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Jesuit Assignment to Burma

Sigmund J. Lachenski, S.J.

In 1958 a group of Maryland Province Jesuits left home for Burma to enter upon the work of training Burma's indigenous clergy. Somewhat to their surprise, these eight men discovered that Ours had been in this land of golden pagodas three hundred years ago.

St. Francis Xavier on his journeys between India and Japan had heard in Malacca of the Kingdom of Pegu to the north of the Andaman Sea and the Gulf of Martaban. The town of Pegu and capital of that ancient kingdom is some forty miles northeast of present day Rangoon. Xavier, in a letter to St. Ignatius from Cochin, dated January 20, 1548, had expressed the hope that our Fathers might be sent to the Kingdom of Pegu.

Jesuit Pioneers in Burma

A key port of that kingdom was the town of Syriam which is just across the river from Rangoon. In the year 1600 Philip de Britto, a Portuguese mercenary in the employ of the King of Arakan, had been given rights over the port of Syriam and subsequently made himself master of all of Pegu. On his initial visit to the place he brought with him a Jesuit, Fr. John Andrew Boves. Sometime later Father Boves departed, to be replaced by two other Jesuits, Fathers Diego Nunes and Natal Salerno.

Father Boves and a Father Fernandez are found working among the Portuguese in the Kingdom of Arakan on the western coast of Burma a few years later. The king of Arakan was angry at the refusal of de Britto to hand back Syriam which he in the king's service had built up and strongly fortified. Several disastrous failures to dislodge de Britto caused the king's wrath and distrust to spread to all the Portuguese in his domain; and in 1607 he had six hundred of them massacred. Others were imprisoned, among whom were the two Jesuits. Father Fernandez' eyes were put out and he died under torture. Of Father Boves nothing more is known.

Anaukpetlun, king of Ava and heir of the high king of Pegu whom the monarchs of Toungoo and Arakan had dethroned, finally captured Syriam after a long siege in 1613. Philip de Britto was duly impaled and a number of his men were put to death. The survivors of the Portuguese garrison, however, some five thousand, were taken north to Ava, not far from the present site of Mandalay. The journey of the prisoners, shared by Father Manoel da Fonseca of the Society and Father Nunes, was a harsh experience, and the latter died on the way. These thousands of captives were never to be repatriated. For several years they suffered severe treatment although during this time it was reported that Father da Fonseca was "respected by the infidels, revered by the grandees of the kingdom and regarded as a saint by his fellow captives."¹

Gradually the conditions of imprisonment became easier. The Burmese soldiers could not handle the heavy guns captured at Syriam. The Portuguese, trained soldiers who understood the use of firearms, became the gunners of the Burmese army and their officers rose to high favor. While those considered more useful were kept at the royal palace, the majority of the prisoners were sent out in small groups to live in various villages of the area from which they could be easily conscripted in time of war, and where eventually they intermarried with the Burmese.

Father da Fonseca ministered to his scattered flock as best he could. He was given a grant of land for a small church in Ava and we read that he placed in it a beautiful picture of our Lady, sent to him from Goa by his Father Provincial. He also built three other churches. His was a hard and lonely life, and in 1639 when he was sixty years old, he wrote to the Provincial asking for a replacement and that he himself might retire to India. For twenty-six years he had not seen another priest.

¹ The historical background presented in this article and its appendix is taken almost entirely from Msgr. Patrick Usher's unpublished manuscript on the history of the Church in Burma. The parts referring to the Society of Jesus in his manuscript are based on documents from the Society's archives in India. Msgr. Usher, superior of the Columban Fathers' mission in northern Burma and Prefect Apostolic of Bhamo, died in October 1958 after twenty-two years of service in Burma.

But when Father Denis Antunes arrived to replace him in the following year, Father da Fonseca wrote again to India: "I have not the heart to leave alone the Father who came to take my place four days ago and has become a captive for God's sake and mine." He remained in Ava.

Father Antunes was young and set to work with great energy. During the next few years he visited all the scattered Christians regularly, instructing and administering the sacraments, and building new churches at the rate of one a year until each Catholic village had its own. It seems, however, that his health suffered; we know that after eight years, in 1648, he returned to India. Father da Fonseca was once more alone.

He remained alone until Father Simon Rodriguez appeared in 1652. Then at the age of seventy-two and after thirty-nine years in captivity, Father Manoel da Fonseca felt free to retire. He died soon afterwards at Goa. The catalogue of the Province of Goa for 1655 lists Father Rodriguez as being still in the Kingdom of Pegu. This is the last that is heard of him.

While these early Jesuits were rather chaplains to the Portuguese than missionaries to Burma, it is interesting to note how the fruit of their labors has endured. While it is true that today the Catholics in this country are mostly converts from animist hill tribes, the majority being Karens, and that few conversions have been made among the dominant racial group, the Burmans themselves who are Buddhists, nevertheless there are in upper Burma about three thousand Burmese Catholics. These descend from the Portuguese-Burman Christians among whom Manoel da Fonseca labored for so many years. Most of them now live as did their forefathers in villages about Mandalay. Each of the larger villages has its own parish priest, and the faith of the people, preserved for more than three hundred years in the heart of a Buddhist land, is strong. Three of our seminarians are from these old Catholic villages. Of the two indigenous bishops, one, a Karen, is from lower Burma, but the other, His Excellency Joseph U Win, Archbishop of Mandalay, is of Portuguese-Burman ancestry.

This early apostolate of Ours is merely an episode in the history of the Church in Burma. Such, too, were the labors of the few Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians and Theatines who came from Portuguese India in the seventeenth cen-

ture. As it would prolong the introduction of this article to enter upon that history at this point, a brief account of the life of the Church from the time of the first missionaries sent to the Golden Land up to the present will be included in an appendix. Thus we are brought immediately to the principal topic to be considered, the first permanent, Jesuit missionary assignment to Burma in the history of the Society.

Preliminaries

Although all mission groups here were limited to the number of personnel they had had before World War II and no one else was to be admitted after Burma's Independence, due to the personal friendship of Prime Minister U Nu for Archbishop Victor Bazin of Rangoon, eight visas were promised for a faculty to staff a new major seminary. The hierarchy of Burma, then, in February 1957, petitioned the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda to request the General of the Society of Jesus on their behalf for eight priests to conduct their seminary: These members of the staff were to be in Rangoon by June 1957. His Paternity promised assistance. The Maryland Province was chosen as the source of manpower. And on April 25, 1957, Rev. Father Provincial, William F. Maloney, S.J., issued a letter to all the houses asking for volunteers.

Nothing further was heard of the matter until the Province status came out in June. On it, besides seven men definitely assigned to Rangoon, alternates were listed. Those assigned were Fathers Edward J. Farren and Eugene P. McCreesh, engaged then in college religion and student counseling at the Georgetown School of Foreign Service and Wheeling College respectively; Fathers Thomas J. Jones and Sigmund J. Laschenski, at the time completing tertianship at Auriesville; and Messrs. Frank P. Fischer, Louis E. Niznik and Thomas E. Peacock, who were beginning their regency. The alternates were Father James J. Harley, minister at Scranton when the status was published; Father Nicholas J. Carroll, then parish assistant at the Gesu; and Father John J. Keenan, newly appointed from tertianship as student counselor at St. Joseph's Prep in Philadelphia.

Of those originally designated all seven received the mission mandate except Father Jones whose physical examination re-

vealed an illness which precluded foreign mission activity. Father Keenan took his place. The last to be appointed, bringing the number to eight, was Father Joseph F. Murphy who completed his term as rector of Woodstock College in July, 1957.

During the months of July, August and September preparations were made for departure as we awaited our visas from the government of Burma. Those of the group for whom it was possible began sessions in the Burmese language, studying each morning at Georgetown from eight o'clock until noon under a private tutor, an Anglo-Burman and former customs officer of Rangoon, Mr. John C. Duke. By the end of September a sizeable library had been gathered, seminary equipment purchased, personal items stocked, and more than a few farewells bidden. We were ready to move. But our visas had not yet been granted.

So we began to wait it out, this time the entire group taking lessons in Burmese, and everyone confident that the visas would arrive any day. November passed, then December. The language sessions were not entirely satisfactory, and a thousand and one odd jobs and other distractions kept us from settling down. At Christmas time the morale of the men was under attack. Finally it was decided by superiors that if no word were forthcoming by the fifteenth of January, we should all be sent to teach or otherwise help out in the Province colleges and high schools during the second academic semester. Word of this decision was sent to Archbishop Bazin in Rangoon.

A cablegram arrived, however, on the feast of the Epiphany, telling us to hold on, for visas would be issued within a fortnight. And on January thirteenth, the feast of the Baptism of Christ our Lord, a second cablegram informed us: "Visas granted!"

Departures

Life once more took on purpose. Private departure ceremonies were held in their parishes by those who found it feasible, and a grand public departure ceremony for the whole group was staged at the Church of the Gesu in Philadelphia on February 9, 1958. The Archbishop of Philadelphia, the

late Cardinal John F. O'Hara, C.S.C., presided at the Solemn Mass and afterwards presented each of the departing Jesuits with the mission mandate. The Rev. Martin J. McDonough, archdiocesan director of the Propagation of the Faith, preached the sermon. Nearly two thousand relatives and friends packed the huge church almost beyond capacity to witness the event. On that occasion the mission-mindedness of the Church was shared by her sons and daughters who were present.

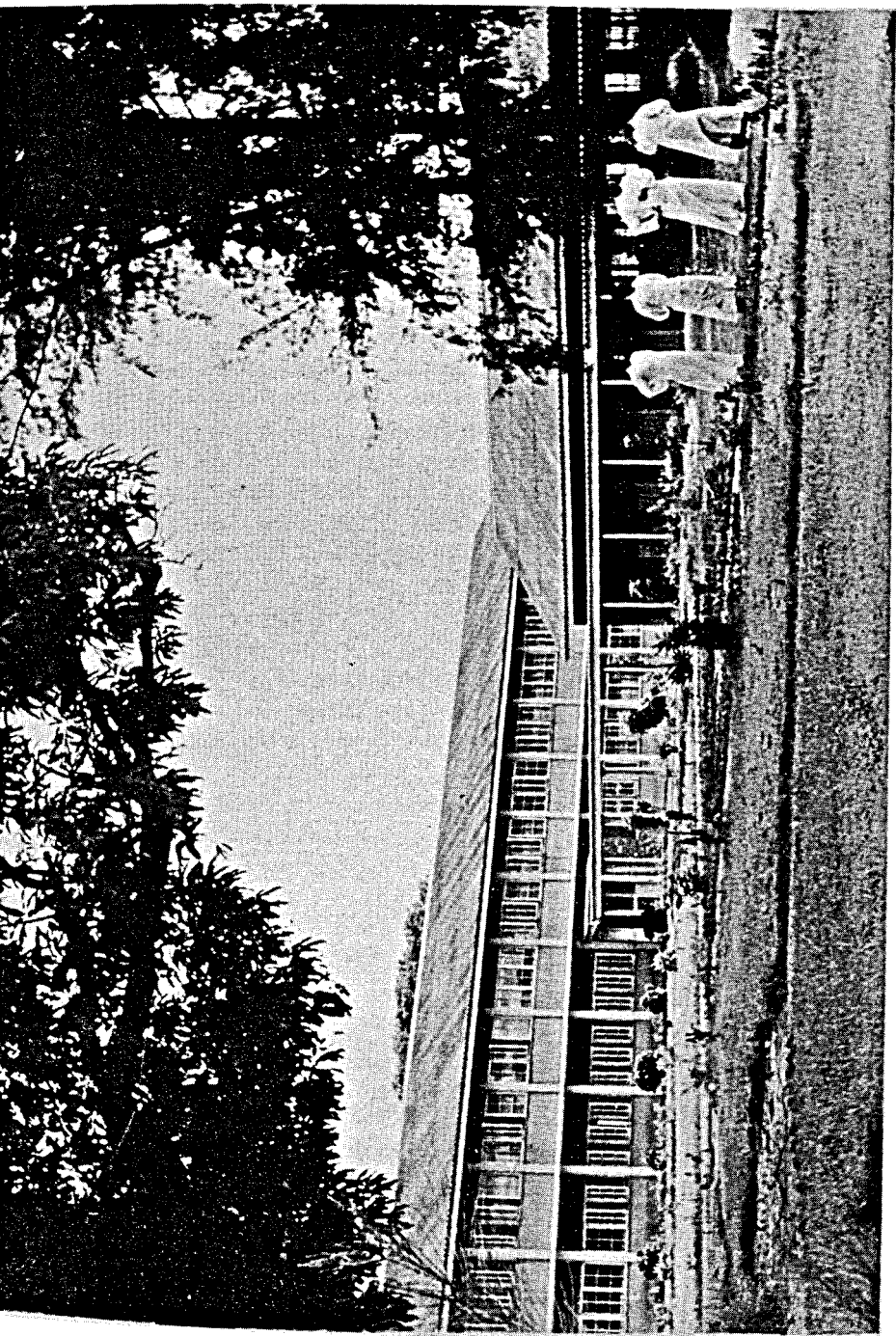
One week later on the sixteenth of February Father Murphy, the Superior of the Burma-bound group, left Philadelphia. He traveled by train to Chicago in the wake of a heavy blizzard. From Chicago on he went by plane and visited along the way seminaries for the diocesan clergy conducted by Ours in Mundelein, Fresno, Tokyo and Quezon City in the Philippines, and the Paris Foreign Missionaries' seminaries in Singapore and Penang, Malaya. Up until then Penang had been the place of training for candidates from Burma, and a few are still there completing their studies.

On March first Fathers Keenan, McCreesh and Laschenski waved farewell to the States from the upper decks of the *R.M.S. Queen Elizabeth* as she backed out into the waters of the Hudson River. Exactly eighteen days later the last contingent of Father Farren and Messrs. Fischer, Niznik and Peacock bade the same adieu from the same decks. These seven men sailed to Cherbourg and Southampton and then made their way eastward by air, managing to visit relatives in Ireland, sights of interest in the British Isles and Europe, Very Reverend Fr. General in Rome, and their fellow missionaries in Jamshedpur,—all in the space of one month.

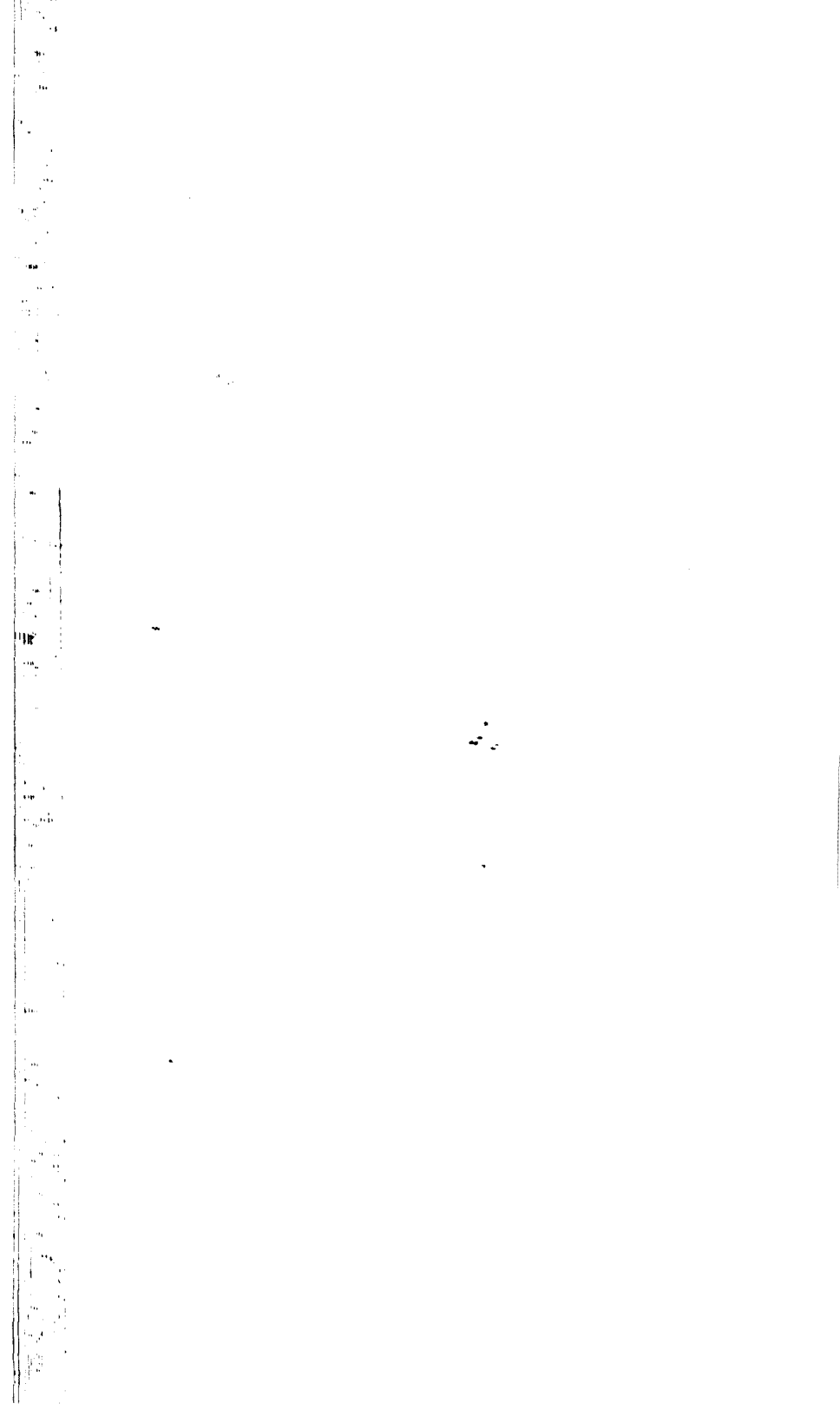
Beginnings

Before seeing the eight travelers to their destination, let us go back and examine the beginnings of the seminary itself.

Early in February, 1956, the Church held her first Burmese National Eucharistic Congress. Delegations of the faithful journeyed to Rangoon from every part of the country. An estimated fifty thousand souls staged a colorful, three-day pageant in honor of our Blessed Lord, which is still vividly remembered. It was on the second day of the Congress that



CATHOLIC MAJOR SEMINARY, BANGSOON, BURMA



the foundation stone of the Catholic Major Seminary, whose official ecclesiastical title is, "Regional Seminary of St. Joseph for the Union of Burma," was laid in a five acre plot of land seven miles from the city center. Negotiations went on for a faculty to staff the Seminary until 1957 when, as indicated above, we were assigned the task.

Meanwhile two buildings were constructed. Arranged in the form of a "T", the crossbar is a two-story structure of plastered brick and cement with an asbestos roof. It is one hundred and eighty-one feet long and thirty feet wide with walls five and a half inches thick. The upper story consists of rooms for the faculty and students and two lavatories. On the first floor there is a dormitory, a study hall, lavatories and more faculty rooms.

The stem of this "T", while of basically the same design and width, is shorter and only one story high. It was meant for classrooms, refectory and kitchen. There was no chapel.

Although these buildings are equipped with running water, electricity and modern plumbing, are well lighted by an abundance of windows, and have certain other desirable features, on many counts much remains to be desired. Since we had to convert a considerable part of one building into a chapel, classroom space is at a premium, and in another year or two will be insufficient. No provision was made for storage space, library stacks, etc. within the house. The dormitory and study hall accommodations are quite inadequate. True, the open louvres above the windows let in air, but for five months of the school year they also allow in the monsoon. During this same season the concrete ground floor is frequently soaking wet, and because of low nine-foot ceilings, the house is an oven in the hot season. As the seminary buildings are not fully functional in design, they are likewise unprepossessing in appearance.

Workers' quarters, a garage and a storage shed were built a short distance away, all similarly made of brick, plaster and cement.

Next to these quarters in one corner of the compound is a large, sturdy house some thirty years old. It was the home of the previous property owners. While the roof is old and leaks even after being repaired, the house, nevertheless, was planned

and executed in the generous, airy proportions that are customary in pukka residences of the East, and provides a gracious, Jesuit "staff house." Inside on the ground floor are parlors, a small chapel and a dining room. The second floor provides living rooms for two of the faculty members and a large, combination recreation room and library.

All of the structures described, together with a lawn and garden area, occupy about three acres of our land. The other two acres allow for a small soccer field, a basketball court, a volleyball court and a deep valley which becomes somewhat of a swamp during the rains.

So much for the physical plant, its origin and present status. Although some defects have been noted in the Major Seminary, we are quite conscious of the fact that most of the other priests and religious in Burma began their apostolate in bamboo residences and schools. And more than one parish house and convent today is lighted by a kerosene lamp and remains at the water-barrel shower and outhouse stage.

After the buildings were completed in 1957, on September first of that year His Grace, Archbishop Bazin, officially opened the doors of the Seminary. Eight first-year philosophers who had been at the Rangoon Minor Seminary since the beginning of the school year in mid-May, moved in. A faculty of Father Luigi Bignamini, P.I.M.E., also acting rector, and Father Vincent Zan, an indigenous priest who had studied in Rome, was assigned to staff the Seminary temporarily, pending the arrival of the American Jesuits.

On March 17, 1958 Father Murphy, the first of Ours to leave the United States, landed at Mingaladon, the international airfield twelve miles outside of Rangoon. He was greeted by a large number of the clergy as well as by Father Bignamini, Father Vincent Zan and the seminarians, and later at the Seminary on 14 Du Bern Road was accorded a festive reception.

Fathers Keenan, McCreesh and Laschenski alighted at Mingaladon on April first. They were followed by Father Farren and the three scholastics on the eighteenth of the same month. And on the twenty-second of May, with the coming of the rains, the Seminary officially began under the Society's administration.

The Seminarians

The young men who enter the Seminary make up an interesting group, coming as they do from several racial stocks. From central Burma there are descendants of Philip de Britto's Portuguese, in whom the Burmese strain predominates today and who consider themselves Burmans; there are boys from the Kachin hill tribes of the north; Karens of several types from the Kayah State, the Toungoo area and the Delta, and a Karen-Lahu lad from a little village near the China border east of Kengtung; and there are Tamils, Indians from Rangoon and its environs. In time Chins will be added to the group, and, perhaps, some Chinese, also.

A few of the seminarians are from the cities and towns, but most come from jungle villages, and their backgrounds, apart from the Faith, are vastly different from ours. Yet because, with the exception of an occasional convert, they have been raised as Catholics from infancy, their attitudes and thought processes have been Westernized in many ways.

Altogether they speak a multitude of languages and dialects. The ability to understand and express themselves in English varies greatly, but English is the official language of the Seminary and all of them will know this language well before they are ordained. By that time, too, everyone must have a mastery of Latin and a facility in both colloquial and literary Burmese.

Allowing for environmental factors, however, these youths are quite like seminarians in any other part of the world. They have come to us from three minor seminaries, two of which under the French Foreign Missionaries of Paris and one under the P.I.M.E. Fathers are at the present time training some two hundred boys. The minor seminary course runs from about sixth or seventh grade through graduation from high school and two additional years as "Latinists."

The Seminarian's Life

The Major Seminary offers a seven year course in philosophy and theology. When we commenced classes, there were thirteen students in first and second year philosophy. Now twenty-six seminarians constitute three years of philosophy and the first year of theology. Thus the Seminary will con-

tinue to grow annually until all seven years of the course are being taught. And before very long, if the present rate of vocations continues, the student body should grow in number to ninety or a hundred.

The first nine weeks of first year philosophy are devoted to the study of minor logic and intensive drill in Latin and English. First year philosophy is taught separately from second and third years which run in cycle. In addition to the traditional disciplines of scholastic philosophy, courses are given in history of philosophy, world history, mathematics and general science, introduction to the gospels, English, Burmese, social questions, education, elocution and rites. The course in theology is taught entirely in cycle. Dogma and Sacred Scripture, moral and canon law are the basic disciplines in every semester. In addition there are courses in ecclesiastical history, liturgy, oriental religions, pastoral and ascetical theology, rites and parish accounts and records.

As for extracurricular activities, a sodality is in the process of formation; the seminarians teach catechism at the leper asylum and to the neighborhood children; occasional excursions are made into town to places of cultural interest; a lecture forum provides speakers from outside on religious and educational topics both in English and Burmese; skits are staged from time to time, and a serious play is put on once a year during the Christmas holidays. Manualia is performed daily and there is an hour's laborandum on alternate days, the seminarians being in sole care of the grounds.

A considerable portion of the day, besides, is spent in spiritual exercises: Mass, points and meditation, spiritual reading, rosary, visit to the Blessed Sacrament, and examens of conscience; not to mention two conferences a week, regular interviews with the spiritual father, a monthly holy hour, a monthly recollection and the four day annual retreat.

Despite this formidable array there is time each day for haustus in the morning between classes, afternoon tea, a forty-five minute siesta following noon recreation, and an hour for games on alternate week days plus a longer period for the same on Thursday and Sunday afternoons and on holidays. The health of the seminarians is good and they seem happy enough, but they are kept busy.

The Faculty

This, of course, means that the faculty is busy, also. However, the Fathers' activities are not confined to the Seminary. The Apostleship of Prayer in Burma is under our direction. Father Farren is director of the Rangoon Catholic Teachers' Guild, an organization of about two hundred of the faithful who teach in both the Catholic and non-Catholic schools of the city. A considerable amount of the labor involved in preparing for the country's first plenary council has been entrusted to the Society. Ours are ordinary confessors for both the French and English speaking communities of religious men and women in Rangoon, a ministry which takes us to ten religious houses each week. Parish calls are not infrequent. We give many of the priests', Brothers' and Sisters' retreats throughout the country and are called upon in the course of the year for lay retreats, tridua, days of recollection, etc. We are instructing converts, writing for *The Sower*, Burma's semi-monthly Catholic newspaper, circulating a *Seminary News Letter* among the hierarchy and clergy, and offering the facilities of our library to all who care to use it.

Moreover, time is devoted to the study of Burmese. During our first year here all attended class five days a week. Last year the schedules could be so arranged that some were able to get away for a couple of months at a time to the villages for serious study of the language; others are spending part of each major vacation in one of the villages for this purpose. Thus progress is necessarily slow, although by now a few are able to hear confessions and preach in Burmese. It was the scholastics, though, who, while they were here, made the most rapid progress in this difficult tongue.

Mission photography was principally in the hands of Mr. Niznik, and it is worthy of mention that within two years he completed a sixteen millimeter color film of Burmese scenes centered about the life and vocation of one of the seminarians.

With some exceptions the health of Ours has remained uniformly good. Prickly heat is the common lot. One member of the community contracted chronic amoebic dysentery which has since been cured; two have suffered from sinus trouble and three more have been down with jaundice. The food, served both in Burmese and American style, while not quite what

we were accustomed to, is tasty and wholesome enough to keep us contented. Adding to this a daily vitamin tablet, a weekly antimalarial pill and an annual paratyphoid-and-cholera injection, the faculty maintain their strength and vigor and are able to put in a good day's work.

In June of 1958 the Prime Minister of Burma, U Nu, paid us a gracious visit. Touring the Seminary with interest, he spoke to the seminarians, presented a gift of some Burmese books and honored us by his presence at tea.

July saw the official visitation, as well as a later informal call, of Archbishop James R. Knox, the recently appointed Internuncio to India and Apostolic Delegate to Burma.

Three of the fathers pronounced their final vows in the Society in August, 1958.

On the afternoon of February 1, 1959, His Grace, Archbishop Bazin, solemnly blessed the Seminary in the presence of two thousand spectators. The day began with a Solemn Pontifical Mass outdoors and a Burmese sermon by the then auxiliary bishop of Mandalay, Bishop Joseph U Win. Throughout the rest of the morning and afternoon people thronged to our colorfully decorated compound. It was "open house" and they were taken on tours of the buildings and grounds, as well as invited to inspect various poster displays and attend slide lectures in Burmese and English on the Mass and the Seminary life. After the solemn blessing itself, sermons were delivered by Msgr. Thomas Newman, M.S., the Prefect Apostolic of Prome, and again by Bishop Joseph U Win. Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament followed, and the affair was concluded with a dinner for about sixty of the visiting clergy.

The occasion was taken, however, to turn the next day into a vocation day for the school children of the Rangoon area. Five hundred girls participated in a dialogue Mass that morning, and then were given tours, slide lectures and refreshments. In the afternoon a like number of boys joined in a similar program which closed with an evening dialogue Mass.

In 1960, February 2nd was again named vocation day at the Seminary with the added attractions of elaborate displays by some of the religious congregations working in Burma, and sports events for the boys.

To help orientate our students to the work of the apostolate,

an apostolic symposium has been conducted for the past two years upon their return from the major holidays. At this meeting each one has to recount to the others his apostolic endeavors and any lessons which he learned in these attempts. The symposium is proving itself to be valuable as an exchange of experiences, and is providing a considerable amount of information on Burma and the Church as well. The first issue each year of the *Seminary News Letter*, mailed out to all the clergy of Burma, gives a summary of the apostolic symposium.

Visits from fellow Jesuits are real events. Since Rangoon is not too far off the beaten track to the Far East, and boasts of an international airport, a number of Ours have dropped in on the community at 14 Du Bern Road. Our own mission procurator, Father William J. Driscoll, was among the first. Usually during their stay our guests address the seminarians.

In December 1959 Mr. Fischer returned to the United States for theology, and Messrs. Peacock and Niznik followed in May 1960, Mr. Fischer leaving early in order to clear up quickly his bout with an amoeba.

This leads us to the latest event, the arrival of two new Maryland Province recruits: Father William D. Lynn from the States and Father Rufus P. Roberts from Rome, who are to take the place of the scholastics, and constitute our faculty of theology.

Blessings

It is proper to mention under this heading the Seminary library. For the library is, perhaps, our principal material blessing. Through the generosity of our Jesuit residences and schools in America, the great kindness of Mr. Eckenrode of the Newman Press, and the gifts of individual friends, a library of approximately seven thousand volumes representing every classification, could be shipped to Rangoon with our initial consignment of supplies.

In passing it is interesting to recall how all those books were nearly lost. The shipment had arrived in the middle of the monsoon, and so, as the books were uncrated and temporarily shelved in the open-louvred dormitory, they greedily soaked up the moisture from the air and grew thick coats of mildew. Fortunately, however, a dehumidifier had been

packed in the same crates, and before long we boarded up one of the rooms, turned the dehumidifier on inside and piled the books there to dry out before they were ruined.

Today there is a faculty library in the Jesuit recreation room and reference libraries for the philosophers and the theologians in the Seminary building. In this building also are two sealed stack rooms, each dried out daily by a dehumidifier. Our collection, certainly the largest Catholic library in Burma, and precious in a land where books are still relatively scarce, is constantly expanding due to the continued generosity of the houses of the Province and friends at home.

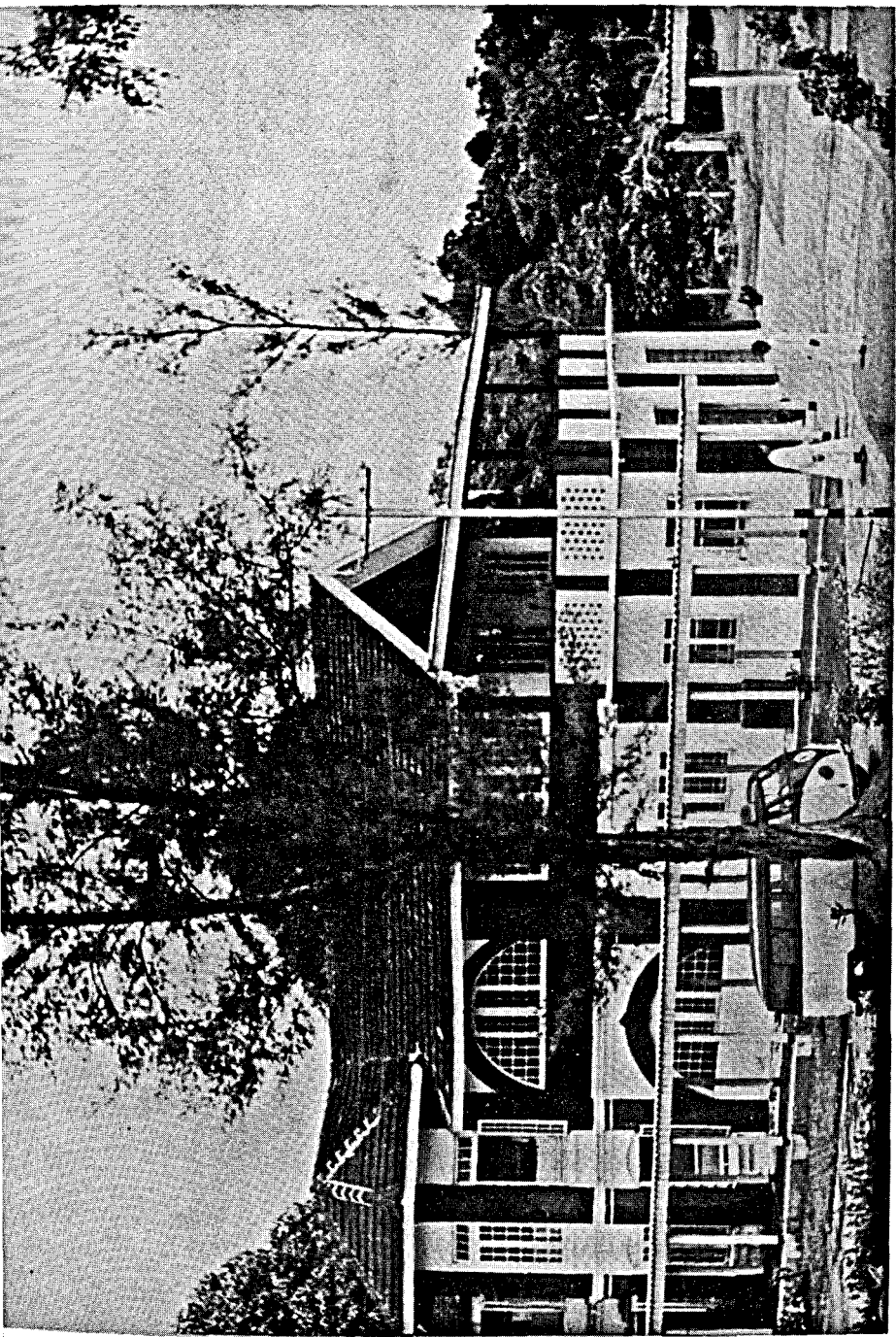
The friendliness and cooperation which we have met on all sides here is remarkable. Despite certain unsettled conditions in the country, despite the fact that Burma is a thoroughly Buddhist land, and in spite of our having to experience those disappointments and frustrations which everyone living in an alien culture encounters, we have been courteously received, and have met everywhere with the support and good will of non-Catholic friends as well as of our coreligionists, clergy and laity.

Last but far from least in this catalogue of blessings is the continued good health of both the faculty and the student body.

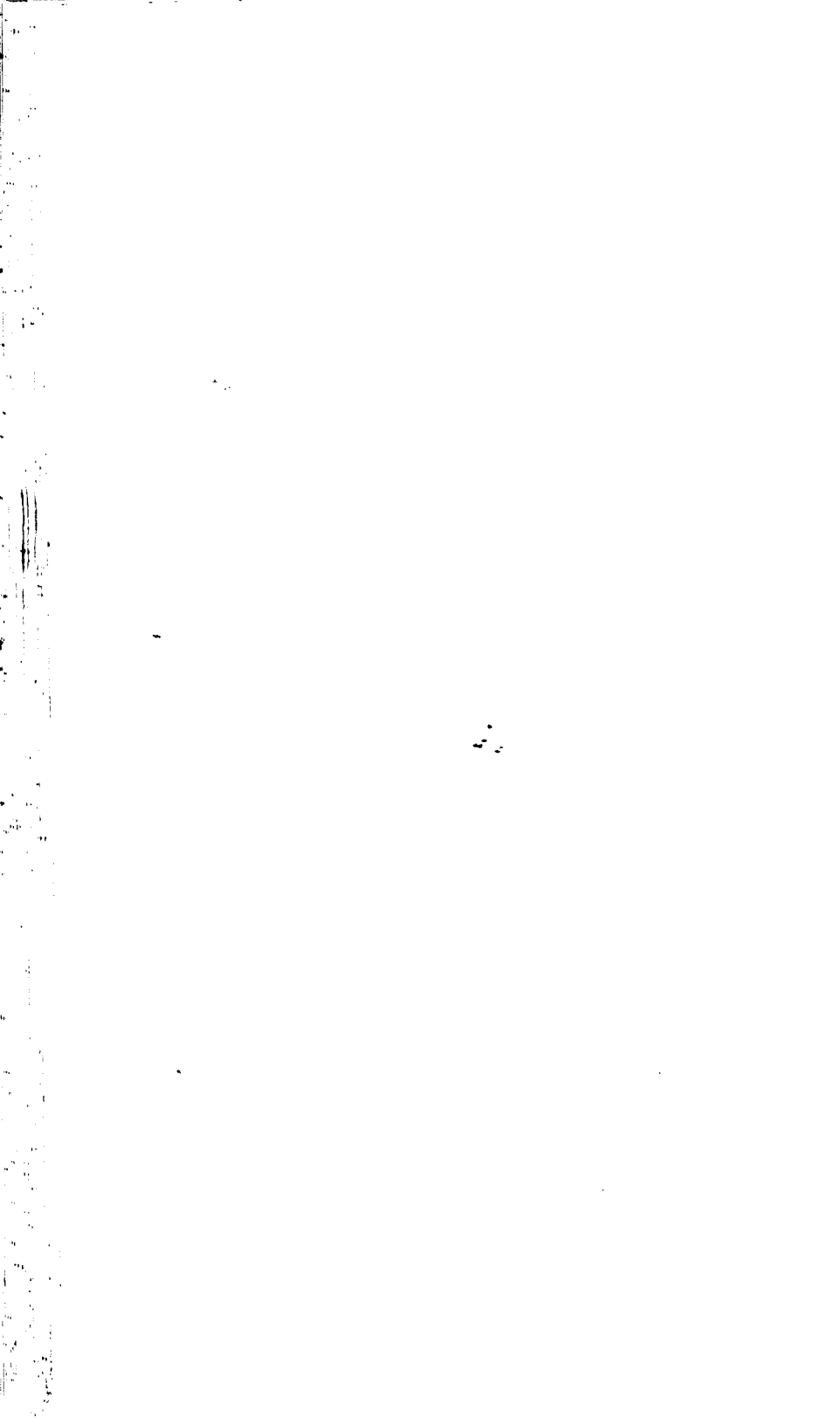
Thanks to the prayers offered without interruption for us and our work, especially those of our fellow Jesuits, the Sisters and the children whom they teach, and our devoted families and friends, this Regional Seminary of St. Joseph for the Union of Burma has been favored in many ways. Under the patronage of St. Joseph we may hope to bring daily closer to Mary and to Jesus the students whose formation is entrusted to our care, and, with the passing of the years, to send forth the learned and holy priests so sorely needed in this land of the pagodas.

A Brief History of the Church in Burma

The first to be sent as direct missionaries to the Burmese people were two members of the Paris Foreign Mission Society who had been laboring in Siam. In 1690 they opened a hospital in Pegu where for two and a half years they enjoyed considerable success. But suddenly encountering opposition



JESUIT STAFF HOUSE



and denounced as disturbers of the peace, the two Fathers were arrested, condemned to death, sewn up in sacks and thrown into the river.

Evangelization of the country on a permanent basis began with the Italian Barnabites. One of them, Father Calchi, arrived in 1722 to look over conditions in Burma and bring the sacraments to the long neglected Christians of Ava. He worked on for six or seven years alone until he died. Another Barnabite came shortly after this, but it was not until 1741 that the first group of that Order with their superior, the Vicar Apostolic and first bishop of Burma, Monsignor Gallizia, set out from Rome for the Kingdoms of Ava and Pegu.

Three more groups of those intrepid missionaries, followed at intervals by individuals, left their native land and made for these distant shores during the next forty-five years. Among them were scholars who compiled the first Burmese dictionary and grammar, translated parts of Scripture, composed catechisms and prayer books, and published in Rome the first book ever printed in the Burmese language. During their administration of the mission Burma's first indigenous priests were ordained.

But Italy together with all of Europe was in a state of political unrest at this time. The armies of revolutionary France under Napoleon seized Rome in 1809; from 1815 Austria occupied northern Italy; the liberal and nationalistic upheavals of 1848 disturbed Italy's peace. The Church had to struggle for her life. The supply of Barnabites failed and Burma could no longer be provided for. The last two Barnabite missionaries died in the land of their adoption in 1832.

The next religious congregation to move in was that of the Oblates of the Blessed Virgin Mary, also Italian in origin. Arriving in 1843 they exercised their ministries both in upper and in lower Burma. At Moulmein they installed a Burmese-English printing press; and it was these Fathers who invited from France the first group of religious women, the Sisters of St. Joseph of the Apparition.

Like their Barnabite predecessors the Oblates, too, began to suffer from oppression at home and so could no longer supply men to Burma. In 1856 after only thirteen years of missionary labors, they were forced to give up. The assign-

ment was transferred to the Society of the Paris Foreign Mission.

Bishop Bigandet

Paul Ambrose Bigandet, previously engaged as a Paris Foreign Missionary in Malaya, was consecrated bishop and appointed Apostolic Administrator of Ava and Pegu. Finding only about four thousand Catholics in the whole of Burma, with churches and mission stations which were destitute, he set out to make some changes. During the thirty-eight years of his apostolate he built churches and schools, brought in the Brothers of the Christian Schools as well as the Good Shepherd Sisters, became responsible for the first congregation of indigenous nuns, negotiated for a division of his vast territory, which resulted in the appearance of the newly formed Society for the Foreign Missions of Milan (P.I.M.E.), and, after an exhaustive study of Buddhism, composed and published in English, *The Life and Legend of Gautama*, a work frequently cited by modern historians of Burma. Before his death the number of the faithful rose to about thirty-five thousand. He died in 1894 and is remembered with pride and warmth by the people of this country even today.

Thus did the Paris Foreign Mission Society whose priests are presently ministering in the archdioceses of Rangoon and Mandalay and the diocese of Bassein, begin in earnest its evangelization of the land of pagodas.

It has already been indicated that the first ecclesiastical division of the territory (in 1867) resulted in the introduction to the country of the P.I.M.E. missionaries who now have charge of the dioceses of Toungoo and Kengtung. A subsequent partition was made and in 1936 the members of the St. Columban's Foreign Mission Society arrived from Ireland to develop the Prefecture Apostolic of Bhamo in the extreme north. A year later the American La Salettes were invited to work with the Holy Cross Fathers in Arakan which was then part of the diocese of Chittagong, India. The Arakan was created a separate prefecture within the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Burma in 1940. Today the La Salette fathers, twelve in number, working in the Prefecture Apostolic of Prome, are

the sole Catholic missionaries for the environs of Prome as well as for the whole of Arakan.

The Salesians who in 1936 were asked to staff a school and parish in Mandalay, now have a novitiate in the hills nearby, and another parish and school on the outskirts of Rangoon.

Besides the Christian Brothers, whose primary and secondary schools are the best in Burma, there are at work assisting the parish priests of the jungles two newly formed indigenous congregations, The Little Brothers of St. Francis Xavier and the Brothers of St. Joseph.

The Sisters

In addition to the Good Shepherd Sisters and the Sisters of St. Joseph of the Apparition, there are nine foreign groups of religious women engaged throughout the country.

The Sisters of Reparation came from Italy in 1895 to assist the P.I.M.E. fathers, and Italian Sisters of Charity entered in 1938. Altogether these two congregations operate as many as twenty-nine schools, two leper colonies, two novitiates, foundling homes, and dispensaries.

In 1897 the Little Sisters of the Poor took charge of a home for the aged in Rangoon, which flourishes today; and in the same year the Sisters of the Congregation of Our Lady of the Missions were admitted to Akyab to conduct schools, tend to the sick, etc.

The Franciscan Missionaries of Mary who came to Burma in 1898, have for their principal work the management of two large leper asylums, one in Mandalay and the other in Rangoon, although they, too, teach and staff dispensaries.

Early in this century the Sisters of St. Anne were brought in from Bangalore to assist the Good Shepherd communities in running their two large schools in the Rangoon area. The Sisters of St. Aloysius, also from India, are settled in Mandalay.

Finally, the Missionary Sisters of St. Columban appeared on the scene in 1947 to help the Columban priests with their schools in northern Burma; and within our own time in 1959 Mother Dengel's Medical Mission Sisters from Holland, have opened in Rangoon Burma's first Catholic Hospital.

Although there is only one Burmese society of religious

women, the Sisters of Francis Xavier, a considerable portion of the foreign sisterhoods is now made up of daughters of the land.

All this personnel of priests, Brothers and Sisters, plus a sizeable number of lay catechists, serve a Catholic population of slightly more than two hundred thousand souls.

This is, in briefest outline, the setting of the Church into which Ours stepped when they entered in 1958 to staff Burma's first regional major seminary.

Chaplain Prisoner

Paul W. Cavanaugh, S.J.

1944 was a most unusual year for Father Paul W. Cavanaugh, S.J. At the beginning of January he was student counsellor at Loyola Academy, Chicago. At the end of December he was penned in a freight car listening to the whine of bombs that were intended to wipe out a German rail center.

Father Cavanaugh was appointed to the Army Chaplain Corps on April 17, 1944. Assigned to the 106th Infantry Division, he moved with that unit from Camp Atterbury, Indiana, through Scotland, England, France and finally to the edge of Germany.

In mid-December 1944 the full force of the German counter-offensive in the Ardennes broke on the untried soldiers of the 106th. They fought as best they could, but their inexperience and the weight of enemy numbers told against them. On December 19 Father Cavanaugh was captured.

He spent the next few months in Stalag IXB, Bad Orb, and Oflag XIII B, Hammelburg. The last weeks of imprisonment were passed marching with German captors as the latter fled from advancing American columns. The end of his ordeal came on May 2, 1945, when troops of the 14th Armored Division rescued him.

Recovering from a leg injury incurred after his liberation, Father Cavanaugh spent 13 months (July 1945 to August 1946) in Percy Jones General Hospital, Battle Creek, Michigan. There he wrote *American Priest in a Nazi Prison* from which the following excerpts are taken.

The day was overcast; heavy dark clouds rolled in rapidly; the ground was covered with patches of snow. The open space into which we emerged was a large field with furrows much like the ridges in a plot of corn. There was for the moment

none of the sounds of battle which we had been hearing almost constantly for several days. To the left over the hill gusty clouds of black smoke rose from the burning buildings of Schonberg where the battle between 106th Division units and German tanks had occurred early in the morning. We had hopes of circling that town and taking the road that led back to St. Vith.

Plodding along at the rear of the column, I prayed for the men of the 422nd Regiment who had died since we came up to the front lines. I earnestly hoped that we had left none behind still suffering from wounds; perhaps lying in the snow or in some woods waiting for medical aid men to come to get them. Should I go back and look? What assistance could I get? How could I again make contact with the American lines? It was a sinking, cowardly feeling. Conflicting thoughts came upon me. Should I carry out the obligation every priest has to risk his life even to the point of heroic action to save one soul, or should I follow the light of human prudence and make the best of saving my own life for another day of battle?

My personal scruples were solved definitely and abruptly when a rifle sharply barked a few yards ahead. There was a commotion in the column. The vehicles stopped quickly; men were jumping out and throwing themselves to the ground. Rapid fire from machine guns started. In a quick glance as I dropped into a furrow I saw coming over the rise in the terrain four German tanks all firing at us.

I tried to make myself as flat and as small as possible. Never before had my head and feet seemed so big. All around I could hear the slugs hitting the turf. Any second one would surely pierce my arms or legs or a still more vulnerable spot. Yet it never occurred to me that I might be merely wounded. All I could think was that the next second might be the end and the beginning for me, the end of time and the beginning of eternity. I prayed aloud: "Mary, my Mother, help me."

Strangest of all, the thought struck me, "I am not afraid to die."

Capture

How long the barrage from the tanks lasted I do not know. Time stands still in periods of suspense and minutes may

seem like hours. Eventually, there was a curtailment of the firing and a cry of "*Kamerad.*" Slowly and carefully, I turned my head and raised one eye high enough to get a worm's-eye view. A medic near the ambulance was waving a white cloth from his prone position.

A few more rounds of machine gun fire and then silence. For us the fighting was over. We had been led into a trap and the ruse worked. The enemy had captured another two hundred men.

With tears of shame and frustration in our eyes we raised our hands over our heads and advanced slowly toward the tanks. The combat troops were despoiled of their weapons and were being lined up quickly and superficially searched. Our medics were already at work on the wounded. All the litters we had available were used to carry the dozen men who were hit in the action.

Awakening from a daze of shame, I ran as fast as I could with arms aloft to a group of German soldiers who were already rifling our jeeps for the spoils of conquest.

"I am a priest! A priest!" I shouted. I pointed to the cross on my collar. "Let me go to take care of the wounded."

They looked in wonder at the smears of red paint on my helmet and coat and at the Geneva brassard on my sleeve.

"*Ja, ja,*" one of them said. "*Priester, Katholisch!*"

"*Ja, ja,*" I answered. "Let me go to the wounded in the field."

I tried to convey the idea with wild gestures and took from my pocket the oil stocks containing the *oleum infirmorum*. One of them started to take it from me, for it did look like a bullet of some sort.

"No, no, *oleum sanctum*—holy oil," I said as I made the sign of the cross in his direction with my thumb.

With a wave of his hand he bid me go. I took one look at Lieutenant Diamon, our battalion surgeon, and asked him if any of the wounded he was caring for were in a critical condition.

"No. They're all right, Father." So I retraced the field in search of dead and unconscious men. Inside a hole ten feet in diameter and three feet deep—the scar left on the earth by an artillery shell of a previous engagement—I found a soldier

with a bullet through his head. The shot had penetrated his skull just between the eyes. He was unconscious and breathing his last. Pulling out his dog-tag I saw his name and religion: Harold Greenspan, Hebrew. His breathing stopped, his head slumped, he lay lifeless in my arms.

Toys of War

Fortunately, there were no other dead on the field. It was evident that the Germans were more intent upon capturing our vehicles intact than they were in killing or wounding Americans. All over the area German boys were having a field day driving our jeeps around in circles, starting and stopping them, tinkering with the mechanism and otherwise enjoying these toys of war. Others had taken equipment from the vehicles and were rummaging for souvenirs and cigarettes. One of the pieces on the ground was the foot-locker of Captain Spadola. A Nazi took a wrench and forced the lock. Over the grass he strewed dress uniforms, shoes, coats, summer outfits and sundry small articles. The equipment was all scattered to the winds as the boy walked off with a tube of toothpaste in his hands—his precious souvenir.

In a column of fives the captured were now led off down a country road. The captors were in a great hurry to get us out of sight. In a corner of the field our ambulance, the truck with the red cross, the medics, plus the wounded were grouped together. Diamon, Blacke, and Hene, the only medical officers with us, were administering first aid. None of the wounded were in a critical condition. A few bandages and splints saved the situation temporarily and injections of morphine relieved the pain. The Germans, while respecting the need for care of the wounded, were insisting that we move off quickly.

I slipped away from the group to take another look at the field. As I did, a German boy came up with six cartons of American cigarettes in his arm.

"Here, you are a good priest," he said in English as he presented me with a full carton.

I thanked him and took them, knowing that it would not be long before someone would be hankering for them.

The Germans decided to house the prisoners at Limburg. Herded aboard trains, they arrived at that town only to find the camp was

overcrowded and the authorities refused to receive them. The train was shunted to a siding. That night they endured a frightful pounding from American fighters that were attempting to interdict the yard to enemy traffic.

The dawn of Christmas eve was bright and cold. We were feeling the cold all the more because of lack of food. The train had not moved during the night, nor could we move in daylight for lack of tracks. The bombing of the previous night had gutted the road-bed ahead of us. In the course of the morning we learned that several of our men had been killed during the raid and others injured. All were men who had broken out of the cars and tried to flee the target. One car suffered a few minor casualties when a large boulder landed on the roof and then crashed through to the floor.

Talking into Boxcars

At noon we were to get some food. Before anything was done about it, however, the sirens announced that planes were over the country. There was fear of another raid on Limburg. Some of the senior officers who knew there were chaplains on the trains asked if we might say a few words to the men locked in the cars. Chaplain Mark Moore started the search for us and then assigned a number of cars to each. A guard unlocked the door and let me out. In order to be heard within a car it was necessary to climb up the iron ladder on the outside of the car until the face was level with the little windows. While almost chinning myself, I gave an exhortation to patience, courage, and prayerfulness to the Christ whose birth the world was on the eve of celebrating. Two announcements we had to make: we would be given food when the present alert was over, and we would move on to a prison camp as soon as the tracks were repaired. As I was climbing the sides of the boxcars I could see something that was not visible to the men and which gave the lie to everything I was telling them. Civilians by the hundreds were slowly moving into a large air raid shelter which was dug into the side of a hill. They carried blankets and baskets of food. It was clear to me that another raid was expected before the day was done. After visiting about twelve cars and answering many questions about the situation and the people I had seen in my

travels up and down the train, I had to give up. The job of supporting myself and talking at the same time began to tell on me and I felt weak. The sun was sinking low when I returned to my car hoping and praying there would be no raid this night.

In the gathering twilight some women came beside the train with bread. They were conducting what practically amounted to an auction. Moving from car to car they asked what they could have in exchange for a loaf of bread. Then, without concluding a bargain they would move on to the next car. Where the offerings were highest they traded their wares.

After much haggling and collecting the boys with me obtained four loaves of bread in exchange for several bill-folds, some fountain pens, and a few packages of cigarettes. Four loaves of bread for sixty men, "What are these among so many?" They brought the loaves to me, perhaps in the hope that I might perform a miracle of multiplication. I appreciated the courtesy, but suggested that we get a mess sergeant to do the dividing. We had with us in the car, Sergeant John Barbeau, cook of the anti-tank Company of the 422nd Regiment, whose home is in Dayton, Ohio. Under the light of a few matches and the beam from a flashlight with a very weak battery Johnny divided the bread into sixty equal parts and all were satisfied—not so much with the quantity as with the fairness of division.

With the twelfth of a loaf of bread in us for the day's supply of calories, we felt warmer and happier.

"Father, just think, this is Christmas Eve. You will have to say a good prayer with us tonight. And let's sing all the Christmas songs we know." I must confess that remarks like this made me very happy. It was really worth the price of suffering to be with this gang of grand American boys.

Christmas Eve Devotions

When all were seated and sleeping arrangements were finished to the satisfaction of all, and the friendly arguments and joking quieted down, I began our Christmas eve devotions thus:

"At ease.

"Fellows, we are in a tough spot on a night like this when

our thoughts can not but cling to our homes, our dear ones, and the joys that should be ours at Christmas. You have been very thoughtful in asking me to pray with you the past few nights, and I appreciate your respect and reverence for the things I stand for. I will try my best to formulate in words what you all would like to say to God tonight. Try to follow me thoughtfully and reverently in the prayer that I say."

I spoke to them of Christmas; of God's great love for us; of the love that should be ours in return. I told them that their present sufferings could be offered to make up for their past misdeeds and would gain grace for themselves and others.

Then I concluded: "One last request we have to make and we make it with all our hearts. Lord, grant peace to the world. We have seen enough of the terrible things that war has brought to understand the great blessing of peace. Grant that we may soon gain a triumphant victory over our enemies and grant that the peace which Christ, who is called the Prince of Peace, came to bring us may be established all over the world. Amen.

"Now let us sing."

We sang Silent Night, Adeste Fideles, Little Town of Bethlehem, The First Noel, Gloria in Excelsis Deo.

Then someone suggested Jingle Bells, and from that we went on to the popular songs of the army and the Hit Parade and the favorites of long ago.

When the singing tapered off into humming and intimate conversation in little groups, it was suggested that I tell a story. Now I was never successful at storytelling, hence I tried to beg off and urged that someone else do it. But all were insistent. I consented finally with these words: "The only story worth telling on Christmas Eve is the story of Christmas, so if you are willing to listen I will relate the events of the Birth of Christ."

The Sweetest Story Ever Told

So with an audience of fifty-nine GI's who were perhaps closer to me than any audience I had ever had and yet were invisible because of the total darkness in the box car, I began to relate the sweetest story ever told. It was a unique opportunity to explain the mystery of God's dealing with men.

I started with the Immaculate Conception (which necessitated a word on original sin), the espousals of Mary and Joseph, the Annunciation, and Incarnation, the decree of Caesar Augustus, the journey to Bethlehem, culminating in the events of the virgin birth.

This took perhaps an hour. The quiet of the car was gratifying. All seemed to be listening in rapture. I paused and waited for someone to speak, perhaps to ask a question or suggest some further development. No one spoke.

"Well," I said. "We can continue the story." I related the mystery of the shepherds and the coming of the hill people to the manger of the Christ Child. Another pause and still no one spoke. So I went on with the account of the coming of Kings from the East. That finished, there still was silence. I waited a longer time for some one to stir or break the magic spell. There was not even the glow from a cigarette. I whispered to Paul Dalton who was stretched out somewhere near me, "Paul, are you asleep?" There was no answer. In a louder voice I asked, "Is everybody satisfied?" No response. In a moderate tone I inquired, "Is anybody awake?" Not even the echo of my voice. All was still and calm and peaceful. It was in truth

Silent night, holy night,
All is calm . . .

I imagined the angels ever so softly singing,

Sleep in heavenly peace,
Sleep in heavenly peace.

And I was very happy.

Father Cavanaugh remained in the prison camp of Bad Orb for two weeks. Finally officers and enlisted men were separated. Father Cavanaugh, as an officer, was assigned to Hammelburg. Before admittance into this new camp, the prisoners were again searched.

As each man was admitted he was assigned to a place at a long counter or table and given a stool or chair to stand on. He then removed every stitch of clothing he wore and handed it over to the inspecting officials. When they were satisfied that all documents, maps, secret weapons, or parts of radio sets

were not left in the pockets or sewed in the lining of shirts or pants, the clothes were returned to their owners who then dressed and left the building by another door. All of us had things we valued personally and did not care to have fall into enemy hands. Every effort to contact men, who had gone through the processing and to whom we could slip these articles, failed. So it was either destroy or surrender what things we had on us. As we glanced again and again during the intermittent openings of the door it was all too evident that this search was thorough and complete.

Searched

A deep secret of my own was now in jeopardy. Several weeks previously I had sewed into the hem of my trouser leg one ten and three twenty dollar bills, nicely concealed from any superficial inspection. Could I now take the chance of having them discovered, and I a priest? My better judgment prompted me to put the money in a place where it would appear that I was not attempting to conceal it. I ripped open the seam and transferred the money to a secret pocket in my wallet. I was then ready to expose myself and all that I carried on me or in my pocket to enemy view. The door opened; it was my turn to enter.

Assigned to a place at the counter, I said, "I am a Catholic priest. *Priester, Katholisch.*" A few eyebrows raised and a group of Germans gathered round. To prove the statement I withdrew from my pockets the winter volume of the breviary, a small ritual, my stole and the triple oil stocks. The breviary and ritual were passed from one to the other German and all nodded assent that they were evidence of the Catholic priesthood. The oil stocks were something new to them. For all the world this brass cylinder, the size of a small arms' cartridge, might be a booby trap, a secret weapon, a radio.

"Now, these are the holy oils," I said, "used in the administration of baptism and extreme unction."

"Oil for sacraments," one of them said in an undertone.

The sergeant held out his hand to take them from me.

"No," I said, "You cannot have this. This is a sacred thing. These oils are consecrated, and may not be profaned."

"Give me," he insisted.

"No, no, only for priest!" I was more insistent.

"Ja, ja." Another soldier came to my aid. "For sacraments, for priest." And he made a gesture in my direction that showed he understood the predicament I was in.

And they motioned me to put the oil stocks on the counter.

The emptying of my pockets proceeded. Out came my flashlight with the worn out battery, a wooden spoon, a penknife, two pocket notebooks, gloves, some handkerchiefs, a pair of socks, an overseas cap, a piece of soap, my watch, a comb, pen, and pencil. All these things were looked at with mingled disappointment and indifference. Then came the wallet. That was seized quickly and set apart with the notebooks and flashlight. Holding my breath and looking at them with an air of suspense I felt the last pocket in my pants and slowly pulled out the contents in one handful—three dollars and forty cents in American, British, French, and Belgian coins, a rosary, and a pair of dice. They all gazed at the little pile in silence and amazement. Then the sergeant picked up the dice. "You are some priest," he said in English and walked away.

"Helmet," said the clerk. My steel helmet and fiber helmet liner were passed back to a pile near a window, leaving me with only a little knit cap.

"Take off your clothes!" And beginning with my field coat, I removed field jacket, woolen shirt, woolen undershirt, and a cotton undershirt, shoes, woolen socks, cotton socks, pants, woolen drawers and cotton drawers. I stood there in my dog-tags, POW identification tag and scapular medal. The clothes were thoroughly searched to make sure nothing was hidden in them.

Before long I was fully dressed. My breviary and ritual were stamped *Geprüft* (passed by censor) and returned to me. I picked up the oil stocks casually, as a division was being made of the other things on the table. Everything was returned to me except the helmet, the flashlight, the two notebooks, my wallet, the coins and the pair of dice.

With Father Cavanaugh on the trip from Bad Orb to Hammelburg was Father Alan Madden, a Capuchin priest from Pittsburgh, who was with the 26th Pennsylvania Infantry Division and also captured in the Ardennes. Within a short time of his admittance to Hammelburg, Father Cavanaugh was able to contact Serbians who

were imprisoned in a compound adjoining the Americans. From one of them, Colonel Alexander Kostic, he learned an interesting fact.

"Breiner, do you know Breiner?" we asked.

Colonel Kostic exclaimed, "He is a priest."

"What does he look like?" we asked.

"He is a little man and always smiling."

Now our task was to find Breiner unostentatiously and casually as it were. All we knew from Kostic was that Breiner was an *Unteroffizier* who worked in the Serbian Lazaret, that he was a little man with a smile. From the hospital to the German enlisted men's barracks outside the prison the shortest route led through our compound. We had seen guards going back and forth daily. To meet Breiner therefore we loitered along Hermann Goering Strasse keeping our eyes set for a short smiling guard. Now and then a German soldier would stop to say a word or two, but not often as they held aloof in keeping with the regulation for all guards of prisoners of war. For three days our search brought no results. Then one morning Father Madden came in to the barracks all bright and happy.

Priest and Pharmacist

"I met Breiner and he is a Capuchin," he said.

From that day the two sons of St. Francis became great friends and had much in common to talk about. Not understanding German, I missed many of their Franciscan jokes. One pleasantry I did enjoy was that neither of them wore beards according to the Capuchin fashion—Father Madden because he had been exempt from the time of his entrance into the order; Father Breiner because of the exigencies of war.

The next day I, too, met Father Breiner, or as he was known in his order, Father Erluin. He answered Colonel Kostic's description perfectly, "a little man with a perpetual smile." As pharmacist in the hospital, he had a little office where he mixed and dispensed medicines to the prisoners of war. We told him of our desire to say Mass and our request for a Mass kit.

"It will come," he said, "but not very soon."

"Could you bring us Holy Communion?" we asked.

"Yes, tomorrow morning. Watch for me in the street, then follow me into the dispensary."

Next morning we were up early and on the watch. He came along quietly a little after seven, bowed recognition and walked into the dispensary. We followed at a casual distance and entered the building a few steps behind him. He went upstairs to a narrow corridor on the second floor. Unlocking the door of a small room, he admitted us and locked the door within. We knelt in silence beside a small table, the sole piece of furniture in the room. He laid his brief case on the table, unstrapped his pistol belt and laid the weapon beside his case. Then out of his pockets came a small crucifix, a ritual, a piece of candle and candlestick, his stole and the pyx wrapped in a corporal. He genuflected as Father Madden and I began to recite the *Confiteor* together. We got out of unison when Father Madden mentioned "our holy Father, St. Francis." Father Erluin said the prayers for Communion outside Mass, and gave us Holy Communion. Then silently he replaced the pyx, the candle and crucifix in his pocket, buckled on his weapon, and cleared the table of everything save the brief case. This he opened and gave to each one of us still kneeling at the table an apple and a German muffin, saying wittily the words of the prayer he had just recited, "Tam animae quam corpori." We left the room and building separately. Erluin to his day's work, Alan and I in opposite directions to make an appropriate thanksgiving. This sweetly consoling and charmingly simple ceremony took place every three or four days for the next two weeks.

Letter to Berlin

I came down with dysentery. During my illness good Father Madden carried on the campaign to get a Mass kit from the Germans. Two and a half weeks had passed since our first request and still we were put off with vague promises. For three Sundays we conducted services without Mass. On the 31st of January we decided on a drastic step; we wrote a formal and urgent letter in Latin to the Apostolic Nuncio in Berlin.

To the Papal Nuncio,
The Apostolic Nunciature,
Berlin.

Your Excellency,

In Oflag XIIIIB the two undersigned American priests have been prisoners of war for three weeks. We have repeatedly asked the officials of the camp to provide us with the essentials for the celebration of Mass. Our patience is exhausted. In the neighboring village there are two Catholic priests who can help us, but neither we nor the German soldiers are allowed to approach them.

We therefore ask your Excellency to help us. Thus you will aid not only us priests but the Catholic men who are our fellow prisoners to enjoy the consolations and freedom of religion, which the German Government, according to the Geneva Convention, has promised.

We commend ourselves to your Holy Sacrifices.

Your Excellency's servants in Christ,

Paul W. Cavanaugh, S.J.

Alan P. Madden, O.F.M.Cap.

This letter was presented open (we had no envelope to put it in) to the commandant, Hauptmann Stammler. He read it with interest, translated it into broken English and remarked pleasantly, "You have a fine Latin style." He broke our bold front with this remark and we all laughed. We then discussed ecclesiastical ceremonies, the Latin liturgy, and German cathedrals, discovering in the course of the conversation that the German Captain had a brother a priest in Bavaria.

On the evening of the next day, February 1st, a German guard delivered without comment to Father Madden a knapsack containing complete equipment for Mass. We were delighted and spread the good tidings to the Catholics in prison. The following day was the first Friday of the month and the feast of the Purification of Our Lady. Without saying a word to the Germans we passed the news around the camp that there would be Mass at four P.M. in Barracks 11-7 and that the men should come in quietly without making any appearance of having an objective in view or seeming to be congre-

gating. At three-thirty they began to drop in singly and in twos. By four o'clock we had a congregation of sixty men.

First Mass in Prison

We had moved the tables to one side except for the one we used as an altar. The chairs, boards and benches in the room were arranged in the form of a church. In that rude and lowly setting the great event of the first Mass in Oflag XIII B brought all the participants great consolation. Surely we knew that The Sacred Heart and Our Blessed Mother had answered our prayers. We had many reasons to be grateful to them. The setting was rough, but faith was there. The immaculate whiteness of the clean altar linens was intensified by the dirty aspect of the men, the furniture, and the barracks. It seemed almost like a desecration to put the spotless white alb over my dirty clothes. The white silk chasuble had evidently been made by some nuns who were suffering from the poverty caused by the war. They had no gold braid to hem the edges but just enough to outline the large cross on the back. In the center was an inscription, *Christus ist mein Leben*. The letters forming the legend were carved out of wood, then colored with a silver paint; each individual letter was glued securely to the cloth. As Mass began the sky cleared and the setting sun shone in upon the altar through the dirty window. It almost seemed that God was sending a visible token of His good pleasure. Mattie Giuffre expressed in writing what thoughts were in the minds of the men who knelt around that altar: "I can't express my gratitude adequately enough to you and Father Madden for the spiritual guidance you gave us all, for the symbol of home and good life you represented in that unusual circumstance, for the courage you imbued us with, for everything good you both represented. I shall never forget you both as you said Mass in your vestments, the sun shining in over the altar and you in an aura of heavenly light that spoke eloquently of godliness and good faith."

The block commandant saw the crowd coming out of Barracks 8-5 one afternoon after Mass. We had for some time given little thought to secrecy in holding our afternoon service, though we continued to hold Mass in a different room every day. It was always a big event for the prisoners who oc-

cupied the particular room where Mass was said. The Oberleutnant investigated and discovered we had just finished Mass. He sent for me a few minutes later.

"How often do you have divine service?" he asked.

"Every day," was my bold reply.

"Does General von Goeckle know *that*?" he asked.

"I don't care whether he does or not," I answered.

"I shall have to inform him," he stated hesitatingly.

The Oberleutnant was torn with indecision. The next few days we were just a little more cautious in leaving the room where Mass was said. Then the Oberleutnant sent for me again. He had some good news. "I told General von Goeckle about your divine service every afternoon. He was very glad to hear it and approves of it highly."

"Thank you, sir," I said. "I will be very happy to have you and Herr General come to Mass any day with us."

Was this a *volte-face* or had we been too suspicious of a hostile attitude toward religion on the part of the high command of Hammelburg prison? It may well have been that the impending doom of Nazi Germany softened the policy of the *Wehrmacht*. Yet in fairness to our captors it cannot be said that outside of the demand to censor sermons we were officially denied the freedom of worship for which we fought.

After this incident we changed our method of conducting Mass from the secrecy of the barrack to the large public hall in the administration building. We even advertised Mass on the bulletin board.

Murder by a Guard

On March 16th Lieutenant John Weeks was killed by a guard. It was the first day we had been permitted to go to the latrine during those protracted air raid alerts. As the raids were becoming longer and more frequent, Colonel Goode arranged with General von Goeckle for the prisoners to go to the latrine with this provision that they go alone and not in groups. The siren announced that planes were near about nine o'clock that morning. All of us were confined to our barracks and wished we could get out into that warm sunshine. I was playing bridge in a tournament game in Barracks 11-7. Several men from Barracks 10 and 11 had used the

new privilege and gone down the street, turned right to the latrine and then returned. From the windows some of the men noticed that the guard at the gate fifty feet from the corner of the building, but on the opposite side of the barbed wire, was muttering something to the men as they passed.

Lieutenant Weeks left his room across the street, walked down to the corner with his hands in his pockets. He had just turned his back to the guard when there was a shot. The guard had leveled his rifle on a strand of the wire and hit Weeks in the back of the neck. We heard the shot and looked out the window. At the moment we did not know who fired the shot or why. Immediately another guard came running to the fence. The two were gesticulating and looking toward the end of our building. There was a hubbub in all the barracks.

"Don't go outside!" was the warning someone kept repeating.

"What happened?"

"That guard fired his rifle!"

"Did he aim at a prisoner?"

Someone came from the back of our room. "They say there is an officer lying around the corner," he said.

When I heard that, I went to the back of the room, jumped out the window, and ran along the edge of the building to the corner. From the barracks back of ours someone yelled, "Father! Don't go out there!" I was concealed from the view of the guard at the corner, but could see Weeks lying face down, his hands still in his pockets, and a stream of blood trickling four or five yards down the gentle slope of the walk. It was not the sight of blood that frightened me, but the way that blood was acting. Natural healthy blood does not flow like milk, but congeals and coagulates. "Is this the condition all of us are in?" I thought to myself. I peeked around the corner and saw that there were several guards now congregated at the gate. No POW'S had come out of the barracks. There was no doubt about Weeks' being unconscious; most probably he was dead.

"Hey, Father, get inside! Do you want to get shot?" someone yelled.

I crept back along the barracks' wall, and climbed through the window. After crossing the room to the windows from

which we could see the guards, I noticed Colonel Goode and several other Americans with some German officers passing up the street. It was safe to go outside now. I jumped out the back window again, ran to Weeks and anointed him. There was a hole in the back of his neck at the top of the spine.

When the alert was over, Weeks was picked up and taken to the morgue on a stretcher. Next day General von Goeckle apologized to Colonel Goode for the action of the guard, but that did not restore life to a fallen hero, nor erase cold-blooded murder. We buried Weeks with military honors.

Funerals

February 17th I was summoned to conduct the funeral of Private Robert E. Simmons of Carlisle, Ohio, who died of pneumonia in the Stalag. He was one of several American enlisted men from Stalag XIIIC to die at Hammelburg. Sergeant Toothman, the man of confidence from the Stalag, met me at the prison gatehouse. A man of confidence, by the way, in the parlance of the Geneva convention, is not a crook, but the representative of a group of prisoners of war in their dealings with enemy officials. I was issued a pass to identify myself and my mission. With Toothman I went to the camp hospital where a detail of twenty-four enlisted men were waiting. A German non-commissioned officer led us to the room where the body of Simmons lay. It was a mortuary chapel with a few potted evergreens before a fresco of Christ inscribed with the words, *Ich bin die Auferstehung und das Leben*. The body of Private Simmons lay on a table wrapped in blankets. On the floor was the wooden coffin in which he was to be buried. Our instructions were to place the body in the coffin, nail it shut, and return the blankets to the Germans. This we did with tender care realizing that we were doing our best for a hero that had given his life for the cause we held most dear. The arrangements completed, six of the burial party lifted the coffin to their shoulders and we formed the funeral procession. Down the Adolf Hitler Strasse we slowly walked, I leading the column with the purple stole fluttering around my neck. It was a bitterly cold day and snowing. About every four hundred yards we halted to allow six other men to carry the precious burden. After walking a little more than a mile,

we reached the military cemetery. There were plots and monuments to the dead of World War I, English, Russian, Italian, Polish, and German soldiers. At the far end were sections where the various nations buried their fellow prisoners of this war. Simmons' grave was the seventh in the American plot. Another group of American enlisted men had just finished digging the grave before the cortege arrived. They stood at attention in a neat rank, as did the German guards who accompanied us, while the coffin was placed on ropes and lowered into the grave. I read the funeral service from the ritual and spoke a few words of encouragement to those present. Then the grave was filled in and marked with a wooden cross. In the same manner I buried Sergeant Ladislao Loera of New Gulf, Texas, on February 23rd, and Cpl. Joseph J. Shernigo, of Winber, Pennsylvania, on March 4th.

Attempted Liberation

Unknown to the prisoners of Hammelburg, an attempt was being made by American forces to liberate them. On the evening of March 26 an American task force under Captain Abraham Baum started off from the lines of Patton's Third Army 60 miles west of Hammelburg. At 3:30 the next afternoon, as Father Cavanaugh began Mass, there was a distinct sound of gunfire across the hills.

"Since no more can get here, I will start Mass immediately and give you general absolution before Holy Communion," I said. While I was vesting several shots landed very close to the camp. I began the prayers at the foot of the altar with some trepidation.

At the gospel a shell exploded in our camp. We all dropped flat on the floor, I under the table we used for an altar. A few tense moments waiting for another hit; but it did not come. I stood up, told the men to be calm (though I did not give them very good example) and to remain kneeling. "If anything happens, just stretch out on the floor. I'll give you general absolution now." With trembling hands I made the sign of the cross over the kneeling congregation.

At the *lavabo* the building shook with another explosion—a direct hit, it seemed. Again we were all prone on the floor. A few more moments of terrifying waiting and a dead silence. I realized I must finish the Mass quickly. I stood up.

"Men, be calm," I said to the prostrate forms. "I am going to shorten this mass as much as possible, so that everyone may get to Holy Communion. We will have only the consecration and communion. Then I will distribute Holy Communion."

Facing the altar I read the *Hanc igitur* prayer. In the tenseness of the situation the words were packed with meaning. "Graciously accept, O Lord, this offering of our subjection to you. Give us peace today. Save us from eternal damnation and number us in the flock of your chosen ones, through Christ our Lord."

Then the twofold consecration and elevation.

The ringing of the bell was accompanied by another explosion in the camp. Quickly I said the threefold, *Domine, non sum dignus*.

The host and chalice were consumed. On the corporal lay the pile of small particles. Filling the paten with them, I turned to the congregation.

"Behold the Lamb of God, behold Him who takes away the sins of the world."

Burp, burp-burp went a German gun. Put-put-put a machine gun answered.

I began distributing Holy Communion; even here the ceremonies were mutilated. The rubrics call for the formula of Viaticum in a situation like this, "Receive, brother, the viaticum of the Body of Our Lord Jesus Christ, who, we hope, will preserve you from the treacherous enemy and bring you to eternal life. Amen."

The formula was too long to repeat with each Communion, and my trembling hands made me fear dropping a consecrated Host. I gave Holy Communion as fast as I could, while the men pressed toward the semicircle around the altar. They were composed and orderly, but I could not help noticing how the tenseness of fear relaxed in their faces as each one received the Body of Christ.

There were approximately a hundred men at Mass. Just as I finished the last line of communicants, a tremendous shout and laughing came from men who had rushed from the barracks into the street. I looked at my congregation; they were quiet and absorbed in their thanksgiving prayers. With relief I turned to the altar and finished the Mass. After Mass we

said the Novena to Our Lady of the Miraculous Medal and the Litany of St. Joseph. Then I turned to the kneeling crowd.

"What happened?" I asked.

"Father, we're free! We're liberated!"

"The German General has surrendered to Colonel Goode."

"The Stars and Stripes are flying from this building."

Unfortunately they were not liberated. The task force broke into the prisoners' compound appalled to find 3000 Americans there. They had been told that only 300 were present. The American liberating force had originally consisted of 293 men. Whittled down now by casualties, it was unable to accommodate all who wished to accompany it. Father Cavanaugh elected to stay at Hammelburg. It is just as well that he did. Only nine of the original 293 Americans regained their lines. Patton, admitting that he had made a mistake in not sending a sufficient force, decorated Captain Baum with the Distinguished Service Cross. Critics of the General wondered why he had selected the one camp where his son-in-law was a prisoner.

The remaining prisoners moved out under German guards. On the morning of April 5th they came to the outskirts of Nuremberg. As they looked into the skies they saw vapor trails streaming from the wings of B-17s. They were glad to see American planes until they suddenly realized the purpose of the bombers.

Bombed by Americans

"My God, we're on the target!" somebody yelled as he pointed directly overhead.

The thin white trails of the target markers were coming down almost perpendicularly upon us.

"Let's run." But where could we run to? There were no shelters near, nor even holes close enough to get into.

I jumped to my feet, and yelled in either direction, "Make an act of contrition!" I repeated the short formula of general absolution first to my right and then to my left.

Bombs were landing on the factories on the opposite side of the railroad. I fell prone and pulled my blanket over my head and began to pray.

I could feel the earth tremors rolling under me.

The bombs continued to land for a few more seconds; then a lull. I looked up. Billowing clouds of smoke and flame came from the factories. Men were still running away like pygmies.

"Keep down! Keep down!" came a scream.

Another flight was moving in. The roar of the ack-ack was deafening and the sky was dotted with the black puffs of their bursts.

The second flight began releasing its cargo of destruction. The bombs, the ack-ack, the explosions of chemicals in the munitions works, all combined into a reverberating thunder of demolition.

The third formation passed over the target. The crackling sound of fires and falling walls was added to the surging rumble. "This must be the end," I thought and peeked out from under the blanket at the men sprawled out near me. There was a strange darkening of atmosphere. Madden, Smolka, Keough, Prior, Losh, everyone seemed to be clinging to the ground and trembling. The earth beneath us shook again as the fourth flight emptied their bomb-bays.

By now the atmosphere was dusty and heavy. Fragments of debris and sand were literally raining on our side of the railroad.

"Stay down! There's a fifth flight up there."

The bombs were already on their way down.

Boom . . . and a geyser of earth and sand spouted on our side of the track.

Boom . . . Boom . . . and each time we felt the explosion was nearer to us.

Then five bombs landed almost simultaneously on the area where we were. The noise was terrific; the heaving of the earth staggering, a rain of sand, gravel, and dirt came down upon us. Men screamed: "Doctor! Doctor!"

Last Rites

I yanked the blanket from my head. The thick dust and raining sand made everything dark. I took the holy oils from my pocket, stood up among the prostrate forms and fallen trees and started to work. There was confusion everywhere. Dead men lay among the injured. Those unhurt revived from their fright, stunned to find themselves alive.

Beginning with the nearest mangled body I anointed every dead and prostrate form I could find. I ran from one to another on the spur of the moment, not noticing where I was going nor paying any attention to the shouts that were made at me.

The thunderous inferno of raging fires and explosions kept many men pinned to the ground. The target had been gasoline dumps and ammunition factories. Sections that had not received direct hits were ignited by the heat and explosions from the parts that did.

I paid slight attention to the identity of those whom I anointed. Few were recognizable where they lay. The farther I went the more dense the dead and dying became. I reached the head of the column. By then every able man was up and working with the dead and wounded. I collected my senses for a moment in the midst of pandemonium.

"I surely have missed some . . ." I thought, ". . . and there is the other half of the column."

A yard or two from the head of the column lay a man in a German officer's uniform. It was Stammeler, captain of the guard company. Running over I saw that his head was all but severed, and I anointed him. He was a Catholic and had been very decent to me as a priest.

Through the ferment and terror I hurried, jumping over fallen trees and fallen bodies. To add to the excitement, a water main had been broken and the bomb craters and low places were filling up with water. Some wounded men were in danger of drowning.

"Father, come and help us get this man out!" shouted three officers, while near them three others looked on stupefied. I shook two of them out of their daze, "Come on, get busy! Help these fellows here. I have other work to do."

I jack-rabbitted along the disordered lines, perhaps anointing a second time men who had been moved. How many anointings there were is impossible to say, perhaps fifty, perhaps over a hundred. Eventually I reached the other end of the column. There were not so many hurt in that part of the area.

Running to the area where the bombs had fallen, I found the tree to whose roots I had clung during the agonizing duration of the bombing. Five feet away lay Johnny Losh on his stomach. His buddy, Jim Keough, was sitting beside him. Johnny smiled in his pain, "Hello, Father, I'm glad you did not get hit."

"Johnny got hit in the side, Father," said Jim.

And I looked at the bloodstained shirt that had been wrapped around his abdomen to hold his vitals in.

I paused to speak with him, gave him absolution again, and tried to console him.

“Do you think I’ll be all right, Father?”

“I sure hope you will be, Johnny. We’ll get a doctor here for you in a few minutes.”

The doctor did his best but a few days later John Losh died in the British hospital for prisoners of war near Nuremberg.

Another bomb crater was about eight feet deep. In the water that was seeping into the hole several valiant souls worked to remove a dead man and two wounded. The work was hard as the walls of sand were slippery. From this crater I measured with my eye the distance to where I had lain. It was about sixteen yards. Why we were not all killed within that radius is explained by the sandy condition of the terrain. The bombs penetrated deep and thus lessened the lateral fragmentation. Near that hole were several trees splintered and gnarled by the bombs, some broken off, others with their tops bent to the ground. In that tangle were three more wounded who were hard to extricate because of the weight of the trees and the running water. There also were two horses which had been hitched to a wagon that had pulled under the trees at the time of the alert. Both animals lay dead. There were four more bomb craters in the area, many more mangled trees, and pools of bloody water. With supreme effort the dead and injured were removed from that location to the road.

Captain John Madden came up to me, “Father, one of the Protestant chaplains has been killed and the others want you to come over here.” I went with John to the site where Chaplain Koskamp lay. Chaplains Moore, Curtis and Stonesifer were working over him and had just identified him. His face was charred and when first the cross was noticed on his collar, they had said, “Oh it’s Father Cavanaugh.”

“No it isn’t Father Cavanaugh,” said John Madden. “He is over there giving the last rites to the wounded.”

“Well, please ask him to come over here,” they said.

As I stooped to anoint him the mark of the oily cross on his soot-covered forehead where I had already done so was plainly visible.

Care of the Wounded

Within an hour after the bombing the guards gathered the living together and marched them off—a column of four hundred. Fifteen of us stayed to care for the wounded and the dead, three doctors, four chaplains, and seven line officers. The wounded needed our attention first. A truck and trailer came from Nuremberg and transported as many as could be carried to a German hospital. Some German Red Cross women came with syrettes of morphine and sterile bandages to administer what first aid they could. Later two more open trucks arrived from the British prisoner of war hospital to remove the wounded. With them came Captain Frank R. Lauvetz of Omaha, Nebraska, who had been with us for a few weeks at Hammelburg before being transferred to Nuremberg to do medical work. He had brought splints, litters, and bandages. We loaded the trucks with the most seriously wounded. Some twenty or more injured men still remained. We gathered them together in a grassy spot, covered them with blankets and tried to make them as comfortable as possible.

We finally turned to the dead. Twenty-four bodies were lined up in orderly rows on the grass, identified, and tagged. Chaplains Moore, Curtis and Stonesifer did the graves registration work here; they removed billfolds and keepsakes that the men had had on their persons and made a record of their deaths.

All this time the ammunition factory and dumps kept blazing violently. Columns of black smoke rose into the sky; thundering explosions of chemicals terrorized us. Occasionally fragments from the explosives landed near us.

After four o'clock another truck came to remove the score or more of less seriously wounded. We combed the bombed area for the last time to make sure that no one was missed. Two cardboard boxes the size of bushel baskets were filled with human parts, legs, feet, arms and chunks of flesh. We placed these near the rows of dead that they might have proper burial.

Our work was done. For the first time we realized how fatigued we were. Unteroffizier Bergman, a sergeant of the guards, asked me for a cigarette.

"Yes, here, take all you want, but get me a drink of water." I handed him an opened pack of cigarettes and slumped to the

ground. Bergman soon brought the water and revived me. He sat down on the grass beside me and we looked over the scene of carnage. We could find no words. One of the doctors came over. "What about the burial of our dead?"

"We are too weak to dig graves," I said. "Besides, this is no place for even a temporary cemetery."

Some civilians came to make arrangements for the funeral. They assured us that our dead would be given a reverent burial. Next day some American prisoners who were in the area buried them in the Sudfriedhof, a cemetery in Nuremberg.

At five o'clock we weary Americans were gathered together by the six guards who had stayed with us. We were silent and pensive as we moved away from the rows of dead down the road to the south. Chaplains Moore and Stonesifer and I walked along together.

"We three have gone through much suffering together," said Mark Moore. "We were in the same class in Chaplains' School, served in the same division, were captured at the same time, have been prisoners in the same camps."

After a turn to the right we reached the *Autobahn* to Munich and the Austrian frontier, a magnificent highway four lanes each way with a parkway in the middle. It was all but devoid of traffic. To our right was the huge engineering project of the anti-aircraft sites built for the defense of the city.

The evening was clear and warm as we pulled our tired feet along. Four times we took to the side of the road at the sound of planes approaching, frightened at the danger of strafing.

Cistercian Abbey

As the column of prisoners wended its way southeast through Bavaria, Father Cavanaugh frequently said Mass in the Catholic churches of the villages through which they passed. At one such Mass Father Theobald from the local Cistercian Abbey of Seligenporten was present.

After Mass Father Theobald told me in Latin that the Father Abbot wished to invite me to dine with the community at noon. I laughingly thanked him and the Abbot, but explained that I was a prisoner of war and would not take the

chance of going three kilometers in the middle of the day alone. I pictured how sweet it would be to eat in a religious house again and on this day too, the feast of the Annunciation. I was resigning myself to eating soup out of a tin can when Hauptmann Minner came running up excitedly.

"Do you want to go to the monastery for dinner?"

"Of course I do," I smiled.

"I will go with you as your guard."

"Fine, I'll go."

I quickly got together some clean equipment. I shaved, washed my head, and tried to clean my dirty clothes and shoes. For the first time I became embarrassed at my filthiness. Walking mud roads, sleeping in barns, eating in awkward situations, not to mention the soot from the Smokey Joe stoves that still clung to us, all conspired to make us feel at home with tramps and vagrants. Now suddenly to be invited to dine in a monastery—the very thought of which suggests cleanliness—filled me with shame. I scrubbed hard, but was not too successful in my efforts. In spite of my squalid appearance I set off for the Cistercian abbey with Hauptmann Minner in the spring sunshine.

"Hey, Father, where are you going?" a solicitous prisoner called to me down the road.

"I'll be back. Don't worry about me."

At the door of the church Father Theobald met us and showed us the new abbey church and the old cloister where Cistercian nuns had sung the midnight praises of the Lord as long ago as the thirteenth century. The part of the building once occupied by nuns was now an historic relic protected by a government committee for the preservation of historical monuments.

We entered the monks' cloister and proceeded to Father Abbot's room. His desk was piled high with letters, his table with magazines and papers, and the walls with shelves of books. The abbot was an ascetic looking priest with black beard. I told him I had to come all the way across Germany to make my first acquaintance with a Cistercian abbot. I explained in Latin how pleased I was to come and how kind of Hauptmann Minner to bring me. "*Bonum et jucundum est habitare fratres in unum,*" said the Abbot.

Father Theobald spoke Latin fluently; Father Abbot had some difficulty but managed to remember some verses from the psalms. I explained that I was an American Jesuit Priest. "Quomodo cantabimus canticum Domini in terra aliena?"

That I had been a prisoner at Bad Orb and at Hammelburg where we were liberated for a short time. "Laqueus contritus est, et nos liberati sumus."

That we had been walking for two weeks from Hammelburg. "Beati immaculati in via." That we had lost twenty-seven men in a bombing. "Requiescant in pace." Thus it went on. The benign old man had a quotation for every topic.

Then we went to dinner. Twelve of us sat at the T-shaped table, six Brothers, three on either side of the stem; the Abbot, the three Cistercian priests, Hauptmann Minner and I on the crossbar.

Porcelain Dishes

Remember it was a feast day, a day of special meals in every religious community. After Father Theobald read the Gospel of the day in Latin, the Abbot said, "Deo Gratias" and we began a cross fire of conversation in Latin, German, and English. Minner could not understand the Latin, I failed to grasp the German, and the monks missed the English. However we enjoyed ourselves. First a Brother brought in a large tureen of potato soup, the like of which we had been served daily. But to sit at a clean table and eat from porcelain dishes made the soup taste much better than having it dumped into a tin can from an iron pot and eaten at the edge of a barnyard. Then came a small portion of roast pork, boiled potatoes and carrots. There was a slice of bread for each man at his place at table. No dessert, no wine, no coffee, not even a glass of water. Yet for all my dubiously meritorious fasting of the past months, it was more than I could eat. It proved what I had been telling my fellow prisoners for several months. "It's not the lack of food now that will do us permanent injury, but the abundance of good food that will be available after we are liberated."

