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CONTENTS FOR FEBRUARY, 1953

A LETTER OF VERY REVEREND FATHER GENERAL ON CONTINUAL MORTIFICATION	3
DEVOTION TO MARY IN THE SODALITY	17
Josef Stierli	
ST. FRANCIS XAVIER—THEN AND NOW	46
Honorable Clare Boothe Luce	
OBITUARY	
Father Raymond J. McInnis	53
Father Edward C. Phillips	65
BOOKS OF INTEREST TO OURS	
The Holy See and the Irish Movement for the Repeal of the Union with England, 1829-1847 (Brodrick)	93
Novissima Verba	94
Life Begins With Love (Barrett)	94
Theoriae Corpusculares Typicae in Universitatibus Societatis Jesu (Feyér)	95
PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED	Inside Back Cover

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**A LETTER OF VERY REVEREND FATHER GENERAL
TO THE WHOLE SOCIETY ON CONTINUAL
MORTIFICATION**

Reverend Fathers and dear Brothers in Christ:

Pax Christi!

1.—All of you are mindful of the approaching Fourth Centenary of the death of St. Francis Xavier. Whilst various public functions are in course of preparation or are already being celebrated in different provinces, our whole Society may rightfully expect that a common effort be made to renew its interior spirit, for such a renewal will be more pleasing to God and more conducive to the salvation of souls than external festivities alone. Amongst those who aided St. Ignatius in founding the Society of Jesus, the principal place is deservedly attributed to St. Francis Xavier; by his example he has shown the way to all members of the Society engaged in apostolic ministries; for those especially who are engaged in what we call foreign missions, he is proclaimed by the Church, Primary Patron. Though being active to a miraculous degree, yet at the same time incessantly given to the loftiest type of contemplation, he showed by his achievements how the men of the Society, if they are faithful to the grace given them, can "seek God in all things."

It was by his heroic and continual mortification, as far as we can judge by externals, that St. Francis cooperated with this grace. Following the counsel of his holy Father Ignatius, who was his master in the spiritual life, Xavier, while still making the Exercises at the very outset of his conversion to a life of greater perfection, began, by severe penance, to make amends for the purposelessness of his earlier life. Nor is anyone ignorant of the severe sufferings he underwent during his apostolic journeys right up to his final efforts to enter China and the severe penances he unreservedly added to the trials sent by Divine Providence.

This anniversary, therefore, offers me an apt occasion to fulfil what I promised in my letter of September 15, 1951¹ to the whole Society on the matter of poverty of Ours, namely, to speak to all of you regarding the spirit and practice of mortification in our daily religious life.

2.—A treatment of this subject is called for, I believe, by reason of the too rapidly spreading influence of that opinion already proscribed by the Encyclical *Humani generis*, by which opinion “in disregard for the definitions of the Council of Trent,” not only “is the notion of original sin perverted,” but “the very notion of sin in general as an offense against God and likewise the notion of satisfaction offered for us by Christ is perverted.”² For if the life, passion and death of Christ our Lord were not in truth a satisfaction for the sins of the human race, since there was no need for “satisfaction,” why are we disciples of Christ asked to do reparatory penance? Again, if there is no place for satisfaction, how can penance be pleasing to God and procure His graces. Should we not in fact give up those narrow counsels still being handed down to us, as they say, from the Middle Ages? Should we not give up our devotion to the Sacred Heart in the sense in which it was taught by St. Margaret Mary and approved by our late Supreme Pontiff, Pius XI?³ Should we not be content with that moderate natural asceticism which is sufficient to hold in check the more violent impulses of our nature excessively prone as it is to evil because of a depraved heritage of many centuries?

3.—These and other errors connected with them are not confined to one locality nor can it be said that our Order had been no wise contaminated by them. What a tragedy indeed it would be if our Society should fall away from orthodox teaching in this matter! For if the first Fathers, formed by the very founder, could reduce the spirit of our Constitutions to that formula, in reality Pauline, which we customarily call the Sum and Aim of Our Constitutions: “Men crucified to the world and to whom the world itself is crucified, such would the rule of our life have us to be,”⁴ how can we boast that, having been freed from that “formalism” whereby the letter threatens to kill the spirit, we wish to return to the original spirit of our founder whilst at the same time we differ from him on such a fundamental issue?

