa, and the incident which interrupted the discussion. I knew the matter had not been dropped permanently. I would hear more of "peace in expanding world."

A few days later, Col. Narusawa returned again to get some kind of declaration of collaboration from me. I countered by saying that we were still being molested by the frequent, unnecessary and uncalled for visitation by the Japanese authorities. I told him that his note posted at our door had no effect whatsoever on these people. This left him a little nonplussed because he could readily understand the logic of unwillingness to collaborate while we were being subjected to these molestations.

Soon thereafter, I was summoned to the residence of the Archbishop of Manila, Michael J. O'Dougherty, who as a citizen of the Republic of Ireland was neutral. It eventuated that all religious superiors in the area had been called in by the Archbishop to discuss the question of collaboration with the invading forces. The

Japanese had approached the Archbishop and wanted him to issue a declaration to be read from all the pulpits of the Manila churches telling the people to collaborate with the invading forces. The Archbishop asked me to see him in advance of the meeting to discuss the question. On taking over the matter with the Archbishop, I expressed my opinion that our moral obligation was to do nothing that would interfere with the public peace and order, just as the Mayor of Manila and his police and fire departments were obligated to carry on their duties to the best of their ability. But as far as actively assisting the Japanese in their attempt to control the country, I, as an American, could have no part. I told the Archbishop that I could see no moral obligation either on Americans or Filipinos, beyond the one that I had explained.

Eventually the Archbishop and I moved into the large room where the religious superiors, nearly all of whom were Spanish, were gathered. A delegation of Japanese officials arrived about 9:30 in the morning, though quite stiff and formal, they were also quite courteous and very evidently bent on gaining our good will and collaboration. They announced to the priests present that if the Archbishop would authorize a statement from all the pulpits, insisting and exhorting the people to collaborate with the Japanese, they in turn would give very special protection to the Church everywhere in the Philippine Islands. The Archbishop practically turned over the confrontation to me. When the interpreter finished a statement or question, Archbishop O'Dougherty tossed the ball over to me at once. I countered the proposal by explaining to the Japanese that in the Philippines there was absolute separation of Church and state. The Church never attempted to interfere in purely political matters and conversely the government maintained a hands off policy towards all religious organizations. This was the American system and it had been adopted by the Philippine government in their constitution. The Philippine people accepted this policy of separation of Church and state without demur. If you attempt, I told the Japanese officers, to have the Church use its moral persuasion to obtain the collaboration of the Filipino people, you are choosing the worst possible means. The people will say to themselves very quietly that this is no business of the Church. We are accustomed to separation of Church and state. The Church

should remain in its own sphere, the government should attend to its own business and not interfere in religious matters. Therefore, I went on, if you want your attempt at collaboration certainly to fail, then you are using the best possible means to make it fail. The Archbishop, I said, should not, could not do as they requested. I insisted that they did not appreciate the psychology of the Filipino people. For the Archbishop or any of the Church prelates to try to ram collaboration down Filipino throats, would only stiffen Filipino backs. Further, I continued, their continued molestation of all the different religious groups by the frequent Japanese raids without warning and without any necessity, were having a very bad effect. Getting the people to collaborate, I told the Japanese officers, was their problem. Our duties as religious leaders were to give the sacraments to the people and assist them in every possible way in their worship of Almighty God. We must not and cannot, I concluded, interfere in any of the problems of the Japanese Army or the Japanese government.

This extended reply seemed to worry and disturb some of the religious superiors and they looked at the Archbishop with dubious glances. I caught these glances and the Archbishop turned to me and asked my reaction. I held to the point and said that we had nothing to lose but that, if such a proclamation of collaboration were made by the ecclesiastical authorities, we would set back the Church many years, because the people did not relish the occupation by the Japanese and they were rebelling internally.

#### Dignidad

One thing to which the Filipinos objected especially was the slap in the face they got from the Japanese for any slight transgression. The Japanese did not recognize the great importance which the Filipinos put on *dignidad*. The Spanish had planted deeply in the Filipino mind the idea of the dignity of the human person. To the Japanese, a slap in the face was the slightest punishment that they could mete out. Actually many times during the occupation, I saw higher officers slap commissioned officers of lesser rank. Sometimes they would take off a glove and slap them on the cheek with the glove; at other times, they would use the palm of the hand. A poor soldier who offended an officer would be punched with haymakers

right and left. The Japanese could not fathom the idea that a slap in the face was an outrageous affront to a Filipino's personal dignity. It appeared to me that they simply had no idea of the dignity of the human person. The Japanese had a very excellent slogan, "Asia for the Asiatics." This slogan however, did not fool the Filipinos because they understood that the Japanese did not have Philippine welfare at heart. The Japanese were often mystified by this reaction. At times, one would put his hand alongside the hand of a Filipino and say to him, "You see, same color, why not collaborate with us instead of with Americans, the *blancos* [the whites]?"

But to resume the description of the episode in the Archbishop's palace. The officials had brought along with them large placards printed in Japanese. These placards eighteen inches or so by about twenty-four inches were translated for us. When they were displayed prominently on religious institutions, they would protect the institutions against any molestation by the Japanese. They explained that these placards were signed by the Kempetai, and no Japanese would dare flout the order of the Kempetai. The Japanese would give us these, the officers said, if the Archbishop would issue an order for collaboration to be read from all the church pulpits. Obviously some of the Spanish superiors thought this was a very tempting trade. The Archbishop looked at me with a big question mark in his glance.

I insisted that we must stand by the principle as enunciated, namely that the Church could have no part in collaboration with the occupying forces. Although we were morally bound to do nothing to foment disorder or disturb the peace in any way, nevertheless we were not bound to give aid or comfort to the occupying forces. I insisted that international law makes it perfectly clear that even though the United States Army was not physically present at the moment in the Islands, the United States was still the sovereign power. No sovereignty could pass until at the end of hostilities the peace treaty had been signed. I was really an expert on international law; as I mentioned before, I had read, I recall, a few paragraphs from a text book. Interestingly enough, the Japanese were impressed by this logic. They saw that the bait of the placards was having no effect on our stand on the principle of separation of Church and state which we had enunciated right at the begin-

ning of the meeting.

I suggested to Archbishop O'Dougherty that he should accept the placards and thank the Japanese for them, while making it clear that under no condition whatsoever was there any possibility of the Catholic Church collaborating with the occupying forces or even giving the slightest appearance of doing so. In my own mind, I was quite certain that the Japanese would leave with the placards. To my great surprise, however, and to the surprise of all, they passed over the placards to us and assured us they were not being given on any basis of quid pro quo. I suggested that they give several to all superiors present because the priests there represented a number of institutions in different parts of the city and of the islands. They did not have enough, no more than two or three, as I recall now, for every major superior. They did, however, promise to have more printed and delivered and took the numbers required from the different superiors present. Later they fulfilled their promise. For the time being, they departed realizing they had not achieved their aim.

It is interesting to note the effect these placards had when we posted them on our different churches and schools and institutions. Recall that they were signed by the Kempetai, the dreaded Japanese military police. Of course, the placards had no effect whatsoever on the Filipinos who daily streamed into our chapel at the Ateneo de Manila for Mass, just as before. The marvelous thing is that often a small detachment of Nipponese soldiers or sailors or even some Japanese civilian unit would come to the door, read that sign in Japanese, manifest fright and go away immediately. Actually the ordinary Japanese military men were in fear and terror of the Kempetai; this applied even to the regular Army whom the Kempetai outranked. We could never spot the particular insignia that the Kempetai wore. We did, however, notice that the military police did normally wear white sport shirts, and we noticed that these men in their sport shirts wielded far more authority than the Army officers. An Army officer did exactly as one of these men told him.

This is not to say that we at the Ateneo campus were not inspected time and time and time again. A car would suddenly draw up to the door and in would pop two or three officers to make a

quick inspection of the building. Of course, as soon as they appeared, Bro. Dio would turn to the telephone operator and say, "Smith Brothers" and the interceptors would get to work. These inspections were not the only measures to keep us apprehensive. A routine measure of the psychological warfare of the Japanese was to send a few tanks rumbling and making as much noise as possible through the streets at about two or three o'clock in the morning. Also racing through the streets at weird hours would be motorcycles. Inside the Ateneo we could hear motorcycles coming up to our front door, and the engines shut off. We would wait in dread and expectation for an invasion. After a few minutes, the riders of the motorcycles would start up their engines and take off. The evident purpose of this maneuver was merely to terrify people. Whenever the Japanese decided to pick up anybody with or without suspicion, they would usually do it in the small hours of the morning. They would send a delegation with tanks or possibly two or three squads of infantry, always carrying fixed bayonets. They would force their way into a house or compound and while the soldiers would hold everybody at bay with menacing bayonets, they would pick out the man they were seeking, tie his hands with rope and push him out the door. Whereupon he vanished. Even on regular patrols throughout the city always with fixed bayonets, the Japanese guards, whenever they passed a clump of bushes would thrust the bayonets in to make sure nobody was hiding them. I know; on several occasions they missed me, it seemed, by inches.

#### Reopening the schools

Soon after the Japanese occupation of Manila, the question of reopening the schools arose. The Japanese, of course, wanted conditions to return to some semblance of normality as soon as possible. A good many Filipinos and Americans, of whom I was one, were opposed. In the civil government set up under the occupying power, one of the most famous of the Ateneo de Manila graduates, the late Claro Recto had assumed the office of Secretary of Education. Sen. Recto got the word to me that he intended to delay as much as possible in reopening the public schools, and he did. By one ruse or another, he dragged his feet and kept dragging them.

I believed that it was not my function, as an American or as a

religious superior, to assist the Japanese in restoring normal conditions. Of course, there was no possibility of re-opening the Ateneo de Naga or the Ateneo de Cagayan. But the Ateneo de Manila could be opened, together with a large number of schools in the city conducted by both male and female religious. Practically all of these schools had to depend for their support on tuition fees and consequently their pupils were largely children of the middle and upper classes.

I had discussed the matter with the religious superiors, both brothers and sisters, in Manila. There was general agreement that the private Catholic schools should remain closed. The matter was discussed at a meeting of the board of directors of the National Catholic Educational Association of the Philippines in Manila. The directors decided to recommend that the Catholic schools should not re-open.

This decision, however, did not sit well with the Archbishop of Manila, and he decided to overrule it. Though he had no direct connection or immediate jurisdiction over the National Catholic Educational Association of the Philippines, whose functions were primarily professional and technical, he ordered the president of the N.C.E.A.P. to assemble in Manila a general meeting of as many members as possible. The president at the time was Bro. Bonaventure John, F.S.C., of La Salle College, an American and a supporter of the policy to keep the schools closed. Bro. John could do nothing but obey the prelate's command.

The day before the meeting took place, I was astounded to see Archbishop O'Dougherty walk into my office. He insisted that the schools should be re-opened, if only to get the children off the street and to provide the religious with some means of support. He asked me to use my influence as a founder of the N.C.E.A.P. to see that the organization decided on re-opening. I informed the Archbishop that I was not an officer of the association, that I could not properly and I would not intervene, and that the members should be allowed to make their own decisions without the intervention of outside authority. Indeed, if the meeting was not to be allowed to reach its decisions in a regular fashion but was called simply to ratify a policy decided by an extraneous authority, I would not, I said, want to see the Jesuit members of the N.C.E.A.P. attend. I pointed out

that a decision to re-open would confuse the Filipino people and would expose the religious teachers, at least the Americans among them, to charges of collaboration. On an agreement to disagree, the Archbishop left my office.

I passed the word to the Jesuit members of the N.C.E.A.P. not to attend the meeting. It was well that they did not. Early comers were astounded to see Archbishop O'Dougherty present a full half-hour before the scheduled time of the meeting. This was unique, for the prelate had an invariable habit of appearing late at all functions; he was commonly known as "the late Archbishop." Not only did he, (quite improperly for he was not a member), attend the meeting, but even more improperly he assumed the chair of the president of the association. He then addressed the members, called for a resolution to re-open the schools, tolerated no discussion, and rammed through his policy.

While we at the Ateneo de Manila ignored the directive, the other Catholic schools reopened, and to their sorrow. For the Japanese soon supervised them in a fashion that was stifling. A Japanese official would appear at a school, demand that classes be disrupted for a general assembly, and then through an interpreter deliver to the students a harangue on the evil, imperialistic Americans who wanted to keep the Filipinos in bondage, etc., etc. All text books were censored. The Nipponese ordered that all words in the books, every possible phrase that could remind the Filipinos of Americans, should be blotted out—"United States," "dollar," "cent," and so forth. Blank pieces of paper had to be pasted over these horrible reminders, with consequences readily imaginable. Then came the orders that other words were to be hidden from the eyes of Filipino children—"God," "Jesus Christ," "Catholic," "sacraments," etc., etc. It was easy to imagine the reaction to this order of religious sisters and brothers. When the conquerors announced the coming of a team of inspectors to check on the execution of their orders, the religious with heavy hearts pasted over the condemned words. But the students, particularly the children in the lower grades, soon made a farce of the Japanese orders; with careful fingernails, they diligently and delightedly removed the offending pieces of blank paper. We at the Ateneo never had cause to regret our decision to remain closed.

If the Japanese could not get the collaboration of the Catholic Church in the Philippines, they wanted at least to create the public impression that the Church was collaborating. To this end on one occasion they planned an obvious propaganda coup. They used a Japanese holiday, I believe it was the birthday of the Emperor, to schedule a banquet for the top echelon of the Japanese military in Manila and the top echelon of the Catholic Church. I was among the major religious superiors in the Manila area honored by an invitation. Since I was the only major superior who was also an American, the Japanese were especially anxious to have me present; this was made clear by several phone calls. When the time for the banquet came, I had the message sent to the Japanese that I could not attend; I was indisposed.

Very early the following morning, miraculously cured, I was in my office, looking at the front page of the Manila newspapers, which carried pictures of the archbishop and the Spanish major superiors seated at dinner with high Japanese officers and the accompanying stories giving glowing descriptions of the festive occasion, when I was interrupted by visitors. Though it was only the crack of dawn, the visitors were Japanese officials. They subtly insinuated their opinion that my absence from the banquet was due to "diplomatic illness" and expressed the hope that at the time of the next festive occasion I would not find myself suddenly indisposed. Fortunately for me there was no second such banquet. How I could have dodged out of a second, I frankly do not know. But the principle of *Deus providebit* on which we depended all during the war served us well.

#### V) SURVIVAL UNDER THE OCCUPATION

BEFORE THE JAPANESE OCCUPATION of Manila, I had concentrated practically all the Jesuits on the Ateneo de Manila campus on Padre Faura Street. When the communities of Novaliches and San Jose had moved into the Ateneo, they had brought little with them. Fortunately, in anticipation of difficulties due to the war in Europe, the rector and the minister of the Ateneo (Fr. F. X. Reardon and Fr. Anthony V. Keane) had laid in a plentiful supply of canned goods. At first, these cases of food were placed in the storeroom

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at the Ateneo. It did not seem good to me to have so much food stacked in one large room, in one spot. At any moment, the Japanese could swoop in and rid us of all of it. I decided to store the supplies in individual rooms. This did away with a single supply center and scattered the food all through the house. Each man kept an inventory of what was in his room and, when the cooks required it, would produce what was necessary. At this time I do not recollect exactly how many cases of food were in any particular room, but there might have been three or four cases in each man's room. This proved to be a good maneuver because the Japanese would come only to find that the storeroom was very, very meagerly supplied. The new cases that were kept there as camouflage were not enough to tempt them to bother trucking them away.

A plan of rationing had to be drawn up, and I left it to the consultants of the various houses to study the inventory of food and prepare such a plan. In that January of 1942 everybody seemed to be hopeful that they would be liberated by May. They were optimistic because of the information that was coming over the radio from San Francisco. By a sparing ration plan, we could stretch the food to, and possibly through, the month of May. But I recall very distinctly that several of the fathers were quite doubtful that we would be freed by May. One of them said he postulated two rainy seasons. How right he was!

As the first months of the war went by, it was clear that we could not look for liberation for some time in the future. It seemed only proper then to continue the work of the Jesuit scholasticate and San Jose Seminary at the Ateño. The students were there, and their professors. With the blessing of the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Piani, and of Archbishop of Manila O'Dougherty, in April 1942 classes were resumed. Normally the scholastics for their theological studies would go to Woodstock College in Maryland after they had completed three years of regency. But now those scholastics who were scheduled for regency and those who were due to enter theological studies joined the classes in theology of the Josefinos, and the philosophy courses of both Novaliches and San Jose Seminary were resumed. These classes continued at the Ateneo de Manila until in July, 1943, the Japanese expelled most of the Jesuits from the Padre Faura campus.

At the Ateneo campus, too, the training of the novices and juniors continued. A most heartening indication of the spirit of the Filipino people, their strong Catholic faith, and their devotion to their American friends was that in those dark days numbers of young men came to me asking to be admitted as Jesuit novices. Though times were exceedingly difficult, and I was stretched to the utmost to feed the numbers we already had, I could not refuse. About a dozen youngsters moved in with us at the Ateneo and put on the cassocks of novice scholastics.

Besides their work in the Ateneo de Manila chapel and the classrooms, the Filipino fathers assisted as best they could in the city of Manila, as did the Filipino scholastics. At first it seemed advisable to keep the American Jesuits out of sight as much as possible. They might run into difficulties with the Japanese sentries on station at the entrance to the Ateneo compound, or with Japanese patrols in the city. Eventually, as with the internees at Santo Tomas, we were given colored armbands which permitted white men to go about Manila. The color of the armband indicated the nationality of the wearer. At the Ateneo, we received only a very small number. Consequently only a few American Jesuits were able to leave the compound at any one time. On one occasion when I was haled into the dreaded headquarters of the Kempetai at Fort Santiago for interrogation, one of the points raised was the British armband I was wearing. Fortunately my explanation that all the American armbands were in use when I sought one, and that I had put on the British armband as a substitute, seemed logical to my Japanese questioner, and had no bad repercussions. Of course, if a pressing emergency arose, our American padres would venture out into the streets without armbands. Calculated risks, at times, had to be taken.

As the months went by a problem emerged which was to plague us all through the war—food. Though the Ateneo de Manila had at first large supplies of food, these quickly vanished before unexpected demands. For in the Ateneo compound we had at first guests almost equal in number to the 160 Jesuits located there. They were welcome guests and we gladly shared our food with them. Not only was this in the tradition of Jesuit hospitality, but simple Christian charity obliged us to feed the hungry.

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One drain on the supplies was stopped up after about three months. Until March, 1942, we provided food for the staff and patients of the Red Cross hospital in our main building. Thereafter the Philippine branch of the Red Cross took over the job until, with the discharge of the last patient, the hospital closed down.

Two other groups, however, remained with us until July 1943. About seventy American civilians were refugees in the compound when the Japanese moved in. While some of the younger men were transferred by the conquerors to Santo Tomas, thirty-nine of them, women, children and older men, were still with us when we were ejected from the Padre Faura campus. And about two dozen brothers and priests of other religious orders had taken up quarters with us. The largest group was a dozen Canadian and American priests of the Holy Cross Order who, on their way to take up mission stations in India, were trapped in Manila by the outbreak of the war. And we enjoyed the company also of a half dozen Australian Redemptorists, three or four Brothers of the Christian Schools, a couple of La Salette Fathers, and an Oblate and a Maryknoll priest.

With the end of our food reserves in May, 1942, our diet was reduced chiefly to cracked wheat. The wheat we had was old and full of weevils. For a time we tried to remove the weevils before cooking the wheat, but this proved to be an impossible task. Thereupon the wheat was cooked, weevils and all. In the beginning, most of the diners were squeamish and they tried to remove the weevils from their portion of cooked wheat. But eventually they gave up and pulped down the porridge, weevils and all. Some cheered themselves by proclaiming that weevils must be a source of protein—and everybody knows protein is good for you. Occasionally we were able to provide meat for dinner. It was not in itself tempting, for it was either horse meat or caribao meat. But hunger provided a sauce that made it palatable.

I could see the effects of the diet on our young scholastics, and I wondered if they could possibly study on about 800 calories a day. But whenever I proposed calling off classes as too great a strain on starving young bodies, the reaction of the faculty and students was invariably: "Let's try it a bit longer." They kept at their books until the Americans among them were hauled off to concentration camps. How much weight they lost I could not estimate. Before the end

of the war, I myself went from 208 pounds to 115—not very much for a rather broad frame, five feet ten inches high.

Nor could we at the Ateneo be concerned only with feeding ourselves. If our profession to be followers of Christ meant anything, we had to follow His example of feeding the poor and the starving. They were present in Manila by the thousands. We did what we could. I assigned several of our priests to supply as best they could the sisters and the children in a number of orphanages. And increasingly as the war went on and food became more expensive, I met a constant stream of visitors asking for a *limosna*, an alms.

The mere fact that Filipinos would ask for assistance indicated to me how desperate their situation had become. For in my long years in the islands I had gained some insight into Filipino culture. A Filipino will not hesitate to ask even a distant cousin for aid. In their family culture, this is expected and the relative simply cannot, without great loss of face, refuse. But no Filipino, save of the lowest class, will ever approach a stranger for assistance. It simply is not done, for it would be a terrible blow to the Filipino psyche, a humiliating loss of *dignidad*. That obviously educated Filipinos approached me, whom they did not know, and asked for aid showed the terrible conditions in which they lived.

To get food for ourselves and others we had to go to the black market. For of course a black market quickly appeared, and one could buy anything he wanted—for a price. I recall that in May, 1942, when the war had been on only a few months, we sent to the orphanage run by the American Good Shepherd nuns 125 dozen fresh eggs. This was something of a coup, for fresh eggs were already almost unattainable. But it was also a coup for the black marketeer; he charged the equivalent of twenty cents American for each egg. Yet his bill was modest compared to later prices. A year later I learned that Americans confined to Bilibid Prison in Manila were suffering from malaria and were without medication. I managed to smuggle in a bottle of 500 quinine tablets, which cost 300 pesos, thirty cents American for each tablet. In August, 1943, I had smuggled into the prisoners at Fort Santiago 600 multiple vitamin tablets. These tablets cost 3,000 pesos—two dollars American for each pill.

Our purchasing agent on the black market was an unforgettable

man, Walter Bud. A veteran of the German Army in World War I, he had become a soldier of fortune. Converted in Rome (he was Jewish by birth), he had come to Manila before the war with letters of recommendation from our fathers in Italy, and as major-domo at the Ateneo de Manila supervised the food services there. With his experiences in war and revolutions all over the globe, he knew how to operate in wartime Manila. I gave him *carta blanca*, for I had absolute confidence in his integrity and reliability. When it appeared that supplies of food in Manila were absolutely exhausted, he would go out and return with quantities—not enough, of course, but without Walter Bud and our chemist, Fr. Gisel, we would have starved.

Our expenditures during the long months of occupation continually spiraled upward. We needed large quantities of money. After a period of time, in an attempt to establish normal conditions, the Japanese opened what they called the Bank of Taiwan, which took over all the assets of the Philippine Trust Company, the Bank of the Philippine Islands, and other banks. At the time, the Ateneo de Manila had a considerable amount of money in the bank, the tuition payments for the second semester. When we attempted to withdraw some of these funds, the bank officials who were Filipinos and very well disposed to the Jesuits, told us that we could not withdraw the funds because of Japanese regulations which forbade “enemy aliens” to take money out of the bank. One of the officials of the bank came to my office to explain to me how sorry he was that it could not be done. My response was that we were not “enemy aliens.” To the bank officer, very gracious and cooperative, I explained we could not be considered aliens for the very simple reason that the sovereignty of the country could not change during the war. It could not be done until peace terms had been arranged. Hence, Americans could correctly be considered “enemy nationals” but not “enemy aliens” on territory which was still technically under American sovereignty. Moreover, I explained to the official that the money was not American money; that is, it was not national money of any kind, but it was *ecclesiastical property* which was not national but supra-national. This argument obviously appealed to him and at once he said I should write a letter to that effect.

I did and addressed it to the Japanese High Command. One

could never address a letter to any officer of the Japanese Armed Forces personally, because the Japanese commanders did not publish their names. Letters consequently were always addressed to the Japanese High Command. My letter said something as follows: "The writer of this letter is an American. He is, however, the administrator of ecclesiastical property of the Church of Rome. Part of this property are the funds in the bank at the present moment. Ecclesiastical property is not national property. It is not American, nor Spanish, nor Italian, nor Japanese. It is not national, but supra-national. The American government understood this when, before the war, they wished to freeze the funds of the German and Spanish Missionaries in the Philippines. I immediately went to the American High Commissioner (Francis B. Sayre) and also got in touch with Washington by long distance phone and explained the concept of ecclesiastical property. The American government sent orders to the U. S. High Commisisoner in Manila to unfreeze the accounts of the German and Spanish religious orders in the Islands. I expect the magnanimous Japanese High Command will treat the ecclesiastical property of the Church of Rome with the same justice and consideration as did the U. S. government." Not only did I send this letter to the Japanese High Command but also I sent copies to the bank. "Magnanimous" was a very favorite adjective of the Japanese. They were always referring to themselves as the "magnanimous Japanese High Command," "the magnanimous Japanese Army," etc.

The Japanese magnanimous High Command checked the veracity of my statements by documents in the bank, then gave orders that we were to draw out a certain proportion of this money every month. The Maryknoll Sisters had also tried to draw out some funds but of course had been refused as enemy aliens. I suggested the letter as above to Sr. Trinita, the Superioress, and it had the same success. One thing I observed about the Japanese mentality is that they were impressed by logic in argumentation.

#### Residence certificates

After some months of occupation, the Japanese proclaimed that all enemy aliens must get a residence certificate at the cost of 10 pesos per person. At that time we had approximately 100 American Jesuits in the Ateneo. At 10 pesos each, this would mean we would

have to spend about 1,000 pesos which we could not spare. We had no money to waste on residence certificates. I decided therefore not to make any application for such certificates, though some of the fathers were quite anxious about this and strongly advised me to comply. Indeed, my good and loyal and courageous friend, Bro. Xavier of the LaSalle Brothers, came to me and urged me to get the certificates. His advice made a very deep impression on me because he had tremendous courage and was defying the Japanese on other points. He was a British subject and felt he had to register, which he did. I explained to Bro. Xavier that we American Jesuits were not in the same category because, being a British subject, he was indeed an enemy alien, but we Americans were not enemy aliens. I explained that we were enemy nationals, but not aliens. I was depending here upon that logic of the Japanese which I referred to above. Bro. Xavier chuckled at my semantics but he continued to urge me to comply with the Japanese order because of his anxiety for the safety of the American Jesuits. But we were never called upon to use the argument and were saved about 1,000 pesos.

The funds in the Bank of Taiwan, doled out to us in monthly installments, could not possibly meet our expenditures and were fairly rapidly exhausted. We could, of course, receive no money from the United States, and our usual sources of income in the islands had dried up completely or dwindled to a trickle.

Fortunately the Filipino people came magnificently to our aid. One source of income before the war had been the donations of those who had frequented the chapel of the Ateneo de Manila for religious services. During the occupation we continued our schedule of services, though we faced an unusual problem. The Philippines produce no wine, and we had to stretch our extant stock for the indefinite future for our normal sources of supply from overseas were cut off. We rationed our supply carefully. Priests saying Mass would use no more than twelve drops, measured out by an eye-dropper. The Japanese sentries at our gate must soon have become used to the crowds of Filipinos who passed by them towards our chapel. And these good Christians contributed liberally to the collection plate; one unknown benefactor dropped in a 500 peso note every week. We learned later that our good contributor was Mrs. Jose de Leon; she was affectionately known to all her family and

friends as "Doña Natty." Others would bring in food, possibly only a papaya or two or a bunch of bananas.

Still other Filipinos would come to my office and make contributions, at times quite large. Others would offer me large sums as interest-free loans to be repaid after the war. Some of these loans were, of course, not completely disinterested. They would often be made in Japanese occupation pesos, known commonly as "Mickey Mouse" money. When the Japanese were expelled from the Philippines, this money would become worthless paper. But until the day of liberation came, the money would circulate, and I could find very good uses for it. Still others were taking out insurance. If, after the war, they were accused of being collaborators, they could educe the evidence of loans to the American Jesuits to prove that they were true patriots. And those who offered contributions or loans did so at very real peril of their lives. The set Japanese policy was to degrade the Americans in the eyes of the Filipinos, and a Filipino who offered assistance to an American did so literally at the risk of his head. Consequently many of those who loaned me money refused to take receipts which, if the Japanese discovered them, might cost them their liberty if not their lives. These loans I consider a tribute to the Filipinos who made them, and, in retrospect, quite flattering to myself. I must have had the reputation of being an honest man.

On one occasion a Chinese Filipino, who had loaned me 10,000 pesos, sent his son to me to report that shortly after he had made the loan, he had been picked up by the military police. They gave him a softening up period in the horrible dungeons of Fort Santiago and then interrogated him. The Japanese wanted to tie him in with me. If they succeeded, matters would go very badly with him indeed. As with all others who had advanced me money, the Chinese understood that I would tell the Japanese nothing. His interrogators tried a not uncommon trick. They told him that I also was in Fort Santiago and had confessed and that if the Chinese also confessed they would treat him gently. He almost took the bait. He later told me "but then I close my eyes and see your mouth and I say to myself, 'that fella say *no*, he mean *no*.'" He refused to confess, and the Japanese had to turn him loose.

Other Filipinos came to my office not to make loans or gifts but

to ask for assistance. Only the direst necessity will compel a Filipino to beg, and therefore we assisted all who came to the best of our ability. Consequently, there was a constant stream of money going out to the poor. Our only qualification was "destitution," and we relied upon God to provide. And He did, of course, at the usual tenfold or hundredfold. We used to say, without irreverence: "Cast your bread upon the waters, and it will come back to you as ham sandwiches." For example, one morning at ten o'clock we gave our last fifty pesos to a completely indigent elderly gentleman, who had formerly taught at the University of Santo Tomas. Just before noon an alumnus who had previously never given us a centavo walked in and handed me a 500 peso bill. Another morning we gave away the last twenty pesos in the house; that afternoon we received a gift of a basket of eggs and 225 pesos from the Carmelite Sisters.

On another occasion into my office came Mrs. Lucas, a charming Filipino lady, escorted by her daughter. At the time there was absolutely nothing in the kitty, not even a thin dime. As I sought for phrases to explain to the ladies that I could not, at the time, give them a *limosna* (alms), Mrs. Lucas plunked down on my desk a package of money—10,000 pesos. Very profusely and gratefully I began to thank her, and offered to give her a receipt, with a promise to repay after the war. A bit brusquely, she cut me short: "I don't want repayment. And don't thank me. I'm not giving this money to you. I'm giving it to God. You have the job of giving it out as God wants." I learned that this *mulier fortis* had given another 14,000 pesos to the Spanish sisters who desperately needed the money to support the orphans in their Hospicio de San Jose. When I asked Mrs. Lucas what should be our story in case the Japanese found out, she answer: "The Japanese will not find out anything from me. All you have to do is *keep your mouth shut*." Thus I translate her incomparably more polite Spanish: "Calla te."

## VI) WE AID INTERNEES, PRISONERS AND REFUGEES

AS SOON AS THE JAPANESE entered Manila, the Jesuits there found themselves in the business of aiding internees and prisoners of war in Japanese camps, and escaped soldiers and refugees in the swamp and mountains of Luzon. When the Japanese rounded up the

Americans in metropolitan Manila most were incarcerated in the major internee camp at the University of Santo Tomas. But in the early days of the occupation, groups were to be found in various locations about the city.

I have mentioned that in January, 1942, a large group of Americans, mostly women and children, were imprisoned temporarily on the campus of the University of the Philippines, just across the street from the Ateneo de Manila. And, as an indication of what was to come, the Japanese would not provide them with bare necessities. Therefore I made the first of many raids on the supplies at the Ateneo de Manila. The willing hands of two Filipino scholastics, Horacio de la Costa and Miguel Bernad, transported a supply of blankets, mosquito nets and some twenty cartons of food and milk to the prisoners. The scholastics were allowed to make two deliveries, but the Japanese guards refused to permit more. As I have mentioned, we also supplied food and drink to the staff and patients of Red Cross Hospital #8 on our campus, and to about seventy American civilians who had taken refuge with us.

Conditions in the Santo Tomas internment camp were to become horrible, but they were bad from the beginning. In January of 1942 the Philippine Chapter of the American Red Cross sent out an appeal for food for the internees. We assembled a large shipment of assorted foods, some 160 cases of canned goods, and turned it over to the Red Cross. We demanded and expected no reimbursement for our food. But the acting head of the Red Cross, Judge Manuel Camus, gave us a check for 9,000 pesos, with instructions to hold it until the end of the war. The check vanished in the maelstrom of war. We were ready to answer other appeals from the Red Cross, but the Japanese would allow no more.

Yet for several months thereafter, I sent other supplies and money to the Santo Tomas camp. My intermediary was a wonderful man, Eitel Baumann. Born in Korea of a German father and Belgian mother, and a naturalized Filipino citizen, Baumann could speak Japanese and was extremely useful in dealing with the occupying forces. He fixed two large baskets on his bicycle, loaded them with canned goods, and pedaled away. In all, he must have made sixty trips across the Pasig River to Santo Tomas. On each trip, he also carried about 150 pesos for the use of the internees. On other occa-

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sions, I used several priest intermediaries to get thousands of pesos into the camp.

After I myself became a prisoner in Santo Tomas on January 13, 1944, the Jesuits continued to smuggle money and food into the camp. I recall on one occasion a Filipino lady who received permission to visit an internee slipped me 1,000 pesos which Fr. Greer had asked her to deliver. Other goods and money came in over the wall of the residence of the Dominican Fathers who conducted Santo Tomas University before the war, through the agency of Luis Alcuaz, the Filipino secretary of the Dominican Father Provincial. Still more came through the Santa Catalina dormitory, a residence conducted by nuns just outside the Santo Tomas compound but requisitioned for the use of the camp. Access could be had to this building from outside the perimeter of the camp, and our Fathers sent in supplies and money through this hole.

Other American internees were held prisoners at the Hospicio de San Jose, an orphanage conducted by the Sisters of Charity on an island in the Pasig River. Early in 1942 the Japanese took over a section of the orphanage and placed there about fifty aged and infirm American men. On many occasions I sent these men food, medicines and money. Usually the supplies would be picked up by a Maryknoll priest, Fr. Timothy Daly (later a prisoner of the Communists in China), on his visits to the Ateneo. On other occasions my assistants, Fr. Greer and Fr. McNicholas, would make the deliveries. Of course, we could not feed just the American internees while the sisters and the orphans went hungry. Consequently, we supplied what food we could, not only to this orphanage, but also to one conducted by the Good Shepherd nuns. For the Good Shepherd convent, my chief agent was Fr. Edward Nuttall, who managed in 1943 to deliver to the sisters, besides other supplies, about 100 bags of rice and 20 bags of sugar.

### Prisoners of war

We also did what we could for military prisoners of war. In the early months of the war, some American soldiers were held in Manila. I learned that a small group was confined in the English Club on Marquis de Comillas Street. Since a friend of mine was among the prisoners, I personally made about four trips to the club

carrying food. Hundreds of other American prisoners were confined under heavy guard (I believe it was in a school building, in the town of Pasay, just south of Manila) and still more a mile or two further south at Las Pinas. These captives the Japanese used as laborers on Nichols Airfield. Up to the time of my imprisonment early in 1944, I sent to these soldiers, to help them survive, monies in excess of 50,000 pesos, which of course had to be smuggled in.

Other American military prisoners were used by the Japanese as laborers in the port area of Manila itself throughout the war. On several occasions I was able to have smuggled in to them money and medicines. My agent was Humphrey O'Leary, an ancient veteran of the Spanish-American war, who after the campaigns in the Philippines had married a Filipina and settled down in the islands. But in heavily populated Manila the guards watched these men with special care. If they were caught receiving help from outside, they were treated to special severity. Indeed, the prisoners managed to get a message to me to send no more aid. Several Americans who had been caught with supplies from outside had already been severely beaten.

The Japanese kept other American military prisoners in the civil jail in Manila, Bilibid Prison on Azcarraga Street. Among the prisoners was Fr. William Cummings, a Maryknoll missionary who had been commissioned a chaplain in the U. S. Army when the war broke out. Through the good offices of a friendly Japanese, he could occasionally leave the prison to visit the Maryknoll sisters who were then interned in the Assumption Convent. Through Fr. Cummings, I was able to get money and medicines into the soldiers until Father died, still a prisoner of the Japanese. Through some Filipina girls who had a contact at Bilibid, I continued to smuggle additional food into the prisoners at Bilibid.

Still other Americans were held in a section of the New Bilibid prison in the town of Muntinlupa, some twenty miles south of Manila. The Catholic chaplain for the Filipino civilian prisoners was a Filipino Jesuit, Pedro Dimaano. The Director of Prisons was Maj. Eriberto Misa, a very loyal Filipino and an Ateneo alumnus. With his help, Fr. Dimaano was able to visit the section of the prison where the American soldiers were detained, and bring in food, medicines, and money under the noses of the Japanese guards.

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Another contact I used was a guerrilla colonel named Baja who managed to get supplies into Muntinlupa; this means of access ended, however, when the Japanese captured and executed Col. Baja.

After the infamous Death March, large numbers of American and Filipino military prisoners were confined in Camp O'Donnell, Tarlac Province, near the town of Capas. We heard of the horrors and sufferings endured by the captives on the Death March, and the reports of the death of thousands in the camp from abuse and starvation. I decided to send these poor men large quantities of food, medicine and money. Food and medicines in Manila were becoming scarcer and increasingly expensive. We were compelled to buy, and we continued to buy, at increasingly stiff prices.

From April to July of 1942, we were able to send five or six large shipments to Camp O'Donnell. Walter Bud, our invaluable buyer, would round up the supplies and assemble them at the Ateneo. We were able to do this due to the incredible inefficiency of the Japanese. Since the Ateneo campus was an internment camp, Japanese guards were stationed there twenty-four hours a day. But to the day the Nipponese moved in, in July of 1943, they never discovered a secondary gate from the compound on Dakota Street! Nor, for that matter, did they ever discover a stock of gasoline. The commercial gasoline companies had destroyed their stocks of gasoline before the Japanese entered Manila. Consequently, it was in very short supply and very expensive. Before the war we had constructed on the campus a small cement building some distance from the major buildings as a fire precaution for the storage of gasoline, and there we kept about twenty drums of gasoline. This gas proved invaluable in the transportation of shipments to Camp O'Donnell and later to Camp Cabanatuan.

Since obviously Americans could not safely take the food and other supplies to the camps, we relied on a wonderful group of loyal and immensely brave Filipinos and Filipinas to make the deliveries. Dozens of these heroic people came to our assistance. At least three of these volunteers, Mr. and Mrs. Antonio Escoda and Mr. Enrique Albert, paid with their lives; they were arrested and executed by the Japanese for their devotion to their fellowmen.

These devoted friends would slip into the Ateneo by the unguarded gate, load up the truck, and head for the camp. I recall

Mrs. Natividad de Leon ("Doña Natty") and her charming daughters (Mr. de Leon was imprisoned in Fort Santiago) working like stevedores to load the truck. Often on its trips to camp Miss Lulu Reyes would ride shotgun. I recall warning her to be careful and to take it easy, both for reasons of her health and the fear that the Japanese might retaliate because of her friendliness with Americans. But she was invaluable; when the truck was stopped by Japanese patrols or blocked by Japanese officials, she would blast them, not with buckshot, but with her charming and disarming ways. The truck would get through. Later, Mrs. de Leon and Miss Reyes were decorated by the U. S. Government for their services. Others, as Jesus de Veyra and Susano Velasquez, were equally worthy of honor.

By these willing hands we were able to ship to Camp O'Donnell over 100 sacks and cartons of food—sugar, coffee, dry milk, beans, canned meats—and medicines: quinine, sulfathiazole, ascorbic acid tablets, vitamin concentrates, aspirin, cotton, bandages, gauze, etc. I recall that included with one shipment of medicines were twelve bottles of that very good Spanish brandy, Pedro Domecq. Further, large sums of money were sent to the prisoners. On one occasion, I recall, I gave Mr. Escoda 15,000 pesos to pass on.

Beginning about June of 1942, the Japanese gradually transferred the American military prisoners from Camp O'Donnell to a newly opened prison camp at Cabanatuan in Nueva Ecija Province. Our assistance thereupon was shifted from the old to the new camp, and we continued to make shipments until the end of 1943. How many shipments we made to Cabanatuan I cannot recall, but they were large and continuous.

For these deliveries, we needed the permission of the Japanese authorities. While authorizations for food and medicines were relatively simple to obtain, the Japanese were much more stringent on donations of money. Some we managed to smuggle in. On one occasion, Mr. Escoda was discovered to have hidden a sum of money in the bottom of a box of altar breads; the Japanese confiscated the funds and gave him a severe beating. Usually permission was secured in advance from the Japanese for deliveries of money. At times permission was long delayed; once it had to be secured from Japan. In all, we sent about 150,000 pesos to the prisoners at

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Cabanatuan. While the money was usually entrusted to Victor and Josefina Escoda, they were not our only agents. At times we used the services of Fr. Budenbruck, S.V.D. A German citizen and therefore considered an ally by the Japanese, he had special permission from the Japanese to visit the war prisoners at Cabanatuan. Eventually, like the Escodas, Fr. Budenbruck was arrested and executed by the Japanese.

### The Columban Fathers

At times we passed money on through the Columban Fathers, mostly Irishmen, who also were engaged to the best of their ability in the dangerous business of assisting internees and prisoners. Many times Fr. John Lalor, who was killed in the Battle of Manila in February, 1945, took sums for transmission either to the prison camps or to the guerrillas. On one occasion, I recall giving Fr. John Heneghan, the superior of the Columban Fathers in the Philippines, 1,000 pesos for the purchase of medicines. Fr. Heneghan and several of his priests were arrested by the Japanese military late in 1944; they were never seen again. What happened to them we never learned.

It was set policy, and I insisted always on the point, that the recipients of aid should not give written receipts for the goods and money they received. Still a number of prisoners did insist on expressing their gratitude in writing. Invariably, we at once destroyed these messages, for they were dangerous to us if they were discovered by Japanese security forces.

The business of sending aid to American internees and prisoners of war was risky enough. Much more dangerous was the business of aiding escaped prisoners and refugees. But we found ourselves engaged in these perilous occupations from the very day that the Japanese military appeared at our gates on January 2, 1942. For in the Ateneo compound at that time were six American soldiers who had become separated from their units. We provided them with mufti, and hid them for several months until we could smuggle them out of the city to guerrilla units. But there seemed to be an unending stream of prisoners who managed to escape and who appeared at the unguarded gate of the Ateneo. Until July of 1943, when the Japanese moved permanently into the compound, on any particular

date there would be two or three fugitive American soldiers hidden somewhere on the premises.

After the surrender of Bataan and the Death March, hundreds of American and Filipino officers and men either avoided capture or made their escape from their Japanese guards. The fugitives hid in various places, particularly in the halls and swamps of Pampanga Province and in the hills of adjacent Zambales Province. Numbers of these men were gradually collected into hideout camps in the mountains behind Floridablanca. Many were in extremely poor physical condition, due to wounds or sickness. After they had been restored to the semblance of good health, the Filipinos among them could merge into the civilian population. The Americans, however, had to remain in hiding until MacArthur returned, and they needed reliable sources of food, medicine and clothing.

I soon found myself a major source of supplies for these camps. Vividly I recall the day I became involved. Into my office on Padre Faura Street, in April of 1942, came an elderly Filipino, who introduced himself as Alejandro Lopez and unfolded his story. A number of American officers who had escaped from the Death March had entered his town of Guaga, Pampanga, and had sought refuge with the local Catholic pastor. He had approached Mr. Lopez, who agreed to take in the men; his house was less likely to be searched by the Japanese than the rectory. Mr. Lopez moved his family to another location, to save them from execution if the Japanese discovered the soldiers while the family was present, turned over his home to the Americans, and hurried into Manila to the Ateneo. He carried with him a written message from one of the escaped prisoners, Fr. John Duffy, an Army chaplain, who asked for aid for his fellow escapees.

Mr. Lopez appeared to be the finest type of Filipino gentleman, but I knew nothing about him. While I was interiorly debating whether he was what he appeared or a Japanese agent, into the office came Dr. Ramon Santos, an Ateneo alumnus whom I knew well. Fortunately Dr. Santos knew Mr. Lopez and vouched for his bona fides.

Dr. Santos was, I recall, in an extremely belligerent mood and was ready to undertake any action against the Japanese occupiers. He had come to discuss the matter with me. On that and a second

visit he paid me, I did my best to caution him against foolhardy risks. But Dr. Santos was not the type to conceal his strongly held opinions. Soon he was incarcerated by the military police in their most feared prison, Fort Santiago. Soon after, his wife was presented by the Japanese with a quantity of hair apparently shaved from her husband's head. By this gruesome memento, Mrs. Santos learned she was a widow.

While the three of us were discussing what to do with Mr. Lopez's escapees, into the office walked yet another Filipino. At first I did not recognize him, but when he introduced himself, I recalled him well. I had not seen him for years, since the days when he had been one of my students at the Ateneo de Manila. He was Vicente Bernia.

Bernia quickly solved Lopez's problem. He willingly and even joyfully offered to take the prisoners off Mr. Lopez's hands and add them to his other groups. For Vicente had come with a similar problem. He was hiding groups of escapees in the swamps of Pampanga near his home. He wanted to get them out of the swamps and other unhealthy hiding places into organized camps and to supply with food, medicine, and funds. Of course, I agreed to help in every way possible. On that occasion, I scraped together what I could of money, medicines and clothing, and with a feeling of relief, I saw the trio depart.

A few days later Vicente was back. He reported he had placed Fr. Duffy in a convento of sisters. The other refugees in the Lopez home he had disguised as best he could in the usual costume of Filipino peasants. He thereupon loaded them in a horse-drawn *carrotela* and set out for the boondocks. On the way into the hinterlands they several times ran into Japanese patrols. The way Vicente handled the problem made me gulp; it also indicated the irrepressible quality of this incredibly brave Filipino. When the Japanese approached the *carrotela*, Vicente, who had picked up a few words of Japanese, would jump off the wagon, welcome the patrol as long-lost brothers, and shout in Japanese something equivalent to "Three cheers for Japan." At the same time the American officers from their places in the wagon would bow low—very low indeed—without removing the large Filipino peasant hats. These served to obscure their faces while Vicente was distracting the Japanese

soldiers with his vociferous protestations of devotion and admiration for the Empire of the Rising Sun. By this devious device Vicente safely escorted the officers to a secure location.

For about eighteen months, to the end of 1943, I continued to send supplies out to the Bernia-Fassoth camps. On several occasions, they were conveyed by Filipino scholastics, Horacio de la Costa and Pablo Guzman-Rivas. On other occasions, money and medicines were sent out to the escapees through the medium of a Filipino secular priest, whose name I cannot recall.

After the priest had made several trips to the Ateneo, we decided that it was highly dangerous and unnecessarily risky for both him and ourselves if he were seen coming to the Ateneo regularly.

#### The code

Thereupon we hit upon a simple code. The Pasig River, running roughly from east to west, cuts through the heart of the city of Manila. A northwest section of the city was commonly known as Tondo, a southwest section, as Malate, the southeast, as Singalong and the northeast as Binondo. When the padre would come into Manila, he would immediately phone me. After the usual pleasantries, he would ask me to supply him with so many hundreds or thousands of hosts for Mass. "Hosts" of course meant pesos. And he would say that he would, until a set hour, say three or four in the afternoon, be at the parish church in Tondo. When he said Tondo, he meant Malate; if he said Malate, I knew he meant Singalong, and so on. It was a very easy sequence code.

I would round up the money and, frequently, medicines which were almost impossible to obtain, and summon Eitel Baumann, one of the most reliable and loyal men with whom I had ever dealt. Eitel would go to the designated church and take a pew some distance from the waiting padre, who would be reading his breviary. Eitel would place the package in his pew and after his prayers (and he used to tell me: "Oh how I really prayed, Father, for I was surely scared"), would leave the church. The padre waited a good ten or fifteen minutes to make sure that Eitel had gotten away. For if the Japanese had caught Eitel and brought him back to the church, the padre, still kneeling in his pew, would be safe. When the time had passed, the padre would go to Eitel's pew, pick up

the package, and depart by another door. In this fashion we supplied the padre for some months. If you are tempted to think that this did not take courage to an outstanding degree in Eitel and the padre, then thank God you never had to do it and pray you never will. All during such a rendezvous, I, back in the Ateneo, was worried and scared beyond description.

On several occasions, an American soldier dressed in civilian clothes walked into my office on Padre Faura Street. He could get away with it since he was a Spanish-speaking New Mexican of sallow complexion. On this first visit, I was fairly sure of his genuinity. He carried a verbal message from the American officer who had sent him which recalled several instances when I had met the officer before hostilities and which the young soldier could not possibly have known about. The youngster escaped from the Death March and had been taken in by a very good Spanish family residing in the southern section of Manila. He was acting as liaison between a number of escapees outside the city and the groups in Manila which were assisting them. Of course, we supplied what assistance we could.

One day a lady of the family which sheltered him came to me in great fear. The soldier had fallen seriously sick with dysentery. While the family nursed the boy, they were understandably fearful not only for their own safety but for that of the youngster. It was dangerous for the soldier to go out in the streets, but for him to remain in the house at that particular time was even more dangerous. For the Japanese had formed their "household associations," a typical totalitarian device which required families to report on their neighbors. No one could know when someone in his household association would give evidence, deliberately or inadvertently, of the presence of an escaped American soldier. The woman begged me to get the boy out of Manila and into the custody of the guerrillas operating in the mountains.

The major problem was to get the soldier through the Japanese barriers at all exits from the city. The occupiers had another control device, residence certificates. The soldier did not have one and in his weakened condition he could not possibly go through the various secret exits used by the guerrillas. He would have to be carried from the city in a conveyance through the Japanese posts. He would

need a residence certificate.

Word had reached me that if residence certificates were needed, the man to approach was Claudio Tee Han Kee. Claudio I knew well; he had gone through the Ateneo from grade school on and graduated from the college *summa cum laude*. I got word to Claudio I would like to see him. When he came to my office, I explained the problem. I stressed its urgency, hoping that Claudio would be able to produce the document in three or four days. He simply asked if I wanted a certificate for a Chinese or a Spaniard. When I answered him, he pulled out of his pocket the required certificate, filled in the soldier's name, and that was that. The boy got safely away. And no doubt Claudio continued to walk about the city carrying in his pockets evidence that would literally cost him his head if he were ever searched by the Japanese.

For many months the usual method of getting supplies to the refugee camps was as follows: the supplies would be assembled on the Padre Faura campus, Vicente Bernia would appear with a vehicle at a prearranged hour at the unguarded side gate of the campus, and the cartons and sacks would be loaded as quietly and expeditiously as possible. Indeed, even most of the Jesuits on the campus never knew until after the war what had been going on.

Vicente made about thirty trips. In all he carried away well over 300 cases of food and 40 cases of medicines, as well as large bundles of clothing. On each trip I would give him four or five thousand pesos. With the cash, Vicente would buy more supplies in Manila, and use the bills of sale, in case he was stopped by Japanese, to cover both the supplies he purchased and the goods he had picked up at the Ateneo. Other monies were sent to the refugees through the agency of Eitel Baumann, as I described above, and still more was sent through another brave man, Nelson V. Sinclair, who had his own contacts. In all, besides the food, medicine and clothing, we supplied the Bernia-Fossoth camps with about 200,000 pesos.

At one time the situation became so dangerous that I became extremely worried. Vicente was so regular a visitor to the side gate of the Ateneo that I feared the Japanese would catch on, with incalculable but regrettable consequences for the people in the Ateneo compound. Therefore I told Bernia that we had done all we could, the camps were fairly well supplied, and the escapees could

## WOODSTOCK LETTERS

use the guns he had gotten them to hunt their own food in the forests. In no uncertain terms, I told him not to come back again.

Lo and behold! Two weeks later I looked up at a knock on my screen door. It was Vicente. If he expected a warm welcome, he was not entirely wrong, for he received a blistering reception. I was furious. Nor was I calmed when he told me he had come just to tell me the story of his last load of supplies. Eventually I became quiet enough for him to tell his tale; he had gotten the last truckload of supplies up to the town of Floridablanca on a Japanese military truck driven by a Japanese soldier! When I stopped laughing, I found Vicente had conned me into continuing supplies to his camps.

But sometime about May, 1943, the Nipponese, possibly tipped off by an informer, raided one of the camps when Vicente was present. He was shot to death and his brother, Arturo, met the same fate.

### A hideout

Besides the Bernia-Fossoth camps on the Pampanga-Zambales border, we supplied Americans who had set up a hideout near Antipolo, Rizal Province, not very far from Manila. In this camp were not only American military men, but civilians who had evaded internment by the Japanese or who had escaped from concentration camps.

The usual method of contact with these men was an extremely brave American civilian who had long managed the haciendas which provided the income used to support San Jose Seminary, Nelson Vance Sinclair. When the Japanese rounded up American civilians into Santo Tomas internment camp in January, 1942, Sinclair was among the number. But his health was so bad that in April, 1942, he was transferred to the Philippine General Hospital. His hospital bed soon became a central point in the supply of escaped Americans outside Manila.

Since the Philippine General Hospital was only down the street from the Ateneo, I could be at his bedside in five minutes from my office. And I had every excuse to make frequent visits to a sick friend. His Filipino friends too could and did come to visit him—including some friends he was meeting for the first time. Clearly

it was extremely dangerous to have the Filipinos who were intermediaries between myself and the Antipolo groups come too often to the Ateneo campus. Vance and I came to an arrangement. When I would visit him, I would bring in quantities of money. When his Filipino friends visited him, the money somehow vanished.

The arrangement, of course, could not have worked without the knowledge and consent of the brave Filipino doctors and nurses who staffed the Philippine General Hospital. Never once, in the long months the method was used, did we have to fear a leak in the absolutely necessary secrecy. Among those who actively helped were the head of the hospital, Dr. Agerico Sison, the superintendent of nurses, Mrs. Adriano, and Miss Agra and Miss Asperilla, both nurses.

Several of the agents Vance used were eventually captured and killed by the Japanese. Invariably they were Filipinos, with one exception. Maj. Walter Cushing used to enter Manila openly—dressed as a Jesuit priest! Obviously at one of our houses he had secured one of our white cassocks. To make his cover complete, he carried the black book, often seen in the hands of priests, the breviary. Only in the Major's case, the breviary was a dictionary! Eventually he was executed, as was a brave Filipino lieutenant in the guerrillas, Concepcion, who frequently visited Sinclair's bedside.

After this operation had been going on for some months, the Japanese Kempetai suddenly appeared at the Philippine General Hospital, pulled Sinclair out of his bed, and hauled him off to Fort Santiago. My worry, which was intense, was nothing compared to what Sinclair had to endure.

For Fort Santiago was infamous. Here the Kempetai housed the prisoners they considered most dangerous, and here they used every means to break them down. Not only was there crowding that reminded one of the Black Hole of Calcutta, there was unspeakable filth, there were innumerable vermin, there was starvation, there was endless questioning, there were constant beatings, there were the most bestial tortures.

Sinclair entered Fort Santiago a sick man. Yet, according to the testimony of our Ateneo alumni who were fellow-prisoners there, he was treated savagely. No other American, according to our alumni, received anything approaching the beatings and the tor-

tures inflicted on Sinclair. The Ateneo alumni would know. So many were entertained as unwilling guests in Fort Santiago, they called it Alumni Hall. For nine long months, Sinclair endured and opened not his mouth. His condition became such that the Kempetai decided he could not possibly survive another day. To avoid having him die on their hands, they shipped him back to Santo Tomas internment camp, where the camp officials at once transferred him back to the Philippine General Hospital, so that he might die in peace. But Sinclair refused to die. Horribly emaciated and battered—later, when he was able to get out of bed, he could only get about on two canes—this incredibly brave man at once re-established his contacts and renewed his work from his hospital bed.

For Sinclair and many others I would gladly have done what I was able to do on only one occasion—bribe a prisoner out of Fort Santiago. She was Mrs. Margaret Utinsky, whose husband had died as a prisoner of war in a prison camp. Known as "Miss U," Mrs. Utinsky had been performing incredible services for the Americans in the underground. She had sold her jewels and all her personal goods to raise money for the relief of the Americans. She was not one of our agents in relief work. Her main contacts were with Fr. Heneghan and his Columban Fathers who, as I have mentioned, were seized by the Japanese and vanished without trace. I knew her, of course, and what she was doing, and I was very concerned when she was taken into Fort Santiago.

I learned that if the proper Japanese officer were approached with adequate money, Mrs. Utinsky would be transferred to another place of detention. I recall the devious channels through which the money—5,000 pesos—got into the hands of the right member of the Kempetai. I passed the money to Sr. Isabel, an American Maryknoll sister who was working in the Remedios Hospital, whose chaplain was the Columban Fr. John Lalor. Fr. Lalor visited another hospital, Doctors' Hospital, where he passed the bribe on to a patient, an American named Johnson, a member of the Maritime Commission for the Philippines, and later executed by the Japanese. Mr. Johnson turned the money over to a Filipino named Armase-tegui, who in turn gave it to the Filipina woman who was friendly with the Kempetai officer. Almost at once, Mrs. Utinsky was dis-

covered to be sick, and transferred from Fort Santiago to Doctors' Hospital, from which place she fled to the mountains.

#### Fr. Sullivan

At times, and particularly during the nerve-wracking months when Sinclair was in Fort Santiago, I got money to the groups at Antipolo and other hideouts through a Jesuit at the Ateneo, Fr. Russell Sullivan. The intermediaries would slip in by the undiscovered gate at the Padre Faura campus and as unobtrusively as possible go to Fr. Sullivan's room. For reasons of security, I did not keep large sums of money in my quarters. If the Japanese raided the Ateneo, that was the first place they would search. When we had ready cash in large quantities, we would at times hide it in the attic; usually we kept a large amount in the false bottom of a trunk in Fr. Sullivan's room.

Fr. Sullivan, another man of calm courage during the war, had a way of passing on money to the agents of the camps so that we could dissimulate having given money to fugitives. It was a method I often used myself. When the agent entered the room, the padre would insist that he had nothing to give and that, even if he did, he could not take the chance because of fear of Japanese reprisals. While thus protesting, he would pull open the top drawer of his desk, revealing a stack of bills, and walk away from the desk. With a "Sorry you can't help us, Padre," the intermediary would quietly pocket the cash and leave.