At the conclusion of the meal, still sitting at the table, Father Abbott and his community said farewell to us; a strange place, I thought, to say goodbye to guests. We stood up

at table for the grace after meals. Instead of the *Laudate*, the Abbot intoned the *Miserere*, slipped his cowl over his head and led the procession of his community into the church to sing the praises of God. Hauptmann Minner and I stood at our places in the empty refectory.

"Well," he shrugged his shoulders, "shall we go back to the barn?"

By the time that the column of prisoners had reached Gars on the Inn River, American rescuing forces were hard on their trail. Feeling that if they delayed the Germans long enough their chances of rescue would be increased, the American commander ordered his men to disperse themselves about the town so that the guards would have difficulty in rounding them up again when it was time to move.

Redemptorists

I found myself in front of a two-story stone house with the monogram of the Society of Jesus worked in metal on the door. Two priests were looking out of an upper window. Perhaps this is a Jesuit house, I thought. I quickly mounted the steps and rang the bell. The door opened immediately and I exclaimed, "*Ich bin Priester . . . Katholisch . . . Jesuita.*"

The Sister looked at me for a moment in surprise; then she laughed.

"Oh Father, come in!" she spoke in perfect English. "We are glad to have you come. Come upstairs to see the Fathers."

"Is this a Jesuit house?" I asked her.

"No. The Fathers here are Redemptorists. But you are a Jesuit?"

"Yes. From Chicago."

"Our founder is a Jesuit," she said with evident pride.

"So is our founder," I said. "Who is your founder?"

"Father Rupert Mayer. Have you ever heard of him?"

"The great orator of Munich, whom Hitler put in a concentration camp?"

"Yes. You know about him."

"What is the name of your congregation?" I asked her.

"Sisters of the Holy Family."

Upstairs three Redemptorist priests seemed to be equally alarmed about the blowing up of the bridge and the arrival of

Americans in Gars. They were surprised that I should have come into their house as a prisoner.

"That's all right, Fathers, Don't worry. The guards know me. I will stay with you only a short time."

Sister Paschalis, who had opened the door to me, asked if I wanted something to eat.

"Yes, I will take a meal."

Soon she brought a cake (one of those sugarless pound cakes), a bowl of soup, some bread and cheese. It was a joy to be so hospitably entertained. The Fathers recovered from their dismay at having an American soldier at their table. We talked freely in a three language conversation, Latin, German and English. Sister Paschalis communicated her gaiety and joy to all of us. Before I had finished my lunch, she brought me a large paper bag of sandwiches. "These are for your friends," she said.

But my friends were at the door.

Smolka and Madden came in to tell me that some of the stragglers had made contact with the 80th Division and that a task force was being sent to liberate us. The all convincing proof that liaison had been established between American prisoners and front line troops was the box of King Edward cigars which Lieutenant A. C. Stein of Cleveland brought with him into Gars. Smolka was too excited to stay in the Redemptorist house. He took the bag of sandwiches away with him, while Madden stayed for soup and cake.

Liberation

After he finished and to stall for more time, I said, "Sister, look how dirty we are. We have not had a bath for over three months."

"Yes, Father, I will heat the water."

Captain Madden and I had a bath and Sister gave us some clean socks. With the exception of socks and underwear I wore the same clothes which I had put on Thanksgiving Day. And since landing on the continent December 1st I had scarcely spent a night that I did not sleep in them. The bath was a fore-taste of better things to come. For good measure we sprinkled DDT powder over the bathroom floor.

From our hosts we learned about the town of Gars. One of

the finest Byzantine churches of Germany is located here. Next to it was a large seminary of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer. It had formerly housed three hundred students, but now was used as a hospital. No courses were being taught because of lack of students. There were also two other hospitals in the town conducted by two different sisterhoods. These three hospitals explained the reason for the red crosses on the roofs of the buildings.

Smolka came again to tell us that the Germans were trying to round us up, but that our own men were well scattered about the town. It seemed to the German soldiers that a battle was at hand. They were tense and excited, no doubt because they knew only too well that they would soon exchange places with us and themselves become prisoners of war. After three o'clock they made no further effort to guard us. They too would enjoy the brief moments of freedom that remained to them. Eating and drinking and visiting went on throughout the entire village. Americans and Germans fraternized over cups of coffee and mugs of Bavarian beer, waiting for the end.

At half past four o'clock a convoy of ten American tanks lumbered down the steep slope into Gars. Not a round was fired. Shouts of joy went up all over the village. "We're liberated!"

"What outfit do you belong to?" the tankers were asked.

"The 14th Armored Division!"

Their air reconnaissance had spotted us and their tanks had arrived before the 80th Division could get to us.

All through the town there was jubilation on the part of Germans and Americans alike. The Redemptorists in the seminary were serving meals to our men and offering them utensils to cook the food they had with them. The Sisters in the hospitals were doing the same for the men who dropped in there. In the homes of the people Americans were partaking of the hospitality of the townsfolk and giving them in return real coffee which they had not tasted in years.

Catholics, American and German, were visiting the great church, the most beautiful of all the Byzantine structures we had seen, to thank God for liberation and the protection of the city.

In the monastery at sundown Father Weishaupt candidly stated the feelings of the German common people: "Father, this is the day of your liberation and ours. We are freed from twelve years of the denial of freedom, of justice, and of truth."

Jesuits in Puerto Rico

Edward S. Dunn, S.J.

This short account of the work of the Jesuits in the island of Puerto Rico is admittedly inadequate. It is based entirely and solely on what information can be gleaned from the pages of the province catalogues in the Woodstock College Library collection. This note is offered in welcome to the "Golden Isle" into the American Assistancy and in answer to the question: what have we done there up to now?

The work of the Society of Jesus in Puerto Rico can be divided into three periods: the work of Father Margarit from 1836 to 1850; the Seminary College from 1858 to 1886; the modern efforts dating from 1946.

Father José Margarit, S.J., is first listed as working in Puerto Rico in the *Catalogus Provinciae Hispaniae* for the year 1837. Woodstock's copy of this catalogue is not of that year but one reprinted at and distributed from Madrid in 1890. (Many of our catalogues of the provinces in the early years of the restored Society and also of the mid-nineteenth century years of revolution were thus reprinted, based—we presume—on material gathered from the Provinces' Archives.) Father Margarit was born on October 15, 1806; entered the Society on June 20, 1819; passed through the course of studies provided in the only Spanish Province of those years; and was ordained, we must surmise, sometime in 1835 or 1836.

What he did in Puerto Rico is not told; only that he was there. Finally, he disappears from our view; he is not listed in the 1851 Catalogus. His death is not recorded on the *Vita Functi* page of that year or the next. Nor is he recorded at all in Vivier's volume of those who lived and died in the Society from 1814 to 1914. Still, his work there was the first phase of the Jesuit effort in Puerto Rico.

The second phase was better organized and more lasting. The *Catalogus Provinciae Hispaniae* for 1859 lists the *Collegium-Seminarium Portoricense*, inaugurated under Father José Maria Pujol, S.J., as rector on March 19, 1858 and having a staff of four priests, one scholastic and three Brothers. The next year the staff, under Father Emmanuel Ma. Solis as vice-rector, was increased by one more Jesuit in each of the grades and a Saint Dominic church is mentioned. In 1860 the first two Jesuit deaths on the island are recorded; a scholastic and a brother, both aged 23. The course of studies included lower and upper grammar, humanities and rhetoric. In the 1861 *Catalogus*, moral theology is added and in 1862, the Jesuit total is up to fifteen—seven priests, four scholastics and four Brothers.

Father José Lluch, S.J., became rector in July 1862. The next year saw the first division of the restored Spanish Province and Puerto Rico was put in the care of the new *Provincia Castellana*. Dogma, short course, was mentioned first in 1864. The number of scholastics at the Seminary was increased to seven, to reach a high of eight in the years 1865 to 1867. For these same years the Jesuit total was nineteen, to be the high point of Jesuit personnel for many years.

We do not know what tragedy struck the island or the Jesuits there in 1865. The list of *Vita Functi* of the following year's catalogue (1866) include one priest who died at 32; three scholastics, two aged 24, one 26; and a Brother 27 years old. That same catalogue has one novice Brother listed among the five Brothers. His name does not recur in the 1867 edition.

Father Ignatius Santos is vice-rector from 1869 to 1871, to be succeeded by Father Martin Goicoechea on Oct. 15, 1871; he ruled for almost 10 years.

From 1867 on, the enterprise is called more simply *Seminarium* with the course of studies running from elementary school, through all the grammars, rhetoric, philosophy, moral theology and "short" dogmatic theology. No mention is made of the total number of pupils or the number in any of the divisions. In 1876, the theologies were dropped, and in 1879, philosophy was eliminated from the curriculum. We can rightly suspect that a more popular approach to education of the youth of the island was attempted by these moves. For the

title on the *Catalogus*' pages is now *Collegium et Lycaeum Portoricense*.

Another division of the Spanish provinces in 1880 brought Puerto Rico under the *Provincia Toletana* and the next year's catalogue lists three Fathers as *Operarii ad S. Joseph*. The Jesuit personnel was now at twenty-one. Father Mariano Rodriguez took office as rector on March 15, 1881. Next year there were four Fathers and one Brother *ad S. Joseph*.

Up to now we have had no idea just where on the island this Jesuit work was centered. At last, in 1883, we are told that it is Colegio de Santurce when for the first time also mention is made of a *Convictus* for boarders, and the parish Fathers are separately listed under the heading *Residentia Portoricensis*, with Father Stephan Martin as *Minister*. That year the highest total for the Jesuit personnel was reached—twenty-three.

Father Francisco de P. Garzon went in as rector on Sept. 8, 1885 and the days of the Collegium Portoricense were numbered. One priest died there on Feb. 5, 1886. The school was closed at the end of that school year and we do not find it in the 1887 catalogue. Of the Jesuits, some returned to Spain; others went to Central and South America. Perhaps it was the greater interest and/or need in these areas that brought to an end the work in Puerto Rico. For the Jesuits in Spain were building up to large numbers in Latin America in the late years of the nineteenth century.

If Jesuits worked in Puerto Rico, and what they did there for the next 60 years, are not recounted here because nothing is recorded in the province catalogues. The formal inaugural of this third phase came with the appointment of Father Antonio Gonzalez Quevedo, S.J., as superior of Manresa Retreat House in Aibonito, P.R., on April 6, 1945. The 1946 *Catalogus Provinciae Legionensis* lists him and one priest and one Brother companion as the *Missio Portorricensis* under the dependent *Vice-Provincia Cubana*¹. Two years later this community has been doubled to four priests and two Brothers.

In 1948 the work of an interdiocesan minor seminary was begun. Father Rafael Garrido, S.J., became its vice-rector,

¹ In the Latin word for Puerto Rico, the first letter of Rico is unaccountably doubled from 1945 to date.

while remaining as retreat house director, on Oct. 24, 1948. The arrival of five scholastics and one more Brother brought the Jesuit total to twelve. Within a year, in what is now called *Sectio Portorricensis*, there were fourteen Jesuits and—at last we know their number!—70 pupils.

The catalogue for 1951 tells us that Father Rector is in charge of building Saint Ignatius College. Two priests are assigned as spiritual counsellors and religion teachers in the Catholic University at Ponce. The Jesuits number nine priests, four scholastics and three Brothers—a total of sixteen. There are now 96 pupils.

By 1953, the *Sectio Portorricensis* is part of the independent Vice-Province of the Antilles. The work is called *Collegium Sancti Ignatii de Loyola Inchoatum* at Santurce, P.R., with Father José Ballesteros as vice-rector from Sept. 8, 1952. His community includes three priests, two scholastics and two Brothers; seven altogether. The seminary and retreat house community numbers ten priests—one of them from the New Orleans Province—five scholastics and three Brothers, totaling eighteen; with 112 students. Twenty-five Jesuits were on the island.

The succeeding years saw increases in the number of pupils; and additions to the small number of priests and scholastics from the American Assistancy. When the decree of Very Reverend Father General transferred the island of Puerto Rico to the territory of the New York Province on July 2, 1959, there were twenty-two Jesuits assigned to the Society's works on the island: at Rio Piedros, San Juan, a Colegio de San Ignacio—a high school with more new buildings going up—and San Ignacio parish; and the minor seminary and retreat house at Aibonito. There were twenty-one Jesuits in the Antilles Vice-Province who claim Puerto Rico as their birthplace, and are now members of the New York Province. Four young men of the island entered the novitiates of the New York Province in August and September, 1959. In Puerto Rico, the New York Province takes over works whose foundations are solid.

Father Patrick O'Reilly

Theodore J. St. Hilaire, S.J.

Father O'Reilly was being buried. To many of the two hundred Jesuits present, Father was the renowned preacher of missions, successful as an orator, and famous for not having broken his resolution "never to refuse an opportunity to say at least a few words."

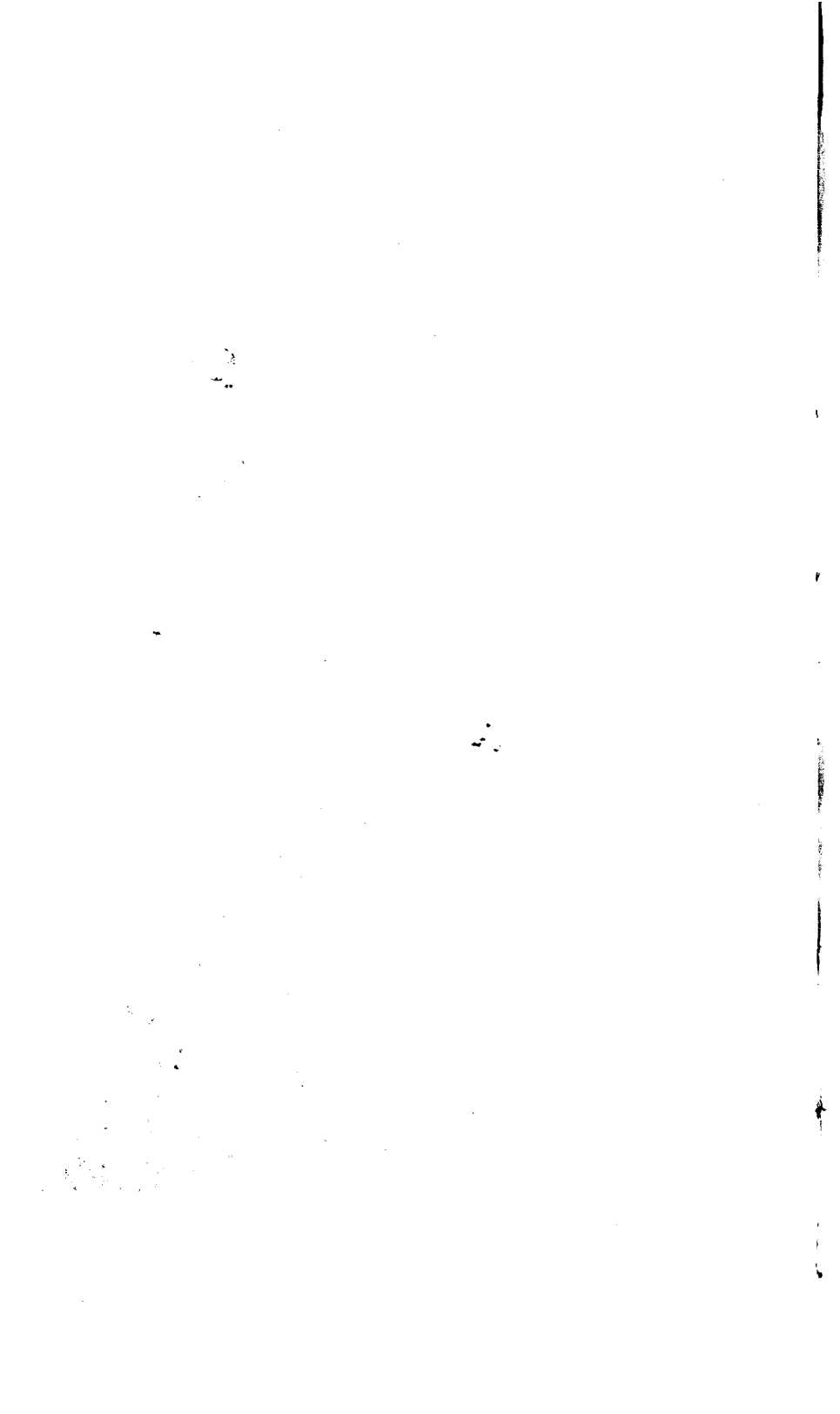
Patrick Joseph O'Reilly started his life in the small town of Kilkee, Ireland, popular with tourists and vacationers. This quiet town of about 1600 residents lies facing America and is situated on the wild, west coast of County Clare, a short distance north of the Shannon's mouth. The rocky coast, with its irregular cliffs towering up from the sandy beach is perpetually pounded by the ever turbulent, often stormy sea. Out in the sea are islet extensions of the cliffs between which the tides rush with a foaming swirl. Ancient castles, earthen forts, holy wells, church ruins, and stories and legends of St. Senan and Scattery Island gave to Kilkee and the countryside its typical and rich Irish culture: a simple, Catholic culture.

In these surroundings and in the home of John and Margaret O'Reilly, the future orator was born on February 15, 1872. Here at Kilkee, where Pat spent the first eighteen years of his life, live an affable, friendly, loquacious, argumentative people. Patrick inherited the Kilkeean idiosyncrasy of thought, language, and a tone of voice which was soft, as any inflected in the Gaelic tongue.

During these eighteen years, like many another Kilkeean lad, Patrick attended the school of the local Convent of Mercy, and the national school for boys. Somewhere during these formative years, however, his father died. And across the Atlantic, in the far western state of Washington, U.S.A., Patrick's uncle, Martin J. Sexton, architect, sawmill man, and builder, lost his two sons in the diphtheria epidemic of 1890. Shortly an agreement was made between the two families. Patrick was to replace his two cousins in his uncle's plans. In 1890 he left to the care of his three sisters his mother, a woman still remembered in Kilkee for her kindness and charity for all.



FATHER PATRICK JOSEPH O'REILLY



Washington had barely acquired statehood when the young Irishman entered its boundaries. The previous year four of its communities: Seattle, Spokane, Vancouver, and Ellensburg had suffered devastating fires. Consequently, Patrick's opportunities to learn and to use the art of building were many. Industriously he set about his task, at the same time acquiring for himself a house and some real estate. Perhaps he hoped later to bring his mother and sisters to America; but God had other plans for him.

Father Cataldo

Among the frequent visitors to Uncle Martin were Father Joseph Cataldo, S.J., and his companion Jesuits. These men so impressed Martin Sexton that he chanced to remark one day, "If I had my life to live over again, I would become a Jesuit priest." This provoked some deep thought in the serious-minded Patrick. He consulted Father Cataldo who advised some studies, a year's stay at Sacred Heart Mission, DeSmet, Idaho, and a trip to New York. When Patrick completed these he entered the DeSmet Novitiate on July 8, 1893. Sixty years after that date he would recall his uncle's remark by saying, "If I had it all to do over again, I'd do exactly the same thing."

Carissimus O'Reilly found the novitiate interesting enough, for the bears and the Indian teepees near-by were a novelty. But Patrick received more than a change of scenery at DeSmet for after two years under Father Nicholas Cocchi, master of novices, he pronounced his first vows. Then followed the four years of regency in Montana at St. Francis Xavier Mission among the Crow Indians, two years of philosophy at Gonzaga College, Spokane, and another year of regency, this time at St. Ignatius Mission near Missoula, Montana. Next came his final year of philosophy and three years of theology, all at Gonzaga. Upon the completion of theological studies, Patrick O'Reilly and three companions were ordained by Bishop Edward J. O'Dea on May 31, 1906. From that day forward, he would always be first and foremost the priest.

After ordination Father O'Reilly spent two more years at Gonzaga, this time as a teacher. Next he was put on the Mission Band. At last the zealous Irishman was in his element. Father Vincent Chiappa spent the first year with him, a year

highlighted by a mission to the inmates of the Oregon State Penitentiary at Salem, Oregon. The prisoners were a difficult audience to hold. Nonetheless, the right assortment of persuasive sermons kept them eagerly attentive. The two missionaries left highly pleased with their fruitful labors.

In the Fall of 1909, soon after the Rocky Mountain Mission became the California Province, Father O'Reilly left the West Coast once more, this time for St. Andrew-on-Hudson and tertianship under Father Thomas Gannon, a man highly respected for his inspiring presentation of the Spiritual Exercises and quite meticulous about Mass rubrics. Years later, when Father Patrick corrected other priests on their Mass rubrics, he quoted as his authority Father Gannon. When back from St. Andrew-on-Hudson and a trip to Kilkee to visit his aging mother and his sisters, Father O'Reilly pronounced his final vows at St. Ignatius Church, Portland, Oregon, on February 2, 1911.

With Father Meagher

Father's return to the California Province had also been a return to the Mission Band. This time, Father Thomas A. Meagher, who had been a year ahead of Father Patrick in the novitiate, was his companion and superior. For fourteen years they would travel together. To trace them through these years takes careful reconstruction. They were in Seattle, Spokane, and Yakima, Washington; in Anaconda, Missoula, and Great Falls, Montana; in Portland and Pendleton, Oregon; in Salt Lake City and in Los Angeles, in Phoenix and San Francisco.

In Anaconda, Gerald Shaughnessy consulted them about his vocation to the priesthood. They suggested to him that he become a Marist Father. Eventually he became Bishop of Seattle. At Salt Lake City they took up no collection, an unusual occurrence. At St. Ignatius Church in San Francisco, they preached what Father O'Reilly considered their most successful mission.

A holy fame was theirs. Cathedrals, parish churches, country churches—all rang with their eloquence. Men, women, children finished the missions with an increase of fervor. There was repentance for the sinner, new life for the fallen away, enthusiasm for the indifferent. Unmasked were the evils

of divorce and of infidelity, of drunkenness and of extravagance, of socialism and of communism. Confessions were heard, vocations directed, converts baptized. Everything that a missionary can do to renovate the vigorous practice of the Faith, these two did. The field was white, the harvest abundant.

But large as was the territory of the California Province of those days—eight states covering 863,140 square miles in all—it still was narrower than the horizon of Father Patrick O'Reilly's all-inclusive zeal. Hawaii beckoned. But when he suggested a missionary trip there, in the summer of 1918, Father Meagher could only reply that it was "bordering on the fantastic, too far away, and out of the province. Moreover," continued Fr. Meagher, "I wouldn't care to go there." However, he let Father Patrick seek the necessary permission, which was accorded. The Most Reverend Libert H. Boeynaems, Vicar Apostolic of the Hawaiian Islands, and the Very Reverend Richard Gleeson, the California Provincial, both approved. So did the new California Provincial, the Very Reverend Francis C. Dillon. What could Father Meagher do but acquiesce and board the *Paradise of the Pacific* with Father O'Reilly for Honolulu?

The missions and retreats in the Hawaiian Islands were no less successful than those in the States. At first, however, Father Meagher had good reasons to be skeptical. No one from the Cathedral came to meet their ship. Instead, Father Patrick mistook for a representative from the Bishop, and hurried to greet, a sectarian minister in clerical attire who was eagerly waving in their direction, but to his wife who happened to be standing behind the two priests. Then came Father Meagher's extreme case of mosquito bites, humorous to everyone but to the mortified victim. But the optimistic Father O'Reilly could never lose heart. And after completing the mission tour, he could say his triumphant "I told you so." The response of the people was overwhelmingly gratifying, as the increased frequenting of the Sacraments clearly indicated. Perhaps most illustrative of this was their mission at the Cathedral. For since the building was too small to contain everyone, many listened through open windows and doors rather than miss a sermon.

At Wailuku, on the island of Maui, the momentous news of the Armistice via wild cheering broke their midnight slumber. All night the cheering continued. Also at Wailuku was Yoshimo Takayana, a Japanese girl in her late teens who suffered from a lingering tropical disease in the Malulani Hospital. Father Patrick interested her in Catholicism but had to leave her unbaptized. Three years later she wrote that against her family's wish, she had determined to become a Catholic so that she could go to heaven. Her leg was badly swollen from her disease, but her father stubbornly refused to let the doctor amputate it. An exploratory operation had only worsened matters. With death imminent and by maintaining that only as a Catholic could she die happily and go to heaven, she successfully persuaded her family to allow her to become a Catholic.

From Maui they went to Hilo, the capital of the Island of Hawaii. St. Joseph's Church there with its devotional interior and "well-appointed conveniences" pleased Father O'Reilly's architectural eye, sharp from his two years with his Uncle Martin. The volcano of Kelauea provided interesting scenery and a recreational trip for the two missionaries. Professor Jagger of the Territorial Observatory and Seismograph Station voiced his admiration for several prominent Jesuit scientists of the day. Father Patrick was deeply interested in all this too, but he would not trade his own way of life for it.

Molokai

At Honolulu an invitation to give missions at the two leper settlements of Molokai awaited them. This time, however, Father Meagher, who had an appointment in San Francisco, let the eager Father O'Reilly go by himself. Thus the distinction of being the first Jesuit ever to set foot on these leper colonies fell to Fr. O'Reilly. On Thanksgiving day, while a distant typhoon raised great swells on the sea, he made his landing by small boat on the cliff-sequestered peninsula, ten miles square, that is the lepers' part of the island. The environment in which Father Damien had worked intrigued him. Father Maxime, the Sisters and Brothers of St. Francis (to whom he gave retreats), and the leper altar boys, with whom he had his picture taken, all favorably impressed him. But the win-

ning of souls was his business there. One soul he won at Molokai was Daisy's.

Daisy was a Hawaiian maiden, unattractive, in the last stages of her disfiguring leprosy, and a Calvinist. Would she like to die a happy death? Yes, she would. Then she must become a Catholic. Well, that required thought. She would let Father know the next morning. And, when Father O'Reilly returned the next day, he found a willing Daisy. "Do you believe in everything the Holy Catholic Church teaches," he asked with all due solemnity, "in free will and in the Sacraments?"

"Yes, in everything," she replied, her voice hollow-sounding from the effects of her disease.

"Are you sure?"

"Yes, I'm sure." Satisfied, Father Patrick briefly instructed, then baptized her. Some time later, she, too, died happily, and was the influencing spirit behind many of her Calvinist friends' requests for admittance into the Catholic Church. Father O'Reilly held that she was a saint.

Soon the *S.S. Mikahala* anchored nearby and Father Patrick boarded her for Honolulu. En route to Honolulu, the ship picked up seven survivors of the *Benito Juarez*, a vessel which had sunk in the typhoon. Father O'Reilly asked the captain what his thoughts were as his vessel went down. "My only thought was in getting into that lifeboat," came the disappointing reply. A thorough explanation of immortality and eternity, however, convinced the saved skipper that perhaps he was not so safe after all.

In Honolulu, the unusual request to perform an exorcism awaited Father O'Reilly. As he wished to say Mass that morning, the feast of the Immaculate Conception, there was no time to pray and to do the necessary penance. After some hesitation, however, he decided that the rough voyage from Molokai during the abating typhoon and the dangerous mission at Molokai itself were penance and prayer enough. He then braved the anger of the evil spirit which possessed a Korean layman. Imploring the Archangel St. Michael "to lay hold on the dragon, the old serpent, which is the devil and Satan," commanding "Begone, Satan," and frequently asking the Korean if the evil spirit had departed, Father at last suc-

ceeded. "He's gone," muttered the Korean. "Deo gratias," sighed Father O'Reilly, at the same time deciding that one exorcism a life is enough. And with this ended his adventures in Hawaii until 1920, when he and Father Meagher again visited the Islands.

Missionary Team Dissolved

Time was persistently marching on, effecting its changes in Father O'Reilly, who celebrated his fiftieth birthday in 1922. His once jaunty shock of hair was now thin and graying. The previous youthful sharpness of his facial features was rounding somewhat. He still had plenty of life left, thirty-six healthful, fruitful years of it. Nor had his drive or his childlike curiosity diminished one whit. As he saw things, he and Father Meagher had in store many a year of missionary activity together. But in 1924, their fourteen years as a missionary team and the most important part of Father O'Reilly's militant life abruptly concluded. Father Meagher was appointed Master of Novices at Los Gatos and he himself was sent to Gonzaga College.

Nonetheless, Father O'Reilly would still travel much. After two years at Gonzaga, he became pastor of Immaculate Conception Church, Fairbanks, Alaska. Because of the poor conditions of the stovepipe there, the priest's residence almost burned up one cold March morning in 1927. Indignantly, Father installed a brick chimney to replace the old firetrap. Also, he installed stained glass windows in the Church, built a concrete block porch for the rectory, laid a cement walk, and planted some shrubs, typically improving whatever he could.

After two years at Fairbanks, he was recalled from Alaska with directions to visit various missions during his trip Statesward. He traveled down the Yukon, stopping in at the various missions on his way. He found that "The Catholic Church is the only church in town doing any business" was true not only of Fairbanks but of most of Alaska, though the majority of the Alaskans professed or practiced no religion at all. The tireless labors of the Alaskan missionaries deeply edified him; the possibilities of a more efficient mission field which the airplane introduced encouraged him. The devotion of the Eskimos and the devotedness of the Brothers he heartily acknowl-

edged. "The lure of the Northland" had seized him. He was ready to return "when the word is spoken."

With one interruption, he was again on the Oregon Province Mission Band from 1928 to 1935. Now, however, other apostolic activities besides preaching occupied his time. From the pulpit he often won subscriptions and friends for the *Jesuit Missions*. He wrote a book, *The Light Divine*, in which he hoped to preserve the ideas which he had so often expounded in his sermons. Nor was he bashful about peddling his book. He had written it to be read. The more or less forced success of this book induced him to write a second one, *An Ignatian Retreat for Priests*, which he published in 1939. He was willing to try anything to spread the Word of God.

During this period happenings of great import to the Jesuits of the far West were in the making. On Christmas, 1930, the letter which announced the temporary and trial division of the California Province was read at the Los Gatos novitiate. This division fixed the boundaries of the present California and Oregon Provinces, the latter of which was to be called, for the time at least, the Rocky Mountain Region (in memory of the Rocky Mountain Mission). Thirteen months later, on February 2, 1932, the division was made permanent. Father Walter Fitzgerald, who had been the vice-provincial of the Rocky Mountain Region, became the first provincial of the new Oregon Province. Of personal interest to Father O'Reilly was the transfer of Father Meagher from the novice master's office at Los Gatos to that at the new novitiate near Sheridan, Oregon, fifty miles southwest of Portland. As events show, this transfer proved fortunate for Sheridan, temporally as well as spiritually, for it fruitfully turned Father O'Reilly's beneficent interest to Sheridan.

New England

Meanwhile, the status of 1931 put Father O'Reilly on the New England Province Mission Band with Fathers John McGrory, John F. Duston, Daniel P. Mahoney, and Edward M. Sullivan. Again there were confessions, conversions, and a renewal of the vigorous practice of the Faith. From New England, Father O'Reilly went to Dublin to the Eucharistic Congress of 1932 and to visit Kilkee where he directed two

of his nieces into the Society of the Sacred Heart. These were but two of the many young men and women he directed into the religious life.

Before leaving the West Coast, however, he had conducted a layman's retreat near Seattle. A young man who made this retreat decided to become a Jesuit Brother. But before entering the novitiate, he entrusted his savings to Father O'Reilly who bought in Chicago an elegant tabernacle for the new Sheridan novitiate, so rich in its extremely humble environment in the temporary novitiate building, that it aroused some criticism among the utilitarian-minded. But Father O'Reilly to whom the Lord was not pioneering, replied to his critics, "Provide a house for the Lord and he will provide one for us." His prophetic words came true, ironically enough through his efforts and through the generosity of the D'Arcy family of Salem, Oregon. The D'Arcys—Judge Peter, John, and their sister, Teresa—wished to have a chapel erected in honor of their beloved mother, Barbara, who had recently died. They wished this chapel dedicated to St. Barbara, their mother's patron saint. Father O'Reilly heard of this, and though other interested parties could not comply with the D'Arcy wish, he could. Thus, when the permanent novitiate structure was finished, it had a beautiful chapel and the tabernacle its proper setting.

Some furnishings, however, were still lacking in the chapel. To right this, Father bought a stately set of six candlesticks for the altar of St. Barbara while he was attending the Eucharistic Congress of 1932. From his Alaskan friends, he later begged gold, walrus ivory, and precious jewels with which he had made a beautiful monstrance. Also, before he had finished, he had secured a set of Carrara marble stations of the Cross and other furnishings.

In 1935, Father O'Reilly became assistant pastor of St. Francis Xavier Church, Missoula, Montana, where he visited the county jail weekly. Then came a year at St. Leo's parish, Tacoma, Washington and at the Tertianship, Port Townsend. A year later, he was the pastor of St. Patrick's Church, Spokane, Washington. In two years he rid the parish of most of its debt and established a sound financial program. His parishioners, soon recognizing that their pastor was no imprac-

tical and unprofitable dreamer, appreciated thoroughly the new life in their parochial bloodstream. Consequently, when in 1939 they heard of his coming departure, they petitioned the Provincial to leave him at St. Patrick's. But because Father Provincial saw the needs of the whole Province, Father O'Reilly spent the next scholastic year at Seattle Preparatory School as the community's spiritual father.

In 1940, Father became the pastor of Sts. Rose and John Church, Wrangel, Alaska. He still found time, however, to give missions and retreats in the Puget Sound area. By another change in status, he became in 1942 the pastor of St. Gregory's Church, Sitka, Alaska, a place he dearly loved for its natural beauty and generous hearted people. War, of course, was raging then. And though he would celebrate fifty golden years in the Society in 1943, Father O'Reilly also had his victory garden of potatoes, raspberries, and peas—his bit toward winning the war.

One day, Sitka gained a Seabee base and Father O'Reilly of his own accord undertook its chaplaincy. Later the war department officially appointed him to that office, and after the war conferred on him two special citations for his outstanding service. He loved his boys and they loved him. When they discovered his lack of a decent residence, they used their Seabee ability of "can do, can get:" soon there was a cozy little residence for the Padre. Puzzled by their generosity, but nonetheless pleased, he accepted their gift in his gracious, Irish way. When the Seabees finally departed, one of them later wrote, "There was a tear in his eye, and many tears in ours, as we waved good-by to a very dear and truly remarkable man, *the most unforgettable character I have ever met.*"

England

In 1947, Father O'Reilly went to Mount St. Mary's Provincial House, Bellingham, Washington, as chaplain and teacher of church history. Three years later he was again abroad, this time in England giving missions and retreats. It was probably during this year abroad that he visited the cathedral of Durham in which, one legend affirms, lie the bones of St. Cuthbert which, a second adds, were replaced secretly with another's bones by three daring Benedictines. These three monks have

supposedly kept the secret alive by confiding it to a new and trusted young Benedictine before each one's death. Now, this Cathedral, one of the many pre-Reformation ecclesiastical buildings assumed by the Protestants, boasts a handsome pulpit, much too strong a temptation for a man as addicted to practice as was Father O'Reilly. Consequently, while his companions viewed the Durham sights from the steeple, Father O'Reilly was eloquently denouncing everything Protestant from the elegant, Protestant pulpit. Then in walked the verger.

"What are you doing?" he demanded.

"I'm looking for the bones of St. Cuthbert."

"Come down. Don't you know they're in the tomb over there?"

"Those are not the bones of St. Cuthbert at all!"

"Well, whose are they then?"

"They're the bones of some old corpse that they dug out of the graveyard." Father O'Reilly triumphantly rejoined.

"Where are the bones of St. Cuthbert?"

"Nobody knows except three Benedictines, and the secret will not be revealed until England becomes Catholic again," replied the preacher, his voice characteristically growing shriller as his excitement grew. This reply, however, was too much for the verger.

"Well, come down anyway," he commanded, and down came Father O'Reilly.

After fourteen months in England, Father returned to the Oregon Province where he gave many closed retreats to different religious communities. In 1953 he was appointed chaplain at St. Helen's Hospital, Chehalis, Washington where the nuns nicknamed him "Pater noster, qui est in Chehalis." In the Spring of 1956 he nearly died, but with his usual tenacity recovered. It was time for him to retire, however, and Sheridan fittingly became his last home on earth.

Jubilee of Ordination

He started his retirement at Sheridan by celebrating his golden sacerdotal jubilee on May 31, 1956. He had already celebrated his share of jubilees. There were his two silver

jubilees, as a Jesuit in 1918 and as a priest in 1931; and his golden and diamond jubilees as a Jesuit in 1943 and in 1953. On his diamond jubilee as a Jesuit, his biggest thrill had been—in addition to being able to celebrate Mass—the congratulatory letter with its spiritual bouquet of sixty Masses from Father General. Now he celebrated fifty golden priestly years. Finishing his annual retreat on the morning of May 31, he celebrated in succession and with all the solemnity he could muster Solemn High Mass and Solemn Benediction. Father Harold O. Small, S.J., eloquently eulogized the jubilarian, likening him to the sun setting after a glorious and fruitful day. The gala celebration, ending with an evening banquet, and graced by the presence of many distinguished guests, seemed to tire everyone but the eighty-four-year-old Jubilarian. His stamina was amazing.

Father O'Reilly was now officially retired to Sheridan. But like all truly active men, he was unable to cease activity as long as he retained his physical and mental capacities. So, to remain fruitfully active, he busied himself writing his memoirs, a source of much valuable information about the early days of the Oregon Province, Father Thomas Meagher, and himself.

During his stay at Sheridan, a year and a half, Father O'Reilly was its patriarch. White-haired and not quite bald, substantial in stature and not at all feeble, his one ailment was diabetes. Stairs provided some trouble for him but the elevator solved that problem. Given to reading, he asked to read each new book the House acquired. Canon Sheehan, however, was the only novelist he ever read. Fortunately for his love of reading, he still had good eyesight. In the Fathers' recreation room, which was never dull when he was around, he gave and took many a joke. Nor did his many years away from the cloister lessen his love for it. He was quite content at Sheridan, even though the perpetual waiting for community exercises is often trying for a man who is used to starting things when he is ready for them.

Father O'Reilly, now venerable with age, was occasionally granted an opportunity to show off his oratorical abilities. One such opportunity came on the occasion of Father Francis Menager's golden jubilee as a Jesuit, July 2, 1957. Father

O'Reilly spoke at the Solemn High Mass of thanksgiving. His panegyric was memorable for two reasons. The first was his likening of the vows of religion to three locks and their perpetual nature to the throwing away of the key, all of which applied to Father Menager. The second reason stemmed from Father Rector's playfully limiting him to fifteen minutes for practical reasons. After expounding on the vows of religion for some time, Father O'Reilly laboriously checked his pocket watch, then spontaneously exclaimed, "Eleven down and four to go!"

With the Novices

Occasionally he gave a talk to the novices. Molokai was usually the subject. But somehow he generally strayed from it, telling the novices what a wonderful man their master of novices was, how novitiate life was less demanding, how he had met St. Frances Xavier Cabrini in Spokane when she was there, and how as Jesuits they must become perfect speakers. At length the beadle had to call time, and Father would apologize, promising to finish the story later.

A true Irishman, Father O'Reilly loved St. Patrick's days. At Sheridan, it always fell to him to add an Irish flavor to the celebrations. On his last St. Patrick's day on earth, March 17, 1958, the Juniors presented a skit which depicted Father O'Reilly and Father Meagher "drumming up business" for their mission. He watched this in his searching, puzzled way, and though the skit had a teasing element about it, he nevertheless enjoyed it, and was even ready to speak when Father Rector unexpectedly invited him to do so. He then proceeded to amaze everyone by delivering a vigorous and powerful talk. In five minutes he twice advantageously changed the subject, then dramatically ended his dynamic presentation, predicting with a final, flourishing ictus that "Some present in this room will actually suffer martyrdom!"

Father O'Reilly's eighty-sixth year was complete as the Spring of 1958 turned green the pastures and wheat fields around Sheridan. On April 17 he was taken to the hospital in Portland after he had suffered a heart attack. But in three weeks or so, he was back at Sheridan as well as ever. He told Father John Taylor, who drove him home on this, his last

return from the hospital, "It's good for a man to have a serious illness toward the end to have a chance to prepare to die. You know, this heart disease has made me more prepared to die."

The end came on May 26, Pentecost Monday. The day before, he had attended at Sheridan the reception in honor of the recently ordained Rev. Richard Papen, C.S.C. That night he was tired, but enjoyed recreation and expressed his concern over the health of Cardinal Stritch. About 5:20 the morning of the twenty-sixth, clad in his cassock, Father O'Reilly opened his door for the Brother Infirmarian who had come on his usual official visit. Father complained of a severe pain in his chest. Was this to be the end? Brother did not think so, but called Father Rector who thought it best to phone the doctor and to administer Extreme Unction. Father O'Reilly, in bed and still in his cassock, answered the versicles. Fr. Rector then began leading in the prayers for the dying the priests and scholastics who had been summoned. As the prayers progressed, Father O'Reilly, who had remained very calm and peaceful, grew extremely quiet, then gasped, so slightly that Father Rector did not hear him. Two or three minutes later the doctor arrived and pronounced him dead. It was about six o'clock in the morning.

Eloquent praise has often been given to Father O'Reilly by his innumerable friends. He was a very simple, unreservedly devoted, sincerely zealous man, uncompromisingly thirsty for perfection, but at times the victim of the excess of these virtues. One bit of praise came his way from Archbishop Michael J. Curley of Baltimore. Father O'Reilly had given a retreat to the priests of the Baltimore Archdiocese and the Archbishop noticed unusually good results in his priests, for he said, "We send men West to preach. Have we anyone in the East better than Father O'Reilly from the West?"

Letters from the Caroline Islands

The Mission of the Caroline-Marshall Islands stretches 3,000 miles across the Pacific and all who dwell in these islands have one constant companion, the sea. Usually a kind benefactor offering the islanders food, an easy means of travel and scenes of breath-taking beauty, the sea always remains a capricious friend that can transform itself with startling swiftness into a dreaded enemy. In the letters below we have the accounts of two disasters wrought by the sea within a few days, the drowning of Father Quirino Fernandez off Ponape on November 28 and the devastation of Ulithi by a typhoon two days later. There has been no word from the mission that there was any connection between these events, but it is possible that the rough sea which caused Father Fernandez' death was the beginning of the typhoon which later struck Ulithi.

The Island of Ponape in the Eastern Carolines is a large mountainous island about thirty miles in diameter where rich soil and abundant rain have combined to produce a lush garden spot. Father Fernandez, assigned to the southwest section of Ponape, had his main parish in the village of Kitii. Senwar, the other village mentioned in Father McGowan's letter, was a mission station of Father Fernandez, a few miles from Kitii. Because of the dense growth and the scarcity of roads in the interior of the island, the trip from Kitii to Senwar is usually made around the island by boat, and it was on a routine trip between these two villages that Father Fernandez met his death. The following letter from Father George McGowan, superior of the Ponape district, gives the details of the drowning and also some indication of the blessings which God is already showering on the Church in Ponape as a reward for the life and death of this fine missionary.

About 1150 miles west of Ponape lies Ulithi Atoll. An atoll is a coral reef surrounding a lagoon with one or more low, sandy islets resting on the reef. Ulithi, one of the largest atolls in the Pacific, has a number of islets ringing its lagoon. Because these atoll islands are so low and flat, they are particularly vulnerable to typhoons. The following letter of Father William Walter gives a vivid portrayal of the havoc caused by such a storm. Mogmog, where Father Walter weathered the storm, is the northernmost island of the Ulithi Atoll, and Fassarai, the other island mentioned, is south of Mogmog on the eastern side of the same atoll.

DANIEL T. HUGHES, S.J.

Letter of Father George McGowan from Ponape

We are quite certain now that Father Quirino Fernandez left Senwar shortly before noon on November 28, 1960. His helper, Julius, had gone with him from Kitii to Senwar on Sunday, November 27. Father's great heart was in the

building of the Senwar Church and all the foundation lumber had been milled and brought in. Julius is a fair carpenter and Father wanted him to remain at Senwar to begin planing the wood. He felt he could make the usual fifty minute run from Senwar to Kitii by himself. He had a high tide to go over the reef and be fairly close to the mangroves but tide means little when the waves are high and violent. He was cutting across a stretch between the island of Ros and the mangroves. It is one of the worst places in Ponape, when the wind is south to southwest.

We believe he was riding the waves at full speed in a practically new boat (thirteen footer) with a fairly new, eighteen h.p. motor. We believe a big trough opened up in back of him and the boat smashed down on a coral head, cracked open the rear bottom of the boat under where he was sitting and threw him into the sea. We recovered the boat—the part spoken of is the only place damaged—but it was broken like a matchstick. The shock of the crack must have unnerved him and he plunged into the water, which is very deep. The boat went on the reef and filled with water.

The boat was found by two natives who had hailed Father on his way to Kitii and returned from fishing several hours later to find the submerged boat. Searching parties started going out at dusk. For two nights and two days over 500 people took part in the search. Some of the men dove for hours, until they were bleeding in their ears.

Word of the accident came here in Kolonia at 10:30 P.M., November 28, and Father Costigan went out with two boats from the Trust Territory.

On November 30, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, Father Costigan held funeral services at sea and all began to go back to their homes. Callio, the Nanmarki (little king) of the district of Sokaes, who was in a small boat with Father Costigan, asked him to make one more run through the pass. As they came back slowly, Callio spotted the body floating in deep water not far from the mangroves and close to where the boat was found. His men dove under the body, wrapped the head in cloth and the body in sheets. Our larger boat was nearby and it came alongside and the men lifted the body,

head downward, into the boat. Many of the Protestants as well as the Catholics considered this finding of the body, after Father conducted the service, rather miraculous.

The people had, under Father Costigan's direction, built a coffin and it was being lined by the good Sisters when the body was brought in. The people begged that the burial be at Kitii, and Father Costigan acceded to their request. The burial was held about 10:30 P.M.

The people worked night and day to build a suitable tumulus of stones, to enclose the resting place and make a beautiful coral path leading into it. We feel Father's interment in Kitii will be a constant sermon and inspiration to all the parishioners.

We feel intensely the loss of Father Quirino. He was a man who spent himself. He feared the sea, but never hesitated to travel back and forth between his two stations and on sick calls. Perhaps no one was his equal in the Ponapean language, his knowledge of the customs of the people, and his deep understanding of their mentality. For twenty-six years he gave himself unsparingly to the Apostolate. We are really numbed by his loss. Throngs turned out for the island farewell celebrations held in three different places in his honor.

But we've also learned what tremendous devotion these good people are capable of. It is simply amazing.

Letter of Father William Walter from Ulithi

I came here to Ulithi, November 28, 1960, and by 9:00 A.M. on November 30 we were hit by the worst typhoon of my experience. The old men say there's been nothing like it since the typhoon of 1907. The whole village on Mogmog Island is destroyed. As the houses began going, the people crowded into the Church until the whole population was assembled. Every hour on the hour we prayed the Rosary, but there was someone praying aloud all the time.

The waves came to the very door of the Church and the water was ankle-deep inside. Two heavy canoes were picked up by the terrific winds and crashed down on the roofs of houses. Flying timbers and tree trunks smacked through the

roof of the Church in three places. Thank God we built in concrete. The people say many lives were saved because of the church. There was no panic, not even among the women and children. No one was killed but there were minor injuries. My storage building was completely destroyed and because of the continuing strong winds and heavy rains little will be salvaged. But we escaped with our lives and are very thankful.

The seas are too rough for a visit to Fassarai and the other islands so I can only hope they were as lucky as Mogmog. The trading ship may have run into trouble. Its radio was not working and it didn't have much time to get away. Will write more about this later.

The people will be on short rations for many months. Their usual diet of coconuts, taro, bread fruit and fish is now reduced to nothing but fish. Typhoon relief is certainly in order.

Pray for us!

Books of Interest to Ours

THEOLOGICAL MARIOLOGY

Mother of the Redeemer. Edited by Kevin McNamara. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1960. Pp. xiii-258. \$4.00.

A summer school in Mariology was held at St. Patrick's College, Maynooth in the summer of 1958 in honor of the centenary of the Lourdes apparitions. Twelve of the lectures given on that occasion are reprinted here with the addition of the necessary scholarly apparatus. The result is a survey by competent scholars from many countries of the more important trends in the modern development of the theology concerning our Lady. "The emphasis throughout," as the editor notes, "was on presenting a solid theological basis for the unique role accorded to our blessed Lady in Catholic belief," though the lecturers also took account of the pastoral preoccupations of many of their audience. The first four papers discuss some aspects of the biblical and patristic sources which lie in the background of all Mariology; the remaining eight essays are devoted to the present state of our theology in reference to the various special privileges granted to Mary.

The place of Mary in the Old Testament is the subject of the first two

papers, both by P. G. Duncker, O.P., of the Angelicum in Rome. The author accepts the three "classical" Old Testament texts as both messianic and mariological; his interpretation being guided by the principle that the "Catholic exegete must surely be guided by the other source of divine Revelation, viz. sacred Tradition, and by the authentic declarations of the *Magisterium Ecclesiae*; consequently the common teaching of the Church on Gen iii:15 obliges him to take account of its messianic and mariological sense." Following the lead given by Coppens and Rigaux, Father Duncker maintains that it is the merit of this interpretation "to have endeavored to show that a strictly scientific, viz. philological and literary-critical study of the text and its context will lead to a messianic and mariological interpretation of Gen. iii:15, inasmuch as the sacred author himself intended both the Messiah and his Mother, though as yet in a vague way, surely not realizing that he was pointing to our Lord and our Lady, a fact which only later revelation made known." The other texts examined are Isaias vii:14 and Micheas v: 1-3, each of which is shown to be susceptible of both a messianic and mariological sense. The approach in each instance is valid to the extent that one can accept the validity of the *sensus plenior* as a true biblical sense. This of course is Father Duncker's own conviction.

Conleath Kearns, O.P., discusses our Lady in the New Testament, prefacing his study by helpful review of the purpose, methods and general results of recent Catholic New Testament exegesis; these methods are then applied to the Annunciation narrative in St. Luke's Gospel. An all too brief summary of the patristic evidence concerning Mary, also by Father Duncker, concludes these introductory studies of basic sources.

Succeeding papers on Mary's special prerogatives include a study of the Divine Maternity, by Dr. John J. McGreevy, one by Msgr. H. F. Davis on the Immaculate Conception, while Dermot Ryan, under the heading Perpetual Virginity concentrates on the nature of "virginitas in partu," pleading for a more generous consideration of the interpretation suggested by the writings of Mitterer. The role of our Lady in the Redemption and in the distribution of the graces which are its fruit is discussed in two excellent studies by Father Michael O'Grady, S.J. Msgr. Davis is the author of another article, this one on the Assumption, while the editor contributes a synthesis of papal teaching on Mary as Queen of the Universe. The final contribution by Noel O'Donoghue surveys the recent discussions of our Lady and the Church.

This is a valuable collection offering in very readable form sound guidance on the many questions in Mariology which are the current concern of Catholic theologians.

JOHN F. SWEENEY, S.J.

THEOLOGY AND LITERATURE

Christ and Apollo: The Dimensions of the Literary Imagination. By William F. Lynch, S.J. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1960. Pp. xxvii-267. \$5.00.

Since literary criticism cannot be self-sufficient, all critics must rely to some extent on non-literary premises; sooner or later, each must show

his hand. Father Lynch shows his early; it is a strong one with many a theological ace. Several of the essays in this book, on tragedy, comedy, the theological imagination, have already appeared in *Thought* in a somewhat different form. Many new ones are added, on time, the univocal and equivocal, the analogical, the Christian imagination. Together they add up to a theory of literature, theological on the whole in its emphases and insights. Theologians, presumably, will find this theory provocative and rewarding; they should be helped by its many practical examples of applied criticism to sense the enormous impact of hard-to-detect theological forces operating on the imaginative writers of our times. Literary critics with theological equipment at least rudimentary, sufficient to follow Father Lynch's complex ideas, should find this an illuminating book. The main drive of its argument is stated in the Introduction, "Because I think that in our time we need a new movement toward the definite and away from the dream, I take even the symbol of Apollo as a kind of infinite dream over against Christ who was full of definiteness and actuality" (xiv). The general reader may be confused at times by theological distinctions in the argument, complexities in the new critical terminologies, interpretations of texts of the widest range possible which are for the most part only briefly situated and examined. Some may find the style now overly dense, now overly diagrammatic and abstract. It is not a metaphorical style. The book on its own ground is a richly humanistic, pioneering contribution toward a deeper appreciation of the artistic resources of "the Christic imagination." Artists should be reassured by the capable understanding here shown of their works.

The tone throughout is irenic. Without wishing that it had been aggressive or polemical, this reviewer must confess that the many notes of deference to others tend to make him uncomfortable; the author's own points tend to blur. All literary discourse is provisional, so much give and take. But sometimes one must go out on one's own limb courageously, or cut boldly down the limb on which someone else has been wrongfully perching. As a priest-critic engaged in the "dialogue," the author has undoubtedly chosen a wiser course. He is at his best when he is identifying and criticizing the theological presuppositions which modern aestheticians are forever smuggling more or less dogmatically into their criticism of art; for example, the posture of Promethean defiance which is seen as the central clue to our understanding of tragedy, or the strange new metaphysics of time which undertakes to cancel out the bleak temporal order for the sake of a radiant secularized eternity seen as possible without either the survival of God or the immortality out of time of any human soul. He is less successful, perhaps, in the use he makes of the artists' works. In spite of an early disclaimer, he seems mainly interested, in practice, in the uses to which he can put poetry in order to illustrate his theological theses. Only its ideas seem much to matter. Almost nothing is said about the poet's efforts to renew the word, by metaphor, for example, or by some new subtle rhythm, or by a dramatic maneuver of syntax so as to reenact

a new insight of the mind. Illustrations out of plays, novels, and disparate poetic traditions and languages tend to crowd one another into the argument. In spite of, or, rather, because of this embarrassment of riches, one suspects as one reads, or reflects afterwards, that there are important poets, like Blake and Keats, Whitman and Yeats, whom Father Lynch cannot make much sense of, and whom he would seem committed to dislike. But have we not gone awry somewhere in the application of our "Christic imagination" if we feel obliged to exclude such poets from our canon? Why, indeed, must we not smile at Puck in our enjoyment of comedy? Must we renounce absolutely our happiness in the "infinite dream?" Is not man in his "definiteness and actuality" a creature of dreams? Have not most notable Catholic maneuvers in theology, those even of the frosty Saint Jerome, tried to hold on to secular literature along with Christian faith, to keep together Apollo and Christ? T. S. Eliot's poetry, at least as I read it, has not the Manichean gnosticism which Father Lynch seems to find.

Cardinal Newman long ago observed that in literary studies "it is a contradiction in terms" to leave the study of man as he is to study him as he "might be, under certain special advantages." I am not sure that Father Lynch has everywhere avoided this contradiction. No matter! He has written a valuable book, one which is generously illuminating of many dark places in the groves of Academe. The book has no index. This is a somewhat surprising and inconvenient omission in the case of a work otherwise so impressively erudite.

WILLIAM T. NOON, S.J.

A REMARKABLE JESUIT

Pierre Teilhard de Chardin: *His Life and Spirit.* By *Nicolas Corte.*

Translated by Martin Jarrett-Kerr, C.R. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960. Pp. xx-120. \$3.25.

In slightly more than a hundred pages Nicolas Corte attempts to trace the development of the thought of Teilhard de Chardin, analyze the content of his major work, and offer a sampling of the criticism this work has evoked. Brevity alone indicates that what is intended here is neither a comprehensive critique nor a definitive biography. Instead the result is a "glimpse, a swift and summary account" of Teilhard's unique synthesis, highly readable, often inspired. Corte's great asset as a biographer is his heavy reliance on the very words of his subject. Frequent and lengthy citations from letters and essays, as well as more substantial works, succeed in giving the book something of Teilhard's own spirit. A fascinating picture of this remarkable priest emerges, at once scientist, poet, and mystic.

A brief chronological outline highlights those events that had some impact on Teilhard's thought. As a small boy he was fascinated by things, collected odd stones and bits of iron. Later as a Jesuit Junior this passion for the cosmos, as he described it, seemed to conflict sharply with his passion for Christ. With the help of a sympathetic spiritual director Teilhard resolved this conflict and began his life's work of

reconciling, even to the point of identifying, his two passions. As his thought matured and developed in more philosophical terms, he was influenced to some degree at least by contact with Henri Bergson and Edouard Le Roy. His earlier scientific achievements were followed by a series of expeditions to China which eventually culminated in the discovery of *homo Sinanthropus* in 1929. Enjoying international renown as a scholar, he never ceased his attempts to evolve his own synthesis of faith and science. Most representative of this synthesis is his major work, *The Phenomenon of Man*. Corte attempts an analytic outline of the book, cites the reactions of both favorable and unfavorable critics, and indicates his own reservations.

While all the critics cited, along with Corte, pay tribute to the deep integrity of Teilhard's personal life, all also question, with varying emphasis, the validity of his theoretical synthesis. Roger Tresmontant, one of the most sympathetic, points to an earlier theological formation that was not sufficiently rooted in biblical and patristic thought and against which Teilhard reacted. Others regret the ambiguity of his peculiar terminology which suggests a panpsychic view of the universe. The unfolding of history is explained apparently by the inner laws of cosmic evolution which cannot account satisfactorily for the fact of evil in the world and seem to leave little room for the contingency of sin and the gratuity of God's redemptive love.

Helpful as an introduction to Teilhard's thought, this brief study leaves the reader with a far more vivid impression of its subject's unique spirituality. It is a constantly apostolic spirit, aware of the wide range of diversity in mankind and the all but insuperable barriers to communication. Mingling with other scientists, traveling to distant corners of the world, seems to have sharpened Teilhard's sense of mission. It is a spirituality that is also predominantly Christocentric. His attempts to give the Mass a cosmic function and planetary dimension are described in *La Messe sur le monde*, while *Le milieu divin* explains the supreme and active part played by Christ in the evolution of the cosmos in terms that Teilhard hoped would be acceptable and helpful for popular devotion. A translation of the latter has recently appeared in English.

JOSEPH A. O'HARE, S.J.

A FIRST WORK OF GREAT PROMISE

The Analogy of Learning: An Essay toward a Thomistic Psychology of Learning. By Tad Guzie, S.J. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1960. \$5.00.

With good reason, we can applaud and recommend this first work from the pen of a promising student of St. Thomas and a Jesuit scholastic. With rare discrimination and considerable penetration Mr. Guzie has drawn on the best of recent Thomistic scholarship and on the significant contributions of modern psychological research to produce a work which will prove to be of great value to Catholic educators and philosophers.

The main contribution of this book is synthesis—in several respects.

The first chapter provides a clear presentation of the relations between science and philosophy. The position taken in this presentation takes its point of departure from the work of Maritain in *Degrees of Knowledge*. The doctrine has been developed by Father Klubertanz and Father Henle over the last several years. Mr. Guzie's chapter brings together many of the strands in this development and brings them to bear on the relations between philosophical psychology and scientific psychology. Many of the real difficulties in this question are left untouched, but the discussion is a clear presentation of the Thomistic position.

By far the greatest part of the book is given over to a well organized synthesis of Thomistic epistemology, particularly in regard to the learning process. Not only are very recent scholarly contributions used intelligently to refurbish the picture of St. Thomas's epistemological teaching, but a concerted effort is made to integrate on the level of evidence some of the more significant findings of experimental psychology in regard to the learning process in man. This is admittedly a tenuous and complicated affair, but it is well done. Experimental elements are introduced into the organic framework provided by the Thomistic synthesis. The result is a suggestive sketch of the possibilities of interaction between these areas.

The various aspects of learning which have been discussed are integrated into a general definition of learning as "the acquisition and organization of images." The specifically human mode of learning, which is intellectual, is further defined as "a judgmental-conceptual process of learning which ideally finds both its principle and its term in judgments of real assent." In the interaction of imaginative function and intellective function, the learning process comprises a continuum of analogous operations, which find a common element in the image and a differentiating element in the quality and degree of intellective penetration.

Despite the practical conclusions drawn at the conclusion of this study, it is hardly a practical manual of teaching. Rather it is a sophisticated philosophical study of human learning. Consequently, the teacher may not find many suggestions as to how to teach his particular subject. But he will find a framework within which he can understand what he is really doing when he is really teaching and his students are really learning.

W. W. MEISSNER, S.J.

PHILOSOPHERS AND PHILOSOPHY

The Mirror of Philosophers. By Martin Versfeld. London and New York: Sheed and Ward, 1960. Pp. 301. \$5.75.

Professor Versfeld sets about his work with an aim that especially for a philosopher is unusual, estimable, and difficult: to produce a book, as he puts it, "in which what he says squares with how he says it and the fact that he is saying it." He presents himself in reaction against the circumstance that heterogeneous theories are commonly proposed in homogeneous language: that realist and idealist, rationalist and sensationalist all set out their distinctive doctrines in an undistinctive

idiom. So, whereas in reviewing writings of philosophers generally the question of literary style is an uninviting and minor one, in the case of Professor Versfeld it becomes insistent and major.

The Mirror is a collection of twenty-two essays about philosophy or philosophers, composed for a variety of occasions and audiences, and here edited into a tenuous unity. Their subject matter ranges widely, and selective reading is impeded by the fact that most of the titles in the table of contents are indecipherable before one has read the book and partially so even after. The essays discuss such matters as rationalism, atheism, first-principles, analogy, evolution, human progress, and modern attire; and such people as St. Francis, St. Thomas, Marlowe, Hobbes, Kierkegaard, Comte, Chestov, and a certain Mgr. Kolbe. Although the character of the book postulates the futility of an attempt to summarize its ideas, something of their tone can be gathered from the observation that Professor Versfeld is British-educated, South African, Roman Catholic, and transparently imitative of G. K. Chesterton. He is a vigorous champion of theism, realism, reason, and hope against an assortment of agnostics, idealists, and existentialists. Also, he reflects the embattled minority position, as one genially standing his largely forsaken ground. While to the English or American Catholic reader this attitude may seem strangely anachronistic, it ought to be remembered in the book's favor that in South Africa the times have ripened rather differently.

The touchstone of what is worst no less than of what is best in Professor Versfeld's book lies in his protest that "I have too many interests to be a scholar, and I think that I have got some motley into my brain by reflecting the many-coloured variety of my world." The book reflects indeed a learning that is wide but not ordered, an intelligence that is strong but not assiduous, an imagination that is rich but not refined. The style avoids monotony, avoids jargon, avoids dullness, avoids density: it avoids all those common and expected sorts of badness, and yet for all that the style that emerges is not good, it is conspicuous, precious, and uneven. For the extensive and willing reader of philosophy the book is likely to afford interest at the cost of irritation. It abounds in surprises and among them might be included its price.

JAMES GAFFNEY, S.J.

NEW WAGE THEORY

The Frontier Wage. *By Bernard W. Dempsey, S.J.* Chicago: Loyola University Press, *Jesuit Studies*, 1960. Pp. 390. \$6.00.

Father Dempsey's book, published posthumously, is in two parts. The second is a translation of "The Isolated State", in which the German economist Johannes Heinrich von Thünen (1783-1850) expounds and mathematically derives his wages theory. The first is Father Dempsey's study and interpretation of the man and his theory.

The book begins with an expository survey of current wages theories (Marx, Smith-Ricardo) and an indictment of their shortcomings. It continues with a paraphrasing of von Thünen's theory, a history of its

critical reception (Marshall, Knies, Moore, Schumpeter), and an attempted rehabilitation. Father Dempsey concludes the first half of the book with two chapters suggesting avenues for exploration, development, and possible application of von Thünen's work.

"The Isolated State" is an economic model of a self-sufficient urban unit in an agrarian environment. Perhaps the key concept arrived at, from purely economic analysis, is a "natural wage" \sqrt{ap} where a is the annual maintenance cost of a worker's family and p the annual work product of the family: the wage is the geometric mean of the maintenance and replacement cost of the worker and his total output. For Father Dempsey, this is in parallel with three important moral aspects of wages emphasized by Pius XI in "Quadragesimo Anno": (1) the support of the worker and his family; (2) the protection of the employer's business; (3) the exigencies of the common good. In both he sees emphasis on the necessity of social organization; a is identical; p is an excellent index of the state of the enterprise; and the radical $\sqrt{\quad}$ expresses something common which in the aggregate would be a satisfactory summary of the economic common good.

Father Dempsey sees von Thünen as a way to present the operation of profit sharing to the academic world in an analytical formula acceptable to economic analysts. His work is also compatible with certain basic theorems in equilibrium developed by Josef Solterer at Georgetown in his heroic search for a model which will express mathematically the constellation of quantitative and qualitative variables present in a pluralistic economy and their resolution in terms of the common good.

The book is, by intention, a beginning, not an ending. More study has to be done on the validity of the assumptions of the theory, its logic, and its fields of valid application. Vast, difficult work, no doubt, but the kind of work that must be done if we are ever to be able to understand economic phenomena, much less evaluate them in terms of morality beyond the platitudinous. That work will be more difficult without Father Dempsey.

JON O'BRIEN, S.J.

PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE

Whitehead's Philosophy of Physics. *By Laurence Bright, O.P.* New York: Sheed and Ward, 1958. Pp. 79. \$.95.

William Herschel: Pioneer of Sidereal Astronomy. *By Michael Hoskin.* New York: Sheed and Ward, 1959. Pp. 79. \$.95.

Science and Metaphysics. *By John Russell, S.J.* New York: Sheed and Ward, 1958. Pp. 80. \$.95.

The Development of Physical Theory in the Middle Ages. *By James A. Weisheipl, O.P.* New York: Sheed and Ward, 1959. Pp. 92. \$.95.

The appearance of this small, but attractive and highly competent, series of paperbacks on the philosophy of science is most welcome. The philosophy of science is an area of modern thought which has assumed major proportions in the last few years. It has been unfortunate that Catholic thought, which in general has found new vigor and growth

in so many areas, has not been channeled to a greater extent toward the development of a realistic philosophy of science. The appearance of these essays is to be applauded not only as a substantial contribution, but as a harbinger of a richer yield to come.

These little books are very well put together. They are very readable and compact accounts of their respective topics. Bright's essay on Whitehead is by no means a definitive account, but it pulls together a coherent and relatively clear presentation of Whitehead's conception of the methodology of physics—as far as I know, not previously attempted. Hoskin's essay on Herschel is a delightful biographical account and a clear, simple presentation of the great eighteenth century astronomer's contributions. This makes Herschel a good deal more accessible to interested readers and even historians of science than he has been.

One might be misled by the title of Father Russell's essay. It should properly be subtitled "An Apology for Metaphysics." In one sense, this is a trifle disappointing, for, although the author makes the point very well that metaphysics and science are involved in quite distinct and independent endeavors, one is never quite sure what makes scientific knowledge radically different from metaphysical knowledge. Actually, this is precisely a most debatable and central issue for Catholic thinkers in this area, and it would have been nice to have Father Russell's opinion. The essay is rather good as a defense of metaphysics before the objections of the scientific mentality.

Perhaps the most ambitious and most valuable study is that presented by Father Weisheipl. The impression is not uncommon, even among historians of science, that modern science was born to the midwifery of Galileo. It seems more realistic to suspect a long development prior to the Galileo episode. Our knowledge on this point, however, has been and still is considerably hampered by the relative unavailability of editions of the works of scientific thinkers from the early middle ages. Father Weisheipl pulls together and organizes some of the relevant materials which indicate a developmental ferment in the medieval period. It is never quite clear, however, what "physical theory" is conceived to be. Much of the treatment is concerned with the evolution of Aristotelian physical theory. We are left to wonder whether the line between Aristotelianism and Galileonism is continuous or discontinuous. This ambiguity does not diminish the value of a fine historical survey.

A final word—we hope that Sheed and Ward will continue the fine work they have started with this series. Its quality and attractiveness could make its continuation most valuable.

W. W. MEISSNER, S.J.

SIGNIFICANT FAVRIANA

Bienheureux Pierre Favre: *Mémorial*. By Michel de Certeau, S.J.
Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer, 1960. Pp. 460. 190 FB.

Father de Certeau has put every Jesuit in his debt by this superlative volume, the fourth in "Collection Christus." Basing his work on what he has determined to be the authentic text after a careful study of sixteen early manuscripts, he has not only translated the original Span-

ish and Latin of Blessed Peter Favre's *Memorial* into smooth and lucid French but has also done a most laudable piece of editing. Peter wrote his spiritual journal in the very heat of his apostolic labors, and quite naturally he made many references to the people, places, and incidents of his own day which frequently need to be explained to the modern reader. At the bottom of each page Father de Certeau has placed his explanatory notes, which with remarkable completeness range over a wide variety of items such as the devotion in Cologne to the relics of the three Magi, the rich adornment of the chapel of the Cardinal of Mainz, the growing popularity in the sixteenth century of devotion to the instruments of Christ's passion, the precise meaning of Peter's theological vocabulary. For those periods of Favre's life during which he wrote his *Memorial* there could be no better way to follow his activities than to read Father de Certeau's translation with its informative commentary. In this way it is possible to arrive at a truer understanding of Peter's great success in his grasp of Saint Ignatius' teaching on the apostolic ideal of the union of prayer and work in the life of a Jesuit.

For almost a hundred pages before he presents the text of the *Memorial*, Father de Certeau unfolds a penetrating and reflective study of Peter's spirituality with its decidedly Ignatian mould and its sensitive response to the many cultural, social, and intellectual influences that entered Peter's life. No finer appreciation of Favre's interior life is in existence. There are in this volume three clear maps, an exhaustive bibliography, and two fine indices.

Attention, Scholastics of the mid-West and Ireland who are translating the *Memorial* into English! You cannot afford to miss this work.

WILLIAM V. BANGERT, S.J.

ARCHEOLOGY IN EARLY ITALY

The Mute Stones Speak. By Paul MacKendrick. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1960. Pp. xiii-369. \$7.50.

This book is a narrative history of early Italy. The source material is found in the ruins of Etruscan and Roman buildings. Following the chronological order of the age of the sites, the author deals with ruins as ancient as those of neolithic Puglia to those as "modern" as the grave of St. Peter.

The dust jacket compares the book to *Gods, Graves and Scholars*, though it is not quite in that category. It is a little more scholarly and a little less readable in many places than Ceram's book, but it does make digestible a host of facts about Italy and its prehistoric and early historic past that hitherto have been locked in the pages of archeological journals. Pompeii and Herculaneum are treated of necessity, for they form an integral part of the history of their times and are rich in relics. These pages present in entertaining manner facts generally known to the ordinary reader. In addition there are other less known monuments which have fascinating stories: the ships of Lake Nemi, floating pleasure palaces of Claudius's reign, that have been rescued from the lake's floor by archeologists; the underground "basilica"

of Porta Maggiore, a temple found as a result of a landslip lying forty-two feet below the Rome-Naples railroad line; the ruins of Ostia, once literally the "entrance" to Rome, onto whose wharves the commerce of the Empire was unloaded.

The book is well illustrated and in most instances this is an asset. But some pictures, ground plans especially, which are lifted bodily from other texts, are blurred, and their lettering, to which keys are not provided, is confusing rather than illuminating.

GERARD F. GIBLIN, S.J.

WRITERS' VIEWS ON WRITING

Writing in America. Edited by John Fischer and Robert B. Silvers.

New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1960. Pp. 178. \$3.95.

The reviewer of this book is likely to approach his task with either trepidation or a vindicated sense of mission. One of the articles in this collection, Elizabeth Hardwick's chiding essay on the parlous state of American reviewing will induce either attitude.

Most of the essays appeared in a special supplement to the October, 1959 issue of Harper's Magazine. Its value is not only in the valid criticism contained in a number of the essays, but in the very prominence of the symposium members. Its limitations are in its lack of a single theme, the journalistic brevity of the articles and the divergence in tone. In attempting to cover so many topics the whole becomes somewhat thin and casual.

In spite of the editorial looseness, a few themes do emerge. Thus in the articles by Vance Bourjaily, Budd Schulberg, and Robert Brustein, all, curiously, concerned with various phases of dramatic writing—television, cinema and stage respectively—similar judgments and complaints are evident. All decry commercialism as the arch-enemy to achievement in their fields. Schulberg sees hope and progress in the status of writing and writers for motion pictures, while Bourjaily sees the reverse in television. Brustein laments the isolation of modern dramatists from the rest of the literary world, an isolation caused by the dictatorship of producers and popular taste. A curious counterpoint to this hue and cry against commercialism are the remarks of the richly rewarded Frank Yerby on his own approach to the "costume novel" in which he raises the dollar to the flagstaff while he smugly cites his own unabashed debt to customer research and warns the writer to shun what *he* wants to write and bend all his attention to what will be bought.

Two others, Mason W. Gross and Alfred Kazin, also strike harmonious notes. The former complains of the lack of persuasive rhetoric in writing today and adduces as the reason for this dull, non-persuasive prose the substitution of clichés and commonplaces for ideas and convictions. Kazin arrives at a similar conclusion by a slightly different route. He weighs the post-war novel, a genre he loves and refuses to despair of, and finds it lacking in breadth, focussed on man's narrow loneliness (not solitude) because it has abandoned the social dimension and become sunk in compassion and understanding for the self-centered,

anti-social non-hero. He too locates the cause in Society's loss of beliefs and suggests the cure is not in their invention and rediscovery.

Two articles on publishing complement one another well, the one by John Fischer covering the human, cultural aspects with a sound admixture of the practical, and the other, under anonymous authorship, concerned with facts and statistics.

The rest of the articles would have to be filed under miscellany: MacLeish on creative writing courses; Stanley Kunitz's dialogue between the poet and the student which offers an embryonic *Who's Who* of modern poets and tempts one to seek a more mature acquaintance; C. P. Snow contrasting the opportunities for writers in Britain and America and deftly, if almost unconsciously, awarding the prize to his native Britain on almost every count; and Kingsley Amis' little pleasantries on the writer-lecturer, with a few barbs for the Kerouac beatnik.

The collection is worth reading if not as always deep, significant criticism, at least as interesting comment by those most deeply involved in writing.

T. PATRICK LYNCH, S.J.

A FIRST NOVEL

Monsignor Connolly of St. Gregory's Parish. *By Vincent P. McCorry, S.J.* New York: Dodd, Mead and Company 1960. Pp. 211. \$3.50.

Any reader familiar with Father McCorry's popular books of religious essays would expect to find in this, Father's first work of fiction, his typical freshness of style, cleverness of expression, and insight into and understanding of modern human problems. In this expectation the reader will not be disappointed.

This is a book about a parish and especially about its wise and holy pastor. It is not a novel with an organic unity, but a group of episodes, a collection of pictures the principal color—not the mood—of which is black. For the reader's most frequent contact is with the priests and nuns of St. Gregory's and the meetings are always pleasant ones. There are no priests who would fit in stories by J. F. Powers, but our knowledge that the picture here presented of clerical life is not the complete one does not make us conclude that this happy, zealous rectory is too good to be true.

One disappointment in this book is the apparent lack of careful proof-reading. There are some obvious typographical errors (p. 26, p. 40, p. 57) and there is the constant repetition of introduction and classification of characters. One should expect, for example, that the intelligent reader will remember after the first two or three meetings that Mr. Sam is the Monsignor's cat and that he is faithful, wise and quiet.

Perhaps the author wanted to make each little story complete in itself. In this way a reader who picked up this book just occasionally and for brief periods of time would never have to rely on his memory as a help to the enjoyment of these stories. And as good light reading this book is highly recommended.

LEON A. JASTER, S.J.

AID TO PREACHERS

The Pastoral Sermons of Ronald A. Knox. *Edited, with an Introduction, by Philip Caraman, S.J.* New York: Sheed & Ward 1960. Pp. 532. \$8.50.

It is seldom that the journeyman preacher finds material in the sermons of others that he can make his own. Oratorical effects show bland and weak in print, separated from the personality and emphasis of the spoken word, like the libretto of an opera without the score. Not so this volume. For anyone who has to preach often and finds ideas and illustrations hard to come by this is a whole shelf in itself. It contains 108 sermons; some for Sundays, some for Holy Hours (thirty-one on the Eucharist alone), some seasonal, all splendid. In each there is at least one fine idea begging to be borrowed.

All the many talents of the remarkable Monsignor converge here. Scripture scholar, essayist, raconteur, classicist, humorist and theologian are fully focused and integrated in the priest preaching. He was not an orator in the more popularly accepted sense of the word, but it may well be that he will be best remembered for his sermons.

The style is deceptively simple, clear, uncluttered and a joy to savor. The applications are practical, never pat nor predigested. As might be expected, every sermon leans heavily on Holy Scripture. But it is never just quoting Scripture; it is the Knoxian knack for making the timeless timely, for translating the truth into today's terms.

An important fringe benefit for any priest reading any or all of the sermons will be the implicit lesson of the need for careful sermon preparation. In many quarters lack of time and the undeniable press of other duties have led to the rationalization that a man preaches best spontaneously; that a prepared sermon must sound strained and trite; that our years of study qualify us to decide what to talk about while climbing the steps to the pulpit and then be brilliant extemporaneously. A man as gifted as Monsignor Knox might have been able to realize that ideal, but he didn't risk it. Fortunately for us; and thanks to the work of Father Philip Caraman, S.J., who gathered the manuscripts of these carefully written, revised, and rehearsed sermons, arranged them intelligently and directed the attractive printing in this handy volume.

For nuns, brothers, and the laity, this book can be highly recommended for spiritual reading and as a ready source of meditation material. Many of the sermons would lend themselves to table reading, especially in retreat houses.

CHARLES F. X. DOLAN, S.J.

CATECHETICS

An Introduction to a Catholic Catechism. *Edited by Hubert Fischer.* New York: Herder and Herder, 1960. Pp. 169.

The English version of the German catechism has attracted much attention in America. The interest should carry over into this brace of essays entitled "An Introduction to a Catholic Catechism."

In his preface, Father Josef A. Jungmann, S.J., notes that the new

catechism's "approach to the Faith is sufficiently novel to make an introduction necessary." His animadversion could serve as a calm statement of the basic American problem in evaluating the German effort. Though tardy in publication (the English edition of the catechism text reached us in 1957), this introduction will help American readers to avoid both misunderstanding and uncritical acceptance. May it also serve this double purpose: 1. to enlighten catechists on what is meant by the catechism's kerygmatic orientations; 2. to stimulate seminaries and diocesan centers to still further effort in this critically important pastoral apostolate.

Father Franz Schreibmayr's essay, "Main Theological Themes of the Catechism," goes a long way towards filling the first of these hoped for objectives. It is the backbone of the book. Father Schreibmayr proclaims in the proper setting the "Ways of God" to men, the "kerygma" of apostolic times. In the Christocentric economy of salvation God calls man to share His Trinitarian life in adoptive sonship. Man must respond by liturgical worship and the charity-commitment expressed in moral living.

In another essay of a more apologetical nature, "Introducing the Catechism to Catechists," Father Alois Heller gives strong justification for the new initiatives, and calls for clerical and lay support. He deplores clergy indifference, poorly trained catechists, and the *ex opere operato* mentality which expects the textbook to remove all deficiencies in catechetical work. He sees the new German catechism rejected by some not from laziness nor ill will, but out of fear "that they will not be able to cope with the new things they expect to find within its pages, whether in method or in-theological content." (p. 106) His affirmation of the critical need for research, course work, and periodic teacher-conferences certainly seems realistic. Perhaps it is the hope of hearing these words echoed authoritatively in America that makes this brief essay the most provocative of all.

Father Klemens Tilmann's essay on methodology and Father Hubert Fischer's on the lesson-format shed further light on the proper use of the German catechism, but differences in our respective national psychologies will limit their usefulness on the American scene. The theological analysis of Albert Burkart's richly symbolic drawings is impressive, but convinces one that they remain ill-suited to the current psychology of American children.

A final caveat: neither the German catechism nor its "Introduction" will fill American catechetical needs. However, an alert reading of both will bring us to share some precious universals of catechetical wisdom.

VINCENT M. NOVAK, S.J.

THE TIMELESS MESSAGE OF THE GOSPEL

The Christian Today. By Jean Daniélou, S.J. Translated by Kathryn Sullivan, R.C.J. New York: Desclee Company, 1960. Pp. 150. \$2.75.

The Christian's attitude towards the city of man is shaped by the central mystery of his faith. In the Incarnation the Word of God re-

deemed and sanctified all the levels of human existence and all the stages of human progress. Hence the Christian in every age must seek to confront the beliefs and institutions of that age with the timeless truth of the Gospel. In eight thoughtful essays Father Daniélou considers the contemporary Christian and the problems of his confrontation.

Characteristic of the contemporary Christian is a greater awareness of the social implications of his faith. Father Daniélou, while hailing this as a sign of a quickened Christian vitality, warns of the accompanying danger of diluting authentic Christian virtue with mere humanitarianism. The sharp paradoxes of the Gospel must not be blunted. In varying forms this warning runs through his observations on Christian holiness, love of God, obedience, liberty, certitude, faith, hope, and poverty.

True holiness must not be thought of as aloof other-worldliness. The pursuit of holiness is not what impedes temporal progress but rather the mediocrity of so many Christians. Father Daniélou finds an unfortunate tendency to place the essence of Christianity in man's relations with his fellow men. When this is accompanied by a growing pride in human self-sufficiency, we have a hollow substitute for Christian charity. To dim in any way the divine origin and goal of true charity reduces it to mere sentiment and robs it of a divine dimension.

The Christian paradox is found again in obedience. It is the obedient Christian who is the true revolutionary; his sensitivity to the will of God makes him unable to conform to what hinders God's plan for a better human order. Again, it is the Christian's constant struggle to adhere to God's will that makes him free. Man must achieve freedom, as the existentialists say, but the enemy to his freedom is not God but sin, as St. Augustine said long before the existentialists.

Faith and certitude are not highly respected by the modern mind. Faith is caricatured as the consolation of those afraid to face a precarious reality, certitude is made synonymous with intellectual complacency. Daniélou has little time for such caricatures. Faith is the acceptance of a God Who, once accepted, will never leave us quiet again; it is an acceptance of love and its immense disturbances. Similarly, the Christian intelligence can hardly be complacent in the presence of the awesome mysteries of faith.

Christian hope must not be confused with mere faith in temporal progress. Nor is the poverty of the Gospel to be identified with any particular form; certainly it is not the temporal irresponsibility of spiritual childishness.

Father Daniélou's brief essays are obviously meant to be suggestive rather than fully satisfying. In this they succeed. Perhaps at some future date he will explore at greater length and in more depth some of the tensions created particularly by the problems of freedom and obedience within the Church. Possibly, too, his fear of an over-emphasis on the social dimension of Christianity is more relevant for European Catholics than for their American brethren, whose sense of corporate Christianity is only just awakening.

JOSEPH A. O'HARE, S.J.

HUMILITY AND GOD'S WORK

Apostle and Apostolate. By *Lucien Cerfaux*. Translated by Donald Duggan. New York: Desclee Co., 1960. Pp. v-184. \$2.75.

Here Monsignor Lucien Cerfaux offers us some solid, scripturally-founded thoughts on an area of deep interest to the modern Catholic. Using texts from the ninth and tenth chapters of Saint Matthew's Gospel, he fashions a kind of meditative setting for an apostle's life. He concretizes his points through the features of three great saints: the Curé d'Ars, Saint Francis of Assisi, and Saint Benedict Joseph Labre. Showing plainly through his staccato-like thrusts of thought is the underlying message of the book: the apostolate demands humility; after all the techniques have been worked out and successes experienced, the apostle must all the more recognize in himself God's instrument.

Should one be looking here for advances in the theology of the apostolate or discussion of new techniques or an outline of the ever broadening horizon of the modern apostolate, he will not find them in this book for this is not within the scope and purpose at hand. In this respect the English translation of the French title, *Discours de Mission*, may well be misleading. For all those engaged in or thinking about the apostolate, however, the basic theme of the book has great moment. There is much rich material here for prayerful thought on and application to the role of the Christian apostle in today's world.

CHARLES P. COSTELLO, S.J.

A TOP-RATE WORK IN ITS CLASS

Introducing The Old Testament. By *Frederick L. Moriarty, S.J.* Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1960. Pp. x-253. \$4.25.

The Bruce Publishers are inaugurating their new series—the Impact Books—with this volume. Well they may, for this work of Father Moriarty contains within its modest number of pages a store of modern scholarship's biblical information interestingly condensed and harmonized, ingeniously and clearly presented, designed to stimulate a new interest in further study of the Old Testament.

The chapters into which this body of scholarship is condensed are fifteen names of Old Testament characters: Abraham, Moses, Joshua, Saul, David, Elijah, Amos, Isaiah of Jerusalem, Jeremiah, Ezechiel, Second Isaiah, Nehemiah, Job, Qoheleth and Daniel; the information, however, contained in the chapters covers, besides the years of their lives, the intervening periods of time. The characters are, as it were, friends with whom the readers stop to discuss the milieu of the times as they walk down the unbroken avenue of Old Testament history. Not only do they learn of the human events which occurred at the various stages, but chiefly of Jahweh's role in effecting this progression of events toward the ultimate goal He has destined for His Chosen People. The Hebrews are rebellious or stubborn, and He threatens or punishes; they are repentant and obey, and He blesses and rewards; they are loyal and at peace with Him, and He promises an ever increasing manifestation of His love for them until it will culminate in universal peace.

Within and because of this clever arrangement the author manages to discuss some points of interest in the chapters of Genesis which precede Abraham's story, as well as incidents which follow the age in which Daniel lived. Under the chapter headed "Abraham" he expounds the Jahwistic, Elohist, Sacerdotal and Deuteronomic traditions, explains the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch and the redacting process which finally combined the four traditions sometime in the sixth century B.C. He does not distract the reader from the main providential theme by pausing to enter into detailed and controverted theories of the specialists, but sweeps onward to discharge the task he has undertaken of introducing the reader to the Old Testament by selecting the most likely answers to the more general questions that arise in those who seek to get the feel of the biblical narratives. Thus while he gives the known topography of Lake Menzaleh where the Israelite crossing of the "Red Sea" took place, he does not discuss how far or why the crossing was miraculous; though he definitely expounds the predicament of Ahaz and the Isaian advice and solution, he discreetly eschews the "virgin shall conceive" text and the dispute and confusion which it occasions.

The book breathes the very spirit of each age of which he is writing. One enters into a kind of empathy with the Hebrews as they rise from their nomadic stage through their tribal conquests to the high glory of a flourishing kingdom, and then their continued decline after Solomon down to the tragic captivity of the Kingdom of Judah. The promises and threats of the prophets are clearly explained and their fulfillment described. After the captivity, the reader undergoes the trials of Nehemiah, understands Daniel's "abomination of desolation" and emerges from under the Roman shadow into the Light that is Christ.

The wisdom literature Father Moriarty treats in an equally satisfactory manner, analyzing the spirit of Job and his friends, weaving the way through the intricacies of Qoheleth's mind. The author's appreciation of the question of the two Isaiahs and of the book of Daniel manifests the thoroughness of his many years of classroom work. He refers to some of the best authorities in archeology and other sciences allied with Scripture; in his rare quotations from an author his selection is always tersely meaningful. He quotes Scripture piquantly, inspiring the reader to look further into the sacred text. The translation which he uses is substantially that of the Confraternity Old Testament, and for passages which are not yet published in that translation, he seems to render his own version from the Hebrew text. Nowhere could this reviewer find the author's statement about what translation he was using.

This book will greatly foster interest in and further study of the Old Testament. For the general reader it is an inducement to read the Old Testament text; for college students and especially seminarians it will serve as a companion text to their Scriptural work. The volume is supplied with a table of Old Testament dates, a good but brief bibliography, and a useful index. Verdict: an excellent book in its class.

EDWARD J. HODOUS, S.J.

THINKING WITH THE CHURCH

The Catholic and his Church. By *Henri de Lubac, S.J.* Translated by Michael Mason. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1960. Pp. 90. \$.75.

One of the more recent of the Canterbury Books series, this particular paperback presents two engaging chapters, seven and eight, of Father de Lubac's *The Splendour of the Church*, a translation of the second edition of *Méditation sur l'Église*. The first chapter deals with the Church as the "family of God"—the people united by the unity of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. It studies the attitude of the sincere *vir ecclesiasticus* towards his Catholic ancestry, Catholic solidarity, Catholic breadth, Catholic obedience, the Head of the House (the Holy Father), and Catholic security. The second treats of the temptations that trouble the Catholic concerning the Church. Some of these are clear and violent; others are not quite manifest and they are all the more insidious for that. Some are perennial and others peculiar to the times. Such temptations are all too varied—even to the point of mutual opposition—for anyone ever to think himself immune to the threat which they constitute. Thus the reader is forewarned.

The works of Father de Lubac truly merit the widest reading public possible and *The Splendour of the Church* certainly deserves to be read in full. Thus it is to be hoped that the chance reader will be prompted to do so by the reading of these two chapters. As pertinent and valid as they were when the eminent French theologian wrote them in the early fifties, so are they today for the contemporary American scene which has become increasingly and sensitively aware of its pluralistic state and the consequent need for "dialogues." Not that, of course, the Church will cease to be a mystery for the non-Catholic reader, but he will be less mystified about it and about his Catholic neighbor. Not every Catholic reader will share the recurrent thrill of Father de Lubac as he meditates in the light of faith on certain aspects of that mystery. But he is sure to come away more reflectively and perhaps disturbingly aware of what it means to "think with and in the Church" and of the implications involved in his glorious calling as a *vir ecclesiasticus*.