4.—To you who have both the Spiritual Exercises and Constitutions constantly before your eyes, there can be no question regarding the mind of our holy Father on mortification. After he has explained the doctrine, too, of corporal mortification or

bodily penance in the Exercises which are wholly directed to conquering and mortifying inordinate affections which hinder the soul from a complete service of God,⁵ in the Constitutions he applies the same teaching to our religious and apostolic life. Very well known to you is the text which has become Rule Twelve in the Summary of our Constitutions: if we desire more perfectly to arrive at that high degree of perfection, namely, the love and following of Christ humiliated and suffering referred to in the Eleventh Rule of the Summary, St. Ignatius counsels us, “. . . let it be each one’s chief and most earnest endeavor in all things, as far as he can, to seek in the Lord his own greater abnegation and continual mortification.”⁶ These words are hard on sensuality but they are the authentic words of our Father. When he treats of the formation of his religious, he demands “in those things that pertain to food, clothing and lodging and other bodily necessities, that with God’s help care be had that these be such as to test their virtue and self-abnegation, but at the same time sufficient to sustain nature.”⁷ Therefore, our holy Father desires that the superior certainly take care of the strength and health of his subjects without at the same time neglecting to try their virtue and abnegation in those things pertaining to the care of the body. Where, however, he treats of the formed religious, our holy Father expressly teaches what he often intimates elsewhere in the Constitutions: namely, he supposes that his religious, inspired by an ardent spirit inculcated in them by the Exercises, will be inclined to go beyond the limits of severity and will have to be restrained by their confessor or the superior himself. “Regarding the use of fast, vigils and other means of bodily austerity and chastisement, it does not seem that any rule should be set down for them except that norm which judicious charity will dictate to each one . . .”⁸ He desires that the rector of a college or university be a man “conspicuous for his good example and edification and also eminent for his mortification of all evil tendencies”;⁹ the very same thing he repeats concerning the General himself.¹⁰ What use is there of going further? Who is there who doubts the mind of St. Ignatius with respect even to corporal mortification?

5.—It is true that our “manner of living as to external things . . . is common; and has no ordinary penances or corporal austerities obligatory on all,” yet this by no means hinders “one from undertaking, with the superior’s approbation whatever he shall think expedient for his greater spiritual profit”; furthermore, as St. Ignatius adds explicitly, and whatever for the same end “superiors may impose upon him.”¹¹ Although, in most Orders of that time it was the practice to fast on days besides those set down by the common laws of the Church, to rise at night for the Divine Office, to go barefoot, to take the discipline on appointed days, yet this was not imposed on all Institutes. The use however of these and similar exercises, when undertaken “according to the measure of holy discretion,”¹² is highly recommended to the individual members of the Society. Nor will it be an exaggeration to maintain that a religious of the Society would extinguish the fervor of his spiritual life, if he should entirely omit corporal penances unless he do so because of illness or some equally good reason and, as far as possible, this omission have the approval of his confessor.

6.—Is there anyone amongst us who would be so bold as to say that his sensuality is already under such control that it never in any wise rebels against the dictates of reason? For if even those wise men antedating Christian Revelation recognized the advantages of some kind of asceticism for the proper training and direction of the natural passions, what should be the attitude of the Christian who understands that his nature is not only imperfect and prone to evil but that it also bears the wound of original sin and the further weakness consequent upon his personal sins. If the Apostle Paul must confess that he chastises his body and brings it into subjection lest after he has preached to others he himself should become a castaway,¹³ what, I beseech you, should weak men like ourselves say and do in this respect? We can less afford to disregard that partially natural efficacy of mortification, for because of unsteadiness of nerves the will of most of us is also weakened and this weakened will, as is borne out by daily experience, now more easily falls prey to less serious temptations. By a certain prudent yet strong and austere asceticism, the will will be rendered strong in good and with this the

nerves will be strengthened at the same time. For mortification when used with discretion, benefits not only the soul but also the body which gains in vigor with harsher treatment.