On other occasions money would be delivered to agents in the Acacia Soda Fountain, a small lunch room run by Walter Bud a few blocks from the Ateneo, and many times deliveries of money and medicines were made in San Marcelino Church to Pedro Start, a Filipino who had been adopted by an American doctor.

When I look back on the risks we took, I still get scared. I thank God I have had the grace of knowing so many brave Filipinos and Americans who with incredible bravery risked prison, torture, and execution to aid their suffering fellow men. I would like to set down all their names here, but at this late date my memory is too faded.

VII) WE ARE EXPELLED FROM THE  
ATENEO DE MANILA

FOR A YEAR AND A HALF of occupation we Jesuits, both Filipino and American, and our guests, the priests and religious and the American civilians, lived in relative peace on the Padre Faura campus. Japanese guards patrolled the main entrance twenty-four hours a day, and time after countless time Japanese units entered the buildings and inspected the grounds. But for over a year, the Nipponese were apparently content to leave us in quiet possession of our own property. There was no repetition of their initial attempt to incarcerate all the American fathers and scholastics in the Santo Tomas internment camp.

It was too good to last. We felt in our bones that the Japanese would one day take steps to break up our community and take over our buildings. Therefore we made plans to beat a strategic retreat to previously prepared positions. There were several options open to us. We had at our disposal our retreat house of La Ignaciana in the Santa Anna district of Manila and our group of buildings in Intramuros which comprised the residence known as the Mission House, the Church of San Ignacio and the Ateneo grade school. Other options were made available to us through the charity and graciousness of two religious orders, the Augustinians and the Vincentians.

The Vincentian Fathers, known in the Philippines as the Paulistas, conducted the archdiocesan seminary of Manila in a large building on San Marcelino Street. Since classes had been suspended during the war and the seminarians sent home, the Vincentians offered us accommodations perfectly suited for our scholastics pursuing their studies. We gratefully accepted. But in case the Japanese were to expel us from San Marcelino also, we judged it prudent to have a second prepared position in readiness. We approached the friars at the convento of San Augustino in Intramuros, situated only a few steps from our Mission House. The Augustinians had a tremendous, fortress-like church, the oldest church in Manila and redolent with history. The friars welcomed us most graciously and offered us the freedom of their buildings.

About June of 1943, after yet another inspection by a group of Japanese, we received a notification from the Japanese magnanimous High Command that the Imperial Army would take over the main buildings on the campus as a hospital for Japanese military. Of course we protested and pulled every string available to have the order rescinded. The Japanese graciously invited all the Americans to move into Santo Tomas internment camp, an invitation which we had absolutely no intention of accepting. They further stated that the Filipino Jesuits could, if they wished, move into the frame laboratory buildings in the rear of the campus. This we planned to do, for we intended to keep at least some toe-hold on our campus.

Eventually we were ejected on the feast of the Sacred Heart, July 3, 1943. I well recall the date, for it had been predicted by Fr. Heneghan, the superior of the Columban Fathers, who resided at the Melate Church near the Ateneo. His argument was a very spiritual one. He said that anyone who was dedicated to the Sacred Heart would be called upon for suffering. Now the great feast of the Sacred Heart was looming, and he felt quite certain that something was going to happen on that day and that it would be an order to move. He was right.

I felt also that we were due to be moved. Hence I thought it prudent to make quiet and immediate preparations, just in case. Two of the fathers drew up a most elaborate sort of plan by which the beds, books, clothes, furniture, blackboards, etc., would be marked, carried down and placed in different piles in the patio. This was a very complicated plan and the logistics of it just seemed to be impossible.

I fell back then on our experiences at Woodstock College, our seminary in Maryland. The old-timers of Woodstock remember that whenever we had a performance, we used the refectory for an auditorium or theater, where we put on concerts and theatricals complete with scenery, backdrops, stage curtain and gas footlights. As soon as supper was finished, everybody rose, put their plates and cutlery together, wended their way to the scullery, deposited them there, returned, picked up what was left on the tables and brought it to the kitchen. Salt and pepper shakers and the cruets of oil and vinegar were placed on the window sills nearby, which were high above the head of the audience. The point is that there seemed to

be utter confusion to an outside observer. All were hurrying and scurrying about like ants, without any apparent order; but like ants, everybody knew just what he was about. After the performance, the dining room would have to be set up for breakfast. Nobody was assigned to any particular task but everybody turned to—put out the tables, replaced the chairs, spread the tablecloths, returned the cruets. In a jiffy, cutlery and plates were on the table. In all this apparent confusion was an orderly and most expeditious system. The theater was quickly transformed into a dining room all ready and set for breakfast. I thought of this experience and decided that it would be the best method for moving. In other words everybody was to be responsible for getting his own stuff over to San Marcelino seminary. The scholastics formed groups of two or three—two to carry while one watched over the pile of material in the patio.

#### Stripping the buildings

At sundown on July 2nd, we received orders that we would have to be out of the main buildings before one o'clock on the afternoon of July 3rd. The Japanese evidently believed it was impossible to think of moving all of the equipment of the school in so short a time. They expected, consequently, to enter a group of buildings equipped for their needs.

We were unanimously determined that the Japanese would not find a group of buildings equipped for their needs. All pitched in at once, Filipinos and Americans, fathers, scholastics and brothers. We worked like beavers till after midnight, caught a few hours sleep, had Mass and a bite of breakfast, and turned again to the task of stripping the buildings to the bare floors.

At the crack of dawn the Ateneo campus was invaded, not by the Japanese, but by hundreds of Filipinos. The news of the expulsion had spread around the town like wildfire. By the dozens and the scores, men, women and children brushed by the bewildered Japanese sentries at the gate and pitched in to help the padres move. It was partly a chance for the Filipinos to show the Japanese what they thought of them. But it was even more a very moving demonstration of the Filipino affection for the Filipino Jesuits and their American brethren.

The trucks had disappeared long ago—all confiscated by the Japa-

nese. The Filipinos had met the situation by improvising pushcarts. Do not imagine a small one-man push cart used by hawkers of apples or frankfurters. The Filipino people, very resourceful, made their own pushcarts by getting four automobile wheels and on the axles, built all sizes of bodies. One would be surprised at the number of beds or bureaus or lockers that could be piled up on one of these pushcarts. In many cases it would take half a dozen people to push the loaded carts. As soon as the news spread about, these pushcarts suddenly came, apparently out of the woods and out of the walls, out of nowhere. At one time I counted over forty of them. Many were brought by alumni and by friends of alumni whom we had never met before.

The Japanese sentries were joined about midmorning by several squads of Japanese soldiers, who evidently were the first contingent destined to move into the buildings. They too gaped in amazement at the men and women carrying immense loads out of the edifices, dumping them on the pushcarts, and hurrying back for more. The soldiers quickly learned to duck out of the way. Fixed bayonets or not, many a Japanese was rammed in the back by a heavy desk or chair—accidentally, of course. One of them apparently summoned enough of his senses to report what was going on to higher officers. For at eleven o'clock, the Japanese official who was second in command of the Foreign Office appeared with another and larger contingent of soldiers. In the hurly-burly he managed to locate me and declared he was taking possession immediately. I protested long and vociferously that according to the orders of the magnanimous Japanese High Command we had until one o'clock to move out. Even while we were arguing, desks, chairs, beds, lockers and what-not continued to flow in an unceasing stream past us to the pushcarts.

As the morning went on, more and more people came to assist the Jesuit Fathers in the transfer. The Beaterio Sisters and the Belgian Sisters came with several scores of their girl students. Two justices of the Filipino Supreme Court came to help. I stopped these men because I feared a stroke or a heart attack. I told them that their mere presence was a tremendous contribution and example for the people.

The sisters were marvelous. In the small reception room as one

entered the Ateneo, there were some tables and chairs for visitors. The soldiers who had arrived immediately took this over as their office and set up their tea kettle with burners on one of the tables. A Belgian sister with some of her girls unceremoniously removed the kettle, and gesticulated remonstratively that they were ruining a good table. The sister put the kettle on the floor, while the girls picked up the table and walked out with it. The whole second floor after a short while had become quite bare. A Japanese soldier, however, had picked up a small glass ashtray and was slowly walking down the corridor, banging his gun against the floor in the manner of a shepherd with his staff. A Belgian sister who happened along, took the ashtray out of the hand of the Japanese soldier. The Japanese loosed his hold on the tray to point at the sister and said, "You, smoke?" and she said, "Yes." He threw his head and laughed uproariously, and then simply continued his patrol down the corridor. The sister handed me the ashtray and began to describe the incident of which I myself was a witness.

After my discussion with the Foreign Office official at eleven o'clock, I suddenly contrived to disappear from sight. Meantime things were being rushed out the front door without any regard for the soldiers. But after a period of time, the guards at the front door received orders to allow nobody out with any more furniture. After the order had been given, students of the Christian Brothers' college of La Salle, who were assisting in the move, entered my office, took the huge very heavy wooden desk they found there, and started down the corridor with it. The Japanese soldiers stopped them. Undisturbed by this, they put down the desk and simply waited. After a few minutes, they then carried it through the other side of the building, right up on the grand portico, the *azotea*. From the floor of the *azotea* to the ground was a distance of about twenty feet. How these La Salle boys, plus a couple of our Ateneo alumni, ever got that heavy desk over the balustrade of the portico, and down to the ground without smashing it, amazed me. However, they did it and then simply walked it out the back gate on Dakota Street which the Japanese had not yet discovered, and consequently were not guarding.

The Japanese official in charge finally caught up with me in the dining room. After much gesticulating which of course I was not

too quick to understand, he finally made his meaning clear by drawing a chalk line across the floor at the door, and after more gestures indicated that anything inside must not come out. Then he explained to me that the Japanese were going to put Japanese characters on all the things that must not be removed. As soon as he left the dining room, the Filipinos immediately swarmed in and removed tables, chairs, etc. Meanwhile the official and several of his men were busy in all parts of the building, marking things with Japanese characters to indicate that they must not be removed. I explained this to the Filipinos. The reaction of the women was, "Oh, they're *locos*" (that is, silly, crazy, stupid). And women with cloths or handkerchiefs erased the marks and the flow of furniture continued out the gates. About noontime, two of these women stopped me and with a laugh said, "Father, do you have any paint remover?" Wondering what under the sun they wanted with paint remover at this stage of the world's existence, I said, "What do you want the paint remover for?" They said, "That's about all there's left, and we don't want the Japanese to have even the paint." Then they laughed and went off about their work. Some of the men came to me in a great rush and asked for monkey wrenches and other heavy tools. On inquiring what they wanted them for, I was told they intended to remove the sanitary installations. They actually began the work, but they were stopped by the Japanese.

It was touching indeed to see those swarms of pushcarts bustling away down Padre Faura Street, hurried on by dozens of willing hands, and cheered by hundreds of spectators. Before the war the Ateneo had a large bus, labelled for the school symbol, the Blue Eagle, and a pickup truck, known to the students as the Blue Eaglet. Among the dozens of carts, one could see a large one, pushed by our students and alumni, and bearing the proud sign: "Blue Eagle—Push." Tagging along behind was a smaller cart, named, of course, the "Blue Eaglet—Push." The carts were loaded with incredible burdens—even huge, unwieldy, enormously heavy mahogany screens, twelve feet high and fourteen feet across, and tremendous desks and tables made of ponderous Philippine mahogany.

When the Japanese did take over the Ateneo buildings, they found them practically stripped to the bare floors. Even the electric light sockets had been robbed of bulbs, and the doors of knobs.

Most of the heavy equipment was pushed into Intramuros and stored in our church of San Ignacio, which was no longer used for divine services due to the war. My hopes of re-equipping the Ateneo after the war from this store were defeated, however, when in the terrible fighting for Manila, Intramuros, including our church, was levelled to the ground.

When the Japanese moved into the main buildings, we retired to the other end of the compound, that is to the laboratory buildings and the auditorium. Here the Jesuit philosophers remained with their teachers until the first American bombing of Manila on September 21, 1944. With further bombings in prospect, the Vice-Superior of the Mission (I was in concentration camp) Fr. Jose Siguion decided that dispersal was the safest policy. A handful of Jesuits remained at the Padre Faura campus, living in the dressing rooms of the auditorium. Here, as the American army approached the city, they were joined by hundreds of refugees, who bedded down in the auditorium and other buildings. In the savage fighting for the city of Manila which practically levelled the city to the ground, the buildings of the Ateneo were blown to bits by heavy shelling; or destroyed by the Japanese. Among those killed were two young scholastics, Ricardo Pimentel and Francisco Lopez. They were but two of hundreds. For the maddened Japanese poured gasoline on the auditorium, crowded with refugees, and set it ablaze. In the fire, hundreds died a horrible death.

The theologians and their professors moved into the diocesan seminary on San Marcelino Street. There they remained for ten months until in May, 1944, the Japanese evicted them from this refuge. Driven from the hospitality of the Vincentian Fathers, a number of theologians were welcomed by the Augustinian friars in Intramuros; others moved into our Mission House nearby.

#### VIII) I AM INTERROGATED AND INTERNED

AFTER OUR EXPULSION from the campus on Padre Faura Street, I returned with a group of fathers to the Mission House on Arzobispo Street in the Intramuros section of Manila.

One morning I received a phone call from the Kempetai, "inviting" me to visit their headquarters on Taft Avenue. I had no idea

what was in the wind, and decided to use evasive tactics. To represent me, I sent my socius, Fr. Henry Greer. When Fr. Greer returned that evening, he was mystified. When he got to the Kempetai offices, he found that I was not the only Jesuit invited. Present at Taft Avenue were Frs. Vincent Kennally (now bishop of the Marshall and Caroline Islands), Anthony Keane, Joseph Mulry, Bernard Doucette, Bros. John Abrams and Edward Bauerlein, and the Filipino scholastic, Horacio de la Costa. The Japanese simply loaded the group on a truck and hauled them off to Fort Santiago. While the others were incarcerated, Fr. Greer, whose name was not on the list, was kept waiting all day. He was finally released, and walked the few blocks from the fort to our house on Arzobispo Street.

Clearly the Japanese were after me. I had had sufficient warning. To give an instance: an alumnus one day appeared at Padre Faura Street and asked to see Fr. Keane. The young man had just been released from Fort Santiago by the Kempetai, who gave him the usual instructions to go home and say nothing of what had occurred in the prison. And they added particular instructions: stay away from the American Jesuits. But within twenty-four hours the young man turned up at our compound. He refused to speak to Fr. Keane in the parlors in front of the house, insisted on a place where they could not be overheard, led the padre to the most secluded classroom in the rear of the building, then to the furthest corner of the room, and when he spoke, it was in a whisper. This was the effect of a sojourn in Fort Santiago. The purpose of his visit was to warn that the Japanese were out to get me. He dared not speak to me personally, lest the Japanese learn of it and again imprison him in Fort Santiago; and he asked Fr. Keane to pass on the warning. This was Ramon Diaz, brother of Fr. Jesus ("Jess") Diaz, S.J.

On another occasion an Ateneo alumnus, Gabino Mendoza, passed me on the streets in Intramuros in a horse-drawn *callesa*. He stopped the *callesa*, furtively signalled me to approach, and warned me in a whisper that the Japanese had questioned him many times and at length about me. He said they had secured photographs of the Ateneo alumni and of the Jesuit padres and had asked him to identify them.

The pictures were in the year books put out before the war by

the graduating classes of the Ateneo. Copies of these annuals, which they had somehow obtained, had confused the Japanese. They contained pictures of the Ateneo administration and faculty, including the rector at the time, Fr. Francis Reardon, and the head of the chemistry department, Fr. Eugene Gisel. Since I was in command at the Ateneo campus, they expected my portrait to be in the annuals; of course, it was not. When alumni and students of the Ateneo were questioned, the Japanese would bring out the year books, cover the captions on the pictures, and ask the one being questioned to supply the names. When Fr. Gisel was properly identified, the questioner would be put out. It is of course understandable. Many Westerners cannot tell one Oriental from another; it is not surprising that many Orientals cannot tell one Caucasian from another. The Japanese expected Fr. Gisel to be identified as "Harry, John." I understood their confusion. Both Fr. Gisel and myself wore eyeglasses and were quite full-faced; and while Fr. Gisel was bald, I have a forehead that is very, very high. The Japanese were further confused since I was indifferently called "Father Hurley" and "Father Superior" by the man being questioned.

On several occasions the then Assistant Fiscal (District Attorney) of Manila (later Senator) Tanada, sent word to me to be very careful because on the desk of the Chief Inspector of the Kempetai at Fort Santiago was my photograph with a large X marked below it. Tanada explained that the X signified I was under very special investigation. I received similar warnings from several other Filipinos.

Fr. Greer came back from Fort Santiago with orders from the Kempetai that I was to present myself to them. I had no intention of obliging them. I knew that if I did, I too would end up in the dungeons. I decided to play on the mortal fear of infectious diseases in the Japanese. On Padre Faura Street I had had several attacks of dysentery and had been treated by an Ateneo alumnus, Dr. Ted Herrera. When I got in touch with Dr. Ted, he came to Intramuros and gave me a certificate that I was still harboring dysentery germs. The Japanese phoned several times and ordered me to report. But with the backing of Dr. Herrera, I could answer that I was harboring germs and of course I promised that as soon as I was fully recovered, I would visit them. One never becomes com-

pletely free of dysentery germs.

By this device I evaded the Kempetai for a number of weeks. We still did not know why the others had been arrested, and I was anxious to find out before I had to report. Fr. Doucette was eventually released and he returned to his residence at La Ignaciana on the Pasig River. He got word to me he had been quizzed among other things about bayonets.

#### Hidden bayonets

I knew then what the problem was. The Ateneo de Manila had an R.O.T.C. corps, which had been supplied by the government with several hundred rifles and bayonets. While in their drills the boys had used the rifles, the bayonets were never unpacked but kept in the boxes in which they had been delivered to us. Soon after the occupation of Manila, the Japanese army had removed the rifles, but had overlooked the bayonets in the armory at the Padre Faura campus. Concluding it was dangerous to keep them at the Ateneo, and as dangerous to tell the Japanese we had them, we had smuggled them over to the retreat house called La Ignaciana and hid them in the storeroom where they remained undisturbed for months.

The Japanese, hearing that guerrillas were hiding arms in the Santa Anna district, one day sent soldiers to search the area. They swooped down on the compound at La Ignaciana and searched it from stem to stern. They entered the storeroom, pulled the goods apart, opened numbers of boxes and bales. Bro. Bauerlein reported that while he was questioned there by a Japanese officer, the soldier smoked a cigarette with his foot up on a box of bayonets. The weapons, however, were not found. That night Bro. Bauerlein and a loyal *muchacho* dumped the dangerous cartons into the nearby Pasig River.

Thereafter messages about the bayonets and their disposal were exchanged among Fr. Keane at the Ateneo who had arranged their transfer to La Ignaciana, Fr. Kennally at the retreat house, and myself. One written message was carried by the Filipino scholastic, Jaime Neri. As luck would have it, the Japanese searched young Neri. And the fat was in the fire.

At once the Japanese returned in strength to La Ignaciana and

turned the compound and its contents upside down. Of course they did not find the bayonets, now embedded in the silt of the Pasig. But they did discover several items they judged suspicious. In Fr. Mulry's room they found photographs of Tokyo in ruins. The pictures had been taken by one of our priests in Japan, Mark McNeal, after the Tokyo earthquake of 1923; and they had been used by him on a lecture tour in the United States to raise money for the victims of the quake. How the Japanese interpreted these pictures is not clear. But they were pictures of their capital city, and they showed it in ruins. Fr. Mulry was arrested. Fr. Doucette, a member of the staff of the weather bureau at the Manila Observatory, had in his room a batch of the daily weather reports. For possession of this collection of suspicious meteorological data, he too ended up in jail.

The Kempetai also picked up Fr. Keane, the two American brothers at La Ignaciana and the rector, Fr. Kennally. I do not recall why young de la Costa was arrested, but I believe it was because he had acted as a letter-drop for me. Thank heavens the Japanese never learned of the scores of daring actions done by this apparently frail young man.

The story is this: soon after the occupation of the islands, I wanted to learn about the conditions of our padres in Mindanao. I decided to send an emissary. The man would have to be Filipino, young, active and knowledgeable of the island. Burly young Jaime Neri fitted the bill. Off he went. Obviously he could not address his reports back to Manila to me. My name on the envelope would be enough to assure that the Japanese censors would read the letters and very probably keep them. Therefore Jaime sent long, chatty and apparently innocuous letters to his friend, Horacio, in Manila. It would appear that the censors intercepted some of these letters en route and read them with more than ordinary interest. At any event, when de la Costa entered Fort Santiago, he found his erstwhile correspondent already in residence.

For several weeks the eight Jesuits remained in Fort Santiago and received the delicate treatments of the Kempetai. They were at least spared the water cure that was inflicted, among others, on two American Maryknoll nuns, Sr. Trinita and Sr. Brigida. In this ingenious treatment, the victim was thrown on the ground, his nose

blocked up, a rubber tube forced down his throat, and down the tube was poured great quantities of water; when the body of the victim was greatly bloated, the Kempetai would jump with both feet on the distended abdomen. But apart from this the Jesuits got the full treatment, crowded into filthy cells, starved, beaten. Later—very much later—Bishop Kennally could be kidded on the unique distinction conferred upon him by his jailers. In his cell, he was the “Banjo boy.” The Japanese word for sanitary facility is transliterated in English as “benjo,” pronounced “banjo.” Once a day Fr. Kennally had to carry out of his cell the bucket used as a latrine. One day, terribly weakened by abuse and starvation, he fell while carrying his odorous receptacle and broke his arm. He received no medical attention. He kept the arm immobilized as much as possible and eventually the bone healed.

Eventually Jaime Neri was sent to the prison at Muntinlupa, Frs. Kennally and Keane and the two brothers were transferred to the internment camp at Santo Tomas, while Frs. Mulry, Doucette and the young scholastic de la Costa were turned loose. Those who were released we fed as best we could and we “deloused” them. This was not an easy process; so filthy were the cells that it would take long days. Young Horacio emerged with a stubborn skin disease that took months to clear up.

The phone calls from the Kempetai, demanding that I report to Fort Santiago persisted. Finally matters came to the point where I had to obey. Fully believing that if I came out of the dreadful place alive it would not be for long months, I arranged for transfer of authority and made my peace with God. One morning, full of trepidation, I entered the gate of Fort Santiago.

#### Interrogation

I was immediately taken to an interrogation room. For three hours a major of the Kempetai questioned me through a Japanese civilian interpreter whose command of English was not very good. The interrogation was wide-ranging and covered all sorts of topics, including the bayonets in the Pasig. The Japanese could not, as they obviously hoped, catch me in a single lie. For I did not tell them one. Apart from the immorality of the lie, I knew that the best way to handle the Nipponese was to tell them the truth. When

they found they were getting the truth, this would mystify and confuse them. But while I gave them strictly truthful answers to all their questions, I made no attempt to amplify. In this I followed the practice urged by lawyers on their clients. I answered the question as put, and then shut up. I made no speeches, I volunteered no information, I offered no explanations.

About noon, the major indicated that the questioning would be suspended for a few hours. I rose from my chair, bracing myself to experience for the first time the dreadful cells of which I had heard so much. To my absolute amazement I was told that I could leave the fort, but that I would have to return that afternoon. Stunned but rejoicing, I walked the few blocks to the Mission House where I was received by my equally stunned and rejoicing brethren. That afternoon I again bade farewell to my fellow Jesuits and at three o'clock reported to the fort. For another three hours we went at it hammer and tongs. The Kempetai officer was not at all gracious in his manner. For at the end of the second question period, he had not gotten a damaging confession nor had he been able to get any information on which he could base even a specious charge. About six o'clock the major again gave me the hoped-for but still incredible news that I was free to go. For in wartime Manila it was simply unknown for any Filipino or American to enter Fort Santiago and reappear on the same day. I went on my way, rejoicing.

Twice thereafter I was again summoned to Fort Santiago, and twice the same process was repeated: long and gruelling periods of interrogation and finally at the end of the day a most welcome dismissal.

Yet I knew that the days of my freedom were numbered. Though the Japanese had no solid evidence of any of my activities which they would consider hostile or illegal, they were obviously highly suspicious of me. Sooner or later they would incarcerate me. Therefore I took the necessary measures to see that the work of the Jesuits would go on while the superior of the mission was behind bars.

The expected blow fell in the first week of 1943, when I received a written order from the Japanese to report for internment at Santo Tomas. Although the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Piani, entered a protest, the Nipponese refused to recall the order. I noticed that my copy of the order had confused the date. While I was com-

manded to report before noon on Monday, January 13, that date in January did not occur until later in the week. Always cooperative with the occupying forces, I remained home at the Mission House on Monday. In the afternoon I received a phone call from the commandant of Santo Tomas. I told him I would report on January 13. Warning me that I had better, he agreed to the delay! At noon on January 13, I was still on Arzobispo Street. Once again the commandant phoned. I told him that no conveyance had appeared to carry me to Santo Tomas. Obviously irritated, he told me to get my own transportation or walk. I had packed a small trunk, known in the Philippines as a "baul," pronounced "bah-ul," with some essential clothing. I thereupon asked him when he would send for my baul. This infuriated him. He shouted "You and your bowel can go to hell" and slammed down the phone. Having demonstrated my cooperative spirit, I decided I had better check into Santo Tomas.

There I did not lack the company of my religious brethren. Only a few weeks before my arrival, after several months in Fort Santiago, Frs. Kennally and Keane and Bros. Abrams and Bauerlein had been transferred to Santo Tomas, mere battered, mere walking, skeletons. Fr. Doucette had once more been arrested and placed in Santo Tomas. From Mindanao where they had been interned since the early days of the war, a group of American Jesuits had been transferred to Santo Tomas: Frs. Cervini, David Daly, Ewing, Kirchgessner, McFadden, and three scholastics, Behr, Brady, and Gehring.

I will not dwell upon the horrors and inspiring courage of Santo Tomas internment camp. They have been adequately described in a number of books—to cite but two: *Santo Tomas Internment Camp*, edited by Frederic H. Stevens and A. V. H. Hartendorp's *The Santo Tomas Story*.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hartendorp was appointed as official historian of the camp by the internees' committee, and he wrote a daily account under the noses of the Japanese guards. The manuscript, eventually totaling some 4,000 pages, was never discovered. The book prints only excerpts. Would that the whole manuscript could be printed!

<sup>1</sup> Frederic Harper Stevens, *Santo Tomas Internment Camp*, Limited Private Edition (New York: Stratford House, 1946); Abram V. H. Hartendorp, *The Santo Tomas Story*, ed. Frank H. Golay (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964).

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When I entered the camp, the commandant, probably because of our phone conversations, expressly forbade me to say Mass. None of the fifty or so other priests in Santo Tomas had received such an order. They offered Mass daily in the physics or chemistry laboratories of the main building, where a number of altars had been set up. While I could not use these altars, I managed to evade the order. I rose very early and together with a Columban, Fr. McFadden, headed for the physiotherapy room in the improvised hospital. Here we put blankets on the window to cut off any glimmer of light, and before dawn we had both finished Mass on our improvised altar.

The hospital had been set up in a section of the Santa Catalina dormitory which before the war housed female students of the university. The Spanish Dominican Sisters who had conducted the dormitory still resided in a section of the building supposedly sealed off from the rooms used by the internment camp. While we were saying Mass, often we would hear the sound of a forbidden newspaper being whisked under the door from the sisters' quarters. More than newspapers came through the sisters' willing hands.

During the thirteen months of my internment, I, like the other prisoners, waited and hoped and starved. Like so many other priests, I found employment as an orderly in the camp hospital. Fr. Keane and I worked as a team. One of our jobs was to "delouse" the prisoners transferred, often in dying condition, to Santo Tomas from the dungeons of Fort Santiago. So expert did we become at this task, that, whenever a prisoner arrived from Fort Santiago, the head nurse, Miss Blanche Kimball, would call for her specialists. We also became quite skilled in the administering of enemas. Our reputation was so good that when the doctors were in personal need they came to us for treatment. Many of the patients requiring enemas were old men, suffering from piles of trouble. We treated them with the utmost gentleness. And we waited and hoped and starved.

IX) THE LAST YEAR OF OCCUPATION  
AND THE FIRST YEAR OF FREEDOM

IN THE UNCERTAINTIES of the war and the occupation, it was my duty to see that suitable plans were devised to be put into effect, depending upon varying contingencies. Two of these plans were drawn up with the advice and consent of my consultors to respond to two likely events: that the superior of the mission would be unable to function due to death or incarceration, and that all the American Jesuits would be interned. Both of these contingencies came to pass.

The first of these documents is entitled *Status Promulgandus Si et Quando*, that is, a list of offices to be promulgated if and when the Americans were herded into camps. All offices vacated by Americans would be taken by Filipinos. It was designed so that the work of the Society could continue, especially the training of the candidates for the priesthood. It was anticipated that the studies of the theologate would continue at San Marcelino Seminary with about a dozen scholastics and two dozen Josefinos. In the area left to us, at the Ateneo de Manila campus, the philosophate would continue with about twenty scholastics and an equal number of Josefinos. About twenty more Josefinos would constitute the two upper classes of the minor seminary, housed in our buildings in Intramuros. The largest number of scholastics, about forty novices and juniors, would continue their studies at La Ignaciana.

Part of this *Status Si et Quando*, of course, came into effect when I entered Santo Tomas internment camp on January 13, 1944. Fr. Jose Siguion took office as vice-superior. Within a week he circulated to local superiors the second document which contained instructions on the mode of operations to be followed when and if the American Jesuits were interned.

This second paper gave instructions to the Filipino Jesuits to continue their normal work as best they could. It also gave advice to the Americans on the articles useful in concentration, such as tin cups and plates, mosquito nets, paper and pencils. It was planned that, if possible, the scholastics would continue their studies under

their imprisoned professors. The scholastics were therefore instructed to carry with them their textbooks and necessary reference works.

For the first five months of 1944, matters went along as peacefully as could be expected under the circumstances. But on the last day of May, the Japanese expelled our men from the archdiocesan seminary on San Marcelino Street. Whereupon the theological students and professors retreated to prepared positions in the Convento of San Augustin in Intramuros, where they were made welcome by the Augustinian friars.

But only five weeks later, on July 7, 1944, Japanese officials appeared at our communities, assembled all Americans, and informed them that they would be interned immediately. The following day about 400 American and Allied nationals were trucked into the campus of Santo Tomas. Practically all of them were religious workers—Protestant ministers and their families, and hundreds of priests, brothers and nuns. They were housed overnight in the gymnasium and we internees were forbidden to speak to them. But I managed to slip unnoticed into the gym and exchanged news with the brethren. Very early in the morning, they were carted away on trucks and shipped off to the internment camp at Los Banos, some forty miles southeast of Manila on the campus of the agricultural college of the University of the Philippines. There 77 American Jesuits, 47 priests, and 30 scholastics were to spend the next eight months. There they had the exquisite pleasure of starving in sight of fields of corn and sugar cane and of forests of cocoanut trees.

The *Status Si et Quando* now came fully into effect. But Fr. Siguion had to take care of contingencies that could not have been foreseen. Before the end of the year the Japanese had expelled all the Filipino Jesuits who remained at the Mission House or at the Convento of San Augustin from Intramuros. Here one may see the finger of divine providence using the enemy to drive our men to places of greater safety. For in the terrible Battle of Manila the Intramuros section was blown to bits, and our men could scarcely have survived. But this would make providence partisan, for some seventy or eighty friars, as Spanish considered neutral by the Japanese, were allowed to remain in Intramuros, and all were killed.

## Bombing and joy

On September 21, 1944, the first American bombing attack on Manila occurred, to our great joy in Santo Tomas. With constant bombings thereafter and with the uncertainties of the situation, Fr. Siguion decided that a policy of dispersal would be best for the Filipino and Spanish Jesuits who had not been interned. La Ignaciana on the Pasig River still seemed fairly safe, and a large number of our fathers, scholastics, and brothers remained there. Fr. Siguion set up headquarters at the retreat house of Nazareth, conducted by the Filipina sisters of the congregation of Hijas de Jesus in the Sampaloc area of Manila. Other Jesuit priests were stationed in parishes in and about Manila. Groups of five or six scholastics, usually accompanied by a priest, managed to get out of the city into the provinces. One group was in Morong, Rizal, another in Pila, Laguna, a third in Baguio, and a fourth in Nueva Ecija. The philosophate on the Ateneo de Manila campus was broken up, but a handful of Jesuits remained at Padre Faura Street.

In the long months between the first appearance of American planes on September 21, 1944, and the liberation on February 3, 1945, conditions in the Santo Tomas internment camp reached their nadir. Not only were the American and Allied internees starving, but so were the people of Manila. The price of a sack of rice which in early 1944 had been the incredibly high price of 500 pesos on the black market soared to 5,000 pesos. And the profiteers were squirreling away what money they could. In anticipation of liberation, people were getting rid of their "Mickey Mouse" money; they would offer up to thirty pesos for an old Philippine note of one peso.

Increasing numbers of Japanese appeared at the camp. Not only did they move into the barracks at the main gate of the compound, but they set up tents on the grounds. Further, they took over the first floor of the education building, ejecting the Americans residing there. Room was made in other areas, already overcrowded.

During these long months, American air raids were frequent. We were constantly taking shelter as best we could when the alerts sounded. Frequently we observed the planes passing overhead in fairly large numbers. It was always a source of joy to see them, even though we hoped that their bombs would avoid Santo Tomas.

Rumors of American landings in the islands were frequent and

invariably false. But we did learn the day after it happened of the American invasion of Leyte and Samar on October 20, 1944. We were accustomed to announcements over the public address system, and the broadcasters, after giving the schedule for the next day, concluded with "Better Leyte than never!"

On Christmas Day, an American plane flew low over the camp and dropped thousands of leaflets. We were able to secure a number—our only Christmas card and a most welcome one. The message, obviously from the pen of Gen. MacArthur, read: "The Commander-in-Chief, the Officers and men of the American Forces of Liberation in the Pacific wish their gallant allies, the People of the Philippines, all the blessings of Christmas and the realization of their fervent hopes for the New Year. Christmas, 1944."

In the month of January, American planes appeared in increasing numbers in the skies over Manila. Rumors of American landings on Luzon were a dime a dozen. (The first landing occurred about mid-January.) Fires in the city were increasingly common, due either to American bombs or Japanese demolition squads. The rumor circulated that the Japanese intended to kill all the Americans in Santo Tomas before the American army could release us. Judging from our experiences at the hands of the Japanese, we were more than ready to lend credence to this particular rumor.

In the last days of January, we could hear the sounds of artillery fire coming from the outskirts of Manila, and the numbers of detonations of the demolition squads inside the city continued. The Japanese guards were obviously very nervous. They were burning their records and trucking away food and other supplies. As February began the demolitions continued. Santo Tomas seemed to be in a circle of huge fires in all parts of the city and the whole sky was filled with smoke.

Soon after sunset on February 3, we could hear heavy rifle and machine gun fire in many sections of the city. About 6:30 it was clear that the fighting was approaching Santo Tomas. Increasingly loud bursts of machine gun fire, hand grenades, and the rumbling of tanks came to a climax when a group of tanks burst through the fence in front of the compound, and we were greeted by obviously American voices. At once hysterical men, women, and children rushed from all quarters of the compound to greet our liberators.

But there was an ominous silence from the education building. There about fifty Japanese soldiers were situated, armed with rifles and machine guns; and they had as hostages in the building over 200 internees. Men of the First Cavalry Division surrounded the building with tanks and machine guns. The Japanese commandant sent out several of his officers and some internees to negotiate for a safe conduct to the Japanese lines. Negotiations went on for some time, while more American troops and equipment appeared on the campus. Eventually, on the morning of February 5, the Japanese, with their rifles and side arms, were escorted out of the compound to the Japanese lines.

Santo Tomas was now within the lines of the American Army. While we were rejoicing over our liberation and eating the first substantial meals in months, Manila was undergoing agony.

A large body of Japanese, both army and navy personnel, were trapped in Manila. Rather than surrender, they chose to deal out death and destruction until they themselves were killed. All throughout the city they set great fires. After concentrating in Manila south of the Pasig River, they blew up all the bridges. Especially in Ermita, where the Ateneo de Manila campus was, and in Malate, they turned on the civilians of Manila. Thousands upon thousands of Filipinos were massacred as the areas were destroyed. Others were killed accidentally by gunfire as American troops fought their way through the Japanese lines.

North of the Pasig River, at Santo Tomas, where we internees remained because there was no place else to go, we could see the smoke and fire, hear the constant rattle of gunfire and the pounding of shells. Nor did the Japanese forget us. On February 8 the Japanese shelled Santo Tomas, and they repeated the courtesy again on February 10 and 11.

Among those killed by the Japanese shelling was Fr. David Daly. The first few weeks of 1945 which witnessed our liberation cost us dearly in men. Not only was Fr. Daly killed, but two Filipino scholastics at the Ateneo de Manila met their deaths, Ricardo Pimentel and Francisco Lopez; and a third, Conrado Abrogina, was killed, together with a dozen nuns, by shellfire in Batangas. Another died of natural causes—if starvation can be considered a natural cause—Edward McGinty. We learned later of two other deaths:

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Fr. Joseph Mulry at Los Banos concentration camp, and Fr. Carl Hausmann who, as a prisoner aboard a Japanese steamer, went down when an American sub sank the ship.

The last pockets of Japanese resistance were not destroyed until the end of February. At that time Manila was almost completely destroyed. In the opinion of men who had seen other ruined cities, Manila could be compared only to Coventry and Warsaw.

### The brutal facts

Possibly the best way to describe the shambles of Manila is to cite the official U. S. Army history, *Triumph in the Philippines*, by Robert Ross Smith:

The cost of retaking Manila had not been light. XIV Corps lost over 1,000 men killed and 5,500 wounded in the Metropolitan area from 3rd February through 3rd March. . . .

The Japanese lost some 16,000 men killed in and around Manila. . . .

The cost of the battle for Manila cannot be measured in military terms alone. The city was a shambles after the battle was over—much of it destroyed, damaged beyond repair, or reparable only at great expense in time and money. The public transportation system no longer existed; the water supply and sewage systems needed extensive repair; the electric power facilities did not function; most of the streets needed repaving; 39 of 100 or more large and small bridges had been destroyed, including the 6 over the Pasig River.

The University of the Philippines and the Philippine General Hospital were largely irreparable. [It will be remembered that the Ateneo de Manila adjoined the hospital and was just across the street from the university.] Lower class residential districts north of the Pasig and upper class apartments south of the river had been destroyed; the Philippine Commonwealth's government center had been wiped out; the 400-year-old landmark of Intramuros had been nearly razed; severe damage had been inflicted on the economically important installations in the north and south Port Area; the industrialized Paco and Pandacan districts had been badly battered. Many buildings still standing would ultimately have to be torn down as unsafe for occupancy. Millions upon millions of dollars worth of damage had been done and, as a final shocking note of tragedy, an estimated 100,000 Filipino civilians had lost their lives during the battle.

In the meanwhile I was worried about the internees at Los Baños Internment Camp, where most of the American Jesuits were confined, still behind Japanese lines. On February 23 they were liberated by a joint operation of Filipino and American guerrillas

and American paratroopers. These fighting men disposed of the Japanese guards. Before the Nipponese could send reinforcements to the area, scores of amtracks had crossed Laguna de Bay, picked up over 2,000 internees and carried them safely to Muntinlupa behind the American lines.

On June 8, 1945, Gen. MacArthur proclaimed the end of the war on the island of Luzon.

Now we had to pick up the pieces and begin anew.

With the end of the fighting in Manila—though we could for some weeks hear the continual warfare just outside the city in the Marikina Valley—I left Santo Tomas and resumed my office as superior of the Jesuits in the Philippines. With my socius Fr. Greer and my secretary Fr. John McNicholas I moved into quarters at Nazareth that Fr. Siguion had used. Shortly we shifted to a school conducted by the Sisters of the Holy Ghost, and then found semi-permanent quarters with the Filipina Augustinian Sisters at their Consolacion College on San Raphael Street in Manila.

My first preoccupation was with our brethren. Very many were in poor shape after long months of incarceration and starvation. As an example, I can adduce myself; I had lost almost 100 pounds in weight. I decided that my first objective was to see that the men had a chance to recuperate. As shipping, provided by the American armed forces, became available, I ordered many of the American priests and scholastics back to the United States. The general policy was to keep just a skeleton crew on the job until these men got their strength back at home. To the States also I sent as many Filipino scholastics as possible to continue their education. A catalog which we drew up under date of December 12, 1945, indicates that we then had 179 Jesuits in the islands; some 70 had been sent to the United States.

By that time we had been able to evaluate the material situation of the mission. In Mindanao, matters were in better shape than in Luzon. As I have mentioned, the Filipino and Spanish padres had remained at their posts. Now they were reinforced by those American Jesuits who had taken to the boondocks and evaded capture all during the war. Our church and convento in the town of Zamboanga had been completely destroyed, as had been our Ateneo in Cagayan de Oro on the northern coast.

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The destruction in the Manila area had been almost total. The Ateneo de Manila campus on Padre Faura Street was a scene of total desolation; all that had not been flattened were a few sections of adobe walls. The buildings in Intramuros, the church of San Ignacio, the Mission House, the Ateneo grade school, were totally destroyed. The buildings of the seminary of San Jose at Balintawak were wrecked. Outside Manila, the Ateneo de Naga still stood; but we had for the time to abandon it. It was not yet practicable to repair the structure and reopen the school.

Our novitiate and juniorate of the Sacred Heart at Novaliches, north of Manila, still stood. It had been occupied first by the Japanese and then by the American armed forces. It was in fairly good shape, but we could not, for the time, send our men there. It was too dangerous. In the chaotic conditions just after the war, many of the self-styled guerrillas returned to their proper occupations as bandits. And already in the Sierra Madre mountains nearby there began to appear the Hukbalahaps, the Communist guerrillas who were to plague the Philippines for years. Not until May 1946 was the area about Novaliches sufficiently secure for our men to return.

### La Ignaciana

Gratefully we noted that one major house in the Manila area had escaped the ravages of war—La Ignaciana on the Pasig. Here we concentrated the Filipino padres and scholastics who had made their way back from the provinces, and here we assembled the Josefinos. La Ignaciana was bursting at the seams. At first it was practically a refugee camp, but it gradually resumed the normal appearance of a Jesuit community. The novices re-established the orderly progression of their days, the Juniors coned their Latin and Greek with occasional glances out of windows that showed scenes of desolation, those Filipino scholastics who had not yet enough philosophy to begin theological studies in the States wrestled with hylomorphism.

To reopen the Ateneo de Manila with teachers who were physical wrecks in a totally ruined city seemed to me an impossibility. But I was prodded to get the school started again, especially by the American padre, Austin Dowd and the Filipino scholastic, Miguel Bernad. In the hunt for some sort of house to shelter the students,

Fr. Dowd walked his emaciated frame on weakened legs indefatigably among the ruins of Manila. Eventually he found a location on Plaza Guipit in the Sampaloc area. Here in the ashes of Manila, the Blue Eagle, like the phoenix, stirred again to life.

With joy and relief we began to welcome back to the islands the trickle of Filipino and American Jesuits belonging to the Philippine Mission who had been in studies in the United States when the war broke out and who now returned, eager to take up the slack.

On December 15, 1945, after nine memorable years as superior of the Jesuit mission in the Philippines, I gladly relinquished my office and turned over its duties to Fr. Leo A. Cullum.

## A NIGHT IN RESURRECTION CITY

*a visit and an impression*

HORACE B. MCKENNA, S.J.

RESURRECTION CITY, the Poor People's camp-site, attracted me as a Washington inner-city parish priest, and I wished to spend the night there. After making half a dozen or so visits to the Encampment, I found a man who kindly assured me that I could spend the night in his tent.

Resurrection City was spread out in front of the Lincoln Memorial and beside the Reflecting Pool on a ten-acre green lawn. Several hundred A-shaped plywood huts stretched out in rows and housed from five to fifteen hundred persons of all ages. With traffic and frequent heavy rains the swārd soon turned to a quagmire of brown clay mud, from one to six inches deep, which lay in pools between the catwalks.

One night about five o'clock I came to the City and circulated among a friendly group I had met. A Jesuit scholastic from the West often stayed with this group, and Father James Groppi in the midst of his Commandos, always took time to give one a gracious welcome. When I was sure of a place to stay, I took off my clerical collar and black coat and stowed them away. Still I was usually treated with a kind of special deference, especially by my host. While wandering around I spoke to a stalwart young man, and together we sauntered the long way across the Arlington bridge,

and up to the Tomb of President Kennedy, and over to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, and we watched the final public change of Guard. We talked about his city, his people, and his education. But when he looked back over the long road of the bridge toward the distant Memorial, fatigue overcame him, I thumbed the way home for the two of us with a couple of visitors.

Arriving back about suppertime, we went to the food table beside a tub of burning charcoals. I found a burnt hot-dog, and my friend offered me a roll. But as it was the last one in the bag, I left it for someone hungrier than myself, and I made the hot-dog suffice.

On the edge of dark I went to the hut of my host who was very gracious in offering me what he had to share in his accommodations. His hut had several inner sections, some with cots, some bare. I chose merely to sit on a camp chair against the wall of his hut, while he carried on lively conversations a few steps ahead on the edge of his plywood porch. He had three or four extra chairs, and various people dropped by or sat down, all through the night until about midnight. Around ten o'clock a group began singing about ten rows behind us, and a loudspeaker from City Hall invited all to a talent show then going on in the community meeting tent.

Many of those who sat down on my host's chairs were talkative. My host frequently lifted his quart bottle to his lips. The talk was blistered with anatomical vulgarity, but there was almost no blasphemy or talk against religion. Once a visitor let out a curse reflecting on religion, and my host said angrily, "apologize to that old priest back there." At once the young man reached back in the dark and shook my hand and good-naturedly apologized. Also there were occasional denunciations of the "white man," and even talk of violence against him. But several times the host or the speaker would say, referring to my slouching self, "not this old man back there."

#### A woolly headed hippie

Among the wanderers who sat down on our chairs was a woolly headed hippie, a white youth about twenty-two, who had evidently lodged a few nights in my host's tent. Now the host began to blame him for everything, his missing articles, his disordered hut. Such angry words ensued that I feared a fight. But finally the hippie gathered up his bedding and belongings and went off into the night.

## WOODSTOCK LETTERS

Towards midnight, when my host saw that I had not fallen asleep, he said to me, "go back there and lie down inside." I went inside to one of the several compartments, and found a cot, in the dark. I did not know if it was one cot or two, or if there was anyone lying on it. I eased my body off the ground, let my feet stick out, and dropped off to sleep until about five o'clock.

On awakening in the light about, I found my host furious because his house had been disordered, and he blamed the hippie former occupant. As he went outside to start a fire in a barrel, I tried to straighten up my cot, and the interior of the disordered place, hanging up damp clothing and utensils wherever I could find a nail in the wall.

Coming into the open, I watched my host and helped him clear up the area. In the night I had kicked over a jar of cooked lima beans. My host said at once, "never mind that." Now I could not find a spoon to gather up the mess, I had to use two flat sticks. My friend spoke continuously of making coffee, but he never did anything but raise to his lips his new vessel, this time a partially filled jug. Finally I thanked him heartily and wandered off to the "Food Tent."

In the "Food Tent" I found some coffee, but instant coffee, requiring that you take it to your own tent and make your own hot water. So I got some watered milk and some boxed cereal from the four young ladies serving at the long table. They identified themselves as "Religious of the Sacred Heart of Jesus," who came in each morning early from their suburban Stoneridge Academy.

The whole encampment was slowly awakening and going about its self maintenance. The registration booth was active, the loud-speaker from City Hall was blaring, and there were three large piles of the *Washington Post* at hand for those interested. Children ran around or played with muddy toys. At the Seventh Day Adventist Emergency Health Trailer the doctor and the nurse gave a feeling of protection. A young man spoke to me quietly of the need of unity among the marshals, and told of an attempted raid on the refrigerated food truck. About five percent of the people were white. They seemed as much at home as anyone else, as they walked over the muddy catwalks or stepped cautiously around the quagmire pools.

## King and Kennedy

Dr. Martin Luther King, who conceived this "Poor People's Encampment," must have helped them from heaven. So also must Senator Robert F. Kennedy, whose body was carried slowly past it in the dark, a last sad visit to his friends. It was the hopeful genius of the Poor People to have given their city a name, not like "Disability Town," but like St. Paul in his outburst before the Sanhedrin, a name which contains the whole Christian message of eternal life, "Resurrection City."

Theirs was a lobby of bodies, not of cash, like the oil or gas or airlines lobbies. They were a Banquo's ghost for Congress; they could not be downed. They showed that Poor Power could stand up and be counted. Their spirit, if not their force, was active in the five billion dollar housing bill passed by the Senate, in increased allotments for food stamps, and in two decisions of the Supreme Court: ruling out discrimination in housing, and permitting, as most of the States hitherto do not permit, that an unemployed father may remain home with his wife and family even when they are on welfare.

Association with God's poor, as on June 19th Solidarity Day march or at other times, makes one feel the nobility of mankind, the heroism and fortitude which the creator has built into the nature of the common man whose only end is God. One can better understand why God the Father loves man, why God the Son became man, why the Holy Spirit lives in man and locks him in love to God and to his fellow-man.

# NEW YORK PROVINCE RENEWAL

*a look at Fordham and the high schools*

*The following two reports form Appendices II and III to the New York Province's "Program for Renewal" (16 September 1968). They are not New York Province policy, but simply represent the studied opinions of those Jesuits the New York provincials called together to ponder the two areas selected. The reports were written and published at the request of the spring 1969 Morristown Conference, the second pan-province conference on renewal; the conference requested the further studies because it did not itself have the time to go as deeply into the values, problems and futures of Fordham and the secondary schools as it thought necessary. The editors of WOODSTOCK LETTERS thank Rev. Daniel F. X. Meenan, S.J., Assistant to the Regional Provincial of New York, and the chairmen of the two committees, for permission to publish the reports.*

## REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON FORDHAM UNIVERSITY \*

### PREFATORY NOTE

WE, THE MEMBERS OF THIS COMMITTEE, found ourselves compelled to remark on the relative swiftness and ease with which (once the tedious preparatory work had been done) we came to the consensus reflected in these recommendations—a consensus generally shared by Fordham and non-Fordham members alike. We were, we inferred, a pretty homogeneous group, in age, experience and pre-

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\* In the Morristown Conference Report, the Paper on Higher Education states: ". . . we recommend that Father Provincial appoint a group of Jesuits to discuss and make recommendations on the Jesuit commitment and involvement in the educational apostolate at Fordham University. This group should include a substantial number of Jesuits actually engaged in the educational apostolate at Fordham" (p. 9). It was also stated: ". . . we will also, as you asked, publish to the Province the results of this committee work" (p. 40). The occasion of the publication to the Province of our program for renewal seems an apt time to fulfill this pledge.

occupation. This homogeneity was a piece of good fortune for which, perhaps, we ought only to express our gratitude to those who appointed us for this work.

It will doubtless occur to readers of this report that, had a wider spectrum of views been represented, the resulting recommendations might well have been different. This, of course, should be borne in mind by those who would gauge the force and spirit of the recommendations we make here. But we are who we are, and have said what we honestly concluded had to be said.

The Committee:

*Rev. Robert J. O'Connell, S.J., Chairman*

*Rev. John D. Boyd, S.J.*

*Rev. Robert I. Canavan, S.J.*

*Rev. Edwin D. Cuffe, S.J.*

*Rev. Frederick J. Dillemath, S.J.*

*Rev. James C. Finlay, S.J.*

*Rev. Albert J. Loomie, S.J.*

*Rev. John S. Nelson, S.J.*

*Rev. James J. Ruddick, S.J.*

*Rev. William A. Scott, S.J.*

*Rev. Walter E. Stokes, S.J.*

BY WAY OF PREAMBLE

a) Fordham: an American university

1. To understand Fordham, it is necessary to recognize that it is no longer a small Catholic college for men, loosely affiliated with a cluster of professional schools. It is an institution of higher learning that has taken on a life of its own, with all the strengths and strains of the evolving American university.

2. The students are different from the students of thirty, twenty or even ten years ago. Like their contemporaries in other universities, they are critical, demanding and unwilling to submit to regulations formed without their consent. They are highly qualified, competitive and increasingly interested in academic careers. They expect Fordham to provide them with an educational experience

which will be richer and more meaningful than that offered by other universities. Graduate students are drawn from a wider variety of backgrounds, and they have begun to play a much more active role in the student life of the University, expressing their own demands, articulating their own priorities.

3. The faculty is different. Lay professors are in the majority in all but one or two departments. No longer are they typically the graduates of Fordham or other Catholic institutions. A larger proportion are non-Catholics. They are selected for their academic competence and, like their peers in other American universities, they insist on a role in shaping university policy. They would not come to Fordham, nor would they stay, unless they found an atmosphere where academic freedom prevailed, where promotion was based on professional competence and where intellectual creativity was encouraged.

4. Fordham's administration is different. It is larger and more complex. Laymen fill many of the most significant posts. The possibility of a Jesuit impact coming from above has necessarily and legitimately declined. As in other American universities, policy must be developed in consultation with the faculty and, to a greater and greater extent, with the students as well.

b) Financial and legal situation

1. Before making any sweeping proposals or reaching any firm decisions suggesting any concrete action, this Committee should ideally have made a detailed review of Fordham's financial position and prospects for the future. Such a review was impossible. One feature of the financial situation, seems, however, to be clear: not only Fordham, but the private American university more generally, finds that maintaining a large university above the level of mediocrity demands expenditures of money far beyond what tuition and gifts can supply. Thus there is an increasing urgency for public aid, if Fordham is to continue its pursuit of excellence. Substantial insertion of Jesuit talent and manpower can hardly be justified unless the University continues this pursuit of excellence.

2. As long, however, as the Fordham position demands that the President of the University be a Jesuit, and that the Trustees all be Jesuits, it may well be that the State cannot, or will not, supply this

funding. Accordingly, it is not so paradoxical as it may sound to say that continued effective "Jesuit presence" at Fordham may actually be imperiled by insistence on continued "Jesuit control" of the University. We may be faced, therefore, with the need of making a graceful, gradual, and rationally planned withdrawal from positions of ownership and administrative authority, and of achieving a profounder influence by concentrating on the real and effective Jesuit presence as faculty members.

3. The Gerli Foundation study, now under way, is determining what changes in administrative structure and in the composition of the Board of Trustees would give Fordham a parity with other private universities in New York State and elsewhere in regard to obtaining public support. The results of that study should clarify Fordham's legal position in this important matter of finance.

#### 1) JESUIT PRESENCE AND IMPACT AT FORDHAM

##### a) Jesuit and lay faculty

Given the present stage of Fordham's evolution as a university, sketched above, it seems clear that the quality, emphasis and volume of Jesuit presence there, will and should be more decidedly in its faculty than in its administration. Hence it seems important to make the following observations about Jesuit commitment to the University faculty and about our relationship with the non-Jesuit faculty.

1. *Jesuit Faculty.* a) Because of the specifically academic nature of our apostolate at the University, the primary norm for selecting the Jesuit faculty should be the same as that for selecting the faculty of any good university—professional academic competence. For a university to be truly Catholic, it must first be substantively a university. In an important and overriding sense, then, Jesuit presence and apostolic efficacy will be strongest in proportion to this excellence, since this is the personal and corporate focus of our apostolic endeavors.

With this in mind, Jesuit academic presence should, ideally at least, be as varied and universal as possible, not only to be pervasive, but more importantly, so as truly to reflect the wholeness or totality of knowledge essentially involved in the ideals of a liberal education and of university scholarship.

b) Inside this ideal, our scholarly and educational purposes should be characteristically Catholic in fostering and bearing academic witness to the whole of human culture in a Catholic manner. The more particular witness we bear to the specifically Catholic and Christian elements of this culture constitutes a vital service to our modern, pluralistic American society. While, on the one hand, we would shun any merely propagandistic or apologetic kind of service, on the other, as Jesuit scholars and teachers we have a unique opportunity and, indeed, demand upon us to explain and develop the peculiar contribution of the tradition of Catholic faith and wisdom to the American and larger human culture. In this, our function must be both general in scope yet specific in focus, and in this way it will be our substantial contribution to ecumenical living in our pluralistic society.

c) It follows that our corporate and personal presence should not be limited to any specific academic disciplines. The nature of a university, rather than any pragmatic though well-intended patchwork of means-to-ends, should guide our policy of Jesuit presence. The variety of natural talents and interests should guide the preparation of young Jesuits for faculty positions. It is natural to expect that religiously dedicated men will frequently opt to specialize in Theology in larger numbers than in other subjects. Indeed, one peculiarly characteristic contribution that a Catholic university has to offer resides in this area. But we should not consider this our unique and exclusive or even necessarily dominant contribution. A larger view of Catholic culture is both necessary and, with the passing years, becoming more and more clear. We should stress the importance of the Jesuit contribution at Fordham in all fields of scholarship.

d) To maintain our apostolate at the same level of efficacy, five or six Jesuits with doctoral degrees must be added to the Fordham faculty each year. Of the 128 Jesuits now engaged in teaching at the University, within fifteen years 63 will no longer be on the faculty, owing to mandatory retirement. Care should be taken that specific planning be done to fill the needs of specific departments by consultation in advance. An assurance of stability is a necessary part of professorial efficacy, and should be recognized by Superiors in assigning men to this work.

e) Finally, strong emphasis should be placed on our communal presence at Fordham, as opposed to a merely personal or individual presence at some other university. Corporate effort and efficacy among those with such strong cultural coherence cannot be underestimated. A university is a community of scholars. Our Jesuit unity adds an enviable quality to this fundamental community, readily recognized where effective. This does not preclude occasional periods of study and teaching at other universities, which can have their own enriching effects, but the corporate presence of Jesuits at Fordham should be considered a very important contribution to the work of the Society and of the Church in the university apostolate.

2. *Lay Faculty.* The cooperation of lay faculty is essential to our educational endeavors. The example of dedicated laymen can be most persuasive in demonstrating that Christian faith is compatible with academic professionalism. Equally indispensable is the presence on our faculties of scholars whose dedication to truth commits them to a profession of belief different from our own.