Space limitations have reduced footnotes to a minimum and introduced textual liberties in some passages, but this adds up to a more facile readability. This is another Canterbury paperback our college theology students must have on their reading list. Ecclesiology can be dull and stodgy. Not so with Father de Lubac.

ALFREDO G. PARPAN, S.J.

MESSIANIC PROPHECY EXPLORED

Waiting for Christ. By *Ronald Knox and Ronald Cox.* New York: Sheed and Ward, 1960. Pp. 282. \$3.50.

The title of the book is taken from Martha's confident act of faith in Jesus just before He raised Lazarus from the dead: "I have always believed that you are the Messiah; you are the Son of God; the whole world has been *waiting* for you to come." The book was written on the premise that Christ in the NT is the fulfillment of the messianic prophe-

cies of the OT. The Jewish rabbis list some 458 messianic texts; Heinisch, a Catholic author (*Christ in Prophecy*), restricts the number of literally messianic texts to 50. Father Cox follows a middle course with 120 literal and 30 typical references. Not all of them, as Father Cox himself admits in his introduction, can be established with equal certainty. But in his treatment of the different texts in the book, he gives the impression that they are certainly messianic, like the so-called "Protoevangelium" of Genesis, Isaiah's maiden-mother, Micah's Bethlehem-Ephrata, Isaiah's servant songs, Malachi's sacrifice, and the Song of Songs. Discerning biblical scholars may differ with Father Cox in the messianic interpretation of the texts cited. However, since the book apparently is intended for the general reader's greater appreciation of the OT, these finer points certainly have no place in the book. And the reader will be grateful for the author's pioneering efforts to make the OT understandable and fruitful and shorn of those scholarly trappings that tend to obscure if not altogether distort the figure of Christ in the OT.

The book is neatly divided into seven chapters beginning with "The Witness of Moses," followed by "The Kingship of David," "The Divided Kingdom," "The Babylonian Captivity," and "The Restoration." Chapter Six treats of the "Types of Christ," and the final chapter is a brief section of "Our Lady in the Old Testament."

The scriptural texts are based on the translation of the OT messianic prophecies by Ronald Knox, arranged continuously on the left-hand pages, with a matching commentary, paragraph by paragraph, on the opposite page by Father Cox. At the beginning of each chapter Father Cox summarizes the historical background of the chapter, and paralleling the Knox translation, he offers brief and inspiring explanations of the NT fulfillments of the OT prophecies. Catholics should find this book very helpful towards a greater appreciation of the Old Testament. In the words of the author himself: "Sometimes it is the Messiah, a human descendant of David, who is to bring salvation to his people; here (speaking of Isaiah 11.1-12.6), it is the Lord God himself who is responsible for their delivery from exile. In the fulness of time, God became Man, and so fulfilled both these aspects of salvation as portrayed in the Old Testament prophets."

NICASIO CRUZ, S.J.

THE CHURCH UNIVERSAL

The Soul of the Nations. Edited by Gabriel Boutsen, O.F.M. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1960. Pp. 166. \$3.95.

For the first time in the history of world's fairs, the Vatican participated in these unique undertakings when, in 1958, it erected its own pavilion at the Brussels World Fair. At the same time it also requested that a conference on universal Christian humanism be organized at some time during the Fair, within the general theme of the exhibition and the particular one of the *Civitas Dei*. The specific theme chosen, then, was "The Soul of the Nations"—the word "nations" referring to large ethnologic groups of people rather than to individual countries—

and from each of these nine nations one of her most distinguished representatives was chosen to address the Congress and lay open to the world the most intimate spiritual values and ideals of his people. "We wanted," states Father Boutsen, the secretary of the congress, "to determine on a world scale: Why do people live? Why and for whose sake are they prepared to die? Why do they laugh? Why do they weep? What do they consider worth working for? What is their idea of happiness or misfortune?"

This slim volume is a collection of the addresses which were delivered at that International Congress. Monsignor Vincent Jeffers speaks for North America; Professor Irene Posnoff, convert and daughter of a Russian theologian, for Russia; Doctor John Wu for China; Father Jerome D'Souza, S.J. for India; Sir James Bruron Subiabre for Latin America. Japan is represented by Doctor Joseph Sjinjiro Yokibe, Europe by Doctor Hendrik Brugmans, Africa by Father Joseph Malula of Leopoldville, and the Near East by Archbishop Philippe Navaa of Beyrouth.

As can be expected from persons of such varying backgrounds and viewpoints, there is great variety in style, in content, and in the very approach to the theme. But there is a definite unifying motif. It is the single question posed to and the multiple answers given by the Church throughout her history; how the Church, which is universal, is adapting and will adapt herself to the particular needs and problems of her children. These addresses point up the challenge and sketch out some solutions.

Each of the participants in the Congress expresses the ideals and problems of his nation. Each of them questions the place his nation has in the mission of the Church. And each gives a fascinating, penetrating picture of the soul of his people. The only drawback, as in all such books, is the fact that each essay must necessarily be so short.

JAMES H. BREININGER, S.J.

PRACTICAL CANON LAW

Previews and Practical Cases on Marriage: Volume 1: Preliminaries and Impediments, Canons 1012-1080. By Owen M. Cloran, S.J. Milwaukee; Bruce, 1960. Pp. xii-403. \$8.50.

This is the first of a three volume work in case form on the canon law of marriage. Volume two will treat of marriage consent and form (canons 1081-1143) and volume three of marriage processes (canons 1960-1992).

The format of this book is like that of the author's earlier (1951) presentation, *Previews and Practical Cases on Penalties*, a concrete set of circumstances is presented as a case seeking solution; then a very careful study is made of all the canonical principles; the interpretations, replies, decisions and instructions issued by the Holy See; the opinions and arguments of canonists and moralists, especially where there is an important difference of opinion; finally, the solution concludes the case study.

In addition to all the information and analysis contained in the "principles of solution," there is a wealth of references contained in the footnotes on each page as well as in an eighteen-page bibliography towards the end of the volume. Other very helpful features of the work are summaries and outlines, especially of matters which are difficult or involved, e.g., faculties enjoyed by pastors, curates, confessors, and simple priests (pp. 76-80); pastoral letters or instructions on certain aspects of marriage, e.g., prenuptial investigation, mixed marriages; specimen forms, e.g., preliminary information on marriage cases to be proposed for chancery or tribunal action. A detailed index closes the book.

While the canons on matrimonial consent as such are not considered in this volume, it may be worth noting that, in connection with other topics, the author gives considerable treatment to substantial and simple error (pp. 1-6) and to knowledge or belief that a marriage is null (pp. 6-8) and the influence of these factors on matrimonial consent.

This is a book very useful not only for the professional canonist or moralist, but also to every seminarian for his study of the canon law of marriage, and to every priest having anything whatever to do with marriage from any and every aspect.

It is hoped that the companion volumes will not be long delayed in making their appearance.

JAMES I. O'CONNOR, S.J.

A HANDY GUIDE

The Twenty Ecumenical Councils of the Catholic Church. *By Clement Raab, O.F.M.* Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1959. Pp. xiv-226. \$3.50.

This reprint of a 1937 publication is advertised as "a short history of the aims, deliberations, and decisions of the past twenty Ecumenical Councils of the Catholic Church—indispensable background reading for the Church's twenty-first council."

A slight volume, this book has pretensions neither to profound scholarship nor to completeness, but it will serve as a handy guide to the general development of conciliar teaching. As Father Thomas Plassmann points out in the Foreword: "It is to serve as an aid primarily to the cleric or lay student who has neither the time nor the opportunity to delve into, and analyze sources and controversies, but who is satisfied to learn the outstanding facts and findings concerning which Church historians generally agree." Within this scope, the book is admirable in its simplicity and conciseness.

J. ROBERT BARTH, S.J.

HUMAN CONDUCT

Morals and Man. *By Gerald Vann, O.P.* New York: Sheed and Ward, 1960. Pp. 223. \$3.50.

This book is a revised edition of the volume that first appeared in 1937 under the title *Morals Makyth Man*. As stated in the preface, the first part of the book was originally a series of lectures delivered to the Aquinas Societies of London and Leicester, while the later chapters

have appeared as articles in various philosophical journals.

As the title might indicate, the substance of the book has to do with the conduct of the human person. The emphasis is philosophical, although, as the author admits, to exclude theology from a work of this sort would place it in the realm of parody. The philosophy is Thomism, but not the Thomism of the thirteenth century. The author accepts the writings of St. Thomas as his magna charta and quotes him extensively, but expressly repudiates the notion that a Thomist "goes back" to Thomas for the solution of every problem. The Thomism the author espouses is a dynamic, living, growing philosophy that must shake off most of the jargon and categories of an outdated scholasticism, must look forward rather than backward, and must constantly be rethought and applied to the contemporary human atmosphere.

The book is divided into two parts. The early chapters discuss the need for a theory of the human person and his finality in today's world. Espousing the Thomistic metaphysics of man, the author goes on to discuss the problems of freedom and determinism, altruism and the various forms of self-seeking, the teleological and deontological ethic in the search for happiness and for a norm of morality. Finally, though all the problems are not solved fully, most of the loose ends are drawn together in a magnificent exposition of Thomistic moral theory.

The second part of the book takes this Thomistic theory and applies it to man in his contemporaneous situation. The table of contents does not reveal the depth of thought nor the breadth of vision that the author manifests in these pages. As he discusses politics, economics, Christian marriage, the somnolence of Christianity, and the difficulty of steering a middle course between the transcendence of God and over-familiarity with Him, the author touches briefly on many other items that will cause a philosopher-reader to pause and think.

This is a book that inspires the reader with hope in two senses. First, there is the hope that, philosophically speaking, the world is not lost, that man can look forward to the future with a certain degree of optimism as to what it will bring. Secondly, there is the hope that philosophy itself is not dead or dying, that there will be other Catholic thinkers like Father Vann who will take up the challenge of our times.

J. J. ROHR, S.J.

SOCIAL ETHICS

A Handbook of Christian Social Ethics, Volume I: Man in Society.

By Eberhard Welty, O.P. New York: Herder and Herder, 1960.

Pp. xvi-395. \$6.95.

This is a revised version of the second edition of volume I of Herder's *Sozialkatechismus*. The original has been in use for some years in German-speaking lands, where Father Welty, O.P., is deservedly well known. After a brief introduction to general ethics this first volume considers man, the nature of society, the mutual relationship of man and society, authority and obedience, the basic principles of social order, justice and social charity. The three volumes to follow will be entitled

Community and Society, Economics in Society, and Church and Society.

The treatment of these questions is simultaneously philosophical and theological, in a word, Christian Ethics. Appropriate and ample selections from papal documents are cited at the beginning of each chapter. The format is that of question and answer, but there the likeness to a catechism ceases; the answers are developed at length. The book is rather a manual of Catholic social thought, suitable for lay discussion groups, college students, and possibly for those in the upper grades of high school. As a manual we should not expect the length or depth of, say, Messner's *Social Ethics*.

The author is at his best when analyzing the social nature of man, the common good of society, social justice (identified with legal and distributive justice) and social charity. This emphasis on the social aspect of man is needed to correct the too narrow concentration of many ethics textbooks on man the individual.

Not so successful is the treatment of natural law and natural rights. Both topics are developed too much in terms of positive law and civil rights. For example, right in the subjective sense is called "legal title." Natural law is still defined as a promulgation of an ordination of reason for the common good. This is somewhat surprising in view of the fact that German authors have been in the vanguard of the movement to delegatize moral theology and ethics. The use of Holy Writ, limited in scope, is not in tune with recent exegesis. At least the bibliography, otherwise detailed and well selected, should be aware of the historical data coming to light on the background of *Rerum Novarum*. One thinks of the preliminary draft of that historic document and other such evidence now available in published form.

Despite these blemishes the *Handbook* is still very useful. The translation, both in vocabulary and sentence structure, is English and not Anglo-Saxon. It supplies the theological content needed to present the subject matter adequately and not merely in the light of reason alone. Sociological studies of the recent past indicate that the students in Catholic colleges are not more social minded than their state college confreres. Both Father Welty's explanations and the concrete examples used will serve admirably to dispel the asocial attitudes of our students.

ROBERT H. SPRINGER, S.J.

THE GODLESS MASSES

I Looked for God's Absence: France. By *Irenaeus Rosier, O. Carm.*
New York: Sheed & Ward, 1960. Pp. 231. \$3.95.

Father Rosier, a competent sociologist and psychologist, went to live and work among the iron workers and coal miners of France. He became "Frans", an itinerant apprentice miner, and lived in the crowded life for several months in different locales. Frans lived in the crowded dormitories, shared the cheap food and grinding jobs of the laborers. As he recorded the sights and sounds and smells of their life, he looked quietly and prudently for faith, religion, and Christ. He found little

or no faith, no formal religion, and a little of the Gospel. Frans found Christ without ritual.

There was material sin aplenty, but Frans, the trained theologian, found much to excuse from formal sin. His friends Marcel, Hans, Erich, Klaus worked long and hard in dirt and stifling heat, for meager wages, under capable foremen and a management that meant well but in effect victimized them. Frans' friends took whatever recreation they could, harmless or coarse.

With full and remarkably prompt cooperation from Rome, Frans penetrated deep into the center of a Godless environment. He consulted periodically with local priests, Bishops, and mine executives. The tragedy of Frans' account is the ineffectual results, for the most part, of the zeal and compassion of these clerical and lay leaders. But their work is not hopeless. The Gospel can reach the poor pagan workers if the message is preached to them clearly and simply. Still, the Church must not be presented as an ornamental institution in a chrome-plated society.

Father Rosier's book is warm and inspiring. It is sad too. Reading the book evoked memories of de Sica's "The Bicycle Thief" and a haunting newspaper item I once read about two little boys who were found in a big city slum and tearfully told their short life story before dying of starvation. Father Rosier's book may help Christ reach the French workers before they die of a worse sickness.

THOMAS A. O'CONNOR, S.J.

SOME RECENT PAMPHLETS

God, Government, and the Catholic Church. By Julian Stoeberl, O.F.M. Cap. St. Louis: Queen's Work, 1960. Pp. 24.

Conceived as the art of governing or as the organization of society, politics cannot withdraw itself from the authority of natural morality. In an election year, with a Catholic presidential candidate, there is no dearth of studies on this subject. *Queen's Work*, nevertheless, adds to the pamphleteering. This academic treatment, unfortunately, does not cast much new light on the current misconceptions.

There is need for great precision in explaining to the non-Catholic inquirer how the Church recognizes the right of everyone to have his own opinions in purely political matters, with due safeguard for truth and justice. Indifferent, from a technical standpoint, to political systems by reason of time and territory, the Church is deeply interested in seeing to it that in all circumstances the changing of laws and constitutions does no harm to faith and morals.

FRANCIS X. QUINN, S.J.

Catholic Views on Over-Population. By John L. Thomas, S.J. St. Louis: The Queen's Work. Pp. 40.

The great value of this excellent, though necessarily brief pamphlet is that the author succeeds in providing the context both for the population explosion and for the Catholic attitude toward the problem. Noting the remarkable population growth especially in underdeveloped countries, he observes that the problem of population vs. world resources

is extremely complex. It is a gross over-simplification to offer a solution in terms of large scale distribution of contraceptives.

A doctrinal imbalance has been created by Catholic leaders under attack, over-emphasizing or emphasizing only the duty of the Catholic couple to procreate. Actually this duty is discovered in a complex whole, in which the marriage partners, through the conjugal act, possess the great privilege of co-operating with the Creator in the production and education of new life, a privilege which is at once an expression of creativity and the consummation of their marital love.

This complex problem must find its solution not in abortion, sterilization, contraceptive birth control, but in migration, technical and financial assistance, trade, a more responsible attitude toward parenthood, personal controls.

EUGENE J. BARBER, S.J.

Catholics in Secular Colleges. *By Francis D. MacPeck, S.J.* St. Louis: The Queen's Work, 1959. Pp. 24.

Father MacPeck's treatment of such a complex subject within the limits of a short pamphlet is necessarily somewhat sketchy and occasionally oversimplified. It is nevertheless a fine summary of the standard, but real, difficulties to be faced by the Catholic student in a secular college. After listing the dangers, both obvious and subtle, which the Catholic will encounter in such an atmosphere, Father MacPeck stresses the positive obligation incumbent on the student to learn more about his faith through reading, study, and discussion with Catholics competent in philosophy and theology. The topics treated would serve as a fine outline for Newman Club discussions.

While written, it appears, primarily for the student already enrolled in a secular college, the pamphlet might well be read also by high school seniors and their parents when the problem of college choice arises. Busy high school Student Counsellors will find it a valuable aid.

WILLIAM J. MCGOWAN, S.J.

Religious Tolerance in Catholic Tradition. *By Giacomo Cardinal Lercaro.* New York: American Press, 1960. Pp. 25. \$.15.

This important statement by the Archbishop of Bologna is particularly pertinent against the background of our recent presidential campaign. Dogmatic intolerance, he maintains, should not beget civil intolerance. The greater good which justifies, even demands, religious tolerance in the human analogue of divine government is not determined by prudential considerations of the historical situation of the Church today. Rather is it respect for the truth, and for the manner in which the human intellect arrives at truth and God acts on the human soul.

This position represents a new development of traditional Catholic principles, and is not an attempt by the Church to compromise with the modern world. In answering the legitimate objections of non-Catholics, we must distinguish between the doctrine of the Church and the impact that historical situations (especially the Middle Ages and 19th century Liberalism) have made on the Church.

NEIL L. DOHERTY, S.J.

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Hugh Francis Kennedy, S.J.

The Army Years

Gerard F. Giblin, S.J.

When Hugh Francis Kennedy died in Frankfurt, Germany, in 1955, he had been eighteen years a priest. Two of these years had been spent as a missionary in the Philippines and fourteen of them as an Army chaplain. These two strenuous ministries should by all rights have been barred to Hugh Kennedy by reason of his poor health. But Hugh was adept at ignoring the demands of ill health. He also knew how to circumvent Army red tape to get past physicals, so much so that a general later characterized Hugh by referring to him as a "splendid and clever chiseler."

Hugh Francis Kennedy joined the Maryland-New York Province of the Society of Jesus in 1926 when he was eighteen years old. After his juniorate he was sent out for one year of regency at Loyola High School, Baltimore, and then took the three years of philosophy and four of theology in one continuous stretch at Woodstock. He suffered continually from ill health and was frequently seen at the specials cart getting his eggs and toast.

In 1938, while in tertianship at St. Andrew, he wrote to his sister Julia to tell her that he was one of the few priests of the forty in his year who had been picked for the Philippine mission. Hugh apologized that she would never see him as rector of Fordham University nor sit in the rector's official

Author's Note: I would like to thank the following people who supplied me with information on the life of Father Hugh Kennedy: Father Timothy A. Curtin, S.J., of the New York Provincial's Office; Mrs. Julia Henry (Father Kennedy's sister) and Mr. Harold V. Kennedy (Father Kennedy's brother); Father Bernard M. Lochboehler, S.J., of the Philippine Province Provincial's Office; Msgr. Joseph F. Marbach of the Office of the Military Ordinariate; Msgr. William J. Moran, Brigadier General, Deputy Chief of Chaplains, USA; Father Eugene J. O'Keefe, S.J. My further thanks are due to Father O'Keefe, Mrs. Henry, Mr. Edmond J. Kennedy (Father Kennedy's brother), and Mr. William P. Klintworth, S.J. for reading over the manuscript form of this biography.

box at football games in the Polo Grounds. But he invited her to his future installation feast as rector of some college on Mindanao where she would be able to feast on "bird's nest soup and shark fins, topped off by some half-hatched chickens just out of the shell."

While at St. Andrew Hugh wrote to the Office of the Military Ordinariate in New York to obtain a chaplain's commission in the Officers' Reserve Corps of the Army. He felt that such a commission would be valuable to him in his mission work, for it would give him access to numerous Americans stationed overseas. The Office was eager to listen to such requests and asked Hugh to undergo a physical examination. Hugh however had neglected to include one vital statistic in his application for a commission. He had contracted a case of polio at the age of seven and the thigh muscles of his left leg had contracted. As a result his left leg was one inch shorter than his right and he walked with a limp. The doctor took one look at Hugh when he came in for the physical and said flatly, "No".

But Hugh did not surrender so easily. He wrote a letter to the Adjutant General of the United States Army. "My father is a retired Army Officer who spent time campaigning in the Philippines, and, if at all possible, I would like to follow in his footsteps. I know nothing would delight him more."

Hugh got two generals of the New York National Guard and the Major General of the Signal Corps to write him letters of recommendation. He pushed his appeal all the way to the top of the Army hierarchy until the final refusal came from Robert P. Patterson, Secretary of War. Father William R. Arnold, who was later to become Chief of Chaplains, wrote: "Don't be too disappointed. Thirteen out of fifteen priests under the age of thirty-four who apply for commissions are rejected on physical grounds." So Hugh desisted for a while.

In the course of his fight for a commission Hugh was sent to the Philippines. On May 31, 1939, a departure ceremony was held at St. Francis Xavier, New York. The printed program showing the pictures of the missionaries interchanged the photographs of Fathers Hugh Kennedy and Eugene O'Keefe. It was an omen. Their careers were to be intimately linked in the years of captivity.

Hugh's first assignment in the Philippines was at San José, Balintawak, where he took final vows August 15, 1940. Then he was transferred as Dean of Men to Cagayan in Mindanao where he was when war broke out.

Although most Americans stateside were unaware of the possibility of a Japanese war, those in the Philippines were acutely conscious of the tense situation. Hugh wrote to console his sister in June of 1941, "If war comes I don't think that we will be in too much trouble. We may be isolated from Manila for a while, but it will be Manila where the center of the campaign will take place (if at all)." If Hugh was enough of a strategist to realize this, then he had enough sense to know that Mindanao, the largest island in the south, was the next stop.

As 1941 drew to a close, the American military tensed for war. Pilots on alert slept in the cockpits of their P-40's on Clark Field, and the big guns of Corregidor trained toward the sea. But when the moment of attack finally came the Japs caught the fighter planes unmanned on the ground, and enemy troopships ignored the mouth of Manila Bay to sneak in the back door at Lingayen.

As the armies mobilized, so did the Jesuits. On Luzon to the north Fathers Pablo M. Carasig, Juan E. Gaerlan and Pacifico Ortiz joined the Philippine Army. Father Gaerlan was to die on the Death March, bayoneted or machine gunned, no one knows which, for his body was never recovered. Father Ortiz was attached to the staff of the President of the Philippines and left the Islands with him just before the surrender. After the Bataan campaign Father Carasig managed to join the guerilla forces in August 1944.

Two New England Province Jesuits were also on Luzon at this time: Fathers John J. Dugan and Thomas A. Shanahan. Father Dugan had been called to active duty in 1937 to work with the CCC. He had been sent to the Philippines in October 1941 on a routine tour of duty. Father Shanahan was on loan to the Ateneo de Manila. He left the Islands on the *S.S. Mactan*, an improvised hospital ship. When he reached Australia he was appointed to the rank of Captain in the Chaplain Corps by General MacArthur personally.

On Mindanao to the south Fathers Isaias X. Edralin, Pedro

M. Dimaano, Carl W. Hausmann and Eugene J. O'Keefe also joined the Army. All were to spend some years in captivity. Father Hausmann was eventually to die off the coast of Formosa and his body was slipped into the sea.

Father Andrew F. Cervini applied for a commission, but, though accepted, he was never assigned to an Army unit. All through the war he waited in civilian internment the dreaded question: "Have you ever been a member of the American military?" The question was never asked.

Hugh Kennedy made one final attempt to get into the Army. The limp did not count for so much now. On Luzon Jesus Villamor, the Philippine Army pilot, was flying a biplane against the nimble Jap Zero fighters; Lieutenant John D. Bulkeley with his wooden PT boats broke up a serious Japanese landing attempt behind the Bataan lines. In Mindanao young Filipinos were learning to shoot with Lee-Enfield rifles, World War I relics that malfunctioned almost as often as they worked. The Army was beginning to learn that an heroic spirit could make even a faulty weapon a dangerous one to the enemy. Hugh Kennedy, though still officially a civilian, was allowed to tag along with the Army.

He worked with the 101st Infantry Division, Philippine Army.¹ It was a sprawling unit, seventeen thousand men strong. It had no artillery to speak of, it had no air support, it had no source of supply but the country off which it lived. But as it watched Jap seaplanes making lazy, unopposed reconnaissance overhead, it was eager to fight.

The Division was woefully understaffed with chaplains. The Table of Organization called for one chaplain per thousand men; therefore seventeen for the 101st. Instead the unit had, besides Hugh, two Filipino priests and one Protestant minister in a unit that was, nominally at least, 90% Catholic. The Protestant minister took care of the many Americans who officered the Division.

Hugh tried to remedy the shortage of chaplains by getting more civilian help. He contacted Father Mongeau, O.M.I., who supplied him with three Oblate priests.

¹ Not to be confused with another more famous 101st Division, the American airborne unit that fought off the Germans at Bastogne.

The Enemy Arrives

On December 20, 1941, the Japanese invaded Mindanao. At four o'clock in the morning Lieutenant Colonel Toshio Miura led his battalion ashore. The Filipino regiment holding the area thought that the ships in Davao Gulf were an American relief expedition and held fire. They soon discovered their mistake. The force of 5,000 Japanese quickly pushed aside the 2,000 Philippine Army troops who opposed them, but not before they had suffered severe casualties from machine gun fire.

That evening the Japanese stopped their advance, and the Philippine Army unit congratulated itself having halted the Japanese. However the Japanese had moved the distance their plan called for. They were only establishing an air base on Mindanao. The real decision was to be fought out in the north.

On the morning of January 8, 1942, several waves of Japanese bombers attacked the 101st Division stations at Camp Casisang, Malaybalay, and inflicted severe casualties. The Beaterio nuns turned a dormitory into an auxiliary hospital.

On the front lines Brigadier General Joseph P. Vachon, commanding the Cotabato-Davao Sector, was pleased with the activities of the civilian chaplain Hugh Kennedy and approved his commission. On April 16, 1942, Hugh was sworn in to the Army as First Lieutenant, Corps of Chaplains.

The morale of the Cotabato-Davao Force was extremely high. They figured on giving the Japanese a tough fight when the enemy finally appeared in strength on the island. The force felt that it could hold out until help came from the United States. In the unlikely eventuality that help did not come, they could always take to the hills as guerillas. Guerilla fighting would be simple. At that time Mindanao had for all practical purposes only two roads: Highway #1 which stretched across the narrow waist of Mindanao from Davao to Cotabato, then up along the coast to Surigao; and Highway #3 which bisected the Davao-Cotabato road and ran north to Tagoloan. The Japanese advance would stop once they controlled the highways. The hills would belong to the guerillas.

At the end of April and the beginning of May when Bataan

had fallen and Corregidor was firing its last guns in defiance, the Japanese landed on Mindanao in force. They pushed back the Philippine Army and split off the southern half of the Island by driving across from Digos to Cotabato.

But the destiny of Mindanao was not to be decided by battle. A strange order from the north sealed its fate. On May 6, General Wainwright was compelled to surrender Corregidor. General Homma let it be known that the Americans who surrendered on Corregidor would not be considered prisoners of war until the whole of the Philippines surrendered. In other words, if Wainwright did not surrender Mindanao, the General and the men captured with him would be killed. It was a cleverly insinuated threat, never written down, and the American prosecutors of Homma could prove nothing after the war.

Wainwright was aware of the atrocities of the Death March and knew that the enemy was capable of carrying out his threat. Despite the fact that he had officially released the Mindanao Force, he ordered it to surrender. MacArthur gasped from Australia, "I believe Wainwright has temporarily become unbalanced."

The Philippine Army on Mindanao was indignant at the order. Some refused to comply and went to the hills. Others, aware of the Japanese threat to their comrades on Corregidor, decided to surrender. Hugh's course was clear to him. He joined the Americans and Filipinos who surrendered their weapons at kilometer post 130, Cotabato, May 10, 1942. At Nangka Father O'Keefe's 61st Division Field Artillery (so called, though it had no cannon) also surrendered. So began what Hugh later described as his thousand days of hell.

The first days of captivity were spent at Camp Casisang, Malaybalay. In comparison with those captured on Bataan their treatment was not too bad. The Filipino doctors of the 101st Division were allowed to open a hospital in the camp to care for the wounded. The prisoners were able to show a measure of defiance to the Japanese by establishing contact with a guerilla unit. The messages were carried by two young girls, Caridad and Remedios Gabor. Through the guerillas some Americans managed to escape.

The food situation was poor and deteriorated as the war

went on. The Japanese had enough to eat, and the Americans were infuriated to see the soldiers emptying half eaten mess kits of rice into the garbage pail. The Japanese encouraged the Americans to work on farms, promising them that their food ration would be increased. But the promise was not kept. At times the food situation was desperate. Dogs, cats and even rats wandered into the prisoners' compound at their own risk.

In October the Americans and Filipinos were separated. This was part of a Japanese policy to split off Filipino loyalty from the United States. Later on in the war, just prior to the American return, the Japanese were to make a large concession to the Filipinos in order to win their support. They freed most Filipino prisoners of war. But the majority of the Filipinos refused to be won over. They knew that near Camp O'Donnell on Luzon there were common graves containing the bodies of more than 30,000 Filipinos, prisoners of war who had died from starvation, beatings and bayonets.

Fathers Kennedy and O'Keefe were sent with the other Americans to Davao. Here conditions were very poor. The barracks that were occupied were crowded to overflowing while others stood inexplicably empty. The latrines were about fifteen yards from the barracks and the stench overwhelmed the men. Most infuriating of all, the prisoners could see wild pigs eating fruit fallen from trees, food which the Japanese could have given them, but did not.

The Japanese frequently maltreated the prisoners. Major Charles H. Harrison was recaptured by the enemy after an escape attempt. His screams were heard throughout the camp that night as the Japanese tortured him to death. Other prisoners were subjected to electric shock treatment and brutal beatings with bamboo poles.

Despite the very real threat of retaliation, Hugh stood up to the Japanese. On July 26, 1943 a general inspection of all prisoners' properties was ordered. The Americans had to bring their gear onto the parade grounds outside the barbed wire fence. Three Japanese officers examined the baggage while from eight o'clock in the morning until one o'clock in the afternoon three hundred weary Americans stood in the hot sun. The Japanese confiscated all books found, but per-

mitted the prisoners to keep what the Japanese considered sacred books. In this way Hugh got back some books of Latin poetry because the Japanese could not understand the language.

After the inspection Hugh formally protested to the Japanese commandant, Major Maida, asking the return of the books. This officer ignored the request, and Hugh repeated it several times. Finally the books were returned, but put in a common library with the Japanese commandant as Head Librarian. There was a catch however. All prisoners on work details could read the books; all prisoners in hospitals, since by Japanese standards they were shirkers, were not allowed reading matter. Those on work details had no time to read. They worked all day and came back to a blacked out camp. Major Maida completed his petty tyranny by protesting to the American senior officer, Lieutenant Colonel Olsen, that Hugh was a trouble maker and probably the most selfish man in the camp.

While at Davao many prisoners were forced to work for the Japanese. One group worked at Lasang on a landing strip. The men became adept at banging the same hole again and again with a pick, deceiving the Japanese that they were working, receiving lavish praise from the Japanese commander for their efforts, but actually accomplishing little. These heroic men were murdered almost to a man in late 1944 to prevent their recapture by American forces. Fathers O'Keefe and Hausmann joined those working at Furikawa Plantation in a hope of relieving the food shortage at Davao Penal Colony.

Hugh was not able to join the working forces because he was so frequently in the hospital. His sicknesses were later itemized in a doctor's report when he was recovered by American forces: malaria (February 1943); swelling of the legs, probably due to beri-beri (June 1943 to June 1944); dysentery (summer 1944). His weight went down from 185 to 125 pounds. Despite his illnesses, when the men were shipped out of Davao north to Cabanatuan, Hugh was seen sharing his rice supply with those sicker than he.

In the States Hugh's family had no idea what had happened to him. At the end of December 1941 his sister Julia had

received back a letter she had mailed at the beginning of the month: "Return to Sender. Service Suspended." Hugh's father wrote anxiously to Army officials but was informed with regret that the Army had no information. It was May 1943 before Hugh was officially reported as a POW.

In December 1943 Julia received a post card written by Hugh in April. It was a form card where the writer underlined certain phrases or filled in the blanks.

IMPERIAL JAPANESE ARMY

1. I am interned at Phil Mil Prison Camp No. 2
2. My health is excellent; good; fair; poor.
3. I am—uninjured; under treatment; not under treatment.
4. I am—improving; not improving; better; well.
5. Please see that Provincial, Horgan, Towers, Piderit, Bowes and all Jesuits are well. Love to Stewart and Aunt Anna.
6. (Re: Family): Wrote Dad but not certain of his address. Hope Tom & Henrys are well. Remember all at Mass. Enough food.
7. Please give my best regards to Dad, Brothers, Purcell, Aunt Anna.

Statements 2 and 3 were pious exaggerations; his health was poor and he was under treatment. The end of statement 6 could almost be called a lie: there was never enough food. On January 31, 1944, the family received a truer statement of Hugh's condition. An escaped American officer reported that Hugh was a bed patient in a Japanese Prison Camp at Davao and said that he was in fair condition.

To Luzon

In June of 1944 the Japanese decided to remove their prisoners from Davao and concentrate them on Luzon. Fathers O'Keefe, Hausmann and Kennedy were herded into a Japanese transport. More feared than the guards by the prisoners were prowling American submarines. A previous transport bound from Davao had been sunk with many prisoners aboard.

Its holds stuffed with twelve hundred American prisoners of war, the transport left Davao on June 6. After a four

days stopover at Fort San Pedro, Cebu City, they arrived in Manila about the 26th of the month.

It was a difficult voyage. The daily allowance of water was one canteen plus two small mess kits of rice. Hugh frequently gave half his ration to the sick.

On the voyage Hugh was beaten by Japanese guards. Lieutenant Colonel Dieter, a doctor, had ordered Hugh to assist another doctor in caring for a number of patients who had been removed from the hold of the transport and placed on the hatch cover. These men were suffering from exhaustion due to conditions below deck. While caring for the men, Hugh was beaten by a Japanese guard with his rifle butt across the shoulders and back.

When the transport arrived in Manila Bay the prisoners were kept in the hold for two days before being disembarked. Then, weak and sick, they were unloaded from the vessel and imprisoned at Bilibid. From there they were finally removed to Cabanatuan.

Cabanatuan held prisoners who were captured on Bataan. It also contained the remnants of those who had spent their earlier days of imprisonment at Camp O'Donnell where the death rate had been at one time between three and four hundred a day.

By the time that Hugh arrived at Cabanatuan the Camp had long been accustomed to the unchanging, bitter routine of prison life. But in mid-September the tired men received new hope. They saw a sight they had been afraid they would never see again. The news of the American progress in the Pacific Theater had been carefully kept from them by their captors. They did not realize how imminent deliverance was. As they looked into the sky the prisoners saw planes, hundreds of them, types they had never seen before, dully camouflaged with Navy blue. They did not know them as Corsairs, Helldivers, Avengers, but they did recognize the white star on the wings, a symbol that had been driven from the sky with such utter finality in the early days of 1942. Many of the men openly and unashamedly shed tears. The planes passed to bomb Clark Field and Manila Bay. At the end of the day the Japanese claimed that the American bombing force had been wiped out. But again the next day American

planes roared over and some dipped their wings in salute. Either American production had remarkable capacity to restore losses or the Japanese were out and out liars. Either way the prognostic for continued Japanese tenancy of the Philippines was poor.

On January 9, 1945, using almost the same beaches which the Japanese had used three years earlier, MacArthur kept his promise to return. Quickly, like grasping fingers, columns of American infantry raced forward towards Manila.

MacArthur was acutely conscious of the fact that the Japanese would kill their prisoners rather than surrender them. With this in view he selected the Sixth Ranger Battalion under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Henry Mucci to prepare rescue for the inmates of Cabanatuan.

The Japanese were aware of MacArthur's interest in the prisoners. Therefore they decided to ship them to Manchuria. "Healthy" prisoners were herded to Manila and placed aboard prison ships. The sick, among them Fathers O'Keefe, Dugan and Kennedy, were left behind as too ill to make the voyage. It was ironic that their very illnesses saved most of them from certain death for, of those sent to Manchuria, few survived.

Among those who were headed for Manchuria was Carl Hausmann.² The prison ships were subjected to heavy air attack. One vessel was sunk off Subic Bay and for days the sea tossed up bodies of the American dead. Carl saw sights that drove other men mad. A survivor recounts seeing two West Point officers, father and son, struggling with one another. The son in his madness was trying to kill the father; the father in resigned sadness tried to fend off his son. A bomb hit the hold of the vessel and the Japanese rather than clean up the debris sealed off the compartment, leaving the living to lie with the dead. All through the travail Carl showed such courage, such self-forgetfulness that men called him a saint. He died January 20, ten days before his friends at Cabanatuan were to be liberated.

At Cabanatuan the Americans were not so sure that they would ever be liberated. The Japanese guards abandoned the

² See Father James B. Reuter's article in *Woodstock Letters*, December 1946 (pp. 325-355), "He Kept Silence in Seven Languages."

camp, left food for the Americans, but warned them that if they ventured beyond the barbed wire enclosure they would be shot. Then, strangely, they returned and took up their positions.

Rescue

On January 29, 1945, the American Ranger battalion pushed off from the front lines and infiltrated enemy-held territory. With Filipinos as their guides they worked close to the prison camp on the morning of the 30th. Two Filipino scouts crawled to within 75 feet of the enemy sentries, took notes on their positions, and returned to the Ranger battalion.

By 7:30 that evening the rescue group had worked itself into position and began firing. Within the camp, thinking that the Japanese had begun to slaughter the prisoners, the frightened inmates threw themselves to the ground. Then they saw Americans race through the gates. In unbelief the liberated prisoners were shepherded out of the camp.

At a cost of twenty-seven men on his side Mucci had destroyed five hundred Japanese. Not a prisoner lost his life to enemy action. But two men, exhausted by the excitement of their sudden release, died of heart attacks.

Mucci brought his freed charges back by carabao cart through territory still strongly held by the enemy. When the prisoners were counted, it was found that Hugh was not among them. His name was not among those given out by the War Department as released. Hugh was still behind enemy lines.

When the attack was at its height, Captain James C. Fisher, son of Dorothy Canfield Fisher, noted American novelist and educator, the only doctor among the attacking forces, was mortally wounded. The doctor could not be moved. Hugh remained with him until he died and said some prayers over his hastily dug grave. Then Hugh made the twelve miles back to American lines several hours after the others.

MacArthur was extremely pleased by the rescue, "No other incident of the campaign has given me such personal satisfaction." He decorated every man in the rescue force.

Hugh and the others who had been rescued came back to the United States as conquering heroes. There were inter-

views, receptions, parades. It was as if America, with a guilty conscience over its earlier inability to aid these men, was trying to make amends.

Hugh was assigned to Letterman Hospital, San Francisco. But with his energetic temperament he did not stay there any longer than he had to. The medical report on him notes, "Following a month's sick leave, the patient had entirely regained his normal weight."

Hugh returned to New York City March 16. The next day was St. Patrick's day with its traditional parade. As Hugh joined the reviewers on the steps of the Cathedral, he received an ovation from the bystanders. As he knelt to kiss the ring of Archbishop Spellman, he was a handsome figure in his army uniform, the carabao patch of the 101st Division on his shoulder, a row and a half of campaign ribbons on his breast, and six gold service stripes on his sleeve. It was a splendid tableau that made it perhaps too easy to forget the years of suffering those insignia symbolized.

In the days that followed, Hugh became a sought-after guest of honor. He spoke at a communion breakfast at Mitchell Field, the Fireman's mass at St. Patrick's Cathedral, the Post Office Holy Name Society, the Telephone Ladies Breakfast. He reviewed the cadets at Xavier and was guest of honor at Regis, his old alma mater. He gave a lecture at the Hotel Commodore to raise money for the Philippine mission.

Hugh was eager to get back to priestly work. In September 1945 he was assigned to duty at Letterman. A new annex had been erected to care for liberated POWs. Of all the work that Hugh had done as a priest up to this time, he confessed that he found this new assignment the most tiring because, for a period of two months, the hours ran from six in the morning until twelve at night. But of all his spiritual ministrations he found it the most consoling. He also worked with Army officials to determine the whereabouts of those listed as *Missing in Action* in the Philippines. When he had finished, less than 500 of the men who had been so listed were still unaccounted for.

During this period, at his own expense, Hugh visited about 400 of the families of men who had not returned from the Philippines. Those whom he could not visit he wrote. With

the help of a dictaphone and secretary he sent out about 2,000 letters. He saw the bishops of Portland, Oregon, and Lafayette, Louisiana, from which dioceses Fathers Richard E. Carberry and Joseph V. LaFleur had come, two chaplains who had made the voyage toward Manchuria but had not returned.

As his work at Letterman came to a close, Hugh was eager to get back to the Orient. He put in a request asking for service in the Philippines, but the Army ignored what they considered an eccentric desire. At this time, now that Japan had been defeated, all traffic was coming the other way. Officials could not conceive that anyone would want to go back. Hugh wrote again, citing an Army directive which allowed liberated POWs their choice of theater. He stated that he meant to hold the Army to its promise.

On the first of December Hugh left the United States for Hawaii. His temporary assignment was the 527th Port Battalion. It was an odd assignment. Of the 500 white officers and colored enlisted men, only twelve were Catholic.

In March Hugh was summoned to Manila as a witness in the trial of General Kuo who had been overall commander of prison camps in the Philippines from March 1944 to January 1945. For an Army court Hugh reviewed the years of imprisonment and the many atrocities to which he had been witness and received the thanks of the Army's prosecuting counsel.

With the Paratroops

Hugh was then sent to Japan and took up a most congenial assignment. He had been appointed as chaplain to the 11th Airborne Division. The 11th Airborne was a colorful outfit. It had started out in New Guinea and fought its way up to the Philippines. One of its units had been responsible for the liberation of American civilians at Los Baños, among whom were many Jesuits. The 11th had had a Jesuit chaplain in its three years of combat history, Father Edward J. Dunne of the New York Province, who earned the Bronze Star Medal for heroism on Leyte.

The 11th Airborne was in a period of transition. Its combat veterans were on their way home. The youngsters who took their places were for the most part eighteen-month draf-

tees. They swaggered around in the paratrooper's outfit, the cuffs of trousers bloused into combat boots, giving the impression that it was they who had won the war. Innocents that they were, they were open to all the temptations that pagan Japan had to offer them. They needed a good priest to set their thinking straight. That was to be Hugh's job.

It was at this point that belated honors began to catch up with Hugh. He had been promoted to the rank of Captain one month after his release from the prison camp. Now one year later he was promoted to Major. The promotion was rapid but Hugh would surely have reached this rank during the war if he had not been captured.

He was awarded the Legion of Merit, the second highest award for non-combat service that the Army has. He received it for his service during the period January to May 1942. General Wainwright himself signed the final approval for the award, and it was presented to Hugh in a formal ceremony in the presence of 11th Airborne troops.

He was also awarded the Army Commendation Ribbon by the Adjutant General of the Army for his excellent work the year before in consoling the bereaved families of casualties. The Bronze Star came to him for his heroic sharing of food on the transport from Davao to Manila.

Of all the awards Hugh was most pleased with the Commendation Ribbon. "By sheer accidental circumstances anyone could merit an award for heroism, but the fact that the Adjutant General has recognized my primary function as a chaplain, namely, my ministry, is sufficient reward for any efforts I have expended in the past five years."³

There were also awards that Hugh did not receive. He had been informed while in the hospital after his recapture that he would be awarded the Silver Star for remaining with the mortally wounded Captain Fisher. The award was never made. Then there were the two Purple Hearts for wounds received when the Japanese guards beat him on the transport. The scars were still visible when the doctor examined him after his release, and even as late as March 1947 he was still

³ The texts of Hugh's citations are given in *Woodstock Letters*, November 1960, pp. 452-453.

suffering pain in his shoulder. The Purple Heart with oak leaf cluster was at first awarded and then rescinded, for it was decided that wounds inflicted in beatings did not come under the spirit of the Purple Heart award. Hugh returned the Purple Heart awards and kept silent about the Silver Star.

Hugh's work in Japan required extensive travelling to cover outlying units. It was frequently necessary to make a trip of twelve to fifteen hours in each direction from a central point to say Mass for distant battalions. He covered about 3,000 miles each month.

Hugh got along very well with the 11th Airborne's Commander, Major General Swing. The general was a non-Catholic, and, according to Hugh, a bit suspicious of Roman Catholic padres. A few months with the Division convinced Swing that Hugh was a valuable contribution to the efficiency of the unit. The General invited Hugh to dine at his home one Saturday evening. Hugh declined the invitation saying that Saturday was his night for hearing confessions, and though it might not be official Army working hours, it was still the work for which the Army was paying his chaplain's salary. Hugh received other invitations after that, but none for Saturdays.

At the end of August 1946 Hugh went to glider school and after the period of training was rated as a gliderist. Only his bad leg kept him from becoming a full-fledged parachutist.

Hugh liked his work with the 11th Airborne, but the rumor that the Division was soon scheduled to return to the States made him keep his eye open for another assignment. The opportunity came in June 1947 when he was spending a leave in Mindanao giving a three-day retreat to college students. A Graves Registration unit had asked for a priest, and Hugh was assigned to it for temporary duty.

Graves Registration Unit

The Graves Registration teams were operating at full schedule in those days. Their work was to locate the bodies of dead servicemen and see that they were properly interred. American dead were scattered across the islands of the western Pacific, in graves hastily dug by guerilla forces, in the

fuselages of planes that had crashed into tropical jungles. The Army assigned a chaplain to the work to be certain that interment was carried on with reverence for the dead. With each burial of a Catholic Hugh was photographed praying by the graveside so that a picture could be sent to the next of kin.

When Hugh finished his stay in Mindanao he returned to the 11th Airborne for a short time. But the Graves Registration team still needed a priest, so Hugh returned. He was given jurisdiction over one of the largest parishes since St. Francis Xavier went to the Indies. Hugh was zone chaplain for an area that stretched from Yokohama to Australia and from Guam to Shanghai. If bodies were to be recovered within that area, the assignment could be given Hugh's team. Of course, other teams were also at work, and the labor was divided among them.

Hugh revisited the Philippines. He went to Camp O'Donnell to work at the graves there. The task of identifying the Americans was a comparatively simple one. The identification of the bodies of the thousands of Filipinos had to be given up as a hopeless task, for they had been buried in common graves. As Hugh looked around Camp O'Donnell he was happy to see that all traces of its use as a prison camp had been obliterated. Future generations might mourn the fact that so precious a war memorial had been altered, but those who had suffered in prison camps, Hugh included, did not mourn the change.

Hugh hopped around the islands in his small L-5 liaison plane, visiting the sites of battles, reverently interring the dead, known and unknown. He went to Subic Bay where the bombers had unwittingly slaughtered American prisoners; he visited Bataan and Corregidor. He went east to Saipan and south to New Guinea. On the latter island he visited the Lost Valley where twenty-one Americans, including several members of the Women's Army Corp, had lost their lives in the crash of a C-47 in 1944.

Despite what could be considered the depressing aspects of the work, Hugh was happy in it for the burial of the dead was a priestly work. He understood the consolation it brought to parents back in the United States to realize that their sons

had received, even though belatedly, a Catholic burial service.

These days were not without their dangers. The L-5 was a flimsy plane to be covering the distances in between islands in the Philippines. In addition to the hazard of motor failure, there was the possibility of Huk anti-aircraft fire. Recently these Communist guerillas had shot down another L-5 on patrol. On the ground Hugh was warned not to travel without armed companions. He saw one army vehicle with a .50 caliber bullet hole through the windshield. One night Hugh, finding out that an Army friend was ill, travelled through Huk infested territory to visit him. The Filipinos shook their heads: the American priest was crazy; but then, it is the work of the angels, to take care of crazy priests.

Amateur Spy

Hugh also did a bit of amateur sleuthing for Army intelligence. In a written report he explained Communist infiltration into the Islands, the complexities of Moro-Filipino relationships, the problem of Chinese being smuggled into the Philippines. He presented the complaints of those who protested that they had received no adequate compensation for their war services: compensation had gone frequently to undeserving men, while those who had suffered greatly in the cause of liberation had gone unrewarded.

It as in this frame of mind that Hugh sat down and itemized all the cases of heroism that had come to his attention during his war years in the Philippines, especially those of missionaries and Filipino civilians whose heroic service had frequently gone unnoticed, and who now had only ill-health and poverty to show for their patriotism.

About the beginning of 1948 the Army asked Hugh a direct question: did he intend to remain in the Army? Hugh himself did not know the answer. In 1945 there had been 182 Jesuits in the Army; by 1948 the number was down to fourteen. Did the Provincial want him to stay? Hugh wrote to Father John J. McMahan, then Provincial of the New York Province. Father McMahan answered, "After much deliberation on the matter, I think it is best that you remain on active duty in the Army for the time being."

Now that the Provincial had given his permission, there

was a further question: Did the Army want to keep him? His health was as cantankerous as ever. In April 1947 he wrote, "I was ordered to Tokyo for an annual physical examination, because the hospital here at Sapporo would not grant me a waiver on some injuries received in the days of combat. I was able to fast talk some of the doctors and explained the shortage of chaplains. Because the injuries are non-organic and will not become worse, the doctors readily granted me a waiver. As soon as there are sufficient Catholic chaplains I will revert to civilian status."

In 1948 Hugh was scheduled to return to the States. He had compiled more than the normal amount of overseas service time and the Army insisted that he do a tour of duty in the States. "Anything but administrative work," Hugh protested. He wanted to remain with an airborne outfit, so the Army assigned him to the 82nd Airborne Division. At the last minute the assignment was changed. He was sent to Sandia instead.

Sandia

Sandia Base, Albuquerque, New Mexico, was known as a Special Weapons Base. No one was supposed to say what went on there, and from the silence everyone suspected that it was an atomic weapons base, and everyone was right. Hugh was to stay at Sandia from 1948 to 1952. They were tranquil years.

But they were also hard working years. Hugh ran a Holy Name Society that had 150 communicants every month, a Women's Sodality with 125 members; an active Vincent de Paul Society. The Sodality women were encouraged to work at the nearby sisters' hospital where they helped out with light nursing and secretarial duties. Hugh also organized Catholic Action in another practical way. He got volunteers from the Base, from a retired rear-admiral down to an active private "no-class," to paint a hospital corridor for the nuns, thereby saving them several hundred dollars in painters' costs.

He organized a Blessed Sacrament Adoration Society which rotated its members in front of the Blessed Sacrament exposed from noon of first Friday to noon of first Saturday. He had four block rosaries going; one family would say the

rosary before a statue of Our Lady one day; the next day the statue would be passed on to another family until a certain number of families had been covered.

Hugh covered Kirtland Air Force Base before Father Daniel V. Campbell, S.J., was recalled to service during the Korean War and assigned there. Hugh was also made a curate of St. Charles parish, Albuquerque, so that he could carry on work there.

Hugh was in the hospital twice during this period: once from pneumonia and once from sheer physical exhaustion. There were no awards now for his services—the Army is sparing with decorations during peace time. But it made no matter to Hugh. He would have worked just as hard if he had been stationed in some small barrio in Mindanao.

When the Korean War broke out, Hugh was anxious to go overseas. He wrote on July 23, 1950, to Major General Witsell, The Adjutant General of the Army who had awarded him the Commendation Ribbon, by-passing channels as usual when he felt that urgent action was demanded. "I know that some will consider me a fool for making this offer (to go to Korea), but Christ was called a fool when he offered himself for others." In Hugh Kennedy's file this sentence, surrounded though it is by prosaic documents, shines out. In it blazes forth the spirit of St. Ignatius, the spirit which Hugh had long ago made his own. Korea had nothing to offer him in the way of decorations or promotion: he already had those. It offered only cold, fatigue, a chance to serve others. The Army refused Hugh's request: there was to be no reassignment until he finished his tour in the United States. Perhaps it was just as well. When 8th Army units were fragmented and almost annihilated in December 1950 by the Communist armies, many Americans went into prison camps. It is doubtful whether Hugh's health would have withstood another siege behind barbed wire.

By 1952 Hugh was due for reassignment. He asked for the East again, and almost made it. He was assigned tentatively to the Yokohama Command. For Hugh this was a beginning; he might get to Korea yet. But he reckoned without the Army doctors.

The doctors wrote to the commanding general of Sandia

Base: "This officer's personality is extremely well known to us and is such that it would render him incapable of anything less than maximum performance regardless of hazard to himself. Given an administrative position, which would not actually require front line inspections, this officer would be compelled by his own sense of responsibility and obligation to duty to assume such risks and hazards. For these reasons it is felt that assignment anywhere within the proximity of a combat zone or field of activity where he might conceivably subject himself to the above described adverse conditions is contraindicated."

Kaiserslautern

So Hugh's assignment to Yokohama Command was rescinded and he was ordered instead to Western Area Command at Kaiserslautern, Germany. By this time Hugh had been promoted to Lieutenant Colonel. He left behind in Sandia a fine reputation, "The most enthusiastic, hard working, completely selfless chaplain I have ever known," said one officer friend he left behind at Sandia.

In Germany Hugh gave frequent retreats. Many of these were three day exercises at a monastery or convent (for he also gave them to women dependents of service men), and he averaged six or seven talks a day. The retreat movement within the Army was strong in Germany. The service had opened a retreat house at the Alpine Inn, Berchtesgaden, Germany.

In May 1953 Hugh visited Rome. At Landstuhl Air Base Hugh met two Air Force pilots who were off for a monthly jaunt just to fill up time required to draw flight pay. Hugh talked them into going to Rome. In the Eternal City Hugh met Father Vincent McCormick, then American Assistant, who in turn introduced him to Father General. Hugh looked back on this interview as a high point in his life. "Here was I," he reflected later, "twelve years away from community life, twelve years away from the warmth and friendship of my fellow Jesuits, twelve years treading the wine press alone, and being asked to visit him through whom I had vowed my obedience to God." Hugh asked Father General to pray for the retreat work he was doing for he felt that it was an ex-

tremely valuable apostolate. Father General agreed with him and Hugh knelt for a blessing.

Hugh's health failed him again in the Spring of 1955. He was once more in the hospital with pneumonia. "His spirits are good; his complexion and general facial appearance are not so good," wrote a friend who visited him.

But by May Hugh was out of the hospital and spent his leave in the Holy Land. On his return he found that he had been assigned to the advanced course at the Chaplains' School, Fort Slocum, New York. On July 26, as Hugh was boarding the plane that was to take him to the States, he collapsed. He was rushed to the 97th General Hospital at Frankfurt where he had been a patient a few weeks before.

Hugh received the last sacraments. Though Army doctors were not convinced that Hugh would die, he himself felt otherwise. He told the priest who administered the last rites, "I have been waiting for heaven for forty-seven years. If I have to go now, it's alright."

The doctors discovered a previously concealed heart condition and placed him on the critical list. On August 3, 1955 Father Lambert, an Army chaplain, dropped in to see Hugh at 11 o'clock in the morning. While the priest was speaking to him, Hugh took several quick gasping breaths and died. In stunned silence Father Lambert raised his hand for a final absolution.

Hugh was given a High Mass at St. Sebastian's Church, Frankfurt. About seventy-five priests and several high ranking Protestant chaplains were present. Father John L. Barry, a Jesuit Army chaplain, preached the sermon.

When Hugh's body was returned to the United States another mass was said at St. Ignatius, New York City. Bishop Arnold, who, on leaving his post as Army Chief of Chaplains, was appointed to the Military Ordinariate, was due to preside. But Cardinal Spellman decided otherwise.

The Cardinal had just returned from an exhausting trip to Brazil. He sat at his desk at 9:15 that morning but found he could not keep his mind on his work. He called a priest friend: "I can't concentrate on anything while a priest who served the military so faithfully as Hugh Kennedy is being

buried only thirty blocks away." So the busy Cardinal took time out to preside at Hugh's funeral.

There was a solemn high mass. "The Jesuits haven't improved in their ceremonies, but their intentions were good," commented one visitor. The visitor was also impressed by the demeanor of Hugh's eighty-eight year old father who knelt upright, as reverently as a boy at his first communion.

Hugh was buried at St. Andrew. Long ago when Hugh Kennedy had entered the Society, he had placed his hand in God's. It was God who led him to Cagayan and Malaybalay, to Davao and Cabanatuan; through the Western Pacific, to Sandia, to Frankfurt. And in the end, after the long years as a journeyer, it was God at last who brought him to rest among his own.

Gathering Retreat Material as a Scholastic

Donald Smythe, S.J.

The Jesuit professor had just made a remarkable statement. He was addressing a group of scholastics, urging them, in preparation for their future sermons, conferences, and retreats, to begin a system of notes while they were still in their studies, to gather material then for their future work.

"You will find when you get to tertianship and come to write your retreat," he said, "that you have all the theory, all the dogma, all the principles. What you need is more than that. When you go out to talk to people, that is not what moves them. People are moved much more by concrete, graphic illustration than by a high-flown, theological explanation about the spiritual life. What you need is illustrative material: anecdotes, stories, colorful ways of putting things.

"Now is the time to begin collecting these, now during your studies—from your spiritual reading, from talks that you hear, from your own private reading. You will not have time later on. It is too late to start when you get to tertianship."

Then came the remarkable statement.

"When my class got to tertianship it was amazing the number who had not collected a thing. They were forlorn. All they could do was look around and ask those of us who had illustrative material for anything that we were throwing away."

It seemed remarkable that such a condition of affairs could be true—and somewhat sad. To think that with our Jesuit training, with fifteen long years of preparation for a life dedicated to an active apostolate, Jesuits could come to the work of giving sermons, conferences and retreats and find themselves without material to put across their message, to make it concrete and moving, really vital, to demonstrate their points with examples, to hold their audience's attention with stories.

How many in that class took the advice to begin a note system is hard to tell. Some did; others, one suspects, did not. Tertianship will tell. But again, it seems remarkable that anyone *would not*; that, despite repeated suggestions to gather illustrative material by juniorate deans, by speech teachers, and others, scholastics go through the course and come to tertianship, in a sense, empty handed. They have read hundreds of books, good books. They go through spiritual books, through biographies and histories, through some of the world's great literature. In these books, as in a mine, are buried countless nuggets of good stories, "quotable quotes," excellent illustrative material to put across the spiritual lesson, the dogma, the principle that people need. But in the end they come to tertianship without them. They read and forgot. They have no idea where to find what they need.

The parents of one of Ours cornered a noted Jesuit preacher at a Jesuit family club once and asked how he was able to give such good talks. With typical modesty, he gave credit to the Society. "It's the training you get in the Society. When you go through fifteen years of study and reading and classes, you pick up all these things; when you get out and start to work, they just come out."

With all respect to that Jesuit, that was not really so. He gave a community exhortation later. The manila folder he carried up the aisle to the table in the sanctuary was bulging with notes. He gave that exhortation (an excellent one) with

clippings he had from newspapers, with pages he had torn out of magazines, with notes he had taken from spiritual reading, with memoranda of talks he had had with this person or that. It was an excellent exhortation, but it was not the fruit, solely, of having gone through the course. It was excellent because he had gotten it up on his own, because he had been on the lookout for things as he went through the course, because he had clipped them and saved them and made note of them. Just being a Jesuit was not responsible for his success as a speaker. He was a success because, as he went through the course, he saw he was going to need illustrative material and collected it. Others went through the course and collected nothing; their sermons showed it. It was a matter of individual initiative.

Some Good Advice

One evening years ago a faculty member of West Baden College took some Scholastics to his room and showed them his note system. He revealed that he never read a book without taking notes on it. Every book he read, every magazine, was potential material for his retreat (and he gives a good retreat). At the time he was going through Carl Sandburg's *Abraham Lincoln*. He was reading it for pleasure; it was not his field. But he had gotten an amazing amount of material out of it for sermons and conferences. His practice was, when he found something good, to scribble it roughly on scrap paper and toss it into one of many folders he had, each labeled for a spiritual topic, e.g., *Charity, Poverty*, etc. Then, when he had collected many little scraps of paper, he would later take time out, sit down and type them out consecutively on an 8 x 11 piece of paper, and index them in his files.

He gave his visitors some advice that night.

"Look," he said. "You know that as a Jesuit you are going to be giving retreats later. A week's retreat has thirty-two talks: twenty-four meditations and eight conferences. The meditations are pretty well set. In the First Week, for example, you'll have to give about six set talks: Introduction, Principle and Foundation, Sin, Hell, Death, and Mercy. In the Second Week: Kingdom, Incarnation, Nativity, Two Standards, Three Classes, Three Modes, and whatever else

you have time for, e.g., Hidden Life, Call of the Apostles, etc. In the Third Week: Last Supper, Agony in the Garden, Crucifixion. In the Fourth Week: Resurrection, Appearances, and the *Contemplatio ad Amorem*. The Conference talks you can choose yourself, but they are usually something on Poverty, Chastity, Obedience, Prayer, Charity, Humility, Self-denial, etc.

“Why not get yourselves thirty-two manila folders, label them, and start to collect illustrative material for these talks. If you start now, you will be surprised how much you will have by the time you come to write your own retreat in tertianship. You can use this same material for sermons and conferences. Just having the folders will be an incentive to gather material; you will be more aware of the need and pick up things you would ordinarily overlook. Try it.”

The scholastics were not completely faithful to his advice. Some got the manila folders, labeled them, and began to drop in items they ran across. Others found it a chore typing them up again on an 8 x 11, and indexing them (some of the material could serve for several folders); they found it easier to use 4 x 6 cards, make carbons where need be, and drop them into a file box, with thirty-two dividers for the thirty-two talks. Their friend on the faculty approved the change. “To each his own” was his motto as far as the mechanics of note-taking was concerned. The important thing was to take notes.

The results were pretty much as he had said they would be. Their card files filled up fast, once they were on the lookout for things. Each book read for spiritual reading, each book read in the pulpit, each talk at the annual retreat added to the collection of notes, which outgrew file boxes and moved into file drawers. Today, five years after beginning, the average collection stacks about a foot high.

Examples

A strange thing happened once the system began. As might be expected, they were more sensitive to illustrative material. They were reading spiritual reading, not just for inspiration, but to gather material for their retreat, and things seemed to leap out at them from the text that they would have missed

before. But, more unexpectedly, they began to find illustrative material in other reading, in secular reading, in reading in no way connected with religion. Here are some examples:

"On the Vanity of Worldly Success" (from *Time* magazine, December 9, 1940, p. 79). The death of Jesse Livermore, called the "biggest bear on Wall Street," "the most fabulous living U.S. stock trader," who made profits of one, five, and ten millions at a time. Nature of death: suicide. Death note: "I am a failure."

"On the Fickleness of Public Favor" (from *Life* magazine, quoted in Mark Sullivan, *Our Times*, I, 336).

These heroes—erst extolling—
A fickle public drops;
Folks chase a ball that's rolling,
And kick it when it stops.

"On the Shortness of Life" (from a *New York Times* book review). "What is life?" asked Crowfoot, leader of the Blackfoot Confederacy. "It is a flash of a firefly in the night. It is a breath of a buffalo in the winter time. It is as the little shadow that runs across the grass and loses itself in the sunset."

"On the Death of a Loved One" (from Jim Bishop's newspaper column). A week ago last Sunday a woman stopped at my house. Her husband had died six weeks before. For her, the world was at an end. They were religious people and she could not understand why he was taken away so quickly.

"If you have faith," another woman said softly, "what does it matter that he preceded you by a month, a year, or a decade? Visit an old cemetery. You will find that a man died in 1809 and his wife died in 1829. Looking back, does the twenty-year difference really matter?"

Another strange thing that happened once the note system was begun was the sort of cross-fertilization that occurred between spiritual and secular reading, between illustrative material for the retreat and illustrative material for the Scholastics' respective fields, especially history and English. They had already found spiritual material in history books, weekly magazines, and daily newspapers. Now, conversely, they began to find illustrative material for their future teaching in the books they were reading for spiritual reading.

One Scholastic, for example, found the following for history:

Theodore Maynard in his *Story of American Catholicism* relates how Pizarro died, assassinated, making the sign of the cross in his own blood; and how the Puritans almost starved in the midst of

plenty, refusing to hunt and fish because they considered it ungodly—it partook of the nature of a sport. Agnes Repplier in her *Marquette* says that the Hurons feared the Iroquois so much that they asked Père Le Jeune if the Iroquois would be permitted to enter into the Christian heaven; when he answered in the affirmative, they refused to be baptized. She also tells how Père de Brebeuf ranked mosquitoes, along with hunger, fatigue, and the smell of savages, as one of the four worst things to endure; hardened woodsmen were made sick by their bites. Thomas McDermott in his *Certainly I'm a Catholic* reports how Cotton Mather forbade his wife to inform him that she was pregnant, on the ground that such conversation was indecent. Bishop Wright, writing in Louis Putz's *The Catholic Church, U.S.A.*, mentions that as late as 1856 the observance of Christmas was proscribed in Boston as a Catholic aberration; that even as late as 1870 any pupil who stayed home from school on Christmas day was punished or even expelled. Maisie Ward in her *Return to Chesterton* quotes G.K.C. as saying that the English should have a Thanksgiving Day too—to celebrate the departure from England of those dour Puritans, the Pilgrim Fathers! C. S. Lewis in one of his *Screwtape* articles has an excellent treatment of democracy and the danger of its ending in mediocrity.

The only difficulty the scholastics found in collecting illustrative material for future work as priests was the time it took to type the notes. But this they judged worth the time and negligible compared to the great good that resulted—having something concrete to give the people. A method used for note-taking was to read always with pencil in hand, jotting down briefly on a single slip of paper what seemed good in a book or article. This was done very quickly, listing only a page number and next to it the code T, UM, M, LM, or B, depending on whether the item was at the top, upper middle, middle, lower middle, or bottom of the page, e.g., 13 T, 25 UM, 31 B, 50 LM. At the end of the book (or in the middle if it were long), the book was placed next to the typewriter and the page jottings were checked again. What looked good originally often did not then and was passed over. What still looked good as illustrative material was typed on a 4 x 6 card, either the whole anecdote, quotation, or a reference to where it could be found. Each note had a separate card. When a stack of cards were accumulated, they were put in a card file (box or drawer) under the proper division.

Jaime Castiello in his *Humane Psychology of Education*

remarks: "It is not catalogues of virtues which are going to inspire boys, but the living manifestations of real virtue in the real lives of men." In other words, it is not getting up in the pulpit and telling people that they should be chaste and charitable and courageous that is going to influence them, but showing them case histories of people who were such, who lived Christianity, who implemented the Gospels in their lives. This is concrete, graphic, illustrative. A picture is worth a thousand words. This is what our men should be gathering now during their course of studies. God grant that they may not be found deficient, that they may have abundant material when they reach tertianship.

The Structural Approach in Latin

Frederick E. Brenk, S.J.

Until this year (1960) I always looked upon myself as a moderate traditionalist in teaching Latin and Greek, which meant that I was regarded by those about me as an arch-traditionalist. In fact, when a poll was sent around earlier in the year, asking for opinions on the syllabus we were using for the orations of Cicero, I commented that I was dead set against any new methods. Perhaps you may wonder then how in the short space of two months, I became a very ardent supporter of the structural approach to Latin as it is being developed by Dr. Waldo Sweet at the University of Michigan. Strange to say, I wonder whether those very things which made me a traditionalist did not make me appreciate the structuralists.

This spring when asked to go to the University of Michigan to study the approach, I was somewhat reluctant to go, but I felt it was necessary because in the arguments I engaged in previously over the subject, I was always met with the contention, "But you do not know anything about the structural method." This was somewhat true, I had to admit. Would it not be very clever to silence the opposition by knowing their

case better than they? When I arrived at Ann Arbor, I discovered Father John J. O'Neill of the California Province of the Society of Jesus, who was teaching at the juniorate at Los Gatos where some of the courses were already being taught along structural lines, and he wanted to learn the method better so that he could continue, if advantageous, the same type of teaching which the juniors were getting in previous courses. As a joke, he once remarked that they had better not change the way he was teaching because it was really the only thing he knew. After Dr. Sweet's class we would walk across the street to the student union, often with another Californian, Thomas Franxman, a scholastic teaching at St. Ignatius in San Francisco, who was studying Arabic. Here we would haggle over the latest theories taught in class.

I also spent a good deal of time questioning other language students at the University about their courses and the attitudes of their teachers toward the newer methods. I found out that the French department was strongly traditional at least in the theory of the head of the department, but in practice great stress was laid on oral work, and many of the ideas of the structuralist were practiced. There was a lively group of undergraduates, many from the East, who had a grant to study Russian at the University for the summer and then travel in Russia for a month before school started in the fall. The textbook they used in class was very traditional, but the tapes they used in the language laboratory were more along structural lines. For the past five years some of the best teachers of Arabic in the country have been coming to Michigan for the summer, and consequently there were about fifty Arabic students studying modern Arabic. Their courses were taught along strictly structural lines, though this does not mean that they were taught exactly the same way as the Latin students were taught, and the students spent about three hours a day in the language laboratory. They complained about having to memorize too many basic sentences, and seemed to be somewhat dissatisfied with the course. There were also many students, mainly from South America, studying basic English, comprising the largest group of basic language students, and studying along strict structural lines. Their afternoons were spent in the language laboratory pain-

fully struggling to pronounce simple English words like water and earth while a teacher went around occasionally to help them.

Before I went to Ann Arbor, all the experience of my teaching of Latin and Greek over three years had confirmed me in the advantages of the traditional method, and I even became strongly convinced of the importance of translation from English to Latin or Greek, something I was against in the beginning. I did not, and still do not believe that the traditional method means using the text as a springboard to dive into the sea of grammar, but rather felt that carefully chosen questions on grammar would help the student understand the passage and develop a scholarly outlook toward the language.

Cicero As Poetry

There was one thing I did which was a little out of the ordinary. Some of the boys read aloud about twenty lines of the text each class. My object was to have them visualize the raft of Odysseus tossed upon the waves of the Mediterranean, or look in horror upon Gaius Gracchus limping across the bridge to escape his aristocratic murderers. Before they read the passage I would describe the scene vividly in English and then they would read the text out loud. For most of the students this was probably completely unsuccessful, but will they ever appreciate the classics until it is no longer batches of strange words they see as they read, but an actual world of waves and storms, or the dark columns of the Capitol? As I read the *De Oratore* of Cicero, beginning more and more to appreciate this great writer, who is little more than a thorn in the side of our high school students, I became convinced that you cannot read him the way he spoke, and thereby do him justice unless you become aware of the long and short quantity of Latin vowels. Therefore, I read Cicero as I read Latin poetry. The corrections that I made later on, due to Dr. Sweet's influence work out perfectly, over the cumbersome system which I was using at that time. This simple correction is to speak Latin as closely as possible to the way the Romans spoke it.

Thus in certain aspects I was already disposed to the structural approach, and in aspects which differed from those of

most of the other people I found in Dr. Sweet's classroom, people of all different backgrounds, of all kinds of dispositions, and from many parts of the country. The class was composed of six or so Sisters, about twelve priests, and a number of high school teachers, four or five undergraduates, a linguist, and often the few remaining seats were taken by visitors. Practically all of these people left the class with an enthusiasm for putting into effect at least some of the techniques taught, with the paradox that the older they were the more enthusiastic some of them seemed to be.

Now what philtre (like that which killed the somber Lucretius) causes this change in otherwise normally intelligent people, and results in their giving up methods which they have used for years? First of all, Dr. Sweet is a serious Latin scholar. Though he is no relative of Henry Sweet, the English linguist, who fascinated George Bernard Shaw and about whom Shaw wrote a play, *Pygmalion*, they do have this in common, that one introduced the oral approach into the study of the English language, and the other is trying to do the same for Latin. The *Latin: A Structural Approach* of Dr. Sweet is built upon the conclusions of outstanding linguists.

Many Jesuits confuse the Most and the Sweet method even though they are poles apart. Just how does Dr. Sweet feel about Father Most's method? His criticism of Father Most is: you cannot know a language until you know its structure. But basically the Most method is not scientific enough to receive much consideration at Michigan. Another criticism of the Most book is the "easy Latin" given in the beginning of the book. This, Dr. Sweet feels, distorts the true colors of the Latin language. Latin is difficult, he says, and quite different from English. So why cripple the boy with bad habits leading to eventual helplessness and disillusionment? One cannot help but arrive at the conclusion, after being at Michigan, that Father Most's way is unable to win the approval of modern scientific linguistic thought.

There were two little incidents which helped to turn me toward the new system. In the afternoon, the members of the theory class which Father O'Neill and I were in, would tutor the students in the class taking the *Latin: A Structural Approach*. Mr. Dickerman, one of Dr. Sweet's assistants

taught this group in the morning, and generally in the afternoon they would work on tapes and the teaching machines. Most of them were students who needed the Latin requirement for their doctorate degrees, and they showed a very cheerful and cooperative attitude toward the course, and many of them who had studied modern languages by the traditional method were quite pleased by the new approach.

A Satisfied Student

One day a Mr. Zietlow who was regarded as the best student in the class, a graduate English student in his early twenties, fell to my lot. At this period in the course, Dr. Sweet wanted us to work on the readings in the back of his book and I had been doing this according to the ways he demonstrated in our class. But I thought that this would be a good time to test the new method by teaching and questioning the boy in the traditional method to see what he really knew. Meanwhile, I kept an eye out lest we be overheard translating sentences. The reading I was working on was the poem by Phaedrus *Ad rivum eundem lupus et agnus vēnerant*, something I had tried to teach two years before to my first year students at the D class at the end of the year, and had given up on as impossible. The student surprised me by doing well, but he was, of course, a very bright boy. Dr. Sweet and his assistant did come by, but I swiftly shifted gears into the structural method, and was only corrected for my pronunciation of *poētae*. My "tutee" showed no objection to the way I was teaching. Therefore I asked him at the end which way he liked best, the old structural way, or the new traditional way I had just been using to teach him. He thought for a while, then said that he thought he learned more when I asked the questions in Latin.

The second incident that impressed me was the following. Dr. Sweet had a grant to experiment with some teaching machines. This particular type was very simple, a small box with a paper containing questions and answers, and a crank to turn the paper through. One day he went through one of these "programs" designed to teach the poem *Eutrapelus tōnsor* by Martial. It was meant originally as an experiment with the beginning class which had been split up into two

parts, one of which was to study for a test on the poem using a dictionary and the traditional notes given, and the other was to use the teaching machine. At the end of the test who had done best? Naturally, those who had used the teaching machine. One might object that those who used the machines took two to three times as long, and the test was designed along the questions asked in the machine.

Dr. Sweet worked the experiment on us by writing the lines on the board and then reading off the questions from the program. Later comparing notes with Father O'Neill, I found that he was stuck on the meaning of *dum expinguit genās* while I did not have the slightest meaning for *altera barba subit*. But could not the difficulties have been removed in one minute by the old method? Dr. Sweet realizes this, but he feels that one is learning a lot of Latin by the questions. And after all, to understand how the student learns a language, must we not keep in mind that the things which seem perfectly obvious to us, may have taken us years to master?

So far I have been talking about *Latin: A Structural Approach*, and the teaching of beginning Latin. Dr. Sweet has also turned out a text for the first two books of Vergil, which contains the lines of Vergil on one side, and a paraphrase and commentary in Latin on the other. An undergraduate from the East, who had taken this course last year told me how Dr. Sweet taught this. In the first semester they covered only one book of Vergil, leaving the next eleven books for the following semester. To teach the new matter he would paraphrase and ask questions in Latin. Then at the beginning of the next class the students would keep their books closed while he would ask them questions or have them fill in lines as he read them to them. The tests for the most part consisted of "clozes;" that is, filling in of particular words or phrases omitted in whole or part. This same type of test was used in teaching Lucretius by Gerta Seligson, an ardent follower of Dr. Sweet's techniques, and caused some bitterness among some of the priests taking the course, and was aggravated by the fact that at least at the time I talked to these priests, she only took about twenty lines of Latin a day in class, and did not treat the background as well as they wished.

Pronunciation

Some of us are bothered by the pronunciation advocated by Dr. Sweet, usually called the Roman pronunciation. Dr. Sweet himself trills the "r" as an added frill. The first day of class Dr. Sweet looked at the nuns in the front row and told them he was going to speak Latin the way the first pope did. Whether this had anything to do with it or not, I do not know, but the nuns became very adept at this pronunciation, perhaps out of devotion to St. Peter. The matter written on Latin pronunciation is surprisingly little, and hard to get at, and you cannot find a dictionary, including the new Cassell's which marks the vowel quantities the way it is necessary for Dr. Sweet's system. However, a little book, *Latin Pronunciation and the Latin Alphabet* by Leonard Tafel based on the work by a German scholar named W. Corssen, *Ueber Aussprache, Vokalismus und Betonung der lateinischen Sprache* came out just exactly 100 years ago in Philadelphia, in which he bemoaned the pronunciation of the men at that time, and asked for a pronunciation more in accordance with that of the ancient Romans. Today most of the scholars in this country use this pronunciation. At the present time I am experimenting with a pronunciation closer to that of the Romans than the one being used by Dr. Sweet. In his manual for teachers, which will be published soon, he says that he would not want to use the exact Latin phonemes because the pronunciation would have to be changed for each period of literature.

Dr. Sweet feels that the biggest problem right now is testing. For high school students, I think that a more serious difficulty is that of giving some sort of homework. Dr. Sweet is aware of the need for workbooks and feels that they should be written, but to use the system as it should be employed, the homework should be done in the language laboratory. Unfortunately, some Jesuit schools, which would shudder at a model T Ford for a house car, have no plans for using language equipment or for setting up a laboratory. One of Dr. Sweet's contentions is that a science teacher can walk into a principal's office and come out with two or three hundred dollars worth of equipment whereas a classics teacher trembles to ask for five dollars. We must prove to the principals that we will actually use this equipment and they will prob-

ably be glad to give it. We often scorn the public school system as an educational wasteland, but in New York City alone this summer, thirty-four language laboratories of the very best quality were installed in the public high schools.

Are the books for teaching Latin and Greek in our high schools out of date by structural standards? With suitable workbooks, the more advanced books might be retained, since it is the text of the classical author which is most important. However, those who are teaching the beginning courses and wish to use the structural techniques are aware that it may be like going to bed each night on a Procrustean bed to find out that your legs have either been hammered out or sawn off when you wake up in the morning. Dr. Sweet's own series goes from Vergil to Ovid where ours goes from Caesar through Cicero to Vergil. He said that when he began his first book he knew he had to take one of two diverging ways. After giving it some thought he chose Vergil. Thus his system is similar to the Schoder system for Greek which chooses Homer first.

It may be of interest to some that Dr. Sweet is pushing advanced placement work in Latin, and many Jesuit students should be able to obtain college credit along this line. A special seminar and institute on advanced placement in Latin was held at the University this summer, and one of the surprising discoveries of the people experimenting with this field was that interest paid off more than high I.Q.'s as far as performance went and often students who otherwise looked very unpromising did remarkably well. Information on the programs may be obtained at the University of Michigan or through the *Advanced Placement Program Course Description* (1960) published by the College Entrance Examination Board, Box 592, Princeton, New Jersey.

The method used by Dr. Sweet is not a haphazard affair like the direct method schemes, and in some form or other structural linguistics will influence all future Latin textbooks as well as those of the other languages. Think of the possibilities for Greek, where nothing at all has been done. People often ask what is meant by the structural approach and are surprised when their informant begins to talk about phonemes. Their next question is "But what is a phoneme?" and

when the informant refuses to define it for them and tells them it takes a little time to get it across, they become somewhat peeved. The structural approach is something like the phoneme when you try and describe it. It is a broad complex of ideas covering the work and attitudes of linguists since the 1850's, and cannot be grasped by reading hurriedly one or two books, much less one or two introductions to Dr. Sweet's books. It is a kind of philosophy of language, and for this reason Dr. Sweet insists on calling it an approach rather than a method. The method is something to be worked out by each individual teacher. And as for its appeal to teachers who have formerly taught by traditional techniques, why should they not respect the appreciation of the classical authors which it breeds, the sound scholarship and reputation of the men advocating it, its humanistic outlook toward language and culture? That already a number of teachers, sincerely devoted to teaching the classics have adopted it, is greatly to its credit, and gives it great hopes of success in the troubled waters and storm clouds through which the Latin and Greek classics, like Odysseus long ago, are traveling in hopes of reaching an intellectual Ithaca.

Ignatian Prayer

“Seek God in All Things”

Joseph Stierli, S.J.

The founding of the Society of Jesus appeared to the sixteenth century as a revolutionary break with the one thousand year tradition of western monasticism. In spite of changing forms in all monastic orders from Benedict to Dominic, contemplation had been the center of monastic life. The order of St. Dominic is considered by its own members a contemplative order in spite of an apostolic orientation. The expression and guarantee of this contemplation was the enclosure

From *Ignatius von Loyola: Seine geistliche Gestalt und sein Vermächtnis* (Würzburg, 1956). Translated by Father Morton Hill, S.J.

of the monastery and also choir, which was the center of the monastic day. In the Benedictine formula, "Work and Prayer," the accent is on "Prayer." Monastic occupations like farming, handicraft and study are only significant interruptions of liturgical prayer. Even in the Dominican formula, "Give the fruit of prayer to others," apostolic work is considered the organic expression of contemplation.

Ignatius made the first daring break with these formulas. This innovation of Ignatius accounts for the difficulties and resistance he had to overcome before receiving the approbation of the Church. This innovation accounts too for the repeated attempts of the popes who came from the old orders as they tried to fit the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus into the tradition of monasticism, especially by the introduction of choir.

The innovation of St. Ignatius was not so much to be found in the carefully thought-out apostolic nature of his order. The Praemonstratensians and the mendicant orders of the late middle ages were his predecessors in apostolic activity and pioneers. It was in the universality of his apostolate and in his apostolic method that Ignatius surpassed the earlier orders. It was the radically different adaptation of the entire order to the labor of the apostolic ministry that appeared as a revolution to the representatives of a firmly established monastic tradition. Yet it was only by this adaptation that Ignatius created an apostolic order in all its purity.

In the realization of his ideas, Ignatius abandoned many of the exercises of the monastic life that had been considered essential up to that time. First among these was choir. On the other hand, he created new ways of community life. In place of choir as the essential expression of contemplation, he presented a new religious ideal, "Seek God in all things." This he made the central principle of religious life. With this highly dynamic formula, Ignatius not only gave his own order a unique piety, he also gave the layman an anxiously awaited method of unifying his faith and his everyday living. If by his *Constitutions* Ignatius paved the way for many modern religious communities, he also developed a religious ideal by the formula of seeking God in all things. This ideal is incorporated into the Spiritual Exercises and thus is effective

outside the Society of Jesus. Therefore, an examination of this basic principle is a matter not merely of historical and ascetical interest to the Jesuit, but may also become fruitful for apostolic religious and for the layman.

We will treat our theme in four steps. First, the origin and contents of the formula, "Seek God in all things" must come from the life of St. Ignatius himself, because this formula grows from the depths of his own God-given mystical prayer. Secondly, it is worth noting that Ignatius makes this ideal an essential principle in the ascetical and religious training of his followers, and in it he finds the specific holiness of a Jesuit. Thirdly, because of the central position he gives to the seek-God-in-all-things formula, it will be necessary to ascertain its true meaning. Fourthly and finally, we will ask by what means this formula can be practiced and acquired in the spirit of St. Ignatius.

I

The Example of The Master

At the end of the "Pilgrim Report," the original form of the Ignatian autobiography, written in the years 1553-55, under repeated pressure of his disciples, and dictated by Ignatius to Father da Camara, St. Ignatius admitted that "since he began to serve God, he advanced constantly in holiness, i.e., in facility to find God, even to the end of his life."¹ This is a remarkable statement because Ignatius here equates holiness with the formula of "Finding God in All Things" and so characterizes his own spirituality. What he intends to say can be only understood in connection with his deep mystical prayer, whose nature we are trying to trace from the writing of the Saint himself and from the testimony of contemporaries. Especially valuable are *The Spiritual Journal* of the years 1544-45, his *Autobiography* and the *Spiritual Exercises*. The mystical prayer of St. Ignatius is essentially trinitarian. Since the triune God has revealed himself in Christ crucified, his prayer is also Christ-centered and cross-centered. His prayer is church-centered too, since we meet Christ in the Church, and centered on the Holy Eucharist and

¹ *Mon. Ign.* IV, I, 353-507.

the priesthood, especially after his ordination in Venice in 1537.

In his *Autobiography*, in describing the third Manresan period, the great mystic invasion of God into his life, Ignatius gives a systematic summary of the graces of this time that influenced his entire spiritual life. "First, he practiced great devotion to the Holy Trinity, addressing himself daily to each Person of the Trinity."² On the steps of the Dominican church, he received a vision of the Holy Trinity that was both a grace and a mission. "This impression was so tremendous that it remained with him all his life and he always felt great consolation when praying to the Holy Trinity."³ Father Laynez, to whom the master confided much of his interior life, has more to tell of those hours of grace. "During the year he spent at Manresa, he had so much light from our Lord that his mind was deeply consoled. Almost all the mysteries of the Faith were shown to him. It was especially the mystery of the Holy Trinity which refreshed his mind so that he thought of writing a book about the Holy Trinity, even though he was a very simple man who knew only how to read and write."⁴

Father Jerome Nadal, Ignatius' right hand in the preparation of the Constitutions and the inner make-up of the Order, testifies from his own experience and from the confidences entrusted to him by Ignatius, that "Ignatius is uniquely united to God. Father Ignatius told me personally that he is in constant relation with the Divine Persons and that he receives graces proper to each Person from the individual Persons."⁵ On another occasion he writes, "I do not wish to forget that our Father Ignatius had received the unique grace to pray freely and to rest in the Holy Trinity. He had these visions also earlier in life, but I am inclined to say he experienced them most frequently in the last years of his stay on earth."⁶ The last years spent at Rome were a time of deep mystical union with God, a constant union with the Trinity. Nadal testifies: "Ignatius is united to God in a special way. His soul has experienced every type of vision, not merely visions

² *Autobiography*, n. 28.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Fontes Narrativi I*, 82.

⁵ *MH Nadal IV*, 645.

⁶ *Ibid.* 651.

of a sensible nature as, for instance, the vision of Christ or of the Blessed Virgin, but also visions that were directed to his purely intellectual powers. He constantly lived the life of the spirit in a high state of union with God.”⁷ Ribadeneira (author of the first Ignatian biography) testifies to the maturity of Ignatius’ mystical life of prayer in the years of his greatest labor and torturing illness: “Ignatius felt that he was always advancing and that the fire in his soul ever burned with a warmer glow. Hence, Ignatius did not hesitate, when in his last years at Rome, to call the time spent at Manresa his ‘kindergarten’ days, although earlier during his studies, by reason of the wonderful graces received then, he had called it his ‘primitive church’.”⁸

But we will have a few passages from his own diary as our principal witnesses.

February 16, 1544:

I wanted to get ready for Mass, but doubted to whom and how to commend myself first. In this doubt, I knelt down, and wondering how I should begin, I thought that the Father would reveal Himself more to me and draw me to His mercies, feeling that He was more favorable and readier to grant what I desired (not being able to apply myself to my mediators). This feeling kept growing, with a flood of tears on my cheeks, and the greatest confidence in the Father, as though He were recalling me from my former exile. Later, while on my way to Mass, preparing the altar and vesting, and beginning Mass, everywhere with intense tears which drew me to the Father, Who set in order the interests of the Son, while I experienced many remarkable intellectual lights, which were delightful and very spiritual.⁹

February 19, 1544:

On awakening in the morning and beginning my examination of conscience and prayer, with a great and abundant flood of tears, I felt much devotion with many intellectual lights and spiritual remembrances of the Most Holy Trinity, which quieted me and delighted me immensely, even to producing a pressure in my chest, because of the intense love I felt for the Most Holy Trinity¹⁰ . . . On the way to Mass and just before it, I was not without tears; an abundance of them during it, but very peacefully, with very many lights and spiritual memories concerning the Most Holy

⁷ *Ibid.* 645.

⁸ *Mon Ign.* IV, I, 353.