7.—Also whilst calling attention to this particular advantage derived from mortification, St. Ignatius, in that 10th Addition for the First Week,¹⁴ lays stress on what seems to be the principal purpose of mortification, namely, satisfaction for sins. Certainly no one of us will so “deceive himself” as to say he “has no sin.”¹⁵ Nor will anyone, unless he would sever himself entirely from the teaching of the Church, dare to assert that it is not necessary to make satisfaction for sins that have been committed, even “by our voluntary acceptance of punishment in atonement for sin.”¹⁶ Moreover since we are all one body in Christ, the kind mercy of God enables us to make satisfaction also for the sins of others. What then is more in accord with our apostolic vocation than by faithfully following our Redeemer to join with Him in ransoming through His merits the souls of sinners, “by filling up those things that are wanting of the sufferings of Christ” in our flesh?¹⁷ Let the following opinion of the Angelic Doctor be a comfort to us: “Punishment derives its power of satisfaction chiefly because of the charity with which man bears it. And since greater charity is evidenced by a man satisfying for another than for himself, less punishment is required of him who satisfies for another than is required of the offender. Hence it is stated in the *Lives of the Fathers*¹⁸ that a person who out of charity for one of his brothers did penance for a sin which his brother had not committed obtained remission for another sin which the brother had actually committed.”¹⁹

8.—From this it also becomes clearer how great an impetratory effect penance can have, especially that apostolic penance whereby we impose upon ourselves punishments in behalf of others. The Roman Pontiffs of our era have frequently reminded us of the importance of the counsel of Christ Our Lord regarding the necessity of joining fasting to prayer if we hope to destroy Satan’s power over man. Is it not correct to say that the severe penance of St. John Vianney accomplished as much, or even more, than his own prayer? He himself was certainly convinced that whatever very severe

sufferings he either of his own accord imposed upon himself or patiently bore at the hands of Divine Providence, wrought more by God's mercy for the conversion of sinners than all his other works. Is it not legitimate to suppose that many of us would produce greater results in the apostolate if, instead of striving to find ways and means to fit the spirit of our times, we worked rather to mold the times to conform with that economy of salvation which we know by Faith alone? In vain do we seek new methods unless at the same time we apply ourselves with more ardent charity to prayer and penance.

9.—Certainly the most secure method of all for leading our neighbor to God whilst we ourselves draw near to Him is that which both our Institute, authentically approved by the Church, and the Vicars of Christ on earth right down to our present times have pointed out to us. We see all too clearly how the devil is making dupes of countless thousands and how he controls almost entire nations; we see too how men who are at odds on all other issues, and seek to destroy one another, join together in a remarkable way to calumniate, attack, and undermine the Catholic Church. How shall we do battle against this powerful invisible enemy, who "armed keepeth his court,"²⁰ unless, as is taught by the Man-God, we make haste to implore the help of One Who is stronger? Our apostolic efforts will be vain unless "by prayer and fasting" supernatural strength is injected into them, "for this kind (of devil) can go out by nothing"²¹ but by these means.

10.—When we turn now to the doctrinal principles regarding mortification proper to Christians and to religious, the question can arise: how can a teaching which we inherit from the anchorites and cenobites of the early centuries be made practicable in this our day? For unless we conform ourselves to the spirit of our times, people will shun us.—Certainly we should avoid having people shun us. Our Lord Himself told us "when thou fastest, anoint thy head . . . that thou appear not to men to fast."²² Certainly most of our penances should be hidden from the eyes of men and known only to God and the spiritual Father or superior: assuredly this applies to corporal penance whereby sufferings are inflicted on the body by means of fasts, scourgings, hairshirts, and other kinds of

austerities. In fact Catholic asceticism, particularly in an apostolic Order such as ours, has always condemned that warped type of mortification which renders one sad, dull and spiritless. Sound theology demands that we follow, not anticipate the grace of God; grace however does not inspire any action without supplying the strength to carry it through; we may be certain that this strength has been granted when the burden of mortification in no way hinders the cheerful performance of obligations arising from our state of life or from the demands of fraternal charity. Mortification which has sprung from pride and is excessive is neither pleasing to God nor edifying to the neighbor; on the other hand mortification which has sprung from the Holy Spirit, adds new force and lustre to apostolic charity.