#### b) Implications of Jesuit presence

1. Jesuits at Fordham influence the University community primarily as scholars and educators. This must be acknowledged as their primary mode of *personalis alumnorum cura*. Students have always responded as much to the person of the teacher as to the content of his course. Today's students affirm more explicitly that people, above all, make the difference in their lives. Since his religious life and his priesthood form part of a Jesuit's personal definition, his impact will be not just that of a scholar, but also that of a priest and a religious.

2. The influence of a Jesuit upon his students inescapably extends to other areas. Much of the counseling done by Jesuits, academic or otherwise, is a prolongation of classroom contact. Classroom contact has also led to less formal liturgical celebrations, to days of discussion and recollection, and to social action beyond the confines of the University.

3. There is a more organized and programmed form of Jesuit presence which is centered mainly in the Office of the University Chaplain—an administrative post which as yet has no detailed job

description, but which has been taking its shape according to the needs of the University community which it serves. It has made its most striking impact in the area of liturgical life. The Eucharist is celebrated throughout the day in the many chapels of the University in an experimental, yet responsible, way. This is designed to help the varied groupings of the University to worship with both reverence and spontaneity. The University Chaplain is responsible for scheduling the Masses; members of the Jesuit Community preside at the liturgies on a voluntary basis. They also volunteer for the scheduled times of Confession.

4. The University Chaplain provides other opportunities for worship on a more occasional basis: series of University sermons, communal celebrations of penance, services for the great feast-days, weddings and funerals. Relatively large numbers of the Jesuit Community have participated actively in this ministry.

5. Much of the work formerly associated with the Student Counsellor has been taken over by other offices of the University. Today's students prefer informal to programmed guidance. The Office of the Student Counsellor still exists in attenuated form and is in a state of transition.

6. Some student religious activities are organized in so far as they have budgets, office space, elections, visible membership, etc. The CCD comes under the University Chaplain, has a large student membership, and contributes to the catechetical work of the Archdiocese. The Sodality has sponsored lecture series for the entire student body. Originally from the Sodality, but now independently of it, student groups have been formed which meet for three- to five-day periods away from the campus, to discuss topics pertinent to their lives as Christians. In all these activities, the students seek and welcome Jesuit support and participation, but not Jesuit control.

7. The sketch of the Jesuits at Fordham would not be complete without the inclusion of the Community at Murray-Weigel Hall. A large number of its members have been exerting a strong and positive influence upon the students of the University. They not only participate in the campus liturgies, but they assume leadership in their planning and execution. They take part in the days of discussion and reflection away from campus. They engage in catechetical

instruction and in social action. They mix with their fellow students in a free and friendly manner, which opens an opportunity for the working of God's grace.

## II) JESUIT IMPACT ON THE WIDER COMMUNITY

A. Increasingly over recent years, Fordham Jesuit faculty members have enriched the academic world with scores of high-caliber scholarly publications. But their contribution to the non-academic world was eloquently illustrated in Fr. Joseph Fitzpatrick's (avowedly incomplete) sketch of these endeavors at the Morristown Conference. Some of those contributions need only be recalled here: they include the now-defunct Nativity Project; professional training of Negro and Puerto Rican minority groups to cope with their problems in education and social action; direction of the Community Action Legal Services project, providing legal services for the poor; the economic survey of the Bronx and the plans for the economic development of the Brooklyn Navy Yard area. The report cited, as well, work in developing new TV and film techniques for educating the disadvantaged. Fordham Jesuits have also been involved in research on the causes and treatment of juvenile delinquency, and in the establishment of the Institute of Intercultural Communication in Ponce, Puerto Rico.

It should be stressed that all of these activities represent, in Fitzpatrick's words, the kinds of "university service which require a high level of training and skill, but which can be provided only by university personnel"—a typically university-level style of impact, but one that is indispensable to those engaged in the more immediate and short-run types of influence on these varied problems.

B. The specifically Catholic contribution of Fordham as a university became clear when a highly satisfactory Seminar for Bishops was held to ponder the implications of the Second Vatican Council for the American scene. Comparable programs drawing on Fordham's unique resources have been offered in the past to Religious Superiors, to Guidance Counsellors, and to high-school teachers of religion, among other groups.

## WOODSTOCK LETTERS

### III) JESUITS AND THE UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATION

#### a) The board of trustees

The conclusions of the Gerli Foundation study (see above) may introduce some more specific requirements about the constitution of the Board of Trustees. But meantime, the following observations can confidently be made:

1. The evolution of this University in breadth and variety of personnel must be reflected in a broader composition of its Board of Trustees.

2. This should include representatives from all segments of the community—Catholic and other—which the University serves.

3. The membership of the Board of Trustees should include academic people from other universities. In order to provide the faculty with an effective voice in shaping University policies, study should be given to the advisability of including some senior faculty members from the University itself.

4. A primary consideration in selecting Trustees should be their understanding of and commitment to Fordham's traditions and educational ideals.

#### b) Other administrative posts

Decisions as to what posts are to be held by Jesuits should be made by the competent University authorities, in the light of available manpower, qualifications, and the needs of the University at the time.

### IV) THE JESUIT COMMUNITY AT FORDHAM

A. This Committee was of the view that the remarks on Community in the Morristown report were applicable to all communities, and did not constitute a specifically university, or Fordham University, problem. In so far as such problems exist, they should be dealt with by already functioning Community Councils.

B. One caution might usefully be entered here: the Fordham "Kremlin" (Loyola and Faber Halls) tends to impress the outsider—students and younger Jesuits included—as a somewhat monolithic and forbidding enclave. Its reality, though, is more complex. Our

experience is that, at Fordham at least, the large community tends naturally to form into a number of nuclear communities, on the basis both of interest and congeniality; that these (for the most part) blend easily into one another and into the single whole, depending on occasions; that their presence inside a single large community helps to keep them from becoming isolated and relatively close-minded cliques.

C. Would the formation of much smaller communities (twenty-five or so would seem too large for this) encourage a kind of social contact with interested students, with additional apostolic impact? It would be valuable to compare the experience of apartment-living and its advantages in this respect.

#### CONCLUSION: JESUIT COMMITMENT TO FORDHAM

A fundamental postulate of these recommendations has been that the primary role of the university is intellectual, that is, involvement in the scholarly and intellectual world which seeks to preserve that which is valuable in man's heritage; to develop new knowledge and new perceptions of truth which contribute to man's continued enrichment; to form today's youth intellectually to receive the legacy of the past and to participate effectively in the intellectual work of the future. Therefore, scholarly work, research, writing and counseling define the dimensions of the contribution a university makes to the city of man. This is related both directly and indirectly to the more immediate styles of the contemporary apostolate: the measure of the impact a university makes is not exclusively its influence on the scholarly world but also on the civic community as well. Fordham has tried to respond to some of the more urgent social and economic questions arising from our ever-expanding urban megalopolis. The work done by members of the Fordham Community has been far-reaching in its apostolic and social implications and effectiveness.

We must, however, be alert to the danger of accepting quick and falsely apologetic solutions to problems of either an academic or sociological nature. There is no substitute for solid intellectual scholarship and patient research in those areas where the movement of ideas is a vital under-current to social, economic, political and

ecclesial changes. The Society's historic sensitivity to the power of ideas has, from Trent onwards, traditionally placed her in the forefront of this type of work. The singular service that a Jesuit university can contribute to the Church and to human culture, at this moment in history, dictates that we make every effort to continue supplying men to the work that is being done at Fordham.

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REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE  
ON SECONDARY EDUCATION \*

I) TOWARD A VISION

THE FOLLOWING THREE COMMENTS are meant to be simultaneous translations of the one vision of the committee of what the Jesuit secondary school ought to be. In a way, they add up to a philosophy; however, they do not thereby suggest a predigested abstraction which provides all the answers. As will be seen, the Jesuit school itself must always be in process; it must be a matter of creation for both the teachers and the students involved.

(a) The old and new mandate

Two of the essential marks of the early Society were that it was involved in the meaningful crises of its time and that it was adaptable not only to changes of concepts but, perhaps more important, to changes in process and manner of imparting this knowledge. Vatican II, by opening up the view of the Catholic church to a world-wide perspective and by emphasizing and by releasing the changes necessary to bring Christ into the heart of the world, has re-stated most strongly these early qualities of the Society. The Church now has the mandate to become oriented to problems and

\* In the Morristown Conference Report, the Paper on Secondary Education states: "It is the unanimous judgment of this Conference that the Provincial for Secondary Education set up the best and strongest committee, composed of men with ideas about these questions, to study them and report prior to the meeting of the Fathers Provincial in July" (p. 21).

to change. By some strange paradox, the most advanced secular educational theory is also promoting the same two characteristics: (1) learning by creative and productive solutions to actual problems, and (2) discovering structures of change necessary to implement this process. This committee believes that the Society of Jesus, because of its tradition of suppleness and its ability to face actual problems, has a unique opportunity in its educational institutions to combine the mandate of the Church and the most effective educational practice of our time.

The Christian must find Christ in the world. We feel that it is the duty of a Jesuit school to allow our students to discover by action, by creativity and by experience the many faces of Christ hidden in the multiple problems of the world.

We feel that growth in Christian knowledge can be effected only by the creative application of all the student's power to *all* of the actual problems of his real environment.

The characteristic marks of this kind of education would be:

- (1) that it deal in thematic units rather than with fragmented bits of information,
- (2) that the student learn by discovery rather than by the acquisition of pre-packaged answers,
- (3) that the student learn in his real, total environment rather than by being confined to an isolated school building,
- (4) that the teaching process use all contemporary media rather than relying exclusively on the traditional media of the textbook and the spoken word,
- (5) that there be as much concern that the student learn how to learn as there is for his mastery of the subject matter,
- (6) that there be a recognition of vastly different growth rates in individual students,
- (7) that there are certain goals which can be achieved only if the faculty plan, implement, and evaluate together,
- (8) that it be recognized that the very physical facilities of the school must form an environment in which creative learning is possible.

We feel that these qualities are not merely good educational

devices but that they are absolutely essential for the development of a Christian attitude which would not be self-centered, but which would be involved creatively in the problems of the real world; which would, in other words, engage the student in the task committed to him by St. Ignatius and Vatican II.

(b) Faith or despair

Contemporary theologians repeat again and again that all fixed formulas of revelation are inadequate expressions of the fullness of revelation in Jesus Christ. Revelation may also occur in our living, particularly when we respond in charity to our fellow man or when we mentally conquer the secrets of the universe in which we live.

Jesuit education must take this as a starting point. Our attitude must be that the more a student experiences and creates, the more possibility there is that he will encounter the revealing God. Where do our schools and teachers fit in? They must first of all provoke and broaden these experiences; secondly, they must channel the student and his responses so that God *can* be found. For God will not be the knapsack the student carries with him; he will be the undiscovered horizon toward which the student travels and which draws him on in his explorations.

This contemporary student, moreover, experiences more diverse and confusing situations than ever before. Through the media, he lives in a burning land in Southeast Asia, watches students like himself in physical struggle with their schools and the police in New York and Paris, and agonizes with the destitute mother of ten in Appalachia. These experiences can either prod him to build a Christianity of the future which explains this world or drive him to cynicism about the value of the human effort. The Jesuit school must take up the effort of promoting the former. We must set about finding ways to help him in this.

In summary, we must:

- (1) encourage the student to experience more of this world,
- (2) get him to respond by creatively expressing his reaction,  
and
- (3) help him to see these experiences as loci of faith rather than of despair.

## (c) A vision of service

We feel that we should never lose sight of the ideal that Jesuit education should be unique and that its uniqueness should come not only from its academic competence or humanistic insights, but from its creative vision which teaches, not in words alone, a loyalty and vision which comes from service within the Church.

Today, we consider that the strongest force for ferment and change is student initiative and power. We cannot suppress this power by ignoring it nor can we solve such restlessness by giving in to it. We can harness it by directing it and involving it in a new type of "reality education."

We believe that a school should enable a boy to grow up with his peers but that he should never be isolated from the problems of his times. Whether we like it or not, young men will eventually involve themselves in their own adolescent way into movements of reaction. We could establish pilot schools which could tap this adolescent restlessness by pinning them to an exacting, relevant program of experiential study which would toss them directly into encounters with the poor and at the same time control their naive reactions by showing them how to cope with a problem without destroying, but rather by building.

We have found the in-service center concept to be one of the valuable and educative aspects of emotional growth. Through monitored experience, the idealistic, restless student no longer makes a career of adolescence but gracefully steps into adult attitudes and idealism. We think that we should enable the student by truly creative scheduling and programming to taste, feel and work with the major problems of his times. He can be guided into experiencing the conflict of the Rich and the Poor, the White and the Black, and the multiple developments of communications and media.

We also feel that we can do this through the Church and especially through the ministerial structure of the Society of Jesus where for once the student might get a realistic view of the vital and compassionate Christ at work. (Cf. R. McGuire, S.J., "New Viewpoints on Foreign and Domestic Service in Jesuit Education," *The Jesuit* [March-April, 1968].)

II) IMPLEMENTING THE VISION

In this matter we must rush in where angels fear to tread. Disturbing the structure of fifty- or hundred-year-old schools is tricky business, but somewhere a beginning must be made. The committee selects four areas for specific comment.

(a) The mechanism of change

The committee is deeply concerned about the fact that nothing has been done about the many valuable recommendations and evaluations of past documents and committees such as itself.

- (1) We feel that there have been difficulties at all levels of educational structure which militate against the implementation of change. Some of these difficulties are self-satisfaction, apathy, insecurity, lack of time, lack of professional information, and a certain one-sided and monolithic quality in the decision-making process.
- (2) We recommend, therefore, that certain immediate and practical steps be taken:
  - (A) that Fr. Provincial, as soon as possible (perhaps even for the July meeting), consult with professional help to advise him how a school system can overcome these obstacles to change. Such professional organizations have already been most useful to school systems and to business organizations in beginning and continuing the necessary process of self-renewal.
  - (B) that evaluating committees be set up, comprised of members from outside the particular institution to be judged; that the negative report of such an evaluating committee would result in such steps as the removal of the personnel blocking the necessary changes, the phasing out of the school, etc.; that such evaluation be made frequently, perhaps even every two years.
  - (C) that a Research and Development office be set up at the provincial level; that the function of this office would be to communicate to the members of the province the latest developments in education and the opportunities available for improvement, to assist each

school practically in implementing the discoveries they have made; that a corresponding committee be set up in each school.

(b) Flexibility of curriculum and method

We need teachers who are possessed of the true Catholic attitude of mind which should be soaring, anti-pedantic, open-minded, and filled with respect for reality. We need what someone has called the evocative teacher who brings out responses that are personal and dynamic, and who knows that human growth is experimental, slow but curious, real only if independent, assisted only if encouraged, successful only after floundering. This is . . . the time to study how to improve our schools and to endeavor to make them more adapted to a world which is taking shape and being put together before our very eyes. There must be room for experimentation and innovation in our educational planning. Our schools must never confine themselves to past patterns.<sup>1</sup>

The spirit of our times, the spirit of the Church and the findings of developmental psychology all indicate strongly that effective and Christian education of adolescents must concentrate primarily on *personal* assimilation by students of skills and insights; on *individualized* learning according to competence, readiness and interest of each student; on more opportunity for each student to share in the decisions and responsibility in his own education. These goals cannot be reached through a school program of fixed schedule of 45-minute periods, of segmented subjects and forced uniform progress.

Therefore we recommend *as essential* that each high school plan and implement a flexible program along the following lines. (Many of the following ideas are already operative in the best American high schools.)

(1) *Subject areas*: We consider these five subject areas essential for each year:

- (a) Communications (Languages, literature, art, film, etc.)
- (b) Science
- (c) Mathematics
- (d) Social Sciences
- (e) Theology

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Father General Arrupe to the Western Catholic Education Association, *JEQ* 30 (1967) 128.

Faculty teams should establish the basic content for each area for each year. They will also plan for inter-area programs. (Cf. (5) below.)

- (2) *Individualized program and levels*: Appropriate faculty teams should decide the level of competence of each student in each area, and the student's program should be planned accordingly. The faculty team should find or develop equivalency tests to determine each student's level. Those students who have demonstrated—at the beginning of the year or later—sufficient competence to by-pass the basic instruction in an area, can be set free for a program of independent study under a mentor, or begin a special project under a mentor. Those students who show little or no competence in an area will spend as much time as needed to assimilate it, using as much as possible programmed learning materials. There may be intermediate levels with appropriate programs. The program of all students must include group discussion and conferences with teachers so that their learning may move *toward* a more creative or synthetic method.
- (3) *Variability of groups*: Large-group instruction should be limited to occasional lectures, films, and the presentation of material that can best be presented in that way. Normal procedure should be small-group discussions, projects, meetings with teachers and individual study and work. This, of course, will necessitate changes in the way we presently use instructional space: more small rooms, study carrels, resource centers, teachers' offices, etc. There is already, however, much easily convertible space: activities offices, cafeterias, etc.
- (4) *The amount of time* given to any particular subject by an individual or group will vary with the needs of the individual and group. Once a student in a lower group has mastered the material considered minimal for that group, he may be moved to a higher level and a more independent method of discovery and instruction.
- (5) *Interdisciplinary learning*: At least one semester project should cross subject-area lines to synthesize insights dis-

covered in the separate areas, e.g., violence as a factor in history, religion, literature, films, art. At least one of these cross-discipline projects should include theology. At least one project per semester should be a group project, to capitalize on the essentially social aspects of learning.

- (6) *Faculty coordinating items*: To organize, coordinate, and assess progress in these projects, each year should have a coordinating team composed of teachers in each of the five areas mentioned in (1). It will be their function to judge which ability/performance level a particular student should enter, discuss his particular program and assess its progress with the individual student, judge when the student is ready to move up to another level, etc. We estimate that there should be a team of five teachers for every eighty students.

The team must meet frequently at scheduled times. In many cases, the help of paraprofessionals is recommended, e.g., novices, teacher trainees, former-teacher parents, etc. This function would also be an opportune way to evaluate potential regents. The school librarian can be a crucial factor in planning programs. The teachers will need a new professional understanding of their changed role in a changed program.

*Conclusion*: We feel strongly that such a flexible structure is an *essential* means to attain the goals indicated in part one. There we recommend that each school be required to begin next September a year-long study and plan of such a new system. The faculty will need help to understand and accept it.

The new program in each school should begin in September, 1969, and be fully in operation in the academic year, 1970-71.

#### (c) Selecting students

One prerequisite to asserting our own distinctiveness is a willingness to risk the charge of arrogance because our admissions policy seems to claim we are better than everyone else. If we do not take that risk we will *be* no better than anyone else.

We must make the decision to leave the training of rich or poor untalented students to someone else, who are most often better

trained and better able to do that job than we are. We do not ordinarily enlist young men in our novitiates who are even trainable to teach basic or remedial subjects, and our present Masters Degree program makes such teachers from our ranks even less likely. We can be kind, make the coming-to-school pleasant, but someone else is eminently more efficient and professional in that area. This tightening of admissions policies would also go a long way to easing our problems of recruitment among scholastics and young priests for work in our high schools.

We must therefore restrict our student bodies to the most talented boys we can find. It is the boy of more than ordinary talent toward whom the quality of our training has been pointing us for fifteen years.

The meaning of the word "talented" must be made very clear. Its overuse has restricted it to those with intellectual talent. This aspect of the word is only part of what we mean here. To intelligence we would add the qualities of creativity, leadership, and unselfishness. These cannot be tested by entrance examinations, IQ tests or grammar school report cards nor by declarations from the boy himself or frequently over-anxious teachers. They can be discovered only by personal and repeated contact with the individual.

Henceforth, then, we must speak not of "admissions policies" but of "recruitment techniques." We must no longer choose from the boys who want to come to us; we must go out and *find* the boys we want to come to us.

One effective source of these evaluative personal contacts we already have in our paraministries. One can tell, for instance, in any H.A.P. program where there are seven or eight boys together which boys wordlessly command the respect of their peers, which take charge of jobs, which offer the more constructive and creative responses to real and fabricated problems. These are the boys we must convince to come to our schools.

A second source of these "talented" boys is a recruiting agent, Jesuit or lay, who will scout the local grammar schools, private and public—much as our present vocations-directors do for candidates to the Society.

One of his prime sources must be ghetto elementary schools. Besides the call of the Gospel, Fr. General's directives, the govern-

ment, the mass media, we are called by the evidence of our own eyes and our own consciences to give much more of our efforts to the education of the poor. If every adolescent's search for values is painful, the ghetto adolescent's struggle is too often desperate. The most relevant issues today and for a long time to come are: poverty, race, and violence. The most relevant moment to cope with these issues is at their inception in the individual, at the beginning of awareness in the ghetto youth who is surrounded by these awesome and confusing forces all day long (and in the suburban youth who can remain aloof from them). The Society already has in its hands a most relevant means for grappling with these core issues at their most susceptible moment: the secondary school. We cannot, however, merely hope that talented-but-impooverished boys will "turn up." We must beat the hills for them. If it means that rich talented boys pay \$1000 tuition so that poor talented boys can pay nothing, so be it. But we must give both rich and poor an education worth \$1000 more than the local public school's.

The recruitment officer's activity should by no means be confined to Inner City schools but include middle-class and affluent neighborhoods as well. We must imbue tomorrow's middle class with a realization of their responsibility to help the poor. We must also never forget that Christ himself said the rich would have a harder time getting into the Kingdom than the poor.

Scientific studies and experiments give ample proof that we should strive for schools which have a racial and economic mix rather than one affluent school and one all-ghetto school. The strengths of distinct groups are educative for the other in very definite ways.

Participation in diocesan entrance examinations, if continued, should be only one source of candidates and one indication of a candidate's acceptability.

Concretely, we must commit ourselves to a recruitment policy and an educational program which accepts only those boys we prudently judge capable of changing the world. We must search out and educate the future mayors and city planners who will deslum our cities, the future teachers, writers, television commentators, artists, film directors who will shape the future *in a significant way*.

We must judge ourselves by our graduates, affluent or impover-

ished. Are they committed to the College Boards, money, social status, and cocktail-party liberalism? Or are they committed to bettering human life—in the ghetto or on Madison Avenue—motivated internally, long after they have left our sanctions and our prodding, by human concern and by a union with Jesus Christ.

(d) Faculty problems

Lost for time, the committee regrets its slighting this crucial area. Discussion centered mainly on faculty recruitment.

The *recruitment of laymen*: We sketch the following suggestions: alumni talent scouts, particularly those teaching in college; liaison with Jesuit colleges for potential teachers; the necessity for the applicants' sharing in the ideals of this report; frankness with the applicants that in the face of decreasing Jesuit manpower they will play a more responsible role; the use and wooing of practice teachers in the last years of their college training.

The *recruitment of Jesuits*: this process is critical. The meaning given to "Jesuit presence" in part one of this report at least presumes Jesuits present to carry it out.

The committee presents a carefully worked out model for promoting the interests of younger Jesuits in the secondary school. The model applies in its particulars to students at Shrub Oak. But its spirit applies also to priests finishing studies or already in colleges or high schools, should they wish to move into more vital institutions on the secondary level.

Suggested program for recruitment

*Goals*: (a) to make the *scholastics* more aware of the needs and possibilities of the high schools; to help them more realistically prepare for this in their choice of majors and in their understanding of the adolescent;

(b) to pressure the *individual schools* to improve themselves. In order to compete for available scholastics, they must articulate new goals and programs, continue re-evaluation, and remain open to innovation.

*Procedure: during first-year philosophy*: One day should be devoted to an explanation of the program, a projection of the direc-

tions in which the schools are moving, and the possibilities for interested regents. There should be at least one representative from each school, but the group should form a cross-section of the faculty and administration (headmaster, counsellor, priest-teacher, regent, layman, etc.) All of these persons would be available for a press conference or individual/group discussions afterwards.

*Second-year philosophy—visits to the schools:*

(1) Each school advertises what is happening and what opportunities are available in the school. It makes this pitch by sending a team to Shrub Oak.

(2) Each scholastic visits two schools for a period of one week in each of the schools. He may be assigned during this time to be an understudy to a good Regent, to assist on school retreats, to attend the liturgy with the students, find out about after-school activities, etc.

(3) Several scholastics should visit each of our schools so they can discuss the merits of each among themselves.

(4) There should be a period of mutual evaluation (the applicants evaluate the schools and the schools evaluate them). This should provide the schools with some legitimate, first-hand information about the scholastics, who should also be invited to participate in the summer H.A.P. programs, where their ability to communicate intellectually and socially could be evaluated.

(5) About a month after the applicants visit the schools, teams of representatives from each school should visit Shrub Oak to be available for conferences and discussions with those interested.

*Third-year philosophy—a month-by-month approach:*

*October:* Each school sends a list of academic and extra-curricular job opportunities.

*December:* Scholastics apply for jobs in two high schools, indicating first and second choices. Both high schools involved will be informed of the two choices and the preferences. If any information on the number of years one is to be available for high school teaching can be obtained, this should also be noted. References should also be included with the application.

*January:* The applicants are interviewed by the schools of their choice.

*February:* Schools notify of acceptance (one acceptance only for each scholastic). The school listed as first choice has the first opportunity to hire the applicant. If the school of first choice does not want the applicant, the school of the second choice may accept him. If neither school wants the man, he goes job hunting.

*Problems:* (a) Some high school groups constitute merely a segment of the larger Jesuit community in which they live. Factors in community life not directly under the control of the high school sub-community might diminish the potential for recruiting.

(b) In extraordinary cases, the Provincials with the headmasters may set a maximum number of regents for a school.

(c) The needs of the Church may in a given period conflict with the interests of the Jesuit applicants. If such a situation arises, however, re-education rather than an abandonment of the above program would be the desideratum.

Shrub Oak, New York  
20-23 June 1968

*Committee on Secondary Education*

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*Rev. John P. Flynn, S.J.*

*Rev. Robert J. Keck, S.J.*

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*Mr. Gerard C. Reedy, S.J.*

*Rev. Edmund G. Ryan, S.J.*





WOODSTOCK

L E T T E R S

SUMMER 1969

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## INTRODUCTION

IN THE MANY JESUIT CONFERENCES of renewal going on all over the country, the words "retirement" and "geriatrics" begin to show up more and more. What has the American Society done, what will it do, for its men in or approaching retirement? To further the discussion, WOODSTOCK LETTERS publishes three papers on the subject. We owe a debt of thanks first to Rev. John D. Zuercher, S.J., Rector of Jesuit College, St. Bonifacius, Minnesota, and to those who made his research article possible. The two other reports were received through the kindness of Rev. John V. Driscoll, S.J., Dean of the Boston College Graduate School of Social Work, and Rev. Frederick L. Canavan, S.J., Dean of the School of General Studies, Fordham University. In the next issue we hope to publish a bibliography on the subject of retirement and geriatrics.

Rev. Joseph A. Bracken, S.J., teaches philosophy at St. Mary of the Lake, Mundelein, Illinois; his graduate specialization in Kant and the German Idealists is evident in his against-the-trend discussion of the Exercises.

Rev. Lowrie J. Daly, S.J., is Editor of *Manuscripta*, published at St. Louis University. His essay reminds present day reformers what can and shouldn't happen to plans for renewal.

Finally, Rev. Edward V. DeSantis, S.J., a graduate student in English at Brown University, reviews and comments upon Fr. Berrigan's new collection of poems, composed over the last year of his extraordinary life.

G.C.R.

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## FOR CONTRIBUTORS

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

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

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

## STAFF

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## WHAT 1600 PRIESTS THINK OF PRE-RETIREMENT AND RETIREMENT\*

*some new data*

JOHN D. ZUERCHER, S.J.

"NO OTHER GROUP of working people is so neglected in their old age and disability as priests are." "Somehow, a change must take place regarding the dispositions of priests to retire. 'You are a priest forever' seems to have been translated: 'You must always act the same, and pretend you don't grow old.'" These words were written on questionnaires sent to some 3,500 priests in various sectors of the country, both diocesan priests and religious priests. The survey was conducted at the request of the Committee which was planning for this New Orleans Institute. People who are working in the area of retirement or pre-retirement of priests know of many examples of successful living and have very deep convictions as how to this period of one's life can be lived more fully. What was needed, we felt, was a survey of some of the facts and opinions given by a number of priests themselves. With this information, hopefully a more meaningful retirement program could be recommended.

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\* This paper was given at the Institute of Planning for Pre-Retirement and Retirement of Priests, New Orleans, 20 January 1969. The full proceedings may be obtained from the National Conference of Catholic Charities, 1346 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C., 20037. The author is grateful to the Elizabeth G. Quinlan Foundation for helping support this project. Also, this study could not have been completed without the cooperation of Sr. Margaret, D.C., Sr. Marion, S.S.J., Rev. William Kidd, S.J., and the bishops, provincials, and directors of Catholic Charities in several dioceses.

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The priests in three provinces of one religious order sixty years or over were polled and the response of 59% was obtained. The percentage returned from priests of all ages of two other religious orders was 39% and 40%; five dioceses responded with the following percentages: 66%, 48%, 41%, 52%, 47%. The overall response to the questionnaire was 48%.

The questionnaires were filled out anonymously in hopes that the respondents would be much more honest in their answers. Since most of the dioceses and religious orders were able to provide a list of the ages of those to whom the questionnaire was sent, we are able to make an estimate of the percentage of people who responded according to their age. Table I indicates this estimate.

Table I

<i>Age</i>	<i>Percentage of Response</i>
28	33%
28-35	57%
36-43	52%
44-51	56%
52-59	48%
60-67	39%
68-75	30%
75	29%

As people approach the retirement age, a smaller percentage of them responded to the questionnaire. For those who are sixty-eight or older, we might explain their lack of response due to ill health or increased administrative responsibilities. Nevertheless, the men in this same age group responding to the questionnaire frequently showed patterns of opinion differing from other age groups.

The religious orders polled were from the Midwest and the East. The dioceses were selected so that both large and small dioceses were represented, the East, Midwest, South, and West also polled. Both urban and rural dioceses were included in the survey as well as those with well-developed retirement programs or programs which are not developed at all. Several of the questions which were asked of the priests had to be stated differently for the diocesan priests and the religious, e.g. reference to the bishop or provincial.

Therefore, two forms of the questionnaire were used, containing common questions when possible. The questionnaires were scored so comparisons could be made among dioceses, among religious orders, the religious orders as compared to the dioceses, eight age categories, and non-retired priests as compared to those who are at least partially retired.

#### Some shortcomings

Before looking at some of the conclusions of the study, I would like to point out some shortcomings. The percentage of response is not as high as desirable; over 50% of the people did not respond, and we do not know their opinions on retirement—except that they presumably do not consider it important enough to fill this questionnaire. Secondly, we must always be cautious when interpreting the questionnaire. What a person says may not indicate precisely with what he thinks. When dealing with a topic which generates anxiety for many, the actual choice made by a young man now may not coincide with his attitude when he approaches retirement. Also, the sentence composition and particular sequence of questions in any survey do to some extent shape the answers given. Questions may be misread or misunderstood. Some of the respondees would skip a question; why do they skip it? A non-response usually says something, e.g. either they have no opinion, or they may have a strong opinion, or they may misunderstand the question.

In order to allow for freedom of expression, an opportunity was given for all to write further comments at the end of the questionnaire. I shall include some of these quotations in my report to you.

In spite of these shortcomings, much valuable information is found in looking at what 1,600 priests did actually say about retirement and pre-retirement. I shall present you with some of the results and suggested interpretations, carefully avoiding identification of either diocese or religious order.

“Do you have a regular physical check-up, at least every other year?” 55% of the people responding to this question answered yes. Only 35% of those who are younger than twenty-eight had such a physical check-up, but the 60-67 age category found 74% having this biennial physical check-up. Very few priests com-

## WOODSTOCK LETTERS

mented on the physical aspect of their retirement problem in the comments which were made at the end of the questionnaire; future physical ailments are unknown and possibly feared.

The physical disability of an aging person has great social and psychological implications, and a further question was asked on physical weaknesses or partial disabilities. Of course, disability increases with age, and according to Birren (*Psychology of the Aging*, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1964) impairments in vision and hearing especially become evident after the age of fifty-five. The responses are as follows to the question: "Please check if you have any physical weaknesses or partial disabilities:"

- (53) Hearing
- (28) Sight (e.g. unable to read for more than half an hour)
- (30) Walking
- (53) Ulcers
- Other: (46) Heart Abnormality
- (31) Diabetes
- (18) Arthritis

Several mentioned respiratory problems, back problems, nerves, and stomach ailments. One person responded that his physical weakness and partial disability was "overwork."

"Do you consider yourself already retired from priestly activities?"

Table II

Age	Percent Saying No
60-67	92%
68-75	60%
More than 75	36%

Among the religious responding to this question, it becomes evident that those in university teaching are retiring at an earlier age than those involved in high school work or pastoral work. This is presumably due to the fact that they are integrated into a layman's society where retirement is more closely regulated. High school teachers also retire at a younger age than those in pastoral work. A corollary to this is the possibility of "retraining" older priests who are used to educational functions for pastoral work. Since many

priests in education have not engaged in extensive pastoral duties, this "second career" might require some refresher courses.

One of the most interesting questions which was asked of the priests concerned the method of retiring. "What do you consider the *best* normal procedure or plan for determining the *beginning* age for retirement from full-time work? (Check *one only*)" The responses of over 1,100 diocesan priests are given in Table III.

Table III

15%	Automatic at a certain age
58%	Possible at a given age (e.g., 68) and mandatory at a certain age.
26%	Determined individually for each person

The priests from dioceses representing large urban regions seemed to favor the second response more than those who come from a rural diocese. One priest mentioned "some priests should retire a week after ordination."

It might be interesting to look at the age breakdown of those who said that they would like to have the retirement age determined individually for each person. These responses are given on Table IV.

Table IV

Age of Respondee	28	29-35	36-43	44-51	52-59	60-67	68-75	75
Percent Choosing Individual Determination	21%	16%	15%	21%	38%	42%	82%	67%

As you will see in Table IV, the percentage of priests who want the retirement age determined individually increases very rapidly as the priests reach the "normal" retirement age. Only 6% of the priests in the 68-75 age category selected the second response of this question. One priest writes: "Go slow in establishing a fixed age—no matter what. There may not be enough priests to replace us. Many parishioners look with disfavor on *some* retirements in our diocese."

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Table V indicates how those who have been at least partially retired answered this question as compared to those who are not retired at all.

Table V

	<i>Retired</i>	<i>Non-Retired</i>
May—Must	21%	60%
Individually	64%	25%

The subsequent question reads as follows: “If in your diocese retirement from being a *pastor* or *administrator* would be possible at a given age and mandatory at a later age, what should be these age levels?”

- ( ) Age at which one may retire as pastor or administrator
- ( ) Age at which all must retire if still active as pastor or administrator”

Although 1,105 out of 1,124 diocesan priests responded to the previous question, only 784, or 321 fewer, answered this question asking for a mandatory retirement age. Apparently several who responded to the questionnaire felt that mandatory retirement would be so unacceptable that they refused to specify an age.

Table VI

<i>Age one may retire</i>	<i>Percentage Responses</i>	<i>Age one must retire</i>	<i>Percentage Responses</i>
Less than 59	3%	Less than 64	2%
Less than 65	32%	Less than 70	27%
Less than 70	94%	Less than 75	88%

Older priests set the age for mandatory retirement at an older age. For example, only 11% of the priests of the 52-59 age group thought that the mandatory age retirement should be greater than seventy-five; however, 57% of the priests in the age category of 68-75 thought that the mandatory retirement age should be greater than seventy-five.

The mandatory age was one of the most sensitive areas of the questionnaire. “After hearing some of the bunk young \_\_\_\_\_

are putting out, I would suggest for the good of the Church that **THEY BE RETIRED** and allow some of the older \_\_\_\_\_ to continue in some of the fine work they have done." "Put hemlock into each priest's cocktail glass at his 65th birthday celebration." "If there is a certain age for retirement, then *ALL* should comply with the age limit: the Pope, Cardinals, Bishops, Priests." I believe that the anxiety which a mandatory retirement age arouses could be greatly diminished if a definite policy was established and announced. (This was mentioned by several of the priests.)

#### Policy and pastorates

Two other complications are related to the mandatory retirement age. Some resent the fact that there are many exceptions to an announced policy, with the implication that either the bishop or the personnel board are playing favorites. Secondly, many priests living in a large metropolitan area fear that a radical reduction of the age of retirement may result in their becoming a pastor only briefly if at all—some mentioned that they had been associate pastors for over twenty-five years. One priest who might be caught in this "squeeze play" suggested that he would readily pass up the pastorate if it was for the good of the Church. Incidentally, *Crux of the News* in a report of priests' retirement given on September 27, 1968 stated that forty-one dioceses have a mandatory retirement age, thirty have selected the age of seventy-five and eleven the age of seventy.

"If others are to be consulted about your retirement, whom would you want to be involved in this decision? (Check more than one if you wish.)" Of the diocesan priests answering this question, the following was the distribution:

- (554) The bishop
- (841) A Personnel Committee in the Diocese
- (254) The people in my parish
- (241) The assistants in my parish

Several priests named other persons whom they would like to have consulted, such as physicians (42), friends, classmates, other priests, etc. It is quite possible that these latter categories would have received more checks if they had been included among the specified

alternatives. It is interesting to note that the priests 36-43 years old checked the Personnel Committee in the diocese twice as often as the bishop in their responses; 60-67 year old priests checked the Personnel Committee and the bishop equally; 68-75 year old priests checked the bishop twice as often as the Personnel Committee. One might speculate why there is this rather dramatic change as the priests get older. Perhaps the bishop is a personal friend of a man who has reached retirement age. The bishop himself in many cases is older and might have more sympathy towards a priest who is aging and yet not ready to retire. The bishop could be construed as exemplifying the older system, the system which allowed almost complete freedom to the individual pastor in determining his own retirement age. Finally, some might feel that the bishop would deal with a pastor more as an individual, more personally, than a committee would.

In a question asked of religious priests in a very similar vein, by far the most popular response specifying whom the priest would like to have involved in a retirement decision included both the local superior and the provincial as well as the person himself. There seemed also to have been a slight bias toward having the provincial rather than the local superior if only one of the two would be involved in such a decision.

56% of the diocesan priests who are still active say "yes" when asked if they "regularly set aside or invest any of *your own* money specifically for retirement?" A higher proportion of younger men answered affirmatively though they invested less money annually. *Crux of the News* reports that retirement allowances for priests range generally from \$400 a month to \$600 a month where programs are well established.

On both the diocesan and the religious questionnaire I found that more people anticipate that they will offer Mass or hear Confessions regularly than actually do once they are retired. The two major reasons for not engaging in this apostolate appear to be poor health and the fact that many feel that they do not have opportunities for giving incidental pastoral assistance. Several mentioned the lack of this communication in the comments which they made at the end of the questionnaire. Only three diocesan priests mentioned changes in theology as the reasons why they actually did not want to get

involved in pastoral work, whereas nine of the religious responded in this fashion. Some of the comments relating to pastoral work are the following: they did not want to commit themselves too firmly in the event bad health or inclement weather interfered; convenience was a factor for some, concerning distance travelled, stairs, length of confessions, etc.; some were willing to engage in this work if there was a pastoral need.

"If retired from full-time work, what works, projects, or apostolates have you found interesting and useful? . . . (If you have *not as yet retired*, please anticipate your interests at the time of your retirement, provided your health remains essentially as it is now.)"

#### Rank

- |                                 |                              |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| (1) Offering Mass for laymen    | (8) Giving conferences, etc. |
| (2) Visiting hospitals          | (9) Writing and reviewing    |
| (3) Hearing confessions         | (10) CCD work                |
| (4) Visiting the elderly        | (11) Lecturing               |
| (5) Convert instruction         | (12) "Inner city" apostolate |
| (6) Consultant to other priests | (13) Giving retreats         |
| (7) Counseling students         | (14) Tutoring                |

Those in the 44-51 age category ranked "visiting the elderly" highest. Although the "Inner city" apostolate was most popular with the young, only 3 out of 10 young priests checked it. Other popular comments for activities were counseling of many types, missionary work, remaining in a parish (this was stated in many ways). Other suggestions which were less frequent are as follows: developing cooperatives, T.V.—films, Vista, politics, computer programming, working with Alcoholics Anonymous, graduate studies, farming or manual work, experimental ministry (e.g. underground Church). Several opted for a new career of one sort or another, e.g. "working in a retail liquor store."

The works, projects, or apostolates selected by the Religious priests were very similar to those mentioned by the Diocesan priests except that giving retreats, lecturing, and doing scholarly research were ranked higher than for the Diocesan priests. Men retiring desire to continue in familiar activities.

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### Recreational activities

A similar question was asked of those who had been retired or not retired concerning recreational activities. The ranking in order of importance of those mentioned by the respondees are as follows:

		<i>Rank</i>
(1) Reading	(10) Listening to hi-fi and radio	
(2) Visiting friends and relatives	(11) Having a drink with friends	
(3) Going for a ride or trip	(12) Attending sports events	
(4) Walking	(13) Playing cards	
(5) Chatting with other retired priests	(14) Fishing and boating	
(6) Watching TV	(15) Maintenance work, painting houses, etc.	
(7) Tennis and golf	(16) Gardening	
(8) Attending lectures, concerts, visiting museums, etc.	(17) Bowling	
(9) Swimming and sunning	(18) Playing musical instrument	
	(19) Learning to paint	

The top five listed for religious were as follows: reading, community recreation, TV, going for a ride or a trip, and swimming. The choice of reading as the most popular occupation can possibly be explained from its availability, their familiarity with it, the independence of the person engaging in it. Note the advisability of having a library available for such people and possibly tapes and records for those whose eyesight might be failing. Priests also suggested other activities of a recreational nature such as the following: prayer (or spiritual exercises of one type or another), writing, hunting, getting a job in a resort, mountain climbing, taking a nap, "enjoying the companionship of my wife." One man said that he wants to be "a nice old man in the city slums."

The next question referred to the location of retirement. 61% of those who were at least partially retired among the Diocesan Priests actually were living in their last parish; however, only 13% of those who answered the forced-choice question selected as their first choice their "last parish." The ranking of the choices was as follows:

*Rank*

- (1) A private home or apartment of your own  
(45% ranked this first)
- (2) A rectory of your choice, if there is room
- (3) Your last parish, in the rectory
- (4) A home for retired priests
- (5) With relatives or friends
- (6) A regular home for the aged provided there is a wing or section set aside for priests
- (7) The seminary
- (8) Any regular home for the aged

39% of those who were retired selected "your last parish, in the rectory" as their first choice. Older men chose this more frequently (see Table VII).

Table VII

Age Percentage in age Category	<i>Selecting Last Parish First</i>							
	28	28-35	36-43	44-51	52-59	60-67	68-75	75
	6%	8%	13%	11%	11%	24%	34%	83%

The complimentary questionnaires sent to religious had the following ranking of responses.

- (1) The regular community house of your choice
- (2) Any regular community house
- (3) Novitiate, juniorate
- (4) An infirmary or house for retired community priests
- (5) Any regular home for the aged
- (6) A regular home for the aged provided there is a wing or section for a small group (at least 6) community priests, with a community infirmarian

It appears that the men wish to keep as much freedom as possible in making their choice and freedom once they have selected a residence. There is a tendency to want to remain where they are when approaching retirement age. The older priests do not want to

be abandoned: "Don't shelve old priests in the country where there's nothing to keep up their interests." Likewise, I think we can see a rather strong distaste for the notion of going to a retirement home. "We are becoming anti-old age. So often we think we fulfill obligations with old age homes. I am not sure this is the most Christian approach in many instances."

"If a home for retired priests were open outside your diocese (e.g., in Arizona, Florida, California) with more adequate recreational and cultural opportunities as well as health services, would you be content to move out of your diocese after retiring?"

- 40% Yes
- 19% Yes, if it was extremely clear that I was incapacitated and my health practically demanded it.
- 15% No
- 9% Emphatically no; I would be very much opposed to this.
- 17% Undecided

If we look more closely into the responses made by the priests to this question, we find that the middle-aged priests seemed to favor this change of location more than either the younger priests or the older priests. (See Table VIII).

Table VIII

Age	"Yes"
28	29%
52-59	46%
75	18%

Also, the diocesan priests seem to respond more positively than the religious priests to this question, partly because they perhaps have had more opportunity for more distant travel. Some of the places listed are not close to the province territory of those polled. The percentage of those who respond "emphatically no" increases when the age of the respondent is over sixty-seven.

"*Related to the needs of retiring priests, how would you evaluate the plans and provisions made for retiring priests in your diocese?* (This would include financial arrangement, facilities, programs,

etc.)” The responses to this question are seen in Table IX. In addition to the responses given by all the dioceses, I have included the percentage of those responding to each rating from diocese “X” and diocese “Y.”

Table IX

	Rating All Dioceses	Diocese X	Diocese Y
Excellent	14%	18%	3%
Good	40%	48%	7%
Fair	28%	24%	0%
Poor	10%	6%	38%
Very Poor	7%	3%	51%

We can see the outstanding differences in attitude in Diocese X, which has had a formal retirement program for at least two years, and Diocese Y, which, according to *Crux of the News*, has “no formal plan.” This seems to dramatically argue for some kind of plan for retirement.

“Granted that some pastors and administrators *should* retire before they are completely incapacitated, in your judgment what are the reasons for their *not* retiring earlier? Rank the reasons in order of importance until you exhaust those which you think are pertinent.”

#### Rank

- (1) They sincerely believe they are still capable.
- (2) They have no place to live, no home.
- (3) They would have nothing to keep them busy.
- (4) They have insufficient funds.
- (5) They could do apostolic work, but it would not be commensurate with their experience and capabilities.
- (6) There is nobody to take their place.
- (7) They could offer no retirement for their housekeeper.

58% of the people responding to this question checked the first reason above as their first choice. Those who are sixty-eight and over, however, mentioned that the absence of a place to live is the most important reason for not retiring, though this is a small sample of the total respondees. The responses to this question, otherwise, do

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not seem to be affected by age. Those who are at least partially retired ranked insufficient funds and the lack of a place to live somewhat higher than those who have not retired.

“I feel accepted by the laymen I meet.”

- 46% Agree Strongly
- 48% Agree
- 4% Neutral
- 0% Disagree
- 0% Disagree Strongly

The 52-67 age group apparently do not feel quite as strongly accepted by the laymen as the rest of those who answered this question.

“I feel lonely and out of place with younger priests.”

- 3% Agree Strongly
- 10% Agree
- 18% Neutral
- 45% Disagree
- 24% Disagree Strongly

Although most of the respondees seemed to disagree with this statement, the young men disagreed much more radically than the older men—implying that the older men as a matter of fact were not quite as comfortable with the young men as the young men themselves were. There were some rather hostile comments made by older priests concerning some of the younger men wearing the collar. For instance: “My sincere hope is that the young Turks moving into control will have enough tolerance to leave me in my ‘ignorance’ and my complacency, and most of all to my own devices to occupy myself as long as health endures. I want none of their ‘love regimentation’.”

“I would prefer to be some other place than where I am presently living.”

- 8% Agree Strongly
- 15% Agree

- 20% Neutral
- 33% Disagree
- 25% Disagree Strongly

Religious seem to be somewhat more satisfied with their location than our diocesan priests. Perhaps they have been schooled to accept their assignments more philosophically or possibly they have been able to influence the decision of superiors more than the diocesan priest is able. The 60-67 age group among the diocesan priests are the ones who are most strongly in disagreement with this statement, i.e., they want to remain where they are.

“I could have *personally* prepared better for later years.”

- 12% Agree Strongly
- 34% Agree
- 28% Neutral
- 20% Disagree
- 5% Disagree Strongly

Religious rank this somewhat higher than the diocesan priests.

“Priests have developed sufficient side interests.”

- 3% Agree Strongly
- 22% Agree
- 24% Neutral
- 42% Disagree
- 8% Disagree Strongly

Religious responses are about the same as the diocesan priests to this question. The men in the 60-67 age category are more strongly in disagreement with this statement.

“I have developed interests beyond my routine work.”

- 17% Agree Strongly
- 57% Agree
- 11% Neutral
- 12% Disagree
- 1% Disagree Strongly

Religious respond slightly more positively to this statement, believ-

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ing that they have developed more outside interests. The 60-67 age category is the most negative of all age categories responding to this question.

“I look upon retirement with apprehension.”

- 4% Agree Strongly
- 14% Agree
- 20% Neutral
- 41% Disagree
- 20% Disagree Strongly

The 60-67 age group is slightly less negative than those who are under 35 years. One man wrote: “I have always been contented in the \_\_\_\_\_ [name of religious order] and have never had a superior that I would not have again. I have been treated well and can't think of anything to suggest.”

“I think it is important to prepare for old age.”

- 45% Agree Strongly
- 45% Agree
- 8% Neutral
- 1% Disagree
- 1% Disagree Strongly

Religious do not respond quite as positively as do diocesan priests, but all are rather in agreement with the statement. This might well be expected when it occurs at the end of a questionnaire on retirement. Also, the bias which we mentioned earlier might show up in this question. That is, those not interested in retirement probably didn't return the questionnaire.

### Personal comment

The last section of the questionnaire included space for a personal comment about the questionnaire as well as the process and details of retirement. The fact that 664, or over one-third of the respondents, took this opportunity to speak further indicates their concern and interest in this problem. Of those who wrote, some 558 included recommendations for how this process might be better accomplished, either for them personally or for priests in general.

As might be expected, there were some (seventeen) criticisms of the questionnaire, such as "I do not think anything will come from this." A few thought the questions were asked too much in terms of present Church structure. Some stated that the questionnaire did not clearly enough separate the notion of retirement from a *position*, such as pastor or administrator, from retirement from *active work as a priest*. I think this distinction was present in the questionnaire but perhaps not as clearly defined as it should have been. One person also thought that the National Conference of Catholic Charities should *not* be involved in this problem.

On the other hand, there were some forty-one persons who in one way or another complimented the work of the questionnaire, e.g., a few stated that they were happy that the National Conference of Catholic Charities was interested in this work, the manner in which the questions were asked, etc.

Another large category of responses relates to the fears of retirement. Some forty people could be grouped under this category. For instance, one priest wrote: "Death has been the only 'honorable' option in the minds of many hard-working priests." Another commented: "I'm ready at 59 to retire because I gave too many years of office work away from Parish and People. Returning to Parish work has been extremely difficult. However ill as I am, I have no future so I'll have to play along until I hit the retirement age, I guess." Another wrote: "I have retired: My family including my parents and their children—all dead except myself—and lonely."

The following specific recommendations were made. 108 people who responded mentioned that education in one way or another would be an important aspect in trying to prepare people for retirement. Some stated this education should begin in the seminary. Another writes: "Retirement should be a creative, dynamic part of our lives, something we look forward to and prepare for just as we did for our main ministry. How, How much, Where, etc. are the problems of the 50's and 60's." We should be prepared to look upon retirement as a tremendous opportunity rather than a prolonged death experience; "our work ethic could rob retirement of any value and make a man miserable and feel useless." Or as another one stated: "So many of the younger priests have never considered the possibility of retiring but rather of dying in the saddle, that retire-

ment seems to them as a way of saying they are useless." Changing these attitudes, and structures, requires education and communication.

Nearly 100 people mentioned in one way or another the desirability of having some kind of diocesan or national organization to serve as a clearing-house where a priest who is retired could leave his name and indicate the type of activity in which he would be interested, especially pastoral activity. Many seem to feel that there are situations and locations where retired priests could be useful, but they do not know where they are. If a retired priest had the possibility of being in contact with a pastor who had this need, both the retired person and the pastor could benefit.

Almost as many priests stressed that people can retire from *administration* and not be retired *from the priesthood*. As one man stated, "Too many priests feel a pastorate is the priesthood." Some suggested that the pastorate should be very temporary with a limited ten year office, given to men who were more in their prime of life, from ages of 35-50. I think this concept is worthy of consideration.

Sixty-two of the respondees mentioned something concerning finances, usually expressing the fear of not having enough money to retire comfortably. Perhaps the most striking example of this was written by a man who stated: "We have a few cases of priests in nursing homes whose relatives have had to pay the bills even to the point of draining their life savings—I have no close relatives."

Several of the men mentioned that they either enjoyed retirement now or looked upon retirement as something which they joyfully anticipated. Forty-four priests mentioned housing, spelling out in more detail some of their responses made in the questionnaire.

It might come as a surprise that sixteen of the diocesan clergy specifically linked celibacy and retirement. "Guess I'm a young radical, but I feel the problems of most old Priests I know result from celibacy and feel the real 'Catholic Charity' would be to remove the cause (celibacy) rather than try to deal with the effect." (It would seem to me that non-celibates share with celibates many aspects of the adjustment to retirement.) As someone else stated it: "If we are sincere about doing what we can to provide for priest's love and concern, so that they may more fully love and be loved

even in old age, we will all opt for the possibility of married clergy!" One other person, forty-three years old, suggested that the celibacy be optional *after* retirement—a person who reaches retirement age might scout around for a widow or another eligible young lady. Most who mentioned celibacy seemed to feel that change in the celibacy rule was a *very important* aspect is planning for the future retirement of priests.

#### Suggestions

Finally, I would like to list very briefly some of the other suggestions which seem to merit our attention and possibly our discussion . . .

Consider a retirement program like the military—twenty or thirty years of service to a diocese and then the freedom to move to another diocese.

Consider a visitation by someone in administration concerning retirement while the priests are still active.

Keep active in civic, cultural, and educational affairs.

There should be some kind of program instituted, including people who are qualified and understand older people.

Some of the older priests could be working on either domestic or foreign missions.

This questionnaire should be distributed periodically to see whether one's views have changed or modified with increasing age;

Do not fail to consider the *person* when retiring, e.g. retirement should be suggested in a personal conference rather than a form letter.

The chancery office or bishop should send a birthday card each year to the retired person so that he is not forgotten.

If a pastor is retired, keep his name on the parish bulletin as "pastor emeritus" during his life time.

A chaplaincy at a cemetery taking care of all interments with a liturgy might be one way of serving the Church.

Prepare for the possibility of sending some of our long term patients into State Hospitals.

Think of retiring completely from the priesthood into some other type of work.

#### Elements of change

Any period of adjustment in our lifetime induces some anxiety; man naturally fears what is unknown, different, and strange. When he finds himself facing such a change, he looks for stability and security, whether priest or layman, young or old. What are some of the elements of change involved in retirement? A person has a reduction or complete cessation of what has been for years his "full-time" activity. The priest shares this with the layman though the possibility of continuing active involvement at a reduced pace is much more possible for the priest than it is for most laymen—if we refer to pastoral activity and not administrative work. The priest shares with the layman a decrease in income; what worries many diocesan priests is that he may have to come as a beggar to negotiate a minimal income from a reluctant diocese. The priest shares with the layman the loss of prestige which comes when he gives up the reins of office; this can be traumatic when the loss occurs simultaneously with both the reduction of activity and income.

The more unique retirement adjustments of the priest include the possibility of moving his residence, separating himself from many of his most recent and long-time friends. Usually the layman continues to live in his home or his apartment immediately after retirement. In this questionnaire the priest who approaches retirement age, understandingly, tends to want to remain where he is. Usually the layman has a wife and frequently a family living near to help him in this difficult period of adjustment; the priest has to rely on his friends, cleric and otherwise, as well as brothers and sisters who themselves may be incapacitated. Finally, the pastor who is about to retire is leaving a society, the parish, where he has been "king." With all the other aspects of retirement facing him, he suddenly realizes that he is no longer in control either of his "life," his household, or the parish community that he has ruled for so long.

On the other hand, the priest has some advantages which should ease his adjustment to retirement. He has no financial worry about providing for the extended life of his spouse. His spiritual outlook on life and habits of prayer should perhaps be more developed than

the average layman. This outlook would also carry over to a more hopeful and positive attitude toward death. Finally, he has spent much of his adult, priestly life visiting the sick and standing at the bedside of death; he has had constant reminders that some day he would be the one *receiving* viaticum.

Summing up, I would recommend the following points as important after the experience of working on this survey. First of all, many priests do look upon retirement from administration or the priesthood with a great deal of fear. The thinking and structures in this area of Church life are far outdated; new ideas must be incorporated both for the sake of the individual priest and the functioning of the Church. A change of attitude and policy will demand an educational process which must reach all Catholics, especially the clergy itself including the hierarchy.

A definite retirement policy, stated clearly and followed, is a *desideratum* which should be high on priority lists in the dioceses across the country. This would especially include a policy of financial programs as well as retirement from positions of authority—which should be demanded and accepted with rare exceptions. Several options should be open to the retired priest concerning place of retirement and how he will live once he has selected a residence.

Opportunities for reduced involvement in the active ministry and contact with other retired priests is desirable. A diocesan register and/or a national clearinghouse could help facilitate this aspect of the program. Finally, every large diocese and each province of a religious order of any size should designate someone (full time possibly) as the Coordinator for Retired Priests. One of his functions would be to interview each priest annually at least five years *before* he reaches the age of retirement to discuss plans and possibilities with him. He would also serve to coordinate and implement the other suggestions mentioned above—and to be alert for new ways of serving the needs of the retired priests.

#### Worry about eternity

One could expect multiple opinions on almost any subject when asking a large group of people. We have seen many opinions expressed by 50% of the people who receive this questionnaire. I feel

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that it definitely shows a great deal of concern and anxiety over the fact that so little has been done for the retirement of priests. "At the age of 30, the disillusionment and bitterness I see in older Priests, their loneliness and sternness, makes me frightened of this whole life." Let us hope that an institute such as this one can help us find a way to create a situation which will allow a person to write: "I am retired at 63 because of a stroke. My Bishop, my pastor, and the Priests of the Retirement Board have treated me superbly." Another wrote: "Let's worry about *eternity*." I for one feel that concern and intelligent planning for my brother priests, and for myself, as we continue to age is one of the best ways for me personally to "worry about eternity."

## REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON GERONTOLOGY AND NEW MINISTRIES: NEW ENGLAND PROVINCE

AT THE TIME of its establishment, the New England Province was indeed "young." It had a total of 492 members; and only 152 of these were priests.

By 1947 the membership of the Province had grown to 884. This membership included 572 priests, of whom 31, or 5.42%, were sixty-five years or older. There were also 258 scholastics, and so the ratio was one scholastic to 2.22 priests.

The 1967 catalogue lists 1,112 members assigned (*adscripti*) to the Province. The number of priests is 799, of whom 126, or 15.77%, will be sixty-five or more by June of 1967. The number of scholastics is listed as 249, and so the ratio is one scholastic to 3.21 priests.