⁹ W. J. Young, *The Spiritual Journal of St. Ignatius Loyola*, p. 8.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

Trinity which served as a great illumination to my mind, so much so that I thought I could never learn so much by hard study, and later, as I examined the matter more closely, I felt and understood, I thought, more than if I had studied all my life.¹¹

February 21, 1544:

In this Mass I recognized, felt or saw, the Lord knows, that in speaking to the Father, in seeing that He was a Person of the Most Holy Trinity, I was moved to love the Trinity all the more that the other Persons were present in It essentially. I felt the same in the prayer to the Son, and the same in the prayer to the Holy Spirit, rejoicing in any One of Them and feeling consolations, attributing it to and rejoicing in the Being of all Three.¹²

February 27, 1544:

I felt or rather saw beyond my natural strength the Most Holy Trinity and Jesus, presenting me, or placing me, or simply being the means of union in the midst of the Most Holy Trinity in order that this intellectual vision be communicated to me. With this knowledge and sight, I was deluged with tears and love, directing to Jesus and to Most Holy Trinity a respectful worship which was more on the side of a reverential love than anything else. Later, I thought of Jesus doing the same duty in thinking of praying to the Father, thinking and feeling interiorly that He was doing everything with the Father and the Most Holy Trinity.¹³

March 4, 1544:

I entered the chapel with fresh devotion and tears, always ending in the Most Holy Trinity; and also at the altar, after having vested, I was overcome with a much greater flood of tears, sobs and most intense love for the Most Holy Trinity.¹⁴

Trinitarian mystical prayer has many forms. It is again Nadal who points out to us the characteristics of Ignatius' prayer that centered on the Trinity. "Our Father had the privilege of possessing a prayer that centered on the Trinity to an exceptional degree. With it came the grace to perceive the presence of God in all his words and actions, and a delicate sense of the supernatural. He lived in God's presence, becoming contemplative in action. He used to say 'We must find God in all things.'"¹⁵ An exact analysis of text and context shows that Nadal does not intend to speak of two different graces, but of one unique vital grace of the master that is at

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 14 f.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

¹⁵ *MH Nadal IV*, 651.

the same time directed fruitfully toward the Trinity and the created universe. The inner hidden connection in the case of Ignatius between Trinitarian mystical prayer and the formula of "finding God in all things" is based on his unique mystical picture of God. The triune God Whom he met in grace and prayer, and consequently in all his work, is the creator of the world and the lord of history. We should never forget that the creator and lord, in the mind of Ignatius, are not philosophic ideas but extremely rich theological facts. For Ignatius, God is always the triune cause and origin of all natural and supernatural effects. For him history is the fullness of all communicated divine love. Therefore, history is above all grace and salvation. Logically, the Ignatian picture of Christ bears the same traits that are seen in the picture of God. For the intoxicated mystic of Manresa and for the wise organizer of the Society of Jesus, Christ is above all the king, not the king of glory of the Benedictine liturgy, but the ambassador of the Father, come to conquer a Kingdom for Him. He is head of the church militant, which is here and now continuing the work of salvation, the battle of the cross against Satan.

We must explain the series of the systematic reflections of Ignatius concerning the Manresa graces, not merely as an historical sequence, but as organically interlocked and connected graces that were constantly evolving. In his *Autobiography*, we are told of a second Trinitarian mystical grace. "Another time he was shown the manner in which God created the world. In this he experienced great spiritual joy. It seemed that he saw something white, producing certain rays out of which God created light."¹⁶ Then the progression goes on, from creation-centered prayer to Christ-centered prayer (already a Eucharistic note!), then church-centered prayer, as Nadal expressly states. That we may not consider these mystical graces his own self-willed invention, but gifts, that "fifth" in his review, that final and complete grace of Manresa shows: "One day, to satisfy his thirst for devotion, he went to a church, one mile from Manresa. I believe it is St. Paul's Church. He walked along the river that leads to the church, deep in his pious thoughts. After a while, he sat

¹⁶ *Autobiography*, n. 29.

down. He turned his face toward the river, which flowed along in its depths. The eyes of his mind began to open. He did not have a vision, but he grasped and understood many questions concerning the spiritual life, and the relationship between faith and reason, and this was with such clarity, that all seemed to be new.

"It is impossible to indicate everything he understood at this time, however much it was. But it is certain that his soul was filled with such brightness that he thought if he could unite all the graces he had received in his life up to the age of sixty-two and all the knowledge he possessed, he did not receive as much as on this one occasion.

"As a result of these experiences, his mind was so illuminated that he thought he was a different man and had another mind. As this illumination lasted quite a while, he went to a cross that stood nearby, and knelt down to give thanks to God."¹⁷ This great illumination that gave him "the new understanding," also presented him with an insight into the architectonic fabric of all reality in the world and of every mystery of faith. In the great clearness of his spirit, he could examine and evaluate all things proceeding from the Triune God and coming to himself. Thus at Manresa was established that formula of "Finding God in All Things," during an hour of grace of inconceivable fruitfulness.

That which first appears at this time like a rare ray of divine grace became increasingly the perpetual state of his spiritual life during his time at Rome. His soul was indeed endowed with this "new understanding" the clarity of which never left him. The very intimate pages of his *Spiritual Journal*, that were never meant to be for any foreign eyes, proved nearly day by day that Ignatius lived at that time in an habitual mystical union with the Trinity. Furthermore, the concept "Find God in All Things" during this time had a predominantly mystical character, and for this very reason proved fruitful in all his actions, as Father Nadal again testifies. For in immediate connection with the just mentioned testimony of the "Contemplative in Action" he continues: "But we saw with deep amazement and sweet consolation

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, n. 30.

how this grace, which was a light in his soul manifested itself in the wisdom and sureness of all his actions. It was as if a light shone over his countenance. Indeed we sensed how this grace was communicated to us in a mysterious way."¹⁸ Another testimony sums it up more briefly: "Nearly always he was directed to God, even if at times he seemed to do something else."¹⁹

At Manresa, Ignatius was ever more intoxicated with the light of God and consequently could see everything else only in this light. The triune God had become a powerful magnet in his life. Under the force of this central experience, all truths are now seen in relation to divine truth and all activities are directed towards this divine origin of truth. Trinitarian holiness and "Finding God in All Things" are melted together into one formula by Ignatius. Finding God in all things is the special characteristic of his Trinitarian prayer. The contemplation of this trinitarian mystic becomes in action a "Seeking of God in All Things."

II

The Lesson for His Followers

After Manresa, where Ignatius began to "help some souls who had come seeking him there to advance spiritually," the mysticism of St. Ignatius was translated into an ascetical doctrine for his band of followers. We learn about Ignatian spirituality first of all in the booklet of the Spiritual Exercises, and then in the Constitutions, which are more of a spiritual manual than a code of laws. We also learn about Ignatian spirituality in his rich correspondence, where practical decisions and questions of organization are harmoniously united with fatherly advice, and finally, in the personal method of instruction employed by the Saint which we learn from the manifold testimony of his pupils and associates.²⁰ Moreover, the first generation of Jesuits was convinced that the tremendous graces of their father were not only his personal privilege, but also a promise to his sons. Father Nadal testi-

¹⁸ *MH Nadal* IV, 651.

¹⁹ *Mon. Ign.* IV, I, 523 [n. 37].

²⁰ J. de Guibert, *La Spiritualité de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 59-95.

fies to this among other things concerning the vision of La Storta. In this vision Ignatius was placed by the heavenly Father next to Christ bearing His Cross. This marked the fulfillment of the triple colloquy of the Two Standards. To find God in all things is a grace promised to the sons of Ignatius. Nadal says: "What we have recognized here as a privilege for our father Ignatius, we likewise believe is given to the Society; and we are confident, that this grace of prayer and contemplation is available to everyone in the Society, indeed it forms the essence of our vocation."²¹ As Manresa was for Ignatius the "primitive church" of his mysticism, so for his successors the concept, "Finding God in All Things," is established in the "Manresa of the exercises." These culminate in the "Contemplation for Obtaining Divine Love." In retrospect, this Contemplation summarizes the entire Exercises in one glance. It shows the "Foundation and Principle" in the light of four weeks of the Exercises. Looking forward, it portends the radiation and translation of retreat ideals into the everyday routine of Christian life which is to be resumed. The second prelude describes the purpose of this meditation: "Ask for an interior knowledge of the great favors received, so that, in grateful recognition of them, I may love and serve His Divine Majesty."²²

The common theme of the four points is God's picture of our life's history. Again and again we must renew for ourselves the rich contents of this concept of "Finding God in All Things" as grasped by Ignatius. "All things" must be experienced as gifts of God and as an expression of His love in the first point. The beneficent God is viewed in the second point as present in His gifts, because the presence of the giver gives the deepest possible meaning to all His gifts. In the third point which treats about the presence of an ever-active-God, He is also discovered as continually working in all things. In the fourth point the mystery of divine descent into all earthly reality is brought to our attention. All things are seen in their continual issuance from God as Ignatius at Manresa had the grace to experience. All things must be returned to God by a person "who has gone out of himself," through a

²¹ *MH Nadal IV*, 652.

²² *Spiritual Exercises*, n. 233.

pure love that serves. This is the meaning of the answer, the fourfold *Suscipe*. Thus the retreatant should be transformed by the Spiritual Exercises into a man who seeks in all things the presence of Our Lord,²³ who finds God in all things,²⁴ who lives with God ever before his eyes,²⁵ and who is always directed towards God,²⁶ to use the different formulas of the Saint.

We meet the same ideal again in the Constitutions of the Order. In Part Three, Ignatius demands as the basic principle for the religious training of his followers: "All should endeavor to have a right intention not only in their state of life, but even in all its details. They should aim in everything only at the service and pleasure of the Divine Goodness for its own sake and for the love and extraordinary benefits with which it has first favored us, rather than from fear of punishment or hope of reward . . . And they should be exhorted repeatedly to seek God Our Lord in all things, while they cast off all love of creatures as much as possible, in order to direct it to their Creator, loving Him in all creatures and all creatures in Him, according to His most holy and divine will."²⁷

Employing other words, but to the same effect, he gives the Scholastics (students of the Order) this golden rule: "For students to make progress, they must endeavor first to maintain a purity of soul and uprightness of intention in their studies, while they seek in learning only the honor of God and the good of souls."²⁸ In the spirit of Saint Ignatius, Father Nadal, during his first Spanish visitation to introduce the Constitutions, sketched this ideal for the Scholastics: "Everyone, who advances in the world of prayer and of the spiritual life, should strive in Our Lord to find God in all their exercises and employments, that they may walk exclusively in the way of the spirit, and form the habit of being recollected and devout in all things. They should profit from the fruits of contemplation and prayer in all their occupations insofar as the weakness of our nature permits."²⁹ This thought recurs in the rules framed by Nadal for the students

²³ *Mon. Ign.* I, 3, 510.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 3, 502, 510, etc.

²⁵ *Mon. Ign.* IV, 1, 432.

²⁶ *Mon. Ign.* IV, 1, 523.

²⁷ *Const.* III, 1, 26.

²⁸ *Const.* IV, 6, 1.

²⁹ *Mon. Ign.* III, 4, 490, n. 14.

of the Order, called "Rules for Scholastics" which are wholly fashioned in the spirit of the Constitutions.³⁰

What has its foundation in the Exercises and Constitutions should become fruitful in everyday living. To this end, an abundance of directions were issued from the chamber of Ignatius at Rome to the entire world. Most of the letters treating the theme "Seek God in All Things" are in the same context. They are either a part of that difficult struggle against extension of time for prayer with which Ignatius had to contend in the last ten years of his life—(Such tendencies were noticeable especially in Spain and Portugal)—or they contained decisions and advice for Scholastics "for whom study did not leave much time for prayer" (a repeated thought of St. Ignatius which is also treated in the Fourth Part of the Constitutions). Sometimes his letters are for very busy Fathers who groan under the burden of their occupations and carry in their hearts a longing for quiet prayer. So we read at the end of the famous letter to the students at Coimbra, dated May 7th, 1547: "If study does not allow much time for prayer, you can compensate greatly by the desire. In doing everything solely for the service of God, you make everything a prayer."³¹

Four years later, a letter from the secretary of Ignatius, Father Polanco, to the rector of the same college repeats these wise principles, in the spirit of the saint. "Regarding prayer and contemplation, if there are not special necessities in consequence of temptations, I find him (Ignatius) more inclined that one should try rather to find God in all things than to use much time continuously for prayer. The spirit he wishes to see in the Society is that as far as this is possible one should not find less devotion in each chosen work of love and obedience than in prayer and contemplation, for we do everything out of love for God and for His service. Therefore, everyone should find peace in his appointed tasks. Then he can have no doubt that he is performing the will of God our Lord."³²

Under the same date of June 1st, 1551, Father de Brandão,

³⁰ *Mon. Ign.* III, 4, 481, 486.

³¹ *Mon. Ign.* I, 1, 510.

³² *Mon. Ign.* I, 3, 502.

a Scholastic priest from Coimbra, received this directive along with other valuable advice concerning the spiritual life: "Concerning time for prayer, the answer is found in the purpose a Scholastic in college has to pursue. His purpose is to acquire learning with which to serve God our Lord, to His greater glory by employing his learning for the spiritual benefit of his neighbor. If study is done well, it takes the whole person. One could not give wholehearted attention to it if he wanted long periods for prayer. What they can do after the prescribed exercises is as follows: They should strive to seek the presence of God our Lord in all things—for instance, in association with others, in walking, looking, tasting, hearing, thinking, indeed in all that they do. It is certain that the majesty of God is in all things by His presence, by His activity and by His essence. This form of contemplation by which one finds God in all things is easier than trying to elevate ourselves to spiritual things by a more abstract method in which we can maintain ourselves only with much difficulty. Furthermore, this splendid exercise prepares us for great visitations of our Lord, even if one is accustomed to pray for only a short time. Moreover, the Scholastics can train themselves frequently to offer up to God our Lord their studies and their difficulties, considering that they have undertaken them out of love for God and have put aside their personal inclinations in order to serve His Divine Majesty, and to help those for whose life He Himself suffered death."³³

To this theme about time for prayer in the midst of studies, Father da Camara in his *Memoriale* reports an interesting discussion between Ignatius and Nadal: "When on last November 22 (1554) Father Nadal told our Father that he had prescribed an hour and a half of prayer in Spain (as a compromise between the two hours the Spaniards demanded and the one hour Ignatius had appointed), our Father said that one could not dissuade him from his conviction that for the Scholastics one hour of prayer is enough where mortification and self-denial can be presumed to exist. In this way they achieve more in a quarter of an hour than another, who is not mortified, does in two hours of prayer. However, should

³³ *Ibid.*, 510.

anyone have more difficulty and greater needs, he could be permitted more time for prayer. When, on another day, our Father conversed with me concerning this matter, he said that in spiritual affairs nothing is worse than trying to guide others after your own spirituality; and he related how there was a time when he himself said long prayers. Then he told me that out of one hundred people, who concentrate on long prayer and many practices of penance, most involve themselves in great errors, especially obstinate intellectual pride, a thing our Father particularly emphasized. And so our Father built his entire foundation upon the mortification and self-denial of one's own will. When he mentioned to Father Nadal that one hour of prayer would be sufficient for Scholastics in the colleges, he emphasized with distinct pointedness that mortification and self-denial were to be presupposed . . . And thus our Father greatly praises prayer, especially that which consists in holding God before the eyes at all times." ³⁴

In the same manner Ignatius drew the ideal of holiness for Fathers in the active ministry. To them he gives as the sole rule for prayer and mortification—"discreet love": "Since the Society waits so long and patiently before the admission to profession as well as to the final vows of the Coadjutors and demands such perfection of life, we expect that those admitted be mature men, led by the Holy Spirit, hurrying on in the way of Christ our Lord as much as their bodily strength and the exterior works of charity and obedience permit. Therefore, there is no other rule to give them than that which prudent love itself points out for prayer, meditation and study, as also for the corporal exercises of fasting, night watches, and other austerities and works of penance. They should merely inform their confessor and, in doubtful cases, the superior." ³⁵

Ignatius finds it quite all right that the apostolic worker does not have much time for formal prayer. He must rather make a prayer out of every task: "He did not wish that the members of the Society seek God only in prayer, but in all their actions, and that these be a prayer. He approved this method more than long-drawn-out contemplation." ³⁶

³⁴ *Mon. Ign.* V, 1, 278.

³⁵ *Const.* VI, 3, 1.

³⁶ *Fontes Narrativi* 2, 419.

Close to eternity, Ignatius wrote half a year before his death: "One must realize that man does not serve God only when he prays. Otherwise all prayer would be too short that does not last twenty-four hours daily (if that were possible), since everyone indeed should give himself to God as perfectly as possible. But in reality, God is served better at certain times through other means than by prayer, so that God is well pleased if for this reason we omit prayer. Thus one must pray constantly and not lose heart, but he should understand that correctly after the manner of the saints and of the doctors of the Church." ³⁷

And Nadal repeats this idea in one of his instructions: "It can be helpful in fostering devotion to seek God our Lord in all things, even in the smallest details, while we lay aside all love for created things, in order to direct our hearts entirely to the Creator, loving Him in all things as is His holy will." ³⁸

Instead of prolonged time for prayer, one's work should become prayer, precisely by finding God in all things. Thus Ignatius, through Polanco, instructed Father Andrew Oviedo, one of the most obstinate champions of extended prayer: "Besides the obligatory breviary, he should not employ more time in prayer, meditation and examination of conscience than one hour, (therefore, the same length of time as prescribed for Scholastics), so that he might have more time remaining for other things in the service of God. In the midst of duties, he can certainly stay in the presence of God, and thus pray constantly, while directing everything to the greater service and the greater glory of God." ³⁹

Furthermore, Saint Ignatius personally wrote to Francis Borgia, who, under the influence of Oviedo and others, always remained somewhat inclined to the "longing for the desert" of extended prayer (so that the question may be asked whether Ignatius entirely succeeded in "converting" him): "As far as I personally can form a judgment about you in our Lord, you would do better in my estimation to give half the time you have up to now set aside for prayer to work, study or dealing with the neighbor. In the future you will

³⁷ *Mon. Ign. I, 12, 652.*

³⁸ *MH Nadal IV, 677.*

³⁹ *Mon. Ign. I, 3, 309.*

certainly need not only infused, but also acquired knowledge. Seek always only to preserve your soul in interior peace and calm readiness for the time when our Lord wants to work in you: for without a doubt there is more virtue and grace in the ability to enjoy God in a variety of employments and in different places than in just one alone. With the help of God we must profit very much by such graces.”⁴⁰

Father Caspar Berze, an outstanding Netherlander, the best co-worker of Francis Xavier in India, received a letter from Ignatius, occasioned by further Portuguese attempts for longer periods of prayer: “Since the climate there is even less suited for meditation than it is here, there is so much the less reason for extending the time for prayer. But we can certainly raise our mind to God from time to time during our occupations and studies. If we direct everything to the service of God, all is prayer. Everyone belonging to the Society must be permeated with this conviction, because love in action does not permit them time for long prayer. Therefore, they have no reason to believe that God is less pleased by their work than by their prayer.”⁴¹

The same thought recurs again in a consoling letter from St. Ignatius to Father Godinho who had complained about the prayer-disturbing burden of administrative occupations: “The conduct of temporal affairs may, to be sure, seem to some extent a distracting occupation and indeed it may be. But I do not doubt, that your pure intention and the direction of all your work to the honor of God transforms these occupations into something spiritual and highly pleasing to the Divine Goodness. Exterior occupations, undertaken for God’s greater service in accordance with His will (following the direction of obedience), can not only be equivalent to the constant union and recollection of contemplation, but are even more pleasing to God, insofar as they proceed from an even more ardent love. May He, Who gave it to the Prophets, grant you that union of prayer and work, which we need according to your declaration.”⁴²

And again to another superior who was saddened under the

⁴⁰ *Mon. Ign. I, 2, 234.*

⁴¹ *Mon. Ign. I, 6, 91.*

⁴² *Mon. Ign. I, 4, 127.*

yoke of his office: "One need not be surprised if on account of the burden of government he occasionally experiences a lack of devotion and is full of distractions. But if one only bears this lack of devotion and these distractions with patience—with the thought of the holy obligation which is imposed through obedience and brotherly love, and adding the intention of serving God thereby—then they will not be without high reward before God—nay, an even greater reward will be theirs." ⁴³

What the previous texts have already indicated is expressly emphasized by St. Ignatius and his faithful interpreter, Nadal. The Jesuit has to direct all prayer to the apostolate and by the apostolate his prayer is fructified. Ignatius formulated this briefly in one instance as follows: "A distraction borne according to the will of God in the service of one's neighbor cannot do any harm." ⁴⁴ But in his very beautiful instruction concerning prayer in the Society of Jesus, Father Nadal does not leave room for any doubt that for the Jesuit the value of his prayer must be judged by their apostolic fruitfulness: "Our Prayer should be such that it increases and guides the spiritual relish in our activities by permeating them and giving them strength in the Lord; and our activities should increase our strength and joy in prayer. In this way Martha and Mary being united and helping each other, we do not embrace only one part of the Christian life, the better part, viz., contemplation, but laying aside anxiety and trouble, Mary helps Martha and is united to her." ⁴⁵ "Prayer and meditation as they are practiced in the Society of Jesus must as a consequence give each one of us the strength and courage to apply ourselves entirely to the works which the Society undertakes and which are all of the same type: preaching, explaining Scripture, teaching Christian Doctrine, giving the Exercises, hearing confessions, dispensing the Blessed Sacrament and practising other good works. In these labors we must find God in peace and calm, in an inner surrender of the whole man, in light and inner serenity, with a contented heart, that glows with the love of God. And all this we should seek in all other works, even if these are exterior." ⁴⁶

⁴³ *Mon. Ign.* I, 9, 125.

⁴⁴ *Mon. Ign.* IV, 1, 515.

⁴⁵ *MH Nadal* IV, 674.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 681.

How well Nadal here expresses the mind of St. Ignatius, is shown by this testimony of a companion: "Ignatius wished that the same spirit he himself possessed in a high degree should be found also in the sons of the Society, namely, that in each and every work of love they should have no less devotion than in prayer and meditation since it is fitting that we do everything only out of love and for the service of God and to His honor and glory."⁴⁷

Thus according to the mind and spirit of the Father of the Order, the daily life of its sons is realized in work, study for the Scholastics, the apostolate for the Fathers. The consequent impossibility for extended prayer is fully compensated by "Seeking God in All Things." Then the whole day is a prayer as well for the Jesuit as for the monks, only in a different way.

III

What does Ignatius mean by "Seeking God in All Things"?

To prevent any false interpretation of this central religious ideal, after a proof of the facts has been furnished, we must here seek a deeper comprehension of the meaning and essence of this principle—"Seeking God in All Things." In doing this we shall always look to its connection with Ignatian spirituality as a whole.

That which became St. Ignatius' possession in that hour of grace on the River Cardoner, was never to be lost but ever grew in meaning. Each of his disciples should grow in understanding this grace of their founder. "All Things," i.e., the whole created world, natural and supernatural, the history of individuals, of nations and of the Church, all should be seen in their relation to God—the deepest of all relations. They must be seen in the light of God and, therefore, in their basic truth. "In this regard they should exercise themselves in seeking the presence of God in all things, for example, in their relations with others, in traveling, in seeing, tasting, hearing, thinking, in fact, in all that they do: for the Divine Majesty by His presence is in all things in effect and in essence."⁴⁸ Or as Father Nadal once said, "We must observe

⁴⁷ *Mon. Ign.* IV, 1, 520.

⁴⁸ *Mon. Ign.* I, 3, 510.

the activity of God in His creatures to see how this activity is truly in God.”⁴⁹

Francis Borgia, when still a Duke, received some valuable advice from Ignatius on this matter: “If men go outside themselves, as it were, in order to enter wholly into their Creator and Lord, they become aware by holy consolation and constant recollection how our eternal and highest Good dwells in everything that has been created, giving existence and conservation to all things by His unending being and activity. So I also believe of you, that you find spiritual elevation in many things. For whoever loves God with his entire soul, is advanced in devotion by everything, constantly growing in an ever more intimate union of love with his Creator and Lord.”⁵⁰

In a more particular way, Ignatius teaches his followers to find God in their fellow man. Thus, for example, he instructs the Novices in the Constitutions: “In everything they should seek and desire to yield the advantage to others, looking upon them sincerely as their superiors, and showing them that outward respect and reverence which each one’s rank requires. The result will be a mutual considerateness and an increase in devotion; and they will all praise God our Lord whom each should try to recognize in his neighbor as in His image.”⁵¹

Wholly in the spirit of St. Ignatius, Father Nadal has said on this point: “Let us place the perfection of our prayer in the contemplation of the most Holy Trinity, which extends itself to our neighbor in the employments of our calling.”⁵²

According to St. Ignatius, in the Constitutions and in his classic Letter on Obedience, a genuine religious foundation in obedience demands that all see in a superior the supreme authority of God and hear in his command the word of God. “In the Superiors who direct us, we must see the Person of Christ, in whose place they stand.”⁵³

Since the Divine Trinity has appeared to us in Jesus Christ

⁴⁹ *MH Nadal* IV, 678.

⁵⁰ *Mon. Ign.* I, 1, 339-342.

⁵¹ *Const.* III, 1, 4.

⁵² M. Nicolau, *Jeronimo Nadal* (Madrid, 1949), p. 256.

⁵³ *Mon. Ign.* I, 12, 675.

and all history is centered in Him, the religious view of the world is Christological: "Since the life of prayer is a portion of the spiritual life in Christ Jesus, we must become familiar with Him who is eternal Light and infinite Goodness, and love Him far more than anything else. We must see and love all things in Him."⁵⁴

Of course that deep mystic insight into the unity of all things in God is not given to the disciple as it was to the holy Founder of the Order. But in a living faith, through contemplation and study, he should seek in his own way to attain an ever more unified view of all things in God. A view of all creation in the spirit of the "Contemplation for Obtaining Love" will be for him on that account a constant desire and a growing joyous discovery.

The Continual Search for the Divine Will

Ignatius never considered this view of creation, the finding of God in all things in a spirit of faith, as a goal and end in itself. We find in him nothing of that Neo-Platonic intellectualism in his Christocentric mysticism or in the theory of the great Christian masters. In his view of God, central to which are God's holy will and omnipotent activity, he does not consider mere knowledge as the most important thing. It is deeds that matter, surrender to the will of God and loving service. Therefore, for St. Ignatius, "Seeking God in All Things" meant search for the will of God through humble prayer and personal effort in all decisions occurring in human life.

After his conversion at Loyola, Ignatius was constantly searching for this divine will, first for his personal life, then increasingly more, especially after 1539, for his beloved group of followers. It is deeply stirring how systematically he labored between the years of 1521-1539 to find the will of God for his life and his work. "During this time, Ignatius did not know what our Lord intended him to do. But God knew and so directed everything in order to make him Founder of the Society," as Ribadeneira once testified.⁵⁵ Walter Nigg in his book "Warriors of God" has masterfully described this pas-

⁵⁴ *MH Nadal IV*, 676.

⁵⁵ *MH Ribadeneira II*, 903.

sionate searching for the will of God: "To find the will of God was the central problem of his life . . . His concern was always to discover the will of God. Around this goal and around nothing else he revolved incessantly as around a fire-place. It is the source of the compelling charm of his career. Unless one considers this constant effort Ignatius' later life remains an incomprehensible puzzle. Above all we must center our attention on how Ignatius never wanted to act according to his own will, therefore never to do what appealed to him just at that moment. He continually strives to discover what God wants him to do in this particular situation. . . Ignatius knew that this search for the divine will is not easy, but he never surrendered. Throughout his whole life we find this often painful effort at continually renewed enquiries after the divine will. His constant prayer for the manifestation of God's will is exceedingly touching to observe, and one becomes absorbed with him in this search. One can not imagine a more exciting struggle. If you want to become familiar with his heart, you have to view this man in a restless seeking after the will of God." ⁵⁶

The search for the will of God is also the central theme and the burning concern of the Exercises, as Ignatius expresses it in the very introduction—" . . . by the term 'spiritual exercises' is meant every method of preparing and disposing the soul to seek and find the will of God in the disposition of one's life." ⁵⁷ Each individual exercise contributes to this effort to know the will of God, first and foremost, however, in the choice of a vocation and way of life. Once again, the final meditation seeks to expand this humble and noble-minded readiness for the will of God, into an all-embracing plan of life. Thus "Finding God in All Things" means precisely to seek, find, and perform the Divine will at every hour and in every action. Unreserved readiness for the service of God and complete submission to God's will, in all matters, whether great or small, is the meaning of the *Suscipe*.

Another gripping testimony to this is the *Spiritual Journal* of the Saint. His main concern for forty days focused on the

⁵⁶ W. Nigg, *Vom Geheimnis der Mönche* (Zürich-Stuttgart, 1953) p. 378.

⁵⁷ *Spiritual Exercises*, n. 1.

⁵⁸ *Mon. Ign.* I, 1, 83.

poverty of the Order's churches. More basically, however, he asked what was the holy will of God in this regard. Therefore we are not surprised to meet this passionate concern about the recognition of God's will in the closing formula of innumerable letters written by the Saint.

"In conclusion, I beseech God our Lord, who one day will judge us, to bestow upon us in His infinite goodness the grace that we might recognize correctly His most holy will and fulfill it entirely," we read in a letter from Paris to his brother, the Lord of Loyola.⁵⁸ And in a letter to Sister Teresa Rejadella from Venice, half a year before the arrival of his companions from Paris, he wrote: "I conclude by begging the Most Holy Trinity in Their infinite goodness for abundant grace to recognize always Their most holy will and to accomplish it entirely."⁵⁹ And to Polanco, shortly before he took up his post as secretary to Ignatius: "May God in His infinite goodness bestow upon us the fullness of His grace so that we may always recognize His most holy will correctly and accomplish it entirely."⁶⁰

He wrote to the prior of the Teutonic Order in Venice: "In recommending ourselves to the prayers of Your Grace, we beg the infinite Goodness of our Lord that He will give us all abundant grace always to recognize His most holy will correctly and fulfill it completely."⁶¹

He wrote to Father Godinho at Coimbra: "May Christ our Lord help us all with His abundant grace that we may always recognize His divine will correctly and fulfill it entirely."⁶² He wrote to the Carthusian, Prior Kalckbrenner, in Cologne: "May the immeasurable love of God grant us His Holy Spirit and His grace, that we may always recognize His divine will correctly and accomplish it."⁶³

We should not say that these are mere formulas. Ignatius was never a man of empty formulas, least of all in religious matters. Rather these closures of his letters are an everyday testimony of his passionate concern for the will of God in his life and in his Order.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 107.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 460.

⁶¹ *Mon. Ign.* I, 2, 447.

⁶² *Mon. Ign.* I, 4, 127.

⁶³ *Mon. Ign.* I, 8, 585.

How this deep concern for the recognition of the divine will has passed over to his followers as an enkindling spark of burning zeal, appears in the letters of St. Francis Xavier. No one would suspect Xavier of a merely exterior imitation of Ignatius' style.

Xavier wrote Ignatius, on January 12, 1549: "So I conclude, begging your holy and fatherly love (and I write this on my knees as if I had you before me, beloved Father of my soul) to recommend me to God, our Lord, in your Holy Sacrifices and in your prayers so that He may let me understand His most holy will in this life and grant me His grace to fulfill it entirely. Amen. In the same spirit I recommend myself to all the members of our Society."⁶⁴ He wrote to King John III of Portugal: "May our Lord permit your Majesty to realize His most holy will in your innermost soul and grant you the grace that you may be able to perform it in such a manner as one day at the hour of death you shall rejoice to have acted . . ." ⁶⁵ And once more Xavier addressed the same person: "May God, our Lord, in His love and inexhaustible mercy illumine your Majesty in your innermost soul and make you understand His will so that you may be enabled to perform it in such a manner as one day at the hour of death before the divine judgment seat may redound to your joy."⁶⁶ Finally Xavier on another occasion wrote to Ignatius: "For the love of God and His service, I beg your holy paternal love and the entire Society continually to remember me in your prayers and it is my deepest desire that your holy paternal love itself may recommend me to all of Ours and especially to the professed. May our Lord, in response to this widespread intercession, give me the grace to recognize correctly His most holy will in this life and accomplish it to perfection."⁶⁷

Much more than the view of creation in a spirit of faith which, to be sure, is an essential presupposition, we come here to the real meaning of "Seeking God in All Things." The genuine Ignatian interpretation means that: At every hour of

⁶⁴ *MH Mon. Missionum, Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii* (Rome, 1945) II, 16.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 63.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 119.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 293.

the day and before making any decision, one must inquire after the will of God and then allow God to dispose of oneself entirely. Or, after the example of Christ, "to devote Himself exclusively to the service of the Eternal Father."⁶⁸ Thus the formula to seek God in all things has a far deeper significance than merely serving God in all things. We can see why the mysticism of Ignatius is aptly termed by Joseph de Guibert as a mysticism of service.⁶⁹ Ignatius, therefore, understands prayer as being conformity to the will of God.⁷⁰ He does not consider service as a mere consequence of mystical favors but rather as their substance and goal.

In this respect "Seeking God in All Things" is also closely united to the ideal of perfect obedience. It is from this same source that the Ignatian concept of an instrument receives its special meaning.

"Seeking God in All Things" signifies for Ignatius not only an external conformity to the will of God but an interior surrender of the heart to Divine Providence. Therefore, universal purity of intention, in the interpretation of the Saint himself, is the primary object of the considerations for choice of a state of life as found in the Exercises.

In a previously quoted text of the Constitutions the concepts of "finding God," "pure intention," and "wholehearted love" are considered by St. Ignatius as essentially interjoined: "All should zealously endeavor to have an upright intention, not merely in their state of life, but even in all its details. In these they should always honestly strive to serve and please God for His goodness . . ." ⁷¹

In many other places too, the author of the Constitutions has occasion to speak about a pure intention in every act, especially in the Fourth Part which treats of the Scholastics. Then again, in the Seventh Part which treats of the choice of apostolic labors and in the Tenth Part where purity of intention is reckoned as part of that supernatural foundation which contributes more than any other means to the preservation of the proper spirit in the Society.

⁶⁸ *Spiritual Exercises*, n. 135.

⁶⁹ *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* 19 (1938) 16.

⁷⁰ *Mon. Ign.* I, 3, 502.

⁷¹ *Const.* III, 1, 26.

“As on the one hand, attention should be given that they (the Scholastics) do not grow cold in their love for the religious life on account of zeal for their studies, so on the other hand, there will not be much opportunity at this time for mortification, prayers, and prolonged meditation. Scholastics should devote themselves to acquiring knowledge with the pure intention of serving God. This in a certain sense claims the entire man during the time of studies. But such study will not be less pleasing to God our Lord but more.”⁷² Furthermore they must be steadfastly determined to study with all their might while they deeply impress upon themselves that in the houses of study they could do nothing more pleasing to God, provided they have this right intention.”⁷³

When Father Miron as confessor at the Court of Lisbon proposed his difficulties, Ignatius wrote him a letter which treats with the greatest freedom of the true apostolic sentiment towards high and low station. In the middle of this reply we read the sentence: “If we proceed with a right intention, not seeking our own advantage, but rather solely the interests of Jesus Christ, He in His infinite goodness will certainly protect us.”⁷⁴ The same advice he transmits through Polanco in an instruction to the fathers at the college in Prague: “The better we ourselves are, the more fit instruments we are for the spiritual welfare of our neighbor. Therefore everyone should strive to seek solely the things of Jesus Christ and should awaken in himself lively desires of being a truer and more loyal servant of God and of procuring the success of His cause in everything. Therefore everyone should genuinely deny his own will and judgment according to the divine direction which obedience gives him, whether he be employed in great matters or small.”⁷⁵

Just as Ignatius considers conformity to the will of God as prayer, so also he considers a pure intention, directing all to God, as prayer.⁷⁶ Or: “One should not find less devotion in the exterior works of love and obedience than in prayer and meditation because we should act only out of love and for the service of God, to His honor and glory.”⁷⁷

⁷² *Ibid.*, IV, 4, 2.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, IV, 6, 2.

⁷⁴ *Mon. Ign.* I, 4, 627.

⁷⁵ *Mon. Ign.* I, 10, 689-697.

⁷⁶ *Mon. Ign.* I, 6, 91.

⁷⁷ *Mon. Ign.* I, 3, 502.

In connection with "Seeking God in All Things," the saint repeatedly refers to the necessity of a pure intention. "He wished very much that all members of the Society should be upright, pure and straight in their intentions, without admixture of vanity and the stain of self-will and self-seeking. He wished that they seek the glory of God and the salvation of souls in their work and in all things, each according to the talent that God has given him."⁷⁸

Purity of intention in every act is nothing else than genuine conformity to the will of God. It is interior surrender to our Lord. It is the constant raising of the heart to God. It is continual prayer. The ideal of maintaining a pure intention and the necessity of seeking God in all things are essentially identical in the mind of Ignatius.

Pure Love that Serves

Again and again in these texts, the final and deepest motive of every act has been that which the full meaning of "Seeking God in All Things" implies, namely, pure, selfless, whole-hearted love. Conformity to the will of God is brought to perfection by a pure intention which in the spirituality of St. Ignatius, is achieved chiefly by love. Therefore, once again we meet the theme of the "Contemplation for Obtaining Love." Because God meets us with His love in all things we should answer Him with a like love in all things. This love corresponds with our total dependence upon God, a dependence that is not lessened even through love. We should answer God with a love that serves, that is, a love that fulfills the will and desire of the beloved in everything without any admixture of self-love.

"We should be continually on the watch to maintain our heart in the love of God to a high degree so that we do not love anything created except in Him. We must be sure our sole desire is to preserve our interior union with God, dealing with our neighbor out of love for Him." Such is the first of those twelve golden rules of the holy Founder to the Scholastics of Alcala.⁷⁹ And midway through the religious instruc-

⁷⁸ Ribadeneira in *Mon. Ign.* IV, 1, 447.

⁷⁹ *Mon. Ign.* I, 12, 674.

tion on the young members of the order, Ignatius completes the idea of the necessity of seeking God in all things and of a pure intention by referring to love. "They should frequently remind the novices to seek God our Lord in all things, casting from themselves as far as possible the love of all creatures, in order to direct their love to the creator, loving Him in all and all things in Him, according to His most holy and divine will." ⁸⁰

We meet the same motive in a letter of the Saint to Francis Borgia, at that time still the Duke of Gandia: "Whosoever loves God with his whole heart is advanced in devotion by everything. He becomes more and more devout and attains to a constantly increasing union with his Creator and Lord." ⁸¹

Father Nadal says in his great instruction on prayer: "But there is in our hearts the love that God, our Lord, gave to us. From this love all our acts must begin. Its glow must be felt in all our acts. In this manner all our prayers will be wonderfully effective in all the interior and exterior works of the Society." ⁸²

Thus the essential similarity of the different formulas has been proven: holiness is equivalent to meeting God in all things in a spirit of faith. This is equivalent to seeking and fulfilling His most holy will in every situation of life. This is equivalent to a pure intention in every act. This is equivalent to a love which serves in the entire breadth and depth of human existence. Ignatius considered contemplation not only as familiarity with God in prayer but in every activity of life.⁸³ The unity of the love of God and neighbor is also implied here as the sole precept and the epitome of holiness.

IV

The Way to this Religious Ideal

The formula "Finding God in All Things" came from God according to Ignatius in two ways. The idea was granted to him personally as a great and pure grace of his mystical life. Secondly, the Trinity, from whom Ignatius descended to creatures, helped him to execute the ideal. His follower too, who

⁸⁰ *Const.* III, 1, 26.

⁸¹ *Mon. Ign.* I, 1, 342.

⁸² *MH Nadal* IV, 681.

⁸³ *Const.* IX, 2, 1.

treads the same path of seeking God in all things, must notice this two-fold primacy of God. That is, he must pray often and confidently for the grace to be able to find God in all things, to serve and love Him. He must first of all come to God with a heart genuinely converted so as never again to lose Him even in a busy apostolic ministry.

To cooperate with divine grace and to help in constantly turning the heart to God that one may find God in all things, Ignatius points to three indispensable presuppositions.

1. The first demands, again in the spirit of the Exercises, continual mortification and self-denial. In the battle against long prayer, Ignatius had continually indicated this presupposed asceticism without which neither conformity to the will of God nor purity of intention nor constant recollection are possible.

Let us recall once again that conversation between Ignatius and Nadal on Nov. 22, 1554, which Father da Camara relates in his *Memoriale*: "Our Father said that no one could dissuade him from the conviction that one hour of prayer is sufficient for the Scholastics provided they practice mortification and denial."⁸⁴ And Father da Camara sums up his conversation of the next day with St. Ignatius as follows: "Accordingly for our Father mortification and denial of self-will are the foundations of the spiritual life."⁸⁵

Again and again in his battle against many exterior works of penance and extended time for prayer, Ignatius emphasizes the connection between finding God in all things and mortification and self-denial. Thus, for instance, in the already mentioned letter to the Scholastics of Coimbra on May 7, 1544, and again in a letter of June 1, 1551, to the rector of Coimbra concerning the direction of the Scholastics: "The truly mortified man who has conquered his passions finds in his prayer what he desires much more readily than a person who is not mortified and not striving for self mastery. For this reason our blessed Father held mortification in such high esteem. He preferred it to prayer that does not seek mortification as a means to divine union."⁸⁶

⁸⁴ *Mon. Ign.* IV, 1, 278.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 471.

In the discussions concerning the settlement of the time for prayer which several provincial congregations engaged in after the death of Francis Borgia, General of the Order, the Portuguese Province of the Order proposed an exceptionally wise solution. It rested upon the supposition that the life of prayer in the Society had suffered considerable damage. To be sure, the time devoted to prayer had not been curtailed, but it was bearing much less fruit as was evidenced in the decline of apostolic zeal. First on the list among the remedies and the most necessary was a constant mortification. Then the rich graces of prayer of the former period could be expected. The other recommendations of the assembled fathers were as follows: cultivation of the life of prayer in the true spirit and according to the genuine methods of the Exercises instead of adopting ways of prayer foreign and strange to the Order which only furthered the interests of self-will; elimination of all secular employments; moderation in bodily recreation and in the thirst for knowledge; and finally, the practice of the presence of God which belongs to the spiritual essence of the Order.⁸⁷ All in all, this is a document dictated in the genuine spirit of Ignatius. It was not in vain that Father da Camara was one of the leading men of this Provincial Congregation.

According to Ignatius only the individual who has leapt out of all disordered attachment to the world and his own ego is capable of truly finding God in all things. In the opinion of Father Nadal, few reach the very height of this ideal of holiness, precisely because many lack that the complete indifference of the will and true freedom of heart requisite for it.

2. The second presupposition is a constant source of help in finding God in all things. It is true prayer which is absolutely necessary and implies for Ignatius not only perseverance but skill. Without formal prayer at determined times, the ideal of finding God in all things remains a dangerous illusion. On the other hand, methodical prayer must be surpassed and developed into a habitual attitude of prayer that is no longer bound by time or by method.

⁸⁷ *Archivum Hist. S. J.*, III (1934) 97.

“Recollection and solitude in the beginning” are good.⁸⁸ There is need for a “definite rule and method,” “a period of training.”⁸⁹ This training in prayer from which Ignatius expects much fruit of personal prayer, is given especially in the Exercises. But above and beyond this training, there is demanded a continual cultivation of an attitude of prayer through a regular program of interior prayer and meditation. “Once a person has made the Exercises,” says Father Nadal, “the life of prayer must be fostered, preserved, and increased through perseverance in prayer and in the employments of our calling.”⁹⁰ But this practice of prayer should further develop organically, as he adds in the very next sentence: “Finally, we must find God, our Lord, in all things and our own individual method of prayer.”⁹¹

3. The third presupposition is the explicit practice of seeking God in all things which is bound up with constant renewal of recollection. Only by the constant repetition of this will a habit gradually be acquired. Even Ignatius himself, one of the greatest mystics, once wrote to Simon Rodriguez: “Every hour I seek to recollect myself interiorly while I reflect that in important affairs the good angels always have their goal before their eyes in order to accomplish God’s design.”⁹²

As regards this exercise, Father Manare relates a striking example: “When a certain Father once complained to Ignatius that he was called often to the door by strangers and that this was seriously distracting him from interior union with God, the Saint replied: ‘He should always receive with great love those who came to him to obtain spiritual help and consolation. If he is summoned, he should, either beforehand or while on the way, raise his mind to God through ejaculatory prayer and beg that He may deign to help that particular soul through his mediation. But then he should direct all his thoughts and conversation to being useful in our Lord to the visitor. In this way, he will not only reap no harm from the visits but will even profit. The fact that he could not be as

⁸⁸ *MH Nadal IV*, 673.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 645, 691.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 675.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² *Mon. Ign. I*, 12, 630.

recollected under such circumstances as otherwise should not disturb him, because a distraction taken upon oneself for God's sake brings no harm.'"⁹³

We come upon the same advice in another saying of the Founder: "We must do nothing of any importance without first asking, however briefly, counsel from God as from a very good and wise Father."⁹⁴ The examination of conscience, to be made twice a day, on which Ignatius laid more stress and considered of greater importance than meditation, also has as its object daily recollection in God's presence.

How "Finding God in All Things" is at the same time a grace from God and an exercise for us, Nadal has explained in his instruction on prayer. He wrote: "It is good to know that there are two ways to enter into prayer. The one method is to meditate in all simplicity and humility upon creation—be it creatures in the natural or supernatural order, the holy sacraments, all the graces which God gives. With sweet joy of soul, we view the activity of God in these creatures and reflect how this activity is truly in God. According to the second method, grace anticipates us with a sublime illumination so that we can perceive and view the eternal God Himself in all other things."⁹⁵ The trinitarian mysticism of St. Ignatius is a good example of this second method in its purest form. It does not lie in the power of man to procure or even to merit such moments of grace. But he can prepare himself for them with humility and holy desire by raising his mind to God in a spirit of faith in all the activities of daily life, a practice constantly accessible to him.

In a true monastic spirituality, apostolic labors are considered either as a break in contemplative recollection, or at least as its interruption. Through "Seeking God in All Things," Ignatius has indicated to his Order, which is entirely directed to the apostolate, the way to an interior union of prayer and work. Prayer urges to work, work enriches prayer, so that they become increasingly one. The follower of Ignatius is a contemplative in action.

⁹³ A. Huonder, *Ignatius von Loyola* (Cologne, 1932), p. 179. Cf. *Resp. Man.*, n. 17, *Mon. Ign.* IV, 1, 515.

⁹⁴ *Mon. Ign.* IV, 1, 515.

⁹⁵ *MH Nadal* IV, 678 f.

Father Nadal in his treatise "On Prayer, Especially for Those of the Society"⁹⁶ has a paragraph which is worth noting. And we should not forget that Polanco in his *Chronicon* says that Nadal had a deeper understanding of Ignatius and a better knowledge of his spirit than any other.⁹⁷ Nadal writes: "Consider that the active and contemplative life should go together. The time of probation, so exacting, brings active life to a certain perfection, and brings contemplative life to dominate, govern and guide the active life with peace and light in the Lord. In this way one comes to the superior active life,—which supposes action and contemplation. Such an active life has the power to impress this action and contemplation according to what is more conducive to God's greater service. In one word: the action of charity united to God is perfect action." And with this we end this article.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 679. A translation of this important document is to be found in *Woodstock Letters* 89 (1960) 285-294.

⁹⁷ *Chronicon* III, 427.

Brother Henry Laurence Fieth

Gerard L. Gordon, S.J.

When you look back at the life a man has lived, you often wonder what particulars of it are the high lights or the extraordinary things, the situations and moments that should be written about after he has passed to his eternal reward. Some are famous for one incident in their lives, sometimes the result of circumstances they could not control. Some live lives that, on the face of them, cause you to wonder if there is anything extraordinary that you can build a story around. However, any man who has lived the life that God has willed for him has lived a worthwhile and successful life, certainly in God's eyes a thing of permanence and beauty. It can be written off, perhaps, with a trite statement, such as, "He was a good man" or "He was a good religious, he lived his rule." I am going to write about a man who was extraordinary be-

cause he was so ordinary, a religious who infused into the everyday living of the life of a Coadjutor Brother of the Society of Jesus an extraordinary love of God and his fellow man.

Henry Laurence Fieth was born on August 16, 1875, to a German immigrant couple, on the lower East Side of New York City. This section of New York was a melting pot of German, Italian and Irish immigrants who tried to keep their own identities and national customs but were drawn against their will into the turbulence of a growing city, drawn by the necessity of survival, the constant fight for their daily bread.

New York of the late nineteenth century is often considered picturesque. Though it had its attractions, it was a difficult place in which to grow up for the son of poor parents. Brother Fieth's early life in New York City was a mixture of many things, things to remember and incidents best forgotten. His earliest recollections are of his father, a German soldier turned wood carver. Their relationship was very close and in Brother's early years they were an inseparable pair. Mr. Fieth gave to his son his own appreciation of beauty and instilled in him an iron discipline and integrity of character that grew as he grew and blossomed into a maturity of wisdom and love of God that would be his outstanding characteristics in the last years of his life.

Apart from isolated incidents that were gleaned from Brother's many stories and conversations, we know little of his life as a young man. His father died when he was in grammar school and he started working to help support his mother, brother and sister. He held various jobs, from working on the docks to working in a Brooklyn brewery. Finally he settled on silk weaving as a trade and became quite good at it. He often talked about his days as a silk weaver and we learned that they were very happy days.

The Artist

Brother possessed a love of beauty that made him want to express it in some creative way. He decided to learn how to draw and to paint with oil colors. He started taking lessons at the old Cooper Institute and eventually private instruction from a German artist. Unfortunately we do not have

his name as Brother never talked of him except as the "Professor." This old artist helped to form and discipline in his young pupil a fine sense of color, particularly in regard to nature. Brother's art work might not be considered great but it did have originality and his sense of color was true to life, as true as paint and canvas allow. Through a busy life his painting was never more than a fond hobby, but in his old age it was a real support and friend which helped to keep him busy and contented.

After the deaths of his mother and sister, Henry Fieth applied for admission to the Maryland-New York Province of the Society of Jesus as a Coadjutor Brother. He was accepted and entered St. Andrew-on-Hudson, Poughkeepsie, New York, in January 1905. He received the habit in February of the same year and formally started his novitiate.

Father George Pettit was Master of Novices and Rector of St. Andrew when Brother entered. Brother often talked of Father Pettit with great warmth and respect. He was greatly impressed by Father, and particularly by his care of the sick and old in his community. Under this great director of souls, Henry Fieth formed the simple basic spirituality that was the foundation of his whole life as a Jesuit. The love of God, His Mother, and of the Society of Jesus that Father Pettit helped to instill into this young man of twenty-nine was never to fade or grow weak. As he grew older in the service of Christ, it blossomed to a maturity that gave him the simple, sincere humility and prayerfulness that were so evident to all who knew him in his last trying years as an invalid at St. Andrew.

Brother Henry Fieth pronounced the first vows of the Society on February 24, 1907, in the domestic chapel of the novitiate at Poughkeepsie. His first years as a Vow Brother were spent at St. Andrew working in the infirmary and bakery. In 1909 Brother was sent to St. George's College in Kingston, Jamaica, in the British West Indies.

From Brother's recollections of his stay on this mission, it is clear that Jamaica and its people had a special place in his heart. He spent seven years among the Jamaicans, years that were happy and productive. He loved these simple people and they responded to his love and care of them. A man of

great energy, he decided that there was no reason why many of the vegetables and livestock familiar to us in the States could not be produced on this tropical island. Using the community for his experiments, he started to grow vegetables that were strange to the native Jamaicans and apparently the results were fair. As Brother put it, "Nobody got sick." However, one of his experiments did backfire. He had been raising chickens with success and decided to add guinea pigs to his experiments. When they were first served at table, the community thought they were chickens. When it was found out that the chicken were guinea pigs there was a minor eruption, ending the raising of guinea pigs and, according to Brother Fieth, stopping a great potential source of revenue for the Society in Jamaica.

In Brother's last years, Jamaica, the Jesuit missionaries and the people he knew while stationed there were often in his conversations. One of the men he often talked about was the vicar apostolic at the time, Bishop Collins. This saintly man had made a deep impression on Henry Fieth, who felt that the Bishop's patience and experience had been invaluable to him in his own dealings with a strange country and culture.

In 1916 Brother Fieth was called back to New York, and assigned to Brooklyn Preparatory School. On February 2, 1918, he pronounced the final vows of a Temporal Coadjutor at the main altar of St. Ignatius Church. Brother left Brooklyn in 1924 for St. Andrew-on-Hudson. After three years as baker at the novitiate, he returned to Brooklyn Preparatory. In 1929 he left Carroll Street again for St. Francis Xavier's in Manhattan. Brother spent ten years at Xavier as buyer and supervisor of the kitchen and refectory.

From Xavier he went to the new tertianship at Auriesville, New York, where he spent four years there employed in household duties and doing a little gardening. In 1943 it was back to the city, this time Jersey City and St. Peter's Preparatory School.

The years were starting to catch up with Brother, and in 1949 it was thought best by superiors that he be transferred to the sanatorium at Monroe, New York, where he would be able to rest and take care of his health which had been failing. Retirement as such was out of the question as far as

this old soldier of Christ was concerned; and he made himself busy doing light household tasks and a little gardening. But this was just a prelude to the big battle that was to start, the final illness that proved his strength as a true Jesuit and follower of Christ.

In the fall of 1949, Brother suffered a cerebral hemorrhage and was sent to St. Francis Hospital, Poughkeepsie, New York. Thus began the last years of Brother's life, ten years of hard physical suffering, but also ten years of heroic resignation to God's Holy Will.

There is so much that could be said about these last years of Brother Fieth that it is difficult to pick out the high lights. I had the privilege of living with Brother during these years, and came to know him more as an exemplary Jesuit and friend than as someone for whose care I was responsible. This was due to his cheerful spirit, his complete lack of selfishness, and his firm will to live as long as the good Lord wished and in whatever circumstances He might allow. There was no rebellion, no self-pity, no irritation at being an invalid dependent upon others for everything.

After months in St. Francis Hospital, Brother came to the infirmary at St. Andrew. He was able to walk a little with the use of two canes, but had to spend most of his time in a wheelchair. That Brother was able to walk at all was considered remarkable by the doctors who attended him while he was in the hospital. It had been their unanimous opinion that he would not be able to walk again and that he would have to spend the rest of his days in bed or a wheel chair. When Brother was told this verdict of the doctors he just smiled and asked if it would be all right if he tried to walk with the use of two canes; if he couldn't, nothing would be lost by trying. The first time it was just a step or two from the bed, but each day he kept trying and soon he was able to walk across the room without any assistance but his canes. He kept practicing, and after he came to the infirmary he decided that he would take a short walk on the grounds each day during the pleasant weather. Brother became a familiar figure as he slowly moved down the path by the handball courts. He had a smile for all he met on his walks, and everybody took it for granted that he was finding it easier to get

around. This was not the case. Since he was not able to place any weight on his legs, he was carrying the entire weight of his body on his arms and shoulders. The courage and perseverance this took were heroic.

A Novitiate Tradition

Through all his years in the infirmary, Brother was its bright spot. His cheerfulness and simplicity won the novices immediately. He was interested in their problems and work, and always had a funny or interesting story to tell them. No matter how small the task or favor they did for him, he never failed to thank them and show his appreciation. He was always courteous and considerate of them, and gave them his entire attention whenever they had anything to say. He enjoyed having young people around him, and as novices came and went, Brother Fieth passed down from year to year as a special novitiate tradition.

Every evening someone from the infirmary wheeled Brother over to the recreation room after dinner was over. He enjoyed these daily get-togethers with the Brothers and would omit going only if he were too ill. Brother tried to partake in all the community exercises that his health allowed. His wheel chair was a familiar sight to all of us as he was pushed to and from the domestic chapel for Benediction. At Christmas time he would come into the refectory for dinner as he felt that was one day on which he should be with the community as much as possible. There were times when these trips from the infirmary were tiring and uncomfortable, but he never complained and would never omit them unless the doctor or one of the Brothers in the infirmary suggested that he get some extra rest.

Brother Fieth established a regular routine of work and prayer for himself and adhered to it rigidly. He spent a good part of his day doing water color sketches. Each sketch received the very best of his efforts and he was most careful in his choice of subjects, relying mostly on pious pictures for his material. Daily Mass in the infirmary chapel was never omitted while it was possible to go. No matter how poorly he felt or how much pain he had during the long hours of the night, he would get out of bed unassisted and be ready for

Mass. When he could no longer attend the Holy Sacrifice, he received Holy Communion in his room every morning. His devotion to the Blessed Sacrament was very moving and, after his reception of Holy Communion, he was so completely absorbed in prayer that he did not notice the presence of anyone in the room.

During these last years it was necessary to hospitalize Brother often. Each time he went to the hospital most of the community felt that he would not return, but it was God's will that he drink of the chalice deeply. These episodes of acute illness became more frequent as the years went by, and always left him weaker. But his wonderful spirit kept him going and the familiar smile was always there.

In January of 1960, Brother Fieth spent a month in St. Francis Hospital. It seemed impossible that he could get well this time. But the fight was still there and Brother returned to the infirmary in the middle of February. He enjoyed fairly good health for a man in his condition until the eleventh of March. That evening he developed a temperature and became quite weak. The end came a little after three o'clock in the afternoon on the Feast of St. Joseph, March 19, 1960.

There is much more that could be written about Brother Fieth which will have to be omitted. And there are many things that cannot be put on paper: the warmth of character, the ardent love of God and of his creatures that this simple, humble Coadjutor Brother encased in a feeble, crippled body. It was my privilege to live with him and take care of his physical needs during these last years; and though he lived a long life in the Society, over fifty years in God's service, it seems to me that these last ten years were most fruitful and productive for Christ and souls. His was a hidden life, an ordinary life; but how well he lived it for God and others!

Father Thomas L. Matthews

Joseph J. Rooney, S.J.

Father Thomas L. Matthews was born in New York City on April 26th, 1897, and was baptized three days later in Guardian Angel Church, Tenth Avenue and 21st Street, only a short distance from Xavier High School to which he devoted the last nineteen years of his life.

His father, John Matthews, and his mother, Jane Breen, both of whom had immigrated from Ireland, were married in 1892 in Saint Joseph's Church, just a short distance south of Saint Francis Xavier's Church. God blessed this union with twelve children, but Mr. and Mrs. Matthews had the extreme sorrow of burying six of these while they were still children. However they were people of deep faith and readily resigned themselves to the will of God.

Thomas was the third child of the family, and while he was still a small boy the family moved to Brooklyn, first to the downtown section and later to the Flatbush area. Here he lived until he left to enter the Society of Jesus. We are told that he was an eager boy, lively, punctual, quick to laughter, ready with an answer, and willing to work. Flatbush in those days was country, not the crowded residential area it is today, and most families had a vegetable garden and a chicken coop. Tom is reported to have been helpful in weeding the garden, feeding the chickens, mowing the lawn, but was also fond of the cherries and peaches which grew on the small plot.

In 1910 Tom finished grammar school in Holy Cross Parish and was enrolled in the new Brooklyn College Preparatory School which the Jesuits had established about two miles away from his home. Because of a scarcity of altar boys at Saint Ignatius Church, which was attached to the college, the Fathers asked him to serve Mass daily, and this he did all through his high school days, though it meant an early morning two mile walk to the Church, another two mile walk back home for breakfast, and a third trip back to the Prep. Why

all the walking? There were streetcars in Flatbush, to be sure, but the Matthews family was large and money was scarce.

On Saturdays and during the summer Tom worked on a wagon with a man who sold fruit, vegetables and fish. The workday started at four in the morning with a trip to the Wallabout Market to pick up the wares. One day in the spring of 1914 the wagon stopped in front of the Matthews home, and Mrs. Matthews called out to tell Tom that a letter had arrived from the Jesuit provincial. After reading the brief notice Tom dashed across the street to the home of a neighbor, waving the letter and crying out, "I'm going to be a Jesuit priest." We can say in truth that the enthusiasm for his vocation, manifested that day, never left him. He had an abiding love for the Society and often spoke of his gratitude to God for having called him to it.

There is little to record of Father Matthews' first seven years as a Jesuit, first at Poughkeepsie, where he entered on July 30th, 1914, and after that at Woodstock where he made his philosophical studies. It was in the regency that he manifested his interest in high school work which was to be the field of his labors, except for the four years from 1932 to 1936 he spent as Father Minister of the 84th Street community in New York.

Regency

During four years of regency at Boston College High School from 1921 to 1925 Mr. Matthews had the distinction of taking one class through the entire four-year course. Perhaps we can sum up this period of his career in no better way than by quoting from a letter written recently by one of his former pupils, Henry Leen of the Boston law firm of Maguire, Roche and Leen. Mr. Leen writes: "Father Matthews was a very wonderful man. I first became acquainted with him in 1921 when I entered Boston College High School as a freshman. He was then a Scholastic, and he continued as my home-room teacher throughout my four years at Boston College High School. I believe this is some kind of a record in and of itself. He was our home-room teacher in Latin, Greek, English and Religion, and was a very competent teacher. However,

I believe he is best remembered for his kindness and great personal interest in the boys he taught. He had a good sense of humor, a keen interest in non-academic problems that affected his students and, I am sure, exercised a profound influence on the lives of the boys with whom he came in contact. Our class published a small year book at the end of our senior year. It contains a class history of the four years which revolved very much around Father Matthews. It is also interesting to note that when he was ordained many of his former pupils were still in college. I am not sure of the figure, but I believe that approximately sixteen of these, including the writer, attended his First Solemn Mass in Brooklyn."

Father Matthews was ordained at Woodstock on June 28th, 1928, by Archbishop Curley, and after his fourth year of theology spent two years as student counsellor at Brooklyn Prep before making his tertianship at Saint Beuno's, Wales. From 1932 to 1936 he was Father Minister at 84th Street, New York, and after that returned once more to what he liked best, working with high school students, first at Gonzaga, Washington, for four years, and then at Xavier, New York, from 1940 until his last illness.

But dates alone do not tell the story of Father Matthews' varied activities. Neither do the abbreviated jottings that follow his name in the successive issues of the Province catalogue. We quoted a moment ago from a letter written from Boston by a former student in which he wrote: "I believe he is best remembered for his kindness and great personal interest in the boys he taught." The writer of this obituary taught for many years at Xavier with Father Matthews and he can certainly testify to the truth of that statement and with one addition. This kindness and this personal interest were not limited to the boys he taught but embraced all the students in the school. It is safe to say that no teacher at Xavier knew more students by name than he did. He took the deepest interest in every activity in which the school engaged, and always made it a point to congratulate everybody who had done well in any contest. The personal touch was not lost on the students, for it is doubtful if anybody had greater influence on them. Indeed the write-ups in the school paper frequently referred to Father Matthews as Father Xavier.

This interest in Xavier and its students prompted him to establish the Press Club which kept the secular and diocesan papers supplied with material about the activities at Xavier.

Another point concerning his interest in the students received no publicity. Somehow or other he frequently found out the home difficulties with which some students had to contend, and immediately he went to work on them. Nobody will ever know the amount of good he did in this field. Father Matthews was not reticent when he thought he should speak out, and I do not doubt that many a parent is grateful to-day for the things he told them in his plain but forceful way. Sometimes he would have them come to the school to see him, but he was also a believer in the telephone. And it was very difficult to deceive him.

Devotion to the Poor

No one should be surprised to learn that Father Matthews had a tender and Christlike devotion to the poor. He did not hesitate to ask his friends to beg for what was needed, and many a gift that was sent to him was turned over to somebody in need. A typical example of this may be taken from a letter written by the father of a former Gonzaga student. He writes: "Father Matthews arrived at Gonzaga at the height of the depression. The families of many of the students were hard hit and Father Matthews devoted much time and effort to helping the boys of those families. I believe he knew every boy in the student body by his first name or nickname. The pocket of his cassock was always filled with cafeteria coupons, and he was constantly on the alert to be sure no boy went hungry."

This same gentleman tells that now and then Father Matthews visited his home, and goes on to relate the following incident. "On one of these occasions he asked to see the closet where I kept my clothing. He took out each garment and questioned me as to how frequently I wore it or when I wore it last. If the reply indicated that I wore it infrequently, he put it aside. At the end of the inspection he gathered up the clothes that he had separated and informed me that he knew some boys who would be very glad to wear them every day if they had them, instead of leaving them in the closet to become

fodder for the moths." And the clothes went back to Gonzaga with Father Matthews.

It is not always easy to keep in touch with one's former students, but again in this field Father Matthews had extraordinary success,—a success which demanded much letter writing; and that, as we all know, means lots of hard work. This explains why so many college students home for holidays or service men back on furloughs made it a point to get to 16th Street to chat with their old teacher, and, what is more important, to seek his advice on their problems. They knew he would lend them an attentive ear just as he had always done when they were in school.

Perhaps it will be a bit difficult to make clear the following point, but we who lived with him at 16th Street can vouch for the truth of it. While Father Matthews had a host of what we might call "personal friends," (and perhaps all his friends could be thus classed), he had an extraordinary knack for making these people friends of Xavier High School, friends of Saint Francis Xavier Church, friends of our foreign missions, friends of the poor in whom he was interested. He wanted nothing for himself. As a matter of fact, during his years at Xavier he seldom left the house except for visits to his mother, or to call on the sick, or pay his respects to the dead. From all that has been said it is clear that he took seriously, and put into practice, both the corporal and spiritual works of mercy. That is why so many people looked upon him as a truly Christlike priest, unselfish and anxious to spend himself in the interests of others.

Throughout the years of his priesthood Father Matthews missed no opportunities to preach. While he was stationed in Brooklyn, Washington, 84th Street and 16th Street he was frequently seen in the pulpits of our churches, and it should be noted that he always gave a well-prepared and forceful sermon. While he was Minister at Saint Ignatius, New York, 1932-1936, he was the regular preacher each Sunday at the children's mass, a task which he loved. For a number of years he was the Moderator of the parish League of the Sacred Heart at 16th Street, and in the afternoon on the third Sunday of the month one could hear him giving his talk to the Promoters in the students' chapel. He also loved to give re-

treats to laymen, and spent many summers at Mount Manresa, Staten Island, helping out at the retreat house and giving many of the retreats himself.

After telling of the very active life that Father Matthews lived, it may seem strange to add that for a number of years before his death he was in very poor health. He had diabetes, a very bad heart and high blood pressure. How he could keep on working, keep up his interest in everything at 16th Street, and keep his sense of humor, was a mystery to all of us. That, however, was precisely what he did. And, in order not to be idle in vacation time, for the last few years of his life he took on the fairly active duty of serving as chaplain at Saint Vincent's Hospital, Staten Island. As a matter of fact, it was through personal illness that he became acquainted with this Staten Island hospital of the Sisters of Charity. Perhaps it would be good to quote here from a letter written by one of the Sisters who knew him there through a number of years. This devoted Sister writes: "Back in the summer of 1941 was my first meeting with Father, when he gave the monthly conferences to the Sisters at Saint Vincent's Hospital in New York. His conferences were always simple but inspiring, always a lesson to take to ourselves. He never gave out anything but what he practised himself, whether he was talking on prayer, charity, love of God or our neighbor. In 1947 when he suffered his first coronary at Mount Manresa, Staten Island and was brought to Saint Vincent's Hospital, Staten Island, we knew him better. There we witnessed his spiritual life, his love to offer Mass, even many times when it was a great effort, his constant prayerfulness in his room, with his breviary, his prayer book and his rosary in his hands, many, many times during the day and night. He could handle a man with a problem where a Sister would not be successful. A Sister would tell him about Mr. So-and-so, who had not been to the sacraments for years. Father would drop into see this man three, four or five times a day, but he would get him back to the sacraments. He brought many back to the sacraments, had marital difficulties settled, marriages righted. People approached him with all types of problems. In confession he was always gentle and kind, but there was always a word of advice."

It should be remembered that these activities of Father Matthews took place at a time when he was supposed to be a patient. It seems that the old expression, "You couldn't keep him down," applied to Father Matthews in a special way.

Illness

It was not until 1956 that health kept Father Matthews out of the classroom for any length of time. On January 13th, 1956, he was taking his class down to Larkin Hall (formerly the lower church at 16th Street) when he missed a step near the bottom of the stairs and landed on both knees on the concrete floor. He was taken to Saint Vincent's Hospital, New York, where it was found that the ligaments all around the knees were badly crushed. Father's good friends, Dr. John Keating and Dr. John Lawler, both fathers of Xavier students, took excellent care of him, and after a short time Dr. Lawler performed identical operations on both knees. The healing process, however, kept him in the hospital for the rest of the school year. It might be remarked here that, if a Jesuit wanted to see Father Tom during these months, it was wise not to go to Saint Vincent's in the afternoon because the room was usually crowded with Xavier boys. And that was the way he wanted it, for he wanted to keep in touch with his boys.

During the school year beginning in 1956 Father Tom was back on the scene on a somewhat curtailed teaching schedule, but he was just as active as could be humanly expected. Due to his lameness he was now using a cane with which he frequently threatened the heads of some of the Xavier cadets. But all knew that he was back on the job, and his Press Club office (which was frequently referred to as the hole in the wall) became just as busy as ever.

During the summer of 1957 Saint Vincent's Hospital on Staten Island once more welcomed Father Matthews as its summer chaplain. This was a work dear to his heart, and, perhaps, he overdid things, for on August 15th he suffered a severe coronary thrombosis. This serious heart condition kept him in that hospital for a whole year. And that, sad to say, marked the end of his teaching career. It did not, however, mark the end of his interest in the school and its stu-

dents. In September of 1958 he came back to Xavier and took up once again his work with his Press Club and a few other activities. But his heart could not stand the pace, and after some time he was taken to Saint Vincent's Hospital in New York. For a long time it was a case of in bed and out of bed, but at the beginning of April, 1959, there was a marked deterioration of the heart.

One of the nurses who took care of Father Matthews at this time was the sister of a boy whom he had known at school. She has written a letter in which she has given an account of his last hours and death, and I shall quote some of the pages she has written on his last hours which made a deep impression on her. She writes: "The first morning I entered Father Thomas Matthews' room I was met by what appeared to be a dying man. However, much to my surprise, Father opened his eyes immediately and greeted me with, "Hi, Pat, I'm glad to see you." I corrected the "Pat" but Father explained that he always associated me with my brother Pat, and hence called me by that name. Throughout the days he would look at each doctor who came in and greet him by name, with a personal joke for each. Occasionally when his brothers would begin praying out loud Father would laugh and say, 'Not yet.' I left that first evening sure that Father would not last the night. However, the next day he was as clear as ever. A few of the interns and residents who stopped by were Father's former students, and he greeted each by name. When they left, Father would say something particular about each, "Good Student," "Sterling Character," etc. I didn't go to lunch that day because the end seemed overdue. It is impossible to have no blood pressure and no pulse, and yet appear almost well. Finally about twelve noon I decided to change the linen on Father's bed. The moving caused him considerable discomfort and he said: "You really mustn't like me." I felt badly but knew he'd feel better after. He did, thanked me and said: "Please call in my brothers. In a little while I'm going to heaven." I ran to the waiting-room, and the five brothers came in and stood by Father's bedside. He raised his head and in his hand he held his beads. He opened his eyes and looked around. At this time the doctor was again trying to get an infusion started. Father again

spoke in a loud, clear voice, with no trace of shortness of breath. He again told everyone that he was dying and then proceeded to say an act of contrition. He asked God to forgive all the sins of his past life. Next, I believe, he recited the prayers for the dying in unison with his brothers in Latin. He then received absolution from each of his priest brothers (Father John, S.J., of Woodstock, Father Edward, C.M., of Saint John's University, and Father Charles, S.J., of Fordham). The doctor finally got the needle in Father's arm. He looked up at the doctor, smiled and said, "Another round," sighed and went into a coma. Father died peacefully at 7:30 p.m. It was April 10th. I have seen many people die, but none have done it as well as Father. This experience will always be an inspiration to me, and I am honored to be the recipient of his rosary beads. I have prayed often on them and always remember my last forty-eight hours with Father Matthews."

The Love of Friends

Father Matthews' friends did not forget him in death. Former students and parents of former students came in great numbers to the students' chapel to pay their respects to him. His funeral was a most unusual one, with his three priest brothers celebrating simultaneous requiem masses at the three front altars of Saint Francis Xavier's church before a crowded congregation of priests and lay people. And I am sure that many that day recalled very vividly a day in 1953 when they commemorated Father Tom's twenty-fifth ordination anniversary by witnessing the four priest brothers celebrate simultaneous masses in the same church while their saintly mother knelt in a front pew. On the morning of Father Tom's funeral she was not there, for she had been laid to rest before he was.

Mr. Michael O'Donnell, a lay teacher at Xavier for the past forty-five years, is well known to all Xavierites. Father Matthews came to Xavier in 1940, and these kindred spirits became close friends. Mr. O'Donnell is a shrewd schoolman of the old type, and I would like to quote some of the things he wrote after Father Matthews' funeral because he seems to sum up very beautifully what Father Tom meant to Xavier, to its stu-

dents and to its teachers. Mr. O'Donnell, being a Tipperary man, has a glowing style of his own, but whenever he says anything it comes from the heart and he means every word of it. I give you some of the things he wrote, for it is probably a good idea to get the testimony of a good layman who knew Father Tom well and appreciated his worth. Mr. O'Donnell writes: "For fifteen years of my acquaintance with him I was assigned to teach algebra in Father Tom's classes. Through this close alliance with him during all of these years I learned much about his manner of life and character. Verily his life work could be summed up in the Jesuit motto, *Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam*; his character in the motto, *Suaviter in Modo, Fortiter in Re*. Father Tom knew well the part that human nature and its concomitants play in reaching one's destiny. Hence his increasing concern for the temporal welfare of his students. He knew the environment, habits and home life of his students as an author knows the characters in his book. To achieve this personal knowledge of his students he gave unstintingly of his time, talents and human endurance, oftentimes in places far removed from the classroom. Whenever I went to him to complain that some of his students were doing poorly in algebra he would invariably reply: 'Leave that to me, Mike, I'll take care of that matter.' In the afternoon of the same day he would take these recalcitrant students aside and put them back on the right road. As was his wont in such cases, he would enlighten me the next day as to the causes of their failure. With these facts to work on I became convinced that the home life and environment of these inept students were to blame. One lesson in teaching that I learned from Father Tom was that some students cannot be taught effectively if the teacher is ignorant of their background, that is of their home training, environment, companions. To use a colloquial expression, he always 'went to bat' for his students, no matter what their difficulties were. Especially was this true whenever his students needed aid, whether that aid was of a spiritual or temporal nature. Although Father Tom always kept the other teachers of his class well informed as to the lackadaisical habits of some of his students, he never maligned the character of any one of them in any way. No, his heart was too big for that. Is it

any wonder then that his students, especially those who needed his special care and attention, admired and loved him? For these students Father Tom was Xavier personified; hence his famous title 'Father Xavier.' In his little hole-in-the-wall office, Father Tom's cabin as many of his students affectionately called it, he held forth mornings before class and afternoons after class to help any student who needed aid or enlightenment, whether of a spiritual or temporal nature. This chore, which was most dear to his heart, he performed for any student who wished to take advantage of it. If the walls and ceiling of that room had ears, what tales they could tell of devotion to duty and love of humanity on the part of Father Tom! Over the lintel of the door of that tiny room should be inscribed on a plaque the following inscription: 'Father Tom's Sanctum Sanctorum'."

Books of Interest to Ours

CHURCH AND STATE IN THE FAR EAST

The Church at the Gateway of India. *By J. H. Gense, S.J.* Bombay: St. Xavier's College, 1960. Pp. 479. \$3.00.

When in Rome on my way to Bombay in 1937, I was reminded that Bombay was under the Congregation for Extraordinary Affairs. A dubious dignity, perhaps, but as a title, quite impregnable.

The author of this book is a Dutch Jesuit who has spent most of his long life in Bombay. He received from my successor, Cardinal Gracias, all the access to archives that was needed and some helpful advice as well. He probably did not think it practicable to consult me as the only ex-Archbishop of Bombay alive, for I was either in England or America while the book was in the making. Anyway, I knew nothing of his plan until the book was placed in my hands last October.

Very properly, the bulk of the work concerns history long past, but as those events determined my inheritance, I can best respond to the kind invitation of the Editor by filling in the picture as I saw it in 1937.

Knowing from my predecessor, Archbishop Goodier, that Portugal was still the source of assets and liabilities to Catholic Bombay (my bull of appointment mentioned the *placet* of the Portuguese government) I betook myself to Lisbon immediately after my consecration. There, by the good offices of the Rector of the English Seminary, I made contact with Signor Salazar (to whom the privileges of the *Padroado* or

Royal Protection of Eastern Catholicism are enormously important) and all government officials concerned.

That visit yielded rich dividends: for instance, I found on arrival that, as one relic of a double jurisdiction involving two rival Catholic bishops in Bombay, two parishes claimed personal jurisdiction so imperfectly defined that no parishes at all had ever been delimited—no responsibilities, therefore, determined. The very subject, I was warned, was “dynamite,” and had always been so treated. Yet, when the people learned that a complete division of some fifty city parishes had been made, they were also told that the Portuguese Consul General had given, and had notified to Lisbon, his full consent. The point is worth making, to counter the notion that the conflict of Propaganda with *Padroado* was always as bitter as, in effect, much of it was.

The student of ecclesiastical history has much to learn from Bombay as an extraordinary affair. Father Gense has performed a useful service in bringing the story up to date. May the Second Vatican Council profit by the lesson.

ARCHBISHOP THOMAS ROBERTS, S.J.

CHURCH AND STATE IN THE EARLY DAYS

Julian the Apostate. By *Giuseppe Ricciotti*. Translated by M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1960. Pp. x+275, maps and plates. \$4.75.

As the latest addition to R's growing list of translated works into English, *Julian the Apostate* is a question mark. Written as a sequel to the author's *The Age of Martyrs* (Milwaukee, 1959), R claims in this book the role of a “contemporary historian [who] should make use of all the reliable sources still extant and strive to display in equal light [Julian's] many laudable qualities and his numerous defects.” One might well hesitate to say the purpose has been achieved.

The plan of the book is simple. Through fifteen chapters Ricciotti strives to paint Julian as a man victimized by circumstances, whose life began and ended with tragedy. A witness in childhood to the murder of members of his family, he seems never to have recovered from the shock. He was the contemporary of Gregory of Nazianzus and of Basil; but his tutors and close associates were either Arians or pagan Hellenizers. His mother's tutor, Mardonius, injected into him love for the pagan authors to the exclusion of Christian literature. The author makes frequent use of passages from Julian's works and he shows him gradually assimilating Hellenic thought, and finally dedicating himself to the cause of idolatry. This explains much of Julian's career and his policy when he became Emperor. He turned out to be a good soldier, reconquering Gaul for his cousin; he was a capable administrator—quite unexpected in one with so pronounced a tendency to mysticism! And if the circumstances that catapulted him to the throne are any index, he was well-liked by his troops! But what made him the man whom history would know as “The Apostate” was the time, the effort, and the love he devoted to his Hellenic meditations.

The focal point of this study, therefore, should have been an analysis

of the historical accident that resulted in Julian's Hellenism, namely, the failure of the Christian Eusebius to guide him during his tender years. The author does make an attempt to explain Julian's anti-Christian animus, greatly enhanced by the "mental outlook . . . of a mystic, much more intuitive and enthusiastic than reasoned and calm." One wonders if a case has been made! If it is the historian's task to probe into the meaning of documents in the light of their context, one has the impression that it is precisely in this area that the present study is deficient. References to original sources are plentiful; but, what do they mean? Such a question, for example, as the literary form of Julian's writings seems not to have been investigated. Until this and other related questions are settled, one should be very wary of conclusions.

JOSÉ S. ARCILLA, S.J.

PORTRAIT OF A MODERN SCHISMATIC

Religious Revolution in the Philippines. Life and Church of Gregorio Aglipay, 1860-1940. Volume One: 1860-1940. *By Pedro S. de Achútegui, S.J. and Miguel A. Bernad, S.J.* Manila: Ateneo de Manila, 1960. Pp. xiv, 578. Cloth, 8 pesos; paper, 5 pesos.

There are four elements that must be identified in order to explain a schism: a complaint, an aggrieved party, a *semblance* of truth, and, most important, an organizing genius that will give unity and form to these elements. The present volume does just that. It marshals the elements that brought about the phenomenon of a schismatic church in the Philippines, a country traditionally regarded as *the* Catholic nation in the Far East. The co-authors have had to hunt after unpublished and uncollected data, besides critically evaluating already existing publications on the subject. The result is history at its best, a scholarly piece of writing that offers the reader an insight into the man Gregorio Aglipay and the schism that bears his name. From now on, writers on the subject will have to be guided by this book, which sifts fact from fiction, popular tradition from authentic record, blatant exaggeration from simple truth.

The Philippine Independent Church (more commonly, the Aglipayan Church) was born in a context of political unrest in the Philippines at the end of the nineteenth century. Filipino intellectuals, imbued with ideas of nationalism and liberalism learned from abroad, were loud in their denunciation of Spanish absolutism. But in a country where the State worked in close union with the Church, it was easy to extend grievances and accuse the Church of worse crimes.

Gregorio Aglipay was a Roman Catholic priest. When Spanish rule was challenged in 1896, he was named head of the Catholic Church by the revolutionary government. He accepted the post and proceeded to perform certain actions that were the prerogative of bishops. This brought him afoul of Church law and the excommunication pronounced against him proved to be the beginning of the Aglipayan schism. Various reasons were alleged, both by the revolutionists and by Aglipay himself, justifying the latter's position, the most frequently repeated

being that independence from Spanish political domination was incomplete without emancipation from the spiritual jurisdiction of the Spanish clergy. There was not much logic in the argument, but those were times of stress and misunderstanding when personal emotions were at fever-pitch! It was an appeal to patriotism that won over not a few Filipinos to the side of Aglipay and provided the necessary numbers to support a formal schism. However, it would have perhaps remained only a personal disciplinary problem of Aglipay without any appreciable effect on the Church in the Philippines, were it not for one man, whose impulsive character forced issues to a head and gave birth to a schismatic church. This was the agitator, imprisoned by both the Spanish and the American governments, Don Isabelo de los Reyes, Sr., a man four years younger than Aglipay. A voracious but not too intelligent reader, it was Reyes who wrote almost all the books of the movement. At first claiming doctrine identical with Roman Catholic dogma, his writings soon became anti-Catholic and thoroughly rational. The irony of it is that de los Reyes, whose pen gave visible form to the dogmas of Aglipayanism, died a Catholic; Aglipay apparently died unreconciled to the Church.

There is a profound lesson in the story of Aglipay. With the schismatic church that bears his name, he is perhaps the most telling testimony to the blunder of Spain in her policy regarding the native clergy. The tragedy of Aglipay is the tragedy of a man, who, after decades of subjection, finds power sweet to the taste, even if it meant stilling the voice of conscience. Aglipay could not have been ignorant of the consequences of his actions when, appointed military vicar general by the revolutionary government, he issued the decrees that brought down on his head the severest ecclesiastical sanction. As a matter of fact, the authors are at pains to show that he was never at peace with himself, and short of taking the one necessary step, always sought to rectify his actions.

The book has three appendices, three indices of persons, places, and subject matter, plus graphs and maps. A few misprints do not affect the value of the book. This is a good book, likely to revolutionize existing theories about Gregorio Aglipay.

JOSÉ S. ARCILLA, S.J.

THE OLD FRONTIER

Jesuits in Montana: 1840-1960. *By Wilfred P. Schoenberg, S.J.* Portland: The Oregon-Jesuit, 1960. Pp. 120. \$1.00.

Unfortunately the T.V. Westerns with their emphasis on violence, rough and tumble antics and romance have so captivated the imagination of their American audiences that some of the real heroes of America's fascinating and romantic West have been shunted into the background. Father Schoenberg has resurrected some of these unsung heroes—priests, brothers, Indians, miners, pioneers—in his delightful popular survey of the Montana missions.

In this booklet, one of several on the Oregon Province Jesuits, the

author has described briefly the establishment and further development of each mission and parish in the 120 years under consideration. He focuses on the trials, successes, failures, joys and sorrows of the leading figures in this mission history. Highlights of their fascinating and at times boisterous life on the frontier have been recounted as a sampling of their intriguing story.

Well-known Jesuits like Fathers Peter DeSmet and Louis Taelman, Brothers James Galdos and Carignano, in company with the Flatheads, Kalispels, Crows, and other Indians, pass quickly in review. Delineating missionary life in the west, Father Schoenberg describes many problems of the frontier: Indian superstitions; uncontrolled hostility of many whites to both missionaries and Indians; the United States government's inept handling of Indian affairs; and the anti-Catholic results of the Indian policy, so ably described by Father Peter Rahill in *The Catholic Indian Missions and Grant's Peace Policy, 1870-1884*.

Since the author's approach has been in the popular vein, there are no footnotes, bibliography, or index. Although the student of history might well recognize the source of some of the material, still the inclusion of at least a bibliography would have been welcome.

FRANCIS G. MCMANAMIN, S.J.

A THEOLOGY CLASSIC

The Resurrection. By F. X. Durrwell, C.S.S.R. Translated by Rosemary Sheed. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1960. Pp. xxvi-371. \$6.00.

In his foreword Father Durrwell states that our concept of the resurrection has been reduced to a mere personal triumph of Christ, to a glorious revenge over the forces of Satan; the value of Christ's rising from the dead springs from its apologetical role in the genesis of faith. As a result, the resurrection has lost the tremendous significance that it once had in the early Church. By a careful analysis of the resurrection as it appears in the New Testament, especially in the writings of St. Paul, Father Durrwell attempts to restore the resurrection to its proper role in the history of salvation; in this endeavor the author is eminently successful.

Man's redemption involves a twofold aspect: freedom from sin and restoration to a state of justice. It is this latter aspect of redemption for which the resurrection is vital. St. Paul states clearly that Christ rose for our justification. This is the starting point for Father Durrwell. The redemption of man is portrayed in Christ as a transformation from the state of sinful flesh to the holiness of divine life. Christ's death is a means to this glorification, but it is the resurrection that accomplishes the definitive passage from carnal humanity, where sin and death reign, to spiritual humanity, a life of holiness and glory lived in the Spirit. It is the Spirit, poured out on Christ's humanity at the resurrection, that accomplishes this transformation. Raised by the Spirit, Christ in turn becomes the life-giving spirit, the source of the Spirit for all incorporated into his glorified humanity. The resurrec-

tion thus marks a new beginning for Christ; glorified by the Spirit, He is now Son-of-God-for-us; dying with Christ, we rise with Him to this new life of the Spirit; our regeneration and life of grace comes to us through incorporation into Christ, into the risen Christ.

Having described the effects of the resurrection in Christ and its general role in the redemption of man, the author then specifies the relation of the resurrection to the Church. Easter marks the birth of the Mystical Body. Because of the outpouring of the Spirit at the resurrection, Christ now communicates life to us through his humanity; He assimilates us into the life of his glorified humanity so as to make us in turn members of his body. The Church, living in the risen Christ, now moves toward the total possession of Christ in the Parousia.

It would be difficult to overestimate the value of this book. As a work of profound theological significance, it should be read and pondered by theologian and layman alike. All will profit from its many rich insights into the nature of the Christian life, and the dual role of the risen Christ and the Spirit in Christian justification. The French original of this book first appeared in 1950. It is now in its fifth edition, and has been widely acclaimed in Europe as a theological classic. There is every reason to believe that this English edition will meet with equal success.

DONALD J. MOORE, S.J.

LITURGICAL SCHOLARSHIP

Fundamentals of the Liturgy. By John H. Miller, C.S.C. Notre Dame: Fides Publishers, 1960. Pp. xvii-531. \$6.00.

Father Miller has faced one of the major problems confronting the liturgical apostolate in our country at this time: if our central and fundamental need is for *understanding*, for the communication of the *meaning* of the liturgy, it is at once evident that the education of priests and religious will demand our first attentions in the present situation. There is a growing awareness of the need for the reorganization of seminary courses in liturgy. Father Miller takes a first step to meet that need by presenting to us a textbook which he hopes will "lay a solid foundation for the seminarian, the religious, and the lay apostle who is learning the tools of his sacred trade." His thesis is that, from a pastoral point of view, "the priest is the teacher, guide, and sanctifier of God's people. If his life does not spring from the Liturgy, if it is not the center of his life, he will not be a priest first but only second, and even then not the priest who is supposed to guide the people to Christ."

The structure of this book, however, seems to run contrary to the author's stated intention of introduction. One hundred and thirty pages of the book's five hundred and more pages of text are spent before the student will reach the more properly theological consideration of the liturgy (Structural Elements of the Liturgy, The Mass, The Divine Office, The Liturgical Year, The Sacraments and Sacramentals). It is true that the first chapter (The Nature of the Liturgy) isolates liturgy from the other theological disciplines, but it is questionable whether the

analysis proposed, executed largely from papal documents, is a thoroughly suitable *introduction* to the meaning of liturgy.

The early chapters of the book (Liturgical Families of Christendom, Liturgical Books of the Roman Rite, Liturgical Places) present excellent historical summaries of their subject matter and are amply documented to provide the student with some of the principal sources for further study. But the chapters devoted to the Mass, the Sacraments, etc., might well have received a more complete treatment from the point of view of Scripture and a theology of the Church, for though they display an impressive mastery of the history of ritual and rubrical legislation, the master theological ideas remain without sufficient development.

Father Miller's scholarly work should provoke keen interest among the theological faculties of American seminaries; but they will probably find that its proper place will be as a companion volume to a more thoroughly theological text.

JOHN J. GALLEN, S.J.

BARGAIN OF THE YEAR

New Testament Reading Guide. Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1960. \$0.30 each.

1. Introduction to the New Testament. *By Roderick A. F. Mackenzie, S.J.* Pp. 47.
2. Gospel of Saint Mark. *By Gerard S. Sloyan.* Pp. 127.
3. Gospel of Saint Luke. *By Carroll Stuhlmueller, C.P.* Pp. 97.
4. Gospel of Saint Matthew. *By David M. Stanley, S.J.* Pp. 97.
5. Acts of the Apostles. *By Neal M. Flanagan, O.S.M.* Pp. 108.
6. Introduction to the Pauline Epistles, 1-2 Thessalonians. *By Bruce Vawter, C.M.* Pp. 65.
7. Epistles to the Galatians, Romans. *By Barnabas M. Ahern, C.P.* Pp. 96.
8. First and Second Corinthians. *By Claude J. Peifer, O.S.B.* Pp. 113.
9. Philippians, Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon. *By Mother Kathryn Sullivan, R.S.C.J.* Pp. 80.
10. Saint Paul's Pastoral Epistles. *By Robert T. Siebeneck, C.P.P.S.* Pp. 72.
11. Epistle to the Hebrews. *By John F. McConnell, M.M.* Pp. 72.
12. Epistles of Saints James, Jude, Peter. *By Eugene H. Maly.* Pp. 73.
13. Gospel of Saint John and the Johannine Epistle. *By Raymond E. Brown, S.S.* Pp. 128.
14. The Book of the Apocalypse. *By William G. Heidt, O.S.B.*

The *New Testament Reading Guide* is a collection of fourteen paperback introductions and commentaries to each book of the New Testament. Its authors are members of the Catholic Biblical Association of America and not a few have published widely in scholarly theological and Biblical periodicals. One, Father Vawter, is the author of the popular *A Path through Genesis*.