11.—When treating of this bodily mortification St. Ignatius urges us to use it with discretion and only under advice and guidance. In conformity, however, with Catholic tradition and teaching, he assumes that all his sons will practice this mortification. Consequently it is up to us to take a firm stand against that merely natural "humanism" so prevalent today which now aims, as I mentioned at the outset, to destroy this mortification. In opposition to this, it is necessary then that masters of novices give proper instruction concerning its use, that superiors and spiritual Fathers in houses of formation be watchful lest our young men give up this practice through fickleness or indolence, that tertian instructors impress it more deeply on those under their charge, that superiors in colleges, residences and missions inquire in a kindly way about the matter according to their office, when their subjects render their Account of Conscience. Those also who are in poor health or are oppressed with labor that is too burdensome, can do something, at least, in fact they can often do a great deal, so long as the kind of penance in each case is aptly and prudently chosen.

Even a light measure of corporal penance, when undertaken with a generous and constant spirit of charity, goes far in drawing our own souls and those of others to God. Anyone surely can perform those countless small acts of penance which no wise impair health or attract the attention of others. The fact that such acts seem trivial has the added advantage that they can scarcely feed our vanity let alone our pride.

As we have to beware here of that indiscreet fervor which is wont "to do hurt and hinder greater good,"²³ we have to guard also against cowardice. For cowardice is not something peculiar to our own age, but is natural to man. You all remember our eminent Father Rodriguez' account of how humorously St. Bernard derided the monks of that age which appears to us to be an iron age, because they pretended that they had not sufficient strength for a life of austerity.²⁴

12.—Aside from the points already mentioned, the daily work itself of our vocation offers an opportunity to do battle against the impulses of nature. The statement "in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread,"²⁵ does not refer to manual labor only; this stern law of labor applies to all. In fact our obligation is even greater by reason of the more precious spiritual and eternally-lasting goods entrusted to us; since the salvation of souls and either their eternal happiness or damnation is dependent upon our toil! The temptation to sloth threatens us religious more than other persons from the very fact that unlike the case of men who live in the world, we find that superiors through their charity provide for our sustenance whether our daily work shows more or less industry or negligence. Let us not therefore be satisfied whenever we make some use of our time, even though matters have gone smoothly and serenely, persuading ourselves that thus we have fulfilled our duty: since we shall have to give an account of our earthly stewardship, I fear that the Supreme Judge is going to weigh things in a different scale! Let constant and exhausting labor be our daily cross, a stern law indeed but a sweet one. I am aware of the fact that often our shoulders are laden with burdens beyond their strength; nor shall I cease exhorting superiors to be watchful in accordance with the precept of St. Ignatius,²⁶ of preserving "moderation in labors of both body and mind"; but at the same time let them see to it that Ours do not neglect more exacting and by far more fruitful works to undertake easier and less productive ones. To mention but one example: how much more effective the apostolate in certain provinces would be if more Fathers, after having completed their studies, would at once apply themselves with persevering effort to the cultivation of the dogmatic, spiritual, moral, and social sciences rather than

abandon themselves entirely to "Action!" For this over-emphasis on action can be a mask for laziness.

13.—Nor should we forget, as I have already mentioned elsewhere, that religious observance, even the faithful custody of Rules governing our external conduct has also been so imposed upon religious as continually to mortify their nature. For it crushes pride and self-will; it crushes our love of ease; it crushes that license, so agreeable to our times, of saying and doing whatever we please. How easily is union with God accomplished by that religious who, faithfully observing his rules from a motive of love, is always anxious to fulfil the divine will even in the smallest details! What an invaluable service those superiors render the souls of their subjects, who without any human respect, in a manner always serene and paternal but at the same time sincere, cause their forgetful, negligent, or tempted subjects to return to a faithful esteem and observance of the rules. How grateful subjects will be to a firm superior when they come to realize either in later life or especially in the future life, that he who was too severe (so it seemed) in reality increased their fervor in religion and their glory in heaven. On the other hand will there be those (you indeed have known such examples) who gradually fell away from their vocation and even from the very practice of Christian virtue precisely because somewhere along the line they began to contemn that mortification exacted of them by humbling obedience.