It has been estimated that by 1987 there will be a total of 876 priests and brothers in the Province. Of these 576 will be between the ages of 36 and 65 inclusive, while 300 will be over 65.

The growing numbers of older members, both in absolute and in relative terms, is, therefore, a fact that merits our interest and consideration. At the same time we must recognize that the promise of a longer life span and the challenge of retirement and leisure time confront all kinds of people in all walks of life. This is by no means peculiar to the academic profession or the clerical state.

The Commission is agreed that the elderly members of our Province are deserving the most sympathetic consideration and it is with this attitude—an attitude reinforced by the comments of Fr. Provincial—that the Commission approaches its work.

The Commission can make no pretense at this time of having covered all the aspects of gerontology. In its consideration so far the Commission has been concerned mainly, though not exclusively, with the problems of those engaged in academic work. Policies are developing, at least in some of our institutions of higher learning, which seem to indicate that formal retirement will be required at the age of sixty-five. At that age most men still look forward to a number of vigorous years. The question arises: how will these years be spent? Surely the Society should do its utmost to make these years pleasant to the retired person and beneficial to him, to the Church and to the Society.

As of the present, there is no retirement policy among all the educational institutions within the Province, nor even among our institutions of higher learning. The Commission recommends a Province-wide policy of retirement at the age of 65 from regular teaching and administrative assignments in our educational institutions. This does not mean to exclude the possibility of a special appointment, such as that of professor emeritus.

The Commission makes no recommendation at present regarding a policy of retirement from other works of the Society.

It is the wish of the Commission to stress the fact that the status of the elderly and/or retired is an honorable one. The Commission also accepts the fact that many will continue to exercise the priestly and religious ministries, so long as their health and strength allow.

With particular reference to those who face retirement from regular teaching and administrative work, we may point out that retirement marks the completion—not merely the end—of a career. It is the recognition that, through years of prolonged service, one has redeemed the pledge to his profession. It is a kind of crown for finishing the course. Retirement can open up a wide range of choice from among a number of reasonable, appropriate and inviting activities. There is no suggestion that the retired person should be forced into an assignment that does not appeal to him. On the contrary, as will appear below, every effort should be made to render the retirement years as rich and satisfying as possible.

**Residence: where shall he live?**

Several questions may cause some concern to persons faced with retirement. There is first of all the question, "Where shall I live?"

or "Where shall I be sent?" In answer to this question, three options appear possible. A person may remain in the house where he has spent his recent years *or* he may remove to some other house of his own preference, *or* he may take up residence in one of the two or three centrally located residences that hopefully will be established for the social apostolate. Fr. Provincial has indicated his decision that, insofar as possible, the wish of the individual person will be respected in this matter. The Commission is happy to voice its strong approval of this decision.

**Activities: what shall he do?**

A second relevant question is this, "In what activities might the (formally) retired person be expected to engage?" Again, in arriving at an answer to this question, the wishes of the individual person are to receive fullest consideration. It must be recognized that there will be the widest variety of wishes, attitudes and potentials among the persons involved. No doubt many will be able to develop extremely interesting and even ambitious programs that reflect their own talents and propensities.

Some may wish to engage in new apostolates. Our Commission has given considerable attention to what some of these new apostolates may be. The potential list seems impressively long. We have appended a suggested—but by no means complete or exclusive—list of such ministries to this report. However, we have not yet tried to appraise these ministries in terms of their relative fruitfulness and appropriateness. It is again our thinking, with which Fr. Provincial has indicated his agreement, that no one should be urged to undertake such a ministry contrary to his own desire.

Others may prefer to devote their time to other useful employments, which are not normally classified as new ministries. For example, our retired men would still retain their scholarly interests. Now they would have the opportunity to read the books they never found time for before and to re-read the works they particularly cherished. This continued interest of a scholar-priest is a fulfilling and perfecting of his career and his vocation. Certainly, our retired persons should be able so far as possible to continue their professional interests. This might include attendance at the usual conventions, etc.

Still others may develop—or better, continue developing—stimu-

lating hobbies, possibly some of the more intriguing manual arts and crafts, by which one really makes something. These hobbies could be of the widest variety.

Insofar as reasonably possible, the wishes of the individual should determine the range and scope of his retirement activities.

**Coordination at the provincial level**

What can be done to help our men in planning for retirement and in implementing their retirement programs? Perhaps the single most important recommendation of our Commission is that a new office should be established at the provincial level to deal with the problems of the elderly, to assist persons in preparing for retirement and to develop for these persons suitable new ministries and other meaningful programs that will have relevance and appeal.

A suggested title for the person who would hold this office is Coordinator of Apostolates. This Coordinator would be expected to work closely with Fr. Provincial. He would have major responsibility for helping those who are elderly or retired. His services would also be available in a special way to those in the age bracket from sixty on, to whom the question of retirement might be a matter of somewhat proximate interest.

While the qualifications of the Coordinator of Apostolates cannot at this time be specified in detail, it is suggested that he should be a middle-aged person of experience, understanding and sensitivity, who is also capable of working effectively.

It is suggested that the Coordinator have an Advisory Board consisting of an individual representative from each community. The members of this Advisory Board might be older persons, who appreciate the problems of the elderly.

It is also recommended that superiors be urged to work with those members of the community, who are either developing retirement plans or who are already formally retired and wish some helpful guidance in achieving a more satisfying utilization of their time.

In addition to his concern for the elderly and for those who are proximately preparing for retirement, the Coordinator of Apostolates should also develop programs for those who must face retirement as a more remote eventuality. Specifically, he should develop programs for those in the age group from 45 on. These programs would fall in the broad category of continuing education and would

have as their objective the constant updating of Jesuits in such fields as liturgy, theology, education, etc. and the persistent refurbishing of their professional attitudes. But beyond this and, perhaps, even more importantly, these programs should stimulate thinking as to how one may continue his career in a constructive and satisfying way beyond the time of retirement.

While participation in these latter programs should be voluntary, it is to be hoped that their content and purpose would attract the participation of large numbers. It does not seem appropriate to try to spell out the details of such programs in this report. However, one suggestion has been made that, at least occasionally, institutes conducted as a part of this program might substitute for the annual retreat.

#### **Infirmary facilities**

A special question arises at this time regarding those elderly persons who need some type of medical attention short of hospitalization. Some such facilities do now exist in the Province, especially at Shadowbrook and Holy Cross and, to an extent, at Weston. The Commission is not at present disposed to recommend a province infirmary. It does seem, however, that additional facilities should be developed, especially in some of our larger houses.

#### **Potential new ministries**

##### 1) *Retreat Work*

Retreats  
Day of Recollection  
Evening Retreats

##### 2) *Educational Work*

In other Jesuit Schools  
In other Catholic Schools  
In other private schools  
In public schools  
Consulting in one's own specialty

##### 3) *Tutorial Work*

Tutoring of Students at Tutorial Centers,  
College, High School, or other

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CCD Programs  
    CCD Teachers  
Big Brother Programs

4) *Chaplaincies and Counseling*

Alumni Groups  
Professional Groups  
Convents  
Worker Groups  
Newman Clubs  
Hospitals  
Convalescent Homes  
Homes of the Aged  
Detention Homes  
Prisons  
Half-way Houses

5) *Pastoral Work*

Parish Work  
Confessions—for both priests and laity in all our houses  
    and parishes  
Instruction of Converts

6) *Inner City Missionary Activity (ABCD Programs)*

7) *Work with Alcoholics*

8) *“Rescue” Programs*

9) *Continuation of Scholarly Activities*

Writing books  
Writing articles (spiritual or otherwise)  
    for magazines and (diocesan) newspapers  
Popularizing one’s particular field of specialization  
    either in writing or in talks  
Sharing with others the experience of personal integration of  
    faith and one’s field (English, History, Physics, etc.)

10) *Helping in “development drives” by contacting older alumni*

## Random comments

Following are some random comments relative to potential new ministries:

- 1) The one ministry within our bigger institutions for which retired Jesuits seem adapted is hearing confessions. Perhaps a program of round-the-clock confessors for externs could be set up, in which individual Fathers could hear for two or three hours a day. Out of this confession program would very likely come some counseling work. It does not seem practical to appoint retired Jesuits to counseling; young people will not go to them directly for this reason, but will do so indirectly, through confession.
- 2) The apostolate of the confessional has been sadly neglected in this province. Few of our houses have convenient confessional boxes and a bell system that would bring a priest to the confessional whenever a person, priest or layman comes. Likewise, we are not doing the consulting and counseling of which many of our men are capable.
- 3) We need some set-up at B. C. where the priests can reach the students and vice-versa. Holy Cross is the same. Is it a question of motivating the older priests to be willing to deal with the students? Let's study why they don't go near them. Is it that we have no structure whereby priests would and could be available to them?
- 4) Many of our older priests could instruct in CCD programs, teaching the teachers—laymen and women who will be dealing with hundreds of children. What better motivation for getting some knowledge of new theology?
- 5) *Re* new ministries for retired Jesuits; besides exploring with diocesan authorities the care of the elderly in rest homes and projects for senior citizens, we might explore the possibilities of assisting in Newman Club work on secular campuses, of adult education in parishes, and of more retreat centers, like St. Joseph's, in other cities.

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- 6) Some of our older priests could be used in the works of other groups: Newman apostolate, the retreat houses run by other groups who need priests desperately, e.g., Espousal Retreat House in Waltham.
- 7) Less than a hundred miles from here in New Hampshire and Vermont, in northern Connecticut, there is a real need for priests in parish work and other ministries. Shadowbrook could be a center from which priests worked in Vermont, New Hampshire, Connecticut. The University of Massachusetts could use five more priests to be available for the students for confession and consultation.
- 8) It is recommended that Jesuits who are retired from the classroom should do priestly work in the country parishes of Jamaica, West Indies. This work would consist for the most part in saying the parish Mass, and being present in the rectory.
- 9) It is recommended that Jesuits retired from the classroom should staff a half-way house for men just out of prison who are seeking a base from which to rebuild their lives.
- 10) It is recommended that Jesuits retired from the classroom should become directors of audio-visual departments in our high schools. Such a position would involve little actual work, and the need for such a person is daily increasing. Most of our schools feel that they cannot afford to hire a full-time man for this work.

# REPORT ON MID-CAREER PLANNING

OCTOBER 28 - NOVEMBER 1, 1968

SPONSORED BY

SCHOOL OF GENERAL STUDIES

FORDHAM UNIVERSITY

AT

CARDINAL SPELLMAN RETREAT HOUSE

RIVERDALE, NEW YORK

## BACKGROUND

WITH FUNDS FROM TITLE I of the Higher Education Act of 1965 and The Administration on Aging, the School of General Studies of Fordham University has been conducting Pre-Retirement Leadership Training courses since September of 1966. These courses have trained representatives of labor unions, business organizations, and community groups to set up Pre-Retirement orientation programs in their parent organizations.

In the Spring of 1968, some funds became available, and, since there had been many inquiries about retirement problems from religious orders, we decided to explore this area.

In June of 1968, a one day conference was held at Fordham on the retirement problems of religious men and women. The conference concluded that there are two approaches to the problems involved in the retirement of religious. The first would concern itself with the care and employment of the already retired. The second would aim at the preparation of still active religious for retirement by a judicious renewal and possibly by change of employment at about age fifty.

One way of proceeding along the second path was thought to be a Mid-Career Institute aimed at religious about age fifty, and it was agreed that a four and one-half day workshop should be organized to explore the content and format of such an institute.

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### Organization of the workshop

*Location:* Acting on these recommendations, we organized the Workshop for the week of October 28th - November 1st at the Passionist Retreat House in Riverdale, which proved admirably suited to the purpose, offering comfortable rooms, good meals, excellent conference facilities, gracious hospitality and a superb view of the Hudson River and Palisades further enhanced by the rich fall colors.

*Participation:* The invitation list was made up from recommendations of the June conference participants, many of whom elected to attend themselves. Major orders of sisters, brothers and priests were invited to send representatives, and some were invited who asked to attend after learning that the conference was in the works. The participant roster indicated a diversity of background and occupation as well as a common concern with the problems of the older religious.

*Guiding principles:* In planning the conference we had some guiding principles:

- 1) We wanted everyone present to work on the problems and we wanted to take advantage of all the expertise and experience in the group.
- 2) We wanted to show how the resources available in any locality can be utilized in a Mid-Career Institute.
- 3) We wanted to show that the liturgy and films can be used effectively to further the purposes of a Mid-Career Institute.

*Content:* The actual content of the workshop following the consensus of the June meeting was arranged under the following five headings:

- 1) Psychological Background.
- 2) Employment Opportunities and Training.
- 3) Changing Nature of Religious Life.
- 4) Organization of Province Programs.
- 5) Contemporary Spirituality.

*Task forces:* Task forces of the participants were assigned to each of the first four areas. It was felt that the area of contemporary spirituality would best be treated by invited experts on specific

topics. We were fortunate to get the following people to speak on key topics in this field.

Dr. Ewart Cousins	Contemporary Ideas of God
Bro. Robert Sullivan, C.F.X.	Religious Dedication
Father Ladislaus Orsy, S.J.	Law and Conscience
Father John Gallen, S.J.	The Liturgy

In the areas of psychological background, province programs, and "changing nature of the religious life," we felt that there was a fair amount of experience and expertise in the group and little available outside resource that would be of much additional help. However, because of his recent well-publicized involvement in this area, Fr. Felix Cardegna, S.J., was invited to participate in the sessions on "the changing nature of religious life."

*Resource people:* The area of employment opportunities, on the other hand, was one where little was known by anyone in the group. We accordingly circulated a questionnaire among a sample of public and private education and senior service agencies in our area to investigate opportunities for the employment of religious in these agencies. We also arranged a panel of experts consisting of the following people:

Miss Kathleen Dolson	N. Y. State Employment Service
Monsignor Robert Fox	Coordinator Spanish Community Action Program Archdiocese of New York
Mrs. Patricia Roy	Bearings for Re-Establishments
Mrs. Daisy Hicks	N.Y.C. Board of Education

**Parallel activities: liturgy and films:**

To capitalize on the demonstration value of activities other than the formal lecture discussion sessions, we arranged a series of liturgies with gradually increasing involvement of the whole group. Concelebration was introduced the first evening, dialogue homilies the second. We had a multimedia liturgy with films and records, and, on the final evening, a teaching liturgy on chastity conducted by Fr. George Glanzman, S.J., with special readings and a dialogue exposition of the texts.

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Along the same lines we arranged for the screening of two films followed by discussion under the leadership of Fr. Anthony Schilaci, O. P., who also arranged the multimedia liturgy. We had originally hoped to have "8-1/2" and "The Pumpkin Eater" but when these proved to be unavailable we obtained "Wild Strawberries" and "The Given Word."

*Work assignments:* A month before the workshop, we wrote to all participants giving them the program and their task force assignments. We asked the coordinators to get in touch with the members of their task force giving them more specific instructions. Most of the first day of the institute was devoted to working sessions of the task forces. During these sessions each task force prepared the presentation on their assigned area. The task force device proved very valuable in bringing everybody immediately into close contact with part of the group and in focusing their efforts on a specific area. The first presentation, that of the task force on psychological background, was of such high calibre that the others scurried to keep up and all presentations were of very high quality.

The task force presentations were followed by a general discussion and by separate "gleaning" sessions designed to pull together the material useful for determining the content and format of the projected Mid-Career Institutes.

### The workshop itself

The workshop went off almost exactly as scheduled. The only difficulty that arose was in cutting off discussion after the afternoon talks on contemporary spirituality. The liturgy was usually late in starting with a consequent and lamentable shortening of the cocktail hour. A longer buffer period before the liturgy would have been desirable.

*Overall impact:* Partly due to planning, and partly due to luck in getting excellent resource people who reinforced each other in unforeseen ways, the overall impact of the workshop on the participants was remarkable. The group which had gathered for a work-a-day task of discussing the problems of mid-career in an impersonal and detached fashion, found itself personally involved with challenging ideas and perspectives in a way they had not anticipated.

This was so marked in some instances that we were accused of summoning the group together as "guinea pigs" for a demonstration Mid-Career Institute under the transparent ruse of asking them to help in a workshop. We plead "not guilty," but would not overly complain at being found guilty.

*Key themes:* The two themes which ran through the whole workshop seemed to this observer to be the following:

- 1) *Finding God in the world around us.* Introduced by Professor Cousins in his talk, "Modern Ideas of God." This theme was reinforced by the new experience of the multimedia Liturgy and by Fr. Gallen's talk. It was expressed in a prophetic and inspired way by Msgr. Fox in his remarks on the inner-city apostolate, and the films and film discussions further reinforced it.
- 2) *The inadequacy of prefabricated value systems and structures imposed from without and the need for the individual religious to develop a living value system of his own as the driving force in a personally responsible apostolate.* First hinted at in the role playing sessions of the task force on psychological backgrounds, this theme was clearly stated in Bro. Sullivan's talk on religious dedication and was never far from the center of subsequent discussion.

Much of the sessions on "the changing nature of religious life" touched this theme as did Fr. Orsy's talk on freedom and conscience. It played in and out of the dialogue homilies and the chastity liturgy and was recognizable even in the film discussions.

#### Area discussion and consensus

##### 1) PSYCHOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

The lively sessions conducted by this task force yielded far more in the way of hints, cautions, and insights than can be recorded in the brief compass of this report. The major recommendations for Mid-Career Institutes will be listed under the rubrics of content, format, and recruiting.

#### *Content:*

- a) Some orientation, preferably by a doctor and a psychiatrist

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on the physical and emotional problems of the middle years and the climacteric is a must.

- b) While deep sensitivity sessions would be dangerous, discussions lightly penetrating the surface level of personal relations are very desirable.
- c) A vocational counselling component with the opportunity for vocational testing where indicated is necessary.

### *Format:*

- 1) Straight lectures should be minimized. Discussion, role playing, project reports and other techniques should be used innovatively.
- 2) Six weeks is the minimum time in which a real change in attitude can be reasonably expected. A preparatory session might help to bring goals into focus before the main sessions.
- 3) Flexibility and openness to new program directions is necessary if the institute is to respond to the actual needs of the participants.
- 4) For effectiveness and involvement of all, discussion groups should not be much larger than ten.
- 5) Giving participants responsibility for part of the program is a good device for insuring their involvement.

### *Recruiting participants:*

- 1) Certain types are bad risks and should be discouraged from participation.
- 2) Some (probably the minority) have little need of such a program.
- 3) In general, assignment by superiors to the institute will create loss of self confidence with consequent suspicion and lack of cooperation. The best policy would seem to be voluntary attendance, or attendance at the suggestion of the possibility by superiors in cases where changes of occupation and sabbatical leaves are under consideration.
- 4) Care should be taken not to mention possible use of tests in descriptions of the program. This arouses apprehension.

## II) EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES AND TRAINING

More important than the specific opportunities mentioned by the various resource persons during the sessions and uncovered by our questionnaire are the two facts that became completely evident in the course of the discussion.

- 1) There are opportunities without limit of number or type.
- 2) There are agencies available in all localities who know about these openings and can put us in touch with them.

An added bit of valuable information that emerged in this area was the fact that the U. S. Employment Service will provide vocational counselling and testing free of charge. This may be a great help where one wishes to set up a Mid-Career Institute on a shoe string.

*Special difficulties:* There are two special difficulties connected with career changes by religious which fall in this area and must be faced since they may well make the whole idea of such programs unthinkable.

1) *Stripping staff from present institutions:* Any wide spread change of careers by religious will further "exacerbate" the already grave staffing problems of Catholic schools and hospitals. The program would further reduce the religious to layman ratio which is the root cause of the present financial crisis. Our own questionnaire on placement opportunities in education and social services brought an unpleasant reaction along these lines from the New York Chancery office.

There is no complete answer to this objection but lines of resolution may emerge from the following considerations:

- a) Many of the people involved have ceased to be effective in their present jobs and do not add to the quality of their present institutions.
- b) The unhappiness of many of these people may be too high a price to pay to preserve for a few more years institutions that will not survive because of dwindling vocations and an anti-institutional bias common among the younger religious.

2) *Strictly secular occupations:* The possibility of strictly secular occupations for religious came up so often in the discussions as to

be almost taken for granted. People less enraptured by the themes of the workshop and more firmly rooted in traditional institutional forms of religious life may bridle a bit at this concept and it must be examined more carefully.

The recent permission granted to the French clergy to take part-time jobs—the request for this was apparently motivated by the desire of the priests to be more involved in the lives of their flocks—and the financially precarious situation of many congregations as the result of the decline of ministries that formerly were strong sources of revenue, may well create a more open minded situation in this area. The distinction between purely secular occupations such as buying and selling and secular occupations in the education-welfare field may hold up, but it seems to be already quite blurred by the rise of the mystique of involvement.

### III) CHANGING NATURE OF RELIGIOUS LIFE

The main ideas in this are emerged clearly in Bro. Sullivan's talk on the modern idea of religious dedication. These are the following:

- 1) Religious formation can no longer be conceived as the imposition of a pre-packaged value system on a willing but passive novice, but as a process whereby the young religious is led to the formation of a personal value system by systematic exposure to various options within the framework of the traditions of the order and the development of the Christian vision of reality.
- 2) Given the historical situation, the forms of the apostolate have been determined by the commitments of the orders to their institutions. People have had to subordinate their personal interests to the demands of the hospitals, parishes, high schools, retreat houses and the like. While admitting the value of the work done in these contexts, the value of a more unstructured approach, emphasizing full utilization of individual talents is in the air. Concomitant with this is a heightened responsibility on the part of the individual religious for the determination of his role and his preparation for it.

The presentation of the task force in this area was quite innovative. They used the song, "Mrs. Robinson," as a keynote and used role playing to focus in on the central question, "How is the religious better than the secular humanist?" This question was never answered in explicit in the workshop, presumably because there are as many answers as there are religious.

The discussion by Fr. Cardegna of his now famous address to the conference of major religious superiors emphasized the fact that the main ideas listed at the head of this section are indeed having their impact on the thinking and planning of the congregations. Changes are being tried at all levels. The only thing not yet clear is which of the new forms will perdure.

Some discussion of the possibility of the survival of the present orders in the face of the new emphasis on personal values and individual apostolates failed to resolve the issue. Some felt that the loose structure of a common set of ideals and traditions provided by the orders would be valuable. Others saw small communities emerging which would be pretty much cut off from the old orders.

One problem of the Mid-Career Institute is to introduce the older religious to the new ideas. In this way there can be some bridging of the generation gap with a consequent lessening of hostility and enhancement of the unity of the congregation.

A fairly wide-spread attitude among older religious, admits the validity of the new concepts for the younger people, but holds that since they themselves have done well with the old system, they should stay with it. Such an attitude, while admirable in many ways, does cut the religious off from full relevance to the modern world, and is a barrier to the flexible change of career envisagement as a possible consequence of the institute.

There is a valid objection—that in attacking the old structure, you are playing a dangerous game and may well leave the religious with nothing to cling to. The answer to this is not clear. Obviously it holds in many cases. One approach would be to restrict participation to religious who request it on the supposition that they feel the need for a new value system anyhow. Another is to emphasize the fact that renewal of old dedication is as necessary as the development of new perspectives.

IV) ORGANIZATION OF PROVINCE PROGRAMS

Since most province activity to date has concerned the problems of the actually retired and those about to retire, the discussion of this topic shifted the spotlight to an older age group than the Mid-Career group which was the principal target of the workshop. That this would happen was evident beforehand, but it seemed worthwhile to go along with it since many of those present had a particular interest in the older group. Then too, the only institute that is at all a model for the Mid-Career Institute we envisage is the LaFarge Institute conducted by the Sisters of St. Joseph for several of their provinces in the mid-west.

We were fortunate in having Sr. Pauline, who is the Director of the LaFarge Institute, with us. The LaFarge Institute, which was set up in record time, provides sisters who are about to retire, are semi-retired or actually retired with full time summer programs and one-day-a-week programs during the school year. The programs include instruction in such skills as, librarianship, typing, lettering and school records. There is a cultural component with such courses as "Behind the Headlines," "Art Appreciation," and "The Modern Novel." There is a theological and spiritual component featuring up-to-date information in these areas; and finally, there is a placement service to find part-time employment for the retired and semi-retired.

Viewed at first with some suspicion, the Institute is already accepted enthusiastically by the sisters and thought is being given to extending it to non-religious through federal financing. Because of the large backlog of retired sisters, most attention has been given to this group, but plans call for it to reach the pre-retirement group in the near future.

The success of the LaFarge Institute is a source of encouragement to us since it shows that many of the things we want to do at Mid-Career can in fact be done with the older group. The fact that the components of the LaFarge program run parallel to the Mid-Career Institute as we envisage it would seem to indicate the essential soundness of our planning.

**Future plans**

As the workshop drew to an end, discussion was focused on several questions bearing on the direction in which we might move in the future. The following questions were discussed:

1) *Are the problems of religious at mid-career unique enough to justify the organization of institutes specifically for them?*

This question is obviously central and demands an affirmative answer if anything further is to be done along the lines of the present workshop.

The members of the workshop were far from unanimous in their response to this question. A good many felt that the problems would be encountered by different people at different times of life, and that they should be able to take the workshop when it best fitted their needs. Others felt that the problems at age 48-52 were special, involving physical as well as emotional factors and that the institute should be aimed at this target. After much discussion a consensus was reached on the principle that the institute should be so designed as to appeal to anyone contemplating a change of career and that it should be open, in principle, only to such people.

2) *Should the next step be a training program for leaders or a pilot institute for mid-career people?*

Quite a few people thought that the experience of the LaFarge Institute had established the desirability of such institutes and the quickest way to help the large number of people would be for Fordham or some other agency to conduct a program in the summer of 1969, in which leaders would be prepared to set up mid-career institutes in many congregations. A less sanguine viewpoint expressed by many held that the effectiveness of such institutes in changing deep-seated attitudes at mid life had still not been proven and that it would be very desirable to run a pilot program testing out the ideas and organization so that we might proceed with greater confidence to the training of leaders. After much spirited discussion this latter view prevailed.

3) *How does the proposed institute differ from the renewal institutes that are being organized around the country in great numbers?*

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This serious objection was made by Fr. Cardegna, and, in the ensuing discussion, it became clear that the proposed Mid-Career Institute had several distinctive components:

- a) Most people involved would be considering a possibility of a change of careers.
- b) We would hope to provide some actual work experience at a part-time job as a component of the institute program.
- c) Opportunities for vocational counselling and testing would be available.
- d) It would enroll a mixed group of brothers, sisters and priests.

### 4) *Should such an institute be tried?*

The answer was a unanimous yes on the part of all participants.

### 5) *Who should run it?*

There was a noticeable lack of volunteers to try running such an institute. Most people felt that Fordham, with its experience in the pre-retirement leadership training program, and its access to facilities and resource people, would be the logical institution to run such an institute.

Fordham agreed to undertake a preliminary canvass of major religious superiors to ascertain if they would support such a program by sending participants and paying their expenses. If the response is encouraging enough, we would be willing to organize such an institute for the summer of 1969, probably on a residential basis at one of the women's colleges in the area.\*

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\* The above report was circulated among the participants in the workshop with a request for their reactions and criticisms. We have had very little reaction from them, and we now propose to circulate it among the provincials of the various orders to see if they would be any more vocal in reacting to it. Their reactions will, to a large extent, determine where we go from here.

## THE DOUBLE "PRINCIPLE AND FOUNDATION" IN THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES

*Ignatius through Kant*

JOSEPH A. BRACKEN, S.J.

THE KINGDOM MEDITATION in the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius is generally regarded as a second "Principle and Foundation" for the exercises of the second, third and fourth Weeks.<sup>1</sup> Even the external structure of the Exercises suggests that St. Ignatius planned the Kingdom meditation at least as a general introduction to the meditations of the Second Week on the life of Christ. Yet this consideration leaves unanswered the question how the Exercises can have therefore a double "Principle and Foundation." Furthermore, the striking difference in tone and style between the Kingdom meditation and the original Principle and Foundation raises the speculative problem, what function a "Principle and Foundation" should play within the Exercises as a whole. Is it for example sufficient to regard the Principle and Foundation and/or the Kingdom meditation as a general introduction or "scene-setter" for the meditations which follows? Or is a "Principle and Foundation" in some sense the ontological source or cause of that which follows?

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<sup>1</sup> See Hugo Rahner, "The Christology of the Spiritual Exercises," *Ignatius the Theologian*, tr. Michael Barry (New York: Herder and Herder, 1968), p. 106. Hereafter referred to as "Rahner."

The following reflections presuppose that the term "Principle and Foundation" in the *Spiritual Exercises* can be interpreted "ontologically," even if not strictly in terms of the four Aristotelian causes. Rather, we would suggest that a "Principle and Foundation" in the context of the Exercises implies something more closely resembling a Kantian *Leitidee* or directive idea for human understanding in the systematic interpretation of experience.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, we would suppose that both the Principle and Foundation and the Kingdom mediation are distinct directive ideas for the moral universe of the exercitant; this is, they structure and order the moral activity of the exercitant along well-defined lines which are sufficiently distinct so as to constitute separate "worlds" of thought and feeling. Both "worlds" are of course united in the mind of the exercitant and to some extent are mutually complementary in their effect on the moral activity of the exercitant; yet each appeals to a different aspect of the total personality.

The thought-world of the (first) Principle and Foundation is for example centered around the rational service of God, as implied in the first sentence of the same meditation: "Man is created to praise, reverence, and serve God our Lord, and by this means to save his soul."<sup>3</sup> The dominant motive for practical activity thus offered to the exercitant is that of legitimate self-interest. That is, he is urged to render to God and his neighbor a reasonable service in this life

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<sup>2</sup> We deliberately prescind in this article from all questions which touch on the historical genesis of the *Spiritual Exercises*, in particular from the question whether the Principle and Foundation was a later addition or whether it was present from the beginning although in a condensed form, namely as one of the "Annotations" or "Introductory Observations" to the *Spiritual Exercises*. This is a matter of scholarly debate. Cf. Joseph de Guibert, S.J., *The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice*, tr. William J. Young, S.J. (Chicago: Loyola Press, 1964), pp. 119-21. At the same time, nearly all the experts are agreed that the spirit of the Principle and Foundation is carried forward into the First Week of the *Spiritual Exercises*, if not even further. (e.g., the meditation on the Three Kinds of Humility, etc.). Hence the question can still be raised whether the *Spiritual Exercises* as a whole have a double "Principle and Foundation." For the interpretation which Fr. William Peters, S.J., attaches to the Principle and Foundation and to the *Spiritual Exercises* as a whole, cf. nn. 22, 26, 38, 42, 51, 69 and the "Postscript" at the end of the article.

<sup>3</sup> *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius*, tr. Louis J. Puhl, S.J. (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1951), # 23. Henceforth to be cited as *SpEx* with the corresponding paragraph number.

in order to gain an eternity of happiness and, by implication, to avoid the opposite fate, namely an eternity of pain and unhappiness as a consequence of irrational behavior at the present. Legitimate self-interest as a practical motive for the service of God involves therefore a salutary fear of God's punishments as well as a strong desire for personal union with God as a reward for faithful service.

The thought-world of the Kingdom meditation as the second "Principle and Foundation" is on the other hand of a different stamp altogether. The meditation is dominated by the image of Christ as the Eternal King and presents to the exercitant a new ideal of conduct, namely that of personal service, even to the point of moral heroism, self-forgetfulness, etc. The theme of personal salvation is not completely forgotten; it is however absorbed into the emotionally more compelling perspective of the Kingdom as a concrete historical reality in process of development. The practical motive for the exercitant is then no longer that of self-interest as such, but rather that of enthusiastic dedication to an ideal greater than oneself. The image of Christ first in suffering and then in glory is the rallying-point in the consciousness of the exercitant for the higher emotions of personal love, instinctive generosity, etc. St. Paul perhaps captures the spirit of this ideal with his celebrated remark: "If we live, we live to the Lord, and if we die, we die to the Lord; so then, whether we live or whether we die, we belong to the Lord." (Rom 14: 7-8). As mentioned above, the point of unity for the two thought-worlds is the moral consciousness of the individual exercitant. St. Ignatius seems moreover to expect the retreatant to move readily and effortlessly from one thought-world to another; i.e., the exercitant should keep the strongly imaginative ideal of the Kingdom and the personal service of Christ always to the fore, yet never lose the more cautious, reflective spirit of the original Principle and Foundation with its aim of a rational service of God as the necessary means to personal salvation.

Obviously, this interpretation represents a somewhat different approach to the problem of a "Principle and Foundation" for the Spiritual Exercises than that presented by the well-known German scholar of Ignatiana, Fr. Hugo Rahner, S.J. (recently deceased), in his article "Zur Christologie der Exerzitien des heiligen Ignatius."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Cf. n. 1 above.

Fr. Rahner seeks in this article to give the Exercises in their entirety a single unifying "Principle and Foundation," namely that of the Kingdom meditation. The themes there presented of personal love of Christ and of service in his Kingdom are (according to Rahner) anticipated in the first Principle and Foundation and likewise in the exercises of the First Week.<sup>5</sup> Likewise the same themes underlie the exercises of the Second Week insofar as the latter prepare the exercitant psychologically for the election.<sup>6</sup> If therefore the election is the natural climax of the Exercises, then the Kingdom meditation is their "Principle and Foundation." Our own interpretation, briefly summarized above, concedes to Fr. Rahner that the Kingdom meditation is indeed a "Principle and Foundation" for the Exercises and above all for the election. Father Rahner has however in our opinion unconsciously exaggerated the Christological influences in the First Week of the Exercises in order to achieve his goal of a single objective "Principle and Foundation" for the Exercises as a whole. In addition to the one basic theme of self-sacrifice and dedication to Christ, there is, as indicated above, a second underlying motif in the Exercises, that of legitimate self-interest in the service of God. This theme or motif is most apparent in the Principle and Foundation and in the Exercises of the First Week; but, as we shall see later in detail, it also recurs consistently in the structural meditations of the Second Week and thus offers a psychological counter-point to the theme of personal service in the consciousness of the Exercitant, as he prepares for the election.

In the face of this difference of opinion over the meaning and above all the function of the Principle and Foundation and of the Kingdom meditation in the Exercises, we could attempt here a point-by-point refutation of those aspects of Fr. Rahner's theory which strike us as false or at least misleading. The result however would be a wearisome polemic over the interpretation of details in the Exercises, in which moreover the lifetime scholarship of Fr. Rahner into Ignatiana would clearly be a decisive factor for the reader. Rather, our intention here will be constructive, i.e., to set up another theory for the interpretation of the Exercises, which in our opinion does not strictly exclude that of Fr. Rahner but rather

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<sup>5</sup> Rahner, pp. 55-93.

<sup>6</sup> Rahner, pp. 93-130.

introduces a new subjective dimension into the interpretation of the Exercises which we feel is missing in his own more objective approach. The key concept here will be, as already indicated, a new interpretation of the term "Principle and Foundation," insofar as the latter is no longer regarded as the objective point of unity for a given set of ideas but instead as the subjective motive in human consciousness for practical action. Here we will draw to our aid a new philosophical structure, which is derived in part from the Ideas of Reason (*Vernunftideen*) as developed by Immanuel Kant in his Critical Philosophy. This in no way implies however that we plan to give a strictly Kantian interpretation of the Exercises but simply that we acknowledge our debt to Kant for the thought-structure which we will in fact use to give a fresh interpretation of the Exercises.<sup>7</sup>

The validity of our hypothesis will not lie therefore in its fidelity to the philosophy of Immanuel Kant as rather in its practical applicability to the Exercises as a new and stimulating source of interpretation.

Our plan for the rest of the article will therefore be as follows. First, we will recall briefly Kant's doctrine of the Ideas of Reason in the Critical Philosophy and add to it a few words of criticism, so as to set forth by way of contrast our own understanding of the term *Idea*. Then, with the help of this new philosophical structure, we will present our hypothesis for the interpretation of the Spiritual Exercises, namely that the Exercises reflect two subjective thought-worlds or "Principles and Foundations," and that these rival thought-worlds or Ideas prepare the exercitant for the election in two quite different ways. Finally, in the third part of the article, we will draw some practical conclusions for the presentation of the Exercises. This last point will give us occasion, once more to review Fr. Rahner's interpretation of the Exercises and to suggest where it requires revision and/or amplification.

<sup>7</sup> Gaston Fessard, S.J., provided, for example, some years ago a new interpretation of the *Spiritual Exercises*, based on the Hegelian dialectic, without however claiming to make Ignatius a pre-Hegelian. Cf. Gaston Fessard, S.J., *La Dialectique des Exercices Spirituels selon St. Ignace* (Paris: Aubier, 1956). The presumption in Fr. Fessard's interpretation as well as in our own is that St. Ignatius may well have employed in ascetical practice philosophical structures which Hegel and/or Kant first raised to the level of conscious reflection.

## A) CRITIQUE OF THE KANTIAN IDEAS OF REASON

Immanuel Kant presented his theory for the Ideas of Reason chiefly in the "Transcendental Dialectic" of his celebrated *Critique of Pure Reason*.<sup>8</sup> Here he indicated a clear dependence upon Plato for the doctrine of the Ideas but likewise a conscious independence of the other in his interpretation of the function of "ideas" in human knowledge. The dependence lay by Kant's own admission in their common assumption that "ideas" were concepts to which no objects of sensible experience immediately corresponded.<sup>9</sup> For example, the Platonic "idea" of the ideal Republic is not intended to correspond to any real civil government but only to serve as a model or directive idea for practical governmental reform. Similarly the "ideas" of the moral virtues are not strictly empirical, i.e., drawn from daily moral experience, as rather normative for experience, how men should *ideally* behave. The independence of Kant from Plato on the other hand consisted in his conscious restriction of the Ideas to the three great philosophical unities (God, the world and the soul) which ground the three traditional branches of *metaphysica specialis* (rational theology, cosmology and the philosophical doctrine of the soul).<sup>10</sup> Kant's intention here was strictly polemical. He wished to prove that the traditional concepts of God, the world and the soul were completely untrustworthy as guides to their corresponding realities; that is, the concepts as such were able to prove neither the real existence nor the metaphysical properties of their corresponding objects in reality.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, Kant believed that these three Ideas had an indispensable function in the "system" of human knowledge. That is, both the unity of consciousness in the individual act of knowledge and the systematic unity of experience as a whole demand as a logical presupposition

<sup>8</sup> Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, A 312, B 368 ff: in *Great Books of the Western World*, Vol. 42 (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1952), p. 113a ff. Henceforth cited as *Great Books* with proper page and column.

<sup>9</sup> *Critique of Pure Reason*, A 313, B 370; A 327, B 384: *Great Books*, pp. 113b; 117a.

<sup>10</sup> *Critique of Pure Reason*, A 334, B 391 ff: *Great Books*, p. 119a.

<sup>11</sup> We presume here that Kant did not call the realities themselves of God, the world and the soul in question but only their prevailing metaphysical concepts.

the existence of the three unities expressed in the Ideas: the unity of the thinking subject, the unity of Nature as the totality of all sensible appearances, finally the divine unity as the Ground of Being (or more specifically, as the Ground of all objects of thought whatsoever).<sup>12</sup> Because the human mind cannot prove by reason the real existence of the objects corresponding to these Ideas, Kant reduced these three philosophical unities to the level of directive ideas for the understanding in its work of organizing experience into a systematic whole.<sup>13</sup>

In his moral philosophy Kant took up the three Ideas of Reason again, but used them in an entirely different way, namely as practical goals or (as in the case of the Idea of the self) as a practical presupposition of moral behavior. That is, the Idea of the self, when considered as presupposition for moral behavior, is that of a free, morally responsible agent who regulates his moral activity in the light of a self-imposed law of practical reason.<sup>14</sup> The goal of moral activity for all men is on the other hand a "moral universe," i.e., one regulated by the moral directives of man as well as by the physical laws of nature.<sup>15</sup> Finally, the practical Idea of God is that of a Supreme Lawgiver, who guarantees to man the ultimate coincidence of moral worth and personal happiness, at least in eternity.<sup>16</sup> From a speculative point of view, these Ideas remain "postulates of practical reason."<sup>17</sup> That is, it cannot be proven by speculative reason that the human self is really free and not controlled by some invisible natural determinism, consequently that the universe is subject to moral as well as purely physical laws, or finally that God really exists to reward the just in a future life. But, Kant argues, man is powerless to act as a morally responsible agent without the

<sup>12</sup> *Critique of Pure Reason*, A 334, B 391: *Great Books*, p. 119a.

<sup>13</sup> *Critique of Pure Reason*, A 323, B 380: *Great Books*, p. 116a.

<sup>14</sup> Immanuel Kant, "The Autonomy of the Will as the Supreme Principle of Morality," *Fundamental Principles of the Metaphysics of Morals*: in *Great Books* (Vol. 42), p. 277. Cf. also Immanuel Kant, "Preface," *Critique of Practical Reason*: in *Great Books* (Vol. 42), p. 291a ff.

<sup>15</sup> *Critique of Pure Reason*, A 808, B 836: *Great Books*, 237a: also Immanuel Kant, "Introduction," *Critique of Judgment*, IX: *Great Books* (Vol. 42), pp. 474b-475a.

<sup>16</sup> *Critique of Pure Reason*, A 810, B 838: *Great Books*, pp. 237b-238a.

<sup>17</sup> *Critique of Practical Reason*, ch. 2, VI: *Great Books*, p. 348a ff.

practical presupposition of the realities corresponding to these Ideas or postulates of practical reason. Practical reason therefore (or reason in its practical function as a guide to moral behavior) enjoys a certain "primacy" over speculative reason (i.e., reason in its search for speculative certitude), because it alone "realizes" through man's moral activity the Ideas which remain hypothetical on the speculative level.<sup>18</sup>

#### Criticism of Kant

Our criticism of Kant's doctrine of Ideas will be limited to those points which will be shortly required for the interpretation of the Spiritual Exercises. In our opinion, Kant remained too much within the metaphysical tradition from which he sought to free himself via the doctrine of the Ideas. That is, his primary effort in the "Transcendental Dialectic" was to establish the ontological status of the Ideas as "pure Ideas," i.e., as Ideas to which no objects of sensible experience immediately correspond. The polemical position thus taken, though logically necessary for the further development of his Critical Philosophy, nevertheless directed attention (both his own and that of his readers) away from a more positive understanding of the Ideas as structural concepts which influence in a decisive way the world-view or *Weltanschauung* of the individual. In his *Critique of Practical Reason*, Kant did indeed indirectly recognize that these three Ideas have motive force for man's moral conduct only in virtue of a specific intellectual content. But it seems never to have occurred to him that these same Ideas, organized under a different aspect or higher intelligibility, might well take on a new and different content; i.e., that the three Ideas of God, the world and the soul are not fixed in their meaning but are themselves subject to interpretation in virtue of still other structural ideas, which bear more directly on moral conduct as such. The controlling idea for the three Ideas of God, the world and the soul in Kant's *Critique of Practical Reason* is, for example, that of moral duty.<sup>19</sup> The self is viewed by Kant in the *Critique* as a morally responsible individual, the world is regarded as a moral universe,

<sup>18</sup> *Critique of Practical Reason*, ch. 2, III: *Great Books*, p. 343a ff.

<sup>19</sup> Cf., for example, H. J. Paton, *The Categorical Imperative: A Study in Kant's Moral Philosophy*. 6th ed. (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1967), pp. 46-55, 113-19.

and God is considered as the supreme judge and lawgiver, only in virtue of this further structural idea of moral duty. Given another idea of this sort, e.g., that of self-interest and/or self-dedication, which we will shortly consider in connection with the Spiritual Exercises, the concepts of the self, the world and God would necessarily undergo some revision both in their intellectual content and in their mutual bearing on the moral consciousness of the individual. Further proof of our contention here must wait, of course, until we take up the interpretation of the Spiritual Exercises in the second part of the article. Our aim has been simply to offer a criticism of Kant's presupposition that the Ideas of God, the world and the self are absolute entities with fixed meanings for the individual, whether they be considered as speculative principles for the unity of consciousness or as practical principles ("postulates") of moral activity. Quite the contrary, these structural concepts are in our opinion relatively fluid in human consciousness; that is, they admit of considerable adaptation both in their intellectual content and in their motive-force for the individual, according as they are synthesized into this or that world-view. The world-view itself, however, derives its unity from still another Idea or functional concept, which bears more directly on moral conduct and carries with it therefore the motive-power of practical conviction.<sup>20</sup>

Our own positive understanding of the term Idea, such as we will shortly use it to interpret the Spiritual Exercises, can be summarized as follows: an Idea is first of all a non-empirical concept which structures and illuminates not a particular object of experience but rather the totality of experience. That is, where the normal empirical concept (e.g., that of a horse) is directly applicable to a given object or class of objects in sensible experience and furnishes its intelligible structure, the Idea or concept of the totality (*Totalitätsbegriff*) has no immediate "object" in experience, because the

<sup>20</sup> Still another example of a functional concept which molds the world-view of an individual and which thereby synthesizes the speculative ideas of God, the world and the self according to its own higher intelligibility, is the "Idee" in Hegel's philosophy: i.e., the absolute unity of subject and object, finite and infinite which serves as the goal for the dynamic movement of the "Begriff" or "Concept." Cf., for example, G. W. F. Hegel, *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, tr. G. E. Mueller (New York: Philosophical Library, 1959), nn. 161-62, pp. 152-54.

reality to which it refers is somehow equivalent with the totality of experience. The three Ideas of God, the world and the self are the most obvious examples. Our Ideas of the self and of the world are clearly derived not from this or that particular object of experience, nor indeed from this or that particular experience as a whole, but rather from the totality of our human experience, insofar as it can be polarized now into the (logically) distinct unities of subject and object. Likewise, the Idea of God, when it be considered as a living reality for the individual and not simply as a single term in a logical system of thought, is coterminous with the whole of our experience. All that we have hitherto experienced contributes somehow to our vital (as opposed to merely academic) understanding of God. Furthermore, the reverse is also true. We interpret and order practical daily experience in the light of our given preconceptions about God, the world and the self.

Over and above these three speculative Ideas of God, the world and the self, there are however in our opinion other "moral" Ideas, which likewise bear on the totality of experience and which serve to unite the three basic Ideas under a higher, albeit purely functional unity. That is, from a purely speculative point of view, the three Ideas of God, the world and the self must be considered as ultimate unities which have no intrinsic connection with one another, other than that they all arose in the consciousness of a given individual as a result of his particular life-experience. In a practical way, however, these three speculative Ideas are always viewed in combination by the individual as a result of still another functional or "moral" Idea which gives them, for the moment at least, motive force for practical activity. The controlling moral Idea for Kant in his moral philosophy was, in our opinion, that of moral duty; the controlling moral Ideas for Ignatius in the composition of the Spiritual Exercises were, as we shall shortly see in detail, those of self-interest and of self-dedication in the service of God. These two Ideas, the one stated succinctly in the Principle and Foundation and the other presented dramatically in the Kingdom meditation, compete for the attention of the exercitant as he progresses through the Exercises toward the election. Opposed as they are in theory, their net practical effect on the exercitant is, however, to produce a sane and fruitful election, one well adapted to the concrete needs

and aspirations of the individual. The presumption is therefore that the individual himself in practical life is moved now by one Idea or motive, now by the other, and that a good election must somehow combine the two in order to have a lasting effect on the moral behavior of the individual.

Admittedly, we are using the term Idea in an unconventional sense, i.e., more as an ideal or motive for the will than as a strict object of thought. Yet even an ideal like that of self-interest or self-dedication must have an implicit rational content or structure in order to serve as a motive for practical activity. Every adult has for example a practical understanding from moment to moment of what constitutes his legitimate self-interest, likewise of what would be under the same circumstances an act of supererogation or self-dedication. St. Ignatius's aim in the Spiritual Exercises is to give these two moral Ideas, which are as such somewhat flexible in human consciousness, concrete shape and form so that they can be better employed for the service of God. The analysis of the two "Principles and Foundations," together with the meditations which follow and are structured by the same, should give us a new insight both into the psychology of the Spiritual Exercises and into the nature of these two moral Ideas, which control the thinking of the exercitant as he moves toward the election.

#### B) ANALYSIS OF THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES

"Man is created to praise, reverence, and serve God our Lord, and by this means to save his soul."<sup>21</sup> This first sentence of the Principle and Foundation characterizes the strongly rational, sober tone of the meditation as a whole. St. Ignatius uses the general terms *man* and *God* and apparently intends simply to set forth in brief compass the basic moral attitudes of man to God, his Creator, to the "world" of creatures, and finally to himself as the chief of God's creatures. The meditation is written moreover with such clarity and simplicity, the logic of the sentences flows so smoothly, that one is tempted to regard the Principle and Foundation as self-evident, a summary statement of the "eternal truths" which underlie Christianity, Judaism or any of the great world-religions. This matter-of-fact

<sup>21</sup> *SpEx*, 23.

character of the meditation is however quite deceptive. St. Ignatius actually intends to give the retreatant, *via* the Principle and Foundation, a new moral synthesis for his day-to-day concepts of God, the world and the self. This synthesis, grounded in the Idea of legitimate self-interest, can be summarized as follows: the true interest of man in this life is to serve God and thereby to save his soul, i.e., to merit an eternity of happiness with God in heaven. The surrounding world of creatures must be seen from this perspective and used with great prudence so as to contribute to, and not hinder, man's rational service of God. Only in this manner will man achieve the necessary spiritual "indifference" in the use of these same creatures which will guarantee his eternal salvation. "Our one desire and choice should be what is more conducive to the end for which we are created."<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> *SpEx*, 23. Cf. William A. M. Peters, S.J., *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius: Exposition and Interpretation*. (Jersey City, N.J.: Program to Adapt the Spiritual Exercises, 1968), pp. 48-50. Fr. Peters, in this recently published commentary on the *Spiritual Exercises*, has protested against a severe interpretation of this sentence in the Principle and Foundation, according to which the exercitant at the very beginning of the retreat is morally compelled always to seek the greater glory of God and by implication to renounce his own self-will and self-interest. While we agree with Fr. Peters that violence should not be done to the sensibilities of the exercitant just as he begins the *Spiritual Exercises*, we are nevertheless skeptical that Fr. Peters has understood the underlying tone and true context of the Principle and Foundation. According to our understanding of the text, the Principle and Foundation is precisely an appeal to legitimate self-interest. Hence this final sentence of the meditation simply urges the exercitant to reflect concretely on his final end and see that the service of God is ultimately to his own personal advantage. St. Ignatius therefore at this stage of the *Spiritual Exercises* is not proposing to the exercitant a high ideal of ascetical perfection but rather some "common sense" reflections on man's basic relationship to God. What Fr. Peters and, by implication, the spiritual writers whom he is here criticizing, have done is therefore to isolate this single sentence from the Principle and Foundation and look on it as a self-contained principle of Ignatian spirituality. Fr. Peters' criticism of this "principle" is in our opinion well-founded; but this does not disguise the fact that the criticism itself has diverted his attention away from the total context of the exercise, which is, practically speaking, an appeal to the exercitant's sense of personal concern and legitimate self-interest. For further criticism of Fr. Peters' interpretation of the *Spiritual Exercises*, cf. nn. 26, 38, 42, 51, 69 and the "Postscript" at the end of the article. Fr. Peters' study will hereafter be referred to as "Peters."

It is important to see here how Ignatius has pared away all purely speculative considerations in his scheme for the relations between God, man and the world, which might distract the retreatant from the effect to be achieved: namely a clear perception of his own last end and highest good, together with an implicit exhortation to order his life accordingly. The three generic concepts of God, the world and the self are therefore strictly limited in their rational content and ordered to one another in virtue of a controlling moral Idea, that of legitimate self-interest in the service of God. Furthermore, the moral force of the meditation, that which lifts it above a mere exercise in logical thinking, is the personal implication involved: i.e., that the rational service of God is ultimately in my own best interests. Both as speculative principle uniting the other key concepts in a fixed intelligible structure and as practical motive for moral behavior, the Idea of enlightened self-interest is therefore the "principle and foundation," with which Ignatius begins the *Spiritual Exercises*. One might object of course that the "principle" contained in the Principle and Foundation is that of "indifference" in the use of creatures, and it is certainly true that the ideal of indifference is a practical principle of moral activity. We would only point out that in the meditation itself this principle is presented as a conclusion drawn from the rational consideration of the relations between God, the world and the self in the light of the underlying Idea of self-interest in the service of God. That is, one chooses to be indifferent in the use of creatures only because this promotes the goal of personal salvation. Hence the principle of indifference is necessarily subordinate to the Idea of self-interest.<sup>23</sup>

#### Dominant motif

Likewise, the Idea of enlightened self-interest is the dominant motif in the meditations of the First Week which follow. Here too we have meditations which are speculative in their outer form but

<sup>23</sup> One could further object that the underlying "Principle" here is the greater glory of God: e.g., man is created to praise, reverence and serve God etc. This consideration is clearly not absent from the meditation; yet it too in our opinion is subordinate to the general pragmatic aim of Ignatius at this point of the *Spiritual Exercises*: i.e., to arouse in the exercitant concern for his final end. Cf. the remarks of Ignatius himself *re* the function of the Principle and Foundation in the *Spiritual Exercises*, as quoted in Rahner, pp. 129-30.

eminently practical in their personal application. That is, St. Ignatius never leaves the retreatant on the purely theoretical level in the consideration of sin, death, judgment and hell. Rather the latter is constantly urged by Ignatius to consider his own sinfulness,<sup>24</sup> to feel shame and remorse at the disorder of his own life,<sup>25</sup> and finally through the application of the senses to put himself in hell as the ultimate consequence of his previous irrational behavior.<sup>26</sup> The logic of the First Week is indeed inexorable, but the moral impact of the meditations comes once again not from reason alone but from the personal implication involved, namely that these are my sins and that hell awaits me unless I exercise prudence in the use of creatures. Thus, the retreatant should finish the First Week of the Exercises a) with the rational conviction that sin is disastrous to the genuine interests of the self and b) with the sincere desire never to sin, at least seriously, again.

St. Ignatius therefore clearly carried over the governing Idea of the Principle and Foundation, that of legitimate self-interest, into the meditations of the First Week. At the same time, he was too shrewd a student of human nature not to recognize that this pre-occupation even with the genuine interests of the self leaves untapped a rival motive for the moral activity of man, namely, the ideal of personal love and of self-dedication. Accordingly, even here in the exercises of the First Week, Ignatius found ways to appeal to this other motivation in the consciousness of the exercitant without disturbing the general tenor of the meditations as an appeal to legitimate self-interest.<sup>27</sup> Two examples drawn from the exercises

<sup>24</sup> Cf. the second Prelude of the first and second exercises, *SpEx*, 48, 55.

<sup>25</sup> *SpEx*, 63, esp. the three petitions of the colloquy.

<sup>26</sup> *SpEx*, 65. Cf. also Peters, pp. 58-59. Fr. Peters emphasizes that the objective history of the three sins is quite subsidiary to their true function in the meditation, which is to make the exercitant aware of himself as a fallen creature. "The subject matter of the meditation is the exercitant himself as a fallen man, *here and now*, in this *present* situation" (59).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Rahner, p. 59 ff. Fr. Rahner's analysis of the Christology of the First Week brings out well in our opinion, how Ignatius managed to anticipate the theme of service to Christ in these exercises, even though he reserved a full treatment of the matter to the Kingdom meditation and the exercises of the Second Week. In opposition to Fr. Rahner's hypothesis, we would however maintain that the objective appeal to the Person of Christ in the First Week is nevertheless made in the subjective context of the Principle and Foundation,

of the First Week must suffice to support our contention here. At the end of the first and again at the end of the fifth exercise, St. Ignatius urges the retreatant to "enter into conversation with Christ our Lord" on the cross.<sup>28</sup> The situation in both cases is clearly designed by Ignatius to remind the exercitant of his tremendous debt of gratitude to Christ for his redemptive death on the cross and for the chance thereby accorded to the exercitant himself to work out his salvation despite so many past sins and moral failures. The triple question in the colloquy at the end of the first exercise, for example, "What have I done for Christ, etc.," should have the effect of making the retreatant ashamed that he has up to that moment done so little for his Lord and Redeemer, and psychologically ready to answer the call to personal service and generosity, when it comes.<sup>29</sup> The "call" however does not come until the Kingdom meditation. The third question of the colloquy, "What ought I to do for Christ?," is therefore deliberately left open by Ignatius, in order not to anticipate the Kingdom meditation too much at this point of the Exercises. Sufficient for the moment is genuine contrition for past sins and the still inarticulate desire to do something positive for Christ.

Likewise, in the colloquy at the end of the fifth exercise, the psychological atmosphere is clearly not that of enthusiasm for the cause of Christ, such as will be the case in the Kingdom meditation, but rather of sober reflection upon a sin-scarred past. St. Ignatius urges the exercitant, for example, to "give thanks to God our Lord, because He has not permitted me to fall into any of these three classes (of men who were lost before, during or after His coming), so putting an end to my life."<sup>30</sup> Ignatius of course immediately adds: "I shall also thank Him for this, that up to this very moment He has shown Himself so loving and so merciful to me."<sup>31</sup> As a master psychologist, the saint seldom appeals to the exercitant on the basis of a single motive; but, keeping in mind the transient character of human affections, he gently counsels both fear and love, legitimate self-interest and an incipient self-dedication, in the

i.e., in terms of legitimate self-interest, and therefore not in context of the Kingdom meditation with its direct and immediate appeal to self-dedication.

<sup>28</sup> *SpEx*, 53, 71.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Rahner, pp. 59-60, 79-80, for another interpretation of this colloquy.

<sup>30</sup> *SpEx*, 71.

<sup>31</sup> *SpEx*, 71.

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service of God. The overall tone of the colloquy remains however that of the First Week in general: sorrow for sin and a firm purpose of amendment.