Father MacKenzie's admirable booklet introduces us not only to the New Testament but to the scholarly and balanced spirit found throughout the *Guide*. This brief introduction confines itself to the minimal discussion of the historical and literary data needed for understanding the human background of the New Testament but avoids any formal or lengthy treatment of strictly theological questions. The sections on "The Political Background" of the Roman world and on the "Religious Groupings" within Judaism are especially well written. There are also sections on the Apostolic Church and teaching, on the method of composition of the New Testament books in general and their literary history after the Apostolic era. The author is quite successful in giving a positive approach to the historical and literary questions involved and in avoiding any apologetical or negative attitudes.

The *Guide* has also provided a good general introduction to the Pauline Epistles and shorter introductions to each individual book of the New Testament. These shorter introductions have the same general format: origin of the writing (author, occasion, method of composition, etc.), plan, outline, theological doctrine.

The Confraternity edition of the New Testament text is used throughout and is printed in double columns of small, heavy type at the top of each page. The use of this text without any revisions may cause some difficulties since the authors in their commentaries not infrequently quote their own translations without noting that it differs from that of the Confraternity text. But a little reflection should readily solve this difficulty for most readers.

The actual commentary is printed in much larger type across the bottom in a single column. The commentaries are written in the form of a continuous and uninterrupted explanation of a whole passage. If the author has special notes on a word or phrase, he merely incorporates these notes into his running commentary. Thus there are no footnotes to individual words or phrases, nor are there any reference numerals or letters other than the chapter and verse numbers of the New Testament. This format has several advantages. First, it enables the reader to use the commentary with the original Greek text or with any translation since all reference numerals are to the chapters and verses of the New Testament. Secondly, if the reader is familiar with the New Testament, he can read the commentary straight through without referring to the actual text, since the authors comment in a running and continuous fashion on whole passages rather than on isolated words and verses. Finally, the verse numbers in the margin next to the body of the commentary allow the reader to find at once what the author has to say on any given passage.

To dismiss these commentaries as just another textbook or popular manual on the New Testament would be a mistake. Like all commentaries they synthesize the research found in the technical journals, but they do so in a scholarly, clear, well-balanced, and even original manner. For this reason these commentaries will be of great value to religion and theology teachers, seminarians, and even to priests. They will lead to an increased awareness of the significance of literary forms

and of the notion of salvation history for understanding the New Testament.

Yet we should not conclude that these booklets are too technical and difficult to be of interest and value to the intelligent layman. On the contrary, if contemporary Catholic New Testament criticism has discovered anything, it has been that a deeper understanding of the New Testament will help us to study these documents in the same spirit in which they had first been written, from faith to faith. For this reason there is no doubt that many of these booklets will become standard texts in college theology courses. But even many college-bound high school students could draw great profit from large portions of these commentaries, especially from those on the Gospels and Acts.

The use of these commentaries by students is also facilitated by the series of review aids and discussion topics at the end of each booklet. These questions are well thought out, thorough, and comprehensive, and demand a detailed knowledge of both text and commentary.

The Liturgical Press deserves the greatest thanks for the valuable service it has performed in publishing, most inexpensively, the above series. The editorial committee is to be congratulated for the successful accomplishment of a difficult task: to get fourteen different authors to compose commentaries on the twenty-seven books of the New Testament and at the same time to maintain a high degree of uniformity. Finally, we must admire the booklets' attractive covers which reproduce colored photographs of ancient documents, Palestinian scenes and works of art relating to the New Testament.

JOHN J. MAWHINNEY, S.J.

SOME LITURGICAL PROBLEMS

The Dynamics of Liturgy. By H. A. Reinhold. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1961. Pp. xx-146. \$4.75.

This book is a collection of essays written over the last twenty years. Like any collection, the essays vary in significance for the time of their re-publication. The first essay gives a brief history of the liturgical movement and Maria Laach, and the beginnings of the liturgical movement in the U.S. Other chapters comment on liturgy and the arts, i.e. architecture and music; vernacular in the liturgy; the liturgical meaning of Lent, of the Christmas cycle; liturgy and devotion.

Father Reinhold points out the lack of meaning and character in the devotions of so large a number of Catholics today. Their devotions are without cosmic character. They have formed a religion of escape from the realities of the world they live in. Also, in a time when we see so vividly the evils of the Communist effort to break up the family, we proceed to do the same thing by the stress put on special Communion days for little groups in the parish in place of the custom of family Communion.

With those in favor of a vernacular liturgy, the author believes that a vernacular liturgy must become a fact if the people are truly to take a part in the Mass, but he warns that this is not a simple task. It is not just a matter of a translation; it must be a good translation with the

power and force of the present Latin. In the same manner, in regard to music in the liturgy, we must not confuse popularity with vulgarity. In building new churches, the present generation must express itself with a vitality and modernity comparable to the ages which produced the great churches of the past. Father Reinhold gives a series of questions for determining whether or not a church achieves the modern ideal in architecture.

Not all the author has to say will please everyone, but it is obvious that for a successful liturgical movement there is need of much patience, understanding, hard work—a will to adjust without sacrificing standards. Father Reinhold shows himself to be of this mind.

F. GREENE, S.J.

POPULAR GOSPEL STUDY

The Four Gospels: An Historical Introduction. *By Lucien Cerfaux.*
Translated by Patrick Hepburne-Scott. Westminster: The Newman Press, 1960. Pp. xxii-145. \$3.00.

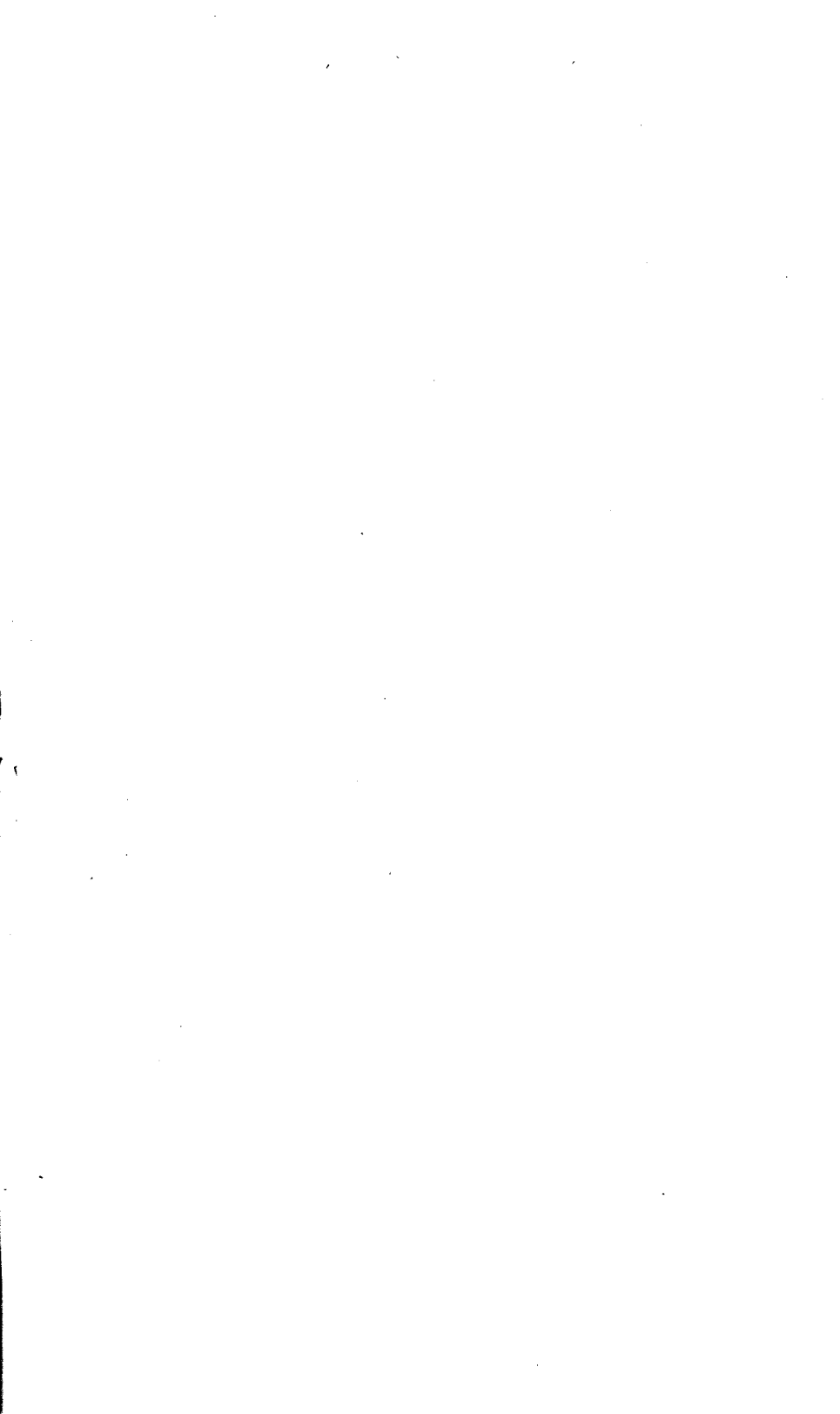
Pauline scholar, Canon Cerfaux, has written a useful popularization on the formation of the gospel traditions. After discussing the meaning of the word "gospel" and the development of the Apostolic tradition, he devotes a chapter to each of the four gospels, in which he covers the following points: origin and present form, plan, doctrine, some questions raised by modern criticism. The sections on the plan include helpful outlines of each gospel. The discussions of the synoptic and Johannine problems and the treatment of the theory of various traditions are well presented.

It is, perhaps, unfortunate that so much emphasis is given to the modern criticism, which in this book almost exclusively means Loisy's criticism. Since space does not allow for an adequate discussion either of the shortcomings or of the positive contribution of this criticism, the author can leave only a negative and apologetical impression. Consequently, though the importance of this position can hardly be overstated, we wonder whether the lay reader can gain any real insight into the significance of it all. It would seem that in a popular book of this type space might have been more profitably employed to furnish a deeper appreciation of the positive contributions of contemporary scholarship on the meaning of the gospels.

Other chapters treat of the gradual disappearance of the oral tradition, the Apocrypha, the recourse to the written tradition of the canonical gospels and the influence of Gnosticism and of the Alexandrian School. Finally, the author devotes a chapter to the importance of the gospels in the spiritual, liturgical, and intellectual life of the Church in the first two centuries.

Though this popularization is less deep and more conservative than some other recent publications on the Bible (e.g., MacKenzie's *The Two-Edged Sword*), it still would be useful supplementary reading for a course in the gospels. Of course, it is not meant to be read apart from a study of the actual gospel texts.

JOHN J. MAWHINNEY, S.J.





COAT OF ARMS
OF

THE PROVINCIAL OF THE BUFFALO PROVINCE OF THE
SOCIETY OF JESUS

BLAZON

Quarterly azure and gules, a cross throughout or; in base in the first quarter, a buffalo statant upon two bars wavy argent; in the second quarter, a rosary in a circle, the cross suspended in the center, in base in saltire two palm branches, over all in chief in saltire two tomahawks, all argent; in the third quarter an eagle displayed wings inverted argent; in the fourth quarter a fleur-de-lis argent; on a chief or, the Greek letters Iota, Eta, Sigma, a latin cross issuant from the center letter, gules, in base a crescent azure between two mullets gules. Motto: Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam.

W O O D S T O C K L E T T E R S

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Father Wilfrid Parsons

John A. LaFarge, S.J.

At its regular meeting on November 20, 1958, the faculty of social sciences of the Catholic University of America adopted unanimously the following resolutions honoring the memory of the Reverend Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., Professor of Politics Emeritus. They were a formal record of a respect and sympathy which all members of the Faculty felt keenly.

Whereas the Reverend Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., has been called by God to his eternal reward after a long life of exemplary devotion to the cause of Christian citizenship, and

Whereas by his public spirit and keen analysis of public affairs he brought great respect for the Church and increased awareness of her solicitude for social justice, and

Whereas by the firmness of his convictions and the kindness of his sympathy and the gentleness of his manner he won the admiration of many both inside and outside of the Church, and

Whereas by his distinguished teaching and scholarship as a member of the faculty of the Catholic University of America he contributed signally to the renown of that University, therefore be it

Resolved that we the members of the faculty of the school of social science of the Catholic University of America express the intention of our prayers for the repose of the soul of Father Parsons and extend our profound sympathy to his relatives and to the Father Provincial of the Society of Jesus, and be it further

Resolved that these resolutions be spread on the minutes of the school of social science and that copies of them be sent to the relatives of the late Father Parsons and to the Father Provincial of the Society of Jesus.

ALPHONSE H. CLEMENS
CHARLES N. R. MCCOY (Chairman)
HENRY W. SPIEGEL

Father Parsons, in the words of Dean C. J. Nuesse, "was not only the colleague of all members of the Faculty; for several of us he was a challenging and devoted teacher to whom we shall always be indebted for a vital part of our own formation."

These brief sentences express the verdict of history upon Father Wilfrid Parson's life and work. So many-sided a

career, such an inexhaustibly alert and vivid activity, cannot be included in a short article. One's best is to indicate some of the highlights of his life, from the standpoint of those of us who lived and worked with him.

For my own sake, I am most grateful for my last image of Father Parsons, a few months before his death in 1958. It was not a fading out, but a consummation: the picture of a man who had reached an ever higher spiritual and intellectual plateau and was now joyfully, but unhurriedly, awaiting the moment when the next step would be into the realm of eternal light. One could hardly say that he was shrunken, since indeed at his best in Wilfrid Parsons there was never much to shrink. His short stature and slight but wiry frame were but an appendage to the great head with its spectacled eyes, slightly rasping, rather deep voice, and his high, scholar's brow. An arthritic illness rudely crippled his hands and fingers in his last months, but left his ever-investigating, universally penetrating mind unhampered. A lifetime of observation, study, meditation and conversation enabled him to interpret hour by hour the world's events as they came to him through the press and radio in his bedroom at Georgetown, and each week, practically-up to the end, he mentally summed up his impressions, planned his weekly column, "Washington Front," for *America*, and painfully typed his message one finger-tap at a time, and mailed it on to us in New York.

It was in these last-minute conversations that he mentioned to me, with glee, how on his father's side he was descended from a long line of Methodist clergymen. However, both his parents were Catholic. Joseph Wilfrid Parsons was born in Philadelphia of Paul Julian Parsons and Alice C. Avery, on March 17, St. Patrick's Day, 1887. A Parsons ancestor fought on the American side during the Revolutionary War. The Averys were Catholics, and one of his maternal ancestors, Peter Regimenter (pronounced Rementer) was a member of the Old St. Joseph's congregation in Philadelphia. After finishing freshman year at St. Joseph's College in that city, he entered the novitiate of the Society of Jesus at St. Andrew-on-Hudson, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. He took his first vows at Poughkeepsie on August 15, 1905, and made

his juniorate at St. Andrew 1905-1907. For his philosophy he was sent to the College of St. John Berchmans, Louvain, Belgium, 1907-1910, and received Minor Orders at Mechlin, Belgium, May 1, 1908. His regency years were: 1910-1912, Boston College High School, where he taught third and fourth years and French; 1912-1914, Loyola School, New York City, where he taught fourth year; 1914-1915, Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass., where he taught a freshman class.

Appointment to *America*

In Mr. Parsons' second year of philosophy at Louvain, Father John J. Wynne, visiting Belgium, asked him to serve as correspondent from Belgium for *America*. He had already made, by chance, the acquaintance of Father Wynne, *America's* first editor and founder, when Father Wynne came through Louvain in 1908. Father Wynne confided to Parsons the plans for the proposed weekly magazine, to be modeled more or less on the *London Tablet*. On April 15, 1909, a cablegram came from New York announcing the appearance of *America's* first issue, dated the following day, and calling for a literary contribution. Parsons responded at once with an article, which appeared in *America's* second issue. He kept on with his writing until he entered Woodstock, where he made his theology from 1915-1919. Father Parsons received Holy Orders at Woodstock on May 18, 1918, from Cardinal Gibbons, and was sent for graduate studies in theology 1919-1921 to the Gregorian University in Rome. If I recall correctly, the subject of his graduate thesis was the act of faith and his keen, analytic mind plunged with joy into this tremendous topic. The great philosophic minds of Louvain, such as Scheuer and Maréchal, had made an extraordinary impression upon the young philosopher, and it was with an enthusiastic devotion to speculative theology that he took on his first assignment, as professor of fundamental theology at Woodstock, after his tertianship, 1921-1922, at Poughkeepsie. On February 2, 1923, Father Parsons pronounced his last vows.

The peace and calm of a Woodstock professorship were interrupted, however, by his appointment as assistant editor of *America*, when Father Richard H. Tierney, *America's*

third editor-in-chief (1914-1926) was absent in Rome for a General Congregation. He was appointed, as he said, "over the heads of all the reverends in the paper: Father Joseph Husslein, Father Paul L. Blakely, Father F. X. Talbot, and all the others." He ran the paper for a year, and went back to Woodstock for the examinations. In the following year, Father Tierney suffered a serious stroke, and on February 25, 1925, Father Parsons was informed with characteristic brevity by Father Peter Lutz: "You are the editor of *America*. You will be tomorrow at 7:30 p.m. in New York." Father Parsons showed up all right at the appointed hour and place, the temporary quarters on East 83rd Street, but the staff themselves had not received notice of the appointment. So they were unwilling to let him in, and he sought shelter elsewhere for the night. However, the next day matters were rectified, and he remained with *America* as editor-in-chief until 1936. Until Father Tierney's death on August 29, 1926, Father Parsons' position was technically that of a *locum tenens*. He then became editor-in-chief and (eventually) superior of Campion House for the rest of his term.

Father Parsons had me stop in New York on my way back to Ridge, Maryland, after my mother's funeral, and talked to me about joining the *America* staff. This was only a month after his appointment. The plan, however, could not be carried out until my arrival there in August of the following year, while Father Tierney was still lingering. Only, as I later learned, after considerable argument about my appointment between Parsons and the Provincial, Reverend Father Laurence J. Kelly, did Father Kelly consent, since he was perfectly satisfied for me to remain in the Maryland missions.

From then on, Wilfrid Parsons, who had had no journalistic experience save the very brief period as assistant to Father Tierney, moved into the full turmoil of heated controversies. He was determined to carry on Father Tierney's crusading policy, inheriting Tierney's controversies and initiating new ones. It had always been Parsons's policy, as he himself expressed it, "to walk through every open door"; to investigate every issue that appeared to him to have bearing on the life of the Church or the good of souls and to avail himself of

every possible opportunity for acquiring extended and accurate information.

The Mexican Revolution

One door, that of the situation of the Church in Mexico, had already been flung wide open by his predecessor. Father Tierney, always in search of a crusading issue, had jumped into the Mexican situation. Wasting no time on rhetoric, Tierney seized every opportunity to put the plain facts before the American public, whether by lectures or by his writings. Father Tierney was particularly insistent upon laying the Mexican situation straight on the line before President Woodrow Wilson. In this action, he had the full endorsement of the hierarchies of Mexico and of the United States, as well as of the Jesuit provincials of the respective countries.

In the pages of *America*, Father Parsons continued, year after year, the frank exposition of the Mexican situation. Three articles published in the spring of 1930, entitled, respectively, "Democratic Mexico," "Anti-Catholic Mexico," and "Catholic Mexico," related the impressions he had gathered from his recent visit to that country. In secular garb he had traveled 3,400 miles through nineteen states, attended parish visitations and confirmations with Archbishops Ruiz and Diaz, and explored every nook and corner possible. He wished to see the effect of the religious settlement of 1929; to verify on the spot how things had been working out—for better or for worse. In April, 1935, he spoke on the Mexican situation to a mixed audience at the Williamstown (Mass.) Institute.

Parsons had no illusions as to the very serious abuses—economic, political and social—which had occasioned in Mexico an equally serious agrarian and industrial crisis, and detailed them convincingly in his articles. Idealistic Protestant missionaries, in their concern over these abuses, had gained the ear of President Woodrow Wilson and his support for the political revolution of Madero and the socio-economic revolution of Carranza. Unfortunately, as Parsons observed, the idealists were soon displaced by highly practical operators such as Obregón and Calles, who became presidents of Mexico and immensely wealthy into the bargain.

The result was a deadly blow struck at the Catholic schools

by a completely secular regime, and thus against the very source of the Church's life itself. Yet, disturbed as was Father Parsons over the pitiful educational situation, he was profoundly impressed wherever he traveled by the throngs, men and women in equal numbers, who crowded the churches and manifested a deep faith and piety.

In his judgment, any quixotic attempt to overthrow the existing government could only result in greater disaster. In his usual realistic fashion, he concurred with Ambassador Morrow's decision, "peace without victory," which recognized the *de facto* situation. He based his hopes rather upon a persistent and patient work of religious and social reconstruction, of building for the long term. Hence his keen interest in the flourishing development, despite all obstacles, of lively Catholic Action among the Mexican Catholics, especially among the younger generation. Many of these young Catholic leaders visited Campion House during Father Parsons' administration and delighted us all by their courage and sense of humor, as well as by their deep faith.

In March, 1930, Father Parsons took up the cause of the Mexican immigrants to the United States, and earnestly sought Wilson's intervention against Carranza. His visit to Archbishop Pascual Diaz in Mexico in the spring of 1930, with whom he struck up a cordial friendship, laid the background for his "Mexican Panorama" (*America*, Apr. 3, 1931), in which he vividly described "materialism clutching at Mexico's throat." This was followed by an open letter to Secretary Josephus Daniels, President Wilson's aide, to the effect that "there is persecution in Mexico."

Over and above the crusading spirit which he had inherited from Father Tierney—a spirit shared to overflowing measure by Parsons' leading editorial writer, Father Paul L. Blakely—Parsons appreciated personal adventure. Despite his apparatus of learning and his scholastic habit of mind, he was not averse to a touch of the cloak and dagger. Hence he rose immediately to the adventurous challenges of the Church driven underground in Mexico. He opened the doors of Campion House to the Mexican refugees whom he helped, comforted, counseled and warned. He carefully briefed the journalist Captain Francis T. McCullagh as to what persons and

situations he might expect in Mexico, and was rewarded for his foresight by McCullagh's vivid narrative, *Red Mexico*. When seven members of the Mexican hierarchy arrived clandestinely in the United States to present their case, Cardinal Hayes, Archbishop of New York, dispatched Father Parsons in all haste to meet them in San Antonio, Texas, and brief them on what they were, and were not, to say in this country.

In view of the United States government's embroilment in the Mexican situation, the state department decided it would be the part of prudence to check on what messages might be going into and coming out of Campion House. For six months, as Father Parsons later ascertained, FBI wire tappers were stationed in the house opposite to us on West 108th Street. To their satisfaction—or disappointment—nothing ever turned up. Father Parsons' alertness unmasked the incredible and ridiculous Mexican government propaganda scheme of having crates of arms forwarded from New York to Mexican anti-government insurgents, labeled "From Cardinal Hayes." The same alertness enabled him to reject, promptly, but only after expert advice, an equally preposterous attempt at political blackmail.

In 1928, when Father Parsons was making his report to Very Reverend Father General Ledóchowski in Rome upon the progress and problems of *America* magazine, his advice was asked concerning a cablegram sent to the Holy See from President Calles, offering terms with the Church and a cessation of persecution, under certain conditions. Parsons had received a long cablegram from New York from a friend, ostensibly in the name of President Calles himself with whom this friend was quite intimate. It contained a proposition under which Calles, who was to go out of power shortly, would make his peace with the Church. Parsons saw Monsignor (now Cardinal) Pizzardo, then Secretary for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs, late one evening. Pizzardo could not make head nor tail of the cable and asked Parsons to translate it first into English, and then into French. Finally he asked Parsons to give a notion or memoir about his opinion as to the validity of the offer. Father Parsons brought this to Msgr. Pizzardo as he was coming out of Mass in his private chapel in the Vatican itself the next morning.

Nothing came of this offer of Calles. No doubt the Vatican was justly suspicious of the ability of the President to keep his promises. Father Parsons regretted that it was just another disappointing chapter in a sad story.

Motion Pictures And The Code

The problem of the motion picture industry brought Father Parsons into close relation with the Catholic hierarchy of the United States. We of this age have become so accustomed to observance of certain restrictions recognized by the Hollywood industries, that we forget our indebtedness to the pioneers in the field of motion picture morality. As stated by Martin Quigley,* at the outset of film production "much of the public anxiety was occasioned more by the indication of a trend than by the appearance of a reality. But however few the number, the potency of the film is such that even the occasional corrupt subject is of such possible consequences as to justify grave public concern."

It was logical, therefore, that Father Parsons, who was sincerely concerned about public morals, on the one hand, and the development of culture, on the other, would become intensely interested in plans as they developed for remedying that anarchic state of affairs. He had frequently conferred with the various non-Catholic leaders, with Father FitzGeorge Dinneen, S.J. of Chicago, Mr. Quigley, Father Daniel Lord, S.J. and pioneers of the first leaders of the movement that looked to some rational and constructive measures toward the elimination of objectionable features from the films. Such features, in Mr. Quigley's words, could be briefly summed up as "false sex standards; incitements to sexual emotions; glorification of crime and criminal debasing brutality." After the preliminary meetings held with participation of leaders of other faiths, first in 1929, then in Chicago, in 1930, Father Lord met the producers in March, 1930.

* *Decency in Motion Pictures* (New York, 1937), pp. 30-31. Quoted in the excellent article, "The Legion of Decency," by Gerald A. Kelly, S.J. and John C. Ford, S.J., *Theological Studies*, Vol. 18, pp. 386 sq. The Kelly-Ford article refers, in turn, to the doctoral thesis by Paul W. Facey, S.J., "The Legion of Decency: A Sociological Analysis of the Emergence and Development of a Social Pressure Group" (Fordham University, unpublished.)

On March 1, 1930, the heads of the industry, the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, signed and adopted a code of morals for the making of motion pictures. Accompanying this declaration was a supplementary document which was designed to "put teeth" into the code. The principle behind this action was that of self-censorship or self-regulation by the industry. It offered, in Father Parsons' words, a chance for decent public opinion to "get behind" the vicious circle created by the ever persistent excuse that this is what the public wants. Writing on April 19, 1930 in an article entitled "A Code for Motion Pictures," Parsons showed how a suitable control could not be exercised by civil censorship. We need, he said, a code of production. The code therefore was based on the fundamental assumption that in the nature of their moral obligation the movies differ essentially from the stage and the press. Three general principles governed the code's adoption over and above the elimination of public indecency: (1) crime was not to be condoned; (2) correct standards of morality were to be recognized; and (3) the law and its instruments were not to be ridiculed.

As a sequel to this historic event, Cardinal Mundelein, Archbishop of Chicago, and Cardinal Hayes, Archbishop of New York, both wrote to Father Parsons expressing their satisfaction at the outcome of his many deliberations, and their willingness to cooperate. The producers, they said, have offered the code, "we must make it validated."

That the code should be made valid, and should be brought from the realm of the ideal to that of immediate and particular application, was the work of the newly formed Legion of Decency, undertaken in generous and practical spirit by the International Federation of Catholic Alumnae, and carried on to the present day under the able and devoted direction of Mrs. Mary Loram, the Legion's executive secretary and her staff.

The episode is thus summed up by Fathers Gerald Kelly, S.J., and John C. Ford, S.J., quoting Father Paul W. Facey, S.J.:

Though the Legion itself, as an organization, appeared suddenly in 1934, yet it was the result of the careful planning and the tireless and expensive activity of a small group of men who were

determined to get the producers to live up to the Code. This group included three Jesuit priests: Daniel A. Lord, FitzGeorge Dinneen, and Wilfrid Parsons; and two laymen, Martin J. Quigley and Joseph I. Breen. These were subsequently joined by Msgr. [later Bishop] Joseph M. Corrigan, Rector of the Catholic University of America. Their goal was to have the American bishops, as a group, endorse the production code and to sponsor a campaign that would provide the public opinion needed to make the code work. Father Dinneen enlisted the support of Cardinal Mundelein, and Father Parsons obtained the endorsement of Cardinal Hayes. Then, through the instrumentality of Msgr. Corrigan, a public statement on the motion picture problem was obtained from the newly arrived Apostolic Delegate, the Most Reverend Amleto Giovanni Cicognani.

Six weeks later, at their annual meeting in November, 1933, the bishops condemned immorality in the films, demanded that the industry reform, sanctioned a national campaign to effect this reform, and appointed the Episcopal Committee on Motion Pictures to plan, control and conduct the campaign.

In the opinion of Mrs. Looram, with whom I have reviewed some of these early happenings, Father Parsons, in addition to his participation in the early stages of the program itself, was the principal agent in getting the program before the American people, using every effort toward that end. When the two American cardinals came out for it with their public commendation, "What a coup!" exclaimed Parsons. The achievement of tangible and practical methods meant that apparently insuperable obstacles had been overcome. By the motion-picture industry's self-policing program one of the noblest and most powerful of all human means of communication, information, entertainment and culture had been saved from the disgrace that menaced it at its very birth. Particularly notable, was the way that the movement embodied in the code "caught like wildfire," in Mrs. Looram's words, and succeeded in almost immediately enlisting the support of some one hundred organizations of different faiths throughout the country. Later, some of these religious organizations withdrew their support.

Economic Policy

The agonizing and protracted world depression, that followed the financial debacle of October, 1929, was a sharp challenge to Wilfrid Parsons' inquiring mind and strong sense of social justice. Discussing the economic question on April 9,

1932 (*America*, Vol. 47, pp. 8 to 10), he inquired as to what caused the depression. He attributed the disaster primarily to the upset of partnership between capital and labor, and accused certain elements in the capitalist world of avarice. This inward corruption, as he saw it, was accompanied by revolutionary changes in production itself, by the excesses of instalment buying, by wasteful methods combined with a dearth of consumers. In a way, the depression was the price we were paying for industrial progress.

These considerations led him to pursue the matter further (Oct. 22, 1932; Vol. 47, p. 62) and inquire: "What Is the Matter With Capitalism?" Economic law, he insisted, is a law subject to morality, and he emphasized the social responsibilities imposed by the virtue of social justice; the moral duty to work for the reform of the social order, in the spirit of *Quadragesimo Anno*, as opposed to the reign of ignorance and greed.

Later in the same election year, 1932, he quoted the directives of *Quadragesimo Anno* as applying to the two contenders for the presidency: President Herbert Hoover and Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt, and expressed the hope that F.D.R.'s administration, if he were to be elected, would be marked by a sense of social responsibility. Four years later, on April 4, 1936, Father Parsons, who had come to support and fully endorse the social-minded, anti-repressive policies of President Roosevelt, found it necessary (Apr. 4, 1936) to issue a solemn warning against the proliferation of communism in the operations of Roosevelt's Works Progress Administration (WPA). This was practically his last important editorial utterance before the termination of his editorial career on May 2, 1936.

The Father Coughlin Story

Future generations in all probability will find it difficult to appreciate the courage shown by Father Parsons when, toward the end of his editorship of *America*, he stated his mind clearly and explicitly on the subject of the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin's economic theories and sensational radio broadcasts. Father Coughlin, said Father Parsons, "probably caused more arguments than any man alive today, except Hitler"; even though, in Parsons' words, "nine out of ten did not know what

he really stood for." Father Coughlin's weekly radio program, "The Golden Hour of the Little Flower," broadcast from Royal Oak, Michigan, combined as did probably no Catholic program before or since the moving ingredients of sugary Eucharistic devotion, emotionally appealing sacred music, melodious oratory and a deep, passionate appeal to the inmost resentments of his forty million listeners in the United States and Canada, non-Catholic and Catholic alike. Parsons himself remarked that despite Coughlin's elaborate rehashing of ancient calumnies against the Jews and his constant evoking of the menace of the Jewish-controlled "international bankers," his programs had a considerable Jewish following.

Father Parsons vindicated Father Coughlin's perfect right to speak his own mind freely, but deplored the heady mixture of lush piety and sensational economics, and claimed his own right to examine Coughlin's social and economic ideas, despite the suspicions that such an examination would arouse. These theories were never clearly formulated. They gained attention rather by voicing the age's subtle discontent and doing so under the supposed aegis of Pope Pius XI and his great encyclical, *Quadragesimo Anno*. Certain phrases of that encyclical, quoted out of context and with complete irrelevance to the encyclical's main theme and line of thought, were part of Father Coughlin's stock-in-trade. Like Pope Pius, Coughlin decried injustice. Pius, however, as Parsons expressed it, found the seat of this injustice in the abuses of the industrial order, while Coughlin added a number of partial solutions; some commendable, like the annual living wage; others questionable, like the outlawing of strikes and the formation of a corporative society. Such a corporative structure, as Coughlin conceived it, resembled more the ideas of Mussolini's Fascist state, which Pius XI explicitly condemned, than the vocational group system as proposed, but by no means enjoined, by Pius XI.

It was unfortunate, remarked Parsons (*America*, May 18, 1935; Vol. 53, pp. 129-230), that Coughlin with his undoubtedly keen mind and his unparalleled opportunity to gain the attention of the entire American public, missed the heaven-sent opportunity to win his hearers to the genuine social teaching of the Church. Passing over the rich intellectual

heritage of men like John A. Ryan, F. W. Kenkel, Aloisius Muench, Bishop Haas, Paul Blakely, and a host of other great American Catholic social thinkers, he rested his hopes on what were, to say the least, very doubtful propositions. Such was his dramatic proposal to supplant all private banking by a national bank of the U.S.A., the directors of which would be elected and apportioned by the different States. The demagogue who can demand and promise to the people free money in abundance can always obtain a hearing.

In a set of three articles, May 1, May 25, and June 1, 1935, Father Parsons undertook to examine in detail the peculiar monetary and economic theories of Father Coughlin. Father Parsons wrote (June 1, 1935) :

For years Father Coughlin has done incomparable service in calling attention to the evils of our economic system. Let me say I have always admired him for it. But the situation today is changed. He is now offering plans based on monetary theories which to say the least are untried. The danger is that they will distract his followers from the much more necessary work of the reformation of industry, where the trouble really lies. If people begin to look for prosperity and justice in some easy magic of monetary reform, the long, hard job of social justice in the factory will be overlooked. And that will be tragic.

In view of the recent elevation of Archbishop Aloisius Muench, of Fargo, N.D., to the cardinalate and to participation in the central government of the Church, it is interesting to read the words on this topic that Dr. Muench wrote in the *Salesianum* for May 25, 1935, organ of St. Francis Seminary in Wisconsin:

By dragging the Catholic program of social justice into politics he [Father Coughlin] is creating for it more than an unusual peril. If it fails in politics, people will have their confidence shaken in it to such an extent that the laborious work which Catholic sociologists have done in its behalf in the last five decades will suffer a setback from which it will not recover for many years to come.

The aftermath of the three Coughlin articles, in the form of letters and messages to the Editor, was in a way less drastic than Parsons had expected. Of the 87 letters received, 62 condemned Parsons' utterances, 25 favored them. Of those who wrote, 23 were anonymous; only 16 of those opposed to

Parsons had read the *America* articles, and 38 had only read excerpts, not the entire exposition. This, I may say, is a rather typical experience for the Editors of a journal like *America*. Most of the noise is made by people who have picked up only an excerpt or quotation here and there—usually out of context—not by those who have seriously read what has been written.

Father Parsons, however, was deeply and sincerely shocked by what he described as the “terrible hatred of the clergy and hierarchy” that a large number of these letters revealed. Coughlin had marshalled, for his own purposes, the pent-up bitterness and discontent of the masses of people. After attending a meeting conducted by Father Coughlin, Parsons remarked that the audience was indifferent and bored as Coughlin explained his intricate monetary theories, but greeted with “whoops of delight” every allusion to the “hidden international forces plotting against our nation.” Any opposition, any criticism of Coughlin’s theories or policies became practically sinful in the minds of a large multitude of Catholics, and was condemned as an attack upon the sanctity of the priesthood. In typical fashion, one of the critics wrote:

I must admit surprise that a Jesuit shows a willingness to attack a Catholic priest instead of trying to uphold him. Evidently you must be friendly to the international bankers and no friend to the working classes.

The aftermath of the Coughlin episode did not leave Father Parsons entirely unscathed. It led to a definite break between him and Patrick Scanlan, militant editor of the *Brooklyn Tablet*: a break all the more striking, in view of the intimate association that had existed between the two editors for many years. While no serious attempt was made by Church authorities to contradict Father Parsons’ solid phalanx of arguments, his frankly voiced opposition to a universally popular ideal left a feeling of uneasiness on the part of a considerable number of the Catholic clergy, of both higher and lower degree. The sentiments of resentment and suspicions that Coughlin had aroused were not easily allayed. As in the case of other sensational national figures in later years, blind and unreasoning assaults made upon Coughlin by some of his ultraliberal

opponents only added to the confusion. Whatever mistakes of judgment Father Coughlin may have shown, they were more than compensated for by his immediate, total and uncomplaining submission to the authority of his own Archbishop, Cardinal Mooney of Detroit, and his subsequent silence on public affairs, and the most edifying life as a zealous priest and pastor of souls that he has led from that day to this in his parish at Royal Oak, Michigan. A couple of years ago Father Coughlin, in an interview published in *Look* magazine, reviewed these events, declared his determination not to treat more of public affairs, and remarked that on various matters he had then spoken of he had now changed his mind.

Parsons and Blakely

There is no evidence, to my knowledge, that Father Parsons' determined stand on Coughlin, contributed to the termination of his editorship of *America*. But the atmosphere of uneasiness it had created in the minds of a considerable number of prominent Catholics, both clergy and laity, made it more difficult for him to continue in his editorial position. The change, which took place on May 2, 1936, was not altogether a surprise to those who had long known Father Parsons and lived with him. His editorial staff, with all their esteem and personal affection for him, did suffer to a certain extent from some of his peculiarities. During the entire term of his editorship, he had relinquished the main body of his lead editorial writing to Father Paul L. Blakely. One consequence of this arrangement was that Parsons cheerfully took the public blame for whatever drastic utterances Blakely, himself a crusader, may have seen fit to make. Such blame, for instance, the Pullman Company visited upon him, causing their agent to confront him in New York, when Blakely, in a short editorial note, commented upon the fact that in twenty-five years the Pullman Company had made but one improvement, the substitution of two curtains for one in the sleeping car berths.

It was characteristic of Parsons to work intensively and persistently with individuals in whom he felt full confidence, rather than with a group. This peculiarity developed to the degree that a good part of the time he became practically un-

approachable, during working hours, for the other members of his staff. Some of us found that the one and only way we could break through his barrier and come in contact with him in his editorial sanctum was to call him on the house telephone, to which, happily, he gruffly but cheerfully responded. The matter was not helped by his innumerable telephone conversations with Patrick Scanlan, an intimacy which lasted up to but not beyond the Coughlin episodes. The editorial staff were confronted by an ever increasing withdrawal from communication. Even at table any general conversation became confined to a dialogue between Blakely and Parsons. Yet even between these two close associates certain differences developed on the treatment of public affairs.

Blakely, it is true, from the outset of his work with *America*, had been a tireless crusader for the social principles embodied in the encyclical *Rerum Novarum* of Pope Leo XIII: in its negative aspect, as a condemnation of socialism and defense of the natural right to private property; and in its positive aspect, the advocacy of social reform and the rights as well as the duties of the working classes. In this, his ideas coincided with those of Father Parsons. Blakely's vision, however, did not apparently advance so as to take in the new and wider perspectives opened up by the *Quadragesimo Anno* of Pius XI. While he never showed the least interest in Coughlin's economic theories, he was not proof against the charms of Coughlin's blatant isolationism. His first enthusiasm for the social-minded outlook embodied in President F. D. Roosevelt's New Deal changed, around 1936, to an intense and embittered preoccupation against any idea of the United States getting into the European War. However, when later, after Pearl Harbor, the United States did enter the war, Blakely heroically cast aside all his reserves and called for patriotic devotion to the country's defense. Along with his preoccupation against the impending war, Blakely showed a sharp change of attitude toward Roosevelt himself, which coincided with Coughlin's bitter denunciations of the President.

Father Blakely was a consistent protagonist of free speech on public issues, even by persons with whom he radically disagreed, as was shown by his quixotic defense of Mooney and

Billings in California. But he disliked, in general, much public discussion, and frequently took occasion to ridicule the arguments that took place in the early sessions of the newly organized Catholic Association for International Peace. Parsons, on the contrary, took keen interest in the development of the CAIP, and did what he could to aid its difficult and argumentative progress.

Termination of Editorship

In view of Father Parsons' increasing remoteness from his own community, in which he functioned both as Superior of Campion House and as Editor of *America* and the *Catholic Mind*, his termination of office did not come as a complete surprise. Wilfrid Parsons, moreover, was a Jesuit first and anything else afterward, and took the change with his accustomed cheerfulness. He was assigned to Georgetown University to occupy the position of archivist and to be professor of history in the graduate school. There he immersed himself at once in hard work, and busied himself with his usual intensity in a new field.

Lest there be any misunderstanding, let me emphasize that any of Father Parsons' difficulties with his associates on *America* were by no means attributable to any lack of generosity, any tendency to hamper the talents and the initiative of others. Quite on the contrary, the very first idea that Father Parsons expressed to each new arrival upon the staff was his wish to continue the bold policies of his predecessor, Father R. H. Tierney, with regard to outside activities. Tierney had wished to make *America* not a secluded retreat for scholars, but a center for the promotion and encouragement of manifold Catholic activities of a cultural or social nature, particularly activities with more than a merely local significance, as long as these did not interfere with the review's regular quota of work. Parsons, therefore, told me on my arrival at Campion House to continue my connection with several organized activities, and encouraged lecturing, attending important conventions, etc. He followed the same policy with others, such as the Catholic Book Club and the Catholic Poetry Society of Father Leonard Feeney and Father F. X. Talbot, the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin and the work of the Cath-

olic Evidence Guild of Father F. P. LeBuffe, the extensive convert work and the St. Apollonia Guild for Catholic Dentists of Father William I. Lonergan, Father G. B. Donnelly's keen interest in the various Oriental Rites, etc. Nor did he ever recede from this position by which he furthered a fine tradition which still continues to this day. He was happy if others emulated his own many outside interests, such as those already mentioned above. The degree to which, as I have said, he became to a certain extent shut off from the fellow-editors was due rather to other causes: such as personal difficulties of editorial outlook and a protracted difference of views and policies with regard to questions of economy, on the one hand, and subscription promotion on the other, with his own administrator and business manager, Father LeBuffe. Such matters after all, are part of the daily bread of any editor, whose work can never be reduced to any precise formula, and who ever and anon faces the difficult requirement of initiative and strong editorial leadership without, on the other hand, monopolizing the field and disregarding the various gifts, judgments and preferences of his collaborators.

On his own part, Father Parsons was a member of the executive board of the Catholic Press Association, and took a lively and fraternal interest in its editorial discussions. He was likewise vice president of the editorial board of the recently formed Catholic Book Club, and a member of the executive board of the National Catholic Alumnae Federation, and thereby closely associated with the day-by-day work of the Legion of Decency. He also began the publication of the scholarly quarterly, *Thought*, which was later developed by his successor, Father Talbot, and carried on by the America Press, until it was finally adopted by Fordham University.

At Georgetown and Catholic University

From 1936 to 1940 Father Parsons was at Georgetown University, where he fulfilled the offices of director of the Riggs Memorial Library and of the Georgetown Archives, and as professor of history in the graduate school. From 1937-38 he was professor of political science at Georgetown, and 1938-40 was dean of the graduate school.

Shortly after his arrival at Georgetown, Father Parsons

plunged into an arduous two year bit of research, the cataloguing, in available form, of books and other works by Catholic authors in the United States, from 1790 to 1831. Entitled *Catholic Americana*, this 282 page indexed volume was published in 1936 by Macmillan. Sixty-seven years preceding, Father Joseph Finotti had published his *Bibliographia Catholica Americana*. "It was a gallant attempt," wrote Parsons in the preface to his own work, "to do against great odds the same work for early Catholic Americana before 1821 that Joseph Sabin was accomplishing at the same time for general Americana." Where Finotti had listed 295 titles before 1821, Parsons listed 595; and raised the total to the imposing figure of 1,119 before 1831.

The book was produced in typical Parsons fashion, with endless care, and the assistance of librarians and other scholars, all over the United States. Many of the books listed were discovered in Georgetown's attic and were not known to be extant.

Parsons' Georgetown lectures formed the proximate preparation for a new and most successful phase in his life. For eight years, from 1940 to 1948, Father Parsons occupied the important chair of political philosophy at Catholic University of America, in the University's school of social science. During the entire time of his professorship, he resided with the community, Carroll House, that he had established for Jesuits studying at Catholic University. His instruction in political philosophy was shaped in three-fold fashion: the history of political thought, the Christian theory of political philosophy; and finally the most stimulating and constructive of his projects: a seminar on contemporary problems, particularly thorough analysis of congressional activities. Father Duff in an article mentioned below recalls Parsons' distress when the University authorities removed the seminar from the cozy intimacy of the Carroll House breakfast table to "a dreary classroom" on the University campus.

At the outset of the C.U. teaching, Parsons' essential views were available from his handy little volume *Which Way Democracy* (Macmillan, 1939, 237 pp.). Its eleven chapters or essays followed the characteristic progress of his exposition from the earlier and later historical background to the genesis

of the modern state; thence to the problems of today. Chapter 9, "Racial Justice," dealt with the issues so acutely raised in the years immediately preceding World War II, of Nazi racism and the Jewish people, and the Christian attitude toward the Jews. It reflected, in its historical treatment, his early work, *The Pope and Italy*.

The career at Catholic University was interrupted by a return, for two years, 1948-50, to Georgetown: 1948-49, as writer and director of Jesuit students at Catholic University; 1949-50 as writer and librarian. Returning in 1950 to Carroll House, he again occupied the position of professor of political science at Catholic University of America. It was not until 1952 that he definitely left Catholic University, and spent his last years as professor of political science in the Georgetown University Graduate School; as a writer, and—last but not least—as Washington correspondent for *America*. It was a source of great satisfaction for him to be able to return to *America*.

It was during that period that Father Parsons collaborated with a group of distinguished Catholic lay people in founding the Catholic Interracial Council of Washington, D. C., chief of whom were Professor John J. O'Connor, of Georgetown, and Father Parsons' old New York friends, Mr. and Mrs. Porter R. Chandler of New York, at that time resident in Washington. Parsons plunged into this difficult and delicate task with his usual initiative and enthusiasm, and acted as moderator for the newly formed group of apostolic layfolk. As his chapter on racial justice in the book that I have mentioned above showed, he felt deeply and accurately on the subject of interracial justice, and with his customary breadth of insight saw its wide bearings from the standpoint of Christian morals and Christian charity. Moreover, Parsons took a keen interest in the problems of Washington city itself. As he confided to me, at my last talk with him on a visit to Georgetown, whenever he lacked any other topic about which to discourse in his weekly Washington Front column, he fell back upon an analysis of the District's deplorable condition as a voteless enclave in a democratic regime! Parsons' broad grasp of this particular subject was also aided by his sympathy for and his experience of the South. He was one of the

pioneer group who launched the Catholic Committee of the South, that glorious venture in militant Catholicism which suffered an eclipse after the historic Supreme Court decision on May 17, 1954, outlawing racial segregation in the nation's schools.

The resolutions quoted at the head of this article indicate something of the immense esteem which priests of high and low degree, religious and laymen held for Father Parsons during the years of his C.U. teaching. Some of these encomiums are quoted by Father Edward Duff, S.J., editor of *Social Order* (St. Louis, Mo., March 1958), in his article, entitled "The Interpreter of the Role of Religion in American Society." Persons now occupying positions of authority and influence testify to the high quality of Parsons' teaching. Dr. C. J. Nuesse, now Dean of the Catholic University School of Social Science, called him "an acknowledged teacher who enjoyed the exposition of ideas and examined them in informal discussion with clarity, geniality and a wisdom born of experience as well as of thought." Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell, chaplain of the Catholic Council on Working Life, wrote:

He had a genius at analysis of social philosophy and its application to current issues. Moreover, he was not afraid to take positions, and, what is equally laudatory, he encouraged others in the class to take positions and to argue their case.

Msgr. George G. Higgins, director of the N.C.W.C. Department of Social Action, did not hesitate to say: "Without any qualification whatever, he was by all odds the best teacher I ever had." And it would be easy to multiply these testimonies. They speak for themselves, only they make one regret that Parsons could not have had the opportunity to develop his innate teaching gifts at greater leisure and over a much longer period of years.

Of Parsons' subsequent volume, *The First Freedom*, published in 1948 with a foreward by the Most Rev. Francis P. Keough, then Chairman of the Administrative Board of N.C.W.C., Father Duff remarks:

Father Parsons' power of clear exposition was never in better evidence than in this survey of the historical, constitutional and dogmatic aspects of church-state relations in the United States. Noting that the dualism of the two societies as distinct entities has

its roots in the Gospels themselves, he establishes that "distinction and cooperation" is—and was so viewed by the Founding Fathers—the only defensible American policy on the relation of the two societies, one natural and the other supernatural in nature and purpose.

The Man of God

Father Parsons' writings, which reflected so vividly his many-sided intellectual interests and his deep-seated convictions, did not of themselves do justice to the profoundly spiritual side of his character, which was combined with a child-like piety. In two articles in *America*, Christmas 1929 and Christmas 1933, he expounded in masterly fashion his vision of Pauline Christianity and the recapitulation of all things in Christ.

Those who lived with him were aware of his Ignatian fervor and a certain simplicity, both of which were rooted in his solid theological knowledge and a joyous love of his fellow-man. The two sides of his character—his intellectual enthusiasm and his strongly fraternal spirit—overflowed, as it were, in the relaxed days he spent during the summer holiday with the younger Jesuits. Keyser Island in Long Island Sound, which today to our later generation is hardly even a name, was a particularly favorite haunt for Wilfrid Parsons, and it was difficult to say which he enjoyed most, tossing the ball of argument or cracking with his wooden mallet at the croquet balls. He enjoyed in particular fashion the companionship of the Coadjutor Brothers, and formed among them many firm and lifelong friends.

With all his boldness and pioneering initiative, Wilfrid Parsons kept controls taut over his sacred and fundamental commitments as a priest and a Jesuit. His spirit of obedience had shown itself in outstanding fashion at the various difficult crises of his life, and he jealously guarded the inner sanctuary of his holy vows. Amid the innumerable contacts of an editor's office and the flow of books and other publications across the editorial desk, there is always a temptation to gratify a very natural curiosity. Father Parsons was no narrow rigorist and by nature he was intensely curious. He held that the writer, like the pastor of souls and the confessor, was bound to acquaint himself fully with all that was going on

in the troubled world around him. It would be impossible to deal adequately with the modern problems of youth on marriage or literary counseling and kindred topics, unless one knew the facts and knew them accurately. Yet he distinguished sharply between the reading of dangerous material for the purpose of legitimate information and reading for its own sake. "I have never felt I could allow myself free indulgence in that matter," he told me at the very outset of my work on *America*. With all his breadth of view and the wide place he allotted to legitimate investigation, Parsons never lost the sense of caution that he had brought with him from his earliest youth into the Society.

Infectious with Parsons was a sort of bouncing, boyish glee, especially when he had the opportunity to tell you some unusual and remarkable thing that you really ought to know, whether it was about his former professors at Louvain, or the discoveries he had made about some congressman, or the latest news in the sports field. These solemnly gleeful communications were not always infallibly accurate, as when he ventured into the field of unusual etymologies or pronunciations, but he was quite as happy at being set right, and for the one instance where he was caught off base, there were a hundred where he delighted with ever new stores of information. If I may add a note of personal regret, it is that Father Parsons did not manage to get in greater degree his wealth of ideas across to the general public, outside as well as inside the Church.

After a few days of illness, the more or less natural consequence of a long failing health, Father Parsons received the Last Sacraments in the Georgetown Hospital on October 27, 1958, and died on October 28. The burial was at Georgetown on October 31, 1958. Present at the funeral and interment were the surviving members of his family: his older sister, Sister Wilfrid, S.N.D. (Elsie Parsons, born 1881), of Emmanuel College, Boston, distinguished editor of the *Letters of St. Augustine*; his younger brother Father Robert Parsons, S.J. (1893) of Philadelphia; and his younger sister Mrs. Michael Shorter (Margaret Parsons, born 1894) with her six children. Deceased were his brother Paul (1891-1939) who for a time was a scholastic in the Society; and Louis (b. 1900),

who died from a sudden illness as a Jesuit novice in 1915.

Honoring the memory of its former Editor, *America* wrote (Nov. 8, 1958): "Of the 71 years of Wilfrid Parsons' life, 55 were spent in the Society of Jesus, 40 in the priesthood. He knew mental anguish, and with bodily affliction he was for many years on familiar terms. Yet to the end life was to him an interesting and joyous adventure. In the army of Christ, into whose hands we commend his ardent soul, Wilfrid Parsons was a good and zealous soldier."

Chaplain at Makin Atoll

Gerard F. Giblin, S.J.

For the first nine months of the year 1940 Father Stephen J. Meany, two years out of tertianship, was business manager of *America*, which at that time had a circulation of 30,000. In addition to supervising the circulation, advertising and promotion of the magazine, Father Meany had the same work to do for the bi-monthly *Catholic Mind*, and the quarterly *Thought*.

At the beginning of October a letter went around from the Maryland-New York Provincial asking priests to volunteer for the Chaplain Corps. Father Meany responded and the Provincial sent him to General Mundy of the New York Na-

Author's note: In addition to Father Meany himself who cooperated fully in the preparation of this article, I would like to thank Msgr. William J. Moran (Brigadier General, Deputy Chief of Chaplains, USA) for allowing me the use of pertinent records on Father Meany's military career, and Mr. Burton Proctor, S.J., who drew the map of Makin. Additional sources for the work: *Father Meany and the Fighting 69th*, Burris Jenkins (Frederick Fell, 1944), originally a series of five newspaper articles for the *New York Journal American*; *Seizure of the Gilberts and Marshalls*, Philip A. Crowl and Edmund G. Love, (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1955) which gives, in addition to an excellent background of the Makin invasion, an account of Father Meany's exploit (pp. 96-97); and *U.S. Naval Operations in World War II* (Vol. VII), by Samuel E. Morison (Little, Brown, 1951).

tional Guard who in turn directed him to the 102nd Quartermaster Regiment, Marcy Avenue, Brooklyn, New York.

Colonel Foster Hetzel, regimental commander looked the volunteer over. "I am not a Catholic; but I had a great Catholic chaplain in World War I, Father Thomas McKenna; so I want a Catholic chaplain now." Colonel Hetzel approved the request for a commission. But on October 15, 1940, Father Meany found himself not only a member of the New York National Guard, but of the United States Army as well, for on that date the unit was federalized. Father William J. Walter, S.J., was commissioned on the same day. These two priests became the first two Jesuits from the Maryland-New York Province to report as chaplains in the prelude days of World War II.

With the 102nd Regiment Father Meany moved to Fort McClellan, Alabama, and from there to Hawaii in April 1942. From that time until July 1943 he spent his time first with the 165th Infantry Regiment and then with Headquarters, 40th Division.

The soldiers of the 27th and 40th Divisions were scattered about the Hawaiian Islands, guarding the shores against possible Japanese invasion. In the early days of 1942 such a threat could easily have materialized, but then came the Battle of Midway in June and any hope that the Japanese might have had of wresting control of Hawaii from American hands vanished. Still the Army had to be on guard against sabotage units landed by submarine.

Father Meany was kept busy with the routine duties of the priesthood. Due to the shortage of adequate facilities, Mass was frequently offered in the most unlikely surroundings. On one typical Sunday Father Meany routed a group of players from a pool table to offer Mass there; from the pool hall he moved on to a mess tent where he offered Mass on a table while the rain thumped on the canvas overhead. On another occasion he celebrated in a gymnasium right under the basketball hoop which some aesthetic soul had filled with a bouquet of flowers. And when Mass for Catholics was over, Father Meany would assist Protestants without a chaplain in organizing their prayer services.

He travelled light: two foot lockers, one Mass kit, one field

desk, one typewriter and a bed roll, all tossed in the back seat of a jeep and Father Meany was ready to go wherever the army assigned him.

With the 69th

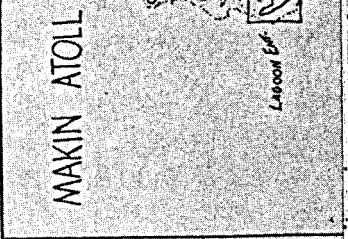
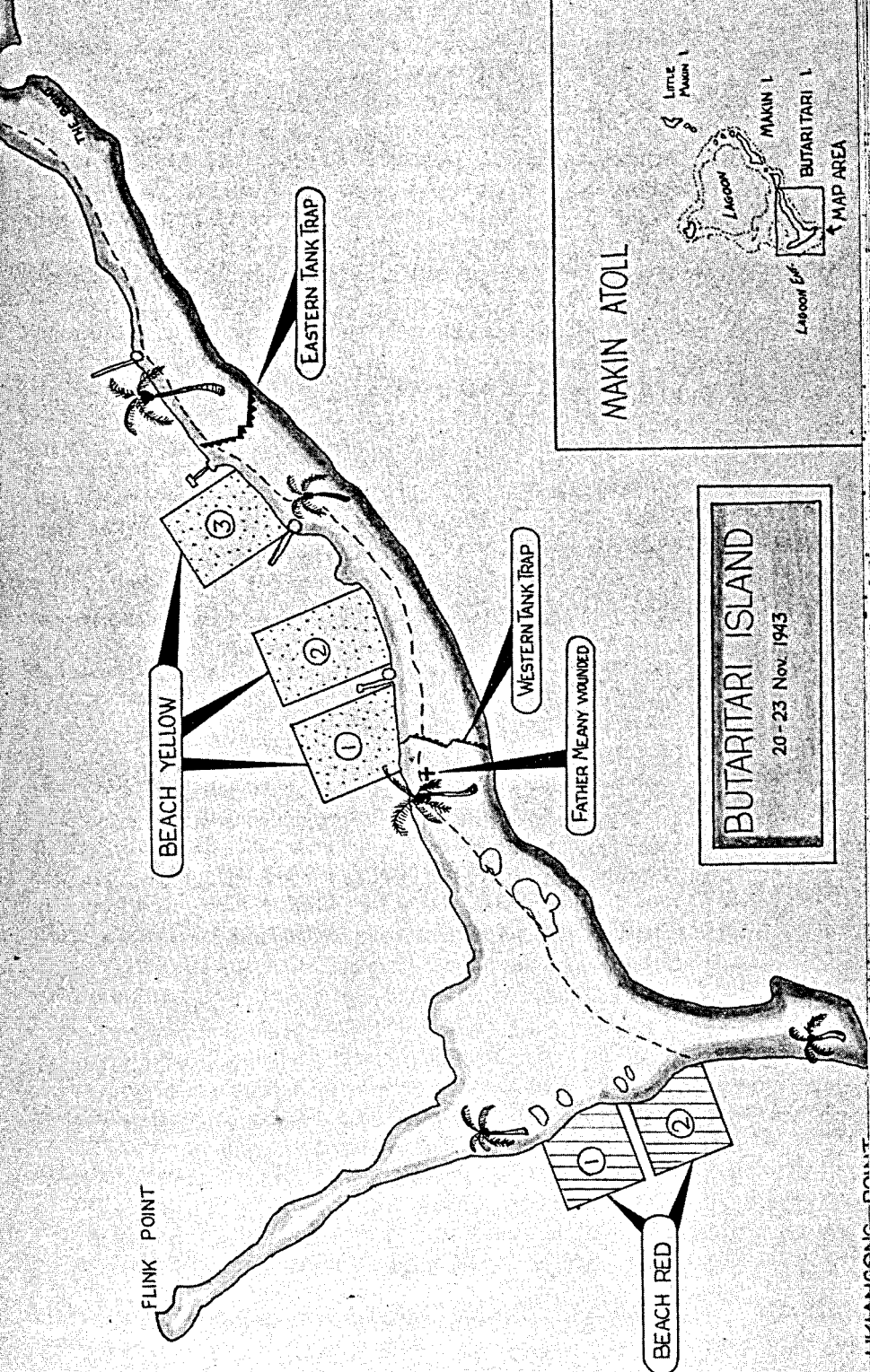
On July 1, 1943 Father Meany was attached permanently to the 165th Infantry Regiment, 27th Division. Its former chaplain, Father Joseph Egan had been reassigned as a secretary to the office of the Military Ordinariate in New York.

The 165th Infantry was the official Army designation for a regiment better known under its New York Guard title: The Fighting 69th. Its exploits in World War I were legend. It had sustained 3,500 casualties (from its authorized war strength of 3,500), been in contact with the enemy for 180 days, and added nine new furls to its regimental flag staff, each one signifying a major combat encounter with the enemy. Its history stretched back through battles at Petersburg, Gettysburg, Antietam to the distant days of the Revolution.

And if the 69th was a combat regiment, it was also an Irish regiment. Its regimental commander, its battalion and company commanders, were almost to a man of Irish extraction. They were Irish all the way down to their divisional shoulder patch which was itself a horrendous Irish pun: it bore the stars of the constellation Orion which proved, said the men of the 69th, that at least one Irishman had gotten to heaven.¹

Being Irish, the regiment was also Catholic, and bestowed especial reverence on its chaplains. In World War I the most famous of these was Father Francis P. Duffy, who won four combat decorations during the war, including the Distinguished Service Cross. When Father Meany was appointed as the 69th's regimental chaplain, he was not the first Jesuit who served with this unit. Back in the days of the Civil War Father Thomas Ouellet, S.J., served with the 69th as chaplain from 1862-1864. In World War I Father Eugene Kenedy of the Maryland-New York Province served with the regiment for a short time while it was stationed at Baccarat, France. Lieutenant Colonel Gerard Kelley, the regiment's executive officer, summed up the 69th's attitude toward its chaplains:

¹ The actual aim of the insignia was to honor Major General John O'Ryan who commanded the 27th Division in World War I.



BUTARITARI ISLAND
 20-23 Nov. 1943

FLINK POINT



"Traditionally the chaplains of this regiment are held in very high esteem by the officers and men. The chaplain's influence can be such as to become a vital factor in the maintenance of a high esprit de corps."

Father Meany joined the 69th as regimental chaplain with the rank of Captain. Under his direction were two assistant regimental chaplains: Father Anthony G. McCabe, a young Dominican from St. Vincent Ferrer parish in Manhattan, and a Protestant chaplain.

Toward the close of the year 1943, the American and Japanese forces in the mid-Pacific area were poised facing one another. The Battle of Midway had tipped to even the scales which had up to that time inclined heavily in favor of the Japanese. Now the Americans were on the move westward. The Navy chose the Central Pacific for its field of battle, withdrawing its strength from the tightly grouped Solomon Islands to the wide maneuvering spaces west of Hawaii where the fast carrier forces could have free scope. Admiral Nimitz in charge of naval policy unrolled his chart and pointed a finger at a group of Islands to the southwest of the Hawaiian Islands, the Gilberts, and in particular to two atolls: Makin and Tarawa.

As the 165th trained vigorously for its forthcoming assignment, its chaplain trained with them. He marched with full pack, climbed down cargo nets from the side of parent transports into tiny landing craft bobbing in the waves, scrambled up the fine sand of pretended landing beaches and threw himself prone to avoid simulated machine gun fire. During the night of October 31, 1943 the regiment had its dress performance. It staged a practice assault on the island of Maui. The next landing would be the real thing.

Advance to Makin

On the afternoon of November 10th the Makin assault force left Pearl Harbor. In the convoy were four battleships, three escort carriers, and a screen of smaller ships. There were also six troop transports, including U.S.S. *Calvert*, with Father Meany aboard; U.S.C.G. *Neville* with Father McCabe and the 2nd Battalion; and U.S.S. *Leonard Wood*, a ship which Father Meany would come to know later.

As the voyage progressed the troops learned for the first time where they were headed. On tables were large mock-up maps of Butaritari Island, Makin Atoll. To the officers gathered around the table as the lecture proceeded, the island appeared like the T of a T-bone steak. The cross bar was on the western section of the island and ran north-south; the stem of the T ran east-west. From aerial photographs and pictures taken through the periscope of the submarine *Nautilus*, the Army was able to piece together a good picture of the defences of Butaritari and these were indicated in full detail on the map. Near the center of the long stem of the island were two jagged scars about 1500 yards apart. Between these scars, which were actually tank traps five feet deep and fifteen feet wide, were concentrated most of the enemy's defences.

The Army plan of attack was simple. Two battalions, 1st and 3rd (the ones that Father Meany took care of) were to land on the cross bar of the T. This beachhead received the code name Red Beach. The idea was to lure the Japanese out of their defensive positions. Then a second landing, designated Yellow Beach, was to take place between the tank traps with the hope of catching the enemy in the rear as he was advancing to attack the Americans on Red Beach.

Many of the American officers shook their heads, indicating that they thought the plan would not work out so simply as that. Lieutenant Seizo Ishikawa was to prove these skeptics correct. With less than 800 men at his disposal he refused to be lured out of his defensive positions. He denied the control of the island to the Americans for three days until the last of his positions fell to the 6000 man assault force.

On the evening of November 19 the men aboard the *Calvert* made some pretense of sleeping. At two o'clock Father Meany turned out of his bunk, went topside and vested for Mass. At 2:30 he said Mass for the 400 Catholics aboard the transport and gave general absolution.

Lieutenant Colonel Kelley exhorted the men of his 1st Battalion in a written message: "I have seen you attending Mass and Protestant services in ever increasing numbers. I feel optimistic that God in his kindness will look favorably upon us. I am very proud to command you." The men, who in

their young lives had known the tension only of examinations and close basketball games, now looked out at the low lying shadow that was Makin Atoll and fervently hoped that they would live up to their commander's expectations.

Just before dawn on November 20 the American transports arrived in their assigned areas off Butaritari, about five to seven thousand yards from the western end of the island. Scout planes were launched from the catapults of the battleships and cruisers. At six o'clock *Leonard Wood* began lowering her LCVP's with the combat troops already in them. The sun rose at six-thirty and a few minutes later the guns of the battleships, cruisers and destroyers raked the island. The enemy made no response.

Father Meany watched the initial stages of the bombardment in company with Harold Smith, a reporter from the *Chicago Tribune*. The priest was dressed as the other soldiers, no insignia of rank or cross of chaplain showing. If these insignia were visible to identify him to his own men, they would also identify him to the enemy and draw fire. Unlike the other soldiers he had no weapon. Inside his shirt in a watch case hanging from a cord about his neck, Father Meany carried the sacred oil to be used in administering Extreme Unction.

With his assistant, Corporal Thomas Ward, Father Meany stepped into the LCVP that was swinging in the davits on the side of the ship. The boat was lowered into the water. The LCVP circled beside her parent ship as the bombardment of the shore increased in tempo. A slight rain started; the cloud passed overhead and was gone. A gentle ground swell rocked the boat.

Abruptly the bombardment ceased; the LCVP's ended their continuous circling and lanes of foam feathered out behind them as they headed in straight lines for the beach. It was a deliberate, measured procession, for the landing boats with their blunt bows were not capable of motor boat speeds. Still there was no responding fire from the beaches. It was almost like the practice landing on Maui all over again, except that all were aware that behind the line of palm trees in the distance were desperate men intent on killing the invaders before they themselves died.

The Landing

At 8:31 the first landing boat touched the shore and dropped its ramp. The rest of the LCVP's followed; 1st Battalion to the north on Red Beach One; 3rd Battalion to the south on Red Beach Two. Quickly the Americans fanned out and enveloped the bar of the T. There was a sniper's shot here and there, but it was evident that the plan to lure the Japanese from their entrenchments was not going to succeed. Nobody had really expected that it would, but it had been worth the try. As it was, the Americans gained a beachhead on the enemy-held island with practically no casualties.

Down the center of the T-stem of the island there was a coral-topped road that ran the length of the island until it reached the village of Tanimaiaki on the eastern end. Along the axis of this road the American forces cautiously advanced. By 11:00 A.M. they had established a line one thousand yards from the beach.

Father Meany's LCVP headed in toward shore with the fifth wave. It grounded on a coral head for a minute. The coxwain gently backed the boat off, made a turn to avoid the obstacle and continued on his way. Down at Tarawa Atoll on this very morning the Marines too were running into reefs, but here the coral growth was more extensive and the unfortunate landing craft hung there while enemy rifle and machine gun fire cut to pieces the young marines huddled inside them.

At 9:00 the LCVP carrying Father Meany grounded completely a few yards from the shore. The priest and his assistant jumped off and waded through the surf to the beach. As soon as he made the shore, Father Meany set out in search of casualties. He found none on Red Beach One. So he walked south to Red Beach Two where he found a young soldier dead under a palm tree. The dog tag indicated that the boy was a non-Catholic. The priest said a prayer over his body instead of anointing him.

There were no other calls for Father Meany's services. He saw to it that his mass kit was properly stowed, and with Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Hart, commander of the 3rd Battalion, he started down the coral road toward the American lines. The Colonel left him as he reached his own command post and the priest continued the journey alone.

On either side of the road there were tall, curving palm trees with their pinwheel of fronds at the top. Early in the landing the Americans found that the Japanese were utilizing the tree tops for snipers' nests. Thereafter, whenever a tree looked suspicious, it came in for a large share of rifle fire. A few Japanese and several thousand coconuts were killed off in the process.

The road ran past small lakes, code-named for identification purposes Rita and Jill. Beyond these lakes Father Meany met a young soldier who cautioned him against booby traps. To illustrate his point he showed a Luger pistol that lay innocently on a coconut palm. But a telltale string running from beneath the palm leaf indicated that the weapon was connected with an explosive charge.

A short way beyond this point Father Meany met the captain of Company C, the unit which formed the left wing of the advancing American forces. He and the captain went over to the beach where they could see the American landing craft which were supporting Yellow Beach. As they watched the Yellow Beach operation, a Japanese machine gun down the beach opened fire. The priest and the captain fell to the ground as the machine gun bullets kicked up the sand near them. Neither was hit. Destroyers *MacDonough* and *Phelps* closed in to engage the enemy position and the Japanese fire was distracted from the two Americans on the beach.

Now that Yellow Beach had been established the American plan called for the Red Beach force to assault the Japanese tank trap from the front while the Yellow Beach force hit it from the rear. Accordingly the Red Beach units, Company C with them, began to move up into position for the attack.

As Father Meany moved up toward the front lines he came upon Lieutenant Colonel Kelley. The officer was calmly eating lunch with his jeep driver. Father Meany joined him and they in turn were joined by Colonel Gardiner Conroy, the commanding officer of the 165th. They gathered around a radio that was reporting the Yellow Beach landing. The Americans on Yellow Beach seemed to be taking their objectives without excessive opposition.

At 2:10 Company C began its attack on the western tank barrier. Opposition was relatively light at first. A few yards

in front of Father Meany, Lieutenant Daniel Nunnery killed a Japanese soldier hiding in a foxhole. Father Meany moved up and saw his first dead Japanese, a soldier shot three times through the head. A few minutes later Lieutenant Nunnery was dead himself, killed by an enemy sniper.

The enemy fire began to get heavy. "Better get down, bud," an officer called to the chaplain. Father Meany dropped to the ground beside an officer in Marine Corps uniform. The officer was Lieutenant Colonel James Roosevelt who had accompanied an early raiding party on Makin. He was along now as an advisor. Thus Father Meany got an informal introduction to the President's son.

A short way up the coral road in front of the place where Father Meany was taking cover was a sharp bend. This curve was skillfully covered by an enemy Lewis machine gun which was concealed in a natural dip in the ground. Scattered in and about the weapon as support were fifteen Japanese riflemen. In front of the machine gun position there was a clearing. The Japanese waited. An American infantryman, Private William C. Hiscock, appeared through the undergrowth. The enemy fired and Private Hiscock fell to the ground. The Japanese waited again.

Someone called out that an American soldier had been hit. Father Meany went forward from his position of concealment. Perhaps he should have been more cautious. But a priest's instincts are not those of an infantryman. He raced across the road and dropped beside the wounded boy. As he knelt there, cutting the shirt from the wound, Father Meany was hit by three trip hammer blows, one in the arm, one in the shoulder, one in the chest. The priest fell backward and lay still.

The young private, however, though wounded through the arm, still had enough strength to crawl back to the American lines for help. As he made his way to the edge of the clearing, Father Meany, conscious, despite his wounds, rolled into a taro pit and waited.

As he lay there he noticed a piece of bent metal on the ground beside him. It was the remains of a cruciform medal which had four images: the Sacred Heart at the top, the Immaculate Conception at the bottom, St. Christopher on the

right arm of the cross, St. Joseph on the left. It had evidently absorbed the impact of a machine gun bullet. One of the dog tags about Father Meany's neck was missing, perhaps driven by the force of a bullet into his chest.

About 2:30 in the afternoon, not long after he was wounded, Father Meany saw four Sherman tanks trundle down the road past his position on their way toward the tank trap. He felt that rescue was close at hand. However, a few minutes later the tanks returned without firing a shot. Father Meany did not realize that in those few minutes Colonel Conroy had been killed and that the position of Company C had deteriorated.

Death of Colonel Conroy

The Americans up to this point in the battle had experienced a walk over against the enemy. Only slowly did Company C realize that it had struck a Japanese strong point. On the right flank Companies A and B surged forward and joined with the men from Yellow Beach, eliminating between their pincer movement all Japanese resistance. But, in front of the position where Father Meany lay, Company C found itself stymied. The four Sherman tanks that had appeared seemed at first a godsend. But there were complications. The tank commander refused to engage the enemy until he got orders from his superior officer, who was back on the beachhead. Colonel Conroy rose from his position of concealment to argue with the tank commander. A fellow soldier cautioned the Colonel down, but it was already too late. Colonel Conroy fell dead from a sniper's bullet, the first regimental commander of the 69th to give his life in action. Command of the regiment devolved on Lieutenant Colonel Kelley.

Colonel Kelley abandoned any idea of trying to persuade the tanks to join action. The ground was too cut up by the ship bombardment for them to maneuver. For the tanks to fire from the positions where they would be to jeopardize the lives of friendly troops. So rescue for Father Meany had to wait.

It was almost an hour after Father Meany was wounded that an attempt was made to help him. Private Berthiaume, of Troy, Vermont, was crawling cautiously through the under-

brush toward the Japanese gun position. Father Meany spotted him and called softly to him to get his attention. The young man was startled for a second, then recognized the priest, and crawled down into the taro pit.

Private Berthiaume reached under the priest to get at the medical kit hooked to Father Meany's belt. As the soldier tried to dress the wound in the priest's chest, Father Meany himself with his wounded right arm injected a shot of morphine into the vein of his left forearm.

The soldier worked over the priest for about twenty minutes. In that time he seemed to have forgotten the presence of the enemy. Automatically he straightened up after tending the priest's wound. He groaned as a bullet hit him in the back. The soldier fell over, beginning an act of contrition in French. Another bullet hit the soldier's back; a third pierced his head. Father Meany hurriedly said the words of absolution over the slumped form and administered Extreme Unction. He could see the large hole above the soldier's eye where the final bullet had emerged. There was no doubt that Private Berthiaume was dead.

Feeling that it might be just a matter of time before the Japanese would move up and get him, Father Meany took the cotton impregnated with consecrated oil from its watch case container and tossed it under nearby bushes to keep it from possible desecration.

Within the American lines Lieutenant Warren T. Lindquist, leader of the reconnaissance platoon, reported to Colonel Kelley and asked permission to attempt a rescue of Father Meany. Colonel Kelley had a difficult decision to make. Casualties in the immediate area had been heavy: Colonel Conroy, Lieutenant Nunnery, Private Berthiaume had been killed; others had been wounded. To attempt a rescue now would put more lives in jeopardy. "Either Father Meany is dead," said the Colonel, "or will know how to take of himself for a while." He instructed Lieutenant Lindquist to await the reduction of the pocket by Company C or the arrival of sunset, whichever came first.

The sun would not set until 6:10 that evening, and Father Meany, under the arc of fire of the enemy's automatic weapon, was effectively isolated from medical aid. All that he could

do was to wait and pray. Overhead navy planes buzzed like lazy drones. In one of them was Jim Landry, later assistant coach at Fordham. In the distance the sound of enemy fire became fainter and fainter as position after position fell to the superior numbers of the American attacking forces. Over the horizon and out to sea U.S.S. *Mississippi* lowered her flag to half mast as the chaplain read burial services over forty-three flag draped litters. A single turret explosion had claimed almost as many lives at sea as the Japanese would exact at Makin.

As soon as he judged that it was dark enough to move, Lieutenant Lindquist and four soldiers pushed off from the American lines towards Father Meany's position. When they reached the priest they began to raise him, but, remembering the fate of Private Berthiaume, Father Meany cautioned them down. The soldiers took him under the arms and dragged him for about forty feet until Lieutenant Lindquist judged it was safe to stand. Father Meany with the help of two soldiers raised himself to his feet. The priest felt weak and dizzy. He coughed up blood from his pierced lung.

Even with the enemy behind them, Father Meany and his rescuers were still in danger. The Americans had orders to shoot at anything that moved after dark. General Smith, the Marine Corps commander in the area, who visited Makin by night claimed that it was bullets fired by American infantrymen that came closer to ending his life than any gun fire of the enemy. Cautiously the rescue party made its way to the aid station.

Two doctors in the 1st Battalion aid station operated on Father Meany for an hour, cutting out the bullets, disinfecting the wounds, giving plasma to replace all the blood Father Meany had lost. After the operation was completed, the priest was placed on a stretcher and slept the night between Dr. Peter Bonanno, of Teaneck, N. J., and Lieutenant Lindquist.

During the night two Japanese, determined to take a few American lives before they were killed, infiltrated the American area. Father Meany woke to hear the shot that killed one and caused the capture of the other. The priest's rest was further disturbed by delirium. He became convinced that the Japanese were making a suicide charge of the type that they

had made recently on Attu in the Aleutians. He shouted warnings to his friends. The doctor and Lieutenant Lindquist gently quieted the wounded man.

At dawn Father Meany was given a further transfusion. Then in a special medical jeep, with racks to accommodate a stretcher, he was transported toward the beachhead. With him were his aide, Corporal Ward, and the Japanese prisoner captured during the night. As the jeep travelled down the coral road bullets came whizzing over them from positions inland. Perhaps the Japanese had infiltrated during the night, or perhaps it was some skittish American. However the jeep reached the beach without being hit.

While at the aid station on the beach, Father Meany was visited by Father John Byrne, another chaplain of the 27th Division, and for the first time in two weeks had a chance to go to confession. Then the wounded chaplain was placed in an LCP which ferried him out to the transport *Leonard Wood*.

A short time afterwards Father Meany was again on the operating table in order that the doctors might make a full assessment of his wounds. The report read: "Suffered wounds of the right shoulder, right anterior chest, and right elbow causing compound fracture of the tip of the epicondyle of the right humerus and partial paralysis of the right ulnar nerve."

"Makin Taken"

During the three days that Father Meany was aboard *Leonard Wood* the battle for Makin was fought and won by the American forces. By 10:30 on the night of November 23 the troops had reached the eastern tip of Butaritari and General Smith, commanding the 27th Division, was able to send the jingling signal to the task force commander: "Makin taken."

The cost, measured by the yardstick of Tarawa and subsequent island assaults, was not excessive: 66 killed and 152 wounded in action. To Father McCabe fell the task of reading requiem over many of the dead. With a purple stole about his neck the priest stood over the bodies wrapped in white woolen blankets captured from the Japanese. It was a

tableau reminiscent of earlier days in the 69th's battle history, one seen by Sergeant Joyce Kilmer in a wood he called the Rouge Bouquet:

There lie many fighting men,
Dead in their youthful prime,
Never to laugh nor love again
Nor taste the summertime.

Out to sea the Japanese got in one Parthian shot that did fearful damage. Submarine I-175 closed in undetected on escort carrier *Liscombe Bay*. A single torpedo turned the ship, loaded as it was with aviation gasoline, into a flaming torch. 642 Americans died almost instantly. The Japanese had wrested almost mathematically a life for a life in exchange for the strip of coral and sand that was Butaritari.

As *Leonard Wood* began to reembark combat troops, garrison troops went in to take over the island. The transport's progress back to Pearl Harbor would be too slow for many of the wounded. A Catalina flying boat landed by *Leonard Wood*, took off Father Meany and some others.

Father Meany was flown south, to Funafuti in the Ellice Islands. There he rested for twenty-four hours. Again he was put on a hospital plane which headed for Honolulu. Enroute the plane landed at Canton Island. Father Meany's stretcher was brought out under the wing of the plane and the local general pinned on him the Purple Heart, a decoration for wounds. The general had difficulty finding a spot to pin the medal. Father Meany was dressed informally in shorts, bandages and the one dog tag that remained to him.

One of Father Meany's first thoughts on reaching Schofield Barracks, Hawaii, was to write to his mother. His letter arrived December 2 to dispell the fears which were born November 30 when his mother received a telegram from the War Department regretting to inform her that her son "Chaplain Captain Stephen J. Meany was on 20 November wounded in action."

While at North Sector General Hospital, Father Meany was awarded the Silver Star medal by General Odgen Ross. The award was made at the instigation of Colonel Kelley who testified to the chaplain's courage and disregard for his own safety in attempting to rescue Private Hiscock.

Father Meany was flown next to Letterman General Hospital, San Francisco, and arrived on December 21; then to O'Reilly General Hospital, Springfield, Missouri, where he arrived January 7, 1944. At O'Reilly the cast which had been put on Father Meany's arm in Hawaii was removed and the doctors noted with satisfaction that the wounds were healing properly. On January 25 he was transferred to Tilton General Hospital, Fort Dix, N.J., where on March 2 he underwent an operation for the restoration of power to the ulnar nerve.

Father Meany returned to New York City a decorated hero. He was asked to be grand marshal of the St. Patrick's Day parade. It poured rain that day, but it takes more than rain to dampen the spirits of Irishmen on St. Patrick's Day. At the steps of the cathedral Father Meany knelt to kiss the ring of Bishop McIntyre; then led the parade to 110th Street where he reviewed each unit before it was dismissed.

In the Pacific the 165th missed its former chaplain. Gerard Kelley, now promoted to Colonel and confirmed in his succession to the command of the regiment, wrote to the office of Chief of Chaplains; "The history of this regiment is replete with references to Father Francis P. Duffy, the chaplain of World War I. His influence is legend. To fulfill adequately the standard established by him is difficult. Father Meany, by his spiritual guidance and heroic conduct, has approached closely the requirements of this standard. The men of this organization consider Father Meany a vital part of this regiment." The request was seconded by the divisional commander who endorsed the request with the words, "I concur entirely."

The final answer however was not up to the office of Chief of Chaplains. Father Meany appeared before a medical board which decided that though his wounds had healed sufficiently to be discharged from the hospital, he was not yet fit for general duty.

One of Father Meany's first visits when he was free to leave the hospital was to Troy, Vermont, to visit Mrs. Azarias Berthiaume and say Mass in the parish church for her son who gave his life trying to save that of a priest.

In May Father Meany was assigned to Harvard Chaplain

School. Since Father Meany had joined the Army before the course had been set up, the Army decided it was now time to round out the chaplain's education. So, while the 165th was preparing for its bloody assault on Saipan, Father Meany spent four weeks "learning how to be a chaplain."

At the completion of the Harvard course Father Meany was assigned to duty at Fort McClellan, Alabama. He was there until August 23 when he was transferred to the Army post at Ashville, North Carolina, which was under the direction of the Fourth Service Command. Father Meany spent the rest of World War II there in the less glamorous but essential occupation of ministering to army personnel returned from overseas duty.

On February 21, 1946 Father Meany was relieved of duty and given a terminal leave promotion to major. For injuries resulting from his wounds he received a 50% disability pension. Father Meany remained in the army reserve and was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel on April 29, 1958. Reaching the maximum age in grade he was placed automatically in the retired reserve on July 15, 1959. Thus ended his nineteen year connection with the Army which had begun in those distant pre-war days of 1940.

But attachments with the men of the 69th were not severed. Each year its alumni have a reunion about the anniversary of the Makin invasion. Gerard Kelley, who led the regiment on Saipan and later on Okinawa, is now a retired Brigadier General. Warren T. Lindquist, a Protestant, was not converted by his association with the chaplain. But he married Muriel McMahan, has ten children, and says he is "living up to his wife's Catholic religion." Father Meany is at present director of the Downtown Division of Fordham University. The old soldiers reminisce of days at McClellan, marches on Oahu, sea exercises off Maui. And not infrequently they recall that bright November morning when the young coxwains revved up the idling engines and turned the prows of the LCVP's towards Butaritari as the men of the 165th went ashore to win the sixtieth battle furl for their proud regimental flag.

The Story Significance On The Coat Of Arms Of The Province Of Buffalo

William J. Schlaerth, S.J.

The shield of the Provincial and the Province of Buffalo of the Society of Jesus is fittingly divided into quarters by a large equi-distant cross while dispersed about the coat of arms are found seven other crosses of various designs. The many crosses refer to the Land of the Crosses, to the Mohawk village of Ossernenon, now Auriesville, N.Y., the original seat and an intimate part of the Buffalo Province where the first canonized saints of our country were martyred—St. Isaac Jogues, the Jesuit priest, St. Rene Goupil, the Jesuit brother, and St. John Lalande, the Jesuit helper and lay missionary. It was the habit of these martyrs to carve on as many trees as they could in the forest surrounding old Ossernenon, the symbol of our salvation, the cross of Christ and below it the sacred name of Jesus so that today at the Shrine of the North American Martyrs the pilgrim will find mounted on many of the trees about the grounds an antique wooden cross and beneath it the letters of the name of Jesus. The Buffalo Province is one of the eleven provinces in the American (U.S.A.) assistancy with a membership of 171 Jesuit priests, 107 scholastics and 23 brothers, a total of 301 members—a small part of the total of over 8,000 Jesuits in the United States and of the grand total of over 35,000 Jesuits in the entire world.

The first quarter of the shield displays a buffalo, standing on the shores of a body of water, represented by four wavy lines, the heraldic representation of water, to symbolize the city and diocese of Buffalo, on the shores of Lake Erie at the head of Niagara Falls—Buffalo being the present seat of the Jesuit province. Buffalo was the center whence radiated the early Jesuit foundations of western New York in the first half of the nineteenth century after the restoration of the Society of Jesus in our country. In 1848 the first bishop of Buffalo, Most Rev. John Timon invited the Jesuits to open a mission church at Williamsville, a distant suburb of Buffalo. Shortly thereafter the Bishop welcomed the Jesuits to Buffalo where in 1851 they built in downtown Buffalo St. Michael's Church and within the next twenty years a parochial school

and a combination high school and college, called Canisius College in 1870.

Later in 1913 Canisius College separated from the High School and occupied the present site at Main Street and Jefferson Avenues in Buffalo; the High School also began moving a part of the school in 1944 from the old Washington Street location to new and elaborate quarters on Delaware Avenue on the west side of Buffalo. In 1857 the Jesuits were again invited to establish in the German section of East Buffalo, what became known as the "Woodchoppers' Parish" and in June of 1858, St. Ann's Church was completed and later in 1895 one of the largest grammar schools in the city of Buffalo was built. Besides the Diocese of Buffalo, the Province of Buffalo embraces at the other end of the Province, the diocese of Albany, where the Shrine of the North American Martyrs was established in 1885 and where later in 1938 was built the present Tertianship, where the young Jesuit priest spends his final year of preparation for his future apostolate and the Sacred Heart Retreat House for secular priests, serving on an average of one thousand priests a year: at Glenmont, near Albany, N.Y., the Jesuit Retreat House for laymen was founded in 1945. In the northern part of New York State is the diocese of Ogdensburg, also a part of the Buffalo Province and in 1948 on the shores of Lake Champlain, Loyola Villa, near Port Kent, N.Y., was developed as a summer school and recreation summer center for the Jesuit Fathers, Brothers and teaching Scholastics. In the same diocese at Plattsburgh in 1952 the Champlain Hotel fronting on Lake Champlain was converted into a Novitiate and Juniorate now called Bellarmine College, for our novices in their first two years of training and our Junior scholastics in their two years of classical studies. In the center of the Buffalo Province sets the Syracuse Diocese which welcomed the Jesuits to central New York in 1944 when Christ the King Retreat House was established and the next year the present Le Moyne College was started, the first group of buildings at Le Moyne Heights at the east end of Syracuse, being completed in 1948. The Rochester Diocese was the last diocese in the Buffalo Province to welcome the Jesuits in 1954 when McQuaid Jesuit High School opened its doors to over a thousand students.

The latest development of the Buffalo Province is the building at present of the new Jesuit Retreat House at Clarence Center, a distant suburb of Buffalo, which will be opened in September of 1961.