14.—The very progress in material things, though on the one hand it can serve to increase and multiply the fruits of our labors even in the apostolate, on the other hand tends gradually to promote the conveniences also and the pleasures of life and to whet our appetite for these conveniences and pleasures so that, unless we remain watchful and steadfast, imperceptibly, we shall desert the spirit of the gospel for the spirit of the world, become more easy-going, less constant in hardships and less firm in resisting sinful pleasures. People of the world, it is true, buy for the most part, if they can afford it, whatever new product promises their greater convenience and pleasure and they use and enjoy the product. Let not this be our way of acting. We are religious, "men crucified to the world and to whom the world itself is cruci-

fied," men, therefore, who rather withdraw from things which make life easier or more pleasurable, except in so far as these things can lead to better results in the spiritual order. When I look upon the crucified One and at the same time reflect on certain uses already prevalent even in our Society in certain places, I cannot believe that we are drawing closer to God by this more lax manner of life. I notice that soft and expensive chairs are being used in some places instead of the customary poorer and harder ones; that many use tobacco without moderation not even considering, so it seems, whether or not out of love of God and souls they might give up or at least curtail this pleasure. I notice the use of liquor which is permitted in our communities only for sake of hospitality or during very few feasts is becoming more widespread, and what is worse, some drink almost to excess when in their visits with secular persons. I fear that radio, television, moving pictures, sport events and the like, instead of being permitted, as befits our vocation, only for truly apostolic purposes or for legitimate recreation, in the case of some feed their unmortified curiosity, laziness and sensuality. How prudently does our Institute prescribe that "superiors take the proper measures and subjects the proper care lest the desire for their own ease imperceptibly usurp control, destroy the right thinking of Ours, distract from apostolic labors proper to our vocation and impel us finally to a love of idleness."²⁷

15.—Anyone of Ours, howsoever physically weak he may be, can cultivate that very salutary mortification-which enables him to accept from the hand of the Lord with gratitude and if not with joy, at least with patience, all spiritual or bodily discomforts he may encounter. The Council of Trent teaches "so great is the liberality of the divine munificence that we are able through Christ Jesus to make satisfaction to God the Father not only through punishments voluntarily undertaken by us in atonement for sin . . . but also (which is a very great proof of love) by the temporal scourges inflicted by God and borne patiently by us."²⁸ What great merit whether for himself or others shall a person deserve in the sight of God and how much shall his soul be purified and drawn closer to its Creator, if not yielding internally or ex-

ternally to discontent, he will show cheerfulness no matter what difficulties confront him. How far indeed do we fall short of that perfection when to ease our nervous tension we loose the reins to impatience and self-love by indulging in what we term "constructive criticism." Because this failure to mortify one's self which so easily sows discord between superior and subjects, between brethren of the same religious family, is the worst type of failure, it finally destroys the spirit of obedience and charity. The carping, cynical attitude which has frustrated the efforts of many in the Society and sometimes has rendered them cowardly and diffident throughout their entire life, has in not a few cases crushed the desire for work itself. How different indeed is this way of acting from the charity of Christ!

16.—In a word that interior mortification which easily avoids the danger of illusion and excess can be practiced in many ways. To interior mortification is applied perfectly that counsel of our holy Father to seek as far as possible continual mortification.