### Second Week

On the other hand, in the Second Week of the Exercises the spiritual motivation and therefore the subjective thought-world of the exercitant is entirely different. In a moment we shall make a detailed examination of the Kingdom meditation as the source, the "principle and foundation" of this new thought-world. First, however, we shall take a quick look at the Rules for the Discernment of Spirits, where Ignatius himself acknowledges a change of atmosphere for the exercitant between the First and the Second Weeks and consequently a shift in strategy for the evil spirit in his attempt to hinder the work of the retreat. According to Ignatius, the evil spirit in the First Week acts initially as a temptress, seeking to distract the retreatant from the somewhat distasteful job of sober self-examination and of sorrow for sin *via* a clear and unmistakable temptations to sensual pleasures, etc.<sup>32</sup> If the retreatant nevertheless persists in the work of self-purgation, the evil spirit then awakens doubt and anxieties in the consciousness of the retreatant about the prudence of such a drastic reformation of character.<sup>33</sup> In both cases, therefore, the evil spirit openly appeals to the exercitant's self-interest, although in a perverted form. His strategy in the Second Week is however altogether different, since he here seeks to pervert the opposite motive of self-dedication, to which the exercitant is now drawn as a result of the Kingdom meditation. Accordingly, he will now appear as an "angel of light": "He begins by suggesting thoughts that are suited to a devout soul, and ends by suggesting his own."<sup>34</sup> That is, the devil accepts as given the new motivation of the exercitant to self-dedication in virtue of the Kingdom meditation, but cunningly seeks to lead him astray in the formulation of concrete projects which will implement this new ideal.<sup>35</sup> St. Ignatius's Rules for the Discernment of Spirits indicate clearly therefore, if only by indirection, that the exercitant has

<sup>32</sup> *SpEx*, 314.

<sup>33</sup> *SpEx*, 315.

<sup>34</sup> *SpEx*, 332.

<sup>35</sup> *SpEx*, 336.

undergone a profound spiritual reorientation in virtue of the Kingdom meditation, which thus qualifies as a second "Principle and Foundation" for the Exercises.

Our analysis of the Kingdom meditation will have the same goal as was previously aimed at in the Principle and Foundation: that is, to show that the meditation is controlled from within, so to speak, by an Idea which gives both speculative unity and motive force to the whole. The Idea in this meditation is of course the ideal of self-dedication. The general effect of the meditation is then to link the historical personality of Jesus Christ with this ideal in the consciousness of the exercitant. St. Ignatius achieves this effect through the use of an elaborate analogy between Christ the Eternal King and a temporal ruler who issues a call to all Christian knights to join him in a new crusade against the infidel. The pageantry of a medieval army on the march is thus imaginatively invoked by Ignatius in order to arouse in advance the enthusiasm of the exercitant for this ideal of self-dedication. Then in the second part of the meditation, the saint presents the dogmatic truth which is the core of the meditation, namely that Christ as the God-Man is likewise a king, in fact, the king of kings, and that it is His will "to conquer the whole world . . ." <sup>36</sup> It is important to see here that Ignatius has notably simplified the theology of the redemption by presenting it under this military metaphor, but that he has also through the metaphor made the dogmatic belief in Christ's universal kingship dramatically much more appealing to the exercitant. That is, he has turned a simple belief into a motive for practical activity via the ideal of self-dedication. Without the romantic setting provided by the call of the temporal king, the assertion of Christ's kingship in this second half of the meditation could indeed command the intellectual assent of the exercitant but never evoke his enthusiasm to serve under Christ's banner, to contribute his share to work in the Kingdom.

Furthermore, Ignatius clearly intends to arouse in the exercitant sentiments of personal love and self-dedication which go beyond what would constitute the reasonable service of God. In the second point of this second part of the meditation, Ignatius notes briefly that "all persons who have judgment and reason will offer them-

<sup>36</sup> *SpEx*, 95.

selves entirely for this work.”<sup>37</sup> The full effect of the meditation is reserved, however, for those “who wish to give greater proof of their love, and to distinguish themselves in the service of the Eternal King.”<sup>38</sup> These chosen followers of Christ, who are especially favored by divine grace, are urged by Ignatius to “make offerings of greater value,”<sup>39</sup> which in effect constitute a total sacrifice of self interest for the sake of Christ and the Kingdom. The climax of the meditation is then reached with the colloquy, “Eternal Lord of all things,”<sup>40</sup> in which the exercitant offers himself without reserve to Christ for the work of the Kingdom. The Idea of self-dedication is thus the guiding principle of the entire meditation, giving it, as noted above, both speculative unity and motive power. That is, the ideal of self-dedication provides on the one hand the rational basis for the analogy between Christ and the temporal rules, and is on the other hand likewise the motive force in the colloquy, where the exercitant makes the initial offering of himself to Christ.

#### A second principle and foundation

The kingdom meditation is therefore a second “Principle and Foundation” for the Exercises; that is, it represents both a new

<sup>37</sup> *SpEx*, 96.

<sup>38</sup> *SpEx*, 97. Cf. also Peters, pp. 76-77. Fr. Peters in his interpretation of the Kingdom meditation is critical of the customary translation and interpretation of this text, according to which the exercitant should desire to give *greater* proof of his love for Christ. The opposition between the second and the third points of the second part of the meditation is “certainly not between subjects of the Lord who are moved by love and those who wish to be moved by greater love. The contrast is between common sense as motive and love as motive” (77). Thus far we are in complete accord with Peters. With his further interpretation of the meditation as a whole, however, we totally disagree. He suggests, for example, that the Kingdom meditation is only a transitional meditation from the First to the Second Weeks of the Exercises, hence it may be omitted if the retreatant can make the transition on his own (72). This ignores of course the function of the Kingdom meditation as a second “Principle and Foundation” for the *Spiritual Exercises*. Only in the light of the Kingdom and the personal call of Christ to the exercitant does the Third Prelude of each contemplation in the Second Week make sense: namely to know and love Christ better and to follow Him more closely. In his concern to rid the *Spiritual Exercises* of an injudicious ascetical interpretation (cf. 78), Peters has in our opinion gone much too far in the opposite direction. Cf. on this point the “Postscript” at the end of the article.

<sup>39</sup> *SpEx*, 97.

<sup>40</sup> *SpEx*, 98.

perspective and fresh motivation for the exercitant, as he moves through the Exercises toward the election. In the subsequent contemplations on the life of Christ, we see, moreover, how the ideal of self-dedication, as embodied now concretely in the Person of Christ and in the work of the Kingdom, furnishes the controlled point of view and interior motivation necessary for a practical grasp of these same mysteries of Christ's life. That is, Ignatius does not present the meditations on the Incarnation, the Nativity, etc., simply to give the exercitant something pious to think about before making his election. Rather the saint employs this prayerful contemplation of the life of Christ to further the work of the retreat in a quite specific way: that is, to deepen and strengthen the resolve of the exercitant to give himself entirely to Christ as his leader and king. The third Prelude which is specified for all the exercises of the Second Week brings out very clearly this controlling Idea of self-dedication to Christ. The exercitant should ask "for an intimate knowledge of our Lord (who has become man for me, who was born in great poverty for me, etc.) that I may love Him more and follow Him more closely."<sup>41</sup> In and through the contemplations of the Second Week, therefore, Ignatius is deliberately driving home the one basic Idea of total self-dedication to Christ. The Kingdom meditation is accordingly "Principle and Foundation" for the exercises which follow it, because it first gives concrete form and meaning to this controlling Idea in the consciousness of the exercitant.

On the other hand, St. Ignatius does not allow the exercitant to forget the other Principle and Foundation with its dominant motive of legitimate self-interest. Admittedly, the contemplations on the life of Christ are motivated solely by the Ideal of total self-dedication to Christ. Over and above these exercises, however, there are the so-called "structural" meditations of the Second Week: the Two Standards, the Three Classes of Men, finally the Three Kinds of Humility. In these meditations St. Ignatius is, in our opinion, clearly appealing to the retreatant on the basis both of legitimate self-interest and of total self-dedication to Christ. Naturally, the objective goal to be achieved in both cases is the same: namely a sane and solid election during the retreat and then the practical execution of this election in daily life afterwards. The subjective motiva-

<sup>41</sup> *SpEx*, 104.

tion, however, which leads the exercitant to make this practical decision, can and in our opinion should be dual; that is, it should appeal to both sides of his personality, hence satisfy both the desire for personal salvation and the rival inclination to self-immolation, self-dedication to a cause or a person other than the self. Reduction of the one motive to the other in the consciousness of the exercitant would destroy much of the practical effectiveness of the Exercises. That is, an election made solely out of love for Christ might well be visionary and impractical in its concrete execution; on the other hand, an election made exclusively in the interests of self, however enlightened by grace, might still be one-sided in its scope and in any case would fail to generate enthusiasm for practical execution. Accordingly, Ignatius presents in these structural meditations, which immediately prepare the exercitant for the election, considerations calculated to arouse both motives in his consciousness.

In the meditation on the Two Standards, for example, Ignatius presents in contrasting pictures the strategy of Satan and the strategy of our Lord in the struggle for men's souls.<sup>42</sup> This meditation is clearly intended not only to advise the future apostle on how to deal with others in the apostolate but, more immediately for the purposes of the retreat, to set him thinking once more about his own spiritual state. The Exercises of the First Week with their purification of legitimate self-interest are behind him; likewise the exercitant has felt the "call" to personal generosity in the Kingdom meditation. But Ignatius knows on the one hand full well that the will to self-interest in the exercitant can once again be perverted, i.e., seek more immediate goals as the satisfaction of its desires. Likewise, Ignatius is aware that the opposite will to self-dedication in the exercitant needs further support through a quite specific analysis of the strategy of Christ in the Kingdom. Accordingly, he

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<sup>42</sup> *SpEx*, 136-148. Cf. however Peters, p. 93: "On no account must the meditation on the intention of Christ and the intention of Satan be reduced to the instrumental function of making a sound election." Fr. Peters believes that the meditation on the Two Standards presents in its own right one of the great truths of Christianity, namely the unending conflict between Christ and Satan until the Last Judgment. Our difficulty with this interpretation is the pragmatic one that truth which is not actively embraced and made a principle of practical activity is likely to be sterile. The reality of the struggle demands the active participation of the exercitant, and this is normally achieved through the election.

presents in one and the same meditation a critique of the will to self-interest and a moral exhortation to stimulate the will to self-dedication in the exercitant. The election is of course the concrete goal both of the rational critique of self-interest and of the exhortation to personal generosity in the cause of Christ. Yet each "part" of the meditation works on the consciousness of the exercitant via a different motive to achieve this common goal. In no sense therefore is the first part of the meditation with its presentation of the strategy of Satan simply a ploy or rhetorical device to set off by contrast the figure of Christ and the nobility of his call. Rather Ignatius has in mind to keep fresh in the consciousness of the exercitant genuine concern for his eternal salvation, which will then contribute to the election later on in the retreat.

### Three classes of men

This latter consideration is well brought out by the next structural meditation on the Three Classes of Men.<sup>43</sup> St. Ignatius openly presents this meditation in terms of the legitimate self-interest of the exercitant. The "ten thousand ducats" are symbolic for a real moral obstacle to one's eternal salvation, and the attitudes successively taken by the three "classes" of men are clearly representative of the three basic moral attitudes of a Christian in the face of a personal decision of considerable moment for his eternal salvation. The exercitant is thus urged on the basis of prudent self-interest to follow the example of the third "class" of men, make the necessary spiritual renunciation of his own *inordinate* self-will and not thereby jeopardize his own highest good.<sup>44</sup> On the other hand, this same objective renunciation of the ten thousand ducats could likewise be made on the basis of the opposite motive, that of self-dedication to Christ. Ignatius moreover uses the representation of place in the second prelude so as to appeal to this ideal of self-dedication in the

<sup>43</sup> *SpEx*, 149-57.

<sup>44</sup> *SpEx*, 155. St. Ignatius hints broadly that the first "class" of men met an unfortunate end, since these individuals had made no spiritual renunciation of the suspect ducats up to the moment of death. Likewise in his presentation of the second "class" of men, Ignatius seems to imply that the eternal salvation of the individuals involved might well be in question, since they were openly deceiving themselves about the nature of the renunciation. Hence simply in terms of legitimate self-interest, one should subscribe to the attitude of the third "class" of men.

consciousness of the exercitant. The latter should place himself "in the presence of God our Lord and of all His saints," desirous to know "what is more pleasing to His divine Goodness."<sup>45</sup> The term, "God our Lord," here as elsewhere in the Exercises, clearly refers to Christ rather than God the Father.<sup>46</sup> Accordingly, the retreatant is making this exercise of the retreat in the presence of his leader and king, who is surrounded by the saints, his loyal followers in the Kingdom. Furthermore, in the note attached to the meditation, St. Ignatius pointedly implies that the retreatant should be weighing the possibility of a total self-dedication to Christ.<sup>47</sup> All this notwithstanding, the meditation still seems to be grounded in the motive of legitimate self-interest, since only the third "class" of retreatant is genuinely free of dangerous self-deception in the matter of his eternal salvation. By this interweaving of motives of self-interest and of self-dedication within the same meditation, St. Ignatius seems therefore to imply that the attitude of the third "class" of men is indeed a matter of self-interest, but that the actual choice of this attitude by the exercitant will most likely be prompted less by self-interest than by its opposite motive, that of total self-dedication to Christ for the work of the Kingdom.

This same interplay of rival interests or motives in the consciousness of the exercitant is extended into the last of the structural meditations on the Three Kinds of Humility.<sup>48</sup> In this meditation, which directly precedes the election itself, the exercitant is urged by Ignatius to weigh both types of motivation prayerfully in the light of their possible consequences. The meditation contains indeed three points, i.e., three "kinds" of humility, but the first two "kinds" represent the one ideal of legitimate self-interest at two successive stages of development. That is, the first "kind" of humility describes the minimal level of enlightened self-interest necessary for salvation.<sup>49</sup> This is in no way to deny the need for divine grace to act according to this ideal, particularly in the extreme case of martyrdom for the faith. The point however is that the exercitant is urged once more to think in terms of his final end and highest good and

<sup>45</sup> *SpEx*, 151.

<sup>46</sup> Rahner, p. 64.

<sup>47</sup> *SpEx*, 157.

<sup>48</sup> *SpEx*, 165-168.

<sup>49</sup> *SpEx*, 165.

act accordingly in the matter of an election. The second "kind" of humility proposes on the other hand a much higher, more purified version of the Idea of legitimate self-interest in the service of God, an ideal worthy indeed of observance by a saint. Accordingly to this ideal, the individual considers the greater glory of God and his own self-interest to be so closely bound together that he would not commit even a venial sin to separate them in actual practice.<sup>50</sup> Clearly even an approximation to this ideal of conduct in daily life would demand great moral heroism and the overwhelming favor of divine grace. The ideal of enlightened self-interest as thus presented is therefore the natural climax of the line of thought and motivation which originated in the Principle and Foundation at the beginning of the Exercises.

St. Ignatius however has consistently throughout the Exercises opposed to the motive of legitimate self-interest its opposite, that of total self-dedication to Christ. Accordingly, he presents in this meditation as the third "kind" of humility the natural climax of this rival line of thought and motivation. The exercitant should ideally "desire and choose poverty with Christ poor, rather than riches, etc."<sup>51</sup> There is indeed no bridge or logical connection between the

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<sup>50</sup> *SpEx*, 166. Cf. de Guibert, *The Jesuits*, p. 175. De Guibert believes that there are two principal sources for Ignatian spirituality and for the fruitfulness of the *Spiritual Exercises*: "powerful supernatural logic and passionate love for Christ." Both of these factors are involved in the meditation on the Three Kinds of Humility, although in such a way that the "supernatural logic," as given in the Principle and Foundation and elsewhere, is ultimately subordinate to the latter motive, "passionate love for Christ." For further analysis of this meditation by de Guibert, see pp. 129-30.

<sup>51</sup> *SpEx*, 167. Cf. also Peters, p. 124: "Whereas in the first and second kinds of humility the reference is only to 'God our Lord', Christ is now mentioned by name no less than four times. The third kind evidently implies a personal relationship with Christ, and with Christ as a Man of sufferings." At the same time, Fr. Peters maintains that the exercise as a whole was not intended for "the exercitant of the twentieth Annotation" (123). In his view, the open appeal to the motive of self-interest in the first two Kinds of Humility is inconsistent with the aspirations of the retreatant in the entire preceding Second Week of the Exercises. Our own position is, of course, that St. Ignatius was a better student of human nature than Fr. Peters. That is, he recognized, in our opinion, that no individual, however elevated his prayer and affective union with God, can absolve himself from concern about his eternal salvation; furthermore, that an appeal to self-interest, even at this stage of the retreat,

purified Ideal of self-interest in the second point and this summary statement of the Ideal of self-dedication in the third point, since the two points represent rival streams of thought and motivation in the Exercises, each of which is grounded in a different "Principle and Foundation." St. Ignatius's purpose in the meditation is therefore to present to the exercitant shortly before the election these two underlying motives or directive ideas for practical moral conduct, either of which theoretically can serve as the basis for a fruitful election. That is, whether the exercitant chooses to act on the motive of enlightened self-interest, as represented in the second point of the meditation, or on the basis of self-dedication to Christ, as depicted in the third point, he can be morally certain that his election will be made under the influence of divine grace and therefore represent for him the concrete will of God in his life.

#### A priority

St. Ignatius, to be sure, does describe the third "kind" of humility as the "most perfect,"<sup>52</sup> and the use of this term rather obviously gives a priority to the latter over the second "kind" as the ideal disposition for making the election. It should be noted however that the priority of the third "kind" over the second lies alone in the *subjective motive* for making the election, and not in the *objective good* to be thereby attained. That is, the second "kind" of humility proposes in its own way an absolute good for the exercitant, namely the greater glory of God and his own eternal salvation. The good proposed by the third "kind" of humility, namely personal love of Christ and self-dedication to the work of the Kingdom, is in no sense a higher objective good for the exercitant, but it does appeal to a nobler instinct in human nature than legitimate self-interest. This higher motive of personal love for another and of self-dedication to a cause which transcends strictly personal interests is alone the reason why Ignatius can regard the third "kind" of humility as more perfect than the second. Furthermore, as a practical disposition for making an election, the motive of self-dedication seems preferable to that of legitimate self-interest, because in actual practice an exercitant is thereby more receptive to the influences of

might well be for this or that particular retreatant, the best possible psychological preparation for the election.

<sup>52</sup> *SpEx*, 167.

divine grace. It would be a mistake however to suppose that grace works in the consciousness of the exercitant exclusively via the motive of self-dedication. The opposite motive of legitimate self-interest in the consciousness of the exercitant is likewise a vehicle for the operation of divine grace, although the subjective state of the exercitant is then altogether different.

This last observation is confirmed by Ignatius himself in his remarks about the "Three Times when a Correct and Good Choice may be Made."<sup>53</sup> Both the first and the second "times" presume that the election is to be made under the influence of "consolation," i.e., when the exercitant feels the strong attraction of the ideal of self-dedication to Christ. In the first "time" the call to personal generosity is direct and compelling.<sup>54</sup> In the second "time" the same appeal is broken up by intervening periods of dryness or even desolation.<sup>55</sup> The exercitant however is expected by Ignatius, through reflection to recapitulate these scattered impulses of grace to self-dedication and thus attain to something like the first "time" at second hand, so to speak.<sup>56</sup> The third "time" on the other hand represents an entirely different subjective disposition on the part of the exercitant. It is, as Ignatius notes, a "time of tranquillity,"<sup>57</sup> when the exercitant quietly reflects on that practical choice which will most assuredly promote his own eternal salvation and the greater glory of God. The impulses of divine grace are therefore no longer mediated by the ideal of self-dedication in the mind of the exercitant with its spontaneous overtones of enthusiasm and joy in the service of Christ. Rather grace now works through the deliberations of reason, insofar as the latter are guided by the ideal or motive of legitimate self-interest. That is, that which the exercitant ultimately chooses as more "reasonable," is such only in the light of the ideal of legitimate self-interest, which itself has been purified of all irrational and selfish tendencies through the operation of grace.

<sup>53</sup> *SpEx*, 175-177.

<sup>54</sup> *SpEx*, 175.

<sup>55</sup> *SpEx*, 176.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Fessard, *La Dialectique des Exercices*, p. 77: "Bref, entre la vocation du 'premier Temps' et celle du 'deuxieme Temps', il n'y a d'autre difference qu'entre l'unité simple contenue dans l'Instant et le multiple fractionné en divers moments discontinus."

<sup>57</sup> *SpEx*, 177.

Further insight into the thinking of Ignatius on this point can be found in his elaboration of the two "ways," through which an exercitant can make a fruitful election during the third "time," i.e., when he is principally motivated by the ideal of enlightened self-interest. The first "way" is clearly more logical in character; that is, the retreatant should strive to attain an objective equilibrium in his deliberations and not allow any extraneous thoughts or desires to influence his final decision.<sup>58</sup> The second "way" is on the other hand more psychological; that is, Ignatius urges the exercitant to use his imagination more to attain the desired objectivity in his decision: i.e., to imagine himself as the advisor to a third party, to put himself on his deathbed or before the judgment-seat of God, etc.<sup>59</sup> In both these "ways," however, the objectivity thus attained is itself intermediate to the underlying ideal of legitimate self-interest, in the light of which alone all possible choices are weighed and one choice is finally made as being in itself more "reasonable." In other words, "pure objectivity" would not promote, but rather inhibit, a practical decision, because it would provide no concrete norm for the decision as to what is more reasonable. The underlying ideal or motive of legitimate self-interest unobtrusively informs therefore the deliberations of reason during the third "time" to make an election, and we may safely presume that the action of grace is mediated by this governing ideal of self-interest in the consciousness of the exercitant, just as in the first and the second "times" the action of grace is clearly conditioned by the opposite ideal of self-dedication. In brief, therefore, St. Ignatius exhibits considerable flexibility in the Rules for making an election. He prescribes no fixed and certain subjective dispositions for the election, but presupposes only that the exercitant will be led to respond to divine grace in one of several ways: either under the clear and compelling influence of the ideal of self-dedication to Christ, or via the deliberations of reason, insofar as the latter are guided by the ideal of legitimate self-interest or finally through some combination of the preceding two approaches, which best suits his own individual disposition.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>58</sup> *SpEx*, 179.

<sup>59</sup> *SpEx*, 185-187.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. de Guibert, *The Jesuits*, p. 134, for further confirmation of this rival motivation in the manner of making an election and in Ignatian spirituality as a whole.

## A shift in point of view

To conclude this part of our presentation, we will refer briefly to two other passages in these same rules for making an election, which in our opinion indicate dramatically how Ignatius himself was constantly shifting his point of view to meet now the ideal of legitimate self-interest, now the opposite ideal of self-dedication. In the "Introduction to Making a Choice of a Way of Life,"<sup>61</sup> Ignatius clearly presupposes the thought-world of the first Principle and Foundation, i.e., the ideal of legitimate self-interest. His words are as follows: "In every good choice, as far as depends on us, our intention must be simple. I must consider only the end for which I am created, that is, for the praise of God our Lord and for the salvation of my soul. Hence, whatever I choose must help me to the end for which I am created."<sup>62</sup> One could of course argue here that this goal of the "praise of God our Lord" presumes a high degree of self-sacrifice and therefore is motivated by the ideal of self-dedication. We would not deny that the ideal of self-dedication, as presented in the course of the Exercises, has helped to purify the opposite ideal of self-interest, so that the individual at this point of the retreat sees his own interests as intimately linked with the "praise of God our Lord." The point however is that the individual is still being urged by Ignatius to think in terms of his own salvation and consequently in terms of his own self-interest. The logic of the ideal of self-dedication dictates on the other hand an entirely different course of action, as the second passage brings out quite clearly.

This second passage is taken from the "Directions for the Amendment and Reformation of One's Way of Living in his State of Life"<sup>63</sup> and represent so to speak St. Ignatius's last words on the subject of an election. "Let him (the exercitant) desire and seek nothing except the greater praise and glory of God our Lord as the aim of all he does. For every one must keep in mind that in all that concerns the spiritual life his progress will be in proportion to his surrender of self-love and of his own will and interests."<sup>64</sup> Although the "praise of God our Lord" is likewise in this passage the objective goal proposed to the exercitant by Ignatius, the subjective motive

<sup>61</sup> *SpEx*, 169.

<sup>62</sup> *SpEx*, 169.

<sup>63</sup> *SpEx*, 189.

<sup>64</sup> *SpEx*, 189.

to which appeal is made is altogether different from that in the first passage. The exercitant is now urged, no longer to think in terms of his own personal salvation, but to allow himself to be led by the ideal of self-dedication to make a total surrender of his own self-will and self-interests. Naturally, one can qualify this statement by saying that Ignatius has in mind inordinate self-will and self-interest. This explanation is of course in itself true, but it subtly weakens the moral power of the ideal of self-dedication, as contained in the works of Ignatius. That is, it reduces, practically speaking, the motive of self-dedication with its imaginative appeal to personal generosity to the motive of legitimate self-interest with its basis in rational deliberation. St. Ignatius on the other hand expected, in our opinion, that the retreatant would be influenced by both forms of motivation in coming to a practical decision about the election. Accordingly, while attention is given to the motive of self-interest above all in the introduction of the rules for making an election, the saint ends these same considerations with an open appeal to generosity and self-dedication, which should stir the imagination of the exercitant and lead him to attempt the well-nigh impossible. Armed with this double motivation of self-interest and of self-dedication, the retreatant will most certainly make a fruitful election, one in which he can have confidence later on simply because it appeals to both sides of his personality.

### C) THREE PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS

In this final section we will offer a few practical suggestions for the presentation of the Exercises, all of which reflect in one way or another our basic hypothesis. That is, because we believe that there are two "Principles and Foundations", i.e., two controlling Ideas, in the Exercises, we likewise propose that the various exercises of the retreat should be given so as to highlight and contrast with one another these same two Ideas. Accordingly, we would first of all suggest that the Principle and Foundation and the meditations of the First Week should be given, as far as circumstances allow, simply as they stand in the text of the Exercises, i.e., with a minimum of theological elaboration. A thoroughly Christological interpretation of these same exercises, such as Fr. Rahner proposes in his

article,<sup>65</sup> is in our opinion questionable because it too readily distracts the attention of the retreatant from the main objective of the First Week: genuine contrition for sin and a firm purpose of amendment because sin endangers one's personal salvation, i.e., one's legitimate self-interest. Naturally, no fixed rules can be laid down in advance, because the needs and spiritual training of retreatants vary so greatly. Nevertheless, it seems safe to say that all retreatants can follow with profit the line of thought laid down so simply and directly in the Principle and Foundation and then make the exercises of the First Week in the light of the same ideal of legitimate self-interest. This is in no way a morbid preoccupation with an unpleasant side of life, but simply a recognition that the ideal or motive of self-interest likewise has a part to play in the spiritual life, and that if it be minimized in the Exercises, the practical appeal of the latter is as a result at least partially lost.

It is, for example, in our opinion debatable whether the meditation on the triple sin in the First Week really gains in moral persuasiveness, if the retreatmaster interweaves with the points as given by Ignatius a theology of sin, which seeks to unite the fall of the angels, the sin of Adam and Eve and finally the redemption of man through Christ's death on the cross in one synthetic view.<sup>66</sup> What is morally significant for the exercitant at this point of the retreat is the *fact* of sin, not its explanation via a theological synthesis. Hence the three examples given by Ignatius of actual or presumed serious sin should have the effect of awakening in the consciousness of the exercitant a sense of unease and confusion, because he too has sinned seriously or has at least been severely tempted to sin. The speculative synthesis on the other hand keeps the retreatant's mind active on a superficial level of consciousness, i.e., on the level of abstract theory, where his own personal feelings are not so immediately engaged. The Christological element is of course present in the meditation and should be made use of in the colloquy at the end. But here too its use should be largely limited to arousing compunction in the exercitant for past failure in the service of his loving Lord.<sup>67</sup> There will be time enough later in the Second Week to develop the theme of redemption through Christ.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. n. 1 above.

<sup>66</sup> Rahner, p. 59 ff.

<sup>67</sup> Rahner, pp. 69-80.

This last point brings us to our second suggestion for the presentation of the Exercises. According to our hypothesis, the contemplations on the life of Christ have really only one purpose: namely to nourish and deepen the ideal of self-dedication to Christ, which has been awakened in the exercitant as a result of the Kingdom meditation. Hence we would suggest that the retreatmaster once more keep his points simple, i.e., develop the pertinent text of Scripture only so far as necessary to stir the imagination of the retreatant, and that he aim above all at making the concrete person of Christ, his historical life and work, as vivid and attractive as possible. In this way the psychological link with the Kingdom meditation will never be lost: "It is my will to conquer the whole world etc."<sup>68</sup> "Practical" reflections on the life of Christ, on the other hand, which aim at presenting in successive meditations a broad spectrum of virtues required for the apostolic and/or religious life are in our opinion often not very practical at all, because they once again distract attention from the main work of the Second Week: to arouse loyalty and personal devotion to Christ in the exercitant. Hence, if the retreatmaster chooses to make certain practical reflections on the life of Christ in his "points," these should be brief and directly geared to a better understanding of the scene from the life of Christ which is being contemplated.

Our third and last suggestion relates to the structural exercises of the Second Week: the Two Standards, the Three Classes of Men, the Three Kinds of Humility. Keeping in mind our hypothesis, that Ignatius presents a double motivation in these meditations, i.e., both that of legitimate self-interest and that of self-dedication to Christ, we would suggest that they be presented so as to allow the retreatant to choose for himself that motivation which most appeals to him at the moment. That is, he should not be urged too strongly to make a total oblation of himself to Christ at the end of the meditation on the Two Standards, if his interests are for the moment more engaged with the strategy of Satan and the danger to legitimate self-interest. There will be time later to make the self-oblation to Christ, when his feelings and the action of grace lead in that direction. On the other hand, in the meditation on the Three Classes of Men, the exercitant should be urged to skip the first two points or

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<sup>68</sup> *SpEx*, 95.

"classes," if he is currently experiencing strong consolation with the ideal of total self-dedication to Christ. The appeal to the motive of legitimate self-interest would at this point only jar the natural response of the exercitant to the impulses of grace. Finally, in the meditation on the Three Kinds of Humility, the superiority of the third "kind" over the second should in our opinion be carefully qualified by the observation on the part of the retreatmaster, that it is simply a question of different motives for the same objective goal. He should moreover make clear to the exercitant that a whole-hearted response to the "call" of Christ, although clearly intended by St. Ignatius to be the goal of the Exercises, is nevertheless a matter of divine grace as well as of good will on his own part. In this way the retreatmaster will guarantee to the exercitant the maximum liberty of thought and feeling, i.e., freedom from psychological constraint, as the latter prepares for the concrete choice of the election.<sup>69</sup>

#### Complementary interpretations

When one compares the above, rather sketchy interpretation of the Spiritual Exercises with the massive scholarship into Ignatiana, which Fr. Hugo Rahner presents in his article on the Christology of the Exercises, the hypothesis which we have set forth may seem very fragile indeed. This would especially be the case, if one viewed the two interpretations of the Exercises as mutually exclusive. In our opinion, however, there is reason to believe that they are complementary, since the one interpretation looks more to the speculative unity of the Exercises and the other more to their subjective effect on the exercitant. The difference in point of view can perhaps be indicated as follows. According to Fr. Rahner, the objective unity of the Exercises, their "Principle and Foundation," is to be found in the Kingdom meditation with its theme of total self-

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<sup>69</sup> Cf. Peters, p. 78. Fr. Peters' comment here on the psychological freedom of the exercitant to make an oblation of himself or not (on the occasion of the Kingdom meditation) are in our opinion eminently sound. We question only whether one must so drastically de-emphasize the election within the framework of the *Spiritual Exercises* in order to maintain this precious spiritual independence of the exercitant. In our opinion, multiple motivation for the election can guarantee this same psychological freedom without sacrificing the traditional role of the election within the *Spiritual Exercises*.

dedication to Christ. Moreover, as Fr. Rahner's abundant citations from the *Directorium* and other related sources of Ignatiana make clear, the focal-point of Ignatian spirituality, which arises out of the Exercises, is likewise profoundly Christological. On the other hand, if we consider not the speculative unity of the Exercises nor the abstract concept of Ignatian spirituality, but rather the concrete exercitant with his individual needs and aspirations, then one can properly ask whether it is better to present the Exercises simply from the viewpoint of total self-dedication to Christ or whether one should not stress the dual motivation of the Exercises both to legitimate self-interest and to self-dedication. Provided that both sources of motivation aim at the same generic goal, namely a sound election, there seems to be a psychological advantage in offering the retreatant more than one source of motivation to achieve this end. Moreover, the contrast between the two types of motivation should only heighten the distinctive subjective appeal of each to the retreatant.

The psychological "mistake," if we may call it such, of a synthetic view of the Exercises, such as Fr. Rahner proposes, is that its power of persuasion lies more in the realm of thought than in that of action. That is, it presumes that an objective good, when once fully understood, exerts indefinitely a compelling influence on the will as a motive for practical activity. Accordingly, the best possible motivation is that which lays out a single line of thought and imagery with the utmost clarity. In point of fact, however, practical decisions are most frequently made under the influence of several subjective motives, quite apart from the objective good to be attained. Moreover, in the execution of this same decision, an individual will normally feel the appeal now of one motive, now of another, according to subjective mood and changing circumstances. We may conclude, therefore, that in actual practice multiple motivation, i.e., motivation which appeals alternately to several "interests" in the consciousness of the exercitant, is psychologically stronger than a single line of motivation, which is derived exclusively from a speculative synthesis, however artfully contrived. For these mundane, but nevertheless quite practical reasons, we feel that our interpretation of the Spiritual Exercises offers a realistic counter-balance to the otherwise very impressive synthetic view of the Exercises developed by Fr. Rahner.

## D) POSTSCRIPT

In the footnotes to this article, frequent reference has been made to a new interpretation of the Spiritual Exercises, that of Fr. William A. M. Peters, S.J., *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius: Exposition and Interpretation*. This interpretation is however sufficiently important to deserve special comment and criticism in the following postscript. First of all, I would agree with the editor of the text, Fr. Henry Birkenhauer, S.J., that Fr. Peter's interpretation is important because it emphasizes an often neglected aspect of the Exercises, namely their function as a "school of prayer," specifically, of contemplation.<sup>70</sup> Especially since the Exercises are most often given to formed religious or lay people already secure in their vocation, it is surely pointless to insist that the Exercises climax in the choice of a state of life. Fr. Peters is also undoubtedly correct in his assumption that the essential aim of the Exercises is to allow God to work in the soul, to communicate himself to the Exercitant.<sup>71</sup>

In line with this hypothesis, Fr. Peters has however in my opinion unduly minimized the importance of the "structural" meditations in the Exercises, specifically the Principle and Foundation, the Kingdom Meditation, the Two Standards, the Three Classes of Men and finally the Three Degrees of Humility, at least insofar as these meditations are understood to prepare the exercitant psychologically for the election at the end of the Second Week. While there is surely merit in respecting the subjective disposition of the exercitant so that he is not dragooned into making a hasty choice by the sheer momentum of the Exercises themselves, I nevertheless believe that Fr. Peters has erred in thus de-emphasizing the election as the natural goal of the Exercises. It cannot be denied that the Exercises, especially when made in their entirety, are an effective school of prayer for the exercitant in daily life afterwards; yet the immediate aim of the Exercises is still, as Fr. Peters himself admits, to introduce "order" into the life of the exercitant.<sup>72</sup> This order is certainly the effect of divine grace, but it is concomitantly the result of a conscious choice by the exercitant himself. This choice for God and for Christ is nothing else than the election in its deepest existential

<sup>70</sup> Peters, p. x.

<sup>71</sup> Peters, pp. 1, 4.

<sup>72</sup> Peters, p. 6.

implications. Hence, if the election be thus understood as the necessary response of the exercitant to the movement of grace, then there can be no question that the election is and must remain the natural goal of the Exercises.

My own interpretation of the Exercises presupposes this deeper understanding of the election as an existential commitment on the one hand to God as Creator and Lord and on the other to Christ as the cherished leader and king. That is, because the election is a personal commitment, which must be renewed regularly after the retreat is over, in moments both of optimism and discouragement, of spiritual zeal and of open temptation, it seemed good to me to emphasize the multiple motivation which Ignatius provides in the Exercises themselves for abiding by one's choice for God and for Christ. When enthusiasm for the cause of Christ wanes, then prudent self-interest will hold the exercitant to his election. Admittedly, I have confined myself chiefly to the human dispositions for the movement of divine grace in the work of the election, but it is a safe presumption that grace will normally work through these same controlling Ideas of self-interest and self-dedication.

Fr. Peters, therefore, has in my opinion likewise been guilty of a "mistake" in his interpretation of the Exercises. This mistake has been to judge the Exercises too much in terms of the spirituality of St. Ignatius as their author. At the beginning of his book, Fr. Peters recalls that Ignatius was a great mystic.<sup>73</sup> Hence he interprets the Exercises primarily as a school of prayer, designed to lead the exercitant, where possible, to a simplified affective prayer of contemplation.<sup>74</sup> This interpretation of the Exercises is of course quite legitimate and indeed fruitful for the understanding of those details in the text, which reflect more directly the personal experience of St. Ignatius himself. But, as I mentioned already in dealing with the Christological interpretation of Fr. Rahner, the Exercises should be interpreted first and foremost not speculatively, but pragmatically, i.e., in terms of the anticipated effect on the individual exercitant. Here I maintain that St. Ignatius, better than Fr. Peters, saw the real need for an election in the retreat in order to crystallize the

<sup>73</sup> Peters, pp. 1-9.

<sup>74</sup> Peters, p. 170 ff, where Fr. Peters discusses the "Methods of Prayer" for use in daily life.

exercitant's response to the movement of grace. The Exercises, as conceived by Ignatius, are therefore much more than a school of prayer. They are best understood as a blueprint for future action, intended to change decisively the personal and social life of the exercitant through a restructuring of his habitual motivation. This pragmatic orientation to activity has been, in my opinion, the chief reason for the effectiveness of the Ignatian Exercises through four centuries of use.

## FORTY YEARS AFTER

*educational déjà vu*

LOWRIE J. DALY, S.J.

ALMOST FORTY YEARS AGO, in the midst of the Great Depression to be exact, a formidable report was issued by a team of American Jesuit educators in response to a letter from Father General Ledochowski about the general situation of Jesuit American secondary and higher education. Issued in 1931-32 the full title of the report was: *Report of the Commission on Higher Studies of the American Assistancy of the Society of Jesus*. Its 234 mimeographed pages of type-script may have proved too heavy a diet at the time, but whatever the cause this interesting report has quietly slipped into oblivion as far as the average present-day Jesuit is concerned. Have you ever seen it, let alone read it?

The members of the Commission were as follows: for the Province of California and Oregon, Charles F. Carrol, Prefect of Studies and Regent of the School of Law at the University of San Francisco; for the Province of Maryland-New York, Charles J. Deane, Dean of the College and of the University at Fordham; for the Province of Chicago, Albert C. Fox, Dean of the College at John Carroll University; for the Province of New Orleans, John W. Hynes, President of Loyola University; for the Province of New England, Edward P. Tivnan, Province Procurator; for the Province of Missouri and Chairman of the Commission, James B. Macelwane, Dean of the Graduate School of Saint Louis University. The person chiefly responsible for the report is named by the Commission itself: "In re-

spectfully submitting this final report, the Commission desires to pay sincere and deserved tribute to its Chairman, Rev. James B. Macelwane, S.J., to whose zeal and ceaseless labor, whatever success achieved may be largely attributed" (p. 7). This commission began its work with a series of meetings in Philadelphia in June of 1931, and then at intervals of two or three months additional meetings were held in Saint Louis, New Orleans, San Francisco and Santa Clara, Boston and lastly in Chicago. Between meetings the members of the Commission gathered additional data in their own provinces. The minutes of each meeting were sent directly to the General who continued to encourage the commission. At the final meeting in Chicago, lasting about a month, the various results of previous meetings were restudied and formulated into a report.

The report, let it be stated from the outset, is quite frank and must have been startling to some; it may still be today. As the members stated in their Introduction

... Our virtues and our vices have been frankly and fearlessly indicated. Where weakness was found, we have tried to suggest the remedy, keeping always in mind His Paternity's admonition that the solution of our problem must be in conformity with the *Constituto Apostolica* "Deus Scientiarum Dominus," the statutes of the Society, and the general and local educational requirements in force in the United States" (p. 7).

The purpose of the report has been summarized under four general headings: (1) to secure united purpose and concentrated action in our educational work; (2) to evaluate our institutions in comparison with secular colleges and universities; (3) to study national or regional accrediting agencies; (4) to suggest a plan whereby present and future teachers can secure the necessary academic degrees.

#### United purpose

Part I of the report (pp. 8-32) is subdivided into eight sections treating of such subjects as the regional variations of our institutions, what points we can all agree on, what we must keep, how far the *Ratio Studiorum* binds us (Sections 3, 4, 5), how we can best pool our efforts, how far we can achieve a fixed program, and what should be the common characteristics of Jesuit education in our country. Obviously these topics are just as important now as forty years ago, and the various discussions and suggestions which were

then raised should help us today. The gist of the decisions is summed up in a "Summary of Recommendations, Part I" (pp. 181-192). Here it is strongly suggested that there be "organized at once a really functioning interprovince organization." Each province is to have two Standing Committees on Studies, one for high school and the other for the colleges and universities, each committee consisting "of three well chosen men." There would be two General Prefects of Studies corresponding to this division, and a National Executive Committee meeting at least once a year and reporting directly both to the General and to the Provincials. Probably the key words in all this are those at the beginning: "at once a *really functioning* interprovince organization." I think the average academically-oriented Jesuit is still waiting for such an organization, but more of this later.

There are some things mentioned in the Part I that are not contained in the summary of recommendations and which are quite important today. Under "Other Ways of Pooling our Interests" suggestions are made for stronger Graduate schools, exchange professors, and financial cooperation. As members of an international organization with the history it has, we Jesuits have certainly not exploited some of these possibilities, exchange professorships, for example.

Section two lists the points of agreement between Jesuit institutions and can be summarized as follows: agreement in objective (education for the whole man and with a definite philosophy of life), religion (no real education without religion), philosophy (right principles and correct thinking are vital to true education and therefore Scholastic Philosophy is an integral part of every Jesuit educational program), thoroughness, personal contact with all by advice and guidance as well as by teaching and example, training in leadership (by leaders are meant "men preeminent in their professional lives and exemplary in character, whose intellectual vigor will command attention and admiration and whose wisdom, prudence and sincerity will place them at the head of every important activity") (p. 12). Today perhaps some of us would regard this ideal as beyond our capabilities, i.e., the remarks on leadership, or we might disagree with the preponderance given to Scholastic Philosophy, although in the latter point the dispute could

turn on what part of Scholastic Philosophy is given maximum attention rather than about the assumption as a general principles. At any rate this section merits close attention not only from a historical point of view, illuminating as it does Jesuit educational viewpoints at a given period in American culture, but also as a help in solving our problems at the present crisis of Jesuit education.

Sections three, four, and five have to do with the application of the *Ratio Studiorum* in its spirit or its letter. These sections may seem to have little relevance to the educational situation of today, but the following sentences are surely well worth pondering:

First among these [essential principles of education] is the fact that in our educational work we are laying the foundation upon which each student is expected to be able to build a life dedicated to the service of God. Hence this foundation should be deeply and solidly laid in truth. This will be brought about by continually emphasizing the triple essential relationship embracing man's utter dependency upon God his Creator, his duty to respect the rights of his fellow men and his own personal responsibility as a rational creature . . . (p. 12).

It is perhaps the lack of knowledge of or emphasis upon such a view of our educational work which has led to its condemnation either openly or covertly by too many of our younger Jesuits.

Section six which is devoted to the means of "pooling our interests, offering one another helpful cooperation, supplementing and supplying one another's needs and deficiencies" (p. 19). The bulk of this section is devoted to the strong recommendation of a "*really functioning inter-province organization*" which should be established immediately to replace the present nominal association approved several years ago by the Fathers Provincial (p. 20). There follows a description of a National Executive Committee composed of as many members as there are provinces, of their characteristics, of a permanent Executive Secretary of such a central bureau. Then follow some additional cogent reasons for the need of such a Jesuit Association, which are so frank that they may explain why this report has not been much emphasized. Their enumeration now will probably do no good. But I think there is surely one question that we can all ask today: have we Jesuit teachers and scholars such an organization? I personally do not hesitate to say an unqualified "no." The JEA may or may not adequately represent the needs and opinions of Jesuit educational administrators, but it certainly does

not adequately mirror the needs and opinions of the ordinary Jesuit teachers, professors and writers especially in the universities. This is a fact which it seems to me has been overlooked far too long. If the JEA is to be such an organization then it needs to be very heavily integrated with Jesuits of academic background and the sooner the better. There is an increasing and inherently very dangerous (because disunity is always weakening to any organization) tendency to a disastrous separation between Jesuit faculty and Jesuit administration. This tendency is growing. JEA could become a great force for unification for all those engaged in the apostolate of education, which still is, "nobody can deny," by far the most popular, the most extensive, (and I would add) the most important apostolate of the American Assistancy.

-In the other means suggested for "pooling our interests," strong graduate schools are emphasized.

While all of them must maintain the recognized standards in faculty, courses, equipment, library, etc. each of them should be helped by all the others to attain to real preeminence in some special field or fields, for which by reason of its location or other advantages it is particularly suited. This demands close cooperation not only among institutions, but among the provinces as well (p. 28).

The dog-eat-dog attitude which has too often and too long characterized the relationships of Jesuit universities and colleges with one another, has created for us many departments which are competing with each other in a fashion that is not only expensive but so mutually-weakening that it has ultimately reduced the competitors to a uniform mediocrity—if not inferiority. Budgetary considerations may finally force upon us a cooperation which "mutual charity" has been unable to bring about!

Section eight, dealing with common characteristics of Jesuit education, ends with a sentence that has a very modern ring about it. "There should be a common endeavor to overcome the apathy and indifference so frequently met with in our graduates who seem content with being led by others instead of taking the initiative toward the solution of social problems" (p. 32).

#### Weaknesses and strengths

Part II of the report (pp. 33-92) is in some ways the most interesting division because it frankly discusses so many of the weaknesses

and strengths of the Jesuit college or university. There are some twenty-five different sections, some of them quite brief but all of them thought-provoking. The summary of recommendations concentrates heavily on the need for better budgets and professional accounting for the university expenditures as well as on the need for a better choice of professors and the spelling out of the requirements for graduate degrees. But these recommendations necessarily omit many of the stimulating statements to be found in the text of Part II. There are discussions about the need for adequate income, or about why non-Catholic colleges succeed in some things better than we do, and where they fail, why they fail and the same inquiry about our Catholic competitors. There is a frank discussion about comparative standards for the appointment of ranked faculty in our schools and others, about objectives in teaching lower and upper division courses, about comparative requirements for the M.A. and the Ph.D. There are many suggestions here which have a modern ring not least because some have scarcely been acted upon, although one can also see what progress has been made in many of our institutions, especially in budgetary matters, by glancing through these pages.

One item which particularly struck my attention and first got me interested in this report is the section entitled: "What Library and other facilities must be available to justify the offering of a graduate course in any subject" (pp. 69-72). On glancing through these pages with their comparative statistics on Jesuit library holdings and those of some secular universities, I was amazed to find almost exactly the same range of comparisons and type of conclusions which I myself had reached in a brief report to the Graduate Faculty of Saint Louis University last year. Here in a report written in 1932 was evidence of the same glaring deficiencies in Jesuit library facilities as I had to admit some thirty-five years later. It is true that some of the university libraries cited in this report are among the greatest libraries that Western civilization has been able to gather, while my instances were comparisons with nearby universities with about the same enrollment and problems as Saint Louis University. Nevertheless our own smug complacency in regard to our weak library resources has been and is a definite factor contributing to the continuance of such library inadequacy. A

glance at this part of the report will show that it is far from outdated, but it also shows that for almost forty years far too little has been done to remedy the situation. Too often the early history of some of our institutions makes clear that our European Jesuit founders and early faculty often had a far higher appreciation of the need for adequate library resources than we do today. The example of Fr. DeSmet purchasing the old Augustinian Library in Europe for Saint Louis University at the same time as he was seeking Indian missionaries for the West is a case in point.

Part III (pp. 93-110) of the Report is probably the least relevant at present because in many instances something has been done to follow out the recommendations of the report. Part III deals with the accrediting agencies, their type, requirements and our relationships with them. The summary lists only the following recommendation: "That every Jesuit institution of higher education obtain membership in all of the respective accrediting associations, regional and national for each of its schools and colleges" (p. 186). It was a large order in 1932, but this is one area where evidently the report had successful repercussions as can be seen by glancing through the various catalogs of our institutions with the recognitions by educational associations there listed.

#### Degrees

Part IV of the report (pp. 112-180) is not only lengthy, but in many ways it is the most interesting part. It is entitled: "Academic Degrees and Educational Training" and has five sections. The first proposes the following question: "What are the reasons why as many as possible of our teachers should be equipped with those higher degrees which will make their school work better recognized and more effective, particularly the degree of Doctor of Philosophy?" The first recommendation (p. 187) states: "That the doctorate in some particular field be regarded as the academic goal of all in the same sense as the profession is the ecclesiastical goal." The catalog of reasons why this emphasis upon the attainment of a Ph.D. is valid occupies pp. 112-115 and is well worth reading. The last reason given (p. 115) might startle some today: "The marked growth in individual scholarship, resulting from this policy [making the doctorate our normal goal] will react favorably upon the Spiritual life of Ours, for the reason that it will remove the indifference,

discouragement and lack of interest which now affect many of Ours so adversely both intellectually and spiritually." Shades of 1969!

Section two, the longest section of the report (pp. 115-152) is entitled with the question: "How can the ordinary studies of the Society from the Juniorate to the end of theology be given their due value for the obtaining of such degrees without detriment to the classical, philosophical and theological formation that is required by the Church and the Society." Hardly an out-dated question. The commission then goes through all the stages of the Jesuit training as it was then conceived and proposes various remedies and changes to make it possible for the young Jesuit to reach this academic goal. A key to the thinking of the commission is the suggestion that two types of Juniorates be envisioned: one for those entering with only high school preparation and the other, situated near some Jesuit university, for those with some college preparation. The twenty-seven recommendations (pp. 187-192) show the vision of the commission; for instance, "that the successful completion of two years of college work be the *normal* academic entrance requirement of the Society" (No. 2, p. 187, *Italics added*), or this: "That the curriculum of each Scholastic be arranged individually in accordance with his previous college record, his talent, and the specialty to which he is to be devoted," and that "this specialty be determined by a comprehensive examination at the end of the lower division college studies" No. 3, 1 and 2, p. 187). No. 9 recommends "that those Scholastics who are to go on to the doctorate in any subject be assigned during their regency either as assistants to high school or college teachers in their own field or as teaching fellows in the universities; and that they be supplied during that time with the necessary books, journals, supervision and encouragement to continue their studies for the doctorate." No. 10 has a modern ring and one which was unfortunately too often disregarded: "That all Scholasticates, including Juniorates, Philosophates, and Theologates, be located within easy reach of our recognized universities and in intimate association with them as integral parts, thus sharing their library and other facilities, which must be available to every advanced student, in order that all the degrees granted to our Scholastics may be accorded that unqualified esteem and recognition which the educators of the country give to the degrees of the fore-

most institutions." Here is another: "That our Jesuit teachers be trained not only in a special *subject*, but for a specific position in a particular *institution*" and "that this assignment be made at the beginning of graduate student study for the doctorate, so that the institution for which the man is destined may supervise his training, and that this assignment once made be not changed except for grave reasons" (pp. 189-190). It is also recommended "that the institution which may thus normally hope to have the services of the man bear the financial responsibilities for his training."

For each of these recommendations and the many others made for this section there are interesting discussions and suggestions in the respective section (pp. 115-152), which are well worth the careful reading of all of us. The following sections of the report (3-5.) deal with the implementation of this program. Once again they contain some very frank discussions and suggestions, some of which have indeed been brought to realization, but many others seem so modern to us because they are as yet unfulfilled.

Perhaps this essay may appear to be too negative and so it should be added that a close perusal of the report and a comparison with each one's personal experience in the present Society will show that much progress has indeed been made in certain areas, particularly it seems to me in the training of professional educational administrators, and in an undoubted increase of Jesuits with the Ph.D. on our facilities; yet there are also many areas of which the report treats and gives stimulating suggestions where the 1969 situation looks quite like the 1931 one. We are living forty years after the Report; one hopes that is is not forty years too late.

## NEW POEMS BY BERRIGAN

EDWARD V. DE SANTIS, S.J.

False Gods, Real Men: New Poems. *By Daniel Berrigan, S.J.*  
Macmillan. \$4.95

THERE IS AN EASE and objectivity in discussing the current exploits of Daniel Berrigan, S.J., from the safe distance of a Jesuit cocktail party or the pages of *Look* magazine. From such a position the speaker, writer, reader, or listener, be he unwavering hard-line "obedient" Jesuit or carefree liberal "Christian," can ride the crest of his own ideological wave, high above the turbulence below, the wild waters that suck one into the general chaos and blood-letting experiences of life. These are the people, his admirers and opponents, Jesuits, teachers, would-be radicals, professional critics, columnists, camp-followers, who have developed a mythology of Daniel Berrigan. To many of them he is a unique news item, a controversial figure, who satisfies the quest of gossips and idlers, like the olive that completes the martini. To others he is the tribal sachem of the new breed, or the exotic juggernaut, claiming his devoted martyrs for the peace movement or civil rights. Few, if any, of these people, know Daniel Berrigan as a man who is tirelessly trying to identify himself with the paradoxical and demanding imperatives of the Gospel.

It is in and through the Gospel that Daniel Berrigan continually discovers for himself the center of his life. For him the Gospel becomes the only context in which life can be truthfully judged. And conversely, the whole sweep and contour of human life is the only

condition of evangelical existence. The catchy title of his most recent book, his eleventh, *False Gods, Real Men*, gives the lie to the self-satisfying claim of the "saved" to the possession of the Gospel. The Word of God comes to man as a force that uproots and dislocates at the juncture where culture and all its stock responses to human experience, can be mistaken for true faith. The word "Gospel" itself contains a built-in paradox. It is "good" only to those who have undergone a death into real manhood. It is "news" only to those who sit in prison and wait for release and freedom. Intellectualizing the Gospel is only the beginning of the process of evangelization. Knowing the Gospel is to become the Gospel: literally, to suffer the Word of God to pass through us, thus transforming us into it. The irony of hearing the Word of God is staggering: those who hear it are most in need of it. *Assent* without *descent* is self-destructive to faith: it is holding off on the truth; saying "yes," but writing "no"; giving with one hand, but taking back with the other; listening but not attending to; acknowledging and admitting the truth without directing one's mind and energies toward its completion; being a "false god," a mockup of the truth, a bogus presence of the Incarnation, but not to "real man."

#### Family

In the opening lines of this collection of poems Daniel Berrigan records his family's political and religious status.

Our family moved in 25 years from Acceptable Ethnic  
through Ideal American

(4 sons at war Africa Italy the Bulge Germany)  
and Ideal Catholic

(2 sons priests uncle priest aunt nun cousins  
great-uncle etc. etc.)

But now; 2 priests in and out of jail, spasms, evictions,  
confrontations

We haven't made a nickel on the newest war  
probably never again

will think, proper

with pride; a soldier! a priest! we've made it now!

What it all means is—what remains.

The authentic Gospel is not easily digested by delicate stomachs. "Ideal Catholic" has little, if anything, to do with the Pauline prison formula of life through death. "Ideal American" and "Ideal Catholic" represent the turning of one's back on the present and future: judging the present by what was successful in the past and hoping that the future won't intrude enough to topple and rearrange the past. The Gospel, with its tributaries of truth that reach and alter every quarter of human life, is ruthless in its discarding of what is dead, causing life to emerge in the most unlikely place and at the most unlikely time, often embarrassing to believers!

I should like to know please  
 the name of that girl  
 lauded in some obscure corner  
 of the press  
 dead in Paris  
 buried in Père Lachaise cemetery,  
 dedicated it was said, to the common  
 life of man  
 an American girl  
 solicitous for the sick  
 succoring outcasts  
 showing the city of light  
 an unaccustomed incandescence.  
 Why then the question?  
 except that her bones  
 make  
 so small a sound  
 in the noiseless sockets  
 of history  
 except that the dead  
 press  
 upon us  
 and *learn! learn!* is the law  
 whereby we stand  
 and they  
 cut free.

WOODSTOCK LETTERS

The poem, "The Wedding," is a striking example of how the Gospel can be savage in its insistence that the world in all its anguish, "acrid, disastrous," must be taken whole. Human love is really a way of wedding oneself to the world. The married couple must swallow

the sour air, the clangor, the revolting  
loveless, heartless, unjust mass,  
weights pressing the heart into weird misshape,  
the imponderable brutal load that makes  
brutes of us all; neutral minds,  
stocks and stones; rapacious ominous law  
nine points of dispossession, faces  
beaten under night sticks.

Marriage is also a "yes," a vow to assume the world as a man's flesh, and a woman's.

Don't speak of love until everything is  
lost; antagonism, agony!  
no vow, no faith, the wedding bread  
spoiled, scattered like chaff; the bride  
a whoring reusant.

O who will make  
amends, my love?

I climbed up  
step after iron step, inferno  
into your eyes. I have married  
sight of your face, that took  
all this and me beside

for groom, for the bride's  
evil and good, sickness and hope and health.  
Yes.

I have learned from you

YES

when

no

unmans me like a knife, turns  
like an evil lock, the incarnate bridal door.

As a man is wedded to a woman, so a priest is to his priesthood, a religious person to his order. The analogy is not to be taken in its traditional, and, often misleading sense. Being a priest or a religious is another entrance into the world. The world, in this Johannine sense, is a prison, a sign of death, to which the religious man, the man of God, is to bring the Gospel of hope and salvation. How ironic to find priests and religious who have not the desire to be wedded to this death! Who have allowed themselves to be imprisoned by their very service, who have fallen slaves to the law! Daniel Berrigan makes numerous references in his poems to priests, once symbols of the paschal death that the Gospel summons men to, but who have become statted images in a mausoleum. The priest is sick and needs healing. Daniel Berrigan is himself undergoing the present sorrow of the priest, a rough diamond still to be worked over by history and the Spirit.

Bronze celibates  
 thread space like spiders. Hands  
 inoffensive as lizard's  
 wave effete farewell  
 to arms, to full-blooded  
 speech, to country matters.  
 I saw a priest once  
 mired in his people's lives  
 hunching a hundred-pound sack  
 up four flights of stairs  
 pulling for breath on the top landing.  
 What then is health?  
 I must pour  
 hell's black humors in the dawn cup  
 transubstantiate their vileness in that blood  
 hate cannot sour, envy  
 thin to a whey.  
 say *I am sick*  
 implore *come heal me*.