The second quarter of the shield contains items drawn from the coats of arms of the Jesuit Martyrs in the Tertianship Chapel at Auriesville, bearing symbols for the first Jesuits, who were martyred at Ossernenon, now Auriesville, N.Y., within the territory of the present Buffalo Province: St. Isaac Jogues, the Jesuit priest, the peace ambassador of the French and the first missionary to the Mohawks, tortured in 1642 and later martyred in 1646; St. Rene Goupil, the Jesuit brother, companion in torture of St. Isaac, who was the first canonized martyr of America who shed his blood in 1642; and St. John Lalande, the Jesuit lay missioner and aid to Fr. Jogues, on the first mission to Ossernenon who was tomahawked a day after Father Jogues in 1646. The instrument of their martyrdom, symbolized by the martyr's palm, was the Indian tomahawk. The Rosary recalls that Father Jogues and Brother Rene were accustomed to ascend the hill overlooking the Indian village to say their beads when they were held captive and as Father Jogue's relates, "at the fourth decade of the Rosary" Brother Rene was tomahawked and died in his arms. The Rosary also serves to commemorate Theresa, the Huron Indian maiden, who was taken captive with Father Jogues and Brother Rene and who as a slave-captive was accustomed to fashion on a nearby knoll a Rosary made of field stone, putting them in sequence on the ground to take the place of the beads her Indian Mohawk captors had taken from her.

The fleur-de-lis in the third quarter resembling the form of a cross, is the symbol of France and an integral part of the coat of arms of the French nation, which calls attention to the fact that the first Jesuit missionaries in the present territory of the province were French who came from their headquarters in New France in Canada. Some of the more famous Jesuits who labored in what is now the Albany diocese were Father Jogues, Brother Rene Goupil, Father Joseph Bressani, Father Joseph Poncet, Father Jacques Bruyas, and Father James de Lamberville. Other important Jesuit mis-

sionaries carried on their work in the present precincts of the diocese of Syracuse; among them were Father Simon Le Moyne (after whom the present Le Moyne College is named), Father Joseph Chaumonot, and Father Claude Dablon. In the area of the present Rochester diocese such Jesuit Frenchmen toiled as Father Rene Menard, Father James Fremin, and Father Stephen de Carheels.

The eagle in the fourth quarter of the shield commemorates the fact that the Buffalo Province was once the "Buffalo Mission of the Province of Germany." The eagle was the sole charge on the flag of the German Empire at the time in 1869 when the early German Jesuit missionaries came to the Niagara and Western Frontiers. The Buffalo Mission ceased to exist as an independent unit in 1907, when Buffalo became part of the Maryland-New York Province.

The chief (upper partition of the shield) is emblazoned with the insignia of the Society of Jesus in use at the time of St. Ignatius Loyola. The monogram of Jesus (the first three Greek letters of the name) is ensigned by a cross, above a crescent lodged between two stars, which symbolizes by the half moon: the Immaculate Conception and by the stars the Ave Maris Stella, Star of the Sea so that both the Mother of God and the Son of God are given a high place of honor in the Province seal.

The motto of the Province is the "Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam" which is also the favorite motto of the Society of Jesus and is translated, "For the Greater Glory of God." Derived from the "Spiritual Exercises" and found repeatedly in the Constitutions of the Order, these words, "to the greater glory of God," were always on the lips of St. Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Society, as a kind of symbol. This motto does express the end and quintessence of the Society of Jesus from the time of Ignatius to the present, which is that to the Jesuit, all things, whatsoever they may be, are merely a means to the greater glory of God.

In the seal used by the Provincial of the Buffalo Province, the outer circle has at the bottom in the front: A.D. 1960, which designates the actual year of the foundation and incorporation of the new Province which had been before a part of the New York Province of the Society of Jesus.

Geographic Status and Trend of the Society: 1957-60

William J. Mehok, S.J.

Several attempts have been made to give an accurate list of countries and continents in which the Society operates along with the number of its members living there (Cf. *Woodstock Letters* Vol. 89, No. 2, pp. 157-164). The present article continues that purpose of giving the facts, but extends the inquiry to add the dimension of time to that of space.

Throughout the tables and text reference is made to "institutions" and to "index numbers." Their meaning and importance are not immediately evident, so some explanation is called for. The institution, of which we speak, is technically known as a sampling unit, corresponding to household or dwelling unit of the U. S. census. In our application it is a group of Jesuits immediately subject to a superior whose name should appear in the section of the province catalogues entitled *Ordo Regiminis Superiorum*.

This section for *Ineunte Anno* 1960 lists 1,185 such superiors. To these we add 27 who were omitted and subtract 42 who either did not belong there, or, if they did, were duplicates (e.g. rector and religious superior for one community.) This leaves us with 1,170 institutions, 296 of which did not have schools while 874 did.

Ideally, every Jesuit should be subject to one and only one of these, but in practice certain corrections must be made. Just as the U. S. census lists hospitals, hotels and religious houses outside the regular frame of dwelling units, so we here consider provincial curias, displaced persons and Jesuits whose whereabouts is unknown in a separate category.

The second statistical descriptive device used here is the index number, or more specifically, the growth relative. It starts with 100 at some arbitrary time and an increase in number of Jesuits is indicated by an increase in the size of the index and a decrease in Jesuit growth is indicated by a diminution in the index number relative to the base date. Index numbers are convenient for reducing great masses of

data to a convenient formula and also for making comparisons between otherwise disparate objects, such as the growth of the Society in Africa and North America.

Although the conventional method of reporting Society growth by province is a good rough indicator, it lacks stability. The North Belgian Province is a good though extreme example. Whereas the relative change in number of Province *socii* 1957-60 was a large and unpredictable loss: 100, 100, 84, 82; the relative number of Jesuits from this Province living in Belgium for the same period was: 100, 99, 98, 107. The explanation in the former case is the large loss to the Province through administrative reorganization, with many men going over to newly created provinces and vice provinces.

Table 1 is somewhat abbreviated compared to previous years. Only the larger countries are given in detail. The reason is that geographic change from year to year is slight. Thus, between 1959 and 1960, if we except three extraordinary countries, the average change, up or down, was 5.4 Jesuits per country. (The three mavericks were U.S.A. with plus 184, India with plus 33 and Australia with plus 30.) About half of the countries showed a change of fewer than three Jesuits or none at all.

Accordingly, attention is turned elsewhere, namely, the division of institutions according to whether or not they have schools and the number of Jesuits attached to those which do not have schools. As can be seen from the following chart, this is a good bench mark for estimating Jesuit educational activity. Here are the growth indices of: A) Total number of institutions, B) Number of institutions with schools, C) Total number of schools, and D) Total number of students enrolled:

Year	A	B	C	D
1957 -----	100	100	100	100
1958 -----	107	103	152	124
1959 -----	110	106	189	138
1960 -----	111	110	-----	-----

The explanation of the irregularity in C) and D) lies in the fact that reporting of information on schools (especially those not owned by the Order and those not constituting nor lead-

ing up to the university) and their enrollment is undergoing a period of change. In retrospect, these clusters of schools prove to be a more predictable barometer of Jesuit educational activity or its contrary than even the number of schools, since reporting of the latter has not been uniformly accurate and cannot be checked.

The number of Jesuits in non-academic institutions (Column 7, Table 1) is useful in making estimates of Jesuit teachers, since these can be excluded almost to a man from the pool of potential teachers. It was thought that negative correlation existed between this column and number of novices, but an appropriate test does not warrant such a conclusion.

Table 2 is much the same as last year, but it gives the number of *Adscripti* by geographic area which permits us to compute their ratio to *Degentes*. It also makes it possible to compute by grade those living outside their own provinces. Take scholastics of North America, for example: 3,818 are ascribed to provinces with territory in North America; 989 of the 3,628 scholastics living on that continent are from other provinces. Hence: $3,818 + 989 = 4,807 - 3,628 = 1,179$ *Extra provinciam degentes*. Since 71% of the scholastics from another province are from the same country (about 700), we can compute the number outside their province and country as follows: $3,818 + (989 (.71)) = 4,518$; $4,518 - 3,628 = 890$ which is about the number of scholastics of North America who live in territory which is both outside their province and outside the country in which their province has territory.

This leads to another interesting measure, namely the migration index. It is the ratio between *Adscripti* and *Degentes*. This index is not entirely fair to mission countries since the definition of *Socii missionis* is still ambiguous, and all *Socii* are credited to the province country unless they live in the mission. Even so it is a good relative measure. 100 indicates identity in number of *Socii* and *Degentes*. Less than 100 means that there are more living in the territory than it has *Socii*. Over 100 indicates a net loss to the territory through migration. Africa relies very heavily on other provinces for scholastics, with a migration index of 68; and North America is the largest exporter of scholastics with an intercontinental index of 105.

Application of this index to individual countries proves even more revealing, and such use in the future is indicated. Take Europe for example. Whereas the migration index for the entire column is a near normal 101, a breakdown by countries is: Belgium — 106; France — 94; West Germany — 103; Italy — 82; Spain — 111; Remainder — 103. The high value for Spain offsets opposite scores for many of the other countries.

Perhaps the most instructive of the group is Table 3. It gives us the relative growth or decline, over a four year period of time, from all causes, e.g., number of novices, migration, death and dismissal. The base year is 1957, and 100 is the base index for its section of a column. For over-all growth, Africa and Asia-Oceania are the areas of greatest expansion. Europe, etc. shows a slight decline which is probably offset by its higher than normal total emigration index. A valid and useful adjustment is to multiply the two indices. Thus, for Europe, 101 times 99 equals 100 (adjusting the decimal, of course).

North America has the greatest relative increase in number of scholastics, 105, which reaches 110 when adjusted. Africa is understandably the lowest, whose 91 descends to 62 after adjustment. Europe, etc. has been showing a steady drop in number of novices, but a partial explanation of the decline in number of scholastics is accounted for by increase in number of priests. What has been exemplified for scholastics can be applied equally to the other grades and totals.

The trend for novices seems to be in a state of equilibrium, but this may be a temporary phenomenon. Furthermore, selection of novices seems to be better in recent years and life expectancy is increasing each year. How else explain the over-all one percent a year increase?

TABLE 1

Geographic distribution of 34,685 members of the Society of Jesus; of the 1,170 institutions to which they are assigned and of 4,402 Jesuits attached to 296 institutions which have no schools. Year beginning January 1960.

Country, Continent	Jesuits Living in Territory				Institutions		
	Total	Priests	Schol's	Broth's	N-Sch	Sch.	SJ's
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
<i>Entire Society</i>	34,685	18,509	10,376	5,800	296	874	4,402
Belgian Congo	336	199	59	78	0	17	0
Madagascar	298	195	34	69	1	12	21
Rhodesia—N.	85	59	11	15	1	7	3
Rhodesia—S.	109	78	7	24	0	4	0
Other Countries (11)	259	195	25	39	6	21	30
<i>Africa</i> (15)	1,087	726	136	225	8	61	54
Canada	1,144	670	312	162	13	27	148
Mexico	637	247	273	117	11	18	78
United States	7,823	4,234	2,935	654	25	145	278
Other Countries (12)	607	356	108	143	7	27	51
<i>America—N.</i> (15)	10,211	5,507	3,628	1,076	56	217	555
Argentina	404	189	151	64	3	9	46
Brazil	1,154	514	312	328	12	36	88
Colombia	693	266	293	134	2	19	42
Other Countries (8)	1,184	536	372	276	4	53	41
<i>America—S.</i> (11)	3,435	1,505	1,128	802	21	117	217
India	2,286	1,160	756	370	0	93	15
Japan	358	207	119	32	0	9	10
Philippines	529	296	186	47	2	18	31
Other Countries (18)	1,079	768	149	162	10	52	310
<i>Asia</i> (21)	4,252	2,431	1,210	611	12	172	366
Belgium	1,319	803	393	123	9	23	148
France	1,817	1,296	366	155	38	37	473
Germany—W.	1,139	591	352	196	20	18	234
Italy	2,361	1,414	321	626	40	53	579
Spain	4,080	1,569	1,498	1,013	15	71	251
Other Countries (18)	3,962	2,148	1,090	724	77	78	873
<i>Europe</i> (23)	14,678	7,821	4,020	2,837	199	280	2,558
<i>Oceania</i> (3)	376	199	142	35	0	27	6
<i>Dispersi</i> (0)	260	157	13	90	0	0	260
<i>Group I</i> (88)	34,299	18,346	10,277	5,676	296	874	4,016
<i>Group II</i> (2)	386	163	99	124	0	0	386
<i>Total</i> (90)	34,685	18,509	10,376	5,800	296	874	4,402

TABLE 1.— Continued

Columns (1) to (4) inclusive give the number of Jesuits living in the countries and continents indicated.

Column (5) gives the number of rectors or most immediate superiors who are, or should be, listed in *Ordo Regiminis Superiorum*, adjusting for duplication and who do not have any schools under their charge.

Column (6) gives the number of superiors who have at least one school.

Column (7) gives the number of Jesuits in institutions listed in column (5) as well as persons attached to provincial curias, dispersed persons and persons whose whereabouts are unknown.

Dispersi are Jesuits so listed in province catalogues *Ineunte Anno* 1960. They differ from Group II whose existence is only deduced from antiquated data and the fact that they are not accounted for in Group I.

TABLE 2

Distribution by continent of 34,685 Jesuits according to mobility, grade and other characteristics. Year beginning January 1960.

Class	Africa	America North	America South	Asia, Oceania	Europe, Etc.	Total
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
A Adscripti	955	10,503	3,343	4,342	15,542	34,685
B Ex Aliis Provinciis	176	2,128	594	1,289	2,968	7,155
C Numerantur	1,131	12,631	3,937	5,631	18,510	41,840
D Extra Provinciam	44	2,420	502	1,003	3,186	7,155
E Degentes	1,087	10,211	3,435	4,628	15,324	34,685
A-1 Adscripti						
Priests	656	5,620	1,485	2,574	8,174	18,509
Scholastics	93	3,818	1,095	1,131	4,239	10,376
Brothers	206	1,065	763	637	3,129	5,800
B-1 Ex Aliis Provinciis						
Priests	98	951	234	565	1,554	3,402
Scholastics	56	989	272	638	1,149	3,104
Brothers	22	188	88	86	265	649
E-1 Degentes						
Priests	726	5,507	1,505	2,630	8,141	18,509
Scholastics	136	3,628	1,128	1,352	4,132	10,376
Brothers	225	1,076	802	646	3,051	5,800
A-1 E-1 Migration Index						
Priests	90	102	99	98	100	100
Scholastics	68	105	97	84	103	100
Brothers	92	99	95	99	103	100
TOTAL	88	103	97	94	101	100

TABLE 2—Continued

Distribution by continent of 34,685 Jesuits according to mobility, grade and other characteristics.
Year beginning January 1960.

Class	Africa	America North	America South	Asia, Oceania	Europe, Etc.	Total
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
B-2 Percent of B-1 Applicants						
Priests	98	39	70	74	22	41
Scholastics	89	4	6	45	1	13
Brothers	95	43	70	44	35	45
TOTAL	95	23	40	58	15	29
B-3 Percent of B-1 from same Country						
Priests	13	58	28	21	32	37
Scholastics	2	71	30	42	57	55
Brothers	9	63	63	43	43	50
TOTAL	9	64	34	32	43	46
E-2 Degentes: Novices						
Scholastic	17	815	207	241	723	2,003
Coadjutor	19	91	70	54	182	416
Per Novitiate	12.00	53.29	23.08	29.50	34.81	35.57
E-3 Percent of E-1 in Institutions without Schools etc.						
Priests	6	8	12	12	28	18
Scholastics	0	0*	0	0*	4	1
Brothers	6	8	5	10	26	17
TOTAL	5	5	6	8	21	13
In Prov. Res. etc.	0*	1	2	5	5	4

* Less than 1 percent.

Column 5 : "Etc." includes "Dispersi" and Group II as shown in Table 1.

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TABLE 3

Relative change in number of Jesuits living in different parts of the world I.A. 1957 to 1960, with detail for novices. (Base = 100 = 1957)

Degentes		Africa	America North	America South	Asia, Oceania	Europe Etc.	Total
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
<i>Total</i>	1957	100	100	100	100	100	100
	1958	106	102	101	103	99	101
	1959	107	104	103	106	99	102
	1960	111	106	105	109	99	103
<i>Priests</i>	1957	100	100	100	100	100	100
	1958	109	102	101	104	101	102
	1959	110	104	106	108	103	104
	1960	118	106	112	112	104	107
<i>Scholastics</i>	1957	100	100	100	100	100	100
	1958	95	102	102	100	98	100
	1959	89	102	102	102	94	99
	1960	91	105	99	103	91	98
<i>Brothers</i>	1957	100	100	100	100	100	100
	1958	107	101	100	102	98	99
	1959	111	105	100	105	97	100
	1960	112	104	101	109	97	100
<i>Novices*</i>	1957	100	100	100	100	100	100
	1958	100	106	112	96	97	102
	1959	109	104	118	101	92	101
	1960	109	112	104	99	89	100

* Includes both scholastic and coadjutor brother novices.

Column 5 : "Etc." includes "Dispersi" and Group II as shown in Table 1.

An Opposing View On The "Marquette Legend"

Editor, *The Wanderer*:

For the three weeks beginning January 5th there have been appearing in *The Wanderer* the installments of a supercolossal "review" of a book by Fr. Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M., aimed at stripping from the beloved Jesuit missionary, Fr. Jacques Marquette, much of the credit that he is popularly given. The "review" began, continued, and ended—after five and a half columns—anonynously. But it seems impossible that any reviewer other than the author of the book himself would have been in such complete agreement in column after accusing column of the appraisal. We may then apparently conclude that author and reviewer are one.

They assure us that it is not the author's purpose to "debunk" Marquette. The missionary was worthy enough, but he died too young—we are told—to be the proper recipient of so much honor. However, there doesn't seem any very objective norm for determining how much honor to give a young man who—deliberately patterning himself after St. Francis Xavier—offers himself for life to a mission of almost unexampled hardship and danger, asking only—like Xavier—to die in the wilderness. During the nine years that Providence permitted Marquette on the Canadian missions, he lived out his dedication. His career carried him through thousands of painful miles of dangerous country and savage peoples, until he breathed out his life on the eastern shore of Lake Michigan.

Few historians have felt called upon to complain very loudly of the honors given Marquette. Such secular historians as Utley and Cutcheon, in their *Michigan As A Province, Territory And State*, after praising the heroism of the martyr missionaries, remarked of such as Marquette: "In

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almost equal, though less dramatic martyrdom were those who ruined health and sank into early graves through exposure in an inhospitable climate, in malarial swamps, in shipwreck and famine, and lack of medical care and nursing." Surely a servant of God has given enough when he has given his all. Few Catholics are heard to wish to put the convent-confined Little Flower "in her place" as having received excessive adulation. It is true that one of her Sisters said of the saint, dying at twenty-five, that Therese had done nothing! But God has His own measure of devotion and crowns the unsatisfied desire.

It would be a matter of some surprise but of little moment if Fr. Steck in his determined efforts to put Marquette "in his place" called attention to the shortness of his mission service and the comparative fewness of his achievements. But what makes Fr. Steck's efforts seem those of a volunteer "Devil's advocate" are his consequent easy and repeated attacks upon various other Jesuits of good reputation, especially Fr. Claude Dablon, Marquette's superior. Fr. Steck might be more easily understood if he had, in a few footnotes to a substantial, constructive history, remarked the unusual honor for apparently lesser achievements of the individual missionary (*e.g.*, he might have pointed out that Marquette is no more truly the "discoverer" of the Mississippi River than Christopher Columbus is of America). But to make such a contribution to history largely through the denigration of fellow priests and Religious in good standing is rather unique.

Moreover, Fr. Steck has made that sort of thing the effort of a lifetime. To my knowledge his attacks were in full flood already more than thirty years ago. In the course of his assaults he has been opposed successively by the Jesuit historians Fr. Gilbert J. Garraghan and Fr. Jean Delanglez, but both those scholars long since went to their reward and Fr. Steck continues. He maintains his assault upon Fr. Dablon despite the fact that he has described the missionary as a "valiant hero" of forty-two years' service on the missions. But that tribute to Dablon was paid in an effort to belittle Marquette by comparison.

As to Father Steck's indictment of the "valiant hero"—

Dablon—because I am no historian, and have not read Father Steck's documentation for some thirty years, I prefer to leave the question to the professional historians. It is probably too early to say just what their decision will be, but the December, 1960 issue of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* suggests Father Steck will have rough sledding. A review there, written by William J. Eccles, of the University of Alberta, describes Father Steck's attack as a continuation of the rather venomous squabbling that began on the Canadian missions three hundred years ago. In this renewal of the feud, the review declares, Father Steck "unfortunately makes too many sweeping assertions on the basis of negative evidence, sometimes sets up strawmen, and frequently, where several explanations of events or conjectures as to motives are possible, allows of only one." Eccles then concludes that whatever be the merits of Father Steck as an historian, he obviously "has an axe to grind," and his indictment must be declared "not proven."

Father Steck bitterly protests against the suspicion that his anti-Jesuit indictment is the consequence of "ill-feeling that exists in this country between the Jesuits and the Franciscans." Let me add my bit to that. Never in all my many years as a Jesuit have I heard an unkind word spoken by my confreres against the Franciscans. Nor have I any reason to suspect less kindness in the attitude of the Franciscan Order. The only evidence I have ever seen that would suggest a hostile Franciscan spirit is that of Father Steck himself.

In conclusion let me take the liberty to suggest to Father Steck an apostolic objective for his untiring historical researches worthy of his great powers. It would be a thing most gratifying to all Catholics if he would address himself to the grave and indurated charges of historical falsification that have been made against his Franciscan confrere, the missionary explorer, Father Hennepin, contemporary of Marquette. Perhaps it is too late in Father Steck's career for him to finish such an enterprise, but the death would be blessed that—after all these years of anti-Jesuit activity—found him at last laboring to clear the good name of a fellow Religious.

JOHN E. COOGAN, S.J.

A Note On The "Three Classes" Or "Three Men"

Paul W. O'Brien, S.J.

Readers of the Spanish (and Latin) text of the Exercises have long been intrigued by St. Ignatius' "Tres binarios," commonly translated as "Three classes of men." Well-known commentators have sought in vain for satisfactory explanations of the term "binarios." One retreat master, after proposing several unconvincing solutions, advised: "When you get to heaven and see St. Ignatius, ask him what he meant." The question always remained: Why "pairs" (binarios)?

The explanations have been varied and versatile. One suggested that St. Ignatius, talking to a single man, did not want to make his remarks too personal, too embarrassing for the retreatant, and hence brought in a crowd, two men. Another thought he had in mind a "couple," husband and wife, because applying his teaching to them, it would be true a fortiori for a cleric (M. de la Taille). Perhaps each of us bears within himself two men. The mention of "couples" invites one to study what W. James calls the drama of the "divided will." (Pinard de la Boullaye). Father Hummelauer, notes that the vocations indicated in the Gospels are usually in pairs (Peter and Andrew, James and John) or can easily be reduced to such. Father Roothaan, in Note 64 asks: *Cur bini? Fortasse ut determinato tali numero, minus vaga sit meditatio et representatio imaginaria de hominum classe.*

Modern scholarship seems finally to have laid this question to rest, and the solution is simple and convincing. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the term "binarios" merely pointed to something general, and was used by dialecticians to indicate in an undetermined way an individual who was typical of a group, much in the same way as we use Caius and Titius in our cases of conscience. The meditation therefore is about three men who illustrate three typical dispositions of will (Iparraguirre).

The university flavor of the expression is an additional indication of the Paris origin of the meditation. Father Leturia substantiates this opinion with some interesting texts. He writes: "The *Disceptationes* of John Dolz, published in Paris in 1513 and very popular among the dialecticians of the University, play with the "binario" of matter and form which is Socrates, in the following brain-twisting dialectic:

"Fit ultra difficultas de ista propositione: in istis locis est Socrates, demonstrando duo loca in quorum uno sit materia Socratis, in alio forma, et Socrates sit in uno alio tertio. Distinguenda est. Vel sensus est: aliquid quod est in istis locis est *binarius* . . . est Socrates. Vel ly "in istis locis" habet pro determinabili ly "Socrates", et sic falsa est. Et si dicas: in istis locis iste *binarius* est Socrates et iste *binarius* est Socrates, ergo in istis locis Socrates est Socrates, consequentia est nulla."

A little later the "binarius" is not Socrates, but a piece of bread, eaten partly by Socrates and partly by Plato. This new brain-twister must have sounded strange to the practical genius of Ignatius. "Iste *binarius* fuit comestus et iste *binarius* est vel fuit iste panis." "Iste panis fuit *binarius* comestus."

The term *quinario*, *ternario*, *binario*, etc., in the sense of "ens," or of a proposition with 5, 3, or 2 qualities, is also frequent in the sermons of St. Bernardino.

It seems, therefore, that Ignatius used the term in its current sense, without giving it any special meaning. And if one were to give it a meaning, one would think of the compositum of soul and body with its double tendency: one indifferently and straight; the other twisted and affected. Confer Leturia, "Genesis de los ejercicios" (1941).

"Tres binarios" therefore, meant for St. Ignatius "three men", proposed of course as typical.

Father William B. O'Shaughnessy

Edward S. Pouthier, S.J.

For the last twenty-two years of his life, Father William B. O'Shaughnessy lived and worked at the Novitiate of St. Andrew-on-Hudson. He was deeply attached to the place. No one in all that time had ever heard him express the desire to be stationed elsewhere. His fondness for it, he used to say, began even before his actual entrance there. The occasion was a visit in the autumn of 1910 to his older brother Martin, who had become a novice the previous summer. William followed him into the Society in August 1911.

In outward appearance the two O'Shaughnessy brothers looked remarkably alike. They had, however, quite different dispositions. The older Martin was somewhat shy, quiet, retiring. William was just the opposite. He was articulate, modestly aggressive, and a very good mixer. An interesting talker, he was welcome company at recreations and long walks. There was, however, no noticeable tendency on his part to monopolize the conversation. He showed himself an equally good listener. On occasion, he could be rather outspoken, some might even say sharp-tongued. It was a youthful shortcoming. He outgrew it, since he was fundamentally pious, charitable, and an earnest religious. Even in those early days one noticed a trait that stayed with him through life:—an unaffected tidiness about his person, his shoes well shined, his clothes neatly brushed. He did not have a robust constitution. Neither did he gain weight in the first few months, as most novices do. This anomaly did not, of course, escape the eyes of his wise and saintly novice master, Father George Pettit. Throughout his noviceship thereafter Brother O'Shaughnessy went twice a day to the infirmary for extra glasses of milk. Beyond this, he took the daily order in stride, cheerfully and conscientiously, as was his nature.

He was fortunate in his Juniorate professors. At that time, perhaps the two best teachers of the Province, Fathers F. M.

Connell and F. P. Donnelly, were at the peak of their powers. In their stimulating classes Mr. O'Shaughnessy developed a relish for fine literature that never left him. All through life he kept a copy of Shakespeare close at hand and perused it constantly. He was never a novel reader. Magazine stories did not claim his attention, either. The taste for fine writing and worthwhile books, acquired in his juniorate, colored his literary interests ever after.

The usual three years of philosophy at Woodstock College were followed by four years of regency at Boston College High School, where he taught third and fourth year classes. With his flair for public speaking, it was but natural that he should direct the senior debating society of the school. His contemporaries speak of him as a man unusually painstaking in his preparation of class work, a somewhat strict but just disciplinarian. Habitually cheerful, buoyant and sympathetic, he captured without effort the confidence of his students. At the end of the school day there was usually a little group of them gathered about his desk to chat and chaff with him for awhile. His influence for good was obviously deep. Each year some of his seniors joined the Society and later they always spoke of him with high regard. It was characteristic of Father O'Shaughnessy that he never lost interest in his former students. He followed the career of a surprising number of them. And they did not forget him, either. Years afterward, when he was stationed at St. Andrew, some came there to make a retreat under his direction.

He returned to Woodstock for theology in 1922. The New England Province was not yet in existence at that time, and Weston College was still in the future. As a consequence, Woodstock College was bursting at the seams. To house both theologians and philosophers, it was necessary to utilize every possible foot of space. For some reason, Mr. O'Shaughnessy did not arrive until late in August. He must have been dismayed at the room assigned him for the coming year. It was a converted storage room under the roof, with only a small overhead skylight to supply light and air. He accepted his fate with a wry smile, and throughout his first year of theology worked under artificial light, with his door open wide during the day, and slightly ajar throughout the night.

Illness

Ordination to the holy priesthood took place in Dahlgren Chapel, Georgetown, on June 28, 1925. The following spring, after a month or two of private study in preparation for the *Ad Gradum* examination, his health broke. Migraine headaches and vertigo, ailments that handicapped him on and off in later life, made it impossible for him to carry on. He rested at Fordham University for a few months. His condition never improved sufficiently for him to try again.

At the completion of his tertianship at Saint Andrew-on-Hudson in 1929, he was appointed minister at Loyola College, a post he held for eight years. He found this usually thankless job quite congenial. It offered good scope for his inborn thoughtfulness. "He paid the community the fine courtesy of being regularly present in his room at office hours," states a person who lived there at the time. "His door would be open, he seated behind his desk, ready to supply needs or grant individual requests." He is said to have taken a special interest in the health of the scholastics. He would suggest extra sleep for them, or place the house car at their disposal whenever he felt they needed a change. Birthdays of community members would be highlighted by a cake at supper, with a glass of wine to toast the lucky man's health. Personally he was most abstemious. This personal sense of mortification, however, did not lessen his attention to the value of copious and appetizing fare. Realizing that the small but recurrent niceties of life have an important bearing on the well-being and contentment of the community, he was discriminating in the choice of even the tea and coffee served at table. Another member of the Loyola community adds these touches to the picture: "Father O'Shaughnessy, for all his kindness, did not shrink from giving admonitions when he felt it necessary, and that, too, without respect of persons. After all, most members of the community were older than he. He did not flinch, though, when he felt it was his duty. However, it was done, straightforwardly, on a man-to-man basis, and so, I would say, nobody's feelings were really hurt. As I recollect it, he got on exceptionally well with the domestic servants, most of whom were colored. I judge this from their

evident willingness to do extra chores and work late hours on special occasions. Under his cheery direction they excelled themselves, knowing the satisfaction Father O'Shaughnessy would take in seeing that things came off without a hitch."

In the summer of 1937 a recurrence of severe and persistent headaches, attended with visual disturbances, necessitated Father O'Shaughnessy's transfer to the convalescent home at Monroe, N. Y. After a few months there, he was assigned to give private retreats at St. Andrew-on-Hudson. Actually he conducted relatively few of them—even short ones—during his first year or two there. He later spoke of this particular time as one of the most embarrassing and disheartening periods of his life. His state of health made it almost impossible for him to do any work, and yet he was aware that outwardly he looked quite well, required little or no medication, and was able to stroll about the grounds without any semblance of illness. For him, as for many another in a similar situation, it was a difficult cross to bear—to realize that the absence of external symptoms laid one open to the suspicion of being a hypochondriac.

However, as his condition improved, Father O'Shaughnessy stepped up the tempo of his activities, especially private retreats at St. Andrew. In this he seemed to have found an occupation peculiarly fitted to his talents. He had a natural eloquence, an extensive vocabulary, an alert mind, a love of people, and a great friendliness of manner. Add to this the fact that during his periods of enforced idleness he had evidently done a great deal of reading in ascetical literature, especially books dealing with the Spiritual Exercises. All the progress of his thought followed the main lines traced out by St. Ignatius. Apparently he did not write out any meditations in full—at least none were found among his effects. Yet each set of points was carefully staked out in advance. He could be seen sitting in his room, the door open, gazing off into space. He was rehearsing mentally what he was to present to the retreatant, then he would jot down a few memoranda. Thus equipped, he was ready to speak out of the abundance of his heart. One of Ours who made a retreat of election under his direction had this to say: "Father seemed to compose his material as he went along, in accordance with the

practical needs of his listener. It was the Exercises, all right, but it had Father's trademark on it. The thoughts he presented to me issued faster than my mind could grasp them at the time, but later when I went over his points in prayer, nearly everything he said came back to me, and I realized the richness of it all. As I think back on those days, two things stand out: first, Father's seemingly boundless enthusiasm for life; and second, his intense appreciation of God's goodness as manifested in created nature all around us. These two concepts underlay and gave drive to all his points. He was also a kind of conjurer in dealing with the spiritual. He could shift you imperceptibly from material things right into the realm of the supernatural, into the world where grace and the God-Man made you see the beauty and possibilities of a higher way of life."

Retreat Master

It is not surprising then that in the course of time Father O'Shaughnessy built up what may be called a regular clientele of exercitants. Priests and laymen, individually or in small groups, would return to him year after year. Two examples may be cited.

One of his most challenging assignments was a group of five prominent laymen. It comprised a federal court judge of the Manhattan district, a member of a leading New York law firm, the head of the legal staff of a metropolitan newspaper, a vice-president of the Westinghouse Company, and the chief counsel of the Radio Corporation of America. These five close friends, beginning in 1953, and annually thereafter, made seven consecutive week-end retreats under Father's guidance. To have sustained the interest, confidence and loyalty of men of that calibre year after year is an accomplishment that speaks for itself.

Perhaps Father O'Shaughnessy's greatest admirer and dearest friend was a professor of physics doing research at a university in the city of Chicago. This gentleman made at least a dozen annual retreats at St. Andrew. Being a man of some means he expressed his gratitude and high regard for Father by being instrumental in founding three \$10,000 burses for the education of Jesuits. His splendid tribute sent

after Father O'Shaughnessy's death deserves to be recorded. He wrote in part: "I had arrived for the first time at St. Andrew in the spring of 1945, and Father Will had come to show me around. Dusk was just falling and the hall lights were not yet on. As we walked down the corridor leading to the retreatant's rooms, Father seemed to peer intently and to be startled by a cassocked figure that came toward us and passed quietly by. Nothing was said, but for some reason I noted the occurrence and remembered. I don't recall when I learned from Father the reason for his show of surprise on that occasion. At any rate, the cassocked figure in question was a Jesuit priest just returned from the Philippines where he had been interned with Father Martin O'Shaughnessy by the Japanese. This was the first opportunity Father Will had for a personal contact with anyone close to his brother during the war years. He would naturally be very anxious for first-hand news. Yet with the perfect courtesy and thoughtfulness that was characteristically his, he hardly broke stride but delayed the outpouring of questions about his brother until later. A small act of kindness perhaps, but also a great one in what it told about this priestly follower of St. Ignatius. When I finally realized its many implications, I think I understood better the privilege it was to know Father O'Shaughnessy and to be welcomed by him in a Jesuit house. Another treasured memory I have of him was his devotion at Holy Mass. I may have been beset by inattention, or by drowsiness, or even by a bit of spiritual dryness at other times during the retreat, but never during Father's Mass. It was as if Our Lord were giving him the grace to ennoble those who were cooperating with him in the Holy Sacrifice. Father Will led me through the Spiritual Exercises many times. Over half of those retreats were for five or six days—Sunday evening to Saturday afternoon. But at each retreat his talks and points seemed full of new life, new ideas, new thoughts to illustrate the age-old truths of the text. Many of his similies he took from St. Andrew's natural beauties, which he loved so well. I never found him repetitious, neither in single talks nor in a given retreat, nor from year to year. A remarkable feature of all his retreats was their perennial freshness."

Retreat work at St. Andrew, however, was only one area of his wide-ranging activities. He was in great demand for tridua, novenas, spiritual conferences, sermons for special occasions, and similar work. And here is the place to note the affectionate esteem in which Father O'Shaughnessy was held by the local clergy. A Poughkeepsie pastor remarked, "It was true Ignatian zeal that made Father identify himself with the spiritual progress of Dutchess County. To him all priests were engaged in the same divine work. That's why he became one with them all, attending their social gatherings, supplying for them in time of need, and ready to preach for them whenever called on. He always seemed grateful to be able to assist a brother priest and he left you with no sense of obligation. But we diocesan priests of the county are very much in debt to him for the monthly day of recollection he organized and conducted for us over the past dozen years. It not only refreshed us spiritually; it also gave us an opportunity to meet one another again and to talk over old times as well as to discuss some of our common problems."

In fairness to Father's memory, some mention should be made of his devoted services to many of the Sisterhoods during his last twenty years of his life. Typical of their appreciation of his work are these recollections supplied by the superioress of a Carmelite convent: "Since 1947 Father came to us for monthly days of recollection, for bi-monthly conferences to our novices, and for the past five or six years, to substitute for our regular chaplain during his absence. His conferences on the ascetical life did much to aid in the formation of fervent novices. No one listening to him could forget his excellent appreciation of a religious vocation, and we know he strengthened many of our young members in hours of doubt and uncertainty.

"Every year he came to the convent for our Forty Hours devotion. This coincided with Thanksgiving. He usually gave a sermon the evening before and brought out how fitting it was to celebrate Thanksgiving and Forty Hours together. On Thanksgiving Day itself he deemed it his privilege to remain in adoration before the Blessed Sacrament during the traditional Thanksgiving dinner so that the whole community could be in the refectory together. In everything he was al-

ways most thoughtful, never making himself a burden in any way. In all the years we knew him we found it difficult to discover his likes and dislikes, except for his favorite cigar!

"We always felt Father was very close to God. Whenever he spent a few weeks with us replacing our regular chaplain, he lived his own Jesuit schedule as perfectly as possible, only deviating from it when Mass or some other function would be later than usual. He edified us greatly by his fidelity to his meditation, his examens, and his morning and night visits to the Blessed Sacrament. Everything was always fine. So we were surprised when he paid us a visit to solicit our prayers before he had some X-rays done at St. Vincent's Hospital in New York."

This last remark has reference to Father O'Shaughnessy's physical condition in the early fall of 1959. Members of the St. Andrew community noticed that he seemed to have lost some of his customary buoyancy and cheeriness. It was a warning that all was not well with him. But he did not speak or complain of his trouble. Most likely he suspected its cause. There was a history of cancer in his family. His older brother, Father Martin, had died of it a few years before. In November the growth was diagnosed as malignant, and this was removed by surgery at St. Vincent's Hospital. After a few weeks of convalescence there, he returned to St. Andrew for Christmas.

By the following March he was again undertaking his customary assignments of retreats, conferences, and days of recollection. But in early June it was apparent that cancer was active elsewhere in his body. He was brought to St. Francis Hospital in Poughkeepsie. There, bravely, cheerfully, and prayerfully, he passed two months of quiet suffering. Death came as our Brother Infirmarian was reciting the rosary with him. It was August 22, 1960, not quite one year in advance of the day he had hoped to see—his golden jubilee as a Jesuit.

Father Francis X. Byrnes

Louis J. Gallagher, S.J.

On the 15th of August 1905, at Saint Andrew-on-Hudson, one of the newly arrived novices from Philadelphia remarked to another newcomer from Boston that this year's Philadelphia quota was lacking one man whom he had expected to see there. "However," he continued, "he certainly will be here next year and when he comes, he will be outstanding here as he has been distinguished at Saint Joseph's College at home. He is probably waiting to finish his college course and get his A.B. degree." In later years, the speaker himself became decidedly distinguished as an eminent preacher on the Mission Band and as a director of priests' retreats. When almost any priest along the east coast mentioned Father Pat other priests in his company knew that he referred to Father John Patrick Gallagher.

On the following August 15th Frank Byrnes did arrive at Saint Andrew's and for more than half a century he was distinguished as an outstanding example of what Saint John Berchmans once asserted to be his greatest penance. When asked for information about Frank Byrnes as a high school and a college student, his contemporary student companions, now living in the Society, were unanimous in stating that his most noticeable characteristic as a young man was exactly what attracted the attention of his Superiors through his long life as a Jesuit, namely, the seemingly simple habit of regular observance.

As a boy in high school, he was a diligent student with a jovial disposition and a good sense of humor. Even in those days, he was a strict observer of rules and regulations, with a quiet and a docile manner, but not to be taken advantage of or pushed around by anyone with a less delicate sense of fair play and mutual respect. As related by one of his high school associates, he was one day engaged in a game when some-

thing occurred that amazed his fellow students but finally resulted in their general benefit. There was a robust individual among them, from the tough end of the town, whose physical strength prompted him to domineer the campus. In this particular game, when a decision was made against him, he immediately gave vent to his anger against the less belligerent Byrnes, who had tagged him out, but he had picked on the wrong man. The game was interrupted by the battle that followed, from which both contestants emerged much the worse for wear and tear and both adorned with evident souvenirs of the mutual flailing. The game continued and Frank's team lost, but from that time on there was no longer a domineering dictator in the yard.

Father Byrnes was born in Philadelphia, October 28, 1886. His father, Peter Byrnes, and his mother, Lucy Butler Byrnes, came to America from Ireland as bride and groom and resided in Old Saint Joseph's Parish, Philadelphia. Francis had five brothers and two sisters. Both of his sisters became Carmelite Nuns. He was the youngest of the family, now all deceased. As a small boy, he received his early education in the parochial school before entering Saint Joseph's High School and making his first contact with the Society.

Buried, but not lost in the high school and college catalogues filed in numerous Jesuit libraries, there are student records showing noticeable traits of leadership, which are a forecast of future prominence, as witness the following, without repetition of the name, taken from the catalogues of Saint Joseph's High School and College of Philadelphia, dating from 1900 to 1906. First year high school, first honors for class standing, Francis X. Byrnes. At midyear he was promoted to second year and at the end of that year, his name was on the honor roll. In third and fourth year high school his name was never omitted from the honor roll. During his freshman year in college he was promoted to the sophomore class after the midyear examinations and at the end of that year he was awarded second honors in class standing. As a junior in college he took second honors for the first half of the year and first honors for the second half, which gave him the class medal. In this same year he was prefect of the sodality, vice-president of the debating society, second lieu-

tenant in the S.A.T.C., played on the college baseball team and also on the championship basketball team. As a senior, besides holding office in the sodality and the debating society, he was master of ceremonies in the Church of the Gesu, was awarded a gold medal for oratory and a second gold medal for distinction in philosophy, and was valedictorian of the graduating class of 1906.

For a student who went through high school and college in six years, this is, to say the least, a brilliant record. Back in 1905, when Father J. P. Gallagher said that Frank Byrnes was an outstanding student in college, he had ample reason for his assertion, and those who knew Father Byrnes in later years, as a Jesuit, will agree with the second part of the prophetic compliment, namely, that he would be distinguished in the Society. During his long career as a Jesuit he was appointed to a succession of positions requiring the ability of getting things done in a timely, quiet and efficient way, a habit he had acquired in his student days. The detailed knowledge he displayed of church services on regular and on special occasions, such as the direction of Holy Week services, was the result of his long experience as head altar boy and master of ceremonies.

Mr. Byrnes was graduated from Saint Joseph's College in 1906 and entered the Society in August of that same year. From the noviceship he went into the juniorate as a rhetorician, and after one year there transferred to Woodstock for three years of philosophy, 1909 to 1912. The years from one's entrance into the Society to the beginning of his teaching period, or regency, are years in which, as Father La Farge has aptly stated it, "The Manner is Ordinary," or as Father Gerald Treacy saw them, the years of "The Long Black Line"; the regular life. This at least is true on the exterior, and its effects on the interior man are first experienced when he reappears to face the many-headed multitude usually represented, on first introduction, by a class of American youth. In those days, the ordinary period of regency lasted for five years. Mr. Byrnes spent the first three years of his teaching career at Georgetown, the fourth at Fordham and the fifth teaching the juniors in poetry class at Saint Andrew-on-Hudson.

Regency

At that time it was not unusual, in fact it was a common status, for a scholastic to spend twenty-four or twenty-five hours a week in the classroom, quite a teaching load which was not made easier by adding prefecting on a corridor, in the yard or in a dining hall. In his first year of regency we find Mr. Byrnes teaching Latin, Greek, English, elocution and catechism, in second and third year high school, and carrying his share of the prefecting. Little wonder that the body scholastic, from New England to Washington, was so happy to get to Keyser Island for the annual villa season. A few weeks of baseball, picnics and minstrel shows was quite a welcome change. All this was before the days of radio and television, when scholastics had to make up their own entertainment, which they did with gusto and in which Mr. Byrnes was nearly always an organizer or a participant. Here, too, he made it evident that he was a good ballplayer and an ardent contender, one who made a difficult play look easy by graceful action and who could look at the umpire and smile, without saying a word, when called out on a third called strike. This acquired habit of self-control, apart from the knowledge of the matter he was treating, contributed no little to his success as a teacher. He was one of those men in whose presence and under whose direction in the classroom, on a corridor or in a study hall, college or high school boys feel no inclination to be anything other than well behaved.

At the close of the period of regency, in 1917, Mr. Byrnes returned to Woodstock for theology, 1917 to 1921. These were war years and days of shortage of food and of fuel, when he was engaged with other theologians in raising carrots for the Belgian hares which still other theologians were raising for the menu. In his first year he had occasion to work with a coal shovel to replenish the Woodstock fuel bins from a cargo of soft coal spilled on the railroad bank near the Woodstock Station, in the wreck of a B. & O. freight train. The derelict cargo was presented to the house for the removal and it took the theologians three days with two wagons to get it up the hill. Early in 1918 the Government began drawing the draft numbers of seminarians and some

of the philosophers were called into Baltimore for physical examinations. In fact there was a rumor about at the time that all seminarians might be drafted as a labor force and sent out to the western states, where there was a shortage of labor, to help the wheat and corn farmers in harvesting their crops. Armistice Day put an end to the tension, and that same day witnessed the greatest spontaneous celebration in the history of that venerable house of studies. It meant the return of peace and the assurance that ordination dates would not be interfered with. Mr. Byrnes took an active part in all the vicissitudes of this uncertain period and was ordained on June 29, 1920 at Georgetown University by James Cardinal Gibbons. This was the last of a long line of Jesuit ordinations performed by the illustrious Cardinal.

Following his fourth year of theology, Father Byrnes went to Saint Joseph's High School in Philadelphia, where he remained as Prefect of Studies until 1923. For the four following years he held the same position at Loyola High School in Baltimore. In December 1927 he was called to New York to be socius to the provincial of the Maryland-New York Province, a position which he held for six years, previous to being named rector of Saint Andrew-on-Hudson. For ten successive years he had held positions in which he had occasion to become familiar with the methods of the Society relative to the training, the education and the placement of Ours. This fact, no doubt, was evident to Superiors when in 1943 he was again appointed socius, this time to the vice-provincial of the Southern Jurisdiction of the Maryland-New York Province, and subsequently he continued as socius to the provincial of the restored Province of Maryland. His long service as socius to the provincial meant many years of routine, minute and timely attention to the regularly occurring series of detailed business connected with the official direction of a province of the Society. The fact that he was selected for this important work by four provincials seems sufficient evidence that he was eminently fitted for the position.

Father Byrnes celebrated his golden jubilee in the Society at Georgetown, on the 28th of October, 1956, the seventieth anniversary of his birthday. His continued good health had

enabled him to lead an active life for that long and busy period. During his last year, when he was fully aware of the fact that he was carrying a fatal ailment, he held to the daily routine of house librarian with his usual constant regularity, said Mass every day and attended all community duties. During that long and exacting trial he gradually lost weight but he never lost his pleasant smile and his genial manner. For several months before his demise he was subject to weak spells and realized that the next minute might be his last, and one day, just before a seizure, he went to the superior's room and asked for Extreme Unction. The weak spell occurred and he received the sacrament, but the next day he was back in the routine of regular order. A few days later, with the next collapse, he was removed to Georgetown Hospital. On his second day as a hospital patient, one of Ours went to pay him a visit, and, as he was leaving, Father Byrnes said in a low whisper, all the voice he had left, "Father, let me have your blessing before we say good-bye." He died two-days later, peacefully and quietly in the Lord, as he had lived, and he was laid to rest in the Georgetown cemetery with the departed members of his own community.

If the unwritten history of the Society could be recovered, and there is much of it, it would be made up for the most part of the accomplishments of that numerous category of Jesuits who worked hard, quietly and faithfully for long years in the schools and parishes and on the missions, but whose lives and labors were never widely heralded. The work of such men is, so to speak, the warp and the woof of the material from which the Society is fashioned. Those who have come into prominence by virtue of special genius in some particular branch of learning, or by appointment to high office in the Society, may be designated as the highly colored figures illuminating the pattern upon which the Society is designed. Categories as such, however, are immaterial, as names have been drawn from all its grades and ranks for the Society's list of the beatified and the canonized. The standards of the Society are upheld and its high reputation maintained by the accumulated efforts of its individual members, whatever be their station, and to this end the life of Father Byrnes was a notable contribution.

Books of Interest to Ours

FOR SERIOUS MEDITATORS

Spiritual Direction and Meditation. By Thomas Merton. Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1960. Pp. 99.

No one interested in living a spiritual life within the liturgical life of the Church can be neutral toward Thomas Merton. Either you agree with his approach to prayer and sacrifice or you reject his ideas as too unrealistic. In either case, the challenge that he presents must receive a response. One of the main themes in Merton's approach to the spiritual life is the notion that no man is an island. He has treated this idea extensively in his *Seeds of Contemplation* and *No Man Is an Island*.

Spiritual Direction and Meditation is an extension of two key concepts in his earlier works. If a man wishes to be united with God, he must pray and in particular he must meditate. But in his prayer life man must have some guide to lead him through the labyrinthine ways of mental prayer. This booklet originally appeared in *Sponsa Regis* in article form. Merton has expanded the articles and added many new thoughts to the original magazine essays. The first part is addressed to the Christian, especially the religious, who seeks a director or who has one, and who desires to take full advantage of his opportunities. It is also intended for directors who may be "too shy to regard themselves as true directors." He urges such priests to rely on the grace of God and offer to the honest seeker the helps that will lead men to union with God through prayer. Merton believes that much of the difficulty with spiritual direction is due to the emphasis on the director alone, completely forgetting that the only true director that can help us in our groping efforts to find God is the Holy Spirit, the true director in the fullest sense of the word. Spiritual direction should help us to be ourselves in our approach to God. God gave each man a unique personality and through this personality, with the grace of the Almighty, man will work out his eternal salvation. The true director should work on this existential approach and keep the souls entrusted to his care in vital contact with the life of the Church and in contact with the life of their vocation, instead of allowing them to lose themselves in a maze of abstract devotional fictions.

In the second part, *Meditation*, the emphasis is placed on the obvious yet often overlooked reality of the prayer-life of a religious person: one learns to meditate by meditating. In the beginning of one's prayer life there is a necessary emphasis placed on various methods of prayer and the use of books is stressed to help the tyro become familiar with the approach to mental prayer. Still there is too often the danger that the man of prayer becomes a slave to books and methods and forgets the real function of meditation, "to enable us to realize and to actualize in our own experience the fundamental truths of the faith." I would

put it more simply; the purpose of mental prayer is to draw near to God and to imbue His spirit so deeply that "now not I, but Christ lives in me."

Again and again Merton urges the man of prayer to link the great truths of Christ and His Church to the present reality and to see how they apply today and how they can transform men of the world into men of the spirit. Realism is necessary in the spiritual life. If you have meditated on the Passion of Christ and have neglected a meditation on the concentration camps of Dachau and Auschwitz because you believe them to be mere distraction, then you have dissociated yourself from the reality of the Passion renewed in our time. These terrible apocalyptic truths must be considered or your meditations lose the touch with present reality that Christ intended them to have.

The pages in this book are not meant to be exhaustive. They simply touch on a few points that will lead a man to a prayer life. The book is not intended for men who do not want to meditate. It is for those who are already interested, and who would like to meditate every day and who are looking for the touch of the finger of God.

DAVID J. AMBUSKE, S.J.

DOGMA AND PREACHING

All Lost in Wonder. By *Walter J. Burghardt, S.J.* Westminster: The Newman Press, 1960. Pp. 220. \$3.50.

It is not the ordinary experience of a reader to find within the little more than 200 pages of a book discourses which are at once so thoughtful, penetrating, and so deeply moving as are found in Father Burghardt's *All Lost in Wonder*. The sermons on the mystery of Love which is the Holy Trinity, God's image on earth which is man, the kingship which is Christ's are outstanding, but reading what is perhaps the finest chapter in the book, "Three Levels of Love," is an experience worth relating. This particular sermon, a most thoughtful insight into St. Ignatius' three degrees of humility, builds and develops by explanation and example so forcefully that one is tempted as he approaches the third level of love to close the book with his finger on the page and say, "Just how far can you go? Love's demands seem almost exhausted by the first two levels." Then you open the book and read the third level or folly of love. This is truly a moving experience.

The talks on the Fatherhood of God, Our Lady, Sacrifice, Heaven and Hell, and so many more touch upon fundamental values and truths, and for this reason will have meaning in the everyday lives of Christians.

The structure of the book, whether by chance or by design, will surely attract the retreatant (also the retreat director). The outline of St. Ignatius' spiritual exercises is clearly discernible and can easily be filled out by the chapters on God and Creation, Sin and Death, the Eschatological Sermons, the Incarnation, Kingship, Passion, Death, and Resurrection of Christ. These same talks are admirably suited to thoughtful reading for group retreats.

For the preacher, the sound theological structure of the sermons

themselves gives a sturdy foundation upon which can be built a variety of talks which can be adapted to the individual needs and particular circumstances of priest and congregation.

As for the style, the most complimentary thing you can say about any author's style is that clarity shines through the rhythm, color, and vigor of his expression. At no point in the reading of these sermons does the reader find himself trying to guess what Father Burghardt is saying. The reader is frankly told what the sermon is about and how it will be developed. For example, in presenting the Christian case for hell, Father Burghardt begins, "I shall tell you first, *that* hell is; second, *what* hell is; and third, *why* hell is."

The problematic presentation of truth is another aspect of Father Burghardt's style that makes for absorbing interest. How does one explain the paradox of Christmas: the message of peace on earth sung by the angels, and Christ's own words, "I have come to bring a *sword*, not peace." Or how does one imitate the Mother of God when the gifts most characteristic of Our Lady, her Immaculate Conception, her Virginal Motherhood, and her Assumption are inimitable?

But what is distinctive of the author's style is his succinct, economical expression. This has the effect not only of making the thoughts live, but also of inducing the reader to give further thought and development to the subjects.

In conclusion, this book makes a distinctive contribution to spiritual writing, for it presents important theological truths so attractively that they cannot help but have meaning and influence in the lives of the readers.

J. FRANCIS STROUD, S.J.

CONTEMPORARY PREACHING

The Sunday Gospels. By *Richard T. A. Murphy, O.P.* Milwaukee: Bruce, 1960. Pp. 266. \$5.00.

Father Murphy, who is professor of New Testament at St. Rose Priory in Dubuque, has written a simple but knowledgeable exposition of the meaning of the gospel texts read each Sunday at Mass. Since many companions to the Gospel and many sermon outlines have already been written, one might ask, "Why another one?" The answer lies in the nature of the world to which we preach. Although the gospels themselves do not change, we need a fresh explanation to keep pace with our rapidly changing form of civilization.

Of late there has been a resurgence of scholarly research into and reappraisal of Sacred Scripture. Form criticism, archaeological discoveries, and fresh attempts at exegesis urge the preacher to take a new approach. At the same time, the appearance on the American scene of a more educated and ever more intelligent Catholic laity militates against the "traditional" sermon when it takes the form of dull, repetitious platitudes expounded at interminable length. The average listener does not expect oratory, but he does expect and he does deserve a clear, practical, and interesting instruction on the teaching of the Sunday Gospel. Here, in the main, he finds his guide to life and the practical tenets of the sanctity he seeks to achieve.

With the above in mind, Father Murphy's exposition of each gospel is divided into two parts: an exegetical glance at the text itself and then a few homiletic hints toward the application of the gospel's lesson(s). While the exegesis is of more immediate value to the preacher, it is often not without interest to the educated lay reader. (In fact, this might be the answer to the self-righteous lay person who complains he gets nothing out of the gospel or the average Sunday sermon!) The hints for application are diverse, suggestive, and brief. Thus they indicate a line of development without stifling the personal initiative which is essential to a good sermon.

The author is to be congratulated for his use of historical background coupled with a judicious explanation of the varying degrees of certainty that inevitably confront the reader who attempts to square sacred history with profane. There are three illustrations of Palestine and Jerusalem and a very brief index. One wonders at the omission of an index to scripture. In a book that professes to exegete scripture and makes such frequent reference and cross-reference (thirteen on one page alone), a scriptural index would be a great aid to the reader.

JAMES A. O'DONNELL, S.J.

A WARM, HUMAN DOCUMENT

Monsignor Ronald Knox. *By Evelyn Waugh.* Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1959. Pp. 358. \$5.00.

It is fitting that Ronald Knox, one of the modern masters of English style, should have as his official biographer another such master. Knox was pleased when Waugh, during what both knew was the last year of his life, asked permission to attempt the portrait after his death; he knew Waugh's book would not be mawkish or effusive, that it would sparkle brilliantly in style and conception, and above all that it would be ruthlessly honest. Monsignor Knox will no doubt have been very satisfied with the result.

The fact that Waugh knew Monsignor Knox "primarily as a man of letters rather than as a priest" (as he points out in his Preface) does not imply that the result is a one-sided, literary-slanted biography. Waugh's focus is the man himself, the complex individual who was both literary man and priest, both man of the world and deeply religious soul. There were many sources at his disposal: all of Knox's own writings, published and unpublished; many letters to him and from him; the personal recollections of many who knew Knox intimately during his life. Waugh has used his sources well, and the result is an incisive, balanced, and highly readable portrait.

Waugh set his sights high, it must be admitted. He wanted to add an important further dimension to the impression left by obituaries and appreciations written at the time of Knox's death in 1957, the impression of Knox as the "brilliantly precocious youth," the "wit and scholar," the "cherished and privileged survivor of a golden age." The dimension Waugh adds is the story of the tribulations of Monsignor Knox: the anguish preceding his conversion; the suffering of the soul

that is sensitive, because of its own innate kindness, to personal affront or ingratitude; the stern discipline of the mature artist confined for long years to the classroom. As Waugh insists, "genius and sanctity do not thrive except by suffering. If I have made too much of Ronald's tribulations, it is because he hid them, and they must be known to anyone who seeks to appraise his achievement."

But these pages are by no means sombre ones. If Knox's sanctity shines out clearly (as indeed it does), so do his frequent gaiety and wit, his gentleness and quiet charm. Waugh's book, like Ronald Knox himself, is marked with the essential joy of life in Christ.

J. ROBERT BARTH, S.J.

SELECTIONS FROM HIS JOURNAL

The Diary of Soren Kierkegaard. Translated from the Danish by Gerda M. Anderson; edited by Peter P. Rohde. New York: Philosophical Library, 1960. Pp. 255. \$4.75.

In addition to his published works of some five thousand pages, Kierkegaard's writings include his daily journals, almost twice as voluminous. Editor Rohde suggests in his preface that a sampling of these daily reflections, observations, and outbursts furnishes a manageable introduction to the spirit of this complex figure. Students should find such reading an easy way to achieve the correct mood in which to approach other, more systematic works.

In this inexpensive edition, some one hundred and fifty pages of the eight to ten thousand pages of the journals have been selected and organized into a unity. Occasionally the chronology is broken; later pieces are inserted to throw light on a particular event. The main outline is based on the pivotal events in Kierkegaard's life: his ambivalent relationships with father and brother; the influence of Paul Moller; his engagement and mysterious renouncement of Regina Olsen; his controversy with the *Corsair* and the churchmen.

The journals have the advantage of a directness and candor that the introspective Dane never achieves in more formal publications. However, since they are of their nature fragmentary, the significance of many details would be lost without a wider background. In an attempt to remedy this difficulty, the editor adds rather lengthy notes, many of which are quite successful in sketching clearly, if briefly, some of the biographical (e.g. the history of K's father) or intellectual (e.g. the significance of K's reaction against Hegel) contexts needed to understand individual fragments.

It may be true that the daily journal is a more reliable expression of Kierkegaard's mind than more formal works. Attempts at systematization probably distort somewhat his primitive reaction. The usual themes are well represented even in this brief anthology: the role of quiet despair, the necessity of being an individual, complete distrust of classical philosophy and physical science, the attack on the established church, the great mission of being a Christian within—almost in spite of—Christendom. The selection is well made and should lead

readers to desire a greater familiarity with this towering, tortured soul who casts so long a shadow over much of the religious experience, philosophical thought, and creative imagination of our century.

A brief bibliography of Danish works on Kierkegaard is appended. One wishes that the American editor or translator had substituted for this a selection of some of the excellent English works on Kierkegaard which would be more practical for the American undergraduate for whom the book is ostensibly intended.

JOSEPH A. O'HARE, S.J.

EVOLUTION AGAIN

Darwin's Vision and Christian Perspectives. Edited by Walter J. Ong, S.J. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960. Pp. viii-154. \$4.00.

As a result of the recent Darwin Centennial and the interest in such books as Father Teilhard de Chardin's *Phenomenon of Man*, Father Ong has edited a timely book on the impact of Darwinian thought on various disciplines related to Christian thought. These papers appeared in *Thought*, and are by men who are representative of their fields: Biology, Alexander J. Wolsky; Philosophy, James Collins; Theology, Robert W. Gleason, S.J.; History, Vincent C. Hopkins, S.J.; and the History of Ideas, Walter Ong, S.J. The essays are introduced by Father Ong and the Foreword is by John J. Wright, D.D., Bishop of Pittsburgh.

Each article makes a very brief and general attempt to assess the value of Darwinian and neo-Darwinian thought, and perhaps the most extensive and most satisfying is Professor Collins' "Darwin's Impact on Philosophy." He reviews the general history of the evolutionary philosophies, Spencer's system and the works and criticisms of Pierce, Royce, Bergson, and the more recent theories of Huxley and Teilhard.

Professor Wolsky, in the first article of the book, very ably outlines the basic theories from the standpoint of biology. Father Gleason, S.J., following Professor Collins, gives a short note on what we can and cannot—or perhaps ought not—think about human evolution in the light of papal pronouncements and dogma. Father Hopkins, S.J., then gives an interesting account of the impact of social Darwinism and Darwinian thought in general on the economic and racial problems of the United States. The "survival of the fittest" theory is shown as a definite factor in the "philosophy" of the Robber Barons and Great Moguls.

Father Ong's introduction and concluding article give us a very general and perhaps too sweeping idea of the value of evolutionary thought and Christian ideas. He seems to presume, as Teilhard and others do, that evolution is automatically progressive, and that there is even some sort of "moral progress" connected especially with man's own evolution. Professor Collins presents the same problem, but shows the criticism of such men as Dobzhansky who do not accept the parallelism between biological and moral perfection. The linear view of history seems to be accepted without question, and the danger here seems to be in the relating of evolution towards perfection in the species with evolution towards the gradual perfection of man's spirit, all of which ignores the "cyclic" problems of the history of moral progress.

The general feeling after reading the book was that the biologists and the philosophers close to the biologists do not share the somewhat naive enthusiasm of the mystics and historians of ideas. The very bloody, "blind alley," and frustrating view of evolution is a real view, and perhaps just as Christian and human as the "ladder to the stars" view. A good healthy criticism of such enthusiasm (together with the enthusiasm, for we do need such a vision) might have been included in the sections dealing with the Christian vision as such.

JOSEPH D. CIPARICK, S.J.

PSYCHOLOGY AND THE CHRISTIAN TRADITION

Emotion and Personality. By Magda B. Arnold. New York: Columbia University Press, 1960. 2 volumes. \$7.50 each.

It is a rare experience for a reviewer to have the opportunity of reviewing a book that he himself would have dreamed of writing. I confess that Dr. Arnold has written my book, and she has done it as well or better than I ever dreamed of doing. Psychologists are painfully aware that the theory of emotions has been in a very tangled state of affairs. It is all the more remarkable that Dr. Arnold has been able to produce an organic and coherent account of human emotions.

The first volume analyses the concept of emotion and discusses some of the basic failings of psychology in dealing with this notion. The major historical theories of emotion are then critically evaluated and rejected for one reason or another. Having cleared the ground a bit, Dr. Arnold undertakes a delicate phenomenological analysis of emotional experience and on this basis erects a psychological theory of emotion. Thomists will be quite pleasantly surprised to find that the analysis of emotion and the classification of emotions has a striking parallelism to the Thomistic theory of sense appetites.

The second volume is of divided interest. Lengthy sections are devoted to the identification of brain mechanisms which mediate the expression of emotion and its translation into action. The analysis is carried out in detailed and specific terms. The brain circuits involved in various emotions are indicated, and their respective physiological consequences are discussed. Psychologists and neurophysiologists will recognize this reconstruction as a major contribution. It incorporates a vast amount of neurological, physiological, and experimental data; points in the system which are poorly supported by evidence or which have not as yet been investigated can be put to the empirical test. The significant thing is that an organic and coherent account has been presented. This section is perhaps the most important in the work, but its interest will be limited to specialists.

The last section on the role of emotion in personality is of more general interest. Dr. Arnold takes up the relations of her theory to higher levels of human conduct—the self-ideal, conscience, guilt, suffering, love, religion, and the life of Christian perfection. Anyone who is interested in the understanding of that which is most noble and ennobling in human nature will read these chapters with great profit.

Psychology, as a science, has been hampered by inadequate suppositions—by an inadequate view of human nature, its functions, its destiny. Consequently, while the science of psychology has not been negligent in the collection of evidence about human behavior, it has found itself floundering in its attempts to understand the meaning of what it has discovered. Dr. Arnold approaches this particular area of psychological thought with the conviction that that conception of human nature which best penetrates the meaning of man is derived from the Christian tradition. With this conception of what man is and what man does, she reanalyses the psychological evidence and arrives at a coherent theory. In so doing, she provides a theory of the *whole* human personality. Consequently, the significance of her work is not only scientific—it constitutes a significant progression of man's understanding of man.

W. W. MEISSNER, S.J.

A QUESTION OF RELEVANCE

What is Philosophy? *By Dietrich von Hildebrand.* Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1960. Pp. 242. \$4.25.

Discussions on the purpose and methodology of any discipline are most meaningful when they are the reflection of long experience. Hence anyone interested in philosophical inquiry and its position in contemporary culture must listen with respectful attention when Dietrich von Hildebrand looks back on a long and distinguished career and speaks of the peculiar method of philosophy, its relationships to other types of knowing and to other elements in our culture.

Von Hildebrand, in an introduction which is admittedly "militant" in tone, finds the life of philosophy to have withered almost to the point of vanishing from the contemporary academic scene. Insight into absolute essences, which he takes to be the task of the philosopher, is smiled on in most quarters as a curiosity from a more naive past. Even those who call themselves philosophers accept the basic assumptions of scientism, that all knowledge is through "blunt observation" and induction; all truths must be open to a univocal method of verification. In an effort to rehabilitate philosophy, von Hildebrand considers the nature of human knowing in general and the preoccupations or themes of various types of knowing; he attempts to specify precisely what kind of knowing is proper to philosophy.

Philosophical inquiry is distinct from prescientific knowledge, whether this be naive or theoretical. The chief characteristic of philosophical knowledge is that it is *a priori*, that is, it is "absolutely certain knowledge of highly intelligible and essentially necessary facts." Hence it is radically different from empirical knowledge and this difference is to be found in the proper object of philosophy: intelligible necessary unities. The unity of meaning open to empirical knowledge can only be contingent or morphic. On the other hand, necessary essential unities are "intuitively revealed." The object of philosophical knowledge enjoys complete and absolute autonomy. The aim of philosophy is "enlightened penetration of the object from within, which is possible only in

the case of contents whose luminously intelligible essences can be seen intuitively."

Von Hildebrand takes pains to describe himself as early Husserl. He understands phenomenology to be a most radical refutation of psychologism and all other relativisms. It is an intuitive analysis of highly intelligible essences, emphasizes immediate contact with the object, and is grounded on the all important distinction between morphic unities and genuine essences. Readers who prefer the Thomistic emphasis on sensible experience as an essential condition of metaphysical judgments may feel less secure than von Hildebrand about the existence of an absolutely certain grasp of essences by intuition. Similarly, while von Hildebrand claims that vital contact with existential reality is characteristic of his phenomenology, the insistence that philosophy is concerned almost completely with apriori knowledge (and the admission that existence cannot be known apriori) makes this claim somewhat ambiguous.

In any case, even those not willing to accept von Hildebrand's version of phenomenology will find his position strongly argued and carefully developed. Those interested in the continual search for and expression of philosophy's self-identity will find the remarks on notional and contemplative knowledge stimulating, as is also the description of the depth dimension of philosophy in contrast with pragmatic inquiry.

JOSEPH A. O'HARE, S.J.

FAITH AND REASON

Christian Philosophy and Intellectual Freedom. By Anton C. Pegis. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1960. Pp. 89. \$2.75.

This is the published version of the 1955 Gabriel Richard lecture given by Dr. Pegis at St. Louis University under the sponsorship of the NCEA. Within the wider context of contemporary Catholic education, Pegis follows rather closely the now familiar lines traced by Gilson through thirty-odd years of discussion on the meaning of a Christian philosophy. Pegis concludes that an acceptance and fulfillment of the distinct role of Christian philosophy would bring new vitality to Catholic education in general.

An unfinished debate provides the point of departure. Robert Hutchins' demand for renewed emphasis on the development of properly intellectual virtues and a closer approximation to the intellectual unity achieved by the medieval university struck at everything that John Dewey had brought to the American educational scene. Hutchins, Dewey charged, would return to the world of fixed, immutable truths and make the university once more remote and isolated from the real problems of men. Ironically, Pegis notes, today Dewey's heroes have joined forces with his foes; the scientists have combined with the intellectualists to mount an attack on the lack of strictly intellectual formation in American schools.

Dewey's assumption in this, as in all other arguments, touches the neuralgic point in the argument on a Christian philosophy. Can an

acceptance of absolute truths on the basis of God's revelation permit a man to commit himself totally to the free inquiry of philosophy. Dewey never doubted that accepting absolutes meant accepting authoritarianism. Modern scholastics have long squirmed uneasily on this point. Some have attempted to relate philosophy and theology by a sort of mutual non-aggression pact. They have attempted to disengage the philosophy of St. Thomas from its theological setting. In doing this they have yielded to a Cartesian separation of faith and reason and, says Gilson and Pegis with him, sterility has been the result.

Gilson's historical studies have led him to conclude that to the degree scholastic philosophy is separated from its theological setting, it is impoverished into mere technique and becomes identified with an Aristotelianism, seen through the eyes of Averroes or Avicenna. Actually the philosophy of St. Thomas was a philosophy continually in the service of the revealed Word of God. The Christian philosopher cannot pretend he is a naturalist or rationalist; he lives in a world of mystery, the world of faith.

Far from destroying philosophy, however, the light of revelation enables it to become more fully itself. The reason for this is the very constitution of human reason; it is not the closed natural reason of Cartesianism but an open intellectualism whose advance towards truth is nothing more and nothing less than advance towards God. The more the intellect is true to itself, the nearer it is to the world of Christian revelation.

This was the significant contribution of the *Summa Contra Gentiles*: far from replacing philosophy, Christian revelation enabled philosophy to become itself with greater fullness and sureness. And this, Pegis concludes, is the relevance of the Christian philosopher to contemporary education: to prove "by a genuine intellectual creativeness, that their pilgrimage to the heavenly Jerusalem includes the building of a human Athens on earth."

JOSEPH A. O'HARE, S.J.

A NEW APPROACH TO ETHICS

Man and Morals. By D. J. B. Hawkins. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1960. Pp. vii-104. \$3.00.

Father Hawkins, an Englishman well respected in American Catholic intellectual circles, augments his reputation with this systematic survey of general ethics. He aims to offer a first degree of intelligibility for the whole field, and the attempt is refreshingly successful. His point of departure is man as a thinking, and so a moral being capable of a future beyond death, however shrouded in mystery such a vista may be. In terms of this, the nature of moral experience and the free will it presupposes are carefully examined. Moral obligation, a distinctive type of acknowledgement incapable of being analyzed into non-ethical terms leads to the primary conceptions of good and evil. These in turn are seen to be correlative to the notion of substance and the positive fulfillment of its potentialities. From such an understanding of morality as a fundamental law of thinking being arises the concept of natural

law of which positive law is one aspect in the social life of man. In particular, the sanctions of positive law are shown to be rooted in morality, as are the institutions of family and property.

Fundamental rules of human conduct as those of double effect and probabalism receive close scrutiny. Though specific questions in ethics are not treated, Father Hawkins considers the problem of private property so relevant to the rightful freedom of the individual as to deserve explicit study. Here, as elsewhere, key positions in Western ethical thought are succinctly presented for criticism: Plato, Aquinas, Hobbes, and Locke are judged in turn.

The argumentation of the book is purely rational since the author feels that it would be unfair to secular moralists to treat ethics as though it made no sense without religious considerations. Indeed, such procedure rightly indicates that the Church can say much that is relevant for the uncounted men without faith in God and his Word, and that there is a common bond of witness to God uniting believers and unbelievers.

Yet ethics is not thereby reduced to a closed science, for Father Hawkins is convinced that ethical morality, often obscure and incomplete, leads to religion as its transcendent fulfillment. In the final chapter he suggests that morality attains its proper transcendence when law is viewed as a relationship of love between creature and Creator.

In short, Father Hawkins' work with its many stimulating insights delightfully free of scholastic textbook jargon makes a welcome addition to the literature. It is attractively printed, but, unfortunately, there is no index.

FREDERICK A. HOMANN, S.J.

AUGUSTINE TODAY

Saint Augustine on Personality. By Paul Henry, S.J. New York: Macmillan Co., 1960. Pp. viii-44. \$2.25.

In this printing of the 1959 Villanova Augustine Lecture, Father Henry explores the Augustinian concept of the human person under a fourfold heading. (I) He first points out a vacuum in Greek thought concerning man as a person which, even in Aristotle's concept of man possessing intellect and will is only dimly perceived. This vacuum also extended to a theological conception of history and the concept of creation, whereas in Augustine there is a close unity of these ideas of creativity, historicity, and personality, which form the framework of his thinking. (II) Still, as Father points out, this concept of person in Augustine owes its genesis more to Aristotle than to neo-Platonic thought. Augustine's independent and creative mind took the Aristotelian category of relation and transformed it by the idea of subsistent relation.

(III) Augustine's notion of person developed largely from a theology of the Trinity. With *fides quaerens intellectum* we see his new approach to theology, as illustrated in the *Confessions*—an existential approach to God from within. No longer is the cosmos the prime analogue for knowing God; now it is man, the human person. He

fully expands on the Genesis text describing man as the image of God; and he finds this strongly reinforced by the Incarnation, God taking upon Himself human nature. Augustine, working from this notion of man as *imago Dei*, the prime analogate of our knowledge of God, and the transformed Aristotelian category of subsistent relation, shows the Persons in the Trinity as a) each a Reality existing *in se*, An Absolute and b) also a Relation *ad alium*, essentially directed toward another. Thus he reaches a full theology of the person to which all Western thought looks.

(IV) Finally Father Henry points out that this idea has been the tradition of Catholicism, both East and West, and in his thought we meet modern problems of the person.

Although Father has carefully followed his fourfold outline, his thought is too rich to remain so confined, and the value of this book is mainly in the pathways of thought it suggests. For example: to see the *Confessions* as an inner theological dialogue dealing existentially with most of the problems of man before God; to see in St. Augustine's use of the images for the Trinity a freedom necessary for the ecumenical movement; to see in his distinction of the absolute and relational in every man the basis for a metaphysics of community. This last point is stressed for it emphasizes that man is not acting in the intellectual, political, and cultural spheres as isolated, as an absolute, but as a relation, "open to others." He points to this idea of personality and subsistent relation as the metaphysical basis of the I-Thou emphasis of dialogue philosophy, and as a necessary practical emphasis in today's world. And this new stress on man's personality will only have meaning within the context of creation, or—concretely, I-Thou relationships will only be meaningful in relationship to God as well.

Despite its size, this book deserves a place alongside so many of the other works on Augustinian scholarship appearing this year, works like Guardini's, Gilson's famous *Introduction*, and Portalie's study, especially as a starting point for further research.

GERARD F. WALDORF, S.J.

SOME RECENT PAMPHLETS

What You Should Know about The Ecumenical Council. *By James J. McQuade, S.J.* St. Louis: The Queen's Work, 1960. Pp. 24.

This small but informative pamphlet explains, by question and answer format, the nature of an ecumenical council in general and of The Second Ecumenical Council of the Vatican, in particular. A handy list of the previous twenty ecumenical councils of the Church is also supplied.

According to The Catholic Encyclopedia: "An ecumenical council is a legally convened meeting, of members of the worldwide hierarchy, for the purpose of carrying out their judicial, doctrinal and legislative functions, by means of deliberation in common, resulting in regulations and decrees invested with the authority of the whole assembly." By further queries and replies certain aspects of this technical definition are discussed. It is the Holy Father who convokes an ecumenical council and

he, or his representative, presides over it. The Pope, furthermore, prescribes the matter to be treated, and determines the order in which the subjects are to be considered. Finally, the decrees of the council must be ratified by the Supreme Pontiff before they become binding; and laws passed by an ecumenical council must be promulgated by him.

The final question of the "Discussion Topics" is interesting: The Council of Trent dealt with Protestantism, the Council of Ephesus with Nestorianism and Pelagianism. "Do you think this coming council will be said to be 'against' some 'ism'? . . . How would you characterize the most general false doctrine in the world today? . . .?" I think we can all afford to think this last one over.

HAROLD F. X. O'DONNELL, S.J.

Science and the Catholic Tradition. *By Reverend Ernan McMullin.*
New York: The American Press, 1960. Pp. 20. \$15.

This very excellent pamphlet is an honest and brief discussion of the relations between science and the Church; there is an attempt to find the reasons for the quarrels of the past and indications of norms for the future.

In their encounters with science, Christian theologians have run to both extremes. After many centuries of enthusiasm for science, with Galileo the Catholic Church declared war on science, thinking that such ideas would undermine all religion; the national church in England began by greeting the new physics with open arms, seeing in it the means to discover the hand of God in every object. But soon it found itself moving into a natural religion and eventually into no religion, as the scientists began to say openly that they had no need for the hypothesis of God. So the Anglican Church turned to denounce the new theories. The effects of these early conflicts are still with us.

To approach a solution to the problem of science and theology we must note what each means by the word "explanation." Each is complete in itself, but to complement not to divide. A true understanding of science will deepen our theological appreciation of the grandeur and nobility of God's plan for man and the universe. The commitment to truth involves a commitment to love; the discovery of truth leads to humility.

F. GREENE, S.J.

BIRTH OF A PERIODICAL

The Way. A Quarterly Review of Christian Spirituality. *Edited by James Walsh, S.J., William Yeomans, S.J., Philip Caraman, S.J.*
Volume I, Number 1. January 1961. 31 Farm Street, London, W. 1. \$5.00.

In reviewing this first issue of THE WAY we may quote the editors as expressing the hope that THE WAY will be of service to the increasing number of those who are called to the Contemplative Life, yet expecting that the majority of its readers will be engaged in the active apostolate. "The Church trains her apostles," the editorial observes, "by making Contemplatives of them through her liturgy and *lectio divina*."

They are to hand on to others the fruits of their own participation in the riches of Christ."

It would be a pity if an unwary reader were led into thinking that this Quarterly Review of Christian Spirituality is restricted to apostolic workers who are in the ecclesiastical state or members of religious orders. Its appeal seems to be much broader than that and to include the entire Church membership, since in these modern times there are whole spheres of apostolic activity opening up to the laity to which the priest or religious has very restricted access.

The table of contents presents us with an offering that is almost architectural in its firmness and unity. The first section, which is historical, is introduced by Father D'Arcy whose survey of Modern Spirituality is ecumenical in character, showing how the different movements of spirituality have at the present time culminated in the wide attention given to the Church's teaching on the Mystical Body, the Mass, and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit.

It is followed by three other papers, surveying the Acceptable Time: for Great Britain by Father Crane; for the United States by Father Abbott; for Australia by Father Gleeson. The first two of these papers deal with conditions in general, and the third is restricted to the situation in university circles.

This first section is followed by a second which treats of various aspects of the spiritual life itself, considered especially in its essence, but all orientated towards the Resurrection. There are four articles, all of which are concerned with some aspect of the Resurrection-prepared-for. Father McKenzie leads the reader into the desert, not as a place for contemplation, but as a place for testing. The desert is essentially a threat, and the threat is death. If the threat is met manfully and overcome, the reward will be life.

Father Walsh's article on Spiritual Stamina proposes the cure for the *acedia* or sloth which in the form of discouragement or weariness seems to overtake so vast a number of Christians on the road to perfection. It is "the effective power of the Divine life within us which enables us to endure joyfully. To have it means an awareness in our daily lives of our living union with Christ."

One of the perennial means of maintaining this union is penance, which receives a seasonal emphasis in Father Yeomans' article on Lenten Penance, and which is shown to be in the Church's practice and in her liturgy, the way to Christ, "the way to the glory of the Resurrection (which) cannot be inspired by any ethical consideration of self-control. . . . Christian penance finds its inspiration in the longing to see the glory of God made known to men and the consequent detestation of the disorder of sin which obscures the vision of the love of God."

The whole of these preceding parts is summed up by Father O'Sullivan in the seven meditations gathered under the title: From Death to Life. These are short but vivid reflections on the gospels of the First Sunday of Lent and of the ferias of the first week of Lent. They constitute the liturgical contribution to the general theme of the whole

first issue of *THE WAY*, and carry through the general thought that "the Paschal mystery is a mystery of death and life, of Passion and Resurrection. . . . It is Christ's transfigured body, once physically, now sacramentally, broken for us that the gospel prepares us to receive."

A novel feature is Scripture Reading, which the Editors intend to be a help towards the prayerful reading of the Bible. The general subject for this number is *The Poor of God*, an idea which is first elucidated and then illustrated by showing Christ's attitude to poverty, after having first illustrated the idea from the Old Testament. Numerous references to both Old and New Testament passages are given.

Three pages are devoted to *TEXTS*, selected from Gregory of Palamas, St. Ignatius Loyola, St. Bernard, and the Venerable Bede. Two pages are given to a meditation on our Lord's fast and temptation in the desert.

An unexpected and welcome feature is the *Spiritual Vocabulary*, "the primary purpose of which is to provide not etymological or abstract definitions, but a help towards a deeper appreciation of the richness of meaning hidden in a terminology which often seems hackneyed and old-fashioned." And we may add, vague and obscure.

Recommended Reading "is intended as a library service for spiritual literature. It aims at giving no more than a brief exposé of the content and a short appreciation of the value of books brought to the notice of the Editors." That the department is true to its principles is plain from the judgment it passes on two works, the titles of which we withhold: "We would not recommend them to anyone." Surely, this is brief, to the point, and even a bit ironical, appearing, as it does, under the caption, "Recommended Reading."

It is to be hoped that this Review will be given a hearty and generous welcome. It will be evident even to a cursory reader that a great deal of thought has gone into the production of this first number. There is an air of solid competence to all the articles which does not always make for easy or entertaining reading. But it is always rewarding. *Intendat, prospere procedat et regnet.*

WILLIAM J. YOUNG, S.J.

EXAMINATION OF AN EXAMINATION

The School Examined: Its Aim and Content. By Vincent Edward Smith. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1960. Pp. xiii-300. \$5.75.

Vincent E. Smith, editor of *The New Scholasticism* and a member of the philosophy faculty at St. John's University, New York, is well known in American Catholic philosophical circles, and this book has been favorably reviewed in a number of Catholic journals. To register a negative opinion against it is, therefore, a delicate business and one is grateful for the limited circulation of *The Woodstock Letters* since many people are embittered if not scandalized at clerical criticism of the work of laymen in the Catholic academic world. So far as I can see, however, Dr. Smith's book is seriously unsatisfactory because it is excessively *a prioristic* in its attempt to settle complex school questions by deduc-

tions from a few Aristotelian concepts and principles which are inadequate for the task and often enough were not derived in the first place from realities akin to those with which modern education must frequently deal. This book could, in fact, confirm the basic prejudice entertained against Aristotelian-Thomistic philosophy by intelligent people outside the scholastic milieu. For despite Dr. Smith's explicit acknowledgement of the importance of experimental contact with the real world, most of his book seems spun from Aristotelian definitions and to be authoritarian and rationalistic in the worst sense of those terms.

The whole case is symbolized by a single sentence in which the debate about methods of teaching reading is resolved, not by invoking some sound empirical test, but by remarking: "In the very nature of things, learning to read should be phonetic." Elsewhere Dr. Smith's rigid formulae lead him to observe that "a teacher is primarily a logician"; that literature is defined by "two Aristotelian principles . . . rooted in man's nature as a rational, that is, discursive creature, and as an artist"; that painting and sculpture are, by another "principle based on the nature of man" subservient to architecture because their purpose is to decorate; that philosophy is best read in a dead language since this "tends to keep the emotions on the side lines"; that modern mathematicians are mistaken about the concept of their own discipline; that the use of an evolutionary approach in biology texts "is not the basic order for the logical analysis of living things" and hence an error; that scientists who did not master logic before they undertook scientific studies do not know what their results really mean and that mathematical physics should be started in high school although any physicist would point out that high school students can scarcely possess the advanced mathematical skills needed for such study.

The argument which is the matrix of these and many similar opinions is developed clearly if rather repetitiously. For Dr. Smith the problem of education is chiefly the problem of the school. The problem of the school is the problem of the curriculum and the problem of the curriculum is the problem of deciding what subjects can be taught and how and in what order. He puts a great deal of weight on a technical Aristotelian notion and concludes that the only "perfectly teachable" matter is what St. Thomas called *scientia*—a body of knowledge capable of demonstrative discourse because it has a cause-effect structure which can be set forth along a line of syllogistic reasoning. Six disciplines of this sort are distinguished and their proper sequence in a collegiate program is laid out: logic, mathematics, natural science (the philosophy of nature as well as physics, chemistry, and biology), social science (including ethics), metaphysics and theology. Each of these is discussed in a separate chapter. Musicians and artists are likely to find Dr. Smith's analyses of their work as curious as educators will find his concept of the school. He himself admits that contemporary mathematicians do not subscribe to his Aristotelian definition of their science. A priest with a doctorate in physics has assured me that the chapter here on the physical sciences is highly unacceptable. In addition to all

this, Dr. Smith makes occasional generalizations not directly related to his main theses. Sometimes these are inaccurate exaggerations as when he says that the switch has become as much of a symbol of American education as the little red schoolhouse. Sometimes they are erroneous as when he credits Conant with advocating two types of high school, liberal and vocational, although Conant has been widely campaigning for the single comprehensive school. Sometimes they are unfair as when Maritain's carefully qualified strictures about the adequacy of a purely natural moral philosophy are made to look like a denial of the possibility of proving "in a scientific way that murder is wrong."

Dr. Smith has long been a distinguished figure in American scholasticism and he has genuinely contributed to its progress. One can only regret, therefore, that reliance upon a largely sterile method has sharply restricted his success in *The School Examined*.

JOHN W. DONOHUE, S.J.

DIARY OF A SEMINARIAN

A Priest Confesses. By José Luis Martín Descalzo. Academy Guild Press, 1961. \$3.95.

This is an autobiographical sketch of "a" priest—in this case a priest who has spent his life since about the age of ten in a Spanish and then Roman seminary and has reached the point of ordination. The book closes with an epilogue written three months after ordination. Those who read this text expecting the involuted introspection of a Bernanos or the grim realism of Greene will be overwhelmed by its simplicity. In the author's own classification of books about priests, he lists the black ones (Bernanos, Cesbron), the white ones (Trese, Marshall) the red ones (Greene) and the rose (Robinson). Within these categories this is a "white book."

Throughout one is struck by the painful, desperate attempt to make notional ideas (such as the value of the priesthood, the infinity value of one Mass, etc.) concrete realizations by overlaying them with strained emotionalism. As a portrait of the typical seminarian looking forward to the priesthood, it paints a picture that is flat, strained, and, we fear, too pietistic for American tastes. The imagery here (to borrow a term from Father Lynch's *Christ and Apollo*) is univocal, drained of the multidimensional variety of true human experience. In the closing pages of the book there are a series of letters written to the ordinand by those who knew him. Here for the first time appear human values and human warmth which the reader has been waiting for, and we make a double discovery. First that our priest is far more human and closer to people than at first it seemed, and secondly the fact that we have been in the main part cheated by the author's lack of literary power to describe these experiences in their full dimensions.

It is a sensitive thing to treat of a book which is so highly personal and autobiographical as this, but it would be a severe mistake if this work were taken as the typical portrait of the "average" seminarian.

We are not opting for the pessimism of some authors, nor for the torturous introspections of the "country priest," but we feel that here is a subject which calls for all the rich details great literary powers might give it, a portrait that paints shadows as well as light and touches truly human depths. Perhaps someday a gifted writer will give us a "Diary of A Young Seminarian"; but this is not the book.

GERARD F. WALDORF, S.J.

FACING REALITY

Catholics on Campus. *By William J. Whalen.* Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1961. Pp. 125. \$1.25.

The subtitle of this excellent book more accurately describes its content and scope: A Guide for Catholic students in Secular Colleges and Universities. Writing for Catholics already attending non-Catholic colleges and universities, for college-bound high school students, their parents, teachers, and counselors, Professor Whalen has presented in neat fashion a well-balanced appraisal of the opportunities and dangers inherent in a secular collegiate atmosphere. Such attempts have been made in the past, but rarely with the same success. With warmth and insight, the author has provided a surprisingly complete treatment of the most important academic, moral, and social questions. Special emphasis has been given, and understandably so, to the role of the Newman Club on the non-Catholic campus.

Today over 500,000 Catholic students in the United States attend non-Catholic colleges and universities, far outnumbering their coreligionists attending Catholic schools; the 10,000 Catholics at New York University, for example, outnumber those at any Catholic university in the world. By 1970 approximately 900,000 Catholics will probably be in secular schools, with perhaps 400,000 in Catholic institutions. This may not be the ideal, but it is a fact. The urgent need for counsel and orientation, therefore, is evident. Professor Whalen has met this need admirably in a lucid and fair treatment. The book is filled with common sense—which, unfortunately, is far from common today.

WILLIAM J. MCGOWAN, S.J.

PRACTICAL FOR SEMINARIANS

Learning The Mass. *By Walter J. Schmitz, S.S.* Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1960. Pp. 63. (Spiral binding) \$1.75.