## WOODSTOCK LETTERS

### Priest and prison

In his poem, "To the Prisoners," inspired by the harsh realism of the frescoes of Diego Rivera in Mexico's Palacio Nacional, Berrigan combines the themes of the sicklist priesthood and the prison experience.

Behold, the iron on the other necks now!  
the cleric's collar, like a spiked mastiff  
warns; *keep off*  
*color, music, sexual sweetness, spontaneity*  
*passionate use of the world!*  
a black overall  
begins at wrists and ankles  
like sacking on the dolls  
that in my childhood, began to be true  
at neck, hands and feet; all between  
homunculus of straw, alas!  
When they had locked the prisoners' irons  
(the guide book says)  
the executioners came forward  
a line of purposeful apes  
platonic, implacable . . .  
it is our history.

By the ocean I recently watched his carefree limbs, trousers rolled up, kick sand into the teeth of the waves. In the morning and late in the night he sought this rendezvous with the mysterious wild sea. Marianne Moore, Berrigan's good friend, in one of her poems writes about

Man looking into the sea,  
taking the view from those who have as much  
right to it as you  
have it to yourself,  
it is human nature to stand in the middle of a thing,  
but you cannot stand in the middle of this;  
the sea has nothing to give but a well excavated grave.

Berrigan, unlike the man in Miss Moore's poem, came to the sea

to imperate joy  
 like a child  
 along a shore, in places above the sea.

On these occasions he seemed to be storing up memories of freedom and ecstasy, like some animal gathering its food for the long underground winter ahead. For him prison is the only kind of vessel that will traverse the waves. And by some secret certainty he kept on talking about the "analogy of prison" as if it were some strange alchemy that would reveal deeper and richer springs of life. One truly gets the sense that he has taken his life into his own hands, willing to make an account of it at any moment. If one isn't used to him, it is easy to misrepresent his actions as judgmental of others. On the contrary, what he is doing is affirming life at every turn. And it is we ourselves who are then forced to measure the spectre of our life against one so willing to risk all for the Gospel as it addresses itself to him.

There are many Jesuits who have mistaken Berrigan's actions as a gradual separation from the order he has been a member of for twenty years. On closer inspection, however, he is in his own way directing his attention to salvaging what is viable, what has a future, in the Society of Jesus. He continually chooses to live as a Jesuit so long as the order does not slam the door shut on the real human challenges that are shaking and shaping her from within. He loyally identifies himself with those who find the life-giving priorities, risky and volatile though they may be, too precious and promising to be jettisoned in favor of adherence to what may have become a system slowly grinding itself to a halt. To the Jesuits he writes:

you have surpassed your myths  
                   you are  
 all intellectual patience  
                   you have seen  
 vanity and seasons  
                   drown drown in their witches'  
                   trial by water



*Hanoi privies  
from above—  
napalm jigger bombs gas  
God's saniflush, in sum—*

The gentleman was  
four square as State  
or the pentateuch;  
sans beard, rope sandals, foul talk, pot—  
a fire extinguisher  
on Pentecost day;  
exuding good will  
like a mortician's convention  
in a plague year.  
Indeed yes.  
There is nothing sick  
(the corpse said)  
about death.  
Come in.

Though Berrigan has broken through the Jesuit ranks and found a home elsewhere, one detects that there lurks in his heart a secret love for his brother Jesuits. So often in our recent conversations and walks with him he let slip some noticeable reminder to us of his great joy in being in our company.

O will you take me  
whose health is sickness  
whose rich is poor  
whose better worse?

Daniel Berrigan is a man who knows comfort and security only as a future possibility. To be a friend of his is a hard choice. It is not a memory or a relationship that is restored with a few words or an embrace. It is a journey "into the land of unknowing"—but in the direction of our real home. To know him intimately is to realize that salvation demands the bitter pill, the blood-letting, letting go of certainties and false identities, to risk all in faith. Living with him, if for only a short time, is bracing oneself to make an act of faith, a lover's leap.

If I were Pablo Neruda  
 or William Blake  
 I could bear, and be eloquent  
 an American name in the world  
 where men perish  
 in our two murderous hands  
 Alas Berrigan  
 you must open those hands  
 and see, stigmatized in their palms  
 the broken faces  
 you yearn toward  
 you cannot offer  
 being powerless as a woman  
 under the rain of fire—  
 life, the cover of your body.  
 only the innocent die.  
 Take up, take up  
 the bloody map of the century.  
 The long trek homeward begins  
 into the land of unknowing.

An echo in us

The danger with a review of this sort is that it might easily trap one into thinking that fitting tribute has been paid to a Jesuit priest by the name of Berrigan. Somehow we can feel comforted that some part of the breach has been closed; a radical priest has been saluted by US. We have done our share. Let him be satisfied with this. Let no one say that Berrigan is not appreciated by his order! The irony, however, is that the only response from him is from the echo-chambers of our own minds. A man who shares in the gift of prophetic utterance in the Church is beyond us. At best this review is a kind of intramural exercise, for, as a man, Daniel Berrigan has seen things that even the language of his poetry, which is ours, can but at best approximate. W. B. Yeats, long one of Berrigan's masters, writing about a poet of another generation, has left an elegant statement about so fine a student:

A poet is by the very nature of things a man who lives with entire sincerity . . . His life is an experiment in living and those that come after have a right

to know it. Above all it is necessary that the lyric poet's life should be known that we should understand that his poetry is no rootless flower but the speech of a man, (that is no little thing) to achieve anything in any art, and to stand alone perhaps for many years, to go a path no other man has gone, to accept one's own thoughts when the thoughts of others have the authority of the world behind them, . . . to give one's soul as well as one's words which are so much nearer to one's soul than the criticism of the world . . . Why should we honor those that die upon the field of battle, a man may show as reckless a courage in entering into the abyss of himself.



WOODSTOCK  
LETTERS

FALL 1969

VOLUME 98 NUMBER 4

## INTRODUCTION

On June 11, 1969, the last Jesuit students left Loyola College and Seminary, Shrub Oak, New York, to take up residence on College campuses at Fordham and elsewhere. Opened in 1955, Loyola Seminary now only echoes the hundreds of student voices that once rang there. Spiritual Father at Shrub Oak, Frederic M. O'Connor spoke privately and publicly to the community of faculty and philosophers there from its first year to its last. We print here two of his conferences, given in 1961; both as a tribute to his decade and more of leadership at Loyola Seminary, and as a remembrance of the ideal of community Jesuits and Jesuit benefactors hoped to establish there.

We also print in this issue three historical articles: by Patrick Ryan, S.J., a doctoral student in Comparative Religion at Harvard University, who has previously and elegantly written for WOODSTOCK LETTERS; by Denis Dirscherl, S.J., a doctoral candidate in Russian Studies at Georgetown University; and by Sr. M. Lilliana Owens, a Sister of Loretto from St. Louis, who is actively engaged in researching the history of her own congregation.

Also from St. Louis, and both students in the divinity school there, Mark Voss, S.J., and Michael Sheeran, S.J., contribute research work on the *Constitutions* and *Exercises* towards a better understanding of the role of the superior and change in the Society.

Thanks to Henry H. Regnet, S.J., the youngest survivor of the Buffalo Mission, we print here a composite memoir of the Mission's centenary celebration on July 13, 1969.

Owing to the relocation of Woodstock College from Woodstock, Maryland, to New York City, WOODSTOCK LETTERS must, with this issue, suspend publication for the year 1969-1970. The Business Manager is already at work to refund those subscriptions already paid for that period.

G.C.R.

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## FOR CONTRIBUTORS

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

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

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

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## ON COMMUNITY LIFE

*man needs man*

FREDERIC M. O'CONNOR, S.J.

ATMOSPHERE OF COMMUNITY

*17 March 1961*

"I give thanks to God, that he is always exhibiting us as the captives in the triumph of Christ Jesus, and through us spreading abroad everywhere like a perfume, the knowledge of himself. For we are the good odor of Christ unto God."

MODERN MAN is deeply aware of community. He freely admits that he needs other men.

But no one of mature judgment long reflects upon his need for others without soon discovering that communion among men does not thrive in every chance environment. Community, to be genuine and enduring, requires a favorable atmosphere: a clear air, a warming sun, a touch of spring.

Such an atmosphere of community may escape precise definition; yet men instinctively recognize its presence and detect its absence. No one watching Sartre's "No Exit" needs more than a glimpse of the faces and a few snatches of the dialogue to perceive that love could never be among that abandoned trio. Pediatricians tell us that infants are so sensitive to acceptance that they can sense its absence as soon as a pair of hostile hands picks them up.

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But the presence of community is just as keenly felt. No philosopher at Port Kent last villa could have failed to benefit from the glow and welcome reflected from every face. More recently, I am sure, the cast and audience at our production of "The Tempest" hated to see the play come to an end, for a common endeavor, successfully carried out, has a stealthy way of drawing men together. Perhaps this same presence of communion explains the hidden charm of those haunting phrases of St. John: "Before the festival day of the pasch Jesus knowing that his hour was come, that he should pass out of this world to the Father, having loved his own who were in the world, he loved them unto the end."

An atmosphere of community, then, is as simple as sunlight. When it is present, it can't be missed; when it is absent, there is no substitute.

### Four strong lines

If I were asked to describe an atmosphere of community in religious life, I should demand that it show itself along four strong lines.

- (1) There must be such a sense of trust and understanding that a man can feel himself at one with other men. With superiors, first of all, so that a visit to a superior's room is marked by ease, manliness, and integrity. I mean an assurance that one has been oneself where most he wants to be his candid self. With his brothers, so that a meeting with them is a moment of spontaneous gratitude that he is privileged to live with such men.
- (2) There must be such a tone about the house that a man is subconsciously drawn to imitate Christ poor, Christ chaste, Christ obedient to his heavenly Father.
- (3) Such a sense of God's presence, registered and reflected in the walk, talk, and eyes of men around him, that he is impelled with ease to love his God, to love his image everywhere.
- (4) Finally, such a well-founded realization that his brothers are proud of him, interested in his contribution to God's glory, that he is encouraged to attempt great things as he labors in his apostolate.

However, the more taxing problem to be answered is to determine how an atmosphere of community can be created. The question is delicate because there are false ways as well as solid ones.

It should be clear from the beginning that the solution to this important problem can be neither too spiritual nor too earthly; neither too heavenly nor too natural. For we are dealing with men, incarnate spirits in a material universe.

The valid approach certainly is not the facile enlisting of a public relations agency to enter our religious houses and assess our ills and pains. Although we might profit a great deal from such a searching operation, yet the goal we are reaching for is much too lofty to approach merely by tabulated statistics. Natural procedures have their place, but unity in Christ Jesus can not be counted among the wares peddled by Madison Avenue or its next door neighbor, Broadway.

Nor can the sing-song repetition of the formula, "Love one another," sacred though its meaning be, prove loud enough to sustain an atmosphere of trust. Words alone will never do. For when men live together upon an earth of clay, they need more than sighs and sounds to hold their bond together. And so, in the course of time, men have come to invent symbols and art, language and literature; for love itself must be creative and human relationships cannot long endure unless there is presented an experience to share, a challenge to mold. Even the sacred state of matrimony may be in jeopardy until a child arrives to divert easily sated eyes.

In religious life, therefore, a genuine and enduring atmosphere of community will be found only when due consideration is extended to the full human situation in which the dedicated man finds himself.

It is generally accepted dogma that, this side of the general resurrection, every man lives in a given situation. He is located in space, limited by time. As long as he dwells on earth, he must occupy a definite role, live out a particular status. If he lives in one country, he thereby becomes a foreigner to a hundred others. If he is a doctor, he cancels out a whole list of other professions as his life's work.

Now it is to be noticed that the more important human situations experienced by men are constituted in their full reality by two main elements: a basic structure and a deep immersion in time and space. The basic structure is the less tangible of the two, but still it is very

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real and present. It enjoys a certain independence, for upon closer examination it precedes and antedates the full human situation itself. For example, it is quite evident that the purposes and general procedures of matrimony are somehow in existence even before the bride parades up the center aisle. And the recruit for the Marine Corps will be roughly awakened if he has dreamed he was signing up for an unstructured career.

### More than structure

But a basic structure is not enough. No human situation is lived in the clouds (at least, we used to be able to say that). Nor is any valid way of life pie in the sky. Each human situation is incarnated in a real world, nailed down to earth. A hundred concrete circumstances support each life and a thousand fine details are pulled taut through every situation. Not every man marries Marilyn Monroe nor does every woman land the millionaire she once dreamed of. Every human situation is rooted in the particular.

The religious life, too, resembles all other human situations: it is structured, it is particular. Structured, since it is a complexus of vows and rules, common life and approved authority, a set way to dress and an established goal to strive for. This basic structure greets the young aspirant at the novitiate door; it will kneel beside his bed upon his death.

But the religious situation is particular also. For all its values and validities are rendered visible only by their incarnation in a human experience. Authority always means a definite superior to be obeyed; chastity the total response of a tempted or not so tempted man. The order joined is always one of many, formed with a definite spirit, encountered at a precise moment of its history, just so faithful to its founder's dream but no more. The members, too, the brothers in the Lord, are definite and numbered. Their names are posted underneath their napkin boxes, their laughs and voices soft or boisterous in the recreation room, their smiles as personal as their faults. Religious life is not lived in a vacuum nor in some far off Shangri La. It is stamped deep with the hallmark of everything human: it is particular.

It seems to me, then, that the search for community in religious life will have to be centered upon these two component parts of any human situation. A serious effort must be made to penetrate deep

into the very center and core of the religious state itself. Honesty must be employed, and boldness too. A daring confrontation with all the implications of the full human situation must be attempted. Either religious life contains the seeds of its own union and integrity or it does not. Either it has woven into its very fabric the strength and resiliency to become truly one or it has not. It is part of a man's full response to his own vocation to answer this most basic question. Perhaps the following reflections may help.

Many parts of the basic structure of religious life display a communal face that is not often seen. The individual side of vows and rules is heavily stressed, but their relation to the many is frequently neglected. Yet, religious life is presented by the Church so that men can live together, not endure apart. I cannot help but feel that our Holy Mother, Christ's Bride, with her usual wisdom and patience, has somehow forced into the very marrow of religious life a power to draw men into unity. I am convinced that everything prescribed, from vows to common board, from rules to prayer and work, holds at its core a secret hidden power which when released can make the members one.

Nor would this be too strange. For whenever men live together, by native instinct even, they invent institutions and tribal rites that can draw the clan together. Nations fly their flags, set aside holidays for parade and celebration, compose folksongs and national anthems, and even stir up foods peculiarly their own. If anyone views such universal customs with only a passing glance, he may miss the deeper truth lying within: when men live together, they need to sing the same songs, execute the same dances, and boast the same dress, whether it is a shamrock on a lapel or a beret on the head. If they don't, they will perish as a people. If human nature is so astute in holding its children together, will the Church, the mystical oneness of Christ, be denied equal care?

#### Poverty and prayer

But let us reflect on two definite items. First, the vow of poverty. This vow is difficult. It cuts deep like a sword. It strikes my independence. I can't do what I want because I can't get my hands on what I need. I find it truly a burden to follow Christ poor. I am not surprised. For I am human, too, and all the good things of the earth are dear to me. I can easily waver in my allegiance to a God-man

who is poor. But then I see you. You are living out your poverty. You come from a different background than I, and yet you appear so genuine in seeking leave for things you would have taken for granted were you not following Christ poor. You strengthen me. I see now that it is possible to live with Christ poor. I am not alone.

The prayer of a Jesuit. So much of our prayer is made by ourselves, so little together. But need our Jesuit prayer be so starkly and privately conceived? Is it not correct to say that we rise together, kneel upon our priedieus in our morning prayer somehow united with one another? Doesn't our solitary prayer have a communal power? Do we not stand at each other's side at Mass, and there become together the pounded grains of wheat, the gathered drops of wine with him who came to make all things one?

My dear brothers in Christ: let me close these reflections on community by relating the bold adventure of another group of men attempting community. The passage is from the talented pen of Fr. Broderick. The quotation deals with the weeks following St. Ignatius' ordination in Venice on June 24th, 1537.

"Ignatius and his disciples determined to leave Venice and seek seclusion for 40 days in places where they were not known.

"At Vicenza, they lit upon a house without the city which had neither door nor window, and dwelt therein, sleeping on some straw collected by themselves. Two of them went to beg in the city twice a day, but gained hardly enough to keep life in them. Their usual food, when they had it, was a little bread baked by one who stayed at home. They spent forty days in this fashion, giving themselves up to prayer and nothing else . . . Finally, they all began to preach, the same hour in the different squares of the town, first making a great outcry and waving their caps to call the people around them. Their preaching provoked much talk in the city and so plenty of food was bestowed on them.

"They began to pray and think what title would best suit them, and considering that over them they had no head but Jesus Christ, whom alone they desired to serve, it seemed right that they should adopt the name of Him Who was their head and that their congregation should be called the Society of Jesus."

The Society of Jesus—this is the secret of our union. This is the atmosphere of our community.

## COMMUNITY

*20 January 1961*

"Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity."

THIS EVENING I should like to talk with you about community. You have lived in community anywhere from four to forty years. What is your opinion of it? What meaning does it have for you? Let me start with some experiences of community. The first is a young religious priest, a teacher in a college, intelligent, zealous, sincere. His views are rigid, his outlook somewhat jansenistic. He finds it difficult to get along with his fellow religious. They in turn find him distant and strange. Communication lapses; strained relations become more taut. One day, the young priest's room is discovered vacant. On the desk lies a note which reads: "I have had enough. I can't take any more. Don't try to find me."

A few years ago, a Jesuit priest was dying of cancer. Up till the very end he was able to live in his room. He was in constant pain, and as the torture deepened, his nerves became jangled. He could hardly sit still. He could not bear to be alone. One of the fathers made a pact with the stricken priest. "When you need some one, come to my room. The door is always open." The dying priest accepted and spent hour upon hour, daytime and night, sitting in that welcome room.

In a large house of studies, a young Jesuit lives with well over a hundred men, calls them his brothers, works at their side. Yet, they appear to him as strangers. He sits at table with them and fingers with delicate touch the cool peripheries of life. He enters the recreation room only to find barriers matching his own defences. He feels lost. He wants to flee the recreation period. Yet this is his community. This is his home. These are the brothers Christ has given him; the men he chooses in preference to all other persons. The young religious is perplexed. What is community?

**Man needs man**

No matter how you view community, one constant truth will stand out: man needs man. Walk around it, approach it from any angle, you will always discover: No man stands alone. Did one man ever

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succeed in getting to heaven by himself? To answer such a question, search for the sinner who has managed to give himself sacramental absolution. Seek out the man that poured the saving waters upon his own needful head. No one goes to God by himself, but the supernatural history of every Christian is criss-crossed by a thousand lives. When you read of some celebrity entering the Church, be mindful of the conversations of friends, the chance remarks of strangers, the secret prayers, that paved the way to the sacred font. When you yourselves stand at the altar, newly ordained priests, bless in spirit the countless hands that led you to your day of ordination. No man stands alone. Every man needs man. For all the blessings of our faith, all the refinements of culture and civilization, all the modes of speech and achievements of education, have come to us because other men have lived. If God came to earth and repeated his question of early Genesis, "Where is thy brother?," modern man could truly say, "in everything I touch, in everything I am."

But to come to matters more close at hand. What about us Jesuits? Do we need one another? Our language seems to say yes, for we have a vocabulary all our own that is rich in expressions of warmth and charity. Our companions are our brothers, our superior is our father, our very life together is termed community, and one word is magic to every Jesuit ear: the Society. In our homes, the hearth is called the domestic chapel. We boast of our government being paternal; and some of the most significant passages in our Constitutions are those that remind us that the very first persons to benefit from our zeal and charity are to be the members of our own order. "Prius excolendi sunt domestici quam externi" wrote St. Ignatius. There is no doubt about it. We Jesuits need one another on paper.

But what is the reality like? What do our lives say? On this practical level of community, we Jesuits have little to fear. We are convinced of community. We desire its fulfillment. When intelligent men become persuaded of a way of life, very little can stand in the way of accomplishment. The one failure, however, that we Jesuits are quite capable of sliding into is this: we can lose our sense of community. Our awareness of others may dim. Our keen consciousness of the communal aspects of our life may become blunted. Now, almost every act in Jesuit life has a communal side to it, whether it

is something as significant as observing the rule or as routine as taking a shower. A religious does not wear his habit merely for warmth any more than he combs his hair solely from vanity. But the actions and usages of religious life, attendance at class, participation at the holy sacrifice, obedience and poverty, all carry within them a communal force and influence.

If awareness of community does become dim, we Jesuits can easily cease to view our brothers as persons and can unconsciously treat them as things. But our companions are not things; they are unique persons, special images of the Trinity, gifted with rare talents, deep feelings, delicate sensibilities and diversified dispositions. They are not things, and if they are so treated the whole structure and beauty of religious life will cave in.

Yet it is, I believe, this very failure to view our brothers as persons that prompts us, in griping sessions, to speak of superiors as if they were tower controls and not men in need of graciousness and Christ-like gratitude. The same loss of awareness also explains how professors, since they have been decorated with a Ph.D., can be expected to endure any criticism and still bounce back, like a jack-in-the-box, with a masterful class no matter what the co-operation may be. And surely nothing but a sleeping consciousness of fellow Jesuits as persons can suggest why students for the priesthood of Christ can pour into the ears of men vowed to God conversations and innuendos that weaken communal chastity in a way they shall never know. Community can never succeed without awareness!

Community, then, is complex and intricate. It cannot be learned haphazardly. It cannot be viewed casually. Let us together turn our serious attention to its challenge.

#### Not proximity

Right off, let me say this: community is not the same as proximity. For people can sit squeezed in a subway car, absorbed in their Daily News, and still be worlds apart. Nor does the one roof over a hundred heads assure the retention of warmth among persons. A hotel can be a mighty cold place. For that matter, black-robed figures can kneel inches apart at the sacrifice of unity without experiencing one erg of communal energy. Mere juxtaposition is not enough.

Nor must we be fooled into mistaking camaraderie for true com-

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munity, for this error would be stating that community thrives only among the compatible, is joyous only in an atmosphere of the pleasant. True community is a little more vigorous, I hope, than to be restricted to a diet of fellowship and flowing beer.

Community is often identified with the presentation of common goals and common means. But even here caution must be exercised, since a mere aggregation can result from such a pooling of endeavors. Men can work alongside of others, even on a common project, without community being created. Our modern world is filled with such distant closeness. Look at the tellers and vice-presidents of a successful banking house. There are cages all around them. A teacher in our own schools, likewise, can pursue a common goal with others and use common means but all in solitary fashion. His spirit can be exaggerated individualism: "You do your work. Leave me alone and I'll do mine." His spirit can be withdrawal: "When 3:30 comes, my time is my own." Such a lonely figure will experience no felt sense that he is engaged with others in the fashioning of a dream, that these men he works with need him, not merely his presence and his muscles, but his smiles and nods and approval. A common goal and common means, encased in abstract definition, will never add up to community.

We come, then, to what I judge to be the distinctive and formative element in community. Let me call it the sense of sharing, the experience of feeling part of a glorious endeavor. "This is *our* goal," your brothers seem to shout to you. "We are out for it *together*," you answer back in joy. A contact has been made, a communication sparked, a voice has been sounded, a word spoken. Not always audible but tangible and reassuring; not loud, but present and felt. A bond has been forged; a communion has been instituted in some such fashion as this: in the Russian novel, *Doctor Zhivago*, the hero has just returned home from the front during World War I to find Moscow, the city he loved, oppressed by hunger, terror, and despair. A small welcoming supper has been set up by his family and friends, at which a chance duck and black-market vodka were served. But for the doctor, the meal seemed a failure, a kind of betrayal. "You could not imagine," he reflected, "anyone in the houses across the street eating or drinking in the same way . . . Beyond the windows lay silent, dark, hungry Moscow. Its shops were empty and as for

the game and vodka, people had even forgotten to think about such things. And so it turns out that only a life similar to the life of those around us is genuine life, and an unshared happiness is not happiness at all. For duck and vodka, when they seem to be the only ones in town, are not even duck and vodka."

What else does sharing mean? It surely includes giving—the giving of our time and our patience, our ideas and talents, our concern and sympathy. For community can not thrive unless there is an exchange of gifts, an exchange that is large and free from jealousy. Love everywhere abhors inequality and community cannot close its eyes to individual needs.

But we all know from experience that to give things is relatively easy. What hurts is to give one's self. And yet, community demands that a man share himself, that he somehow give something of himself unto those with whom he lives. As long as religious are full willing to give their possessions but not themselves, there can be no community.

But it is torture to give one's self. By experience, by environment, man has learned to lock himself behind closed doors, erect defenses around his inner heart, paint them over with a mask-like self and present that face to the world as what he is. The walls thrown up are thick and high. The barriers of fears and doubts are strong and firm. It is painful to tear them down.

#### The task

To tear them down, to demolish the defenses, that is the difficulty: that is the task! For such a demolition cannot be endured without humility. Such a removal of barriers means a man must trust his brothers with his life; trust them to accept him as he is, to still be on his side even when they view his lowliness, to love him even when they discover his unlovableness. This is the real challenge of religious life and I do not believe it can be answered until the Jesuit learns to trust the men Christ has given him for brothers.

Let me add one final experience of community written in the form of a prayer by Fr. Teilhard de Chardin:

My God, I confess that I have long been recalcitrant to the love of my neighbor . . . I find no difficulty in integrating into my inward life everything above me and beneath me in the universe . . . But the other man,

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my God, by which I do not mean the poor, the halt, the lame and the sick, but the other quite simply as *other*, the one who seems to exist independently of me because his universe seems closed to mine, and who seems to shatter the unity and the silence of the world for me—would I be sincere if I did not confess that my instinctive reaction is to rebuff him? and that the mere thought of entering into spiritual communion with him disgusts me? Grant, O God, that the light of Your countenance may shine for me in the life of the other . . . Savior of human unity, compel us to discard our pettiness and to venture forth, resting upon You, into the uncharted ocean of charity.

## AN EARLY APPROACH TO UNDERSTANDING INDIAN RELIGIOUSNESS

*Roberto de Nobili as Tridentine Jesuit*

PATRICK J. RYAN, S.J.

IT IS DIFFICULT being a white man today. After nearly five centuries of European and American political and cultural expansion over the third world, historical circumstances confront the more sensitive minds in the West today—admittedly, still the vast minority—with a sense of guilt. Joseph Conrad, in *Lord Jim* and “Heart of Darkness” saw, at the turn of the century, some of the horrors perpetrated by the enlightened West in Asia and Africa. Since then the image of the guilt-ridden white man who recognizes, albeit impotently, the harm done by the West in its subjugation of the colonial peoples has become more frequent in twentieth-century literature and life. It might even be argued that the rebellious generation born in post-Hiroshima America feels stained by a new original sin. They can no longer trust the prelapsarian optimism of their parents.

There were rare Western figures in earlier centuries who recognized at least some of the ambiguities of Western colonialism. Bartolomeo de las Casas stands out most memorably in his defense of the New World Indians. Nevertheless, the majority of Christian missionaries in the non-Christian, non-European world was made up of champions of both flag and cross.

Although not so clearly recognized as a critic of European colonialism, Roberto de Nobili—an Italian Jesuit in seventeenth century

India—provides another perspective on the problematic union of European culture with Christian missionary endeavor.<sup>1</sup> Coming to India in 1605, Nobili eventually escaped the Portuguese atmosphere of Goa, Cochin and the Fishery Coast and arrived in Madurai in 1606. There he was an assistant to an elderly Portuguese Jesuit, Gonçalo Fernandez, whose evangelical activities in this princely city of southern India had been thus far fruitless. Within a few months Nobili began to grow uncomfortable with the complete identification of conversion to Christian faith with conversion to Portuguese or *parangi* caste status. His study of Tamil language and thought brought Nobili to some startling conclusions about the then accepted practice of asking prospective converts: "Do you wish to enter the religion of the parangis?"<sup>2</sup> It would be inaccurate to call Nobili's reaction an anti-colonialist one in our modern sense. He was even a mild defender of the Portuguese nobility as opposed to the run-of-the-mill Portuguese colonial types.<sup>3</sup> But he did recognize a distinction between faith in Christ and the adoption of European culture.

In 1607 Nobili began an experiment which was to last for the forty-nine years of life remaining to him. Shedding the black soutane and leather shoes of the European Jesuit, Nobili began to live and to dress like an Indian *sannyāsi* (professional ascetic). Meanwhile he dedicated all his energies to the study of Tamil and Sanskrit religious writings. Eventually gaining confidence in the new languages, Nobili ventured to teach the Christian faith and baptized his first convert, his Tamil teacher, in 1607. Nobili's techniques were based on the root notion that Christian faith can be distinguished from any form of European culture, an astounding idea for a man of his times. This idea brought Nobili into direct conflict with his Jesuit superiors as well as with the Portuguese ecclesiastical authorities in India.

Nobili's distinguishing Christian faith from European culture did not go nearly so far as many modern thinkers would like. Many liberal Protestant thinkers and theologians would find his approach

<sup>1</sup> The best biography is Vincent Cronin, *A Pearl to India* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1959).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. André Rocaries, S.J., *Roberto de Nobili, S.J. ou le "Sannyasi" chrétien* (Toulouse: Editions Prière et Vie, 1967), p. 129. This book contains a brief biography followed by French translations from Nobili's correspondence and Tamil theological writing.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Rocaries, pp. 125-6, n. 15.

to the subject quite constricted by what they might call a narrow dogmatism. Nobili was quite certain that a basically realistic world-view must go hand in hand with the Christian kerygma. Nevertheless, Nobili was willing to go much further than many of our contemporary theologians who want to de-Hellenize Christianity in order to bring some hypothetical Hebraic or even culture-free core into conjunction with contemporary varieties of civilization. Nobili was willing not only to talk and to theorize but to stake his own body, his own life and personality on the attempt to be a Catholic Christian *sannyāsi*.

Humanly speaking, Nobili's experiment would never be totally successful. He was thirty years old when he began to live as a *sannyāsi*, and there were inevitable compromises which he found necessary to introduce into his style of life. Nonetheless, the abuse and calumny which Nobili suffered at the hands of Jesuits and other Europeans because of this style of life indicate that he certainly struck them as a cultural and religious traitor. Rumors circulated among his friends in Europe that he had renounced the faith and become a Hindu. Tried and effectively condemned by a stacked inquisitorial court in Goa in 1618, Nobili was not vindicated until in 1623 Pope Gregory XV overruled the petty jealousies of the Portuguese in India and approved his various acculturations of Christian faith.

Nobili's teaching and activity will be examined more in detail in the second section of this essay, especially with regard to social structure and philosophical-theological speculation. Nobili's understanding of society and thought in seventeenth century India, although limited, would seem to make him the first European to try to understand India somewhat on its own terms. There is no denying that Nobili rejected much that was essential to Indian culture and yet, paradoxically, hoped to keep his Christian converts from cultural alienation. There is a sociological naiveté to his hope to change only the religious component in the convert's culture. Also, there is no doubt that his intellectual debates with Brahmins were aimed at their conversion, not his own. The modern sensibility may be appalled at Nobili's desire for converts—perhaps an indication of how deeply ingrained are the uncertainties of the modern sensibility. The second section of this paper is meant neither to defend nor impugn

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Nobili's aims or methods. Rather, it seeks to discover from the partial sources available to us in European languages how well Nobili understood some aspects of Indian life and religiousness.

Before beginning this inquiry, however, it seems best to sketch the European intellectual setting from which Nobili came to Madurai and how it affected his ability to understand the Indian situation. A concluding section will deal briefly with some contemporary reflections on the significance of his career today.

### Tridentine origins

Roberto de Nobili was born in a titled family in papal Rome of 1577, sixty years after Martin Luther published his ninety-five theses on indulgences and fourteen years after Roman Catholicism finished redefining the main tenets of doctrine challenged by the Reformation. This redefinition-of-self, the Council of Trent (1545-1563), together with the Society of Jesus, which Nobili entered in 1596, were the main formative influences in shaping the Catholicism of Roberto de Nobili. These Tridentine and Jesuit influences on Nobili must be spelled out in some detail if his career in India is to be understood.

The Rome in which Nobili grew up was not the modern capital of Italy but rather the focal city, only recently challenged as such, of western Christianity. In the wake of the Council of Trent, Rome was experiencing a rebirth of theological and cultural energy which was evolving what we now call baroque Catholicism. The northern European schooled in the cool beauty of Gothic cathedrals or the American brought up to admire the chaste simplicity of Congregational architecture may suffer culture shock even today on visiting the baroque churches of Rome. The Jesuit churches of the Gesu and Sant' Igrazio, to say nothing of Saint Peter's Basilica, seem to the foreign visitor more dens of thieves than houses of prayer. Instead of hints of spirit, there is a flamboyant underlining of matter evidenced everywhere. Statues abound in a lifelike marble nudity or wind-lashed drapery. The cross does not stand starkly simple to confront the sinner; instead, gilded bursts of metallic light stream from its center while cavorting saints and angels point it out with elegantly turned hands. The simple table of the Lord's Supper has been transformed into a high altar of sacrifice, raised on several

platforms, crowned by layers of statuary, candles, nooks, niches and other distractions.

Baroque Catholicism is a resounding artistic counter-challenge to the Protestant Reformation. Where the Reformers had tended to emphasize man's radical inability as man to know God without the absolutely unmerited gift of faith, the Counter-Reformation spear-headed by the Jesuits was accused, even within Catholicism, of semi-Pelagianism, overconfidence in man's ability to grasp God. Where the Reformers had spurned the superstitious rites of the seven sacraments and even more of the sacramentals (indulgences, relics, pictures, statues, blessed water, etc), Roman Catholicism in the wake of Trent gave the latter even more conscious importance than they had before. Where the Reformers had replaced the centrality of sacramental ritual with the vernacular bible, Roman Catholicism responded with a new emphasis not on the scriptures but on the oral tradition of the Church.

With this Catholic patrimony Roberto de Nobili arrived in India in the early seventeenth century. The Council of Trent gave him the words and baroque Catholicism the feeling for human ability to know God. In rejection of what Trent construed as Luther's insistence on the essential sinfulness of even the baptized Christian, the Council distinguished the remains left by original sin, concupiscence, from the sin itself.<sup>4</sup> Basically this Catholic definition took a less serious view of the ravages of original sin on man's being as a whole than did many of the Reformers, and especially Luther. Catholicism and Lutheranism divide at this point historically: on how seriously man's nature and its capabilities—and more especially its ability to know God—are affected by sin. In many ways Kant is the secularized lineal descendant of Luther in his skepticism about any metaphysics; Catholic essays in 'natural theology' are the product of Trent, and later of Vatican I.

The practical results of this Tridentine teaching and consequent Catholic attitude on Nobili's approach to Indian religiousness were profound. While Francis Xavier, Nobili's theologically unsophisti-

<sup>4</sup> Cf. A. Denzinger et A. Schönmetzer, S.J., eds., *Enchiridion Symbolorum, Definitionum et Declarationum De Rebus Fidei et Morum*, 32nd ed. (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1963) 1515, 1521. Further references to it will simply appear as DS and the appropriate paragraph number.

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cated predecessor in the Asian missions, was not at all adverse to describing pagan religions as devil worship, Nobili was unwilling to be so negative. He wrote, in a Tamil essay on evangelical method: "Without setting forth the true religion, nor yet proving that the others are false, there are some who start off from 'go' by declaring that the gods of these religions are demons and that the path which they teach leads to hell. This is insult, not preaching or proof at all. Injury of any kind cannot constitute a means of teaching the true religion."<sup>5</sup>

Furthermore, Nobili was willing to argue 'natural theology' with his visitors, such as his Śaivite Tamil teacher. He takes it for granted that he and the Śaivite are talking about the same reality known as *suc* when they say 'God'. He wrote of this discussion in a letter to his superiors in Rome:

The philosophers of this country, starting from the principle that nothing is produced by nothing, admit three eternal things: *pati*, *paśu*, *paśa*. *Pati* is God, *paśu* is the matter from which God made souls, *paśa* the matter from which he forms the body. I confronted him with the ordinary arguments of philosophy to prove that if *paśu* were not created, it would be God. Then I demonstrated that if *pati* could not create or draw out of nothingness, then it was not all-powerful, and, as a consequence, it was not God, since its activity, like that of secondary causes, was limited to modifying forms.<sup>6</sup>

The fact that Nobili was willing to begin with philosophical discussion of God—God as available to man's natural reason independent of biblical revelation—is an indication of the confidence typical of baroque Catholicism with regard to man's natural powers. Luther's castigation of Aristotle has no counterpart in Nobili's baroque Catholic acceptance of the validity of non-biblical philosophical speculation about God. To be sure, Nobili did not accept Śaivite doctrine intact, but it is most significant that he was willing to enter into philosophical dialogue with it.

### Sacramental universe

The Tridentine intellectual background manifests itself not only in this confidence in man's ability to reason to certain truths about

<sup>5</sup> Rocaries, p. 213.

<sup>6</sup> Rocaries, p. 144.

God, but also in a confidence in the concretization of man's dealings with God and God's dealings with man in the sacraments and sacramentals. Luther and Calvin rejected the five non-biblical sacraments which had developed within Christianity over many centuries. Even more vehemently they denounced the sacralization of so many ordinary realities (the sacramentals) as idolatry. All of this was for the Reformers the product of human imagination, the idol-factory, a forcing of God into human molds.

Trent, in contrast, made explicit much that was previously undefined because unchallenged. The Council would not allow the symbolism of the sacraments to be reduced to "mere symbolism" in any proto-rationalist sense.<sup>7</sup> The sacramentals, although not accorded as much attention as the sacraments, were nonetheless defended in one of the last sessions of Trent, albeit with due recognition that much abuse and superstition had crept into these usages. Statues and pictures of Christ and the saints "are to be kept with honor in places of worship especially; and to them due honor and veneration is to be paid—not because it is believed that there is any divinity or power intrinsic to them for which they are revered, nor because it is from them that something is sought, nor that a blind trust is to be attached to images . . . ; but because the honor which is shown to them is referred to the prototypes which they represent."<sup>8</sup>

When Nobili came out of this Tridentine Catholic atmosphere to South India, he was not as repelled by Śaivite and Vaiśnavite ritual and imagery as a Protestant of his generation might have been. He showed himself not at all adverse to transforming Śaivite rituals peculiar to Madurai, such as the boiling of rice in milk in the presence of an image of Śiva at the festival of Pongal. He wrote to his provincial that "I allow our Christians to cook their rice and boil their milk at the foot of a Cross which they plant for that purpose and, to their great satisfaction, I myself bless the new rice which is to be used in that ceremony."<sup>9</sup> However, Nobili was constantly concerned to prevent a superstitious misapprehension of the meaning of Catholic images. For this reason he would not admit the merely curious into his chapel nor erect a cross outside of it, a practice

<sup>7</sup> Cf. DS 1616.

<sup>8</sup> DS 1823.

<sup>9</sup> Cited in Cronin, p. 116.

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which further increased the Portuguese suspicion that he was beginning a new religion of his own in India. Nobili wrote in his Tamil work *Tūshana Tikkāram* that non-Christians “brought into the churches of the true God and seeing for themselves the statues displayed as symbols of great truths, . . . will consider these sacred objects the equivalent of his idols and will adore them as he adores his gods.”<sup>10</sup> Nobili’s sympathy for an image-oriented cultural religiousness apparently did not extend to its unconverted original forms, especially when these might lead to an easy Hindu-Christian syncretism.

The final Tridentine aspect of Nobili’s background which may at least negatively have affected his approach to India was Trent’s rejection of the Protestant insistence on the absolute centrality of the bible in the church. Nobili showed no noticeable concern to translate the bible into Tamil or to impose biblical names, culture or verbal formularies on his new converts. The curiously Hebraic culture developed by many new Christians under the influence of Wycliffite evangelism seems to have been lacking in the Catholic community of seventeenth century Madurai. For them Christianity was the *Jnāna Veda* taught by the guru whom they called Tattuva Bodhakar.<sup>11</sup> In this emphasis on Christian doctrine not as the contents of a written scripture but as teaching handed on from master to disciple Nobili reflects not only Indian religious traditions but the Tridentine stress on oral tradition as more inclusive than *sola scriptura*.<sup>12</sup>

### Jesuit background

The Jesuit background of Roberto de Nobili, and more particularly his situation as a member of a minority of Italian Jesuits in a Portuguese Jesuit province, must not be ignored in the study of how Nobili was able to live for nearly half a century as a *sannyāsī*, and from this vantage point to approach the understanding of Indian religiousness.

Ignatius and his followers have traditionally concentrated most of their attention on man’s cooperation with God’s grace rather than

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<sup>10</sup> Rocaries, p. 211.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Cronin, *passim*, esp. pp. 67, 151, 267.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. DS 1501.

on God's overwhelming power. Ignatius took a gracious God for granted and concentrated on perfecting the human servant. The indifference he urged was to be a dynamic predisposition to take whatever honest means prove more useful for attaining the ends desired, a pragmatism of the spiritual life. The meditations on the Kingdom of Christ, the Two Standards, the Three Classes of Men, and Three Modes of Humility mold this indifference to positive preference for union with Christ himself in his suffering and death.

It can hardly be claimed historically that Jesuits are any more Christ-like than other Christians or human beings. But their Jesuit ideals, as formulated in the Spiritual Exercises, may well give some clue as to how and why they acted in one or another way. In this instance these ideals may help to explain the extraordinary ability of Roberto de Nobili to plunge himself into another culture and a new manner of religiousness as few of his contemporaries did. Nobili was sufficiently indifferent to his own baroque Italian version of Catholicism and sufficiently attached to his vision of the self-emptying of Christ as to embrace with apparent calm the ascetic life of an Indian *sannījasi*, the reproaches of nearly all his fellow Europeans, the reputation of either an apostate or a madman.

The above-detailed spiritual motivation of Nobili should not, however, be overemphasized to the exclusion of a natural assistance from his Italian aversion to the Portuguese with whom he lived. It is always the privilege of a third party to be critical. As an Italian in the Portuguese-run ecclesiastical structure of India, Nobili was well able to see the cultural imperialism of the Europeans involved. One may speculate whether he would have been quite so perspicacious in a hypothetical Italian colony in India.

In any case, Nobili and his older Italian contemporary, Matteo Ricci, who became a mandarin in the 1590's in China, are prime examples of an inventive and dynamically "indifferent" generation of Jesuits. Their propensity to adopt whatever cultural means deemed necessary to achieve their ends has contributed, perhaps, to the seemingly ineradicable reputation for unscrupulous craftiness—jesuitry—attached to the name of the Society of Jesus. Arnold Toynbee, however, has a more positive appreciation of their attempts "to purge our Christianity of its Western accessories":

The Jesuits were, of course, highly cultivated men. They were masters of

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all the resources of Western Christendom, which, by that time, was a highly cultivated civilization. And, when they came upon the civilizations of China and India, they were able to appreciate the fact that here they were in the presence of great cultures, which, on the secular side, were built upon different foundations from the Western culture—upon different philosophies, for instance. . . . The Jesuit missionaries realized that the Greek terms in which Christianity had been expressed from the time of the Roman Empire onwards were not the best terms for making it acceptable to the minds and the hearts of Chinese and Indians. So they deliberately set themselves to divest their Christianity of its Western and Graeco-Roman accessories and to put it to the Chinese and the Indians in their own terms.<sup>13</sup>

This sanguine estimate of Toynbee's may go beyond the evidence in the case of Nobili, at least, and take in more the facts surrounding the late seventeenth century Jesuits involved in the famous controversy over the Chinese Rites. Nonetheless, Ricci and Nobili were the beginners of that amazing century of Jesuits who came from Europe to Asia to teach and stayed to learn.

### Indian social structure

It is indeed unfortunate that the great bulk of Nobili's writings are not as yet available in translation into European languages. A definitive study of his understanding of the Indian culture which he encountered in seventeenth century Madurai can only be made by those proficient in Tamil and Sanskrit. His unpublished letters in Italian and Latin, preserved in the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus, have been widely quoted in Cronin's biography and Rocaries' selection from his writings. These latter French excerpts from Nobili's Tamil *Gnanopadesam* and *Tūshana Tikkāram* give some idea, however, of Nobili's understanding of social structure and philosophical-theological thought in seventeenth century Madurai. From these very partial sources a tentative sketch at least may be made.

In view of the more recent history of India, in which Gandhi rose to world prominence not only for his non-violent politics of independence but also for his ceaseless efforts to abolish untouchability, the modern observer might at first be shocked by the readiness with

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<sup>13</sup> A. J. Toynbee, *Christianity among the Religions of the World* (New York: Scribner's, 1957), pp. 92-3.

which Nobili accepted the caste system as he found it in India. Such shock would be an unhistorical reaction, rather like blaming the biblical authors for geocentric thinking. Nobili came from a comparatively rigid social structure in Europe and could recognize some hierarchical forms—albeit without the built-in equalizer of *saṁsāra* (transmigration of souls)—as intrinsic to society.

What did disturb Nobili was the low rank in the caste system assigned to the European Christians who had come for commerce, conquest or converts to India. This largely Portuguese group was labelled *parangis* and the highly cultivated Indians found them uncouth, as indeed they very likely were. They and all who followed them were rated very low or even outside the caste system. Nobili realized that much more than faith in Christ was being demanded of the prospective converts when they were asked if they wished to enter the religion of the *parangis*. Without denying the possibility of *parangis* being Christians, Nobili insisted that he himself was not a *parangi*, but rather a *rājā* who had become a *sannyāsī*, his translation of an Italian noble who had become Jesuit. Against calumniators Nobili insisted on this self-definition, made to the chagrin of his non-noble, non-Italian fellow Jesuits:

I am not a parangi, I was not born in the land of the parangis and I have nothing to do with their race—God is my witness! If anyone can prove that I am lying, beside the fact that I then would become a traitor to God and deserve the pains of hell, I submit myself ahead of time to all the punishments I incur on earth. I was born in Rome, where my family holds the rank which in this country belongs to noble rajas. From my youth I embraced the sannyāsī state, having studied wisdom and the holy spiritual law. I left my country, travelled over many kingdoms and came to Madurai.<sup>14</sup>

When the Portuguese Jesuits reacted vehemently to Nobili's separatism—he would only receive them reluctantly in his dwelling and then by night—his style of life came in for severe criticism both in India and in Europe. Nobili valiantly and repeatedly explained that he was still teaching the same Christian faith to his converts but that he was also trying to prevent them from losing caste. He detailed at some length how low in the Indian system *parangis* were accounted:

In Tamil the word (*parangi*) cannot express the meaning of religion or

<sup>14</sup> Rocaries, p. 152.

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race.<sup>[15]</sup> It signifies, in fact, the sickness we know under the name of *morbus gallicus*. . . . It cannot here signify the name of Christian . . . . Actually, they even doubt that the parangis have a God or a religion . . . . The Nayak (prince of Madurai) one day invited a parangi to examine his horses. This parangi was late in arriving because it was a Sunday and he had to attend Mass. Quite amazed, the Nayak asked his Brahmins what this could mean. Do the parangis have a religion and worship a god? One of the professors in his entourage replied to this: "O Nayak, do not be surprised: every barbarian, no matter how stupid a people may be, adores a god." Such was the opinion, then, in the royal court about the religion of the parangis. I am then correct in asking if in Madurai parangi means Christian.<sup>16</sup>

Nobili hoped as a *sannyāsi*, somewhat outside the ordinary norm of the social order and yet able to deal with members of all the higher castes, to bring men to Christ without also bringing them to the King of Portugal. In 1640 Nobili urged two other Jesuits to undertake a separate mission among outcastes. Nobili did not feel it was his role as a foreigner to change the social structure of Madurai. There is no doubt that his theological polemic against *samsāra* and karmic retribution would have eventually effected social change, if Christianity were ever to become a mass movement. But Nobili was pre-sociological and could not have foreseen this. Perhaps Nobili was attempting an impossible integration of Christianity into the Indian social structure at Madurai. In any case, even his quixotic plans were motivated by the primal element of genuine sympathy for Indian culture which may well be the prologue to true understanding.

### Indian thought

Nobili's typically Jesuit approach to questions of philosophical and theological truth was the disputation. One example available to us in French translation from the *Gnanopadesam* is Nobili's discussion of the significance of the *Trimūrti*. R. C. Zaehner notes that this so-called Indian trinity is a theological arrangement meant to satisfy varying sectarian claims: "Brāhmanism . . . can absorb almost anything into itself, and so the rivalry between Śiva and Vishnu was

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<sup>15</sup> There seems to be some contradiction between the use of the word 'race' in this quotation and that in the last.

<sup>16</sup> Rocaries, pp. 126-7.

resolved by the creation of a largely artificial *Trimūrti* or 'One God in three forms', Brahmā-Vishnu-Śiva, a trinity in which Brahmā is the creator, Vishnu the preserver, and Śiva the destroyer. This compromise was, however, without effect on popular religion, and Hindus are to this day worshippers of either Vishnu or Śiva or Śiva's śakti, each of which their devotees regard as the supreme Being."<sup>17</sup>

Popular or not, the *Trimūrti* has appealed to more than one Christian as a possible intuition into the Trinity of God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Nobili may be the first student of Indian religiousness to undertake the task of disabusing others of this easy comparison. The context is not so much a negative assessment of Indian religious ideas as a positive description of the Christian mystery of the Trinity. It may strike us today that Nobili's negative evaluation of the *Trimūrti* is excessive, however, and that his understanding of Indian religion may be severely limited precisely by his Jesuit habit of disputatious controversialism.

If we study attentively their doctrine . . . on the *Trimūrti*, we can justly say that these idols are not God, but three creatures, and there is no proof . . . that they are the Unique Being. The very writings of their different teachers and the myths peculiar to all the false sects prove that sufficiently . . . <sup>18</sup>

Nobili ventures into etymological proof for this severe rejection of the *Trimūrti*, or more precisely, *Trimūrti* as an adequate translation for Trinity. But he may intrigue the modern student of Indian thought much more by his reference to a proof of his point from the testimony of Sanskrit authors:

Many Sanskrit authors themselves declare that the *Trimūrti* of Brahma, Vishnu and Rudra is not God, but the three qualities (which follow): Clemency (*Sativigam*), Impassibility (*Thamasan*) and Passion (*Rasadham*). The Mayavadis believe the same thing. All this cannot belong to the Absolute God and thus this doctrine is completely erroneous. Moreover Śāṅkara and his disciples teach that the word *Trimūrti* signifies utility: which proves with evidence that this *Trimūrti* cannot be the Absolute One . . . If, moreover, we study attentively the different sects of this country in conflict among themselves, we learn from authors like Barthuruhari that Absolute Blessedness cannot be achieved by Brahma, Vishnu and Rudra, and that the worshippers of these gods are in error.

<sup>17</sup> *Hinduism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 86.

<sup>18</sup> *Rocaries*, p. 171.

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Some Sanskrit authors teach . . . that the three—Brahma, Vishnu and Rudra themselves— are incapable of knowing the true God. Their teaching itself proves that these Trimūrtigal are not God.<sup>19</sup>

Nobili's calling on the authority of Sanskrit authors is a revealing aspect of the specifically Catholic direction of his thought. He is not bound to biblical sources for his proofs any more than was Thomas Aquinas. The Sanskrit authors take on for Nobili, at least in this passage, some of the authority Thomas ascribed to "the Philosopher," Aristotle. Nobili was apparently not as well disposed to Śāṅkara and other Vedāntic thinkers as this text might hint, but he seems to have caught the great Advaitin's teaching on the nirguna Brahman (Absolute Reality considered without qualities) which cannot be reduced to any of its manifestations.<sup>20</sup> Nobili finds in this central Advaitin doctrine fuel for his own "natural theology."

This Catholic tendency to approach God not only by faith but by philosophy as well brought Nobili to an appreciation of the speculative genius of Śāṅkara. Although Nobili was at first hopeful of having found an Indian Aristotle in Śāṅkara, whose philosophy might be transformed as the framework of an Indian Christian theology, he eventually came to the conclusion that Vedāntic thought was irretrievably monist. It left no room for a theological explanation of union with God or salvation which leaves human liberty intact.<sup>21</sup> In his search for an alternative philosophical system within the Indian tradition, Nobili fastened onto the less exciting but highly analytic Nyōya thought.<sup>22</sup> It appealed to his Tridentine and Jesuit predisposition to controversialism and scholasticism. Not enough of his writings on Nyāya thinkers are available in our sources for any further examination of how well he understood their speculation.

### Conclusion

The Tridentine-Baroque Catholic optimism with regard to human nature, Catholic anti-iconoclastic sacramentalism and traditionalist rather than biblicist orientations have all been cited as the background for Nobili's unique ability to sympathize with and under-

<sup>19</sup> Rocaries, p. 172.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. M. Hiriyanna, *Outlines of Indian Philosophy* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1932), pp. 373ff.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Cronin, p. 94.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Cronin, pp. 171-72.

stand Indian religiousness. His Jesuit ascetical formation may make more understandable his personal capacity to forsake the life-style of a European Jesuit and adopt that of a Christian *sannyāsī*. In the few translations available of his Tamil writings and his Italian and Latin letters back to Europe we can see something of his grasp on the social structure and religious thought of his section of seventeenth century India.

But Nobili is dead, the India of the seventeenth century has changed radically, and modern Catholicism considers itself post-Tridentine, post-baroque. It is hard at first sight to think of any abiding values in the career of Nobili which might be relevant today in the encounter of the world's religious traditions, and more particularly, the mutual understanding and encounter of Catholic Christianity and the Indian religious tradition. His rejection of Vedāntic thought strikes us today as singularly shortsighted and his championing of caste status quite out of date.

Perhaps the only continuing value to any aspect of Nobili's career for today's situation is his Catholic confidence in the ability of all men to come to the knowledge of God. For a Catholic it is absolutely impossible to be orthodox and to say that "Without the particular knowledge of God in Jesus Christ, men do not really know God at all." This formulation of Christian theology, discussed a few years back by the United Church of Canada's commission on faith, has provoked some of the most incisive writing of Wilfred Cantwell Smith.<sup>23</sup> Much of the clear Catholic rejection of this sort of exclusivistic thinking has come about since the middle of the nineteenth century as a reaction against various Catholic varieties of Kantian pessimism about human knowledge of God. Just as the Council of Trent refused to accept Lutheran pessimism about the effects of sin on human nature, the First Vatican Council (1869-1870) refused to accept the fideistic denial of any knowledge of God by the light of human reason alone.

The Tridentine rejection of Lutheran pessimism about human nature untouched by the saving word of Jesus Christ met its first concrete examples of man at least visibly untouched by the Christian kerygma in the Catholic missionary expansion of the baroque age.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *The Faith of Other Men* (New York: New American Library, 1965), pp. 119ff.

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Starting as they did with Tridentine optimism, it is not too surprising, then, that, for all their polemics with the Indian and Chinese thinkers, these early Jesuit missionaries found much to be admired in the religiousness of these Indians and Chinese. The consummate ability of these non-Christian peoples to discuss lofty theological questions about God impressed these Jesuits deeply. This Catholic optimism about man's natural knowledge of God, as finally formulated at Vatican I, is often a source of embarrassment in Christian ecumenical dialogue. But I would venture to suggest that this Catholic tradition that "God . . . can be known with certainty by the natural light of human reason"<sup>24</sup> is the best possible beginning for the greater ecumenism which lies ahead of us as a planet of religious peoples.

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<sup>24</sup> DS 3004.

## THE SUPERIOR'S ROLE WITHIN OBEDIENCE

*the view of Ignatius*

MARK R. VOSS, S.J.

### I) THE IGNATIAN AIM

SERVICE, RATHER THAN A MYSTICAL UNION or transformation, was the result of the spiritual dynamism through which Ignatius of Loyola was led. All of the various aspects of this Ignatian spirituality, prayer, abnegation, finding God in all things, even the enthusiastic attachment for Christ himself, were geared to performing this service of God; every deliberation and decision of Ignatius was done in the light of this overwhelming desire to serve God.

Christ sacrificed himself because of his love for men, for their redemption. He was the pre-eminent servant, and thus Ignatius is drawn to give a tender and unwearied effort for the souls Christ loved and redeemed. He always did the will of his Father in his role as servant, and so Ignatius, in his insatiable desire to imitate Christ, centered his own service not upon his own will and his own ideas, but upon the will of the Father and the inspirations of the Spirit. A faithful and dedicated servant does not do his own will, but the will of him whom he serves. As a consequence the dynamic element within the characteristically Ignatian concept of service is that the service can only be that which Christ wants. Herein lies the Ignatian *magis*: the greater honor and glory to God which can be pursued in an action *only* when the will of God is discerned with regard to that action. Prayer and contemplation then are centered upon finding the

will of God in all matters; abnegation and self-sacrifice are meant to produce a man who is selfless and who can, therefore, find the will of God and act upon it, rather than to act for personal interest.<sup>1</sup>

Pursuing this line of thought, then, the Society of Jesus could work for the greater honor and glory of God if and only if it is free enough to do that which may be unconventional, since God's will could conceivably ask for unconventional service; the religious orders existing at the time of the Society's beginnings were tied down to particular works by their Constitutions, and Ignatius wanted his companions to be capable of *magis*. There could be no *a priori* determination of the works of the Society;<sup>2</sup> the Jesuit was to be mobile. He was to find God's will in everything and be willing and able to act upon it. The *Constitutions* of the Society are both a testimony to Ignatius' faith and trust that God will make his will known and a realistic set of guidelines to insure that the Society remain open to God's will and be able to act upon it. The *Constitutions'* statements regarding poverty, obedience, prayer, abnegation, education are all pointed toward Loyola's vision of the Society as a group of men whose rationale was the *magis*: God's will.<sup>3</sup>

## II) THE SOCIETY AND GOD'S WILL

### The discernment of spirits

The Supreme Wisdom and Goodness of God our Creator and Savior are what must preserve, direct, and carry forward in His divine service this

<sup>1</sup> Joseph DeGuibert, S.J., *The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice*, translated by William J. Young, S.J., (Chicago: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1964). For all the material cited in this and the preceding paragraph, consult the first section of this work. Cf. especially pp. 127, 132, and also 584-5. "[The correction of faults, the acquisition of virtues, and prayer itself] are means to put the soul under the full dominion of God's love and thus render it entirely docile to his every wish in order to give service and glory to him, the sole and unique end of everything. Prayer is a means by which the soul can be penetrated with the supernatural spirit, united with its Creator and Lord, and placed completely under the influence of his grace" (571).

<sup>2</sup> For example, to decide to send more than one or two men to a mission "is something the superior will have authority to do, according as the unction of the Holy Spirit inspired or as he judges in his divine majesty to be better and more expedient." (*The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, 625; tr. George E. Ganss, S.J., to be published shortly.) This translation hereafter referred to as *Const.*

<sup>3</sup> *Const.*, 134, 547.

least Society of Jesus.<sup>4</sup>

The primary and most basic faith-centered presupposition of Loyola is that the creator and savior would provide the Society with the grace and light needed for it to serve God. *The Constitutions* will "aid us to proceed better . . . along the path of divine service . . .,"<sup>5</sup> but it is the savior who will make his way known.

Nevertheless, a characteristically Ignatian insight is that only a man who has divested himself of self-interest will be able to find and embrace the will of God. Thus a *sine qua non*, a first principle, for service of the master, is abnegation. The discernment of God's will is impossible if there is present a personal concern and an incomplete interest in Christ's will.<sup>6</sup> As with abnegation, so too with prayer and the Spiritual Exercises: they are not ends in themselves; they are means

. . . which have as their purpose . . . that no decision is made under the influence of any inordinate attachment, [and thereby of] seeking and finding the will of God in the disposition of our life.<sup>7</sup>

#### The superiors of the society

The general of the Society must be a man with two characteristics: 1) that he be a man possessing the capabilities necessary to determine what might be the will of God and 2) that he be one who will be able to direct the Society in its implementation of God's will.<sup>8</sup> His qualities fall into three categories: 1) his relationship with God, 2) his virtues, and 3) his physical characteristics.<sup>9</sup>

The most important "quality" of the general (and hence of any superior of the Society<sup>10</sup>), is that "he be closely united with God our Lord and intimate with Him in prayer and in all his actions."<sup>11</sup> As a result of this union the superior will more readily receive for the

<sup>4</sup> *Const.*, 134.

<sup>5</sup> *Const.*, 134.

<sup>6</sup> DeGuibert, pp. 137 and 595.

<sup>7</sup> *Sp Ex*, 21.

<sup>8</sup> *Const.*, 666.

<sup>9</sup> *Const.*, 724.

<sup>10</sup> *Const.*, 820, and DeGuibert, p. 158. *Const.*, 811 says: "From what has been said about the General it will be possible to infer what is applicable to the provincial superiors, local superiors, and rectors of colleges, with respect to their qualifications."

<sup>11</sup> *Const.*, 723.

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Society those gifts and graces which will direct the Society and also receive for the Society the power to effectively carry out this direction.<sup>12</sup> Secondly, the superior is to be a man whose virtues are those which will permit him to objectively determine the will of God in all things and also serve as an example to the men under him: humility and charity, without which the Society could not function;<sup>13</sup> independent of all passions “so that in his interior they may not disturb the judgment of his intellect” and that in his exterior he may serve as an example to those who observe him;<sup>14</sup> rectitude mixed with kindness and gentleness that “he neither allows himself to swerve from what he judges to be more pleasing to God our Lord,” and that his men can recognize “that in what he does he is proceeding rightly in our Lord . . .”;<sup>15</sup> and in addition a great magnanimity and fortitude so that he might be able to initiate and persevere in “great undertakings” which reason and the divine service require.<sup>16</sup>

In other words he is a man sensitive to the light of the Spirit and strong enough to carry it through as well as possess those characteristics which will inspire trust in his judgment.

The third quality is that he ought to be endowed with great understanding and judgment, in order that this talent may not fail him either in the speculative or the practical matters which may arise.<sup>17</sup>

We also have

. . . experience in spiritual and interior matters, that he may be able to discern the various spirits and to give counsel and remedies to so many who will have spiritual necessities.<sup>18</sup>

In summary then, these first three, and most important, qualities are intended by Ignatius to show that the superior is to be a man whose primary task is to discern the will of the creator and savior and to inspire his own men to understanding and action.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Const.*, 723.

<sup>13</sup> *Const.*, 725.

<sup>14</sup> *Const.*, 726.

<sup>15</sup> *Const.*, 727.

<sup>16</sup> *Const.*, 728.

<sup>17</sup> *Const.*, 729.

<sup>18</sup> *Const.*, 729.

<sup>19</sup> *Const.*, 767, 789, and 790. Note also what Ignatius has to say in 797 about lower superiors. Note also 423:

“An effort should be made that the rector should be a man of great ex-

## Christ in the superior

. . . we should be ready to receive [the superior's] command just as if it were coming from Christ our Savior, since we are fulfilling the command in His place and because of love and reverence for Him.<sup>20</sup>

Ignatius can say that a subject should obey "just as if it were coming from Christ" because in the *human-sin-laden* situation the best we can do is to let the superior have the ultimate decision because he is ideally among the most open to the will of God and therefore more likely to see clearly what the will of God is in a given situation. Ignatius presupposes that we have picked one from among the singularly most selfless individuals, and that God's love will be active most effectively in him because of his selflessness. Therefore

. . . [the subject] ought to hold it as certain that by this procedure he is conforming himself with the divine will more than by those he could do while following his own will and judging differently.<sup>21</sup>

The superior, thus, is "the one who holds the place of Christ our Lord" for the subject because in so doing the subject is assured that in his human situation he has taken the best possible means available to arrive at the will of God.<sup>22</sup> This key idea stems from Ignatius' keen sense of realism.

I think we are now in a better position to comprehend the profound nature of obedience-of-the-understanding. The understanding of the superior is ideally that which is most likely in conformity with the will of Christ; his understanding of a particular matter is what it is because of his intimacy with God our Lord, and his selflessness—his lack of personal interest. Therefore, ideally, when the subject's

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ample, edification, and mortification of all his evil inclinations, and one especially approved in regard to his obedience and humility. He ought likewise to be discreet, fit for governing, experienced in both matters of business and of the spiritual life. He should know how to mingle severity with kindness at the proper times. He should be alert, stalwart under work, a man of learning, and finally, one in whom the higher superiors can confide and to whom they can with security delegate their authority. For the more all this will be verified, the better can the colleges be governed for the greater glory of God."

<sup>20</sup> *Const.*, 547.

<sup>21</sup> *Const.*, 547.

<sup>22</sup> The problem of the poor command will be treated below.

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understanding is in conformity with that of the superior, it would be so because the subject's understanding stems from the same graces and same type of selflessness. The subject thus will himself grow in his intimacy with Christ.

### The superior is also human

St. Ignatius was a realist, and he knew that, in spite of his legislation, there would be superiors and subjects who would not live up to the ideals he sketched in his *Constitutions*. He knew it would be seldom that his ideals would be attained and his sense of realism dictated that he include within his legislation checks upon and aids for his superiors. This definitely fits in with the Ignatian ideal to do as much as humanly possible to insure that the will of God would be recognized and executed; he saw that the Society could do nothing without God's assistance, yet he was also wary lest the Society slip into an attitude of overconfidence. His checks and aids for superiors were intended to assure that the Society of Jesus did as much as humanly possible to insure its following the ideal of the *magis*.

1) *Consultors*. As we generally have them now: four assistants of discretion and goodness who can aid the superior in matters pertaining to his office and with whom he should discuss the matters of importance.<sup>23</sup>

2) *Syndics (correctors or informants)*. These men were to report at least weekly to the rector on all matters of his concern: classes, individual teachers, etc. They were to keep the rector totally informed of all trouble areas and those matters where the rector may have erred. And if asked to do so, they were to admonish, advise, or correct individual Jesuits.<sup>24</sup> Their primary task, however, was to keep the rector completely informed.

3) *Collateral*. If a superior of a province or house should be lacking experience or any other necessary qualities which a superior should have, a higher superior may assign to him a collateral whose attributes would complement those of the lower superior. This collateral would not be subject to the lower superior, but would live with the superior, and have two functions. First, he was to express

<sup>23</sup> *Const.*, 431 and 490.

<sup>24</sup> *Const.*, 371, 504, and 770.

his opinion to the superior in any difficult matters and guide him in his decisions. If the superior should appear to err in particular decisions, the collateral should inform both the higher and the lower superior. The advice of the collateral could be about any matter pertaining to the superior's office or person. Secondly, he is to function as a liaison between the superior and his subjects, trying to move among the subjects effecting their understanding of the superior and his decisions and their having the proper esteem and love toward their superior. He is also to exert his influence toward creating an atmosphere of accord and agreement among the subjects.<sup>25</sup>

In summary, the collateral was to be a man who was to aid a given superior in the functions of his office and was to help preserve the community's union which Ignatius valued so highly.<sup>26</sup> And he was to serve as a check upon the superior since his qualities were to be complementary; he was to keep the higher superiors informed about the lower superior, and was to listen to and weigh the opinions of the men of the community, and convey them to the superior.

#### 4) *Reports to Higher Superiors.*

When the superior general or the provincial desires more complete information, not only should the collateral, syndic, and board of consultants write about the rector and all the others, but each of the teachers and approved scholastics as well as of formed coadjutors should write his opinion about all of them, the rector included. That this may not seem to be something new, this report should be written as something ordinary at least every three years.<sup>27</sup>

This is definitely another practical means to insure that the government of the house was being conducted according to the ideals Ignatius laid down.

5) *The Search for Advice.* Essential for determining the will of God is as complete a knowledge and understanding as is possible in a given situation,<sup>28</sup> and in complex situations Ignatius wanted to be assured that advice and counsel would be sought before the deci-

<sup>25</sup> *Const.*, 490, 659-662.

<sup>26</sup> In the *Constitutions*, the collateral is discussed within the context of "means to preserve the union of the Society."

<sup>27</sup> *Const.*, 507.

<sup>28</sup> *Sp Ex*, 280-82.

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sions were made. Throughout the *Constitutions*, we see Ignatius telling his superiors to seek such counsel. The general must consult the provincials when considering a decision which will affect them although the final decision remains his;<sup>29</sup> must consult the general congregation before abandoning a college,<sup>30</sup> and must consult with those who have a better understanding of the matter of accepting colleges under unusual conditions. Superiors must get advice before sending individuals to the missions;<sup>31</sup> before dismissing anyone, the provincial must listen to those who know the individual and whose opinions would be relevant;<sup>32</sup> and the rector of a college must summon representatives of the faculty as well as the other officials of the college before taking actions on the faculty of a department of a college. In fact, "if it seems wise to the rector, he may also summon others from within and without the Society to the meeting in order that by learning the opinions of all he may the better decide upon what is expedient."<sup>33</sup>

### Summary and conclusions

The superior was to be one who could discern as clearly as possible what the will of God was in each decision-situation. Yet it seems clear from the foregoing section that Ignatius did not think that this ability would come automatically by virtue of the superior's office; Ignatius knew there would be graces consequent upon being a superior, but also legislated to make certain that the superior did all that was humanly possible to be completely informed and thus more open to the will of God. Yes, the will of the superior would be the will of Christ, at least, when considering the whole complexus of decisions; this seemed to be the best manner available to us as men to determining Christ's will, and Ignatius wanted to be certain that as much as possible was done to insure the proper discernment of God's will.

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<sup>29</sup> *Const.*, 761, 791.

<sup>30</sup> *Const.*, 322.

<sup>31</sup> *Const.*, 618.

<sup>32</sup> *Const.*, 221.

<sup>33</sup> *Const.*, 502.

## III) OBEDIENCE AND COMMUNITY

The institute of the Society of Jesus was directly organized to help and dispose souls to gain their ultimate end through the manner which God indicates.<sup>34</sup> The *chief means* to this service of God is the union of the members. The corporate entity, the Society of Jesus, is to be the means whereby God is served; and the individual Jesuit is to find within this union the means whereby he, as an individual, was to receive the help he would need to serve God.<sup>35</sup>

With regard to the Society as a whole, as a corporate entity, the chief means to this union is obedience<sup>36</sup>, which will link all members together to insure a common purpose. As a result of obedience, the Society can function as one body, and therefore be more effective in the service of Christ.<sup>37</sup>

Also, each individual Jesuit's goal is to do the will of God. His love for God and his desire to serve him is the reason he has incorporated himself within the Society. On the whole, and as discussed previously, the superior should be the one who has the qualities which enable him to most accurately discern the will of God. Therefore, the Superior's role is to aid each individual in search for God's will. If we assume that the individual Jesuit is a Jesuit because of his desire to serve God within such a group of men, and we assume that the Superior is making use of all of the spiritual and human means possible to insure that he is able to discern the graces being given to his community<sup>38</sup>, then we can see that it will be primarily the superior who will bring his community together in a union of wills.<sup>39</sup> His role is to serve the community by helping each individual find the will of God for him within the larger context of the community, the Society, and Church.

If the superior is to determine the direction of the workings of the Spirit, it would be incumbent that he understand well the directions that same Spirit is taking within each individual Jesuit. Hence

<sup>34</sup> *Const.*, 135 and 156.

<sup>35</sup> *Const.*, *passim*, but especially 624.

<sup>36</sup> *Const.*, 659, 662, and 821.

<sup>37</sup> *Const.*, 821.

<sup>38</sup> Ignatius warns that superiors must be given the time to do this; they must not be burdened down with administrative details.

<sup>39</sup> Ignatius hints at this in *Const.*, 671.

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Ignatius incorporates the manifestation of conscience, the explicit purpose of which is a union of wills<sup>40</sup>, and also the expression of contrary opinions to the superior.

### IV) CONCLUSIONS

#### "Traditional" conceptions

The conception of obedience which many Jesuits have today was formed by Ignatius' famous "Letter on Obedience" to the Society in Portugal in 1553. This is unfortunate because extreme circumstances motivated this letter.

The letter was occasioned by those members of the Province of Portugal who were very attached to Father Simon Rodrigues, excessively so, with an affection that was too natural and unspiritual. Rodrigues' method of government had erred on the side of mildness and softness, with the result that, when he was removed, these *subjects refused obedience* to any other superior than himself or one appointed by him.<sup>41</sup>

This points up the problem of absolutizing a letter. Because the circumstances in Portugal constituted a grave threat to the very existence of the Society, it was incumbent upon Ignatius to "lay down the law." His letter would have to emphasize the necessity for *obeying* to the exclusion of other essential factors in the total context of obedience. Ignatius would not have wanted this letter to be the document which formed the complete Jesuit ideal of obedience, since very little is said in it about the role of the superior, which of course constitutes a rather essential part of Ignatian obedience. Nevertheless this letter, and even some of its most extreme parts has, *de facto*, formed the concept of obedience for many Jesuits.

When one takes "The Letter" as the criterion for his study of Ignatian obedience, one can arrive at the conclusion that Ignatius and faith teach

. . . that the command of the Superior is not in reality the command of a man, but the command of God himself, who avails Himself of man as a conscious instrument for the transmission of his will.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> *Const.*, 424.

<sup>41</sup> *Letters of St. Ignatius of Loyola* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1959), tr. Wm. J. Young, S.J., p. 287. Italics added.

<sup>42</sup> Espinosa Polit, S.J., *Perfect Obedience* (Westminster: Newman, 1947), p. 287.

The inspiration becomes almost completely vertical: God to superior. In fact, Polit (whose classic treatment of obedience adorns many shelves in Jesuit houses) carries this vertical descent to the extent of saying:

In the same way [as in the Eucharist], Christ conceals Himself from us in our Superior. In spite of his imperfection, [the Superior] is for us the representative of Christ; Christ hides beneath the weakness and imperfections of the man, just as he conceals Himself beneath the sacramental species.<sup>43</sup>

This type of exposé is unIgnatian in that it obliterates the horizontal aspect of obedience. Loyola was extremely conscious of the fact that the Spirit would move in all his men, and that the Superior would have to depend very much upon his men for "light." To insure this, Ignatian realism demanded this horizontal aspect be juridically established within the *Constitutions*:<sup>44</sup> syndics; consultors; collaterals; letters every third year, if not more often; constant advice—all of those because of a realization that a superior is human.

#### Implications of Ignatian obedience

Ignatian obedience is indeed a testimony to divine providence; it is a sign of the fact that a man believes that God is an active force in his life, that God's grace is present in what is commonly known as the apostolate. We should not merely think in terms of individual commands; the vow of obedience constitutes a permanent life—form giving man a God-ward orientation within the framework of the Church. As with the vows of poverty and chastity, obedience too is a sign; a sign of God's active presence within the world.

But a truly Ignatian obedience is also a sign of the fact that we cannot sit back and let God move us. Ignatius was extremely

<sup>43</sup> Polit, p. 62. I would not like to be asked to explain such a statement, especially in the light of all the aids and helps Ignatius thought it necessary to give the Superior. Yet this conception of obedience is alive today among Jesuits, and that fact must be recognized.

<sup>44</sup> The Society as a whole might very well consider whether such a juridical legislation might not be a much more realistic thing than the recommendations along this line as spelled out by the 31st General Congregation. Realism would seem to demand, as experience has taught, that for the protection of the Society's individuals and unity, such light - seeking aids and juridical checks be firmly reestablished within the practices of the Society.

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conscious of the fact that a juridically established superior would not, by that very fact alone, have a corner on the market of God's grace. Ignatian obedience is also a sign to men that, although we do trust in the presence of God's help, we also must be an active, imaginative, initiating, charismatic force within his economy of salvation. The *magis* of Ignatius is that we do what is God's will, and this implies that we be open to possibilities which may not lie within our currently operative conceptual schemes. For Ignatius, this applies to both superior and subject. The spirit of Ignatius is that the superior *should* use (not "could use") any and all possible means to discern the spirits, as his subjects must also do if they are sons of Ignatius.

### The problem of the bad command

The service of God demanded that the unity of the Society be preserved. Loyola saw that, as in all human societies, if obedience is left to the discretion of the individual, the corporate nature of the Society was in peril; this is a sociological fact. Nevertheless, Ignatius also saw that poor superiors would probably spring up, and so he took steps to minimize this possibility. Superiors come from among our best men; they are given collaterals, syndics, and consultors; they are to seek advice; and subjects report on all of these men regularly. If poor commands<sup>45</sup> still do result, the Jesuit is to obey; the greater good demands the unity of the Society. The Jesuit is a man who is living his life because of his desire for the greater service of God; in a given undesirable situation he must realize that the overall good demands that he be obedient.

Karl Rahner develops this idea.<sup>46</sup> Dedication in obedience is a choice of an unforeseeable destiny; a gamble found in every state of life. Without such a dedication or surrender to the unknown future, a man would be caught in his own egoistic anxiety—a sure way to

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<sup>45</sup> We shall assume throughout this section that the command does not speak about *sin*. This is a greater problem than we think. As "protest" grows, there will be more Jesuits who will feel in conscience that they must protest, for example. If a superior commands them not to, this could conceivably involve a matter of sin. This problem needs much work, as do many other conflicts of conscience of a similar type.

<sup>46</sup> Karl Rahner, S.J., "Reflections on Obedience: A Basic Ignatian Concept," *Cross Currents* 10 (1960), 369-70.

destruction. "But the man who gives himself to what is higher and nobler, who takes the gamble, knows that he is doing what Christ did in his obedience."<sup>47</sup> Christ lived to do what he knew he had to do, even though it led to death on the cross. The Father willed that Christ, as a man, proclaim the Kingdom, and part of being a man was that he should suffer for this.

The religious dedicates his life in a sign that God's will is active in this world. An essential part of this dedication is that it be in the world of real men, and as such there shall be stupidities and bad will. These stupidities are the will of God in a permissive sense; he wants us to live a life of dedication in this real and occasionally stupid world. With Christ, the cross was a must. So too in religious obedience; after all possible attempts have been made to change a bad command, such a command becomes the practical occasion for the embodiment of that faith in God's grace.

Ignatius also saw that a life dedicated to service would require a great deal of selflessness and thus if a bad command is given, obedience could also be conceived of as a means by which to grow in selflessness, a means to reduce pride, which will result in greater indifference, so important for a man dedicated to doing God's will and not his own. (This is considerably more positive than "self-immolation" which is occasionally held up as a reason for one's acquiescence in obedience; it is hard to see how subjection to the will of another for its own sake could be considered anything more than amoral.)

This leaves untouched the problem of the habitually obtuse superior.<sup>48</sup> It seems to the writer that if superiors are picked more for their spiritual sensitivity than for their organizational ability, and are given the checks and aids which Ignatius thought so important, (1) this problem would arise much less frequently, and (2) when it did, the situation would come to the surface much more quickly and could thus more easily be corrected.

<sup>47</sup> Rahner, pp. 373-74.

<sup>48</sup> A situation of this sort would seem to me to be a contradiction of the entire purpose of obedience, and if the means which the *Constitutions* insist upon are not being employed to ward off or correct such situations, one might legitimately ask if one is bound by the vow of obedience. After all, the religious life receives the approbation of the Church because of the *Constitutions* of the given religious order or congregation.

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### Obedience today

We find in the Church today a keener awareness of the historical dimensions of man's search for God, and God's continuing self-revelation, jarring with the still dominant mentality of a relatively static and essentialistic and deductive understanding of God's relation to man. These two attitudes find their way into religious orders also. The traditional mentality emphasizes corporate endeavors, a hierarchical authority structure, and individual self-effacement, and the commands of God are seen to be a *sure* way to find the will of God. On the other hand, we find a much more personalistic approach which places emphasis on individual responsibility, shared participation in making decisions, and a concern for the uniqueness of individual members. As a consequence the special charismatic qualities of the authority-obedience process are brought into question.

Non-essentialistic, too, is Ignatius when writing about the Society. His presupposition was that he could not be *a priori* about the means which the Society was to use in the service of Christ. There is nothing static about the Society as Ignatius conceived of it; it had to be mobile, completely mobile.

1) *Corporate endeavors* were seen by Ignatius to be generally the more effective means to service, but he certainly foresaw that occasions would arise when it would be more effective to have one man go off on his own, or that individuals would work independently of one another; it was, as always, a matter of the *magis*.<sup>49</sup>

2) A *hierarchical authority structure* was incorporated into the Society, some form of which would seem to have to be present in any corporate endeavor, as the deliberations of the early Fathers of the Society saw.<sup>50</sup> But the Ignatian authority was not God to general to provincial to rector to superior in a vertical pipeline arrangement; it also included a horizontal dimension which employed almost every conceivable human means.

3) *Individual responsibility* was the entire rationale of the Spir-

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<sup>49</sup> *Const.*, 624.

<sup>50</sup> The early Fathers of the Society, after they had taken their vow to go to Jerusalem, and after that vow had fallen through, decided that the greater service of God demanded that they corporately serve the Church. They also decided that such a corporate commitment demanded that they give themselves in obedience to one of their number.

itual Exercises: that the individual might be able to discern the will of God in all matters. In any case, Ignatius would certainly want every Jesuit to be constantly on the alert for the *magis*. This would seem to be a rather deep form of individual responsibility.

4) All Jesuits were to *share in the making of decisions*, at least to the extent that they were to keep the superior informed of everything, and to which the superior, always looking for the greater service of God rather than his own egoistic desires, was to be completely open. Even democratic processes were not out of the picture, as Ignatius' orders to the community at Gandia indicate: the community was told to elect their superior since higher superiors felt the community could determine this issue more effectively.<sup>51</sup>

5) The spirit of Ignatius would rejoice at an *increased awareness of the uniqueness of individuals* within the Society since he was so conscious of the necessity to use every possible means in the service of God, and so wary lest the superiors of the Society become narrow minded in their approach to the apostolate. He would assume, again, that all concerned were to serve God's will rather than their own, and would have been happy to see unique approaches developing because of unique individuals.

6) If Loyola saw any *special charismatic qualities* in the authority-obedience process, it was certainly in a modified sort of charism. He saw that there would be bad commands and poor superiors, but he structured into the Society means to make sure that the individual charism of the superior was not his own charism and was open to the charism of the Spirit. Even with regard to the pope himself, Ignatius was in no way prepared to bow to him with respect to his every wish. Ignatius makes it very clear that this fourth vow of the professed was with respect to the *places* to which the Society might be sent.<sup>52</sup> Nor was he ready to have his men respect the Pope's desires with respect to special dignities, and especially so with regard to the general. The general could not accept an

<sup>51</sup> *Letters of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, pp. 140ff.

<sup>52</sup> In a footnote to the actual formula of the fourth vow, #527, Ignatius says: "The entire meaning of this fourth vow of obedience to the Pope was and is with regard to the missions." It seems clear then that although we may be an Order dedicated to the Pope, still we do not owe obedience to the Pope in every matter because of the vow.

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ecclesiastical dignity without the approval of the entire Society, and the entire Society was forbidden by the *Constitutions* to give this approval unless the Pontiff compels the approval "by a precept obliging under sin."<sup>53</sup> In short, Ignatius was acutely aware of the human weaknesses and shortcomings in every human being, and any charisms superiors would have would not necessarily shine through their shortcomings.

7) A flexible, creative way of meeting the changing apostolic needs of the Kingdom was the rationale of the Society; God's will would not be rigid and unchanging, and Ignatius only wanted that the Society would be able to continue to meet such divine desires.

The Society of Jesus was founded because the Church needed a religious order which would be mobile; juridically the Society is mobile—at least as it exists on the pages of the *Constitutions*. Sociologically speaking, because of the temper of current thought, a religious order must be mobile. I submit Ignatius was a man of our times.

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<sup>53</sup> *Const.*, 771, 772, 786, and 788.

## SIMON FOUCHÉ, S.J.

*missionary, educator, spiritual director*

## SR. M. LILLIANA OWENS, S.L.

SIMON FOUCHÉ, KENTUCKY FRONTIER MISSIONARY, educator and spiritual director, was born in Paris, France, on May 9, 1789. He lost his parents at an early age, and Msgr. E. Maignan, his uncle, a Catholic priest, assumed responsibility for young Fouché. The French Revolution had just begun, Msgr. Maignan knew the danger of it all, but he decided to remain at his post in Paris, serving the people for whom he had been ordained priest. He knew full well, were his identity discovered, he would be put to death. However, he managed to keep himself concealed. He worked zealously for souls, but being a prudent man, and in order to be less liable to discovery by the officials, he changed his name, adopted a trade, took his sister as his housekeeper, and introduced and registered her as his wife. They took with them Simon Fouché, then four or five years of age, who was designated by them as their child.<sup>1</sup>

Fr. Simon Fouché's memories of the French Revolution were always very vivid. He loved to recall the civic dinners spread in the streets of the city, of which everyone had to partake. He took great

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<sup>1</sup> Jardinis to Owens, S.L., September 24, 1966. Rev. Pauladis Jardinis, S.J. is stationed at College de Sainte-Marie, Montreal (2) Canada. His letter, dated September 24, 1966, contains material he gathered from archival sources at this college. The author, a member of the Congregation of the Sisters of Loretto, contacted the archivist at the College of Sainte Marie, Montreal, and received this information as a reply.

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pride in telling that his supposed father, Père Maignan, belonged to the National Guard, and often had to go on duty dressed in military attire with musket. In spite of the grave dangers, and his military duties, Père Maignan said Mass, heard confessions, and administered the sacraments to many, who remained good Christians, in the midst of the most terrifying scenes.<sup>2</sup>

On one occasion he recalled how Père Maignan had given the last sacraments to Marie Antoinette the night before her execution.<sup>3</sup> In fact due to the careful management of his supposed wife, in reality, as stated before, his sister, he obtained permission from the house-keeper of the Conciergerie, where the queen, Marie Antoinette, was imprisoned, to enter her cell at night. Père Maignan was not satisfied with bringing the condemned queen the Holy Eucharist, which he carefully concealed on his person, but persuaded two municipal officers charged with her care, to conduct him at midnight to her cell. Here he read Mass for her and the guards charged with her custody profited by the occasion to confess their sins and to receive Holy Communion.<sup>4</sup>

After his classical and theological studies young Fouché was named teacher in the institution founded by Abbé Liotart, which later became Le Collège Stanislaus still existing in Paris.<sup>5</sup> He was ordained to the priesthood in 1816, and remained in the same college as spiritual director, or counsellor to the students.

In 1821 Abbé Liotart went to New Orleans, Louisiana, in the United States and opened a college. Fr. Fouché accompanied him and became a member of the faculty of this new college. Later, when the New Orleans College was destroyed by fire, Fr. Fouché, then a diocesan priest, went to the new college organized by Bishop Benedict Joseph Flaget in Bardstown, Kentucky. According to B. J. Webb, this must have been about 1822 or 1824. This same author gives his memories of Fouché as follows:

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<sup>2</sup> B. J. Webb, *Catholicity in Kentucky* (Louisville: Rogers, 1884), p. 287. Cf. also Anna Blanche Mc Gill, S.C.N., *The Sisters of Charity of Nazareth*, (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1917), pp. 34-35.

<sup>3</sup> Webb, p. 390.

<sup>4</sup> Père Maignan died Curé de St. Germaine l'Auxerreis at Paris. Cf. Webb, p. 39; also WOODSTOCK LETTERS 19 (1890) 124.

<sup>5</sup> Jardinis to Owens, S.L., Sept. 24, 1966.

It must have been after 1822 and before 1825 that they (Father Simon Fouché and Evremond Harrisart) appeared together as officials of . . . the college. I know they were both attached to the Cathedral of St. Joseph, serving at its altars, etc. They were both men of learning and piety, and both exemplified in their manner of life the sacerdotal virtues that became them as administrators of divine things. . . . they walked the seminary lawn and recited the canonical office together, and *together* they were associated in the minds of all, who had the happiness of knowing them. They were nothing, however, alike in their personal appearance. . . . Father Fouché was diminutive in stature. He was vivacious in both action and speech, and he was altogether what is understood by the term *companionable*.<sup>6</sup>

#### Bardstown

The ecclesiastical difficulties in New Orleans at this time were also an added reason why several of the young clergymen sought admission into the Bardstown Diocese and other dioceses of the U.S.A.<sup>7</sup> In the summer of 1823 Fr. Fouché was incardinated into the Diocese of Bardstown. Fouché knew very little English, so during the latter part of 1823,<sup>8</sup> Bishop Benedict Joseph Flaget named him chaplain to the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, Kentucky, in order that he might have the opportunity, while there, of perfecting his knowledge of the English language.<sup>9</sup> Anna Blanche Mc Gill says:

During the latter part of 1823, Nazareth enjoyed having as one of its first chaplains, the Reverend Simon Fouché, who had lately arrived from France. This priest was the nephew and ward of Père E. Maignan, who under the most dangerous circumstances had been confessor to Marie Antoinette, during her imprisonment.<sup>10</sup>

While he was learning the English language he taught the frontier children Christian doctrine, and it seems almost certain that he en-

<sup>6</sup> Webb, p. 391.

<sup>7</sup> David to Bruté, Mar. 21, 1825, CAUA, N.D. John B. David was the coadjutor to Benedict Joseph Flaget, the first Bishop of the Diocese of Bardstown, Kentucky. Simon Bruté de Remur was first a member of the Sulpician Society, and on May 6, 1834, when Pope Gregory XVI created the diocese of Vincennes (Indiana), he was named its first Bishop.

<sup>8</sup> J. Herman Schauinger, *Cathedrals in the Wilderness*, (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1952), p. 221.

<sup>9</sup> Mc Gill, pp. 34-35. Srs. Ellen and Harriet, S.C.N., were his instructors.

<sup>10</sup> Mc Gill, pp. 34-35.

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couraged the study of French.<sup>11</sup>

In the spring of 1820 Rev. Charles Nerinckx, one of the most zealous frontier missionaries of the time, and the founder of the Sisters of Loretto at the Foot of the Cross, went to Belgium soliciting funds for the Kentucky missions and recruits for the Society of Jesus. Before leaving for this European trip he purchased, with the money loaned him by the Sisters of Loretto, a plot of land from a certain Mr. James Ray.<sup>12</sup> He named the new site Mt. Mary,<sup>13</sup> and his plan was to establish here a vocational institute for the education of boys. Fr. Charles Nerinckx left for Europe in March, 1820. Rev. William Byrne was named to replace him as pastor at St. Charles and to act as the confessor of the Sisters of Loretto at the

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<sup>11</sup> Cf. U.S.A. (Loretto) Documents, 1808–1850, in Propaganda Fide Archives; Rome Italy. Also in microfilm at CAUA, N.D., Archives of the Archdiocese of St. Louis, St. Louis, Missouri, and in the Archives of the Loretto Motherhouse, Nerinx, Ky. The documents in the Propaganda Fide Archives carry folio numbers and volume numbers; in this they differ from the methods used in the U.S. Cf. Finbar Kenneally, O.F.M., *United States Documents in the Propaganda Fide Archives*. First Series, vol. 1, pp. 947, 959, 964, for folio numbers to Simon Fouché, S.J. (The Academy of American Franciscan History, Box 5850, Washington, D.C., 20014.)

<sup>12</sup> Rev. Charles Nerinckx, a diocesan priest, was born on October 2, 1761 in Brabant. He was ordained November 4, 1785, by Cardinal de Frankenburg, Archbishop of Mechlin. In 1797 the armies of the French Revolution reached Belgium. Priests were required to take the oath of allegiance to the royalty or go to prison. Fr. Nerinckx considered this oath contrary to the divine and moral law and refused to take it. By so doing he became a hunted fugitive. As early as 1800 he had considered volunteering for the missions in the USA. He realized that his possibilities for exercising the priestly functions, for which he was ordained, were now not possible. Right Rev. John Carroll received him with open arms and assigned him, eventually, to assist Rev. Theodore Badin on the Kentucky frontier, where he became known as one of the foremost missionaries in Kentucky. He soon saw the need for an order of religious women, who would dedicate themselves to the cause of educating the children on the Kentucky frontier. On April 25, 1812 he founded the first community of religious women, without European affiliation, and gave them the name "Friends of Mary under the Cross of Jesus." Today this community is known as the Sisters of Loretto at the Foot of the Cross. Cf. Camillus P. Maes, *The Life of Reverend Charles Nerinckx*, W. J. Howlett, *The Life of Reverend Charles Nerinckx*, and Anna C. Minogue, *Loretto: Annals of a Century* for further information about Fr. Charles Nerinckx and the Sisters of Loretto at the Foot of the Cross.

<sup>13</sup> Walter Hill, S.J., "Reminiscences of St. Mary's College, Kentucky," WOODSTOCK LETTERS, 20 (1891) 29–30, 33.

Foot of the Cross.<sup>14</sup> Fr. Byrne had always been interested in education. He noted that the Sisters of Loretto had a flourishing school for girls, but that there was no provision made for the education of the boys. He relayed his ideas for a school for boys to Bishop Flaget, suggesting that the property about a mile from the convent of the Sisters of Loretto be used for this purpose.<sup>15</sup> Bishop Flaget, forgetting that this land was in the joint ownership of Fr. Charles Nerinckx and the Sisters of Loretto, gave Fr. Byrne permission to open the school. He immediately took possession of Mt. Mary and began to take steps to organize the school for boys. When Fr. Nerinckx returned from Europe on December 21, 1821, he found Mt. Mary had, with the permission of Bishop Flaget, become known as St. Mary's Seminary. It had been Fr. Nerinckx's plan to see the property at Mt. Mary become the home of a brotherhood, which he hoped to found, which would later conduct the vocational institution he envisioned. Fr. Nerinckx knew that to open a school before there were teachers prepared to conduct and manage it would be to court ruin for the fine apostolic work. Soon this became evident. Fr. Byrne's zeal and industry were sadly hampered by a lack of teachers. He had come to the Kentucky frontier from a more settled area in the United States of America and was totally unaware of the ignorance and incompetence, at this time, on the Kentucky frontier, due to the lack of educational opportunities.

By August, 1827 Simon Fouché had become fairly conversant with the English language and Fr. Byrne asked that he be assigned to teaching duties at St. Mary's Seminary.<sup>16</sup> At this time he was acting as confessor and spiritual director to the Sisters of Loretto. He was told by the Bishop to assume the new work but to retain the old. The Sisters of Loretto were at this time (1827) living at St. Stephen's farm, renamed Loretto after the Holy House of Loretto. According to Rev. Walter Hill S.J.: "Father Fouché was confessor

<sup>14</sup> Camillus P. Maes, *The Life of Reverend Charles Nerinckx* (Cincinnati, 1880), pp. 383, 384, 388, 389, 546.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. WOODSTOCK LETTERS 20 (1891) 26; Maes, pp. 184-185.

<sup>16</sup> David to Bruté, Oct. 9, 1827, CAUA N.D. Cf. *USA (Loretto) Documents, 1808-1850*, Propaganda Fide Archives, Rome, Italy, for statements that Simon Fouché was now a member of the Diocese of Bardstown, Ky.

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here [Loretto Motherhouse] until the Jesuit fathers left St. Mary's College [1846]."<sup>17</sup>

### St. Joseph's

As early as 1829 Bishop Flaget offered St. Joseph's College at Bardstown, Kentucky to the Society of Jesus in France.<sup>18</sup> However, as time went on either they did not answer him, or as is probable, his letter was lost. Accordingly Bishop Flaget began to make arrangements for St. Joseph's College. Much to the Bishop's embarrassment and surprise, at the beginning of 1831, four French Jesuits arrived in the United States bound for Bardstown, Kentucky. They were Frs. Peter Chazelle, Nicholas Petit, Peter Ladavière and Bro. Corne. They reached New Orleans toward the end of February, 1831. They had come to accept the invitation of Bishop Flaget to staff the St. Joseph's Collège. When one recalls the method of mailing letters at this time, on the frontier, the delay of this letter is easily understood. When the group reached New Orleans they were given hospitality by Bishop Leo De Neckere, C.M., and they remained with him until the Lent of 1831. In the meantime Fr. Chazelle opened correspondence with Bishop Flaget about the school which he had invited them to come to the U.S.A. to staff. In the first letter he explained the reason for their delay. Bishop Flaget was naturally very perturbed, as this place was no longer open to them. Yet he kindly invited them into his diocese. Fr. Ladavière and Bro. Corne remained in New Orleans. They were the center round which the Society of Jesus established themselves in Louisiana at Grand Couteau. Frs. Chazelle and Petit proceeded to Bardstown to accept the Bishop's invitation. Fr. Petit was a priest who had had many years of experience in the missionary field and because of this he was given charge of St. Charles parish, near the College, a position he held until the French Jesuits left Kentucky in 1846. The two Jesuits rendered such services as they could at St. Joseph's College, adjoining the seminary. Bishop Flaget asked them to join him in a novena to St. Ignatius Loyola to obtain through the saint's intercession a solution to this very perplexing problem. During this novena Rev. William Byrne

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<sup>17</sup> Hill, pp. 25-37.

<sup>18</sup> Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., *Jesuits in the Middle United States* (New York: America Press, 1933), pp. 166, 255, 294.

had become very much discouraged with St. Mary's Seminary,<sup>19</sup> and he wrote to Bishop Flaget offering to make the seminary over to the French Jesuits. This settled the matter, and at the end of the novena Frs. Chazelle and Petit assumed charge of the seminary. This was the summer of 1831, but there was still a hurdle to be cleared. The Jesuits were of French extraction, and were, therefore, not proficient in the English language. An added difficulty was that they little understood the character of the boys on the Kentucky frontier. Fr. Byrne consented to remain one more year as president. At the end of that year they invited him to remain another year.

The number of Jesuits were few, but they entered upon their duties with great energy, zeal and dedication. Some vocations sprung up as a result, and recruits were added to their number. The first of these was the young diocesan priest, Simon Fouché, who at this time was director of the seminary. The second was Fr. Evremond Harrisart, superior at the seminary. They both made the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius under the direction of Fr. Chazelle in 1830. He used the same inspired Exercises compiled by St. Ignatius three hundred years before. Young Fr. Simon Fouché asked to enter the Society of Jesus. This was on September 11, 1832. He could not manage to leave his post at the College until September, 1833.<sup>20</sup>

The Kentucky mission of the French Province could not boast of a house of probation, so the Jesuits of the Maryland Province invited Fr. Chazelle to send his novices to White Marsh, Maryland. Fr. Evremond Harrisart had no commitments to prevent his entering at once. He began his novitiate at the end of his retreat. In the meantime Very Rev. Fr. John Roothan, S.J., General of the Society of Jesus, decided to open a novitiate on the Kentucky frontier with Fr. Chazelle, S.J., as master of novices. Prior to this decision Fr. Fouché had entered the Society of Jesus and had made one year of his novitiate at Fordham, New York.<sup>21</sup> As soon as the novitiate was established in Kentucky, Frs. Harrisart and Fouché were invited to return to this novitiate. After their period of training was completed the two priests returned to St. Mary's Seminary. Both men were professionally esteemed. Fr. Simon Fouché spent fifteen years as

<sup>19</sup> Hill, p. 28.

<sup>20</sup> "New York and Canada Missions," WOODSTOCK LETTERS 1 (1872) 113.

<sup>21</sup> Jardinis to Owens, Sept. 24, 1966.

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professor of philosophy and mathematics at St. Mary's College.<sup>22</sup> He also acted as procurator and spiritual director of the college. It is of interest to quote from a page of the earliest *Catalog of the Society of Jesus in France*. Among other things it states "*Collegium Kentuckeense ad S. Mariam et convictus*" ineunte MDCCCXXXVI . . . P. Simon Fouché, Prof. Math.; praefectus morum . . ."<sup>23</sup>

### A revision of rules

Simon Fouché served as spiritual director of the Sisters of Loretto at the Foot of the Cross at their motherhouse from 1840 to 1846, the year the Jesuits of the French Province left Kentucky. This has great significance for the Sisters of Loretto at the Foot of the Cross. Bishop Guy Chabrat, during the administration of Mother Isabella Clarke, S.L., invited Simon Fouché, S.J., to revise the *Rules and Constitutions* of the Sisters of Loretto.<sup>24</sup> The decision to change the Rules was made by Bishop Chabrat, without consultation with Fr. John Timon, C.M., who had been placed in charge of the Sisters of Loretto in Missouri by Bishop Joseph Rosati, C.M. Since the Sisters of Loretto were not a Pontifical Society at this time Bishop Guy Chabrat was not at liberty to take such a step without consulting either Fr. Timon, C.M., or Bishop Rosati, C.M. Fr. Timon wrote to Bishop Chabrat and asked for an explanation of his action in this regard.<sup>25</sup> Bishop Chabrat replied that it was his intention to review the revised Rules with Father Timon *after the revision had been made*. However, Bishop Flaget, realizing the delicacy of the matter, invited Fr. Timon to come to the Loretto Motherhouse in August, 1840, to visit with him.<sup>26</sup> Timon replied that he would accept this invitation in the later summer of 1840. He was in no way happy about having the *Rules* revised under the supervision of Bishop Guy Chabrat. As he promised, Fr. Timon went to Bardstown in late

<sup>22</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>23</sup> *Catalog of the Society of Jesus*, Province of France, 1836, p. 21. Cf. WOODSTOCK LETTERS 1 (1872), 124, for excerpt from this catalogue.

<sup>24</sup> Anna C. Minogue, *Loretto: Annals of a Century* (New York: America Press, 1912), p. 100.

<sup>25</sup> Timon to Chabrat, 1840, CAUA, N.D. John Timon, C.M., was the first Bishop of the Diocese of Buffalo.

<sup>26</sup> Charles G. Deuther, *Life and Times of John Timon, D.D.*, (Washington, D.C.: privately published, 1870), p. 75.

August, 1840, and together he and Bishop Flaget went to the Loretto Motherhouse for the purpose of Fr. Timon's reading the changes that had been made in the Rule of the Sisters of Loretto and making a revision of the revision that had been made. The complete history of this is set forth in the U.S. [*Loretto*] Documents of the Propaganda Fide in the Propaganda Fide Archives, Rome, Italy.

In 1846 the French Jesuits abandoned St. Mary's College and went to Fordham University. Fr. Fouché was named Procurator and he remained in this position for nine years. From 1856 to 1860 he was assigned to St. Francis Xavier College in New York; this college was then known as the Holy Name College. The change of names occurred in November 25, 1850, when the Jesuit students of Holy Name took up residence in the new and comfortable building which was named St. Francis Xavier College.<sup>27</sup> In making this transition both the Jesuit College and the Jesuit Holy Name Church lost their identity, and became known as St. Francis Xavier College and St. Francis Xavier Church.<sup>28</sup> The enrollment at the College, at this time, was about two hundred and fifty students. In the old records we sometimes find Fr. Fouché registered as Simon and again as Francis.

#### Montreal

In 1860 the growing college of Sainte-Marie in Montreal, Canada, needed help. At the time Fr. Simon Fouché was in need of the crisp Canadian air, due to an undiagnosed illness, which was bringing on a progressive deafness. So he was chosen to go to the Canadian College where his knowledge of French was a great asset.<sup>29</sup> However, the rapidly progressing deafness made it necessary for him to leave his duties as professor. So complete was the deafness he was unable even to hear confessions. In 1861 he was back at Fordham University as assistant Procurator, and in 1864 he was Librarian at St. Francis College and spiritual director of the community, a position which he held for six years. Two months before his death he

<sup>27</sup> Jardinis to Owens, Sept. 24, 1966.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *The Catholic Directory* for these years; microfilm copies in Vatican Film Library, Pius XII Memorial Library, St. Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri.

<sup>29</sup> Jardinis to Owens, S.L., Sept. 24, 1966.

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returned to Fordham University, where he died on January 29, 1870. According to a memorandum sent from Rev. Maurice A. Ahern, S.J., "He [Fr. Simon Fouché] spent some of his last years at St. Francis Xavier College in New York City."<sup>30</sup>

The "House Diary" of St. John's College, Fordham states: "June 29 [1870] Solemn distribution of awards in the usual manner. . . . At the eighth hour in the evening Reverend Father Fouché went to sleep in the Lord, at the age of 81. A man who was very religious and very lovable."<sup>31</sup> According to this same source "Father Fouché was buried on July 1 [1870]; many of the New York Fathers were present." He is buried in the little cemetery on the Fordham campus next to the Fordham University Church.

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<sup>30</sup> Ahern to Owens, September 14, 1966.

<sup>31</sup> Archives of St. John's College, Fordham University, New York, N.Y.

## THE JESUITS UNDER THE CZARS

*to preserve the Society*

DENIS DIRSCHERL, S.J.

CANNONS BOOMED IN POMBAL'S PORTUGAL while the ringing of bells and jubilation throughout Europe welcomed Clement XIV's signing of the brief *Dominus Ac Redemptor* which suppressed the Society of Jesus in 1773. Anticipating the demise of the Jesuits, Voltaire rejoiced in saying that "once we have destroyed the Jesuits we shall have the game in our hands." D'Alembert added: "The rest are nothing but Cossacks and Pandours, who will never stand firm against our disciplined troops." On hearing of the actual suppression of the Society, Voltaire laughed loudly and declared: "In twenty years there will be nothing left of the Church."

In Rome the mood was quite different. Realizing that he had succumbed to political blackmail, and thoroughly disturbed during a fit of despair, Clement declared, "I have cut off my right hand." The act by which the pope immobilized 23,000 Jesuits, their 800 residences, 700 colleges, and 300 missions, indeed, struck at the heart of the Church. The Brief of July 21st had been long in coming, for the Bourbon courts of France, Naples, Parma, and Spain had constantly pressured and threatened Clement from the very beginning of his reign in 1769. Harassed and deeply troubled, the pope finally surrendered to the intrigues of Charles III and his special envoy Florida Blanca. With the help of another Franciscan, Clement drafted the brief which "perpetually broke up and dissolved" the Society of Jesus:

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We perceived that the Society of Jesus was no longer in a position to produce those rich fruits and remarkable benefits on account of which it was founded, approved and endowed with splendid privileges by so many popes; in the future it appears to be quite impossible to preserve a true and lasting peace within the Church so long as the Order exists. Guided by these weighty considerations and compelled by other reasons, which providence and the wise conduct of the whole Church suggest to us and which we guard in our breast . . . we hereby suppress the Society of Jesus after mature deliberations, with our infallible knowledge, and in the fullness of our apostolic power.<sup>1</sup>

By thus putting the Jesuits out of business with a few swipes of the pen Pope Clement blackened his name to such an extent that the entire history of the papacy "can show no other example of such craven cowardice."<sup>2</sup> Indeed, in the month following, when the Brief came into effect, the pope was deeply agitated, fainted, revived again, and as he sank onto his couch exclaimed: "I am damned. My home is Hell."<sup>3</sup>

In spite of *Dominus ac Redemptor*, the Society did not cease to function for a moment. The bulk of the Jesuits automatically became secular priests; in Austria and Germany they continued to live and teach in their old schools under the supervision of diocesan priests. And since the suppression was achieved by means of a brief instead of a papal bull, each state held an option on its promulgation. The bishops, furthermore, were not commanded to notify the religious, but only recommended to do so.

### Resistance crumbled

At first the order received some breathing room in many states because of stiff resistance to the brief, but eventually the resistance crumbled. Poland held out from promulgating the brief for a lengthy spell. Catholics in Switzerland sent a letter of protest to the pope. Maria Theresa's Austria fought the issue before relenting to mounting pressure. The French hierarchy and clergy refused to accept the act of Clement. The Archbishop of Paris, Christopher de Beaumont,

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<sup>1</sup> Friedrich Gontard, *The Chair of Peter* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964), p. 476.

<sup>2</sup> Henri Daniel-Rops, *The Church in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1964), p. 218.

<sup>3</sup> Gontard, p. 476.

who had been signaled out to promulgate the brief by the pope, refused. In a letter of April 24, 1774, he stated that the condemnation involved merely personal judgment, that "the Brief which destroys the Society of Jesus is nothing else than an isolated, private and pernicious judgment, which does no honor to the tiara and is prejudicial to the glory of the Church and the growth and conservation of the Orthodox Faith."<sup>4</sup>

As a result of the suppression, new groups suddenly evolved throughout Europe, dedicating themselves to the Constitutions of Loyola as the "ex-Jesuits" regrouped in such communities as the "Society of the Heart of Jesus" which spread into Austria as well as the "Society of the Faith of Jesus" which extended into Austria, England, Holland, and Switzerland in spite of severe handicaps presented by bizarre leaders and circumstances.

But it was mainly to Protestant Prussia and Orthodox Russia that the Society owed its reprieve. Frederick II committed himself to protecting the religious orders, especially upon his annexation of the Silesian Province from Austria in the Seven Years' War. As he expressed his position, "since I am regarded as a heretic, the Holy Father can absolve me neither from keeping my promise nor from behaving as an honorable man and king."<sup>5</sup> Quite frankly Frederick was glad to have the Jesuits as teachers; otherwise he would have had to engage paid teachers to replace them. Nevertheless Frederick expressed true admiration for the order and was quick to acknowledge the talents of the Jesuits. In answering a criticism of Voltaire this respect is revealed: "There is not in our country a single learned Catholic except among the Jesuits. We had no one capable of conducting the schools. It was, therefore, necessary either to retain the Jesuits or to allow education to fall into decay."<sup>6</sup>

More than any other reason or circumstance the Society owed the recouping of its strength and resources to Catherine the Great. When Catherine partitioned Poland in 1772 she thereby acquired territory surrounding Polotsk, Vitebsk, and Mogilev, including a

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Campbell, S.J., *The Jesuits (1534-1921)* (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1921), p. 590.

<sup>5</sup> Rene Fulop-Miller, *The Power and Secret of the Jesuits* (New York: Viking Press, 1930), p. 385.

<sup>6</sup> J. M. S. Daurignac, *History of the Society of Jesus* (Cincinnati: John P. Walsh, 1865), II, p. 195.

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considerable Roman Catholic population. The Empress was particularly anxious to keep the Jesuits in their old schools and residences to preserve their educational endeavors. She also hoped that the Jesuits' presence would aid in conciliating the disaffected provinces that were annexed.

### Previous activity

The Jesuits were no strangers to the policies and historical developments of the Russian Empire. Their activity reached back as far as the sixteenth century in the person of the Jesuit diplomat Antonio Possevino. Later was the Jesuit participation in the Union of Brest in 1595-96 as well as the controversial and questionable role that they played during the Russian "smuta" or "time of troubles."

While Peter the Great was embarking on his "westernization" of Russia, he permitted a modest Jesuit activity in Moscow. But since this permission was granted in good part through the gracious assistance of Peter's half-sister Sophia, the Jesuits were turned out after her death. In 1691 they were invited back to administer a church in Moscow. In 1719 as Peter grasped for full control over his empire he once more expelled the Jesuits. In 1740 under Czarina Anne, the Jesuits returned.

After the partition of Poland and the territorial incorporation into the Russian Empire, the Jesuits were still officially banned in Russia. Nevertheless, the Society was given free reign by Catherine in the dependencies. Roughly two hundred Jesuits became her subjects. One of Catherine's exotic plans was to incorporate the Poles into a separate and independent Catholic Church. Consequently she revoked the proscription of Peter the Great against the Society and drew up working conditions for the Jesuits in the old Polish territories.

Under the new dispensation numerous privileges, including exemption from taxation, were extended to the Society. In return the Jesuits were to administer the four colleges of Polotsk, Vitebsk, Orsha, and Dunaberg along with several other residences and fourteen missions. The Jesuits were so pleased with the cordial relations that they were confident that the Empress would not promulgate the brief of suppression. Catherine was bound by her promise to be the protector of the order. But in spite of these circumstances and while

expressing their deep gratitude to the Empress, the Jesuits requested that she promulgate the brief and allow the Society to cease functioning:

It is to Your Majesty that we owe the privilege of professing publicly the Roman Catholic Religion in your glorious states, and of depending in spiritual matters on the Sovereign Pontiff who is the visible head of our Church. That is the reason why we Jesuits, all of whom belong to the Roman Rite, but who are most faithful subjects of Your Majesty, now prostrate before your august imperial throne, implore Your Majesty by all that is most sacred to permit us to render prompt and public obedience to the authority which resides in the person of the Sovereign Roman Pontiff and to execute the edict he has sent us abolishing our Society. By condescending to have a public proclamation made of this Brief of Suppression, Your Majesty will thus exercise your royal authority, and we by promptly obeying will show ourselves obedient both to Your Majesty and to the Sovereign Pontiff who has ordered this proclamation. Such are the sentiment and the prayers of all and each of the Jesuits. . . .<sup>7</sup>

Catherine refused to heed the request of the Jesuits, and with the cooperation of the Polish Bishop Stanislas Siestrzencewicz, she founded the diocese of White Russia. The Empress also wrote and obtained a decree from Rome dated June 7, 1774, allowing the Jesuits to continue their work. In January 1776 Pius VI permitted the Jesuits to accept new novices and take in fathers from other provinces who were expelled because of the brief. And on August 9th of the same year the pope issued a decree empowering the Bishop of Mogilev to exercise jurisdiction over the Jesuits in accordance with the wishes of Catherine. By this move of putting the responsibility on the shoulders of the Polish prelate, the pope hoped to avoid the wrath and ill will of the European secular powers who were still adamant on utterly exterminating the Society. Nevertheless, the papal nuncio at Warsaw, Archetti, continued to take it upon himself to wage his own personal battle with the Bishop and the Jesuits, fortunately to little avail.

#### Good will

Catherine set the pattern for other nobles and dignitaries of her land by continuing to treat the Fathers with respect and good will, taking opportunities to visit the Jesuit residences on occasions, as for

<sup>7</sup> Campbell, p. 645.

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instance in May 30, 1780, when along with her minister Potemkin and a large retinue, she spent some time at the college in Polotsk. There she was graciously and ceremoniously received after a tour through the house and attendance at Mass.

On the many occasions when the Jesuits were questioned on how they continued to function as an order, the same ready reply was always at hand: the people needed them, Catherine allowed it, and with the knowledge and tacit consent of Rome. At the same time the provincial let it be known that the Society was ready to relinquish everything at the first authentic sign from the pope.

In a letter dated May 7, 1779, to Baron Grimm, an envoy at the court of France, Catherine expressed her motive for continuing to protect the Jesuits:

Neither I nor my honorable rogues the Jesuits of White Russia are going to cause the Pope any worry. They are very submissive to him and want to do only what he wishes. I suppose it is you who wrote the article in the 'Gazette de Cologne' about the hot house (the Jesuit novitiate). You say that I am amusing myself by being kind to them. Assuredly, you credit me with a pretty motive, whereas I have no other than that of keeping my word and seeking the public good.

In 1782 the Society in Russia weathered several new storms and came off with an even stronger position. Partly through the influence of a former Jesuit, the Canon Benislawski, Potemkin became a willing benefactor to the Jesuits in their battles. Part of the new difficulties stemmed from the Polish prelate, Siestrzencewicz, who had become an Archbishop. There was some consternation among the Jesuits that he would attempt to take a stronger hand in influencing the Society. To strengthen these fears, the papal nuncio, Archetti, encouraged the Archbishop to take action. To thwart this possible danger, the Jesuits decided to elect their own Vicar General. Thanks to a ukase of June 23, 1782, the Empress stated that the fathers should be subject to the Archbishop in those matters that pertained to his jurisdiction or office but that he should not interfere with the internal affairs of the Society.

### Archbishop vs. Empress

Archbishop Siestrzencewicz was duly disturbed by this favor to the order, and not realizing that the Jesuits had been favored through the intercession of Potemkin, he asked Prince Wiazemski,

then President of the Senate, to procure a decree from his body subjecting the Jesuits to his wishes. The Senate so ruled, thus setting them in opposition to the Empress and her minister Potemkin.

On October 10, 1782, the Jesuits elected Fr. Stanislas Czerniewicz Vicar General of the Society who in turn named Fr. Francis Kareu Vice-Provincial. He then set out for St. Petersburg after being summoned there by Catherine. In the capital he was again reassured by Catherine: "I defended you thus far, and will do so till the end." At the same time Potemkin took the Archbishop to task for his meddling in the affairs of the Society and he was forced to modify his views.

Now that the Society had settled upon a new General, opened a novitiate and successfully settled affairs with the Archbishop and the Empress, it had to deal with Rome, since the foregoing was accomplished with only the tacit consent of Pope Pius VI. Fr. Czerniewicz was detained in St. Petersburg for more than three months discussing for much of the time the anticipated educational policies with both Catherine and Potemkin. More crucially, the new General had to make arrangements in order to obtain the explicit approval of Rome for the Jesuits' recent deliberations, chiefly the election of a new superior. The order itself was a little apprehensive about several of the expressions in the Acts of the Congregation, for instance, "the Brief of Clement XIV destroyed the Society outside of Russia," and "the Vicar was elected by the authority of the Holy See." The latter point was especially troublesome in that Archetti considered the election illegal. Uncertainty about the reaction of the Pope left some fear in the ranks of the Society.