Judging from the reactions of a number of Woodstock *ordinandi* who have used it, this little book is very nearly ideal.

It has two main advantages. First, and most helpful, the words of the Mass are printed in parallel columns with the instructions for performing the actions. Secondly, because of its spiral binding, the book will lie open on a missal stand or other surface. Together, these features enable the *ordinandus* to dispense with other books as he runs through his practice Masses.

The book is divided into five chapters which treat, respectively, gen-

eral principles and preparation for Mass; the Low Mass; other Masses (requiem, sung, without a server, etc.); the distribution of Communion, both during and outside of Mass; and Benediction. Thirty-eight of the sixty-three pages are devoted to the Low Mass.

In general, the instructions are clear and complete. However, it would have been helpful if the rubrics prescribed in the Missal had been more clearly distinguished from customs and the suggestions of rubricians. There are also minor annoyances, such as the necessity, in a number of places, to refer back to the general principles to determine the type of bow required.

Several errors have been made in incorporating the changes dictated by the *Motu Proprio* of July, 1960. These are listed in a review in *Worship* XXXV (March, 1961) on page 267.

CHRISTOPHER M. WILSON, S.J.

THE COMPLEAT NEWSLETTER

The Jesuits 1960. *Yearbook of the Society of Jesus*. Rome: Societa Grafica Romana, 1960. Pp. 139.

In the annals of Jesuit publications the year 1960 will obviously have a significant place. It marks the appearance of a unique publication: a Jesuit yearbook for the entire Society, issued by the Roman Curia. Printed in seven languages (French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, English, German and Dutch) and meant to reach Jesuits of 80 nationalities at work in 90 countries, the yearbook intends to present to Ours a conspectus of the work done by the universal Society. Earlier, it will be remembered, in a letter of December 28, 1959, he had already issued instructions that items of news interest from the *Memorabilia Societatis Jesu* should be included in issues of province newsletters so that ". . . Ours should be kept informed about their brethren in the Society and should receive from diverse places both edification from, and knowledge of, the life and work of others."

The appearance of the yearbook therefore is not a surprise. It but serves to underscore Father General's concern for the preservation of the "spirit of universality" which he feels is running the risk of being harmed. The concern is understandable. Much water has passed under the bridges of Rome since 1540 when Paul III gave his approval to the Society of Jesus founded by Ignatius Loyola. The handful of men has grown to an army of some 35,000 Jesuits scattered all over the inhabited continents of the globe in a chain of schools, mission posts, and every imaginable aspect of the apostolate.

As the Foreword itself admits: "The Yearbook of a religious Order spread throughout the world will necessarily be incomplete; one cannot write indefinitely on subjects, while news should not be so compressed as to remove all atmosphere and life." It is to be expected of course that subsequent issues will see improvements in both coverage and treatment, make-up and lay-out, as suggestions and comments come in the wake of its publication to the editors in Rome. For an initial publication, one cannot be too unsparing in its praise.

The yearbook does present an admirable conspectus of the universal Society: laboring untrammelled and prospering in some lands, harrassed and persecuted in others. The various articles and pictures all contribute to a graphic portrait of the Society as the sixties begin for the Jesuits in the Americas, Africa, Asia, Europe, and Oceania. It is noteworthy that every single Assistancy of the entire ten (and this includes the Slavic, the majority of whose men are behind the Iron Curtain) is represented by an article or two. The accounts of the varied Jesuit apostolates, both traditional and new, the stories of the birth and rebirth of provinces, even the plight of Ours under persecution will make Jesuit readers (and their relatives, friends, and benefactors for whom this book also is intended by Father General as a testimonial of gratitude) pause gratefully after its reading: "The Lord indeed has blessed us"

Subsequent issues of the yearbook will no doubt offer other and more varied glimpses of the Society inside and outside the Curia, but may there always be, when the reading is done, a similar refrain.

ALFREDO G. PARPAN, S.J.

A MUST FOR EVERY PRIEST

Whom God Hath Not Joined. By Claire McAuley. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961. Pp. 159. \$3.00.

Whom God Hath Not Joined is the beautifully told story of the Good Shepherd. It is the story of Christ going out after two of His lost sheep and bringing them back to His sheepfold.

The author, married at a nuptial Mass at the age of eighteen, was, with her bishop's permission, civilly divorced at twenty. She had one child, and her husband was in jail for bigamy. Now, ten years later, the first husband is still alive and she is happily "married" to another and has borne four more children. With the daily help of the sacraments, she and her husband are leading a life of deep Christian virtue, a full life of parenthood, parish and social activities, and yearly retreats. The book is the story of a brother-sister marriage.

Maisie Ward in her introduction reports that after her fourth reading, she has each time been more deeply moved by the story. This reviewer, after only half as many readings, can well understand why.

The names used, including that of the author, are not true. There appears to be nothing else about this testimonial to grace of which this could be said. At every point there is heard the ring of truth and it is a glorious truth to hear in our day of weak faith—the truth of the vitality of grace in the Church of Christ.

The second "marriage" begins with an easy rationalization. It is a second miscarriage after the birth of three children, this event, and the experience of participation in parish activity, that are the occasion of the first movements of grace. From then on the rationalizations become increasingly difficult and then impossible. The ugly truth breaks upon her that she is living in adultery—is a "damned fool." The Catholicism

of her second partner amounts to nothing more than his infant Baptism. A fourth child is born almost simultaneously with manifold family crises, and it is at this point, described in the critical seventh chapter, that she first confronts with the problem her very good, but spiritually immature husband. The reaction is inevitable—bitterness, strife, mutual recriminations. The author by no means passes over her own faults and absurdities at this time. Separation is considered, but they cannot afford it and do not want it. The situation is truly impossible and intolerable by all worldly standards.

The rest of the story, the beginning of the life of married chastity, the constant dealings with priests, the caution of the clergy, the first denial of the brother-sister vow, the husband's growth in understanding and grace, the hunger for the sacraments, the zealous and foolish mistakes of the wife, the new friendships with a priest and a nun and the final permission for the vow, are very well narrated.

This book is highly recommended for ours. If for nothing else, the accounts of the approaches taken by different priests, their mistakes—always excused and sometimes unrecognized by the author—their help, their impact on this couple, make the book worthwhile for priests. The parts dealing with the relationship of the couple with the nun are unusually beautiful. As an account of an odd route to God, it richly rewards the short reading time.

This reviewer finds fault with only two things. The author errs in exaggerating the responsibility of bishop and priest for the successful living of the vow once all precautions are taken. The error is understandable since made in an effort to excuse the very trying delays endured by the couple. Secondly, the publication by the author of personal retreat notes seems unfortunate. These are certainly graces of the heart, but relevant only in their connection with every-day living.

An interesting side-light is the notice given by *Time* magazine, March 3, 1961, to the book and the storm aroused by it among our neo-pagan fellow citizens in the correspondence section for the next three weeks. The notice is a news piece and the writer is seemingly impressed. The response included such epithets as "monstrous," "obscene," "perverted," "fanatical." One is at first tempted to think that reading the book would open their eyes, at least to the couple's sanity, but more reflection indicates that the cultural, spiritual, and moral gap between the thinking of the educated Catholic and that of his non-Catholic neighbor is not so easily bridged.

T. PATRICK LYNCH, S.J.

OBEDIENCE IN OUR TIME

With Anxious Care. By *Felix D. Duffey, C.S.C.* St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1961. Pp. ix-125. \$2.75.

The subject matter of this book is religious obedience. Its title is taken from Knox's translation of Romans 12:8: "Exercising authority with anxious care." But both aspects of obedience, the superior's authority and the subject's submission, are given equal attention. Actually

this work is the consequence of the author's own anxious care for the integrity of each.

Religious have always been exposed to the worldly spirit of their age and not being immune to its influence have in some degree been affected by it. The worldly spirit of our age is branded by the writer as the spirit of infidelity or the practical disregard of the truths of faith. This spirit is seen as successfully invading the religious life and attacking its very substance: religious obedience. What gives it easy entrance is the general preoccupation today with the need of adaptation in the religious life to the conditions and circumstances of the time. The author is by no means opposed to true adaptation, to the kind that is made under the guidance of the Church and leaves intact the fundamental principles and spirit of life in the religious state. His many practical suggestions to superiors and subjects are proof of this. But he does show himself seriously apprehensive. His special fear is that some may be advocating changes with a purely natural outlook, disregarding in practice the fact that the religious life, as the imitation and perpetuation of Christ's manner of life on earth, is an abiding mystery; with the result that, instead of true adaptation to the needs of the time, we have accommodation to the worldly spirit of the age.

With his main concern for obedience, Father Duffey's consistent aim is that religious authority with its proper exercise as well as religious obedience with its right practice be seen in the light of faith and safeguarded against the spirit of unbelief. In the positive matter of the book the reader will find a good review of the nature, purpose, and practice of the virtue. Chapter VIII with its explanation of obedience of the judgment deserves special mention. It is a commendable feature of the treatise that it is written for the enlightenment and guidance of superiors as well as of subjects. Besides giving the reader a complete picture of the virtue it may also satisfy his sense of fairness.

Long experience in directing others qualifies Father Duffey to speak of actual conditions and make practical applications. Along with the development of his theme runs a steady current of counsels, warnings, admonitions. Mature religious may find these too numerous, too accusing, and some of them too sharp. A little more gentleness and sympathy would probably make the reader more receptive of his fine positive exposition and motivation.

HUGO J. GERLEMAN, S.J.

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Russia and the Vatican on the Eve of the Revolution

Nicholas Bock, S.J.

Preface

Information given by the press concerning Roman Catholicism in pre-revolutionary Russia almost always contains inaccuracies and errors. Thus one may read in a reputable encyclopedia that in the nineteenth century the Russian law punished conversion to the Catholic Church with death.¹ Obviously this is false and clearly the authors of the statement did not suspect that capital punishment was abolished in Russia as early as the year 1744 by the Empress Elizabeth. Even prominent journalists who should have known better sometimes entertained the opinion that for Catholics there was no difference between the Czarist regime and Bolshevism.²

There certainly is a difference and a very great one. Pope Pius XII defined it succinctly. When, after my return from Japan, he saw me in the autumn of 1947, he exclaimed: "Your presence reminds me of our conversations of days long gone by. There was friction then also but it would not be compared with what we face now. Then there was a Catholic hierarchy in Russia, bishops, priests, monks. There were churches, monasteries, seminaries, schools, confraternities. There was a Catholic press. But now there is nothing, absolutely nothing; a complete *tabula rasa*."

Slanderers who thus lump together Czarist and Bolshevik Russia not only violate truth, but also disseminate a misapprehension. People think that no understanding between

¹ "The Catholic Encyclopedia." Special Edition under the auspices of the Knights of Columbus Catholic Truth Committee. New York. Vol. VI, p. 346.

² Editorials in *Osservatore Romano*, October and November 1947.

Russia and the Vatican is possible if neither Czarist nor Bolshevik Russia—two completely divergent regimes and conceptions—was able to agree with the Vatican. This, of course, is again erroneous. The present study will prove how near we were in 1914 to a most satisfactory solution of Russian-Catholic problems.

Toleration of differences of faith has existed in Russia since the time of Peter the Great, that is to say from the beginning of the eighteenth century. The public profession of any of the recognized faiths was not only permitted, but encouraged. "Let every people dwelling in Russia give glory to Almighty God each in its native tongue according to the rules and beliefs of their ancestors," proclaimed the sixty-seventh article of the basic laws of the Empire. On the Nevsky Prospekt, the main street of St. Petersburg, huge tracts of land were allotted to churches of various denominations: a Dutch Reformed church, St. Peter's Lutheran church, St. Catherine's Catholic church, an Armenian-Gregorian church. Baptism, church weddings and church burials were obligatory for all Christians. Legal acts affecting civil status were performed for Catholics by their priests, who also taught religion to Catholic pupils in all classes of public, military and other schools. Yet the fullness of religious freedom, as we understand it today, did not obtain in Russia. There was only religious toleration.

Apart from an interruption between 1865 and 1894, regular diplomatic relations between the Vatican and the Russian Empire were sustained for almost a century and a half. It is true that, with the exception of two periods, these relations were not always of the best. The times of better understanding were the very end of the eighteenth century (in the reign of the Emperor Paul I) and the end of the nineteenth century (during the pontificate of Leo XIII): favorable political factors helped in both instances.³ After long and painful nego-

³ Cf. P. Pierling "La Russie et le St. Siège," vol. 5, pp. 261, 266, 288, 300, 315, 322 etc.; Eduard Winter "Russland und die Slawischen Völker in der Diplomatie des Vatikans" 1878-1903, pp. 48, 50 etc.; M. M. Scheinman "Vatican and Russia between Febr. and Oct. 1917," pp. 74, 75 in "Questions of History of Religion and Atheism," vol. 5, Moscow 1958 (Russian).

tiations, a concordat had been concluded in 1847, but this did not solve all disputed questions; some still remained unsolved during decades. Each side held stubbornly to its point of view and would not give way.

Thus the Vatican was trying to gain complete freedom of correspondence with the Catholic clergy and faithful in Russia, while the Imperial government censored and controlled all communications with the Holy See. Apart from other considerations, the government did not want to grant freedom to Catholics while keeping the predominant Orthodox Church under its strict control. Equally difficult was the question of propaganda, or the right to disseminate Catholicism in the empire. The Russian government, believing itself to be the sole possessor of the true faith, considered it a duty to protect its subjects from being "led astray," and consequently reserved to itself a monopoly of missionary work.

On the other hand, for decades before the end of its existence, the Imperial government sought to have the Russian language introduced into the supplementary services of the Latin rite. The situation was that while English or German Catholics might say their prayers in English or German, Russian Catholics were compelled to pray in Polish, or some other foreign tongue.⁴ Equally futile were all the efforts of the Russian government to ease the restrictions imposed by the Church on mixed marriages, restrictions which had been softened in some other countries with mixed populations.

Amongst various problems which remained unsettled was that of diplomatic representation of the Holy See at the Imperial Court, as well as the Vatican's wish for legal recognition of the Catholic eastern rite. Both questions were complicated by the unflinching opposition of the Orthodox Church.

In the beginning of the current century all these restrictive conditions were to be abolished. On April 17, 1905, freedom of religion was proclaimed by an Imperial Manifesto. It was received with enthusiasm by the people (especially by the Old-Believers, who up to that time did not enjoy even simple toleration). Following the publication of this manifesto, Catholics

⁴ Cf. Adrien Boudou, S.J., "Le St. Siège et la Russie." Tome II, pp. 526-528.

breathed more freely. Conversions became easier and more frequent. Hundreds of thousands of the descendants of the former so-called uniates could with impunity return to Catholicism. Churches of eastern rite began to be opened. A manifesto is not a law, however. It is merely the expression of a wish, a promise, a plan to be followed. The actual administrative procedures of government often conflicted not only with its spirit, but even with its very purport.

In order to settle the Catholic question and to consolidate and convert-into law the provisions of the Manifesto of April 17, 1905, on freedom of religion or of conscience, in the autumn of 1913, S. D. Sazonow, Minister of Foreign Affairs—not uninfluenced by the two memoranda of the Holy See—proposed to form a special committee for Catholic affairs composed of the ministers of all departments concerned. This proposal was readily approved by the monarch and welcomed by the great majority of the ministers and the legislature.

As one who took active part in this matter, I do not doubt that these deliberations would have brought complete freedom for Catholicism in Russia. I am convinced that the Holy See in return for the freedom so acquired would have yielded on the question of vernacular worship and mixed marriages. I am also persuaded that even the problems of the eastern rite would have been settled without difficulty. The Russian ministers of state and legislators—believers and nonbelievers—would have made all necessary concessions not, indeed, out of love for Catholicism, but out of a firm conviction that in the twentieth century consciences cannot be forced nor can people be constrained to accept a creed. Freedom of religion was seen as a great advantage for Russia both in her foreign and domestic policy, as well as for her good name generally.

But the War of 1914 and the following Revolution put an end to the whole enterprise.

The following pages are the result of the translation and revision of parts of my memoirs of the Russian-Vatican relations before and during World War I. I had written them in Japan in the early thirties, and they were published during the year 1932-33 in sixteen chapters in *Blagovest* (Carillon), which was, I am afraid, a little known Russian Catholic magazine issued in Paris. My account of the papal offer to give

asylum to the Imperial family in 1918 was first printed in Russian in a San Francisco Russian periodical *Jar-ptitsa* (Firebird) in 1953. I had written it a bit earlier in New York as the conclusion of my memoirs.

I present my essays in the hope that they will shed some light on little known events of not so long ago. I was close to them and perhaps today I am the only witness yet living. The previous publication of my memoirs did not give them a circulation and form which I desired. It is my plan to revise what I wrote almost thirty years ago and add some supplementary notes. If my plan succeeds, the work will appear both in English and Russian.

During the last few years Soviet works dealing with the Vatican and the Catholic Church make very many references to, and numerous excerpts from the telegrams, letters and reports I sent from Rome between 1912–1917. In my opinion they are all authentic, but they are used tendentiously and with a definite anti-Catholic bias. The author of these books and articles is M. M. Scheinman, a “specialist” in Vatican affairs, but with a poor knowledge of them. He is badly acquainted with even elementary Catholic terms. He does not understand, for example, the meaning of the word *imprimatur*, and believes that the bishop who permits the publication of a book is responsible not only for its theological orthodoxy, but also for the factual correctness of its entire contents!*

Part I—Before The War

In the early spring of 1912 my appointment as Secretary of the Imperial Russian Legation to the Holy See coincided with a deterioration of Russian-Vatican relations. Official correspondence, as well as private talks of my colleagues returning from Rome, testified that relations were worsening. This fact became even more obvious to me when, in prepara-

* Cf. M. M. Scheinman, *The Vatican and Catholicism at the End of XIX and Beginning of XX Century*, Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., p. 433, 1958 (in Russian); the same M. M. Scheinman, “The Vatican and Russia between February and October 1917” in *Questions on the History of Religion and Atheism*, vol. 5, p. 84, Academy of Sciences of U.S.S.R., 1958 (also in Russian).

tion for my new office, I began to read the reports sent in by our legation during previous years. The number of problems giving rise to friction was constantly increasing. Not only did they remain unsettled, no solution having been found, but they became more acute as time passed and new ones were invariably springing up.

Shortly before my arrival in Rome, our Minister at the Holy See, the late Nicolai Il'ich Bulazel, received a brief memorandum to be forwarded to the Imperial Government. The memorandum enumerated all the questions for which the Holy See was seeking a solution. It was concise in form and contained some sharp expressions.

In diplomatic parlance the word "memorandum" is by itself harmless; it was not quite so when applied to Russian-Vatican relations. Because only in rare and exceptional cases did the Vatican use this form of appeal and because of historical reminiscences: the severance of our relations with the Holy See in 1865, which lasted for twenty-eight years, was preceded by several "memoranda."

The political atmosphere in 1912 was rather unfavorable. Pope Pius X and his Secretary of State, Cardinal Merry del Val, were considered straightforward, intransigent men. They did not hesitate to break relations with France and Portugal, and their relations with Spain and Prussia were often strained.

After I had been in Rome a month, Minister Bulazel was transferred to Munich. Until the arrival of his substitute, I remained as Acting Minister or Chargé d'Affaires for several months.

The main defect in our legislation concerning the Catholic Church was its obsolescence. Some of our laws had existed from the time of the Empress Catherine. If, to a certain degree, they could have been justified in the eighteenth century, they had certainly become an anachronism by the twentieth. No less a defect was the lack of co-ordination between our laws and the decrees of the Holy See. Some agreements on particular questions have been concluded in 1880 and 1882, i.e., before the re-establishment of official relations, a few other agreements have been drawn up by our representatives to the Vatican, at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning

of the twentieth century, but all these arrangements were inadequate. The question of the effectiveness of the old Concordat of 1847 still remained unsolved. It had been repudiated by Russia during the rupture of diplomatic relations, but after their resumption in 1894 many of its regulations were put into practice again as if by reciprocal tacit agreement.

The actual administrative procedures, however, involving restrictions and fault-finding, were much worse even than the obsolete laws. The policy of limitation and curtailment was often uncivil and even insulting. It seemed as if our administrators were inspired by the motto "take all and give nothing" while trying to distinguish themselves by issuing endless prohibitions. The principles proclaimed in the Imperial Manifesto of April 17, 1905, concerning freedom of religion were systematically violated and opposed by the administration.

Unfortunately, I have not the necessary documents at hand and am unable to relate the exact content of the Vatican memorandum. But as far as I remember what took place so many years ago, it consisted of ten or twelve paragraphs.

The first was dedicated to Papal communications with Russian Catholics. The Vatican insisted upon complete freedom in these dealings. Our administration, however, required that according to the laws of the time of Empress Catherine and again in virtue of the famous article seventeen of the code concerning alien creeds, all communications, including even confidential and spiritual matters, be subject to the control of the Ministry of the Interior.

The second paragraph dealt with the circulation of *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*. All decrees of the Holy See are issued in that publication and are sent by the Vatican press to all the bishops of the world. Our Ministry of the Interior disagreed with this mode of procedure and insisted on censoring all these printed Papal acts. Since they are written in Latin and their understanding requires a thorough theological background, one can readily imagine how our censors frequently blundered badly when they red-penciled innocent Papal orders, while approving those which were inconsistent with Russian laws. Bishops coming to Rome from Russia sup-

plied us with highly illustrative examples.⁵ Naturally, the Vatican objected to such a way of handling its communications and considered it, as indeed it was, offensive.

The third paragraph, as far as I can remember, dealt with the problem of mixed marriages, a complex question fraught with many misunderstandings in all countries with different religious denominations. It gave rise to numerous difficulties in Russia. The papal decree *Ne Temere*, which was supposed to settle them, was never applied to its full extent in Russia.

One of the subsequent paragraphs discussed the problems of the military personnel who, notwithstanding the manifesto, were not permitted to join the Catholic Church while on active duty.

Other paragraphs dealt with subjects such as the following: vacant episcopal sees particularly the archdiocese of Warsaw; the case of Bishop Ruskiewicz, to be mentioned later; the advisability of legalizing Eastern rite Catholicism in Russia; the diocese of Wilno, nowadays Vilnius, and the fate of its Bishop Ropp;⁶ the sect of the Mariavites who had given up Roman Catholicism and were being protected by our government; the desirability of rehabilitating some bishoprics, of the elevation of the Armeno-Catholic administrator in the Caucasus to the dignity of bishop and of establishing there an Armeno-Catholic seminary.

The nomination of bishops almost always offered great difficulties, chiefly because of the difference in appraising the personalities and activities of various candidates. Those who stood well with our administration usually were not approved

⁵ All Catholic bishops are obliged to go to Rome every five years in order to make a personal report about their dioceses. These visits are called visits *ad limina*. For us it was not only a pleasure to receive in our legation bishops coming from Russia, but also an occasion to have most instructive talks with them.

⁶ Bishop Ropp was a member of the First Duma. After its dissolution in July 1906 by the government, he ventured a grave revolutionary step, subscribing with a group of deputies the so-called Appeal of Viborg. This appeal exhorted the people not to pay taxes and not to fulfil their military obligations. The call to the nation proved a complete failure and as to the signatories they were condemned by the courts and were deprived of their public offices.

by the Holy See. Those approved by the Holy See often did not satisfy the requirements of our administration.

During my very first summer a small but convincing incident brought home to me how abnormal our relations with the Vatican were. In August 1912, two Monsignori, Niccolo Marini and Facchini came to our legation and told me that after the International Eucharistic Congress in Vienna, they wanted to go to Russia, as tourists, for two or three weeks. Both held high offices in the Roman Curia. Monsignor Marini was a scholar with a profound knowledge of Eastern rites and for decades had published the magazine *Bessarione*, dedicated to the questions of the Eastern Churches. He spoke Greek very well, had visited Greece, Constantinople and Palestine. As he said, he was anxious to learn more about the Christian East by visiting Russia, particularly Kiev, Moscow and St. Petersburg.

Later on Monsignor Marini became Cardinal and in 1918 was appointed Secretary of the newly created Congregation of Eastern Churches under the chairmanship of the Pope himself. He was simultaneously the first rector of the Oriental Institute in Rome.

The Monsignori and myself discussed in detail the itinerary of their forthcoming journey, stressing the most important Catholic and Orthodox holy places to be visited. All that remained to be done was to obtain the authorization of our Government.

However, not because of the law, but by reason of administrative orders, "temporary rules" published in a circular by one of the Ministers of the Interior either in the '70s or '80s, foreign clergymen of Catholic faith could enter Russia only with a permit issued by the Ministry of the Interior. As I remember, the reason given for these temporary regulations was that our poorly paid Catholic clergy must be protected from the competition of foreign priests and monks.

The following day, after the visit of the Monsignori Marini and Facchini, two other influential Vatican Monsignori came to see me. One of them was Monsignor Lega (who also became a Cardinal later). The name of his companion I do not remember. They too had the same request: to visit Russia for two or three weeks after the Eucharistic Congress in Vi-

enna, and to spend the remainder of their summer vacation there.

I forwarded the two requests to St. Petersburg without delay. Because they required immediate attention, I wrote to the Head of the Department of Alien Creeds at the Ministry of the Interior, by-passing the usual channels. There were many precedents for such direct dealing. Before I left St. Petersburg, the Head of the Department of Alien Creeds had asked me to write to him directly in urgent cases. In my letters I gave a detailed account of who the petitioners were, pointing out that they were well-known to the Imperial Legation and held important offices at the Vatican. Monsignor Marini's office in the Tribunal of Apostolic Signature was comparable with that of Director of His Majesty's Chancellery for Petitions and Monsignor Lega—Dean of the Sacred Roman Rota—could be compared to a President of the Senate (Supreme Court). Naturally, I asked for a prompt and favorable reply.

I waited a long time and, finally, was compelled to send telegrams to the Ministry of the Interior as well as to our own Ministry. The latter notified me that the reply was being kept by the Ministry of the Interior. The Monsignori inquired about the matter on several occasions; the date of their departure to Vienna was approaching and they wished to make necessary preparations for the journey.

At last I received a telegram from the Ministry of the Interior notifying me that the visit of the Roman Monsignori to Russia would be discussed upon the return of the Minister who was escorting the Emperor during the Borodino festivities.

This answer had an ironical touch. Was it not possible for one of the deputies of the Ministry of the Interior to settle this minor problem? Could they not obtain the Minister's permission from Moscow by wire or telephone?

In the middle of September, when the Monsignori had returned from Vienna and their leave was over, the Minister's reply came granting them the permission to visit the localities they wanted to see, except Czestochowa.

This incident perturbed me greatly at that time. The behavior of our authorities was simply impolite. This lack of

courtesy became even more obvious when compared with the invariable friendliness and attention extended to the people recommended by us, whether they were scholars anxious to work in the Vatican library and archives, painters, tourists seeking free admittance to the Vatican museums and galleries, or other travellers wishing to be present at the Holy Father's audiences.

Monsignor Marini was still dreaming of his trip to Russia. The following year the Legation obtained the necessary permit in time, but illness prevented him from taking advantage of it. And in 1914 the war broke out; once more he was prevented from going.

Thus, the late Cardinal Marini was not fated to see Russia. Blessed be the memory of this learned and saintly man. Clothed in purple, he still remained as friendly and accessible as he was before his elevation. The trials and tribulations of our motherland affected him deeply.

In September 1912, Dimitry Alexandrovich Nelidov, the new Minister to the Holy See, came to Rome and presented his credentials to Pope Pius X. The task assigned to him was not easy. He had to improve Russian-Vatican relations.

The son of one of the most prominent Russian Ambassadors, highly educated, fluent in the major foreign languages, a man of tact and breeding, always even-tempered, D. A. Nelidov united in himself all the qualities and charm of the best old Russian culture and was well-suited to represent his great country with dignity.

From the beginning there was a great deal of work to be done. Formal reports had to be made on various matters and discussed with the Cardinal Secretary of State and his assistant, Monsignor Pacelli. All the questions raised in the memorandum were submitted to full and particular discussion. Other problems brought up by new conditions were also put forward either by us or by the Holy See. Since the Vatican had no diplomatic representatives in Russia, its only channel of communication with the Imperial Government was our legation.

In the fall of the same year we began to receive replies from the Ministry of the Interior with reference to the various clauses of the memorandum. These replies were characteris-

tically departmental evasions. The legation could not ignore them, but the tactful and intelligent D. A. Nelidov realized that they should not be given out as answers of the Imperial Government. Therefore he transmitted them to the Vatican in a French translation, as private notes containing opinions and objections of our Ministry of the Interior.

Indeed, to all those who were well acquainted with Russian-Catholic questions one thing was obvious: the striking contrast in good judgment and competence between our Ministries of the Interior and Foreign Affairs. At its best the Ministry of the Interior viewed these questions through the eyes of a provincial governor. On several occasions I had long business talks in the Department of Alien Creeds as well as with the Minister of the Interior and, invariably, it seemed to me that I was in a room with a very low ceiling, close walls and a musty smell. Our Foreign Office brought forward the same problems, but on another level, and handled them in a different way.

And the Foreign Office was not the only exception in this respect. D. A. Nelidov had occasion to be convinced of it after his talks with V. N. Kokovtzev, who at that time was Prime Minister, and with A. V. Krivochein, Minister of Agriculture, when they both came to Rome in the winter.

I remember two of my discussions in the Ministry of the Interior as particularly characteristic. As the Head of the Department of Alien Creeds was telling me of some new restrictions, I uttered an exclamation quite natural for a diplomat who is always trying to derive the maximum of profit for his compatriots: "But you are dealing a blow to our own subjects!"

"Well, what shall I say?" was the reply. "In Poland only the degenerate nobility, or the ignorant peasants adhere to Catholicism. The middle classes, the intellectuals—engineers, lawyers, people of the future Poland who must be considered—all of them are rather indifferent to Catholicism."

And this was said not by a radical republican, but by a man who had the rank of an equerry and sincerely believed himself conservative.

Things just as strange, yet pathetic and comical at the same time, were said to me by the Minister of the Interior. Instead

of asking me questions upon my arrival from Rome, or simply indulging in ordinary conversation, he gave vent to a philippic against the policy of the Vatican, revealing his complete ignorance. This is what he said: "Well, well, . . . Merry del Val! He is planning to do here what he has done in Italy—his own country. He wants to separate the Church from the State." This Minister of the Interior apparently did not know that the Papal Secretary of State was not an Italian, but a Spaniard; neither did he know that in Italy the Church was not separated from the State. He confused separation with the Roman Question!

Only when I was taking my leave, did he condescend to ask me: "And how are your relations with the Vatican?"

"My personal relations are most satisfactory," I answered. "As for business relations, they are very bad." Whereupon he declared, "Just as I thought! Jesuits! Jesuits!"

Indeed, personal relations were most satisfactory.

The Imperial legation resided in the ancient and magnificent Palazzo Galitzin which had been redecorated with much skill and good taste by D. A. Nelidov and his wife, who gave many lavish receptions there. Our legation stood out among all other foreign legations and our receptions, with the Nelidov's servants wearing their yellow-blue liveries, could easily rival those of the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, Prince Schoenburg, in the Palazzo Venezia, or the Spanish Ambassador, Count Viñaza, in the Palazzo di Spagna.

The tricentenary of the House of Romanov, on Feb. 13, 1913, was celebrated by us with great solemnity. The dinner was attended by the Cardinal Secretary of State and other Princes of the Church and was followed by a reception to which prominent members of the regular clergy were invited, as well as other notables of black and neutral Rome. The historical division of Roman society into Blacks and White, a consequence of the Italian occupation of Rome in 1870, still obtained in 1913. As a rule Italian Ministers in office, or officers in uniform, could not enter an embassy or legation at the Holy See. White diplomats, i.e., those accredited to the Italian Royal Court, were equally excluded from all official receptions of the Vatican diplomatic corps.

The First World War has changed many things. It could

not be otherwise. As I remember, in 1915 the commander of the Papal Noble Guards, Prince Camillo Rospigliosi, died and his coffin was carried by his five sons, all in the gray tunics of Italian soldiers. Significantly, in 1914 Benedict XV, after his election, gave his first blessing *urbi et orbi* in the interior of St. Peter's Basilica. On the other hand, Pius XI in 1922 gave the same blessing from the balcony outside.

The Lateran Concordat of 1929 definitively abolished all distinctions between Whites and Blacks.

D. A. Nefidov never missed an opportunity to show attention and kindness whenever he could. If for political reasons he was unable to request that Russian decorations be given to officials of the State-Secretariat, his petition to confer the Order of St. Stanislaw⁷ of the first degree on Monsignor Misciatelli, who at that time supervised the Papal palaces and art collections, met with success.

I was always very happy to accompany Dimitry Alexandrovich in his semi-official visits to the neighboring monasteries. The Russian Minister was invariably met with great respect and astonished his escort by reading Greek and Latin inscriptions in cloister museums much more quickly than the monk in attendance.

In business relations the beginning of 1913 was marked by our first success. We came to an agreement with the Vatican on filling the vacant see of the Archdiocese of Warsaw. The Vatican accepted the nomination of Monsignor Kakovski, who later became a cardinal and who played an important part in the creation of the Polish State.

In connection with this nomination, I remember that the Ministry of the Interior, trying to exert pressure on the Vatican, suggested that we call the following to its attention: if the candidate was not approved, the see would remain vacant for a long time, and ecclesiastical affairs might become disorganized without proper administration. Of the two Bishops Suffragan in that Archdiocese, added the Ministry of the Interior, one was old and infirm; the other, Bishop Ruszkiewicz, had been convicted by courts in two instances and without

⁷ One of the eight Orders of the Russian Empire. Two of them—St. Stanislaw and the White Eagle—were inherited from the old Kingdom of Poland.

doubt would be dismissed as soon as the governing senate had ratified the sentence.

Of course, our legation brought forth other arguments to win over the Vatican, without mentioning Bishop Ruzskiewicz' case.

The gist of this sad affair was as follows: during his administration of the Warsaw Archdiocese, Bishop Ruzskiewicz considered that a certain case of mixed Mariavite-Catholic marriage was under his jurisdiction and declared it null and void. The government found his action unlawful and brought him to trial.

The court authorities did not know what proceedings to take in the Bishop's case and made inquiries at the Ministry of the Interior. This latter answered that he should be brought up before the ordinary criminal court. This had aroused the Vatican's indignation, which increased with the fact that the Bishop was tried by village magistrates of the lowest rank. The Department of Alien Creeds retorted that, indeed, according to etiquette, at court receptions bishops are regarded as equal to generals, but that in all other cases the law does not bestow upon them any special privileges.

The state court, complying with the administration, convicted the Bishop. The equally subservient court of the second instance ratified the sentence and the case passed to the Senate.

It was the latter which saved the honor of Russian justice. After a scrupulous examination of the case, it exonerated the Bishop and declared that his actions were entirely legitimate; in accord with elementary juridical principles, the plaintiff goes to the court of the defendant; and in this particular instance the Mariavite^s part was plaintiff. Moreover, at the beginning of this case no Mariavite consistories were in existence; therefore, the Senate ruled, the only qualified authority was Bishop Ruzskiewicz' consistory.

At approximately the same time a bishop was appointed to a vacant Lithuanian see. Besides the usual difficulties this

^s A Polish schismatic sect which separated from the Roman Catholic Church. The Polish National Church of America in its missionary activity before the World War II united many Mariavites to their own church.

appointment was complicated by national problems. The rapid growth of national consciousness among the Lithuanians led them into innumerable conflicts with the Poles.

The Vatican was willing to give consent to the nomination of a Lithuanian, provided he was not a fanatical Lithuanophile. It wished to see at the head of the diocese a pastor, not a political leader. By mutual agreement, Bishop Karevicz (in Lithuanian Karevicius) was nominated.

In the spring of 1913, D. A. Nelidov, before going to Russia for the summer, wrote to the Foreign Minister a letter which might have been destined to play a great and effective role in Russian-Vatican relations. In summing up his first year's work, the Russian Minister stated in a clear and succinct manner that since these relations were of national importance to the whole Empire it was vital to insist in the name of Russian interests and prestige on revising the entire complex of our laws and administrative decrees concerning the Catholic Church, not by the bureaucratic action of some ministerial department, but the decision of the government as a whole.

Left as Acting Minister in the summer of 1913, in August I received from the Holy See a second memorandum to be forwarded to the Imperial Government. It dealt with the same problems as the first, but was much more extensive and thorough; its one hundred and fifteen pages contained an analysis and complete elucidation of all the disputed questions, and at the end there was a fervent appeal to the equity of the Imperial Government and a request for revision of the controversial regulations.

I shall always remember the work I had to do in connection with this memorandum.

The summer was hot. I was alone in the legation. My only assistant had fallen very ill the year before and was now in Switzerland. The courier assigned to convey the memorandum to St. Petersburg was leaving in ten days. Thus, apart from the current business and usual reports, I had to copy this very long memorandum for the archives of our legation and add, at least in a general way, my comments to it. However, my former experience in the Foreign Office proved of great help to me. There we had been used to hurried work which kept us busy even late at night, particularly during

political crises when our tasks increased not threefold, but tenfold.

In the first memorandum some of the actions and measures taken by Russian authorities were labeled as "odieux." Minister Bulazel's endeavor to have the Vatican tone down this expression was not successful. In the second memorandum, too, the same action or measure was designated by the same harsh word.

Despite the seeming hopelessness of the task, I nevertheless made an attempt to annul the offensive word. I pointed out that since this extensive memorandum aimed at the improvement of our relations, it would be most unfortunate if all the good efforts were negated by one harsh word.

To my great joy the Vatican gave consent to its elimination. In mentioning this incident in my confidential letter to the Foreign Minister, I was able to argue for the peaceful intentions of the Holy See and for its desire to settle our differences in an amicable manner.

Suggestions set forth in Nelidov's letter on the necessity for revising our legislation concerning Catholicism and for dealing with these problems, not at the departmental but at the cabinet level, were entirely approved by S. D. Sazonow who for thirteen years had been in diplomatic service at the Vatican and therefore knew these problems well. Baron M. F. Schilling, Sazonow's assistant at St. Petersburg, was equally familiar with the questions having spent five years at the Russian Legation in Rome.

The second voluminous memorandum, with added comments by our Legation, gave a vivid and a very unpleasant picture of the Russian-Catholic situation, which further convinced the head of our foreign policy that reforms were urgent.

S. D. Sazonow was well aware of the abnormality of the Catholic problems in Russia, not only through the transactions of our Legation but also because he had to face them himself. I remember that at the end of 1913, while his impressions were still fresh, he narrated to me the following incident.

Doulcet, the French Chargé d'Affaires in St. Petersburg and afterwards Ambassador at the Vatican, came to see him and asked him to intercede for a French priest, Vidal, who had been ordered to leave Russia in 24 hours. S. D. Sazonow

immediately telephoned the Chief of the Police Department, and the following conversation took place between them:

"Is it true that a French priest named Vidal is being exiled from Russia?"

"Yes, it is true, Your Excellency."

"Why are you sending him away?"

"It is not I but the Department of Alien Creeds."

"And why have they done it?"

"Because he was spreading jesuitical tenets!"

"Much you understand of such tenets!" escaped from Sazonow's lips.

Of course the order was revoked.

The Emperor was spending the fall of 1913 in Livadia. He summoned S. D. Sazonow who made use of his sojourn in the Crimea to submit a thorough report on the state of Catholic affairs.

The Emperor agreed that a radical revision of our legislation and administrative decrees concerning the Catholic Church was imperative and gave consent to the convocation of a Supreme Committee for Catholic Affairs consisting of all those Ministers whom the matter concerned under the chairmanship of some senior statesman. The latter, as it was decided between the Emperor and Sazonow, should have a Russian name and be a prominent member of the State Council but not a former Minister of the Interior.

Among various candidates, the Emperor finally chose Anatoly Nikolaevich Kulomzin, a member of the State Council and Knight of St. Andrew (the highest Russian decoration), an honored statesman of spotless reputation and vast experience, having rendered great services to the country, in particular in carrying through the construction of the Siberian railway.

In connection with the forthcoming work of the Committee, the Foreign Office quickly formed its own subcommittee to prepare matters for it. When I came to St. Petersburg at the end of 1913, I was immediately assigned to work with this subcommittee.

All the requests and complaints on the part of the Vatican were examined by us with great care and deliberated from every point of view. At the same time we drew up a list of

matters upon which it was desirable to obtain concessions from the Holy See, such as that of mixed marriages. Our government wished to get out of the impasse existing in this field. The others included the permission for Russian in the nonliturgical services of the Latin rite. This particular measure would have been welcomed by our White-Russian and Ukrainian parishes which were obliged to use Polish.

During the same period, in the beginning of 1914 when His Majesty granted me an audience, I was able to find out personally that the Emperor was well acquainted with Russian-Vatican relations and fully realized their importance.

There is not the slightest doubt in my mind that, if the Committee for Catholic Affairs had met, its work could have had a very beneficial effect upon Russian-Vatican relations. It would have inevitably expressed strong disapproval of the activities of the Ministry of the Interior. After thorough revision and deliberation hardly anything would have remained of our obsolete laws, decayed administrative decrees, and "temporary" regulations. New, up-to-date criteria, in harmony with the Manifesto of April 17, 1905, and in greater conformity with Russian interests and those of the Catholic Church, would have been worked out.

However, this Committee was never convened.

At the end of January, 1914, S. D. Sazonow told me that the meeting of the Committee for Catholic Affairs had to be postponed for a while in view of the menacing clouds on the political horizon. The Ministers were preoccupied with more urgent problems in the Committee of National Defense. He asked me to return to Rome and promised to call me back to St. Petersburg when the Committee for Catholic Affairs would meet.

In six months war was declared.

Part II—During The War

The menacing clouds hovering over Europe at last burst into world war. The shot fired by Princip, a Hungarian subject though Serbian by birth, indeed played its fatal role.

Requiem Masses were said in Rome for the Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife, assassinated at Sarajevo.

The Austro-Hungarian Embassy to the Holy See sent invitations for an official Mass in the Austro-German Church of Santa Maria dell' Anima, and for greater solemnity added the request, "en uniforme." However, neither the diplomatic corps nor the military and civil officials of the Vatican followed this instruction. Only members of the Austro-Hungarian Embassy were in full dress. The Ambassador, trying to justify his order, called attention to a reception held at the Spanish Embassy, which all officials had attended in dress uniform. He was told that the Palazzo di Spagna had extra-territorial rights which the Church dell' Anima did not enjoy.

As in previous years I was discharging the duties of Acting Minister during the summer of 1914. At one of the Friday receptions of the Cardinal Secretary of State I was received next after the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador and was startled by Cardinal Merry Del Val's changed countenance. He was unrecognizable; his usual self-restraint and reserve were gone; he seemed to be greatly upset and agitated, hardly in control of himself. I soon learned that the Ambassador had just handed him a copy of the Austro-Hungarian ultimatum to Serbia.

From this time on events followed in a whirl.

A few days later I was commissioned by my Government to notify the Vatican that war had been declared on us by Germany on August 1, and by Austro-Hungary on August 5.

D. A. Nelidov and his family were in Munich when the war began. By coincidence the Agent for Ecclesiastical Affairs attached to our legation, L. G. Lesly, was also there. Thanks to the intercession of the Nuncio, Monsignor Frühwirt, they all left Germany safely. D. A. Nelidov departed with the French legation, and L. G. Lesly, detained by his wife's illness, left with the British legation.

Before leaving, N. I. Bulazel, our Minister in Munich, was at a loss as to whom to entrust the Russian interests in Bavaria, and attempted to consign them to the safe-keeping of the Nuncio. In speaking to me of the matter, however, Cardinal Merry del Val said that, while the Holy See gratefully acknowledged this request, because of a lack of technical equipment, the office of the Nuncio was not able to protect

Russian property interests, and had to decline Bulazel's proposal.

St. Pius X died at the very outset of the war. At that time the same phrase was on everyone's lips, "Pius X is one of the first victims of the war."

His loving heart could not endure all the horrors and sufferings which Providence had permitted to strike humanity.

For over two years I had had many occasions for personal contact with Pope Pius X. I invariably experienced the feeling that I was approaching a saint. Great simplicity, kindness and spirituality radiated from him, and these qualities were not dispelled in the official solemnity which surrounded him. On the contrary, they seemed to check it, and only became the more striking because of the contrast. These qualities, hard to define, seemed to pervade his movements, his words, and most particularly, his blessings which he gave with all his soul.

In speaking of Pius X, I cannot leave out the following incident which I remember so well. In the first part of my memoirs I have already mentioned an ailing colleague who had been sent to Switzerland. On leaving Rome he was most anxious to receive an autographed picture of the Pope as a remembrance of his service at the Vatican. The able doctors who took care of him believed his case a hopeless one. When I agreed to transmit his petition to the Vatican, I also thought that his days were numbered and, besides the picture, asked a Papal prayer for the ailing man.

The photograph of Pius X with his personal signature and a prayer for recovery were received. The Papal prayer was heard. The ailing man not only regained his health but was able to continue his service in Greece and died in 1931.

The conclave for the election of a new Pope assembled under the roar of cannons and raised to the Papal See Cardinal Della Chiesa, who took the name of Benedict XV. Cardinal Della Chiesa was one of the youngest members of the College of Cardinals and had been raised to cardinal's dignity only at the spring consistory which had met a few months before the conclave. He was the disciple and nearest collaborator of the famous Cardinal Rampolla who had died only shortly before.

The election of Benedict XV indicated clearly that at that exceptionally difficult time amidst the storms and tempests of war the cardinals wished to entrust the vessel of St. Peter to a helmsman who would combine with his other merits the qualities of a wise and skillfull politician.

Our Emperor wished to show particular attention to the newly elected Pope. In sending abroad Prince Yusupov, a general of his suite, for the presentation of St. George crosses on the French, British, Belgian, and Serbian fronts, the Emperor orderd him to halt on his way in Rome and to convey his personal congratulations and best wishes to His Holiness.

In this connection I remember that A. N. Krupensky, our Ambassador to the Quirinal, thought it advisable that Prince Yusupov be received by the Italian King. By coincidence both audiences, the papal and the royal, were to be held within one hour of each other on the same morning. The situation became complicated because the audience granted by the Italian King was completely private, while the Papal audience was formal, in obligatory full dress. Prince Yusupov cleverly solved the difficulty by changing to his court uniform in the automobile *en route* to the Vatican Palace after his short royal reception in the Villa Savoia.

The war brought about abrupt changes in the activities of the Russian legation to the Holy See. All former crucial questions receded into the background, making way for the new, more important problems connected with the war. The occupation of Galicia by our armed forces immediately raised a whole series of new problems. As Lvov was taken by our armies, our authorities gave orders to arrest the Metropolitan, Andrew Szepticky, and to send him to Russia. At first he was kept at Kursk, then in one of the Suzdal monasteries, and finally at Yaroslav. Rather naively, our authorities reproached him among other things for not leaving Lvov at the approach of our armies. His action was considered almost as a challenge to our authorities. They refused to understand that as a Catholic Bishop he was obliged to remain in his diocese and could not abandon his flock.

Through Prince Yusupov as intermediary, the Pope asked the Emperor to free Metropolitan Szepticky, and during his incarceration the Vatican constantly tried to ease his lot. The

Holy See made several suggestions to the Russian Government in this connection; throughout these years the name of Metropolitan Szepticky was mentioned more often than any other in the correspondence of our legation. But the Imperial Government remained unmoved until the end, and only the revolution set the Metropolitan free from imprisonment.

Instead of maintaining the *status quo* in religious matters, our authorities introduced a new order in the provinces taken from Austria. They seized Austrian priests and led them into captivity and transferred some Catholic churches to Orthodox clergy. I had the opportunity to read the correspondence on this matter between the Galician Governor-General, Count George Bobrinsky, and Metropolitan Eulogius. In the beginning Count Bobrinsky defended the principle of noninterference in religious affairs, but later, unfortunately, gave in to the influence of Metropolitan Eulogius' arguments.

Our actions aroused protests from the Vatican. In Rome we were able to observe the negative reactions produced and the harm done by Russian policy in Galicia. We saw with our own eyes the tears of Galician patriots who escaped to Italy from Austrian firing squads. These Galicians spoke Russian as well as we and adored Russia as we did, but as Catholics they were deeply hurt in their best and most sacred feelings by the actions of our authorities in their motherland.

During the war the international importance of the Holy See increased greatly. Millions of eyes were fixed upon it; it seemed to be a beacon amidst the stormy seas. With representatives everywhere, it was always very well-informed on all subjects.

Several states realized the importance of the Vatican and began to send legations. There appeared a legation from Great Britain and one from the Netherlands. France continued to be absent, and because of Austro-Hungarian intrigues Serbia was not able to obtain recognition for her Minister Gavrilovich.

Thus, the Allies were represented at the Vatican by Russia, Great Britain, and Belgium; the hostile powers by Austro-Hungary, Bavaria, and Prussia. Before Italy's entry into the war the diplomats of our enemies remained in Rome. At unavoidable meetings our relations were restricted to cool,

official greetings. After Italy entered the war our enemies went to Lugano.

Between the two rival groups there was reckless competition to arouse public opinion and the press, especially during Italy's neutrality in the first months of the war. Every oversight, every mistake was immediately used to the utmost by the enemy. I am sorry to say that our Government gave its foes ample grounds for anti-Russian and anti-allied propaganda, not only in Galicia, but even by its actions in Russia.

During the war all governments tried to maintain peace within their boundaries and for this reason repealed all religious restrictions which might provoke discord and hostility. France reinstated all the congregations and refrained from anticlerical actions. Other governments did the same, except unfortunately Russia which should have used particular caution among Catholic populations on her Western front.

Taking advantage of wartime discipline and the complete lack of criticism and control, our Ministry of the Interior continued to rage with its arbitrary decrees and prohibitions, breaking the pledges made at the very beginning of the war in the proclamation of the Commander-in-Chief, Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaevich. By its actions it dealt heavy blows to the international prestige of Russia and damaged our political aims and intentions. This was particularly true in the question of Constantinople and the Straits, turning universal public opinion against Russia and cooling the sympathies of those nationalities which tended to gravitate toward us.

The Catholic Church by its very nature could only long for the quickest termination of bloodshed and of all the horrors of war. It is only natural and understandable that it prayed for peace. By order of the Supreme Pontiff the title "Regina Pacis" was added to the litany of the Blessed Mother.

How did the various governments react to this Papal order?

The French and other governments did not wish to constrain Catholics, but on the other hand they had to combat pacifism. They decided to entrust the whole matter to their bishops. The latter added to the Papal order messages of their own in which it was stated that all must strive toward peace and pray for it, but that the peace must be a just one, and that it could be achieved only with the victory of the

Allies. With these and other similar commentaries the Papal prayer was published in France and in other allied countries.

In Russia, however, the Papal order was not made public at all. During 1915 six issues of the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* with references to this prayer were detained. Thus of the eighteen issues of that year one-third were not delivered to the Russian bishops, and therefore not put into effect!

The Ministry of the Interior tried to exclude the word "peace" from Catholic prayers, forgetting that it was continually used in Orthodox worship. Our legation in Rome repeatedly called the attention of St. Petersburg to this harmful inconsistency, but we spoke only as a voice crying out in the wilderness.

At the beginning of 1916 Cardinal Mercier came to Rome from Belgium.

Of all the belligerent nations struggling to influence the Vatican, Catholic Belgium, with her neutrality treacherously violated doubtless enjoyed the soundest and most advantageous position among the Allies. Cardinal Mercier personified the suffering and heroism of the Belgian people. It was natural that the Allied legations received him with great honors. Following a party given by the British Legation, there was a dinner and a large and brilliant reception at our legation in honor of Cardinal Mercier.

This was our last celebration. Soon thereafter D. A. Neli-dov was appointed Minister to the Belgian Court and went to Le Havre in France, whither, owing to the German occupation of Belgium, the Belgian Government had moved. A. N. Bronevsky was to replace him, but he never came to Rome; I remained as Chargé d'Affaires for eighteen months.

Being in charge of the legation for a long period I had the opportunity to come into closer contact with the most important statesmen of the Vatican during the war and to appreciate their unusually hard and beneficial work.

From the first week of the war to its very end the Vatican never spared efforts to further its speedy termination, to lighten the fortunes of its victims and, as far as possible, to satisfy their spiritual needs. Every few months the Holy See appealed to the belligerents offering some new humanitarian suggestions.

The greater part of them was accepted, and hundreds of thousands of sufferers among the heavily wounded and the prisoners of war had the Vatican to thank for the improvement of their lot.

The Vatican had also established an information office on behalf of prisoners of war. Its information was always accurate and relatively prompt. The Russian legation often appealed to this office at the request of interested parties. There were not many Russians among them because of the difficulties of communication; but our allies, the French and the Serbs, profited greatly from the services rendered by the Russian legation and by the Vatican's information office. Widows and mothers of Frenchmen killed in the Dardanelles worried about the condition of the graves of their loved ones. The French Government appealed to the Vatican through my intervention. In about two months I had at my disposal a complete report concerning the graves, including photographs, sent by the Apostolic Delegate in Constantinople. He had received it from the German naval attaché in the same city.

Cardinal Gasparri's many-sided and complex activities in the Secretariat of State did not prevent him from continuing his juridical labors. At the climax of the war he completed an enormous work of fourteen years on the codification of canon law. Thus, while other states were engaged in mutual extermination and destruction, the Vatican was ordering and improving its laws by publishing the *Corpus Juris Canonici*.

The highly humanitarian activity of Pope Benedict XV and of Cardinal Gasparri, his Secretary of State, had long been universally recognized. However, all activities involving responsibility invariably arouse critical comment which is sometimes quite unjust. Thus during the war many Allies charged Pope Benedict XV with being a germanophile; at the same time the Germans charged the same Pope with being a franophile. It would seem that these two reproaches should cancel each other out.

In May, 1916, I happened to hear P. N. Milyukov accusing the Pope of being a germanophile, and S. D. Sazonow did likewise in December, 1919. He repeated his accusations in his memoirs.

Being attached to the Vatican during the war, I was able to observe its activities closely. I must say in all fairness that I consider the above-mentioned accusations groundless.

It is imperative to recall the state of our psychology during the war. At that time all our thoughts were directed toward one goal, final victory, for which we were ready to sacrifice everything. We associated only with those who shared our opinions; more than ever we read and were deeply imbued by newspapers and periodicals thoroughly saturated with the same biased, irreconcilable spirit. Naturally we wished that all those who were not our enemies should view the situation as we did. How perturbing to us seemed the neutral press, and especially that of the enemy.

But the Pope and the Vatican could not be one-sided or prejudiced. They had to stand above the discord, censuring it and denouncing all its abuses, no matter whence they came. The Pope deplored and denounced the war, with all its horrors and brutal infringements of the law. He protested against the violation of Belgian neutrality, against the imprisonment of peaceful citizens and priests, against the jailing of Metropolitan Szepticky, against the destruction of churches, against all the other cruelties of which warfare carried on by land and sea, in the air and under the water was so prolific.

It is my profound conviction that the Supreme Pontiff, who stood at the head of a universal and extranational Church, could not have proceeded in any different way.

In May, 1916, about twenty members of the State Council and the Duma of the Empire came to Rome as delegates visiting the most important allied capitals. Their arrival coincided with General Brusilov's famed offensive, which rendered inestimable service to our allies, and to Italy in particular. The delegation was received with enthusiasm.

For us, cut off from Russia during the war, that exchange of thoughts with our parliamentary leaders was most welcome. To our profound sorrow, however, private conversations with them confirmed our forebodings and apprehensions that things were not quite right in the rear of our armies. There was a breakdown in unity and discipline, which contrasted with the situation in the Western states.

Our delegates had no direct contact with the Vatican.

Moreover, as official guests of the Italian Government they could not even be received by the Pope. But Count D. A. Olsufiev, Member of the State Council, visited Monsignor Pacelli privately, and stated to him that the dominating coalition party in both houses at the time, the so-called Progressive Bloc, tended to maintain complete freedom for all religious denominations.

Despite their official status, three delegates were honored with Papal receptions. Two of them were Poles, Count Wielopolski; member of the State Council, and Raczkowski, member of the Imperial Duma. They came to Rome before the others and through me had previously solicited an audience with the Holy Father. The third was the Lithuanian Ičas, who remained in Rome for his audience after the departure of the delegation.

Besides the two Poles just mentioned, I recall Father Przedziecki, who was in Rome during the war, as well as Messrs. Dmowski, Skirmunt, and Pilz. We had many friendly talks together in our legation. At that time no decision concerning the future of Poland could be taken. It was obvious, however, that the war would bring a great many changes which in all probability would put an end to the partition of Poland and give her one or another form of independence.

Even more uncertain at that time was the fate of the Lithuanian people. The latter even then insisted upon the recognition of their independence from the Poles as a distinct racial unit. In order to have this distinction acknowledged by a recognized authority, the Lithuanians decided to plead with the Vatican to designate for them a "Lithuanian Day," similar to the "Polish Day" on which by order of the Holy See prayers were said for the Polish people and collections made for their benefit in all the Catholic churches of the world. Ičas, member of the Imperial Duma, was to intercede for the Lithuanians with the Pope.

His pleas were just as unsuccessful as the pleas of two following Lithuanian delegates, Fr. Bartuška and Fr. Bučys who later became Bishop. Only the fourth Lithuanian delegate, Monsignor Olszewski, won consent for the "Lithuanian Day." To a great extent he owed his success to the support of the Russian legation at the Vatican.

While reading Mr. Natkevicz' book about the Polish-Lithuanian controversy, I came across a statement that the Holy See showed more favor to the Lithuanian cause during the German occupation than after the armistice. It seems to me that by this casual remark the author of the book unintentionally perhaps gives due credit to the Russian legation, which as long as it existed frequently exerted all the weight of its authority and of its personal contacts on behalf of what it believed to be the just Lithuanian requests. It pleaded for them with the Cardinal Secretary of State and even with the Holy Father himself.

Reports reaching us from Russia in the second half of 1916 concerning the situation at the front, as well as in the rear were more and more dismal. Frequent and unexpected changes of Ministers, contradictory orders, manifestations of discontent—all indicated instability and the breakdown of authority. During one of our customary talks, discussing the news of Rasputin's murder and the subsequent general exultation, Cardinal Gasparri said, "This is a revolution!"

Unfortunately, he was not mistaken. After a few weeks I received from P. N. Milyukov, our new Foreign Minister, a grandiloquent telegram filled with revolutionary pathos. He commissioned me to inform the Vatican of the abdication of the Emperor, the downfall of the monarchy, and "the great and bloodless" Russian revolution.

All the constraints and limitations to which the Catholic Church was subjected in Russia vanished with the revolution.

The Vatican could only be pleased and satisfied with this turn of events, but at the same time the revolution provoked its great apprehension. It feared that the revolutionary conflagration, destroying all principles of law and order, might spread to other countries.

In my report concerning the Vatican's attitude toward the Russian revolution I had to point out that its reactions were mixed.

After he was set at liberty, Metropolitan Szepticky, instead of returning to Galicia, now retaken by the Austro-Germans, remained in Russia. He explained that he was remaining there in order to establish the Russian Catholic Church. When Rome inquired from whom he derived authorization to

do this he answered that he was proceeding under authority given him orally by Pope Pius X.

Cardinal Gasparri asked me if I knew anything about these powers, and added that neither in the Secretariat of State nor in Propaganda were any indications to be found that it had been issued. He also asked Cardinal Merry Del Val, who replied that he knew nothing about it. Oral commissions were common in apostolic times, continued Cardinal Gasparri, but it was quite unusual to hear of them in the twentieth century. Nor did he consider the reference to the late Pope conclusive. Powers not ratified by Pius' successor became invalid.

It seemed perplexing to the Vatican that Metropolitan Szepticky should be permitted to work in Russia. Not only was he the subject of a hostile nation, but also an Austrian senator, and he stood at the head of the anti-Russian party. The Vatican feared that he might be imprisoned again. It also feared that the Catholicism he was propagating might bear the marks of hostility to Russia. Therefore it insisted upon Szepticky's return to his diocese and breathed more freely when he came back to Lvov.

The fetters that restrained the freedom of the Church fell off, but the new order of things was becoming chaotic. On some occasions neither the Holy See nor our legation could understand who the new legislators were, or what prompted them to act as they did. The legation was not informed in good time, Vatican's objectives were not considered. A new task fell upon the legation, to remind these new-fledged legislators that they must consider the Vatican's wishes as well as the interest of Russia.

A. I. Lysakovsky was nominated minister to the Vatican by the Provisional Government. The government itself overthrown by the Bolsheviks on November 7th, 1917, only a few weeks after he had presented his credentials. The activity of the legation then came to an end.

Epilogue

The following events took place in Rome in the early summer of 1918. Since the advent of the Bolsheviks our legation to the Vatican had been doomed to involuntary inactivity.

There was no one to whom we could send our reports, and nobody to give us instructions. Correspondence with Russia had long since ceased.

Stirred up and impatient, I closely followed the beginning of the White Movement, resting all my hopes on it. Meanwhile, I devoted myself to the help of my fellow countrymen who were in need. Since money or pensions were no longer received from Russia, many lived in great poverty and their number increased with every month. As chairman of Gogol's reading room, I succeeded in opening there an inexpensive dining room for the poor; the needy could get their meals free of charge.

This dining room is still in existence. It was there that an employment agency was opened. In six Italian cities committees for Russian relief were created, under the control of the central Roman committee, of which I was elected chairman.

There was plenty of work and a great deal of correspondence. As was my customary practice, I worked in our Russian legation, located in the ancient and historic Palazzo Galitzin, which long before had belonged to the Dukes of Este, patrons of Torquato Tasso. Because of its thick walls and high ceilings, it was always cool there, even on the hottest days.

A telephone bell rang. The Vatican was calling. From the Secretariat of State, Cardinal Gasparri was asking for the Secretary of the Russian legation, Bock, to come to see him if possible the same day between six and seven o'clock in the evening. I answered that I should definitely be there.

What was the meaning of it? Why, I asked myself on my way to the Vatican, did the Cardinal summon me, and not Lysakovsky? Obviously for some personal reason, but what was it? My curiosity was more and more aroused as I approached the huge buildings of the Vatican, all lighted up by the red-golden rays of the evening sun.

When I entered Cardinal Gasparri's office, I understood at once from his whole countenance that I was summoned on important business which was absorbing all his attention. He informed me that the Holy Father was greatly concerned

about the fate of the Emperor and his family and, fearing for their lives, had decided to make an attempt to save them.

Various plans were discussed, and the Pope selected the one which seemed to be the most practical, namely, to negotiate through the Germans, who at that time were allegedly very influential in Moscow. The Pope asked for the release of the Emperor. He and his family were to be lodged in the Vatican, or in summer in Castel Gandolfo. The Pope was to take upon himself all the expenses of their journey and maintenance. He was prepared to guarantee that during their sojourn in his territory the Emperor would refrain from any kind of political or hostile activity, not only against the Germans acting as mediators, but also against the Soviets who should release him. As always in the Vatican, this plan was carefully worked out in every detail. The negotiations were entrusted to the most gifted of all Papal representatives abroad, the Munich Nuncio Monsignor Pacelli, the future Pius XII.

I thanked the Cardinal for his information and, as usual, asked him to convey to His Holiness my deepest gratitude, shared I am sure by all Russians, as well as my profound admiration for this supreme manifestation of kindness and true Christian love.

Upon returning home I could not stop thinking of Cardinal Gasparri's information and understood why I had been summoned instead of Lysakovsky. Lysakovsky was regarded as the representative of the Provisional Government; his credentials were signed by Kerensky, who at that time had insisted upon the imprisonment and exile of the Emperor. The essential question was whether the Vatican would be able to carry out its project, for I fully realized how very difficult, not to say hopeless, it was. Yet, I fervently wished to believe it was possible.

Much, as it seemed to me, depended upon the Germans, their supposed influence in the Kremlin, and their willingness to undertake the negotiations. I counted on Monsignor Pacelli's skill, and his ability to muster convincing arguments.

I was thirty-seven years old at that time, relatively young, and possessed of considerable optimism. Time and again it seemed to me that the project could be realized. Perhaps in a

few months I would meet the Emperor and his family in the Vatican. Perhaps I would see once again his unforgettable eyes and hear his unforgettable voice.

Reflecting upon this plan of the Vatican there involuntarily came to my mind that other similar intensely human gesture: Emperor Paul's invitation to Pope Pius VI in the year 1798 to seek refuge in Russia from the rough hands of the French invaders.

But all hopes and illusions were soon shattered. After a short while I heard in the Vatican (probably coming from the same German source) that the Emperor and his whole family had been brutally murdered in Yekaterinburg⁹ on the night of July 16-17, 1918.

Those who could have saved the Emperor and his family, as we know, unfortunately did not wish or did not dare to do so. Those who wished to save them, alas, were not able to do so.

Let us hope that their best intentions, inspired by sincere charity and true love, may never be forgotten by the Russian people.

⁹ Yekaterinburg, actually Sverdlovsk, industrial center in the Ural.

The Fordham Study of The Spiritual Exercises

Eugene J. Ahern, S.J.

The spiritual ministry proper to the Society of Jesus is the guiding of souls by means of the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius. To help make this ministry more effective, Father Gerald Quinn, Director for Retreats and Missions for the New York Province, invited thirty-six expert retreat masters (twelve to deliver papers, twenty-four to comment formally on these papers) to conduct a cooperative study of the Exercises at Fordham University on June 28-30, 1961. Ninety Jesuits from the American and Canadian Provinces attended the Study and they were unanimous in praising the meeting for the insights which were shared and for the incentive to

study further the Society's remarkable instrument for leading souls to the fullness of the Christian life.

The Study achieved a perfect balance between the speculative and the practical aspects of the Exercises; theoretical explanations of the meaning and purpose of the Foundation and of the various weeks were interspersed with discussions of the concrete problems involved in conducting retreats to nuns, high school boys, and priests.

To reiterate the particular insights of each speaker, to pass on every practical suggestion, to mention everyone who contributed to the discussions would be impossible. A choice, then, of topics to be included in this summary had to be made. This choice is one man's opinion of what would most interest those who were unable to attend the Study.

Problem of the Group Retreat

The speakers took a realistic view of the Exercises; while extolling the powerful effects of the Ignatian retreat, they made their listeners acutely aware of the problems involved in directing souls in the midst of present-day retreat surroundings.

The Exercises were originally intended to be a manual for a director guiding a person of high spiritual potentiality. The artist needs the right kind of material, Father Lewis Delmage (N.Y.) pointed out; so too the Exercises need the right kind of men if Christ is to be formed in them. Ignatian spirituality stresses the need of personal effort; therefore, the director should have before him men capable of making that effort. Father Delmage is fortunate in always having retreatants of this high caliber since his work is centered on the professional sodalities. To stress overmuch the necessity of "high spiritual potential" before beginning a retreat, however, might play down the week-end retreat movement and the effectiveness of the Exercises in this type of retreat.

As the original Exercises envisaged a retreatant of high capabilities, so too they depended for their effectiveness on a limited number being guided by the director. Peter Faber would never direct more than four men at a time because he could not conceive of a retreat without direction.

Here is the central problem of the modern retreat, accord-

ing to Father George Flattery (N.Y.)—direction. To be able to perform his function as director, the retreat master must obtain control over the group retreat: he should insist on suitable groupings and on an order of time which allows the retreatants time to pray after each session of points. Father Flattery insisted that the retreat master does not fulfill his task by hearing confessions and presenting points for meditation; in addition, he must have personal contact of some kind with the exercitants so that he might guide them in making their election, that he might see if he is being misunderstood, if he has guessed at the wrong difficulties. In the ordinary retreat the director does not know those whom he is supposed to be guiding. How can he come to know them? Two suggestions were made: the use of a daily questionnaire to give the director some knowledge of the dispositions of the exercitant and the use of the conference period for consultation.

In summary then, these two methods, together with the director's insistence on surroundings as suitable as possible will help to give the director the control needed to direct an Ignatian retreat.

Control of a retreat, however, begins long before the first session of points; it begins with the director's knowledge of this particular group of retreatants and with his knowledge of the Exercises. On these two points most of the Fordham Study was concentrated.

Knowledge of the Particular Group

The general structure of an Ignatian retreat must remain unchanged. Indeed, some of the speakers insisted that extra meditations not included in the text of St. Ignatius (such as a meditation on the Mass or on the Queenship of Mary) should not be given. Because of a lack of time for discussion it was impossible to see how many concurred in this opinion. However, even those who might add a meditation not in the text still insisted on adhering to the Ignatian plan: the sequence of the meditations, their individual details, emphasizing especially the triple colloquies. Although they insisted on adherence to the text, the speakers were equally insistent on bringing the text to life, on adapting it to the spiritual needs of a great variety of men and women.

Before discussing the particular means of adaptation suggested during the Study, let us turn to a problem which at first impression seems unimportant; yet the frequency with which this problem was mentioned shows how wrong first impressions can be.

The problem is Ignatian terminology. Since the director is guiding souls by means of the Exercises and not teaching the Exercises he should not use the technical terminology of the text. "Preludes," "Additions" (many retreatants think the director is referring to "editions"), and "Annotations" should be given, yet they should not be called by their technical names. Nor should the key meditations, the Foundation, the Kingdom, etc., be so named. Why? It seems that the terminology confuses some and causes resentment in others. One speaker suggested that in retreats to non-Jesuits "St. Ignatius" should not be mentioned more than once; others pointed out the difficulties involved in using words like "indifference" and "election" because of their modern connotations.

Laymen's Retreats

Although none of the sessions of the Fordham Study dealt specifically with the problems of laymen's retreats, frequent reference was made to them. In trying to adapt the Exercises, to nuns for example, the retreat master can be guided by the study of Father Thomas Dubay, S.M., published in *Review For Religious*.¹ This study discussed the retreat "likes" and "dislikes" of seven hundred religious women. Father Flattery suggested that a like study be made regarding the married and the single, regarding mothers and fathers, because until the director knows the problems, the likes and dislikes of the group he is guiding, his direction will be "flying blind."

In a sense, are we "flying blind" in repeating the First Week during every week-end retreat? Many laymen return to our retreat houses years after year. True, they return because of the remembrance of the graces received during earlier retreats, but, suggested Father Delmage, should there not be a continuous progression in the retreats which these

¹ Vol. 15 (1956), pp. 3-10; 91-96; 128-134; 177-184; 253-262; 301-308.

men make; should they not see more and more of the Exercises as they return each year to our houses. Indeed, the impression was given at various time in the Study that it is frequently difficult, for lack of time, to give as basic a meditation as the Kingdom during a week-end laymen's retreat.

A number of practical suggestions regarding laymen's retreats were also given: the use of religious movies as a part of the points; the use of daily question forms to see if the exercitant has grasped the point of the meditations; the formation of groups similar to the Manresa Movement of St. Louis, a group of laymen who meet once a month to discuss the ideals of personal holiness which they discovered during their yearly week-end retreat.

Nuns' Retreats

Father Raymond Goggin's talk dealt with a very practical question—what the retreat master should do to prepare himself for a retreat to nuns. First of all, he should learn as much as he can about the historical background of the order or community to which these nuns belong. He should know something of the life of the foundress of the community and refer to her and to her spiritual doctrine throughout the retreat. He should also be acquainted with the works of the community: is it engaged only in educational work? Does the community staff foreign missions? Does it send only those who volunteer? Are there lay sisters in the community and will any be making the retreat? (If so, refer to them specifically during points and conferences)? Does the community accept Negroes? He should also inquire about the method of prayer practised by this particular group and the particular meaning of their vow of poverty. The retreat master should realize that the more he knows about those whom he is to guide, the more effective will his guidance be.

Some particular suggestions for the actual conducting of nuns' retreats were: the frequent use of Scripture; constant linking of the twofold purpose of the retreat, personal sanctification and service, with the twofold end of the religious vocation, sanctity and zeal according to their institute; and finally, showing the connection of their vows with the Foundation's principle governing the use of creatures.

The discussion on retreats to nuns came to an end with Father Raymond Kennedy (N.Y.) mentioning a difficulty which nuns frequently find with the meditation on the Kingdom. The concept of the love of one man for another man, upon which the meditation in some way depends, is something nuns do not understand.

High School Retreats

The Fordham Study was always interesting; three times it came close to inspiring—when Fathers John Magan (N.Y.), Louis Wheeler (Md.), and Thomas Burke (N.Y.) spoke about retreats to high school boys. It was not so much what they said which inspired as their intense sincerity and the sympathy they so obviously feel for the adolescent boy.

“And if true love and the unselfish spirit of perfect sacrifice guide your every action, you can expect the greatest measure of earthly happiness.” These words of the Instruction before the Nuptial Mass express not only the qualities necessary for a successful marriage but also, according to Father Magan, the qualities essential in the man who wants to guide the young. In speaking to retreat masters of youth Pope Pius XII said, “Make sure your words are warm and adapted.” The warmth must come from the priest’s heart; the adaptation must come from his knowledge of youth’s “point of view.” Indeed, as Father Magan pointed out, the retreat master must know the boy so well that he thinks the priest is reading his mind.

In characterizing the young boy of today Father Magan made the following observations: youth have been made insecure by the insecurity of their parents; they have been taught to say only “gimme” and have never been given their independence (as those of an earlier age ran away from home to assert their independence, the boy of today can conveniently escape by joining the army); they have learned the Catholic code, and cult, and creed in isolation one from the other with the result that they know what the code forbids, but they do not receive the motivation to live it.

To supply that motivation, to present the Spiritual Exercises in terms of boy can understand—for example, to present the Foundation in terms of virility and “guts,” and maturity

—is the task of the devoted retreat master. To help understand the problems of youth, Father Magan recommended the articles by James D. R. Ebner in *The Homiletic and Pastoral Review*.²

Father Thomas Burke suggested a few ways to make the annual school retreat more effective. The school retreat should not be held in September, and it should be prepared for during the daily religion class and by the library's intelligent display of religious books. Before the retreat begins Father Burke appears at a parents-teachers meeting, first, to tell the parents what he intends to do during the retreat and, secondly, to ask them what they think he should talk to their children about. In this way, Father learns much about the boy's behavior about the house and is introduced to problems which he should mention during the coming retreat.

Priests' Retreats

"What do priests need and what have been their reaction to Jesuit retreats?" Fathers Thomas O'Day (N.Y.), William Schlaerth (Buff.) and Joseph Cantillon (Buff.) answered these questions in a very interesting discussion. Father Cantillon went so far as to send questionnaires to fifty diocesan priests so that his remarks would have a solid foundation in fact.

Their needs: a realistic conference on prayer in which the director explains the Ignatian Three Methods; a discussion of their difficulties with charity, difficulties which are complicated by the fact that so few live together in a rectory. The retreat master should realize that they frequently set their hearts on particular parishes and ecclesiastical honors and that they are tempted to spiritual mediocrity and discouragement. Recognizing these needs and difficulties the retreat master should not dwell on them in a negative way; rather he should view with his fellow priests a picture of their priesthood which is positive and concrete and encouraging. However, whenever the retreat master does use a negative approach and dwells upon failings, our priest-retreatants suggested that the director include himself in the fault-finding. They also made the following suggestions: don't use the term

² Vol. 49, pp. 14-23; 117-122; 213-221.

“daily order”; to a religious it has meaning, to an active parish priest it does not; no Jesuitana should be mentioned (not even the name Spiritual Exercises); the ranking prelate who is making the retreat, not the retreat master, should take care of the “rule of silence” and under no condition should the retreat master give the impression of snooping to see if silence is being kept; above all, don’t mention the disadvantages involved in a short week-end retreat since they naturally resent considering their retreat a boiled down affair; don’t prolong the points more than a half hour. Again, they want a retreat which is positive and encouraging.

With this discussion of priests’ retreats we conclude the first part of this paper. We have, however, discussed only one aspect of the spiritually successful retreat: the director and his knowledge of the problems and virtues, of the likes and dislikes, of the needs and ambitions of this particular group of retreatants. This knowledge will come almost naturally to the observant, zealous, and sympathetic priest.

An Ignatian Retreat

There is, however, another side to the successful Jesuit retreat: it must be Ignatian. More than zeal and sympathy is necessary for this. The director, as Father Francis Keenan (N.Y.) emphasized, must have gained a penetrating understanding of the text of the Spiritual Exercises. He must know the purpose of the book as a whole and the purpose of each and every part of the Exercises. The young Jesuit does not attain this required knowledge by sincerely making his yearly retreat. He must study the Exercises as well as pray them.

What, according to the experienced directors who spoke at Fordham, should he study? First of all, he should study the text of the Exercises, then the commentaries, including some of the early directories, then the lives of St. Ignatius. These deserve study much more than does a particular written retreat. For if the written retreat is a good one, it will be pointed to a particular audience; it will be an application of the principles of an Ignatian retreat. Before the study of the application of the principles, however, the future retreat master must study the principles themselves.

Almost one half of the sessions of the three day study were devoted to this task. To this half of the Fordham conference we now direct our attention.

Knowledge of the Exercises

Father William Murphy's (N.E.) examination of the differing opinions of Fathers Bouvier, Iglesias, Calveras and Karl Rahner regarding the meaning and intent of the Foundation, or more specifically, regarding the relationships existing among its elements: *tantum-quantum*, *indifferentia*, and *magis*, led to the conclusion that the last word on the exact nature of this relationship has not yet been said. This much, however, Father Murphy maintained, can be said of the Foundation: it is a doctrine of perfection, for included in germ in the Foundation's *magis* principle is the spiritual highpoint of the Exercises, the Three Degrees of Humility. The Foundation is then, more than a mere philosophical consideration; it is also a supernatural consideration because the loss of one's soul can result from not following the principle. For example, in the meditation on the *binarii* each has come by the money honestly, yet there exists the possibility that the owner will lose his soul if he fails to do the more perfect thing, that is, acquire indifference in regard to the money.

Placed in the Foundation then are many of the truths and motives which the exercitant will consider later in the retreat. However, even though the Foundation is a seed-plot of the exercises which follow, the director should not propose with any depth the motives of the later weeks of the Exercises since at this stage of the retreat the exercitant is not yet prepared to act upon such motives. For instance, Father Murphy pointed out, the Foundation should not be made into a meditation of love, since the exercitant's love will be proved later by means of the election. At this stage of the retreat the exercitant is still a beginner; the "praise, reverence, serve" formula seeks to describe the attitude of one who is still *in via*, still seeking, rather than of one who has reached the journey's end.

In presenting this meditation Father Murphy warned against overwhelming the exercitant with ethical considerations. He conceded that philosophical considerations do en-

ter into the meditation, yet a balance must be struck between philosophical and theological considerations and the meditation must be given in a practical way with the intention of preparing the exercitant for the work of divine grace. Father Leonard Fischer (Can. Sup.) advised directors not to cut the consideration of the Foundation short since the response of the retreatant to the meditation on the Kingdom depends on how well he has made his own the truths of the Foundation. The retreatant's failure to respond to the call of the King is often due, in Father Fischer's opinion, to a faulty treatment of the Foundation.

Admittedly, said Father Murphy in his paper, the Foundation is a difficult meditation to present. The fact that it is often the first meeting between the director and the retreatants can complicate the problem. Yet the matter of the Foundation can also work to the director's benefit since the principle of the use of creatures, of the creative role of man with God is a tremendous revelation to some.

Because the Foundation's expression "to save one's soul" should connote the loss of one's soul, Father Murphy maintained that it is not out of place for the director to introduce reflections on the importance of salvation, the joy and tranquility of a life of praise and reverence, and even a glimpse of beatitude, of salvation as a reward. During this meditation the retreatant should also spend some time in examining what degree of indifference he has shown in the past. Father Murphy explained indifference as a state of mind with a two-fold aspect. It involves non-desire and desire or choice of the better. Indifference is like a runner on the starting point or to use Hopkins' phrase "mired with a motion"—motion toward the greater glory of God.

One of the most interesting commentaries heard during the Study was delivered by Father Raymond York (N.Y.). In discussing Father Murphy's paper he opened up what appeared to be a new approach to the Foundation. "Who is this God St. Ignatius talks about in the Foundation?" Father York asked. He is not the God of philosophy, but the triune God, the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. When Ignatius said "God" he saw the Father revealed in the Son who has received the promise and pours forth the Spirit. If Christ does not come

into the Foundation, Father York continued, there is no interest on our part in serving God and there is no interest on God's part in receiving our service. There is no Foundation without Christ Jesus Our Lord whose fellowship we share by the selfless use of creatures.

Unfortunately there was no opportunity to discuss further this Christological emphasis of the Foundation. It would certainly appeal to those who with Father Mersch see the whole Christ as the center and object of all theological thought; whether most of the retreat masters in attendance agreed with a formal Christological interpretation of the Foundation was difficult to determine.

The First Week

Too frequently we have been given the impression that the purpose of the First Week is a negative one, the mere cessation from sin. Father Vincent McCormick (N.Y.) presented a much more positive and inspiring view of this week of the Exercises. True it is, he said, that repentance, expressed by the act of contrition, is the end to be attained in this part of the retreat. This repentance, however, is itself only the means to reach the ultimate end, which is union with God. The contrition of the First Week is not then, the mere cessation from sin; it is not an isolated act of sorrow for sin. It is rather a reorientation of one's whole life, a restoration of the true hierarchy of values; it is a motion towards God. In other words, Father McCormick concluded, there is no true repentance that does not include at least the initial love of God.

Father McCormick then discussed the means to attain this repentance. The means are the five exercises given by St. Ignatius: meditations on the first and second sins, the meditation on personal sin, a repetition of the first two, a summary, and the meditation on hell. Father thinks that it is a mistake to split up the act of contrition into its composite elements and associate each element with a particular meditation of the First Week by saying for example that the first meditation aims at a detestation of sin which makes the exercitant ashamed, that the second aims at sorrow and the fifth at purpose of amendment. Rather, shame, sorrow, and amendment

are included in every meditation of the First Week; each exercise is intended to lead us to true repentance, a repentance which desires to accept wholeheartedly God's will for me.

"If the main body of each exercise would make us turn with disgust with self from the story of sin," commented Father McCormick, "the colloquies which are an integral part of the exercise find me at the foot of the cross on which hangs the merciful Savior, there because He loves me and wants me and with deepest gratitude and wholehearted sorrow I make my total surrender and swear undying allegiance in love. Therefore it is a sworn lover, a sinner repentant and forgiven who takes his stand on the brink of hell and tries to sense the agonies of the souls in that fiery pit."

Consequently, in the Exercises the purpose of the meditation on hell is not used to terrify those in sin; it is, as we have seen from Fr. McCormick's analysis, a meditation made by one in love with Christ. Yet because this love is not always firm and secure the Christian needs this additional weapon, to be used when it is needed: the fear of the tortures of hell.

This fear, Father McCormick insisted, is a filial fear, a fear which will prevent us from forgetting that we owe all to the mercy of God.

Father McCormick concluded his talk with an emphasis on the practical. In a six day retreat to men or women leading a spiritual life one day spent on the First Week would be sufficient. Additional meditations, such as the Last Judgment, can be added, but not substituted, only if the original five have not produced repentance. Father McCormick would not add a special meditation on mercy during this week; let the colloquies take care of this consideration.

Father McCormick's final practical suggestion concerned making the First Week meaningful for souls who have never sinned mortally. These souls, he said, should be led to realize what God's estimation of sin is, and to reflect with St. Augustine that there is no sin committed by one man that another would not commit were it not for the grace of God restraining him. It would also help these souls if the director spoke of venial sin and of the mystery of God's tolerating it without breaking His friendship.

From this summary of Father McCormick's paper it is ob-

vious that he insists on a rigid adherence to the Exercises. Yet this adherence, enriched by a proper understanding of what St. Ignatius intended, is the true source of spiritual power in the Ignatian retreat. Indeed it would not be far from the truth to say that adherence to, and proper understanding of the Ignatian text is the best kind of adaptation of the Spiritual Exercises there is.

The Kingdom

Eschewing problems of theory, Father Robert Grewen (Buff.) discussed this meditation in the light of the character of St. Ignatius as the natural product of the enthusiastic, obedient soldier-saint. In commenting on this paper Father Leonard Fischer characterized this meditation as a time for big ideas. It would therefore be a mistake, Father Fischer claimed, to examine minutely one's spiritual fitness at this stage of the retreat; there would be a danger of getting bogged down in details. Since the power of this basic meditation comes from three sources—the cause, the leader and the challenge he presents—the director, Father Fischer suggested, should stress not only the person of the leader but also the cause to which he invites. Father Fischer thinks that it would be a mistake to stress only the leader since at this stage of the retreat the exercitant does not know and love Christ enough. One must certainly agree with Father Fischer when he emphasizes the threefold appeal of the Kingdom, but his reason for not stressing the leader would seem to be valid only in retreats of those who are making the Exercises for the first time.

The Election and the Accompanying Exercises

The number of papers and commentaries presented during the three day meeting unfortunately left little time for discussion from the floor. This meant that many of the interpretations presented could not be tested by questions from the audience. The paper presented by Father Thomas Higgins (Md.) and the comments made by Fathers Gerald McCool (N.Y.) and Quentin Lauer (N.Y.) presented differing points of view which lent themselves to interesting discussion.

Father Higgins seemed to stress the centrality of a particular election, one to be made at a definite time during the retreat. "Hence for the earnest retreatant the central problem of every retreat is, 'What is God asking of me this year?' or 'What fitting resolutions am I going to make?' Thus, after he has observed the example of the way of the commandments which Christ has given by His obedience at Nazareth and after he has seen the example of the life of evangelical perfection in Christ's remaining in the Temple, then the exercitant should begin to question himself, 'What does God want of me now?'"

The commentators on Father Higgins' paper, however, viewed the election in a much wider perspective. For Father McCool the election is not a particular resolution, it is rather the acquiring of an insight into how my religious life must look in God's eyes. More important than the particular resolution, Father McCool maintained, is the following of each exercise as it comes and the asking for the particular grace to which each meditation directs us.

Father Lauer naturally stressed the importance of an election since it is here, he said, that the personal aspect of the retreat is centered. He too maintained, however, that the election is not the focal point of the retreat since he considered the whole retreat as an election—a working out of the implications of the religious life.

This difference between the "particular resolution" type of election and the "nonlimiting" view of the election seems to be an important one. Which view corresponds to the Ignatian ideal? At the Fordham Study the varying opinions were presented; a discussion of their relative merits had to be postponed for lack of time.

The speakers insisted that the meditations of the Two Standards, Three Classes of Men and Three Degrees of Humility should never be omitted. The Two Standards, Father Higgins explained, presents the snares which Satan uses to entice the soul of anyone who desires to serve God. Everyone, therefore, can meditate upon it with profit: Carmelite, active religious, politician, laborer. Since St. Ignatius' metaphor of riches, honor, and pride signifies false material and

spiritual values, a universal temptation, the metaphor should be kept.

In presenting this meditation Father Higgins suggested that the director avoid spending so much time revealing the wiles of Satan that there is little time to present the positive side of the picture.

As the Two Standards, Father Higgins continued, enlightens the mind of the exercitant, the Three Classes of Men tests his will to learn of its readiness to embrace generously the will of God. At this point of the retreat the exercitant is aware of some inordinate attachment which he must conquer or some call to extra generosity to which he should respond. While the exercitant is wrestling with this decision, St. Ignatius then presents him with the consideration of the Three Degrees of Humility. The Third Degree, Father maintained, should be explained in stark simplicity, and no attempt should be made to water it down. It should never be omitted since it is the spiritual high point of the retreat, a point which Father Joseph Hitter (Hung.) remarked must be in the mind of the retreat master from the very beginning of the retreat.

Father Higgins concluded his paper by reminding retreat masters to give the exercitant two cautions regarding this meditation. First, remind the exercitant that the more difficult act is not necessarily the more perfect act. Second, remind him of the need to acquire the prudence to know in concrete circumstances when greater glory does come to God.

The kind of holiness manifested by the Third Degree, Father Higgins interestingly pointed out, is not the prelude of a meditation or a direct object of petition as is sorrow for sin or knowledge of the deceits of Satan. Here we are to ask Our Lord to be pleased to choose us for such holiness if that be for His greater glory.

The Methods of Prayer

Our retreatants, alleged Father Thomas Burke (N.Y.), frequently have a wrong idea of Ignatian prayer. Priests feel that the emphasis on the use of memory, intellect, and will destroys affective prayer and confines the soul. Likewise, when a Jesuit retreat master is announced, nuns fearfully say, "Oh, that means we'll do a lot of thinking." Father

maintained that these attitudes have developed because retreat masters have not taught the retreatant how to pray. To break down this misunderstanding of Ignatian prayer as a mere intellectual operation Father presented the following general suggestions: teach the retreatant the Three Methods of Prayer; stress the Ignatian advice to dwell on the points we appreciate and not to be in a hurry to rush on to other points of the meditation; teach the third prelude of the Nativity meditation as a means of prayer; never present each meditation's petition for grace in a formal way, rather, pray for the grace together with the retreatants and tell them that merely to repeat this petition over and over again is good prayer.

This general advice, however, has to be adapted to particular retreatants. Here are some of the ways Father Burke makes the adaptation.

In the ordinary retreat to high school boys and in any other retreat (even priests' retreats) in which there is no time for meditation after each set of points, the retreat master should frequently stop in his sermon and tell the retreatants to think over and pray about what he has just told them. After a few minutes of private prayer he continues his sermon. This method turns the usual passive high school retreat into an opportunity for personal prayer.

In a closed retreat to high school boys Father Burke gives them a careful instruction on how to go about talking to God. He then tells them what to do when they leave the chapel: they should leave singly, not in a group; when they return to their rooms, they should close the door, kneel on their bare knees and keep asking for the grace to understand the truths they have just heard. Father Burke also suggested impressing upon the boys the meaning of the prayer of the body—to kneel with arms outstretched as a sign of our spiritual beggary before God.