To expedite these matters the Empress dispatched Fr. Benislawski in 1783 as her envoy to Rome to negotiate with the Pope. She warned him, moreover, not to modify the above decisions in any way. And in his audience with Pius, Benislawski was to obtain three approbations: 1) the recognition of Siestrzencewicz as Archbishop, 2) the appointment of Benislawski as his coadjutor, and 3) the approbation of the Jesuits in White Russia, and especially the approval for the election of the new General and approval of the Acts of the Congregation.

To fortify her case the Empress addressed a formal request to the Pope indicating her motives for protecting the Jesuits:

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The motives for which I protect the Jesuits are founded on justice and reason, and also on the hope that they will be of use in my dominions. This Society of peaceful and innocent men continues to remain in my empire because among all the Catholic bodies, they are the best fitted to instruct my subjects, and to inspire them with sentiments of humanity and with the true principles of Christianity. I am resolved to support these priests against any power whatsoever, and in doing so I only fulfill my duty; for I am their sovereign, and I regard them as faithful, innocent, and useful subjects.<sup>8</sup>

Benislawski arrived in Rome on February 21, 1783, and met with the Pope on the same day. After a few inquiries, all his requests met with the Pope's approval.

### A second audience

At a second audience the mood of the pope was decidedly different. In the meantime Bourbon envoys had influenced a negative reaction to Benislawski's requests. Recognizing the change, Benislawski dropped to his knees as if prepared to leave and asked for the pope's blessing. When the Pope inquired into the meaning of this sudden act, he was informed: "My orders are to withdraw immediately, if my requests are not granted."<sup>9</sup> Pius was so startled that he asked Benislawski to put his requests in writing.

Catherine's envoy spent the night drawing up the tract, anticipating the possible objections of the enemies of the Society and countering them with his own arguments. The thrust of his major argument suggested that

the failure of the bishop to abolish the Society in Russia, the establishment of the novitiate, and the election of the General were all due to the explicit and positive orders of Catherine. As she had threatened to persecute the Catholics of Russia and to compel the Poles to enter the Orthodox Church, it was clear that there was no choice but to submit to her demands.<sup>10</sup>

Benislawski argued that in case the Bourbon powers objected to the protection of the Society by Catherine, this could be countered by the fact that Catherine did not disapprove of their promulgation

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<sup>8</sup> Barbara Neave, *The Jesuits: Their Foundation and History* (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1879), II, pp. 280-1.

<sup>9</sup> Campbell, p. 655.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

of the brief in their own lands. Also, the approval of the order was no reflection on the pope since he did not abolish the Society and had full rights to reverse the opinion of his predecessor. Moreover, the brief was never promulgated in Russia to begin with. The Empress' envoy also conveyed the solemn promise that if everything was settled properly Catherine would not harm the Catholics in her domain and that she felt that she could not inflict any greater harm than depriving her subjects of the services of the Jesuits whom she considered "invaluable."

In case the objection was raised that all these "machinations" were perpetrated at the instigation of the Jesuits, Benislawski was ready to remind the pope that the Jesuits themselves had petitioned the Empress to promulgate the papal brief. On the following day the pope read the requests and with a smile on his face said, "You want to arrange this matter by a debate with me. But there can be no answer to your contention. Your arguments are irrefutable."<sup>11</sup> And then in the presence of some Cardinals the Pontiff gave his verbal consent to the recognition of the Archbishop, the consecration of Benislawski, and as to the third question, raising his voice, he said: "Approbo Societatem Jesu in Alba Russia degentem; approbo, approbo."<sup>12</sup>

With their legal status thus established, the Jesuits continued the educational reforms that Catherine asked for in her schools, chief of which was the introduction of the physical sciences. Fr. Gruber complied by founding a training school for the preparation of future instructors and professors.

To the very end of her rule in 1796 Catherine remained cordial and just to the Society in Russia. Moreover, she engaged the Jesuit Fr. Gruber to tutor her son and next Czar, Paul. Times of prosperity were thus insured for the Society under Paul who ruled from 1796-1801. Besides the benefit of a personal interview with Pope Pius VI, Czar Paul was gracious to the Society in large part because of Fr. Gruber, a truly outstanding man, gifted in the technical sciences, engineering, chemistry, mechanics, architecture, painting as well as linguistic ability in French, German, Italian, and Russian. Indeed, much of the success of the Society was attributed to this one Jesuit

<sup>11</sup> Campbell, p. 656.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

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who helped spearhead educational reforms in Russia. And from 1802–1805 until he was burned to death in his residence at St. Petersburg, Fr. Gruber served as General of the Society.

### Under Paul

Under Paul the Society was permitted to expand and enlarge its colleges and novitiate, and serve at the University of Vilna. The relationship between Fr. Gruber and Czar Paul was so cordial that the Jesuit was reported to be able to procure almost any favor from him. Gruber even importuned Paul to intercede with the newly elected Pius VII to officially recognize the Society in Russia, heretofore existing on the non-promulgation of the rulers of Russia and the verbal consent of Pius VI. On August 11, 1800, Paul asked Pius to revoke the decree of Clement and officially establish the Society once more:—

The Reverend Father Gruber, the superior of the Jesuits in my states, has expressed to me the wish of the members of the Society of Jesus that I might obtain from Your Holiness their public recognition. I believe that I ought not to hesitate from such a duty, to beg for this order, for which I hold a special predilection, the explicit approval of Your Holiness.

The affirmative reply to Paul's letter came by way of the papal bull, *Catholicae Fidei*, on March 7, 1801, just several weeks before the assassination of the Emperor. Thus under Paul the Society was able to take the first important step towards its full restoration which came thirteen years later. After Paul's death Fr. Gruber persuaded the new Czar, Alexander I, to publish the bull of Pius VII.

In spite of these successes in Russia and though the Society began to recover some of its old strength and even extend itself along the Volga and into faraway Astrakhan and the Caucasus, conditions turned for the worse in Russia. Alexander became unpredictable, and when the new Father General (Brzozowski) was invited to Rome in 1814 to receive in person the bull of restoration, *Sollicitudo Omnium Ecclesiarum*, he was refused permission to leave Russia. This maneuver was an omen of worse things to come. And due to petty misunderstandings, bizarre notions, and plain power politics, Alexander issued a ukase dated December 25, 1815, proclaiming the expulsion of the Jesuits from Russia. The Jesuits were then restricted to the confines of White Russia. And on March 13, 1820,

with the death of General Brzozowski and the prospect that succeeding generals were to reside in Rome, Alexander extended his 1815 ban to include banishment from the entire Russian Empire. It was plain enough; the Jesuits were attracting too many Orthodox converts to Catholicism.

Thus for roughly half a century the three Czarist rulers played a crucial role in helping to preserve the Society. In large measure, it is clear, these rulers pledged themselves to protecting the Jesuits out of mere political expediency and for their own useful purposes albeit with true admiration for the talents and efficiency of the order. But when the Jesuits became too useful for their own good, they were expelled from the Russian Empire, indeed, with surprisingly little rancor and hostility.

## DISCERNMENT AS A POLITICAL PROBLEM

*the Ignatian art of government*

MICHAEL SHEERAN, S.J.

YOU ARE PROVINCIAL of your province of the Society of Jesus. The figures on your desk make it clear that the supply of manpower is steadily falling off and will continue to do so for at least the next five years. The alternatives are two: continue to operate all present schools, relying on an increasing number of laymen and increased tuition to keep them going or withdraw entirely from some schools to be able to maintain the current number of Jesuits and current tuition in the others.

Let us suppose for the sake of the example that neither option has overwhelming evidence on its side. But this is a major decision involving the lives of a large number of people. What procedure would you follow in reaching a decision?

It is the goal of this paper to outline a possible approach to such situations. We will look first at the process of personal discernment of spirits in the Ignatian tradition. Then we will explore a possible application of discernment to group decision-making. We will suggest that such corporate discernment is not only consistent with the governmental structure of the Society of Jesus but even is the ordinary governmental method intended by Ignatius.

### Principles and prescriptions

To achieve perspective, let us briefly trace the development of a concept akin to discernment, human prudence. For Plato, the human world was an imperfect mirror of the real universe. The supreme

characteristic of this ideal universe was its complete intelligibility. To live rightly, man had only to deduce from the perfect world the principles which applied to his current situation. In every situation there was a single right solution: only ignorance hindered man's perfect acting out of the principles which covered his situation. In his political philosophy, therefore, Plato opted for a government by the men who were most adept at making deductions from the ideal world, the philosophers.<sup>1</sup>

Aristotle replaced the Platonic ideal universe by positing a nature within each being, thus retaining the Platonic premise that objective principles applicable to given situations can be deduced from a knowledge of the nature of each of the beings in the situation. He was much more ready than Plato, however, to admit that it is sometimes impossible to completely know the situation—either through complexity or ineptitude—and that a gap can therefore be expected to exist between the principles one can adduce and the fullness of the reality contained in the situation.

To meet this gap, Aristotle introduced *prudence*, the ability to choose well between options when reason fails to provide criteria for the choice. We will not try to follow the historical development of this concept, but do wish to underscore from the beginning that prudence is by definition a quality which excels mere rationality, which is operative precisely when rational deliberation is inadequate to deal with a situation.<sup>2</sup>

Aquinas introduced a radically new dimension. By positing the analogy of being, he was affirming that a concrete existent is more than can be expressed in formal statements, that man's uniqueness cannot be dismissed as the negative limitation (prime matter) which individuates his essence (substantial form). We can thus know more about a man than we can verbalize. His precise personal dignity is a

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<sup>1</sup> We are concerned here with the thrust of the political writings in particular. Generally, Plato ignores the possibility of a situation not capable of fully rational solution. Curiously, the Daimonon of *Apology*. 40. A-C is the closest approximation to Ignatius's discernment for the first time of making an election that the writer has encountered in philosophical works.

<sup>2</sup> Again, our interest is in a part of the total picture. Aristotle uses "prudence" in a much wider sense than we describe here; his inclusion of the sense we describe is significant. Cf. *Nichomachean Ethics*. VI, v, 6; VI, vii, 7.

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positive quality which cannot be fully captured in any group of abstractions.<sup>3</sup>

The conclusion following from this new dimension is important: any concrete individual man has both formal and individual characteristics. He therefore is subject to two kinds of obligations: first, those that can be deduced from rational consideration of his formal nature and the natures of the beings he encounters in a given situation. Second, those that derive from his unique personal character but which, being concrete, are not subject to formal rational processes involving abstraction, univocal reasoning, etc. The former obligations we arbitrarily dub, "principles," the latter, "prescriptions." Karl Rahner writes, "On Thomistic principles, then, with the best will in the world, one cannot deny on principle that there can be individual prescriptive norms which are in the proper sense unique."<sup>4</sup>

### One key difference

It is important to underscore one key difference between this approach and situationism. In situation ethics, the individual element can conflict with and override the abstract principle which applies. The Thomistic presentation, however, begins with the principle of the unity of the individual. Hence it is contradictory to posit prescriptions which would contravene applicable principles; for this is tantamount to asserting that the individual's nature is opposed to his personal quality, i.e., that he is not a unity. Prescriptions thus come into play only when principles do not adequately delineate the appropriate action in a given situation, and no avenue of conduct can be justified as prescription if it contradicts a principle.

We can sum up prudence, then, as the ability to reach correct prescriptions. It is employed when the issue is too complex to weigh all principles accurately (Aristotle's explanation),<sup>5</sup> or when it is impossible to solve problems with moral principles because the situation is larger than the principles (Thomism's addition).

With all this as preparation, we have hopefully equipped the reader to readily comprehend the meaning of our primary interest,

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<sup>3</sup> Karl Rahner, S.J. *The Dynamic Element In The Church* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1964), p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

discernment. Discernment is simply the supernatural equivalent of) prudence. It is the capacity to discover the concrete divine will in a given situation in which reason (principles) does not make that divine will clear.

There is really no reason to prove that such discernment is possible. The experience of Christian men through the centuries leaves little doubt that such discernment is a reliable, if difficult, procedure. It is our job rather to do two things: first, we must describe the kind of problem that requires discernment; then we must indicate as best we can how discernment, both individual and corporate, operates. Hopefully, this section has achieved the first of these goals. If so, the implications of the following summary statement will be clear: What God wishes to be done in certain given circumstances cannot be logically and unequivocally deduced from the general principles of dogma and morals, even with the help of an analysis of the given situation. Such theoretical considerations may delimit the sphere of the correct and appropriate human action (in many cases to such an extent that it will be clear in practice what should be done) and therefore will always be necessary. Nevertheless, they are fundamentally incapable of determining which of the various decisions within this sphere is in fact the one God wills at this moment, and how this one can be found.<sup>6</sup>

What is discernment?

(A) *The first week of the exercises: removing inordinate affections which tempt us not to follow objective truths.* The lazy mind all too easily gives up the conscientious search for applicable principles and asks prescriptions to do what they ought not do: take the place of applicable principles. If honest discernment is to be achieved, therefore, the first step, the use of reason, cannot be bypassed. St. Ignatius observes that the chief impediment to the use of reason is a man's emotional attachments, fears, acquisitiveness, etc. These attachments are so many potential short-circuits which prevent honest reasoning. His immediate goal, therefore, is that "no decision is made under the influence of any inordinate attachment."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Karl Rahner, S.J. *Visions And Prophecies* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1963), p. 26.

<sup>7</sup> Louis J. Puhl, S.J., trans. *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius* (Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1957), 21. All English translations of the *Exercises* will be taken from this translation.

The process of eliminating inordinate attachments has something in common with the sort of discernment which corresponds to prudence: both deal with non-rational human responses to a decision-making situation. Because of this relationship and because the two processes are often intertwined, Ignatius chooses to describe both as "discernment," although he honors their distinction by speaking of a discernment "more suited to the first week"<sup>8</sup> and a discernment "more suitable for the second."<sup>9</sup> The Rules for Discernment in the first week tend generally to discernment in the broad sense: clearing away inordinate affections impeding the use of reason. Ignatius's examples in this group rather clearly presuppose that the person is dealing with temptations not to do what is known to be objectively right. His examples build around the attempt to free oneself from mortal-sin,<sup>10</sup> the vulnerability of a man who loses courage in face of clear temptations<sup>11</sup> or who hides clear temptations from his confessor.<sup>12</sup> Other paragraphs in these rules, of course, are equally applicable to both first and second week. But within the context of the Rules for the First Week taken alone, these paragraphs are applied by Ignatius to the prime task of the first week, discernment in the broad sense, the elimination of obstacles to honest reasoning. (B) *The second week of the exercises: discernment in the narrow sense—finding god's concrete will when more than one course of action is legitimate.* Discernment in the narrower sense, the choice among equally reasonable options, is reserved by Ignatius to the second week. These Rules for the Second Week are not to be proposed to individuals who are unable to control their obviously immoral attachments,<sup>13</sup> but should be introduced when their affections are in order and they are already choosing among options they see as good, i.e., reasonable.<sup>14</sup> The general concern of the Rules for the First Week, then, is principles, that of the Rules for the Second Week, prescriptions.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *SpEx*, 313.

<sup>9</sup> *SpEx*, 328.

<sup>10</sup> *SpEx*, 314–315.

<sup>11</sup> *SpEx*, 325.

<sup>12</sup> *SpEx*, 326.

<sup>13</sup> *SpEx*, 9.

<sup>14</sup> *SpEx*, 10, 170.

<sup>15</sup> K. Rahner, *Dynamic*, p. 131.

Admittedly, no one ever completely eliminates the tendency of disordered affections to cloud reason. In the second week, therefore, discernment in the broad sense is still very much operative, even if the main thrust is to the prescriptions of discernment in the narrow sense.

#### Roustang

We emphasize this point because the relative importance of these two very different elements helps to explain significant differences in the explanations of the discernment process of the second week which reputable spiritual writers offer. Roustang, for example, seems to see few situations in which reason, if freed from inordinate attachments, would be unable to solve problems with principles alone. He is at his best when advising on how subtle attachments can color our rational analysis. But he seems to let his viewpoint overshadow some basic Ignatian teachings. So suspect does Roustang find Ignatius's first time of making an election (when there is such certitude that one has neither hesitation about whether God is speaking nor "the possibility of hesitation"<sup>16</sup>), that Roustang warns: "The divine intervention . . . takes place at such a depth that we will never perhaps be able to realize it except in its consequences."<sup>17</sup>

Concerning the second time for making an election (when motion of the spirits is used to find God's will), Roustang is especially helpful in suggesting that a check on one's discernment is whether the action would make mankind grow because the choice "respects the laws of things and beings";<sup>18</sup> and he strongly counsels delay in making decisions to allow for reflection, for reasoning.<sup>19</sup> But again, he is deficient in that his suggested norm only tells whether the option is consistent with *principles*. Nowhere does Roustang suggest how one might get at *prescriptions*. Even his most detailed descriptions of the process of discernment are reducible to bringing one's emotions into harmony with the already determined (rationally) right course of action.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *SpEx*, 175.

<sup>17</sup> Francois Roustang, S.J. *Growth In the Spirit* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1966), p. 130.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 139.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 140.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 131-132.

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Roustang's advice on discernment, then, is excellent for the practitioner of the first week; it lacks the positive sort of discernment between two objective goods which is the heart of the second week. In short, he fails to take into account that concrete situations surpass the objective norms which apply to them.

If we are to beware Roustang's approach, then, how are we to proceed? When reason reveals only that various options are praiseworthy, how *do* we find which option is God's vocation to us? Ignatius's three times of making an election<sup>21</sup> and his rules for discernment for the second week<sup>22</sup> are not very clear about the heart of the process which is involved. The present writer will therefore rely on Karl Rahner's presentation and ask the reader to make up his own mind whether the explanation is helpful by comparing it with his own religious experience.

### Openness and horizon

(1) *The core experience*: We begin by turning to an experience that each of us has had in one form or another. Recall any of the moments when you equivalently threw open your arms before God, when you experienced yourself as totally his, as simply and completely at his disposal. You were at peace, tranquil, felt a sense of harmony. More important, if you reflect carefully on the event, you recall the complete confidence that your experience was a valid one. At the moment of the event, there was no doubt: the loving God to whom you were open was really present to you, accepting your offering of yourself and, in the encounter, bringing you peace.

It is not important here whether you went through a process of reasoning prior to the experience; the key issue is that, whatever the circumstances, at the time you *experienced* this most basic openness to the loving God. Such experience, either directly of God or mediated through the life of Christ, is the bed rock upon which all discernment builds. Ignatius comments:

During the exercises of the Election, the exercitant should not direct his attention simply to the movement of spirits going on within him, but rather to the love of God which both precedes and accompanies all move-

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<sup>21</sup> *SpEx*, 175-178.

<sup>22</sup> *SpEx*, 328ff.

ments of soul—and he will do this by continuing to contemplate the mysteries of the life of Christ.<sup>23</sup>

At the risk of being overly abstract, we may briefly summarize in technical terminology Rahner's explanation of the nature of this core experience of openness to God by saying that God is here experienced as the horizon of our knowledge and love, the non-conceptualizable concrete transcendent which forms a background of "light" in front of which every conceptual (and therefore created) object stands illumined.<sup>24</sup>

This event, unlike conceptual knowledge of God, is experienced as not capable of being deceptive:

It is plainly the case that such an experience bears its own warrant, that regarded purely in itself, it cannot deceive and that in it God himself is present and nothing else can be. . . . Because [the experience] is the condition of the possibility of all cognition, it is without error, and is the ultimate certitude.<sup>25</sup>

#### Concrete perception

(2) *The first time of making an election: "When God our Lord so moves and attracts the will that a devout soul without hesitation, or the possibility of hesitation, follows what has been manifested to it. St. Paul and St. Matthew acted thus in following Christ our Lord."*<sup>26</sup> We have just discussed the core experience which underlies Ignatian discernment. The first time of making an election occurs when one discovers the core experience to be indissolubly linked with a concrete option. One apprehends the transcendent to whom he is fully open as concretized in the particular option before him. There is no reasoning. The openness to God is a non-conceptual event. The option, because particularized, is also apprehended non-conceptually, i.e., as concrete, not under its universal notes. "The experience [of transcendence], by a decisive influence of God, finds concrete expression in the proposition, judgment, precept, and so on

<sup>23</sup> Hugo Rahner, S.J. *Ignatius the Theologian* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1968), p. 146. This is apparently a paraphrase of a remark in the official *Directory*, XXX, 3 (p. 717).

<sup>24</sup> K. Rahner, *Dynamic*, p. 145.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 148–149.

<sup>26</sup> *SpEx*, 175.

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of the predicamental order."<sup>27</sup> The first time adds to the core experience, therefore, a concrete option which is apprehended as expressing the core experience.

This, of course, sounds extremely subtle, and therefore we tend to think it is not for us. It is well to remember that this first mode of making an election was fairly common among ordinary early Jesuits.<sup>28</sup> In addition, the characteristically Jesuit practice of finding God in all things seems to grow directly from the basic experience of the first time of making an election: each person or thing I encounter becomes the object through which I move to the horizon.<sup>29</sup> For in this joining of concrete object with transcendent horizon, we have the "pure non-conceptual light of the consolation of the whole human person who is being drawn above and beyond all that can be named into the love of God."<sup>30</sup>

The reason, of course, why it is so hard to communicate what goes on is that we feel forced to employ such terms as, "horizon," "transcendent," "non-conceptual," etc. These terms are useful in reminding us that, although the process is non-rational, it is nonetheless intellectual. Ignatius preferred to speak analogically, referring in his writings to such an event in the terms of sense-level activity. This tends to be particularly useful since intellectual non-conceptual joy tends to be accompanied by sense-level joyful emotions, etc. It is also dangerous, of course, if one has not learned to differentiate between the two related kinds of experience. Ignatius's description of the first time of election illustrates his predilection for sense-level terminology:

There still remains for us to speak of what we are to think of those things the direct origin of which from God we interiorly perceive, and how we are to use them. It frequently happens that the Lord himself moves our soul and constrains us as it were to this or that action by making our soul wide open. That is to say, he begins to speak within us without any sound of words [Words are the sense-level equivalent of concepts.], he draws up the soul wholly to his love and gives us a sense of himself, so that even if we wished, we could not resist.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>27</sup> K. Rahner, *Dynamic*, p. 159, n.

<sup>28</sup> H. Rahner, *Ignatius*, p. 145.

<sup>29</sup> K. Rahner, *Dynamic*, pp. 155-156.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 137.

<sup>31</sup> *Monumenta Ignatiana* I, 105; quoted in K. Rahner, *Dynamic*, p. 152.

To clarify our point, we turn to Hugo Rahner's analysis of Ignatian use of "*sentire*." This key word has "nothing to do with any emotional, let alone sensual impressions; it is a completely intellectual mode of cognition, though it is certainly higher than discursive reasoning and must be ranked among the 'spiritual senses.'" <sup>32</sup> If anything, Hugo Rahner overstates his case here, ruling out any sense-level concomitants of the primarily intellectual "*sentire*."<sup>33</sup>

One final clarification. Ignatius's suggestion that the knowledge of the first mode of election is "without cause" has been often interpreted as meaning that the consolation arises very suddenly. Particularly in our day, when the powers of the subconscious are known and respected, this kind of norm is suspect. Karl Rahner urges that the lack of cause be taken as pointing to the peculiar non-conceptuality of the perception of God as horizon. Since knowledge derived from a created source must involve concepts, no creature can be perceived as horizon of knowledge. This avoids the objection and, more importantly, underscores the Ignatian criterion for validity: there can be no doubt; the unique knowledge is self-validating.<sup>34</sup>

(3) *The second time of making an election: "When much light and understanding are derived through experience of desolations and consolations and discernment of diverse spirits."*<sup>35</sup> An election in the second time is not blessed with the certitude of the first time, but shares with it the characteristic that no reasoning is involved. One begins by either renewing his experience of openness to God or, if that proves impossible, by recalling it. He concentrates on how he feels in that situation, on the peace, harmony, tranquillity which accompany the event. It is important to recall that we mean what we say. Peace, harmony, tranquillity are the keys. The sweep of emotional joy or deep sadness which may also accompany this submission to God are not to be confused with the basic, primarily intellectual, sense of peace.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>32</sup> H. Rahner, *Ignatius*, p. 147.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. John Futrell, S.J. *Making an Apostolic Community of Love: The Role of the Superior According to St. Ignatius Loyola* (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, n.d.) I, 294–296. Futrell provides a much broader view than Rahner.

<sup>34</sup> K. Rahner, *Dynamic*, pp. 141–2, 149.

<sup>35</sup> *SpEx*, 176.

<sup>36</sup> H. Rahner, *Ignatius*, p. 152 cites five marks of the presence of divine con-

One then considers each of the options open to him. He projects himself into the possible situations, then assesses his reactions. He looks, in each option, for something of the peace and tranquillity of the central experience of openness. Over and over again he considers the options, letting time intervene between examinations and carefully distinguishing such transient *sensibilia* as happiness or sorrow from the basic sense of harmony which may accompany them. Karl Rahner suggests, "The *experientia*<sup>37</sup> of the second mode of election is a 'trial,' an experimenting at one's own risk and peril, whether and how the central religious experience coheres with such and such limited, predicamental objects."<sup>38</sup>

It is important to remember the trial and error which characterize this mode of discernment. Roustang comments, "No criterion enables us to recognize with certainty, at any given moment, the origin of a particular sentiment."<sup>39</sup> Rahner's capsule explanation of the second time, "being consoled on account of a certain defined limited object,"<sup>40</sup> is therefore correct, but one must take "being consoled" to mean experiencing movements of soul accompanied by peace, tranquillity, harmony rather than to take consolation as we often do in the sense of *any* happiness or enthusiasm.<sup>41</sup>

The second time of election, then, is an operation "sine rationibus"<sup>42</sup>; it is the "logic of concrete particulars."<sup>43</sup> And it begins with

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solation which are listed in the *Directorium Autographum* II: interior peace, spiritual joy, hope and faith and charity, tears, elevation of mind. In *SpEx*, 336, Ignatius adds "warmth and favor." In 333, one finds a much narrower usage, "peace, tranquillity, and quiet." In light of the danger of confusing sense-level aspects of consolation with intellectual consolation, we have preferred to limit ourselves to the usage of #333 since these terms are somewhat easier to disengage from sense experience than, e.g., "elevation of mind" or "warmth and favor." Since "quiet" often connotes that nothing is happening in our culture, we have chosen the parallel but more dynamic term, "harmony" to express it more accurately to our generation. Curiously, Karl Rahner seems to have a predilection for this term. Cf. *Dynamic*, pp. 150, n.; 158; 166.

<sup>37</sup> *SpEx*, 176.

<sup>38</sup> K. Rahner, *Dynamic*, p. 159 note.

<sup>39</sup> Roustang, *Growth*, p. 100.

<sup>40</sup> K. Rahner, *Dynamic*, p. 137.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. *SpEx*, 316.

<sup>42</sup> H. Rahner, *Ignatius*, p. 146.

<sup>43</sup> K. Rahner, *Dynamic*, p. 142.

the central experience of "love for God which has inspired all these movements within [the person] in the first place."<sup>44</sup>

#### A substitute

(4) *The third time of making an election:* "This is a time of tranquillity. One considers first for what purpose man is born. . . . With the desire to attain this before his mind, he chooses as a means to this end a kind of life . . . within the bounds of the Church that will be a help in the service of his Lord and for the salvation of his soul."<sup>45</sup> We note that this method is definitely a substitute in the eyes of Ignatius.<sup>46</sup> The person must be satisfied to find an option which will be "a help" in serving God;<sup>47</sup> he has no right to expect to discover the *best* concrete option. However Ignatius does attempt to make the best of a difficult situation with his two suggested procedures for making a choice in the third time. The first of these seeks to reason carefully to be sure the weightier principles, if there are any, are accepted.<sup>48</sup> The second suggestion is that the individual use his imagination to project himself into concrete situations where he can size up the choices on more than the rational level. The devices of pretending to advise a stranger,<sup>49</sup> pretending it is the moment of death<sup>50</sup> or that I stand before God my judge<sup>51</sup> are really so many helpful techniques for turning the third time of election into a form of the second.<sup>52</sup> If the individual successfully enters those situations, there is hope that "the congruence [between fundamental attitude of openness to God and particular decision] is to be understood as experienced by the exercitant, not as estimated by deliberate evaluation with the object as the starting point."<sup>53</sup> In other words, we reach our conclusion because we feel peace in it, not because it is merely reasonable. It was in this sense that Davila, an early commentator,

<sup>44</sup> H. Rahner, *Ignatius*, p. 153.

<sup>45</sup> *SpEx*, 177.

<sup>46</sup> H. Rahner, *Ignatius*, p. 145.

<sup>47</sup> *SpEx*, 177.

<sup>48</sup> *SpEx*, 182.

<sup>49</sup> *SpEx*, 185.

<sup>50</sup> *SpEx*, 186.

<sup>51</sup> *SpEx*, 187.

<sup>52</sup> K. Rahner, *Dynamic*, p. 161 n.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 163.

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remarked that the third time is "illuminated and ratified by influences from the Second Time."<sup>54</sup>

Taken alone, then, the third time is most suspicious and unsatisfactory to Ignatius.<sup>55</sup> At best, the third time is "a deficient form of the Second."<sup>56</sup>

(5) *What are the "spirits" we are discerning?* A standard objection of contemporary man can now be dealt with. Must one posit divers spirits or spiritual influences behind each of the movements he experiences when attempting discernment? The answer is a qualified no. From our explanation, it should be clear that only two kinds of movements need to be attributed to a spirit. First is the central experience of our openness to God. In the very experiencing, we know that our experience of harmony with God is valid. Second come the occasions on which we discover a congruence between our concrete possibilities and that core experience. The peace, tranquillity, harmony are signs of the divine communication.

All other reactions and experiences, be they total exultation, absolute dejection, confusion—so long as they are not accompanied by peace and harmony—are simply not instances of divine communication. One is free to attribute them to spirits, to the psyche, to indigestion. The important task of the individual is really not to determine the exact source of such feelings but only to note that God is not in them and to seek feelings in which he does present himself by the sort of peace which is the hallmark of the core experience.<sup>57</sup>

### Failure to receive

(6) *When discernment draws a blank:* When the second time fails for lack of experiences in which one discovers resonances of the core experience, it is always quite possible that "this is simply a sign that this object of election and its contrary are indifferent as regards an individual religious decision."<sup>58</sup> Many things are equally apt ways of serving God, especially when they are not significant issues in one's life. "Such things are not to be subjected to the method of

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<sup>54</sup> H. Rahner, *Ignatius*, p. 155.

<sup>55</sup> K. Rahner, *Dynamic*, p. 95.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 120, 163–164.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 167.

election which we have described."<sup>59</sup> We must note, however, that Ignatius attributes three possible causes to failure to receive such divine direction: our negligence in prayer, God's desire to test us, and his desire to show us our spiritual dependence on him.<sup>60</sup> These possibilities, particularly that of negligence in prayer, must be considered seriously. The man who rarely prays can hardly expect to become adept at discernment.

(7) *Discernment before Ignatius*: In one form or another, discernment is a traditional component of Christian spirituality. Suarez traces parallels between Ignatius and Aquinas, Bonaventure, and Athanasius's *Life of St. Antony*.<sup>61</sup> Davila even notes Aquinas' citation of Aristotle to the effect that, if one is enlightened by a divine impulse, it is unnecessary to use reason, a lower norm, for further counsel.<sup>62</sup> The *Didache* provides a basic criterion for judging whether a person who claims the power of discernment is really in touch with God: "Not every man who speaks in the spirit is a prophet, but only if his life is modelled on that of Christ."<sup>63</sup> Finally, throughout the ascetical writings of many of the Fathers of the Church, one can trace a basic analogy describing types of discernment: Christians are urged to "distinguish the genuine from the counterfeit like shrewd money-changers."<sup>64</sup>

Ironically, the tradition of discernment is so strong that many commentators note only that Ignatius's description is remarkably conformed to the tradition even though he was virtually unaware of that tradition in his early years of spiritual experience. What such writers often overlook is the special characteristic of Ignatian discernment: unlike its predecessors, Ignatian discernment explicitly seeks guidance in discovering God's will *qua* particular.<sup>65</sup>

#### Corporate discernment

If we have done our work well, this section of the paper need not be especially lengthy. The transition from individual discernment

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 165.

<sup>60</sup> *SpEx*, 322.

<sup>61</sup> H. Rahner, *Ignatius*, p. 165.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 148.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 166.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 172.

<sup>65</sup> K. Rahner, *Dynamic*, pp. 115-116.

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to corporate discernment, although perhaps quite difficult in practice, is relatively easy to outline. We will be satisfied to demonstrate that group discernment is in fact a solid part of the tradition of the Society of Jesus and then to suggest one procedure for bringing this discernment to life in our own times.

(A) *Corporate discernment as origin of the Society*: In the early stages of its formation, the Society evolved through a fairly well delineated series of key decisions. Each of these decisions was an evidence of corporate application of the process of discernment which we have outlined in the preceding section. This mode of decision-making antedates the vow at Montmartre:

During discussions of their ideals and their hopes and dreams, the companions, inevitably, had experienced the necessity imposed upon each of them individually to submit his own judgment to the control of their collective discernment of their apostolic mission. . . . Through sharing their subjective interior experiences, the companions were enabled to arrive at a common judgment of the will of God for them in the objective situation in which they found themselves in 1534.<sup>66</sup>

Rodriguez tells us the decision to vow poverty and chastity and go to Jerusalem was reached "longam post disputationem."<sup>67</sup>

During the time in Italy following the Montmartre vow, the comrades settled on the name, Company of Jesus, "after prayer and discussion."<sup>68</sup>

March to Mid-June of 1539 saw the "Prima Deliberatio," an informal congress of the comrades to discuss the now essential issue of whether to remain in close union, its corollary, whether to take a vow of obedience to one of their number, and other related questions. Futrell summarizes their procedure in treating the obedience problem:

- (1) They gave themselves up even more intensely to prayer for light, "in invitendo gaudium et pacem in Spiritu Sancto circa obedientiam."
- (2) During this period of personal prayer and discernment, they did not talk to each other, but sought personal light from the Holy Spirit.
- (3) Taking care to achieve as complete objectivity as possible by considering himself apart from the Company, each one, after this prayer

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<sup>66</sup> Futrell, *Making*, pp. 38 and 40.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39, quoting *Fontes Narrativae*, III, 20.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

and discernment, decided in all freedom his own conclusion concerning the question of obedience as a means to the greater future service of God and the conservation of the Company.

- (4) During the period of mutual discernment, each one, with all simplicity and frankness, first stated the reasons against obedience which he had found through his own prayer and considerations; then, he outlined the reasons he saw in favor of it.<sup>69</sup>

The pattern was typical of all subsequent decision-making at this congress of the Companions: "Seruato similiter eodem ordine discutiendi et procedendi in reliquis omnibus . . . , omnia suaviter et concordii animorum consensu terminata ac finita sunt."<sup>70</sup>

(B) The *Constitutions*: It would be unnecessary and inappropriate here to trace how Ignatius interwove the procedure of group discernment into the *Constitutions* of the Society. We refer the reader who wishes to pursue the matter to Fr. John Futrell's forthcoming study. It is appropriate to comment that Ignatius built the hierarchical structure and procedures of the Society by relating two independent sources, "*pactista*" and discernment. The Spanish theory of "*pactista*," wherein the king rules by the authorization of the people, became the base for the General's authority. The procedure for exercising authority was to be discernment, both individual and corporate, as circumstances warranted.<sup>71</sup>

#### A contemporary technique

(C) *A basic structure for group discernment*: We are now in a position to move from our historical survey and suggest one contemporary technique of group discernment. We presume there is a problem which affects a number of members of the Society and which is open to more than one reasonable solution.

- (1) The superior presents the problem and all relevant data to all whom it affects.
- (2) He asks each to pray privately over the options, weighing the possibilities in terms of the peace he finds in each, looking in each for the harmony which reflects his core experience of openness to God.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49, summarizing *Monumenta Ignatiana, Const. I, 5*.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51, quoting *Monumenta Ignatiana, Const. I, 7*.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 136-145.

<sup>72</sup> Since we are here dealing with one's openness not only as an individual

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- (3) The superior enters into dialogue with each, seeking his independent opinion.
- (4) He looks for a pattern or trend in the opinions proffered, giving greater weight to the ideas of men whom experience has proved more adept at discernment.<sup>73</sup>
- (5) He then should report back to all the consensus or lack thereof.
- (6) The superior should seek some confirmation of the decision, e.g., papal approval, increased happiness of the men themselves, success of the decision when put into practice.<sup>74</sup>

We call attention to three points which need emphasis: First, the procedure accepts the principle that the concrete direct knowledge of the individuals far exceeds what is possible to the superior alone. Second, the principle that the Spirit speaks in individuals is clearly honored. Third, on a purely psychological level, all members of the group tend to acquiesce because they realize that the decision reflects group effort and is not simply imposed "from without" by the superior.

(D) *Implications of the element of uncertainty*: In speaking of discernment, Ignatius has no illusions that the prescriptions concluded to by either individual or group will be necessarily infallible. His term for such conclusions is *paraçer*, "an opinion resulting from one's personal assessment of 'appearances.'" <sup>75</sup> From this fact it follows that the superior should seek more group discernment as he finds the decision more difficult to make alone with confidence.<sup>76</sup> Rather obviously, the superior should let the judgments of those "on the spot" or "in the know" outweigh his own conclusions when he lacks their understanding.<sup>77</sup>

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but also as a member of the group, this individual discernment will be in terms of the Society's basic commitment as enunciated most simply but profoundly in the "Scopus Vocationis Nostrae": "the service of Christ through the aid of souls in companionship." *Ibid.*, p. 65.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 340, citing *Monumenta Ignatiana, Const. I*, 218-219.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 387-388.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 282.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 340, citing *Monumenta Ignatiana, Const. I*, 218-219.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 289 and 65, n. 137.

But on the other side, the subject must accept the superior's *paraçer* when imposed. It is important to realize, however, that the superior's *paraçer* is to be accepted as a furtherance of the *unity* of the Society rather than because the superior is any more likely to be right.<sup>78</sup>

A concrete example will help here. Ignatius, after careful discernment, attempted to resign as general. All but one, Ovieda, after discernment, refused to hear of it. Ignatius acquiesced.<sup>79</sup> The incident illustrates a working principle of Ignatius as superior: when the community has faithfully followed the procedure of corporate discernment and has reached consensus other than the *paraçer* of the superior, the superior should give in in face of the higher probability that the Spirit is speaking through the community.

A final corollary: not only should the superior be personally adept at discernment of spirits, he should be capable of leading group discernment in the sense that he has a charism for helping the subjects discern the will of God for them individually and for the community.<sup>80</sup>

#### An Ignatian approach

We return at last to the question of whether to withdraw some men from each high school in order to keep all open or to remove all men from some schools to keep the remainder operating with a full complement of Jesuit manpower. The provincial would probably appoint a committee to develop the implications in terms of extent of manpower crisis, monetary considerations, impact of each option on the communities we serve, etc. A report relaying all this data would be prepared for each Jesuit in high school work or otherwise directly affected by the decision. Each man would be asked to pray privately over the matter, considering to what extent each option brings the basic peace, tranquillity, and harmony which are characteristic of his core experience of openness to God.

One or two meetings in each community might be helpful follow-

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 138 and 289.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 163.

<sup>80</sup> Richard F. Smith, S.J.: Lecture of February 27, 1969, describing superior as the member of the community with a "charismatic eye on God and the community." Fr. Smith was describing St. Basil's concept of the superior; the parallel to Ignatius's position is unmistakable.

ing this period of private discernment. Here all the advantages of the first option would be developed by the group, then all the disadvantages. The second option would be covered in like manner. Then more time would be allotted for individual prayerful discernment.

The provincial would then use his annual visitation to inquire from each man what his reactions are. Weighting the "*paraçer*" of those men whose past discernment has been more readily proved right by experience, he seeks a pattern, an indication of consensus. If the pattern is widespread enough to be significant, he agrees to it. If there is no significant pattern, he makes the decision that seems best to him. His decision is to be accepted by the group more to maintain corporate union and solidarity than because his "*paraçer*" is privileged.

Clearly this process is open to great variation depending on the time available, the number of men involved, the kind of issue in question. Part of the provincial's charism of guiding corporate discernment is the ability to adjust to these factors. In the present case, for example, it would be wise to keep all in the dark about what high schools would be most likely closed if that option were selected. The provincial thereby helps the group guard against false *paraçeres* deriving from an inordinate attachment to their own institutions.

#### Prayer

The procedure of individual and corporate discernment is now, hopefully, relatively clear. In closing, let us recall that the success of either type of discernment is dependent most directly on whether the men involved are men of prayer. Corporate discernment is by no means a mystical privilege reserved to specially blessed communities. But neither is it the automatic possession of every Jesuit community. The first reason why we are likely to suffer desolation, says Ignatius, is "because we have been tepid and slothful or negligent in our exercises of piety, and so through our own fault spiritual consolation has been taken away from us."<sup>81</sup> Discernment is, then, open to us; but we must regularly open ourselves to God in prayer if we are to make use of it.

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<sup>81</sup> *SpEx*, 322.

## THE BUFFALO MISSION: 1869-1969

*The following selections have been forwarded to WOODSTOCK LETTERS through the kindness of Henry H. Regnet, S.J., the "Benjamin survivor of the Buffalo Mission." Readers will be interested in (I) an historical timetable of the Mission; (II) a list of the survivors of the Mission; (III) a joint letter of the German Provincials of the Society of Jesus on the occasion of the centennial of the Mission's founding; (IV) the sermon preached at St. Michael's Church, in Buffalo, at the centenary celebration, by Francis X. Curran, S.J., of Fordham University.*

*For the early history of the Buffalo Mission, consult WOODSTOCK LETTERS 1 (1872) and 5 (1908).*

### (I)

#### THE BUFFALO MISSION

1869—Jesuits from the German Province of the Society of Jesus came to Buffalo on July 4th and took over St. Michael's and St. Ann's parishes. St. Mary's parish in Toledo, Ohio was staffed within a year.

1870—In the Fall Canisius College opened as a small secondary school. St. Joseph's parish in Erie, Pa. was accepted and administered till 1873.

1873—St. John's parish in Burlington, Iowa was taken over. It continued as a Jesuit parish till 1890.

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1874—Sts. Peter and Paul parish in Mankato, Minn. was accepted.  
A small high school was conducted there from 1876–1881.

1880—Sacred Heart College was begun in Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin. It was suppressed 1888–1898. (In 1914 the name was changed to Campion College.) St. Gabriel's parish was staffed in 1880.

1886—St. Ignatius College, Cleveland, Ohio was established, and St. Mary's parish taken over. (In 1925 the name was changed to John Carroll University.)

St. Francis Mission was begun among the Sioux Indians of South Dakota.

1887—Holy Rosary Mission was established among the Sioux Indians in South Dakota.

1888—A novitiate was opened in Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin.

1898—The novitiate was transferred to Cleveland (Parma) and a philosophate opened in Prairie du Chien.

St. John's College was opened in Toledo, Ohio. A university charter was obtained in 1903. (The school was closed in 1936.)

1907—After 38 years of mostly pioneer work the Buffalo Mission was broken up on September 1st. Its territory and its 321 members—126 priests, 98 scholastics, 97 brothers—were divided between the Missouri and Maryland-New York Provinces.

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St. Michael's and St. Ann's parishes in Buffalo had been established by Jesuits of the Canada-New York Mission in 1851 and 1858.

\* \* \* \*

St. Stephen's Mission (Indian) in Wyoming was undertaken in 1884 by Fr. John Jutz, of the Buffalo Mission, but handed over in 1885 to the Missouri Province.

\* \* \* \*

Holy Trinity parish in Boston was staffed for many years by the Buffalo Mission.

## (II)

## LIST OF SURVIVORS OF THE BUFFALO MISSION

*(Disbanded in 1907)*

<i>Name</i>	<i>Born</i>	<i>Entered S. J.</i>	<i>Ordained</i>	<i>Residence</i>
Fr. Anthony H. Corey, S.J. . . . .	July 25, 1883	Jan. 6, 1906	June 27, 1920	St. Boniface, Wisconsin
Fr. Henry J. Hagen, S.J. . . . .	Mar. 13, 1881	Aug. 31, 1897	June 28, 1913	Shrub Oak, New York
Fr. Joseph F. Kiefer, S.J. . . . .	Jan. 3, 1884	Aug. 31, 1901	June 28, 1916	Florissant, Missouri
Fr. John G. Krost, S.J. . . . .	Nov. 21, 1884	Aug. 31, 1903	May 18, 1918	Loyola Academy, Wilmette, Illinois
Fr. James J. Mertz, S.J.* . . . . .	May 24, 1882	Aug. 31, 1900	June 30, 1915	Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois
Fr. Louis J. Puhl, S.J. . . . .	Jan. 5, 1888	Aug. 31, 1905	June 27, 1920	Colombiere College, Detroit, Michigan
Fr. Henry H. Regnet, S.J.* . . . . .	June 13, 1888	Aug. 31, 1905		Florissant, Missouri
Bro. Albert J. Schell, S.J. . . . .	Dec. 11, 1880	Apr. 16, 1901	June 27, 1920	Florissant, Missouri
Fr. Peter J. Scherer, S.J. . . . .	July 14, 1884	Aug. 31, 1905	June 27, 1920	University of Detroit, Detroit, Michigan
Fr. Augustine F. Siebauer, S.J. . . . .	Oct. 18, 1880	Sept. 4, 1899	June 26, 1914	Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin
Fr. Augustine C. Wand, S.J. . . . .	Nov. 13, 1883	Aug. 31, 1903	May 18, 1918	Florissant, Missouri
Fr. Edgar J. Zurlinden, S.J. . . . .	Mar. 22, 1887	Aug. 31, 1905	June 27, 1920	John Carroll University, Cleveland, Ohio

\* Were able to attend Historical Celebration in July 1969 at St. Michael's Church, Buffalo, New York.

(III)

LETTER FROM THE GERMAN PROVINCIALS ON THE  
OCCASION OF THE CENTENNIAL

REVEREND FATHERS and dear Brothers:

We German Provincials, too, remember with gratitude and joy the day on which, one hundred years ago, the Buffalo Mission was established to extend pastoral assistance to German-speaking Catholics in North America.

From about 1840 individual fathers and brothers of the German Province were recruited as missionaries in the Maryland Province. The best-known among them was the Swiss Fr. Ignatius Brocard, who had guided the German Province 1836-39, and was named Provincial of Maryland in 1848.

It was the banishment of the Society from Switzerland in 1847, however, that led a greater number of "German" Jesuits to North America. Thus, on June 4, 1848, 45 Jesuits boarded the "Providence," a transport-sailing vessel with meager accommodations for passengers, at Antwerp, and after a painful voyage of 46 days landed in New York. One of these emigrants was the later General, Anthony M. Anderledy, who completed his theological studies in St. Louis and was ordained to the priesthood there on September 29, 1848.

The Austrian Province also sent fathers and brothers, among them the parish-missioner and writer, Fr. F. X. Weninger, destined to exercise a fruitful apostolate for four decades.

Since political conditions in Europe changed rapidly, and the German States were ready to admit Jesuits, many emigrants were recalled. Yet, in 1853, when Fr. Peter Beck assumed the government of the Society, 27 fathers and six brothers of the German Province were still active in North America. Fr. Beck granted permission to all who wished to join one of the two American Provinces. Eighteen fathers and five brothers availed themselves of this permission. In subsequent years only few individuals went to North America, because the fathers and brothers were needed in the newly opened houses in Germany.

A change occurred in 1869. In an effort to organize the pastoral care of German-speaking immigrants (in the U. S.) more effectively, the Buffalo Mission was established on July 4, 1869. At its founding it numbered 13 fathers and 8 brothers in the small residences at St. Ann's and St. Michael's in Buffalo, N.Y. and St. Mary's in Toledo, Ohio.

The decree of expulsion of the Jesuits from the German Empire became a blessing for the Buffalo Mission. In the single year 1872, eighteen German Jesuits came to North America, followed by others year after year. Only a decade after the Mission was established, it numbered 107 members in two colleges and five residences—among them 37 brothers.

In 1884 the first Jesuits of the Buffalo Mission entered the Indian reservations in South Dakota. Here numerous German brothers and others of German descent have done outstanding missionary work.

In 1888 the Mission was able to open its own novitiate at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin.

In 1893 it counted exactly 200 members in three colleges and five residences. Of these 79 were brothers, 22 in the Indian reservations of South Dakota.

A further notable increase occurred at the turn of the century. In the years 1898 and 1902 fifteen young Jesuits in each instance emigrated to North America; in 1903 the number even reached eighteen. After that date, however, the additions from the mother-province practically ceased. In its place the supply of youthful recruits from the U.S. enjoyed a happy increase.

On September 1, 1907 the Buffalo Mission was dissolved: 126 fathers, 98 scholastics, and 97 brothers—a total of 321—were dissociated from the German Province. In all, approximately 590 Jesuits: 430 fathers and scholastics and 160 brothers, had been members of the "*Missio Germanica Americae Septentrionalis*." Of these, 137 fathers and scholastics and 53 brothers had entered the Society in North America itself.

From the European houses of the German Province about 400 young Jesuits came to North America after the middle of the nineteenth century, with the purpose of working among German-speaking Catholics. They numbered 293 fathers and scholastics and 107

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brothers. For the most part the missionaries soon founded schools which originally were meant for German boys, but gradually became fully Americanized. Some of the teachers in these schools also became known in Germany, e.g., Louis Bonvin through his German hymnal, and Fr. Francis Betten as translator of Fr. Finn's boys' stories.

Of these 400 Jesuits eighteen fathers and brothers later went to the Bombay Mission in India, while seven priests went to South America; 110 fathers and scholastics and 31 brothers returned to Europe, or left the Society.

It must never be forgotten that many of the fathers (in the U.S.) rendered inestimable services to their native country during the poverty-plagued years in the aftermath of two world wars. Fr. Constantine Kempf, Rector of St. Ignatius College, Valkenburg, records that after the first world war Fr. Theodore Hegemann was an outstanding benefactor of the German Provinces. During parish missions he called his audiences' attention to the fact that they could aid the German Jesuits by sending Mass offerings. Rev. George Eisenbacher, a diocesan priest in Chicago, collected the Mass stipends and forwarded them to Valkenburg. Other Fathers were similarly helpful. "Without this aid," Fr. Kempf remarks, "we couldn't have survived." Likewise, after World War II Fr. Gustave Reinsch, Fr. Joseph Wels, and Fr. Joseph Weis were noteworthy for repeatedly sending us very valuable packages of supplies.

When Fr. General Janssens established the Buffalo Province in 1960, he stated explicitly that the name was chosen in memory of the former Buffalo Mission.

The "mustard seed" sown one hundred years ago developed into an "imposing tree." We German Provincials rejoice with you, dear fathers and brothers, veterans and jubilarians, because of the blessing the Lord bestowed on this undertaking. And so we wish you a happy feastday and the grace of Christ for the future.

In cordial union,

P. HEINRICH OSTERMANN S.J.  
PRAEP. PROV. GERM. INF.

I. SCHASCHING S.J.  
Munich, June 21, 1969.

P. GUNTER SOBALLA S.J.  
PRAEP. PROV. GERM. OR.  
P. HEINRICH KRAUSS S.J.  
PRAEP. PROV. GERM. SUP.

## (IV)

SERMON PREACHED BY FRANCIS X. CURRAN, S.J.,  
AT CENTENARY CELEBATION: JULY 13, 1969

*Leave your country, your family, and your father's house, for the land I will show you. I will make you a great nation; I will bless you. (Gn 12:1-2)*

ON THIS OCCASION, we must gratefully acknowledge we are the children, the heirs, the possessors of a splendid inheritance—the Catholic church in the United States: of all the national churches in the world, one of the most numerous, most generous, most faithful.

Who built this church? Regrettably we, who benefit from the builders, do not know their names. We cannot identify the workers who laid the foundations, erected the great walls, pitched the towering roof. We look about us and ask: Who put up that pillar? who placed that statue? who erected that altar? And we can name no names.

All we know is that year after year, most notably in the last century, scores, thousands, millions of immigrants sought our shores, bringing with them only the strong backs that made them welcome to the inhabitants and an even stronger faith that made them pleasing to God. These Christians wanted their churches, their sacraments, their Mass. The American Church, overwhelmed by the mounting flood and unable to cope with strange customs and new languages, appealed for help to the churches of Europe. And those churches responded.

To assist the immigrants in building their churches and to meet the financial needs of those priests and religious who volunteered to serve those immigrants, the laity in Europe organized: in France, the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, in Bavaria the Ludwigmissionsverein, in Austria the Leopoldinenstiftung. By the scores and by the hundred, the call to leave their country, their family and their father's house was heard and answered by priests and religious. From all over Europe they came; from Spain, France, Belgium, Holland, Poland, Ireland, Italy—and not least from the

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German-speaking lands of Europe. Today we celebrate the centenary of the coming to the United States of one out of many groups — the Jesuits of Germany.

When on July 4, 1869, the vanguard of the German Jesuits entered the city of Buffalo, they may not have known they were not the first. They were carrying on in the footsteps of great German Jesuits. In the 17th century, the rim of Christendom was pushed north from Mexico into our Southwest. The pioneer was Eusebio Kino, born in an Austrian town; and his work was carried on by his Jesuit brethren with names like Sedelmayer, Grashofer, Keller.

In the British Colonies in the 18th century, thousands of Germans flocked to the hospitable shores of William Penn's colony on the Delaware River. The only priests in America at the time were Jesuits of the Province of England. These men appealed to their brethren in Germany, and their call was answered. In the years after 1740, ten German Jesuits came to America and served the infant church. To mention but one of them: Fr. Farmer organized the church in New Jersey and assembled the first Catholic congregations in the State of New York. His name was an alias; his true name was Ferdinand Steinmayer. When the diocese of New York was created in 1808, the first bishop was never able, due to the Napoleonic wars, to reach his diocese. The man who first ruled the diocese was the vicar general, the German Jesuit Anthony Kohlmann.

When the diocese of Buffalo was created in 1847, there were already a dozen German Jesuit volunteers at work in the United States. Most served German-language churches in the East and Midwest, but three were engaged in the Indian missions of the Rocky Mountains and Pacific Coast.

### Persecution

And in the same year, events were happening in Europe that led to the sudden appearance in the United States of 88 German Jesuits. We American Catholics have never been properly grateful to those governments of Europe which persecuted the Church. Again and again anti-Catholic governments ordered the dissolution or expulsion of religious orders—and the American Church received substantial reinforcements of priests and religious. To speak only of the Jesuit order, it was the persecuting governments of France that assisted those Jesuits of the Province of France who were

creating the Jesuit Provinces of Canada, New Orleans and New York. In Italy the Risorgimento which ended the Papal States aided the Italian Jesuits who were building the Provinces of Oregon and California. And it was the Kulturkampf of Otto von Bismarck which guaranteed that the Buffalo Mission of the German Jesuits would be a success.

In 1847 the persecution broke out in what we would say was a most unlikely place—Switzerland. Here the civil War of the Sonderbund ended in the victory of the anti-Catholic party. The victors wrote into the Swiss constitution a clause forever banning from their state the Society of Jesus. And the Provincial of Germany sent most of his young men in their studies here. Soon they were recalled. But the American Church had profited. For a number volunteered to remain.

And in 1847 John Timon, first bishop of the new diocese of Buffalo, appealed to the Jesuits for assistance, in handling a problem Bishop John Hughes could not solve, an Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Bedini, could not handle, and only the passage of time brought to a peaceful end. The problem: the trustees of the German Church of St. Louis. At the time, this area was part of the Jesuit jurisdiction known as the Mission of New York and Canada. Somehow the superior found two German Jesuits and in 1848 they arrived in Buffalo. Efforts of Bishop Timon to install them as pastors of St. Louis were rebuffed. In 1851, at the bishop's request, they organized the parish of St. Michael's. In 1858 a second parish, St. Ann's, was begun.

Somehow enough German speaking priests were found to keep the two parishes going—but just barely. Finally, as the decade of the 1860's drew to a close, the American Jesuits once again appealed to their brethren in Germany, and once more the Macedonian cry drew a response, and a most generous one. In the last six months of 1869, eighteen German Jesuits arrived in Buffalo. Within two years their number had increased to 33.

The Buffalo Mission of the German Jesuits was in being. Clearly it aimed to serve the American Church, and not only in Buffalo. Within a few years, the fathers staffed German-speaking parishes in Toledo and Cleveland, Prairie du Chien in Wisconsin, Burlington in Iowa, Mankato in Minnesota. Mission bands were created and

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they preached parish missions in German congregations throughout the East and Midwest. Other fathers turned to preach the faith to the original Americans; missions were begun—and they still continue—among the Sioux Indians on the Rosebud and Pine Ridge Reservations in South Dakota.

And being Jesuits, of course the German fathers turned to education. Most of their parishes, of course, had parochial schools. Indeed, in 1900 St. Ann's School with 2,100 pupils was one of the largest parochial schools in America. Yet the major predilection of the fathers was the higher education of boys and young men. In 1870, here in Buffalo, the first classes were begun in what are now Canisius College and Canisius High School, which next year will celebrate their centenary. Within a few years, other colleges were begun in Prairie du Chien, Toledo and Cleveland. The latter school is now John Carroll University.

Clearly these German fathers appealed to American boys. When in 1907 the Buffalo Mission was ended, of the 275 members of the Mission in America, 120 were native born Americans.

It was recognized, even before the German Mission was begun, that it would be a temporary thing. The aim of any foreign mission is to destroy itself, so to root the faith in the soil that it becomes native to that soil, to make the new church so strong that it can take care of its own needs. Early in the present century it was seen that needs served so generously by the German Jesuits could now be safely turned over to native priests. In 1907, then, the jurisdiction of the Province of Germany over the Buffalo Mission was ended, and the mission members joined other Jesuit jurisdictions. The overwhelming majority of the German fathers remained in America to spend their remaining years in serving the Church they had served so well. Well indeed had they served it. These careful, laborious workers had built well. Practically every one of their works still survives and serves the church. Their names are forgotten by men, but they are writ large in the book of life. They left their country, their family and their father's house for the land that God showed them. God did indeed bless them and, through them, us. God has made us a great nation, in the greatness of His Church to which the Buffalo Mission of the German Jesuits made no small contribution.