In retreats to nuns and seminarians Father Burkes suggested that the retreat master teach them how to prepare points for their daily morning meditation.

The session on prayer ended with the remarks of Father Thomas O'Callaghan (N.E.). Father O'Callaghan stressed the importance of teaching the additions (not by name how-

ever) and of trying to make the retreatant realize that prayer is talking to a real living person. He claimed that a lack of faith in the presence of God is frequently the reason for lack of success in our prayer.

Conclusion

Much of what has been reported in this paper is not new; yet this report has summarized the living voice of experience. The men who spoke at Fordham know the Exercises; they know the book; they know what methods to use to bring the book to life. The sharing of this experience was a testimony to the fact that no matter how experienced a retreat master may be, he wants to gain further insights and new practical methods from his fellows. Young Jesuits, too, unexperienced in the giving of retreats learned much from the three day Study. Although they began the Study hoping, perhaps, for an emphasis on adaptation and the practical, they soon realized that adaptation can begin only where study of the text and of the directories, and study of the life of St. Ignatius ends. The Study gave those who attended a wealth of practical suggestions; it gave them a renewed appreciation of the meaning of the Exercises, and in opening up problems and new approaches, for instance, the exact meaning of the election, the Christological element of the Foundation, and the high spiritual level attained in the First Week, the Study gave all an incentive to ponder and to cherish the Society's unique instrument for the salvation of souls.

Four Steps to a Library*

Thomas J. Lynam, S.J.

First Step

Four steps can be seen in a casually noted history of the development of St. Louis University Library. The first step takes us back 125 years. In 1833-34 Father DeSmet returned to Belgium. He had gone back for reasons of health, but an account of his activities during this sojourn indicate that this

* Written for the opening of the Pius XII Library, St. Louis University.

was not a mere spell of invalidism. He made many appeals for the Missouri Mission and the nascent college in Saint Louis. In addition to collecting money, he gathered a large store of vestments, altar furnishings, scientific apparatus, some thirty paintings of considerable value and many books. The books included a whole library formerly belonging to the Augustinians of Enghien. DeSmet wrote to his brother about this gift of books. He says, "I counted on being with you before Easter, but Providence stood in the way. Some trifling business called me to Enghien. An hour there was all I needed. By the merest chance, I fell in with a certain priest. The conversation turned to books. He told of a place where I can be sure to find some. We went there and I was given the entire library: Baronius in twenty-two volumes folio, the Bollandists in forty volumes, all the councils, the great dictionary of Moreri, a history of the Church, a large number of the Fathers and many good books besides."¹

We are inclined to think that DeSmet's major interest was in the missions; we hear of him trudging about Belgium begging for his Indians, or envision him crossing rivers and climbing mountains to visit their villages, but his letters to Father General and to local superiors reveal that he had a genuine and understanding interest in the educational needs of the schools of the early days of the Missouri Mission. In the incident about books referred to here, we can see in DeSmet a founder of the University Library. Of course, the College had books before DeSmet acquired this gift, but they could not have been very numerous, and, in any event, the Augustinian donation must have been a notable accession for the times. Note that this occurred in 1834, only five years after the Society had taken over Du Bourg's college and eight years before it had acquired a university charter. Our library got an early start.

It would be an error to think that books were a rarity in early nineteenth-century Saint Louis. Mr. John Francis McDermott of Washington University has done some interesting

¹ *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., America Press, New York, 1938, vol. I, p. 355. In a footnote, Garraghan gives as his source of this statement: *Le Père De Smet (1801-1873)*, Laveille, p. 85.

and valuable research on this point. He tells us that "it was the boast of the town that Bishop Du Bourg had a library of 8,000 volumes open to use by the 'man of science, the antiquary, and the linguist.'"² He tells us further that in 1810 Auguste Chouteau and Frederick Bates had "extensive" libraries and that "John Mullanphy in 1833 left a collection of more than twelve hundred volumes of history, travels, memoirs, science, classics, and literature, including a forty-nine volume set of the Waverly novels." Another example which shows the size of an early nineteenth-century library and the rapidity with which it grew takes us far from Saint Louis, but the instance is worth noting. Father Van de Velde entered the Society at Georgetown and there, after the appropriate studies, he was ordained. Before he was attached to the Missouri Mission, he spent fourteen years altogether at Georgetown, during most of which time he was, in addition to other duties, librarian. In a sketch written by himself he states that when he assumed direction of the Georgetown library it consisted of a mere handful of some two hundred books and when he left in 1831 it numbered twenty thousand volumes.³ Certainly a rapid growth resulting in a large collection of books for that time and that place. One trusts that Van de Velde did not indulge in any prideful padding of the inventory of his library. What the Augustinians of Enghien did after giving away a library we do not know. We feel that God must have blessed them for their generous charity to a little frontier American college.

Second Step

The second step in the history of the development of our Library was the building of the Du Bourg Hall Library. When the Fathers at the old University downtown were planning on moving to the Grand Avenue site, they called in as architect, Thomas Waring Walsh, a resident of Saint Louis.

² "Culture and the Missouri Frontier," John Francis McDermott in *Missouri Historical Review*, July 1956, p. 359.

³ Biographical Sketch of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Van de Velde, second Bishop of Chicago, Illinois, and subsequently second Bishop of Natchez, Mississippi. Van de Velde himself wrote the sketch. It is reproduced in the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 9, pp. 56, ff. (1926).

They could hardly have made a better choice. Good Gothic was not being done in the United States in the nineteenth century, but Thomas Walsh produced good Gothic: witness the College Church and Du Bourg Hall. Here, however, we are not interested in the artistic merits of either building; our attention is directed rather to the interior concept and fabric of the library which Walsh planned to be included in the college structure.

Walsh was commissioned to design a one-building college. So the building which we have come to know as Du Bourg Hall was to contain classrooms, physics and chemistry laboratories, a study hall, living quarters for the community and a library. Walsh and the Fathers who ordered the plan deserve the greatest commendation, the one for the suitability-to-purpose as envisioned at that time and for the structural ingenuity of the design, and the others for their intelligence and foresight and courage in telling him that he might go ahead with the plan of the building as he had conceived it. The records show that the University of the time was hard pressed for money. Even the fund that accrued from the sale of the downtown property was not sufficient to complete the interior of Du Bourg Hall. When the Fathers moved into the new building, it was fortunate that the community was small enough to be accommodated on the first and second floors, for the third and fourth floors had to be left in an unfinished, unplastered state. But the builders did not skimp on the Library; it was completed and ready for use on the first day of occupation of the building.

However outmoded the Library has become in the seventy-two years of its existence, it was, when erected, typical of the best library planning of the day. The University Catalog for 1887-1888 says, "The accommodations of this apartment (that is, the Library) are as good as those of any library in the country." This was no mere publicity exaggeration. The Library, when constructed, was certainly the best in the Saint Louis area and compared favorably with any library in the country. The general plan was simple enough: there was a place to read and a place to keep the books. So a central, court-like rectangular area was provided as a reading-room and this was surrounded on the four sides of the rectangle

by a series of three galleries rising one above the other; the galleries provided stack space for the books. This plan or modifications of it was common to almost all libraries that were built in the late nineteenth century. Other examples of the type come to mind: the old Public Library in downtown Cincinnati was built exactly along the general lines of our Du Bourg Hall Library, though, of course its dimensions were more extensive than those of our Library; the Riggs Library at Georgetown and the house library at St. Ignatius, West Side, Chicago, and the old library in Johnston Hall, Marquette, all followed this general design, though in the examples mentioned, only in the Cincinnati Library did the galleries rise on all four sides of the rectangle. But the basic idea was always the same: a reading-room area and galleries on one or more sides rising above as stack space. Our Library as originally constructed did have galleries on all four sides, but, when it was decided to use the Library as an auditorium, the galleries on the west wall were removed so that a platform-like stage could be erected in the apsidal extension of space there. The removal of the west wall galleries and the erection of a stage without scenery gave to our Library something of the appearance of an Elizabethan theatre, a picturesque result that was certainly in no one's mind when the alterations were made.

The method of construction used in the Library was thought in its day to be something of an engineering feat. The three balconies rising one above another are supported by three tiers of metal columns, which continue to rise above the top gallery to afford auxiliary support to the timbered ceiling and the roof above it. The columns in the Library rest on similar ones in the chapel and these in turn are based on corresponding supports in the large room beneath the chapel. Ultimately, the thrust of this massed weight is taken up by native rock foundations sunk deep into the earth. A full page illustration, giving a cross-section view of this interesting construction appears in the University Catalog for 1887-1888. This writer has been unable, so far, to determine whether the metal used in these pillars is structural wrought iron or steel; whatever the material, the columns have served their purpose well. One completely unskilled in the craft of

building can see no notable deterioration in the structure.

This was the second step in the development of the University Library, the building an occupation of the space assigned to the Library in Du Bourg Hall. Having accomplished this splendid step, everything was ready, one would think, for library service, but a curious and prolonged stage of nonfunctioning followed. The new Library was closed and locked up; no one used it. There was no full-time librarian; there was no staff to administer the Library. For many years Brother Henry F. Eils and later Brother George E. Rueppel acted as librarians in their spare time. During this long period there is no evidence of any consistent alertness to the necessity of acquiring new books, nor endeavor to fill in *lacunae* in the various sections. Here we have a reversal of Louis Sullivan's well-known architectural dictum that "form follows function," for we had form and no function, or at least no functioning. For thirty-eight of its seventy-two years of existence, the Library was closed. At best, it was a mere repository for books; at worst, it became, as we shall see, an auditorium. The reasons for this curious situation are difficult to ascertain; the ultimate explanation, however, is likely to be found in the method of teaching that was used in those days. It was felt that one book was sufficient for a subject; there was no need to seek richer, broader ramifications of the subject in other books. Fortified with a textbook, the student needed no library. For that matter, neither did the teacher. So, for safekeeping, why not lock up the Library?

The theologians and philosophers, both of which groups were in residence at the University during those years, had their own professional libraries, the one group in DeSmet Hall and the other in Verhaegen. Hence, such was the view, there was no need for either of these groups to use the University Library. Indeed, both groups were forbidden to use it. The students of the High School and College, both of which divisions were housed at that time in Du Bourg, had a students' library in the room that is now the office of the Dean of Women. This library consisted of some 1500 books made up largely of the English classics, Catholic novels, the travelogs of Burton Holmes and John Stoddard and a reference department consisting of a copy of Webster's *Unabridged Diction-*

ary. The adjoining room, now the women's lounge, was designated as the reading room, though there was precious little reading done there. No cases of books added decor to the walls; the furniture consisted of straight-back chairs placed about some six or seven deal tables; from framed pictures on the walls, the faces of graduation classes looked down on the passing scene.

It would not be entirely correct to say that the Library was put to no use during the first half of its long existence. Early in its history the whole main floor was equipped with opera chairs and the Library thus became an auditorium. There were held an occasional popular lecture, elocution and oratorical contests, glee club concerts of the college, and other such outcroppings of culture. When the influence of Hollywood finally penetrated our midst, the movies for the community were shown there. On more somber occasions it was the scene of the public disputations in philosophy and theology. Before the Library is turned over to more profane uses and loses its distinctive character, it will be pleasant to recall that some famous and distinguished men were guests of the University within its precincts. On different occasions, Cardinals Satolli, Vannutelli, Faulhaber, and Fumasoni-Biondi (at the time of his visit Apostolic Delegate to the United States) spoke from its simple, unadorned platform. The 1903 World's Fair brought many nationally prominent people to the city. The University participated in this event with presentation of the grand act by one of the fourth-year Fathers. On this occasion—its scene was the old Library—Cardinal Gibbons and President Theodore Roosevelt occupied places of honor in the front row. A President of the United States sitting in at an exhibition of scholastic philosophy and theology! Surely a perilous juxtaposition of Church and State which the alarmists of the day seem not to have noted.

An interesting sidelight may be introduced at this point which shows that the Saint Louis Jesuits were not entirely alone in their quaint attitude towards the use of a library. At the very time, that is in 1925, when, as we shall see, Saint Louis did get around to opening its Library for general University use, one of our universities in the East opened a new and very beautiful Gothic library building. With the opening

of this new library in that school, there came a ukase to the effect that Jesuits might not draw more than two books from the library at any given time. Whatever local implications this order may have had we do not know. The regulation may have been promulgated to protect the Fathers from the ravages of the various concupiscences to which Jesuit users of libraries are said to be prone.

Third and Fourth Steps

We are now at the third step in the development of the Library: the opening of the Du Bourg Hall Library for general use. This change marked the beginning of a new epoch in the University, a change which was brought about by members of the teaching staff. Father Henry H. Regnet informed the author that, among the Jesuits, Father F. X. McMenamy, who was Provincial at the time, and Father Samuel Horine, who was then Dean of the College of Arts, were those principally responsible for making the Library available to the students as well as the Faculty. At any rate, in 1925 the Library began to function as a library. The opera chairs were removed, the stage at the west end of the room was dismantled, a circulation desk installed, a proper catalog inaugurated, and tables and chairs were supplied for the use of the Library patrons. Father Regnet was appointed full time librarian and he was permitted to engage a skeleton staff to aid him in administering the Library. It was no small task to activate a library which had lain dormant for almost forty years, but this Father Regnet achieved.

The fourth step in the development of our Library, namely, the opening of the Pius XII Library, is really not a step; it is a very great stride. This is not to belittle the efforts of those who came before us; the fact is that there must be small steps before there can be great steps; toddling comes before striding.

Father Frederick J. Grewen

Robert F. Grewen, S.J.

Rev. Frederick J. Grewen, S.J., was born in a small city in the foothills of the Adirondacks, Johnstown, New York, on the 6th of December, 1872. He died at St. Agnes Hospital, White Plains, New York, on the 18th of April, 1959. The span of his life, in the terms of human living, was a long one, eighty-six years. There is nothing sensational about his life. It was the life of a man who, after entering the Society of Jesus, did what he was told to do and retained in all the vicissitudes of his religious life a deep affection for the Society, and retained, also, one of the greatest qualities for good religious living, a sense of humor.

Father Grewen was one of six children, three boys and three girls. He outlived all except one sister who died at the age of eighty-seven a few short months after his death. His parents were both from a small town near Trier in southern Germany. His father settled in Johnstown, New York, only nine miles from the Shrine at Auriesville, and started there a tailoring business. He was very successful and bought valuable real estate in the main section of the town. As a boy, Father Grewen attended public schools of city, both grammar and high school. In his later years he would often tell unsuspecting fellow Jesuits that when he graduated from high school he was by far the brightest boy in his class. After his listener expressed perhaps a mild surprise and murmured polite, if not sincere, congratulations, Father Grewen would add, "You see, I was the only boy in the class, all the rest were girls."

After graduating from high school he went to Canisius College, Buffalo, for four years, graduating from there in June of 1895. During his life he had many stories to tell of the German fathers and scholastics at Canisius, which was then a mission of the German Province. Once when the author of this little story told him that he was going to visit

Canisius High School, which was then at Washington Street and the site of the old college, he was carefully instructed by Father Grewen to take a good look at the high wire fence surrounding the playing area and see if there was a baseball still stuck up there, and, if it was, it was the famous home run hit by "Shorty" Grewen in his college years. It did not seem to bother the old priest that the none too gentle weather of Buffalo would certainly have done away with that particular baseball after fifty years. He had many stories of the Teutonic discipline of the old fathers, of the days when the students marched two by two downtown in a line, with a prefect walking on the opposite side of the street; or of the walks to the villa, now the site of Canisius College, and the military formation once again throughout the long walk. He spoke of the time when, on a particularly cold day, the students were marching back from the villa and the father of one of the boys drove up in a sleigh and took his son and another boy into the sleigh back to the college. The result of such a breach of discipline was swift and disastrous—the boy was expelled. Father Grewen did not elaborate on the reaction of the boy's father.

Another story he told was of the son of a prominent New York businessman, who, in high dudgeon because of what he thought was unjust punishment, took the train back to New York to shake the dust (or was it the snow?) of Canisius from his feet. His family owned a mansion on Fifth Avenue, and to his surprise when he walked in the front door and into the drawing room, who was sitting there but the Prefect of Discipline. The boy was forthwith escorted back to another train and to the college, and he never did see his parents to offer any explanation. Father Grewen always spoke, however, of his days at Canisius College as very happy ones, and apparently the Spartan discipline did not bother him too much.

Father Grewen entered the Society of Jesus from the Buffalo Mission and began his novitiate at Prairie du Chien on the 31st of August, 1895. He stayed at Prairie du Chien for his novitiate, juniorate, and philosophy until 1902. All his life Father Grewen had great affection for Prairie du Chien and, as usual, many stories concerning his years there. One of

these concerned our own beloved former tertian instructor, Father Peter Lutz. Father Grewen recalled how one day a scholastic, who professed a deep knowledge of wrestling, was showing other scholastics, including Father Grewen, various wrestling holds. Father Lutz was watching, and when his turn came he remarked simply, "Is this how it is done?", and forthwith picked up the demonstrator and flung him to the ground with a jar that ended the demonstration.

As a regent Father Grewen taught from 1902 to 1905 at Canisius College, and then was sent to study theology at Valkenburg, Holland, where he remained from 1905 to 1908. Among his teachers was the famous moralist, Father Lehmkuhl. Father Grewen often told the author that when you wished to get an answer to a moral problem, you would go to Father Lehmkuhl, ask him, get the answer, go back to your room, and refuse to answer any knock on the door. The reason was that the first answer given would be correct, but the good Father would think of many other probable answers and come down to your room and, if you answered the door, would proceed to mix you up with distinctions and sub-distinctions until there was no answer left. The day he arrived at Valkenburg a watch, which he carried as beadle of the small band going to the theologate (which he always insisted was an Ingersoll), was laid by him on a small table in his room while he went down to get some water with which to wash. He had only been in the house a few minutes. When he got back the watch was gone and there was a note from the Minister, asking in German, "By whose permission do you have this watch?" It was a rather chilling and formal reception to a young man who had crossed the water for the first time.

Father Grewen returned to Woodstock College where he was ordained to the priesthood by His Eminence Diomede Cardinal Falconio, the Apostolic Delegate to the United States, on the 30th of July, 1908. From 1908 to 1910 Father Grewen taught classics at St. Francis Xavier College, and then made his third year of probation at St. Andrew-on-Hudson, Poughkeepsie, New York.

In 1911 Father Grewen was sent as a missionary to Jamaica in the British West Indies. His going there and the time he remained is a typical Jesuit story. As told to the author, he

was sent there because of the sudden inability of a man assigned by Father Provincial to go and was told that he would be there from six months to a year. He remained eleven years. He had a great love for the Jamaica Mission, which in those days was not a place of easy labors. Much of his time was spent on horseback, traveling over rough trails to various mission stations. During these years, too, he served a leper colony and described the terrible conditions and sufferings of the poor victims. When he would describe these conditions, his manner and words indicated his deep sympathy and love of these poor unfortunates. Some of our early Jesuit missionaries have told many stories of voodooism and hair-raising experiences. Most of Father Grewen's stories were of the opposite type and ended by showing a natural cause for an apparently preternatural event. However, he did tell the author of one unusual experience. One day he was told of a girl about twenty years old, dying alone in her cabin back in the hills. He immediately started out on horseback, carrying with him the Blessed Sacrament. He found the cabin and, as he started through the door, he saw the dying person lying on a dirty mat in the corner of the wretched hut. No one else was there. As he started towards her he was struck violently across the face by an invisible force. This happened twice more, and, finally, he took the pyx containing the Blessed Sacrament from his pocket. He made the sign of the cross with it and held it in front of him as he tried again. This time nothing happened, and he reached the side of the sufferer, heard her confession, and gave her the last rites.

He also told of a visitation by Father Provincial when both of them were in a one room cabin on a mission station. During the night they were awakened by a progression of thumps that seemed to come from beneath the floor, accompanied by a rattle of chains. There was little sleep for either Father Grewen or Father Provincial the rest of the night. In the morning, after a hasty breakfast, Father Provincial had important business elsewhere and made quickly for Kingston. Father Grewen told how he got down on his knees outside the cabin, which was simply resting on four stones, one at each corner, pushed aside the leaves and branches that filled the space between the stones and crawled underneath as far as

he could. He found a little pig that was tangled up in a rusty old chain, which in its endeavors to escape, kept hitting its back against the floor. And so vanished the ghost that had disturbed the Provincial. The author often wondered what Father Provincial's story was when he returned to New York.

In 1912 Father Grewen pronounced his final vows on February 2nd in Jamaica. He returned to the United States in 1922. The author was then sixteen years old when Father Grewen returned to his hometown for a brief visit. The memory of the author pictures a very kindly man with a great sense of humor, in spite of the fact that he was badly afflicted with arthritis. He recalls the astonishment of Father Grewen at automobiles, trolley cars, and all the new things that had happened in eleven years.

In 1922 he was a parish priest at St. Aloysius Church in Washington, D. C., and later at Holy Trinity Church. In these places there were two things that were especially noteworthy. One was the large number of penitents that constantly sought his confessional. Father Grewen had an innate kindness and understanding that drew throngs to kneel at his feet in the confessional. The other was his love of children and their attraction to him. When he went out for a walk in the afternoon, he always returned with a flock of youngsters around him.

In 1935 he went as a parish priest to St. Ignatius Church in New York. A good part of his years there were spent in the hospital where he was in acute pain from arthritis. He spent long months in St. Vincent's Hospital in New York City and, due to the fact that he had been away in Jamaica for eleven years and away from the New York City area for many more years, he was not well known to the Jesuits in the city and often he was extremely lonely.

In 1939 he was sent to Our Lady of Martyrs Tertianship, Auriesville, to be spiritual father of the community. It was only fitting that he should return to an area that meant so much to him. As a boy he had been one of the first pilgrims to the Shrine of Our Lady of Martyrs. The description of that first pilgrimage was written by him and I think is worth quoting:—

"I made the first pilgrimage to the National Shrine when I was twelve years old. The children's sodality to which I belonged was in charge of the Reverend Patrick H. McDermott. He got the horses and carriages from Stollers' livery stable, and off we went to the place where Goupil, Lalande and Jogues were killed for Christ's sake. The girls rode in carriages, but the boys rode on what is called a bandwagon, a vehicle with two long seats along the side. Coming in from Johnstown there was a plank road and a tollgate on the road. The toll was ten cents per mule.

"When we arrived at Fultonville the better road was the towpath along the old Erie Canal. The Erie Canal was in use from 1825 to 1918 and was succeeded by the river barge canal now used. Whether our driver had a right to use the towpath or not, I do not know. But the other roads were steep, not graded as now. When the mules reached a hill they would stop dead until all the kids got out. Our driver took the towpath, but when we met up with the mule-drivers along the canal, who certainly had a right to be there with their barges, various expressions of displeasure were used that were hardly above reproach.

"At that time there was only that building which we now call 'the first chapel.' It is the place where the statue of St. Isaac Jogues is now. In the beginning it was the only structure on the Shrine grounds. It was a small octagonal oratory, large enough for an altar, the priest, and his servers. It stood on the brow of the hill which was the spot where the Indians had their platform of torture. It has since been moved.

"I met Father Van Rensselaer. He was the first Jesuit I ever met. He made a great impression on me. We had holy Mass and the stations of the cross. Of course, the present stations were not erected at that time. Father Robert Fulton blessed the chapel and celebrated holy Mass. Father Augustine Langcake, S.J., preached the sermon.

"We went down to the ravine, where the body of Goupil may be buried. The pilgrims were wont to go to the ravine even before the property was acquired by the Shrine in 1895. There was a large limestone in the depths of the ravine where the stream bed formerly lay. It was thought that this was

the large stone described by Father Jogues as the burial place of Rene Goupil; and then it began to be treated as a relic by the pilgrims. Fragments were broken off and kept as sacred, and were even steeped in water to try their curative power. Cures were soon attributed to it, and the demand for more fragments became so great that it was necessary to fence around the stone, to encage and padlock it, lest its popularity should be the cause of its utter disappearance. Later ground was filled in and the stone was covered. Today the statue of René Goupil stands above the rock.

"When I first came to the Shrine you could see the outlines of the ancient Indian village as plainly as the lines in the palm of your hand. The Shrine at that time consisted of only ten acres. It is now extended to 519 acres.

"I knew a sister who was cured at the Shrine and it was a first-class miracle. Her name was Sister Mercedes, a Sister of Mercy from Buffalo. She had osteomyelitis. I knew her personally."

Because of great physical suffering during his long life, God was good to Father Grewen in allowing him to spend the last twenty years of his life at Auriesville. For sixteen of those years, in spite of constantly recurring sickness, he was able to discharge his duties as spiritual father, and also, to go down to the Shrine grounds and help out there. When he was at the Shrine proper it was noticeable that once again his attraction for little children was most apparent. He was always surrounded by them and enjoyed talking to them, telling them stories, blessing them and their parents.

These years were not without their troubles. When Father Grewen was about seventy-one the author got a call from St. Mary's Hospital, saying that Father Grewen's appendix had burst and there was no hope for him. A hurried trip from Morristown, New Jersey, was made and I reached the hospital and went into his room, where he seemed to be fairly comfortable. The sister on duty assured me that that meant nothing, there was no hope, and the crisis would come around midnight. She then took me to a room across the hall and advised that I get a short rest. I threw myself on the bed and fell asleep. I woke up with a start and realized, as I looked at my watch, that it was seven o'clock the next morning. The

thought struck me forcibly that he had died during the night and the nurse on duty had forgotten to call me. I had flung myself on the bed fully dressed so I dashed across the hall into his room to be met by a cheery good morning from him. He noticed the surprise on my face and said with a smile, "I heard what the doctor said last night, but those doctors don't know everything." Evidently he was right because he made a rather quick recovery. During the last year of his life he suffered several heart attacks. Each one was supposed to be fatal and I was called. The last time I protested over the phone, and was told that, even if I left immediately, in all probability I would not be able to see him alive. I drove down from Syracuse, not observing many speed limits, reached the hospital, and the sister met me with the following story: She said that the nuns and some of the priests from Auriesville were in the room, candles had been lighted, and the prayers for the dying were being said. In the midst of this, the doctor walked in and went over to the bed and leaned over Father Grewen. Father raised his arm, the hand of which was crippled with arthritis, looked at it, and in a voice that was not very soft, exclaimed, "Doc, do you think it is rigor mortis setting in?" Of course, that broke up the party, the candles were blown out, and the prayers were interrupted.

The last year of his life he suffered several strokes and, because he needed special care, was taken to the Shrub Oak Infirmary. He was there for about nine months. One of the brothers who took care of him, Brother Andrews, was a great favorite of his and the good Brother in turn lavished every care on Father Grewen. Because of the strokes, Father Grewen's speech was impaired and he invariably substituted different names for people. The brother's name was changed to Abraham, and he would call out for "Brother Abraham" in no uncertain tones. Finally, he was taken to St. Agnes Hospital where he died on the 18th of April, 1959. The funeral Mass was at Shrub Oak and his body was taken to the vault at St. Andrew-on-Hudson and then later back to Shrub Oak for burial in the new cemetery.

To sum up his life would be to reiterate that there was nothing spectacular about it. He loved the young and they

loved him. Throughout the years the tertians knew him, respected him, and had great affection for him. This was evidenced on the occasions of his jubilees, his Golden Jubilee as a Jesuit, his Diamond Jubilee, and then, again, his Golden Jubilee as a priest. On the occasion of his Diamond Jubilee, the whole day was given over to the celebration. I do not think anyone who was there will ever forget it. The authorities at the tertianship, and especially the tertians themselves, went all out on this occasion. Father Grewen thoroughly enjoyed it, from beginning to end, although it was a long and tiring day for him. Whenever he met a former tertian later on, his invariable question was, "When did we make tertianship together?"

Father Grewen was a very simple man and his knowledge of various subjects was greater than many people, even those close to him, knew. In his effects were painstaking outlines and summaries of practically every book he had ever read. His memory, right up to the last year of his life, was very sharp, both for days long gone and for recent happenings. His relatives lived close by in Johnstown and it was his delight to go there on a Sunday. He was especially close to his niece, Miss Gertrude Grewen, and although she saw him regularly, she would write to him just because of the pleasure he obtained from receiving mail. I have observed the ritual of his reading a letter. He would take it, even though he knew perfectly well who wrote it and where it came from, hold it up to the light, then he would put it down on his desk, fill his pipe, settle himself in the rocking chair, look the letter over again, and then would open it. He would read the letter very thoroughly, and, if someone was present, would regale him with not only what it contained, but he would subsume again and again until the letter became a rather lengthy document.

Constantly, in the last years of his life when he was unable to say Mass, he would complain to the author about this deprivation. I would reply that he had nothing to complain about, that he had said Mass every day for a much longer time than most Jesuits. That answer always satisfied him. Father Grewen had a very great simplicity that cut through the red tape of feelings and emotions and went straight to the target,

which, to him, was the will of God. He brought much joy and consolation to all classes of people. In that was his great worth, and I feel sure that it has been returned to him by the good Lord a hundredfold.

Father Carmelo Tranchese

C. J. McNaspy, S.J., and Edmund Rodriguez, S.J.

Father Carmelo Tranchese died 13 July 1956 as he had always prayed to die, quickly, with the helps of the Church. His one dread was causing trouble to others. The very night before his death the Brothers, to whom he regularly gave points, found him more than usually animated. Later that night he felt ill, but not wishing to disturb anyone waited until the excitator's visit. At about seven o'clock he suffered a severe attack of coronary thrombosis and was anointed. Throughout the day he was, whenever conscious, his considerate, grateful self. Shortly before five that afternoon he had another attack and died quietly.

Father Tranchese was about to complete his seventy-sixth year, and in December 1956 was to celebrate his golden jubilee in the Society. As one learned soon after meeting him, he had been born in Naples and he was particularly proud that his mother's name was Napolitano. In technical school and gymnasium he always won first honors. Novitiate and juniorate were also done at Naples, so also was his regency. Among his juniorate teachers were the famous Latinists, Fathers Altobelli and D'Elia. The literary taste acquired in these years never left him. During the trying days at San Antonio, he found daily refreshment in an ode or satire of Horace, and even in his last year one of his greatest delights was the discovery of Juvenal.

For philosophy he went to Malta, where he almost died of Maltese fever. Malta, like every other place he had known, was a favorite topic of conversation. Theology he studied at St Bueno's, Wales. Fathers Martindale, Lattey, Walker, and Plater were the most celebrated of his classmates, and even fifty years later he often spoke of them. He was awarded his B.A. from the University of London and was ordained in 1910.

The Neapolitan Mission of New Mexico and Colorado was his next assignment, presumably "just for one year." This assignment entailed learning Spanish. He was appointed rector of St. Ignatius Church, El Paso, Texas, for two years. Then came tertianship at Poughkeepsie. He had expected to return to Italy but was sent back to El Paso, to Guardian Angel and St. Ignatius parishes. For two years he gave missions to Italians and Mexicans all over the West, was made pastor of Sacred Heart Church, Albuquerque, New Mexico; then he was sent to California.

In Father Tranchese's mind all of these appointments were simply temporary. In addition to other degrees he had gained a diploma in electrical engineering and still expected to spend his life in scientific research, preferably as an astronomer. But in 1932 came the assignment that was to occupy his most creative years and bring him national fame: he was sent to Guadalupe Church, San Antonio, where for twenty-two years he was the apostle of the poor.

Father Tranchese first walked into the pulpit of the run-down church of Our Lady of Guadalupe to address his new parishioners on July 17, 1932. Before him he saw the victims of the economic depression which was then at its depth. His flock comprised mainly Mexicans who were illiterate both in their own tongue and in English. These people, numbering twelve thousand, lived crowded together in one square mile, dwelling in row huts called "corrals" with almost no facilities for proper sanitation. The principal occupation of Father's parishioners was shelling pecans, from which they earned from \$1.50 to \$2.00 a week. These were already starvation wages, but things were soon to take a dip for the worse.

When the NRA came into effect in 1933, it placed a floor under wages. The pecan-shelling plants shut down—an act

that spelled disaster for the poor Mexicans. Real starvation replaced starvation wages, and thousands were in danger of dying for lack of food. Father plunged into the social apostolate: he begged stale bread and tortillas, vegetables on the verge of decay, and money. Mayor C. K. Quin of San Antonio joined his efforts to Father's by supplying two squad cars and four policemen to help him collect the food. Father was thus able to avert, at least temporarily, the shocking situation. Without this relief many would, doubtless, have starved.

This temporary alleviation offered no security, however, and Father had to look for a way to employ his people. He meditated and prayed until he came up with an idea which seemed to offer a solution. The Government was then sponsoring housing projects throughout the United States. If he could get the Government to undertake one in San Antonio's West Side, Father's threefold dream would find fulfillment: his people would find steady employment until the crisis passed; they would have decent homes to live in; and finally the slums would be cleared away. But how would he start? He had no influence, no high connections; he was just another obscure parish priest working with another group of unfortunate immigrants. What key would he employ to start the ignition of the intricate machinery of the United States Government? His zeal took what to others would have seemed the surest way not to gain entrance: he started writing letters. In one letter after another he set forth the deplorable conditions of his flock, hoping that someone in Washington with a heart would be moved to investigate for himself. For a long time he received no reply. Finally one day, a representative from Washington confronted him at the rectory door and simply told him, "I am the answer to your letters." After inspection of the slums by this representative and others, a telegram at length arrived with President Roosevelt's approval of a housing project for San Antonio.

But God would test his servant's zeal and patience even more. Hardly had the project begun when the Supreme Court declared national housing projects unconstitutional. "Then," Father once remarked, "we just had to wait and twiddle our thumbs until Mr. Roosevelt could pack the Supreme Court." Under the order of the President, who had

reversed the decision of the Court by filling a few vacancies, the \$4,000,000 housing project was resumed.

Just at this point, however, trouble appeared from another source. The proprietors of the slums were drawing substantial profits from the rents and from the exploitation of their wretched tenants. They had no intention of selling, so they began to spread malicious rumors against Father Tranchese and held out for outrageous prices. Unfortunately, the local housing authorities in San Antonio complied with the demands of these unscrupulous men and paid \$1,200,000 for thirty acres of the worst part of the slums. When Nathan Strauss, head of the National Housing Authority, came to San Antonio and saw how the property owners had practically robbed the local housing authorities, he declared the whole project null. Father Tranchese's repeated appeals to Strauss were cordially received, but with no effect.

Stunned by this new development, Father Tranchese trusted to Divine Providence and again took up his pen. This time the address on the envelope was that of Mrs. Roosevelt. Providence once more favored his efforts. After reading the letter, Mrs. Roosevelt called Mr. Strauss on the telephone and did not let him go until he promised to resume the project. A further result of this letter was that Mrs. Roosevelt herself came to San Antonio and was given a guided tour of the parish. As Father Tranchese himself used to put it, "I took her down there and got her feet right in the mud."

The housing project proceeded as planned, further aided by the election of Maury Maverick to Congress in 1934, who, as Father's friend and fellow housing-enthusiast, succeeded in obtaining an additional \$12,000,000 for the San Antonio housing projects. Even when everything went along smoothly, Father Tranchese stayed right in the thick of architects, contractors, and workers to make sure that his flock got only the best. Finally, after much prayer and struggle and more prayer, Father saw his dream become reality.

Overwhelmed with gratitude and not knowing exactly how to express it, Father Tranchese again took up his pen, not to write a letter this time, but to compose a Latin poem in honor of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. He was not unsuited for the task; it had been his practice from his younger days as a

Jesuit to celebrate fellow Jesuits with Latin, Italian, or Spanish verses. To the poem he added this letter:

Mr. President: Among the duties and disappointments which must perforce burden your life, may this modest tribute of admiration and gratitude come as a drop of balm to your heart.

It is not flattery, nor a political gesture; it is the sincere expression of a suffering part of your subjects, which I have tried to translate into verse. This poem has been written in the slums where I live, and where I try to help those who suffer.

I did not know what to offer you in return for all you have done to better the conditions of our poor people. So I sang your good works, and I used the old Latin, the language of the great statesmen and of the heroes.

May God bless you and may all your undertakings prosper.

Respectfully yours,

Carmelo Tranchese, S.J.

This last gesture of gratitude closed one of the most dramatic chapters of this little Jesuit's crowded life. His work in this connection has won fame by articles in *The Saturday Evening Post*, *America*, and *Jesuit Missions*, which have made his name proverbial as the Jesuit apostle of God's underprivileged.

At this time too he was prominent in work to alleviate the persecution of the Church in Mexico. Among his associates were the Apostolic Delegate, Cardinal Tedeschini, Senator Walsh, and Graham Greene.

In 1953 Father Tranchese's habitual overwork led to a breakdown and he had to retire from the hectic life of his parish. When he came the Novitiate at Grand Coteau, Louisiana, he announced that he had come simply to die. In a matter of months, however, he became himself again. Eager to help, he did week-end supply and coached students of Spanish in the juniorate. Soon he became a regular assistant in both parishes of the village, making a specialty of onerous confessional duties. In a very short time he endeared himself to parishioners both black and white. "Padrecito" became as beloved in village and community as he had been for so many years in the Southwest.

During these last years Father Tranchese was comforted almost every week by visits from his western friends. Every

mail brought several letters, each of which was conscientiously answered. His limitless sympathy went out to anyone that needed it. Like St. Francis he was concerned even with God's lesser creatures: goldfish, birds, flowers. His way with children seemed almost magical, but everyone who knew him felt that Father was his own special father and friend. Many a night he spent sleeplessly, even in these last years, anxiously trying to devise spiritual or financial aid for friends hundreds of miles away. After his death many came from far to pray at his grave and weep.

It is hard to imagine a life of wider variety in God's vineyard. Once when asked how many persons he had baptized, he replied casually, "Oh, about ten or fifteen thousand." Yet Father Tranchese once confided the fact that he had always been put to do the work he least wanted. His sacrifice was so full and vigorous that no one would have suspected what it cost him. He had prepared for the intellectual apostolate; Divine Providence put his talents to other uses. With all his enthusiasm for science, art, and literature, he did find time to write articles and poems in several languages, and founded the Spanish diocesan paper of San Antonio. All was part of an unbounded zest for God and all things human. His was of an unbounded zest for God and all things human. His was a rich share of what his favorite Dante called the love that moves the sun and the other stars.

Books of Interest to Ours

EARLY PHILIPPINE JESUITS

The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581-1768. By H. de la Costa, S.J. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961. PP. xiii-702. \$12.50.

Discovered by Magellan in 1521, the Philippines received its first permanent Spanish settlement at Manila in 1565. Sixteen years later the first Jesuits, two priests and one brother, arrived to begin the Society's share in the evangelization of what was to become the only Christian nation in the Orient. The story of Jesuit labors in the Philippines up to their expulsion in 1768 is fascinatingly told in this first volume of Father de la Costa. By 1595 the handful of Jesuits had opened the College of Manila with courses in grammar and theology, and in 1601, the residential college of San José, whose students attended the College of Manila. To the catechistic centers already opened near Manila new ones were added in the Visayan Islands further south, which soon became the principal scene of Jesuit mission activity. Also in 1595 the mission was raised to the status of a vice-province dependent on Mexico, and by 1605 was an independent province.

The history of the Society, as it unfolds in these pages, is closely linked with the general course of Philippine history, as well as with the missions in China and Japan. It was the pioneer Jesuit Alonso Sanchez, an intriguing mixture of politician and would-be mystic, who was sent by the government to gain the allegiance to the Spanish Crown of Portuguese Macao in 1582, and the same Sanchez was unanimously chosen to represent the Spanish colony before the Court of Madrid, much to the consternation of his superiors and to the relief of his brethren, on whom he had in his capacity of Minister imposed a semi-Carthusian way of life. Jesuits frequently served as representatives of the government to make peace with Moslem *Moros* of Mindanao and Sulu, who were carrying on intermittent warfare with the Spaniards during much of this period.

But no less interesting, and more important, than these more spectacular activities was the persevering missionary and educational work of the Philippine Jesuits. After some early vacillation they were most diligent in learning the many languages of the country, and no one was admitted to final vows without fluency in at least one. The effort to make Christianity permeate the native culture, substituting Christian usages for pagan ones, but not destroying unless necessary, was an established policy. In the perennial shortage of men which plagued the Province various means were used to extend the work of the missionaries. In each mission station a *fiscal*, a kind of a lay deacon without orders, was appointed to lead the Christian community in the absence of the missionary by word and example, giving instructions, visiting the sick,

burying the dead. Spanish laymen too, *donados*, like René Goupil in New France, worked at times with the missionaries. Unfortunately, however, not until the eighteenth century was any consideration given to the formation of a native clergy, and up to 1768 there is no record of any Filipino being admitted to the Society except for the coadjutor brother admitted in Rome in 1593, who died within a few years.

The inspiring picture given by Father de la Costa of the self-sacrificing and often heroic work accomplished by the Philippine Jesuits is not without its shadows too. Disputes with bishops, the secular clergy, the other religious orders, in which the right was not always on one side; accusations, not without foundation, of carrying on trade; a number of dismissals of priests for unchastity—all these are treated with the objectivity and frankness which is demanded by scholarly historical work.

The book is indeed a scholarly work, based solidly on extensive documentation from both Jesuit and general colonial archives in Rome and Spain, as well as on early Jesuit historians. Extensive appendixes give data on members of the Philippine province, on major Philippine Jesuit publications, and a brief but enlightening description of the archival sources. There are frequent tables and maps to accompany the text, and a number of contemporary illustrations. Yet, in spite of its scientific character, the book remains easy, often fascinating reading, with its vivid narratives and occasional humorous incidents, selected aptly with an eye to giving us a living picture of these Jesuits. Above all, it represents an effort—eminently successful as far as the documents permit—to present not merely the external events, but the inner life of the Society. It is a book which is of value not only to those interested in the Philippines, but to every Jesuit who wishes to deepen his understanding of the Society in her history.

JOHN N. SCHUMACHER, S.J.

A MUST FOR EVERY RELIGIOUS

To Live Is Christ: Nature and Grace in the Religious Life. By R. W. Gleason, S.J. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961. Pp. xi-180. \$3.00.

One effect of the preoccupation during the past few decades with the role of the layman in the Church has been to stimulate a similar interest in the life and vows of the religious. Several outstanding studies from Europe (those of Brunner, Leclercq, Dirks, Bouyer, Carpentier, come to mind) have been translated into English. Father Gleason's volume ranks with the best that has been done on the subject, and seems destined, like his earlier works, to be widely read and appreciated. He is able to speak more directly than the authors mentioned above to the American mentality and situation. His distinctive contribution is a rare competence in two widely separated fields, doctrinal theology and psychology, the latter especially from the viewpoint of the philosophy of the person and of personal values. The combination makes for a very appealing presentation, which deserves to be read and meditated by religious.

The pervading theme of these essays is that the life of the religious

is a prolongation of the Incarnation, a life that is lived in and for the whole Christ. This point of vantage makes it perfectly natural that the opening chapter should deal with union and fraternal charity, the soul of the religious life. The second chapter, "The Process of Growth," has some excellent suggestions on the subject of adaptation and renovation. The third chapter, "Christian Maturity," deals with personal growth, and is perhaps the best in the book, as one would expect from the co-author of *Counselling the Catholic*. There follows a treatment, in three chapters, of the vows of religion. The chapter on poverty is the shortest, and, for this reviewer, the least satisfying, of the volume. But then, poverty is probably the evangelical counsel most difficult to adapt to life in the modern world, where the conquest of matter by man and of man by matter co-exist in such paradoxical complexity. Perhaps our times need a new kind of experience of material privation before a truly modern spirituality of Christian poverty can be formulated. The final chapter, "Confidence in Prayer," is excellent in itself, but is only loosely related to what has gone before.

One final reflection, regarding the emphasis in this book, as in so many today, on creaturely and human values, on the theme of "Grace does not destroy nature but supposes it and builds on it." Why, one may ask, so striking a difference between our times and the great spiritual works of the past, an *Imitation*, a *Confessions*? These were concerned about men loving creatures too much; our concern is lest men love them too little. Can part of the answer be that the Christian men and women of past ages brought to the spiritual adventure an emotional apparatus that was basically healthier, more mature, whereas today neurosis is not only the affliction of individuals, however numerous, but a characteristic of our entire civilization? Does the grace of Christian and religious vocation today invite men to accept human values, as a pre-condition for appreciating divine values? Whatever the answer, we are dealing with a truly remarkable, if not unique, development in Christian spirituality. It is one of the achievements of Father Gleason's fine book that it is able to keep its essential balance in endorsing and qualifying this development.

THOMAS E. CLARKE, S.J.

PROVOKING AND STIMULATING

The Crisis of Western Education. By Christopher Dawson. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961. Pp. x-246. \$3.95.

That Christopher Dawson has written provocatively about education is no secret. For years his articles, together with the friendly and less friendly reactions they stimulated, have been appearing in *The Catholic World*, *Commonweal*, *Thought*, and other periodicals. It is indeed fortunate that he has now given full treatment to his ideas about modern educational problems. For anyone interested in the nature and aims of the Catholic (or, for that matter, the Christian) college, Dawson's book will be singularly stimulating.

The early chapters present a history of liberal education in the West.

These pages are no mere summary repetition of what is available in standard manuals. In a sweeping, synthetic view Dawson outlines the many turnings of educational theory and practice as they have been influenced by the cultural forces dominant in each age. He considers the tradition of Christian humanist education basically unimpaired by the Renaissance and even by the Reformation. It was a combination of Cartesian rationalism, Newtonian physics and Lockian empiricism that produced the revolutionary changes of the modern era. Science became a philosophy and a religion; the state replaced the Church as educator. Western man, abandoning his religious tradition, devoted his efforts to an exploitation of the world about him. Advances in technology have been so startling that Western man, if he does not discover anew the meaning of life, may destroy himself. Meantime the peoples of Africa and Asia are rising in a revolt that threatens the very survival of Western civilization. It is for the colleges, particularly those that are church-related, to lead the way in emphasizing the study of Christian culture. In this undertaking the vast system of Catholic colleges in America has a unique opportunity and corresponding responsibilities. Only by a return to the cultural tradition of the past can excessive specialization and vocationalism be avoided in the realm of education, and can nationalism and racialism be vanquished in the political arena.

The book concludes with a long appendix outlining specific programs for the study of Christian culture. John P. Gleason, a member of the history department at the University of Notre Dame, describes the upper division program of concentration in Christian culture which is currently being followed at St. Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana. In another paper John J. Molloy, who has edited the synthetic volume of Christopher Dawson's thought, *The Dynamics of World History*, suggests several possible programs. He describes a curriculum of graduate study in which courses in Christian culture would be a minor. He outlines an upper division field of concentration, lower division courses in fulfillment of liberal arts requirements, and an honors program. Naturally there is wide room for disagreement once a program is outlined in specific detail. Apart from each individual's preferences and prejudices, the college will necessarily be limited by its particular teaching and library resources. Even so these programs offer a sound basis for discussion and planning. Colleges already presenting courses related to Christian tradition can fruitfully compare their own curricula with those proposed in the final pages of Dawson's volume. THOMAS R. FITZGERALD, S.J.

PAULINE THEOLOGY

Pauline Mysticism: Christ in the Mystical Teaching of St. Paul. By Alfred Wikenhauser. Translated by Joseph Cunningham. New York: Herder and Herder, 1960. Pp. 256.

Alfred Wikenhauser is already well known in this country for the English translation of his *New Testament Introduction*. This present work will serve to enhance his reputation as one of the leading New Testament scholars of the present day.

Pauline Mysticism is the term applied to the Christian's union with Christ; the author seeks to clarify Paul's teaching on the immediate contact of the Christian with Christ. He begins by collocating the various Pauline phrases which express this union: "in Christ," "of Christ," and "Christ in us." It is clear that for Paul Christ is the vital principle of the Christian; the risen Christ is a spiritual and personal power continually influencing all who enter into vital union with him. Christ dwells and works in the Christian, while the Christian lives in Christ and draws all of his vital power from Christ.

Wikenhauser probes further into the nature of this union with Christ and the means by which it is achieved. It is chiefly through Baptism that this intimate union and vital relationship is established between Christ and the Christian. By Baptism man is "plunged" into the person of Christ, dying and rising with him and thus acquiring a share in Christ's own death and resurrection. Finally, the author establishes the distinctive character of Pauline mysticism by comparing it to pagan mystery religions prevalent in Paul's time.

Here is another example of a scholarly work in biblical theology that will prove of eminent value to theologian and layman alike. Its clear, concise presentation of Paul's theology of Christian life will serve not only the theologian probing the truths of revelation, but also every Christian interested in living more fully that share in the life of the risen Christ that is his through the sacraments.

DONALD J. MOORE, S.J.

A BEST SELLER

Before His Face. *By Gaston Courtois.* Translated by Sister Helen Madeleine. New York: Herder and Herder, Inc., 1961. Pp. viii-349. \$6.50.

This collection of meditations for diocesan priests was originally published in French under the title, *Face au Seigneur, Récollections Sacerdotales*. The translation into English by Sister Helen Madeleine succeeds admirably in capturing the vigor, freshness of approach and deeply human sense of the original.

Each of the twenty-five "meditations" is, in fact, a seven-part presentation, designed to give thematic unity to the various spiritual activities of the priest's day. These seven are: the meditation proper; a discourse (of Christ with the soul), reminiscent of the format of the *Imitation of Christ*; an examination of conscience on the subject matter of the meditation; a set of relevant resolutions; related passages for spiritual reading, taken principally from contemporary French ascetical authors; subjects for discussion; and finally, a prayer and a "thought" to summarize and complete the reflections on each topic.

Such an approach may appear excessively elaborate and formalistic. If, however, one approaches each meditation as a many-coursed spiritual repast from which each can choose those courses that he finds spiritually nourishing, the book can bring much freshness to the day-by-day routine

of prayer. This reviewer found the meditations proper a source of much fruitful reflection. As Cardinal Cushing says in his preface to the work, "The book says nothing which every priest has not heard or read about over and over again, yet its manner of approach is fresh and buoyant, and its insight into the principles of the spiritual life is incisive and engaging." Father Courtois is evidently a man whose deep spiritual insight is brought to bear directly on the contemporary problems of the apostle.

The selections for spiritual reading are very well chosen. It is to be regretted, however, that references are not given to the works from which they are taken. One hopes that future editions of the book (and, indeed, it deserves to remain in print for many years to come) will remedy this omission.

It is also to be hoped that more careful proof-reading will be done before another edition appears. A handsome printing job and a smooth, readable translation are occasionally spoiled by such oddities as having the phrase "Blessed art thou, Simon bar Jona" (Mt. 16:17) spoken to Peter by Our *Lady!*

These are small faults in a generally excellent work. The meditations on "Mary and the Priesthood," "The Spirit of Faith," and "The Priest and Catholic Action" are just a few of the valuable guides to prayer which the book contains. Although it is written with the diocesan priest in mind and makes constant reference to the circumstances of parochial life, *Before His Face* has much to say to the Jesuit priest, both in aiding him in his work of giving priests' retreats and in placing in their contemporary context the eternal truths which are the foundation of his own life of prayer.

THOMAS H. GREEN, S.J.

METHOD IN PRAYER

The Well-Spring of Prayer. By Dom Georges Lefebvre, O.S.B. New York: Desclee Co., 1961. Pp. 79. \$1.75.

Here is a seventy-nine page book on how to pray in four easy steps: submission to grace, silence, spiritual sobriety and peace. The four steps also make up the chapter headings, each chapter being an independent essay in itself. The four essays together form a brief but adequate introduction to what contemplative prayer is and how to be a contemplative.

Lay people making annual retreats, and especially those making a closed retreat for the first time, will find encouraging suggestions, uninvolved explanations and concrete examples that appear to make prayer amazingly simple. Retreatants meditating on *The Well-Springs of Prayer* will realize that it is as natural for man to pray to God as it is to converse with his earthbound friends. But with this difference: Prayer demands certain virtues not too popular in our day—humility, simplicity, gift of self, submission to grace.

There are two final observations. Dom Lefebvre seems to overstress passivity in prayer, at least when this book is compared to Fr. Mesch-

ler's classic work, *The Three Fundamental Principles of the Spiritual Life*. Lastly, \$1.75 for a seventy-nine page book is rather expensive, but a paperback edition would certainly make it popular among retreatants and novices.

JOSE V. AQUINO, S.J.

AN ARTICULATE SURVEY

The Interior Life. By Canon Jacques Leclercq. Translated by Fergus Murphy. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1961. Pp. 191. \$3.95.

To say that this latest work by the distinguished author and professor of the University of Louvain is just another treatment of the positive means of developing union with God would do it a real injustice. For this book stands out as a vigorous modern presentation of traditional Christian morality.

In covering this vast field the author considers a great variety of subjects: action and the interior life, liturgical prayer, the Mass, special devotions, vocal and mental prayer, active and passive contemplation and the various schools of spirituality. The author is not afraid to take a strong position on controversial points. His statements are incisive and thought-provoking whether he is treating the historical development of Christian mysticism, a theological analysis of passive prayer or a consideration of the value of special devotions in the life of a Catholic. In dealing with the devotion to the Blessed Sacrament he shows the necessity of basing this devotion on the Sacrifice of the Mass. In considering the examination of conscience he expresses strong doubts as to the suitability of the Ignatian particular examen for all souls. He presents public and common prayer as satisfying a basic need in the lives of all men. In all these considerations a great deal of sane judgment and common sense is displayed.

Especially interesting for the reader will be the historical perspective which the author gives to many of the major problems of Christian spirituality. Few readers will always agree with the statements of Canon Leclercq but practically all will find his latest book a stimulating experience.

MICHAEL D. MOGA, S.J.

A CLASSIC REWORKED

Jesus Christ. By Léonce de Grandmaison, S.J. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961. Pp. xv-266. \$4.50.

A number of years has passed since the first appearance of Père de Grandmaison's *Jesus Christ*, and the advances in New Testament studies have necessarily rendered much of his work obsolete. Yet the core of his great study has remained untouched by the new discoveries. It is this which makes the new publication of his central ideas a worthwhile thing. The original three volumes, published in translation over twenty years ago, have been condensed into a compact book that conserves the timeless qualities of the great Jesuit's labors.

Divided into five chapters, the book considers Our Lord as He spoke of Himself in the gospels, the personality of the Master, the mystery

always surrounding Him, the attitude of the early Church towards Him, and the impact of Jesus on men down through the ages to our own day.

From the very beginning Our Lord shows Himself superior to the Mosaic law, the One who is to complete it. As no one before or since, He possesses an authority over men and nature that is astounding. He enters right into hearts, demands, calls, gives orders. Sins are forgiven on His personal initiative, He calls on the Father in the most special and intimate terms, He says He will return from the dead, He will come to judge all men. On the eve of His death He puts Himself on the right hand of God, He is the Messiah and more. The greater precision of the Johannine gospel is true to the special position of Christ which we find in the Synoptics. He is the Son of God. This is the only legitimate conclusion from the total picture of the gospels. He is not a prophet; He is God.

The personality of Our Lord certainly strengthens this conclusion. Who is this remarkable man who is so tender, so strong? He lays claim to God the Father in a unique way, very personal, very filial. The man knows no corruption, no remorse, no defilement. Other men are in awe of Him as He moves among them. Even His mercy and tenderness never let them lose sight of His authoritative dignity. And with all this, He was most humble, most anxious to do all things for the Father. We cannot fail to see how totally He is a Jew, a man of His people, a human being in the complete sense of the word. There was a limpidity about His personality, a quality of light which has seen no equal. A man like this is something remarkable and, taking the gospels as a whole, we see that the human side of Him can't explain the data. He is One at home in two worlds, this mysterious person. He is God-Man.

The faith of the early Church in Christ was faith in the God-Man. Prerogatives recognized by her, titles bestowed on Him, powers admitted to be His show how truly this was the belief of the first generations. The writings of the Apostle, infused though they be by his personal genius, are simply the development of the pristine faith. Paul was no innovator, but a witness to the tradition of Christ.

The same holds true for Ignatius of Antioch, Irenaeus, Augustine. All their efforts are measured against Christ in the gospels. In their own eyes, their work has no validity unless true to the Master and His Church. Chalcedon and the other councils are not the product of Greek philosophy, just as Paul was no apostle of syncretism. They express the true faith as it was in the beginning, as it leans on the Christ of the gospels. From Benedict to Francis, from Teresa of Avila to Alphonsus and the present time, it is all the same. No originality of the great saints and holy people hides the treasure they bear. It is the Christ who is God, the Christ of the Scriptures.

This mere listing of what Père de Grandmaison tells us fails to do justice to the personal quality of his work. It is interesting to see how his approach is, in many respects, so modern, how he regards the gospels as a totality and takes from them, with delicate insight, a picture of

Christ that is consistent, well founded, and verified by the testimony of the centuries. No fundamentalist, he brings a great intelligence to bear on the facts to produce an excellent study. When you think that this man was in the front lines of the battle that raged over the Scripture and Christ in the early years of our century, the lucidity and objectivity of his writing is all the more noteworthy. In an illuminating preface, Père Daniélou remarks how Père de Grandmaison's own noble spirit appears throughout the book. He himself bears his own witness to the Master, just as he tells us great men have done from St. Paul to Newman and the present time. To this we can only add amen.

DONALD J. HINFEY, S.J.

VALUABLE FOR PREACHING AND MEDITATION

The Kingdom of Heaven in Parables. By Franz M. Moschner. Translated by David Heimann. St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1960. Pp. 326. \$4.75.

In twenty-six vividly developed parables, Father Moschner has succeeded in presenting to us a clearer and richer picture of the Kingdom of Heaven as the dominion of God within the individual member of the Kingdom of God on earth, the Church.

Careful reading of the introduction is an absolute necessity in order to understand the dual significance which the author finds in the phrase, "the kingdom of heaven." The kingdom of heaven, as an organization, is considered co-extensive with the Church; this is its first meaning. But the kingdom of heaven within the individual, the dominion of God over the individual, freely accepted by him through the reception of the word of God which is vitalized through His sacraments—this is the second meaning of this phrase, a meaning which must be kept in mind in order to comprehend fully the parables which the writer understands as applied to the individual as well as to the organization. In this second sense, the kingdom of heaven finds its perfect exemplar in Jesus Christ, in whom God holds sway, unqualified, without question, without reservation.

Although a cursory glance at the table of contents will reveal many parables that the reader would not immediately associate with the kingdom of heaven, the gradual reading of this book will show that these selections are relevant to the full picture of the kingdom.

Beginning with the Marriage Feast at Cana, which explains the transformation produced within the individual and in creation by the kingdom, Father Moschner considers the kingdom as an organization, with special emphasis on the qualities required by Christ's representatives, the leaders of the Church. Discovery of the kingdom, entrance into it, growth within it, relation between its members, the problem of evil within it, departure from it and return to it, and the final consummation of the kingdom in eternity form the gradual development of the complete picture of the kingdom in the further parables.

As a book of piety, which is the explicit intent of the author, this

work is successful. It is intended not as a definitive work but as a work which will stimulate individual reflection on the kingdom of heaven by the development of the parables presented by Our Lord, a development which is rich in detail, but not forced in the points of similarity. The general reader will find in this book a detailed picture of the kingdom of heaven; the preacher will discover fresh, new approaches to these parables; and the person who selects this work for meditation will enjoy an enriching experience in coming to possess within himself, more closely than before, the kingdom of heaven.

THOMAS F. McMANUS, S.J.

PRACTICAL ADVICE

Live Your Vocation. *By Paolo Provera, C.M.* Translated by Thomas F. Murray. St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1959. Pp. 260.

Live Your Vocation is a compendium of practical ascetical advice to religious, based apparently on extensive experience in their spiritual direction. Not a systematic treatment of ascetical theology in the manner of de Guibert or even of Rodriguez, it differs from such works by its exclusive attention to practical, although generalized, problems. Neither is it an original treatment drawn from a specialized point of view, like Carpentier's or de Caussade's, differing from these in its strict adherence to familiar and traditional perspectives. Since these two broad categories of ascetical books, in neither of which his work belongs, appear to be the ones generally favoured among us today, it is to be expected that Father Provera's American audience will be limited. Likewise opposed to the book's popularity is the style of its writing, rather old-fashioned and prosaic, given to odd-sounding exclamations and rhetorical questions, and at times betraying the sort of avuncular quality that our young people in particular are so prompt to detect and eager to deride. All in all, these prominent if superficial traits are only too apt to alienate the sympathies of its intended readers among young American religious. In view of the book's genuine merits of a more substantial kind, I find this pessimistic prediction, and the facts that seem to warrant it, sincerely regrettable.

I said that Father Provera's style is old-fashioned. So too, in a sense, are his views; they might have been, indeed most of them were even to my random knowledge expressed by spiritual writers of centuries past. Unlike most contemporary writings on spirituality they owe little or nothing to dominant schools of thought in theology, philosophy, or psychology. They are very largely compounded of the bare and obvious teachings of the Gospel and a venerable Christian common-sense which Father Provera holds in common with an ancient line of shrewd and holy directors of souls. The things he has to say of the evangelical counsels, of charity, suffering, peace, joy, and zeal, if they disappoint the reader, will probably have done so by seeming trite, but if they win his approval it will surely have been by seeming timeless. I hope Father Provera will gratify many readers by having recalled them at least

briefly from the profusion of current opinion concerning what religious life is becoming in the twentieth century, to reflect on the rather neglected matter of what it always was and always will be.

JAMES W. GAFFNEY, S.J.

THE CHRISTIAN'S VOCATION

Christians In The World. *By Jacques Leclercq.* Translated by Kathleen Pond. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961. Pp. 174. \$3.50.

Father Leclercq calls this work "an essay, a collection of thoughts offered to Christians who wish to reflect on their faith and what it demands of them." The thoughts presented are interesting and provocative but because of the book's schematic nature these thoughts are frequently just mentioned; they are not sufficiently developed.

The earliest chapters of the book are the most controversial, since in discussing the sphere of action proper to the priest and the sphere proper to the layman the author severely limits the role of the priest in temporal matters. In the six brief chapters of the book Father Leclercq also discusses the concept of holiness achieved by one who is involved in worldly occupations; the relation of Christian love and the temporal order; the misconceptions of the clergy and the laity in carrying out their functions in the Church; the tensions existing between the institutional and the personal aspects of society and the Church; the history of the rise of the religious life; the need for a personal involvement in the sacramental life of the Church.

So much is presented in so short a space, however, that the forcefulness of individual statements is frequently lost. Consequently, the book suffers at times from a lack of clarity. It is, nonetheless, a book which could be very profitably used as a basic text for discussion groups.

EUGENE J. AHERN, S.J.

BOTH DOCTRINAL AND PASTORAL

Liturgy and Doctrine. *By Charles Davis.* New York: Sheed and Ward, 1960. Pp. 123. \$2.50.

Writing in the first number of the new English quarterly, *The Way* (January, 1961), Father Martin D'Arcy tells us that the attitude of the "old conservative" with regard to liturgical renewal is likely to be that "this exclusive love for what is liturgical is a monomania, a pleasure of the mind or taste, but of insufficient help to the will." In a sense, it is a pity that Father D'Arcy should characterize those who are suspicious of the place of liturgy in the life of the Church by that fuzzy tag, "conservative." (By implication, it would appear, St. Pius X, Pius XII, and John XXIII are "liberals.") The liberal-conservative terminology is so fluid and so relative, the connotations attached thereto so many-sided, that it does not seem helpful to suggest, however remotely, that the faithful declare their sympathies for one or other "camp" by praising or debunking liturgy. This is to ask the wrong question.

It is genuinely satisfying, however, to read Father Davis's alto-

gether sane description of the nature of liturgical renewal. There are two points to be made about the character of this renewal, and Father Davis has made both of them: the "liturgical movement" is "pastoral" and it is "based on a work of doctrinal reflection." While the latter point receives the major part of his attention in this brief but meaty essay, Father Davis never strays from his task of pointing out the role which doctrinal reflection has in the directing of pastoral application. He remarks, for example, in his chapter on the Church, that "as long as our Sunday congregations are as amorphous and passive as cinema audiences and our communicants as indifferent to each other as solitary eaters in a restaurant, the doctrine of the Mystical Body has not been understood." (Other chapters discuss "The Risen Christ," "The History of Salvation," "Liturgy and Mystery," "Sacrifice and Sacraments," and "Eschatology.") Because this book is doctrinal-pastoral, its appeal will be both for the theologian and for those priests, religious and laymen who are daily faced with the pastoral problems offered by the rapidly expanding liturgical movement. Father Davis will make the almeasurers and those devoted to "rubrics for the sake of rubrics" or even "Solesmes for the sake of Solesmes" feel acutely uneasy, for, "What is taking place is not the increasing popularity of a private hobby or interesting sideline, not a touching-up of ritual anomalies, but a change, a renewal in the pastoral work of the Church. And the concern is not with incidentals, but with the fundamentals of doctrine." A few months after the publication of this book, the author presented again his concern for the need of doctrinal renewal in a stimulating article in the Spring (1961) issue of *The Downside Review* ("The Danger of Irrelevance," pp. 93-104). Both contributions are notable for their clear-sighted maturity of judgment.

JOHN J. GALLEN, S.J.

SCRIPTURE AND THE LITURGY

Liturgy and the Word of God. By A. G. Martimort, P. Journel et al. Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1959. Pp. ix-183. \$3.50.

The Word of God speaks and acts in the liturgy in a twofold way—in Scripture and in the sacramental reality of the Eucharist. This book largely concerns itself with the theology of Scripture in the liturgy, thus continuing the work of men like Danielou (*The Bible and the Liturgy*) and Burgard (*Scripture in the Liturgy*), and in general makes an effort to link the new Scriptural movement with the liturgical renaissance. Originally papers delivered at the 1958 Strasbourg Conference, this book has a variety and depth not yet found in any comparable work.

Hans Urs von Balthasar's essay, "God Has Spoken in Human Language," is an example of this depth. Condensed there is a philosophical anthropology which takes as a starting point man as *animal communicans*, man in dialogue. In a profound analysis of speech we find basic laws—laws that Christ Himself respected in becoming man, in communicating the reality of divine truth and in thus transforming human speech to express divinity.

In his essay, "The Whole Mass Proclaims the Word of God," Father Roguet rejects the casuistic attitude which divides the Mass into so many mechanical units of obligation; rather, he stresses, the proclamation of the Word is coterminous with the Mass itself.

Two essays direct themselves particularly to the problem of making the liturgy meaningful. Father Charles Moeller entitles his essay, "Is It Possible, in the 20th Century, to be a Man of the Bible?" He rephrases the question, "How can modern man become a man of the Bible?" Man must be characterized by three attitudes: he must accept his descent from Adam, he must accept the reality of the struggle with Satan, and he must accept the whole theology of the Risen Christ and become transformed into Him. As characteristics of a man of the Bible these notes are also so many obstacles to modern man confronted with the Christian message. How to overcome the problems here is suggested in many ways by Father Moeller. This educative problem of the liturgy is also taken up by Father Coudreau in "The Bible and the Liturgy in Catechesis."

This book presents the theological problems of Scripture in the liturgy in a way that is vital to modern liturgical studies. It is the vivid conviction of the participants of this conference that God speaks to us today in the liturgy—even more, the liturgy is the proclamation of what the Bible proclaims.

Perhaps the best summary of this work is that presented as conclusions by the conference itself and printed in the introduction to the book. Here are five pages of summary which deserves careful meditation. But like most conclusions they are inadequate without a full study of the theological reasoning behind them. They will undoubtedly tempt the reader to a careful study of the essays of the conference, and in this he will not be disappointed.

GERARD F. WALDORF, S.J.

THE BASIC TRIAD

The Word, Church and Sacraments. *By Louis Bouyer, Cong. Orat.* New York: Desclee Co., 1961. Pp. 80. \$2.00.

In a sympathetic and perceptive synthesis Father Bouyer considers both the internal coherence of the Protestant notions of the Bible, Church and Sacrament and their relation to Catholic doctrine.

For the Protestant the Word of God is truly creative. His worship basically is hearing the Word of God in an atmosphere of faith and adoration in order to arouse the response of faith, and expressing this in prayer that seeks to embrace his whole life. Personal devotion is the individual's reading of the Bible with prayer to God, which prayer is considered primarily as a response to His own Word.

These aspects of Protestant spirituality concerning the Word of God contain nothing intrinsically opposed to the Catholic tradition. The basic difficulty, however, from the Catholic point of view is the separation of Scripture from its life in the Church, and opposing the authority of Scripture to that of the Church. But for Father Bouyer this sub-

ordination is merely theory. He maintains that Protestantism, despite its repeated assertions that the sole authority belongs to scripture, does in fact place doctrinal authority above scripture. To solve this contradiction between principle and practice he proposes the Catholic position of doctrinal authority.

This lack of doctrinal authority is most pronounced in the sphere of the sacraments. For although the great Protestant Churches have all retained baptism and the Eucharist as sacraments formally recognized as such, these churches do not go much beyond the command of our Lord in explaining the meaning or reason for the sacraments. When, consequently, the essence and the reality of the sacrament is degraded, this in turn points to a degradation, at least in prospect, of the Word itself.

The reader will enjoy the clarity of Father Bouyer's exposition; he will recognize more keenly the problem of fully and intelligibly explaining Catholic doctrine to the Protestant; finally, he will certainly share a deeper ecumenical charity.

ROBERT J. HEYER, S.J.

THE CONTINUING DIALOGUE

The Catholic-Protestant Dialogue. By Jean Bosc, Jean Guitton, Jean Daniélou, S.J. Translated by Robert J. Olsen. Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1960. Pp. ix-138. \$3.50.

It is clear that the charity of Christ must be the animating force of the ecumenical movement if it is to succeed. Yet candor and knowledge are equally necessary if the ferment is to produce anything but froth. This slim volume has all the essential qualities. In his preface Jacques Madaule tells us the intention of the principals involved was not to discuss all major difficulties between Protestants and Catholics. Their aim was to "determine the true position of each Church, in relation to each other, within the framework of our era which is singularly pregnant with both dangers and hopes for Christians of every denomination." They seem to have done this quite well.

A chapter on the Protestant point of view is presented by Pastor Jean Bosc. He writes that Protestants must look to the question of unity with Catholics. The command of Our Savior that there be unity, and the very principles of the Reformation make this duty evident for Protestants. Time has made it easier for those of both points of view to engage in a frank exchange of ideas. Still, there are serious differences which can never be minimized, among which are the norm of truth, the relation of nature and grace, sacramental life, aspects of ecclesiology. The Church must go by Scripture alone, so tradition is not acceptable. Nature is thoroughly corrupted by sin with the result that Protestants must avoid the Catholic error of placing too much trust in this world and in man. Mariology is a complement to this basic error. Good works are necessary, of course, but can never be anything but the fruits of an all sufficient grace.

Jean Guitton and Pastor Bosc treat us to a lively exchange on the Church and the Incarnation. M. Guitton stresses the notion of develop-

ment in the Church, an idea which marks off Catholic from Protestant. The latter seems to see the entrance of grace into time as a vertical event, something which happens all at once, while the former sees this as a continuous development with Christ as the author and source. Pastor Bosc wants to know what guarantee of truth this development has and claims that M. Guittou comes up with a conclusion from loaded premises. For the Pastor, everything was fulfilled with Christ. Christ is not a beginning, but everything. He rules the Church from heaven, whereas the idea of development would seem to enclose Him in an earthly institution. The Church has no authority or guaranty of its own; it must always look at Christ. Their conversation goes on along these lines, thus giving greater precision to the problem.

Then the two men, joined by Pierre Sipriot, take up the problem of authority and guaranty, surely a very major point of division. In a word, M. Guittou claims the Church is a continuation of Christ and can declare the truth without fear of error. This is simply unacceptable to Pastor Bosc. One must listen to the Church, but only in relation to the Scripture. The Church has no final authority, so one may question it after prayer and meditation. The entire discussion pivots on this crucial difference.

A final dialogue is had between Père Jean Daniélou and Pastor Bosc on the Bible and its interpretation, the revival of biblical studies, and the authority of the Church. To avoid great length, it will be enough to say that credit is paid to the biblical revival as a big factor in bringing the two camps into conversation. The question of interpretation and authority, in Père Daniélou's words, is "the fundamental point of disagreement between Catholics and Protestants." Pastor Bosc is of the opinion that the "problem would be virtually solved if the infallibility of the sovereign pontiff and of the Church were renounced."

In a concluding chapter, Père Daniélou offers a brief survey of how things are going in ecumenism. It is his view that the doctrinal tone of modern Protestant exegesis, with a new look at tradition, and the exegetical tone of Catholic dogmatics are bringing us closer together. Along with this, there is a greater emphasis on the mystery of Christ, thus giving a severe wound to rationalism, modernism, and liberalism.

Because the heart of this book stemmed from conversations, it must be skeletal and spare. Yet this is an advantage. Again and again in the short space of this book the same problems (or should I say problem) occur. What can be added to God? What is the Church? Answer these to the satisfaction of both points of view and the hateful division of Christians will be healed.

In a forward, that indefatigable ecumenist, Father Gustave Weigel, S.J., urges his fellows on this side of the ocean to go and do likewise. With this little book as a model of frankness and intelligence, we must reply to the challenge.

DONALD J. HINFEY, S.J.

WHITHER INDIA?

The Soul of Modern India. *By John Correia-Afonso, S.J.* Bombay: Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, 1960. Pp. 81. \$2.00.

"Whither India?" is a question many an intelligent person is asking today, for on the answer to it probably depends the destiny of many of the ancient countries of the East. Father Correia-Afonso has made an admirable attempt to supply a few elements for its solution. He asks such momentous questions as: How spiritual is India? Is the ancient culture of the East spiritual enough to soften the harsher aspects of the new scientific culture? What is the nature of the crisis through which India is passing? What can fill the vacuum created in the hearts of Indian intellectuals whom the materialism of modern progress has divested of the little spirituality they had?

In a slender volume of eighty-one pages Father Correia-Afonso has packed the ideas of most of the great thinkers of modern India on these burning questions. While giving an impartial and objective view of the prevailing situation he has not hesitated to draw his own conclusions and attempt solutions. His Jesuit training and his vast knowledge of things Indian as a historian, have combined to give him that intellectual frame-work which is best suited to speak about "the Soul of Modern India."

JOHN C. PRABHU, S.J.

AND THE SPAIN OF IGNATIUS

The Spain of Ferdinand and Isabella. *By Jean H. Mariéjol.* Translated and Edited by Benjamin Keene. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1961. Pp. xxiv-429. \$7.50.

This beautifully printed volume is a translation of one of the accepted classics on Spain's emergence as a world power, Jean Hippolyte Mariéjol's *L'Espagne sous Ferdinand et Isabelle: Le Gouvernement, les Institutions et les Moeurs* which was first published at Paris in 1892. The book treats of the political history of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, analyzes the administrative machinery of both Castile and Aragon, discusses the social life of the court, clergy, nobility and towns, and concludes with an appraisal of Spanish intellectual and artistic activity during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs. The translator has added an invaluable critical bibliographical note, two glossaries, one of terms and the other of persons, and complemented Mariéjol's notes with modern bibliography.

This book is of special interest to Jesuits. The complex mechanism of the Spain of young Ignatius is analyzed with Gallic clarity, dismantled piece by piece, and put together again before the reader's eye. The most interesting chapters are those which deal with governmental administration. It would be rewarding to establish what relationship exists between Ignatius' Constitutions and the administrative system employed by the model monarchy of Ferdinand and Isabella.

It is, however, not surprising that after seventy years of intense activity in Hispanic studies some of Mariéjol's statements are no longer

acceptable. He insists on calling the Spanish Inquisition the Holy Office, which could easily confuse modern readers. His picture of the clergy is quite overdrawn and based on the sanctions against unchaste clerics that had been repeated as traditional formulae in provincial synods for hundreds of years before the reign of the Catholic Monarchs. The granting of indulgences is improperly explained as sale of indulgences. The treatment of the origin of the Renaissance is somewhat oversimplified. Much of the economic analysis in the book, though original in its day, should have either been brought in line with the studies of Julius Klein, E. J. Hamilton and R. S. Smith or simply dropped. It is surprising to find H. C. Lea's volumes on the Spanish Inquisition praised in the bibliography with equal credit going to the work on the same subject by Bernardino Llorca, S.J. Never has Lea's outrageous propaganda been more adequately answered than by the judicious and learned Father Llorca.

The translation is adequate though at times the French original appears quite clearly in the English text. HERBERT J. RYAN, S.J.

A MUCH-NEEDED WORK

A Summary of Catholic History: Ancient and Medieval History. By Newman C. Eberhardt, C.M. St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1961. Pp. xi-879. \$12.00.

This first volume of a projected two book set fills a real need. For years there has been no adequate textbook for seminarians that would deal with Church history sketched against the cultural, social, intellectual background of events that would make the development of the Church understandable for students whose major training is not in the social sciences. Father Eberhardt has succeeded in writing the only textbook in English which treats the panorama of Catholic history in such a way that it can easily be integrated with courses which the seminarian has had in philosophy and theology.

The book is divided into three parts of about two hundred and seventy pages each. The first part deals with the Church in the imperialist world of the Roman Empire; the second, with the Church in the feudal world until the middle of the ninth century; the third, with the Church in a theocratic world until the fall of Constantinople in the middle of the fifteenth century. These parts are divided into nineteen sections of about forty pages each which make the book manageable for required reading prior to the teacher's lecture.

The greatest weakness of the book is that there is no coherent structure to the work, no attempt at synthesis beyond a poor opening chapter on the theology of history. But the book is valuable and it is hoped that in the second edition improvements will be made. The style of the present work is highly personal and at times obscure. In one two page spread (pp. 374-376) the reader is exposed to forty dates, which though meaningful, can be overwhelming to the student who oftentimes thinks of history as nothing but names and dates. Brief paragraphs

which would summarize the main ideas of the sections should be added to the second edition. Maps and date charts are needed to correlate the wealth of information which the author has gathered. Suggestions for further reading or at least a bibliography should be added. The price of twelve dollars is so high that a paper back edition for students is certainly required if the book is going to fulfill the purpose for which it was written.

HERBERT J. RYAN, S.J.

TWO ON THE OLD TESTAMENT

Meditations on the Old Testament—The Psalms. *By Gaston Brillet, C.Or.*
Translated by Jane Wynne Saul, R.S.C.J. New York: Desclee Company, 1960. Pp. 243. \$3.50.

This is the second of a four volume work on the Old Testament. The first volume, *The Narratives*, was reviewed in *Woodstock Letters* (Vol. 89, No. 3, p. 313).

Following the pattern of the first volume, Father Brillet quotes from four to ten lines of each psalm from the Confraternity Edition of the Holy Bible; a short outline and description of the psalm emphasizing the spirit of the work follows. There is then an instruction to "Adore" and "Speak to God" in a brief prayer as the psalm is applied to daily Christian living.

The outstanding Old Testament themes are explained simply, and the author maintains a fine balance between the attitudes of the Israelite psalmists and the message of God in His Book.

This is a good book of simple meditations on the psalms.

JOSEPH B. NEVILLE, S.J.

Meditations on the Old Testament—Prophecy. *By Gaston Brillet, C.Or.*
Translated by Jane Wynne Saul, R.S.C.J. New York: Desclee Company, 1961. Pp. 274. \$3.75.

This is the third of four volumes by the same author on various aspects of the Old Testament. The present book follows the same format as the previous two, namely to structure each meditation with a quotation of a few verses from a given chapter in one of the prophetic books, followed by a brief outline of the entire chapter and the exhortation to "Adore" and "Speak to God." Then follows the page or two of commentary on the scriptural passage.

In general, this volume is a fruitful source for meditation. It attempts to bridge the unnecessarily wide gap between the New and the Old Covenants, bringing out effectively the continuity in time and space of God's plan for man's salvation. The author helps us, in the spirit of the Evangelists and the Church Fathers, to find Christ in the Old Covenant, and likewise to gain insight into our present theological and ascetical position. In achieving this purpose, Father Brillet opens up for further exploration the role of the prophet in the Mystical Body of Christ, and indicates the methodology required to pursue that investigation.

Further books on the same topic and with the same purpose might

make up, however, for the deficiencies of this initial study. It would seem better, for example, either to cite the entire scriptural passage which is the subject of the ensuing meditation or not to quote it at all, rather than to present merely a few verses and then compel the reader to look up the remainder on his own. Further, the repetition before each meditation of the formula "Adore" and "Speak to God" seems tiresome and superfluous.

Lastly, the author is perhaps open to the charge of superficiality, since he frequently avoids the historical and exegetical problems connected with the scriptural text. No doubt he did this to prevent pedantic digressions from interfering with his primarily ascetical purpose. But it seems, at least to this reader, that the ascetical purpose would be better served by a deeper analysis of the historical context in which the prophets found themselves, and by a clearer presentation of the functions, as far as it can be determined, of each prophetic book.

The last four chapters, summing up the role and value of the prophet, are particularly brilliant and illuminating.

PETER J. McCORD, S.J.

OLD TESTAMENT MEDITATIONS

Spirituality of the Old Testament, Vol. I. By Paul-Marie of the Cross, O.C.D. Translated by Elizabeth McCabe. St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1961. Pp. xiii-247. \$4.25.

In this recent addition to the Dominican Fathers' Cross and Crown Series of Spirituality, Father Paul-Marie, O.C.D., tries to show how the Old Testament is an incomparable text-book for ascetical teaching and formation, and the very well-spring of the Christian's spiritual life. (Thus the original title, *Ancien Testament, source de vie spirituelle*, is perhaps a more accurate description than the present one.) The work, the first of three volumes, is a meditation book on fundamental religious themes illustrated by OT episodes and quotations. Four basic ideas are developed: God as revealed to man in the OT, the human soul, the great commandment of charity, and God's presence among men. The method of exposition makes for pious and edifying reading, but will leave many dissatisfied. For there is no serious attempt to describe the Hebraic milieu and thought as, say, Father McKenzie's *Two-Edged Sword* does. The consideration of literary forms is neglected in text interpretation, and the redactional history of the sacred books is completely overlooked. There is a recurrent biblical fundamentalism present which is hardly in keeping with the best of contemporary Catholic theological and scriptural scholarship. The Vulgate text is used, and in one instance a passage is cited which does not occur in the Septuagint text (cf. p. 82, and the reference there to Judith 15:10-11).

In short, the book can serve as a meditation manual, but it only perpetuates a type of ascetical writing whose connection with theological scholarship is tenuous and whose content does not prepare the faithful for the rich rewards of modern scriptural investigations.

FREDERICK A. HOMANN, S.J.

THE MEANING OF THE PRIESTHOOD

The Everlasting Priest. *By A. M. Carré, O.P.* New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1960. Pp. 132. \$3.50.

Modern society has developed a strange notion toward God and the men of God. To the modern man, God's representative here on earth is a paradox. Using this notion as a starting point, Father Carré has made a brief but inspiring exploration of the inner workings of a priest. His book is a combination sermon-conference aimed at priests or those who are interested in the inner power of the priestly vocation.

The book is divided into six chapters that aim at one goal, the definition of a priest. Once this definition has been established, the paradox of the priest—being all things to all men and at the same time a man apart—is examined and the apparent contradiction resolved.

The first chapter, at least to this reader, is a masterpiece of analysis of what a priest is, of the true essence of the priesthood. He does this by having us pose a question to any priest that we have known. It is put quite simply: "You claim to be the least understood of men; well, what have you to say for yourself?" The answer, "I am a mystery and cannot be understood by anyone who has not faith. If you do not see me through the eyes of faith, if you do not know how the Church, herself a mystery of faith, defines me, the question raised by my existence may seem real to you, but its true reality will have escaped you. I exist because of Someone, Jesus Christ . . . without Him I should have no reason for existing. I am His witness to the end of time. I am a priest because He is a priest, because He is the eternal High Priest, the only priest." The whole notion of the priesthood is cast within the framework of the Church and this, I believe, is the particular genius of this chapter. This idea may be a truism but we cannot escape from the awful reality that the priest has no meaning outside the Church of Christ because the Church is Christ. Once this notion has been driven home and allowed to sink deeply into our minds, the rest of the book is only a logical conclusion from this most important truth.

The priest is the mediator for man because Christ is the supreme mediator. The words of the apostle Paul echo and resound through these pages. "To me, your friend, the least of all your friends, has been given this privilege of making known to the peoples your unfathomable riches. I give thanks, O Lord, and I pray to you for all my human brothers. May they listen with a living heart, an open, eager heart, so that they may learn that their happiness lies in the truth of your love."

The self-sacrifice of the priest is shown in his work of offering sacrifice and preaching the word of the revealing God. The priest bears witness that "a dead man called Jesus" is very much alive today. In his chapter on Word and Sacrament, Father Carré shows the close link between the ministry of the word and ritual. The one organically implies the other; there could be no preaching without sacraments and no sacraments without preaching. Together, they enable the priest "to

minister this reconciliation of God's to others" (II Cor. v. 18). The basis of the relationship between the Word and Sacrament is the word salvation. The theology of this chapter offers a fine challenge to the serious man of the Church.

The Everlasting Priest is a small but at the same time a profound book. It is an easy book to read and it stirs the mind to consider many of its thoughts in the quiet of meditation. The priest will gain new insight into his vocation and the seminarian will receive inspiration to transform himself into a man of sacrifice, a man apart, and to imitate more closely the eternal Priest, the God made man.

DAVID J. AMBUSKE, S.J.

A LITURGICAL REFERENCE-WORK

The Liturgy of the Roman Rite. By Ludwig Eisenhofer and Joseph Lechner. Translated by A. J. and E. F. Peeler. Edited by H. E. Winstone. New York: Herder and Herder, 1961. Pp. xiv-506. \$8.50.

In 1924, Dr. Ludwig Eisenhofer, professor of patrology and liturgy at Eichstätt, published the first edition of *Grundriss der katholischen Liturgik*. It was followed by three revisions by his own hand, then by two more (in 1950 and 1953, with the new title *Liturgik des römischen Ritus*) from the pen of his successor, Dr. Joseph Lechner. The present volume has undergone a final revision by H. E. Winstone of St. Edmund's College in Ware.

The Liturgy of the Roman Rite is a vast compendium of facts relating to every aspect of the Roman liturgy. Its encyclopedic nature is the source of its value and of its shortcomings for, while it presents a clear, handy reference for one who seeks a rather immediate check, yet the information provided is often scanty and leaves the reader unsatisfied. This latter point is balanced, however, by the presentation of very up-to-date bibliographies given at the ends of the sections and chapters. A more complete system of footnotes would have been helpful; in fact, the relative poverty of such references is no small defect in a work of this nature.

Perhaps owing to the long history of the volume, it has seemed good to its various revisors to eliminate any traces of what may appear to be personal estimates or opinions lest confusion arise from the number of hands at work. It may be, though, that a good principle has been abused here: the result is a listing of facts and events without an evaluation of their relative importance. Often, for example, there is a need for explanation of the impact of medieval allegorism on some of the rites and their history; when such an explanation is not forthcoming one feels that over-simplification has been confused with "objectivity." Another curious example is that the very interesting vernacular question is treated with something less than exhaustiveness.

Its difficulties notwithstanding, this book is a helpful index to liturgi-

cal history and development and seems especially apt for the parish pastor and priest as he is confronted with further changes in the course of the continuing renewal of the Church's liturgical life.

JOHN J. GALLEN, S.J.

A FUNDAMENTAL TRUTH

The Mystery of God's Love. *By Dom Georges Lefebvre, O.S.B.* New York: Sheed & Ward, 1961. Pp. 140. \$3.00.

The premise upon which this little volume is based is that "God is love, and he invites us to enter into the mystery of this love—this is the central truth of Christian Revelation and its entire sum." The task of the author is to prove this thesis and to outline the Christian's appropriate response to the invitations of divine love.

Father Lefebvre relies almost exclusively on three Christian sources in developing his twofold theme: St. John the Evangelist, St. John of the Cross and St. Teresa of Avila. This limited selection accounts both for the unity of the book and its narrow scope.

Following the Spanish mystical tradition, the author places before the Christian the goal of union with God in prayer. This union is to be achieved principally through imitation of the Cross, love of one's neighbor and persevering prayers. Father Lefebvre is at his best when describing the difficulties encountered in the practice of these virtues and in offering methods for overcoming these obstacles. Hence the book is primarily ascetic in tone rather than dogmatic.

Perhaps the principal use of the book would be as matter for mental prayer. The reader should be aware, however, that there is hardly any mention of the function of the sacraments and the Church in mediating the love between God and man. In view of the modern developments in Theology, this seems to be a rather serious omission.

PETER J. McCORD, S.J.

AMONG OUR REVIEWERS

Father Thomas R. Fitzgerald (Maryland Province) is dean of the Juniorate at Wernersville, Pennsylvania.

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**ANNOUNCING THE PUBLICATION OF THE ANNOTATED
BIBLIOGRAPHY IN RELIGION AND PSYCHOLOGY**

by

W. W. Meissner, S. J.

The publication of this comprehensive bibliography fills a void in a vital area. It contains over 3,000 items covering books and periodicals. More than 300 psychological, psychiatric and theological periodicals are represented. Religious materials have been drawn from Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish sources. Some of the areas included are: psychology of religion, psychology of conversion, psychology of mysticism, religion and psychiatry, religion and psychotherapy, psychoanalysis and religion, psychology and spiritual development, religion and personality, religious attitudes and values, religion and mental health, psychology of religious vocation, general pastoral psychology and psychology and morality. Publication is being supported by the National Institute of Mental Health and the Aquinas Fund. This valuable reference and research work is published by the Academy of Religion and Mental Health. Copies may be had at the price of \$5 from the Academy of Religion and Mental Health, 16 East 34th St., New York, or from The Newman Bookshop, Westminster, Maryland.