Since dangers and inducements to sin arising from a culture so steeped in materialism surround us on all sides, watchfulness and prudence, whereby we do our best to forestall and avoid the occasions and temptations to sin, demand of us numerous victories over self. All of our senses, especially the ears and eyes must be restrained from questionable curiosity; books or pamphlets which in every age (by no means excepting our own, as sad experience teaches) create a danger to fallen human nature should out of humble prudence be avoided; entertainments of too frequent occurrence which debilitate the soul should, as I have said, be used with moderation; that spiritual solitude, proper to the state of virginity, which seeks help from God alone and after all is not intended as a means of solace for us but for others, should be manfully endured; that human respect which causes us to fear that we be mocked as old-fashioned, should be subdued. Let us be mocked indeed as followers of the gospel and faithful disciples of Eternal Truth, always ancient and always new! Our holy Father Ignatius has most beautifully explained this diversified manner of mortification pleasing to God and to men

in the text of the Constitutions²⁹ which incorporated in the Summary as the 29th Rule, is often considered by you all.

17.—That same rule treats also of a more sublime means of interior mortification, namely, it urges us to avoid whatever can harm that fraternal charity which the Apostle St. John asserts is the sign and the only genuine sign of the true love of God. Let good manners be observed, let silence in word and deed be safeguarded for the edification and also the convenience of others, let any suggestion of detraction, envy, ridicule, all impatience, and boasting be excluded from our conversation: in this way we shall find abundant opportunity of conquering ourselves. Moreover if we desire not only to avoid offenses against charity but to further it by our own actions, how broad a field lies open before us for renouncing what suits our own convenience, for concealing personal difficulties and sadness, for conquering slothfulness, for hastening to undertake whatever is more disagreeable to us. How great would be unity, peace, joy, strength of action amongst us, if only, forgetful of ourselves, we should live more fully for others. With how great pleasure will the invisible Lord dwell among us when He shall see us joined together with Him in charity and mutual love.

18.—Nor can I omit to make mention of a matter which is of great help to the ministries and duties of our vocation, in order that each one of us should in a spirit of peace and internal humility learn and strive continuously to control our nerves and imagination so that he might maintain a sane, well-balanced and peaceful attitude of mind. Though we are physicians of souls, yet through heredity or early training many of us are of a nervous and rather stubborn disposition. If we physicians of souls shall impose on ourselves the following mortification, namely, to control the impulses of our soul, also to watch constantly over bodily health, to correct our own judgment in conformity with the counsels of wiser men, to acknowledge frankly our mistakes, we shall perform a work pleasing to God and salutary to the Mystical Body of Christ. For to be unwilling to be guided by sense but by faith and reason in all things, that is penetrating mortification.

19.—Finally in closing this letter, I exhort you all, Reverend Fathers and dear Brothers in Christ persistently praying with deep confidence, to implore for the Society an abundant outpouring from that Spirit of Holiness which leads us to Him Who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life. That image of Christ Crucified which the Society gave us as a memorial of our first vows at the completion of our novitiate is in the hands of each one of us. May the benign Lord grant that this image by no means grow commonplace by use but on the contrary may it with the passing of time speak more intimately to our souls. It will teach us if God enlightens the mind that efficacious love which is shown not by words but by deeds; and it will continually bring to mind those words: "What have I done for Christ, what am I doing for Christ, what ought I do for Christ!"³⁰

I desire that the Society bound together in one and the same genuine spirit generously play its humble role in providing for the spiritual needs of the present time. For on this earth the road to the Kingdom of God Who is Charity and Justice, will be the more unobstructed, the more fully inordinate affection to created things and the occasion and incitement to sin are conquered in ourselves and others.

20.—Whilst in those lands towards which the dying St. Francis Xavier gazed, beseeching for them the light of the Gospel, our own Brothers, heralds of Christ, are suffering privation, prisons, persecutions at times worse than death; whilst in many provinces of Europe hundreds of our Brothers are experiencing the same fate; whilst all these true sharers of Christ's Cross offer to God for the salvation of souls whatever they are forced to suffer, is it not right that the other members of the Society who conveniently and freely enough carry on their work, being mindful of their redemptive mission, in voluntary imitation of the suffering Christ implore of the Divine Mercy pardon for the sins of the world, grace of conversion for the erring, justice and charity in the social life of man? May the powerful intercession of the Apostle of the Indies preserve the grace of our vocation!

I commend myself earnestly to your Holy Sacrifices and prayers.

Given at Rome, April 22, 1952 on the Feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Queen of the Society of Jesus.

The servant of all in Christ,

JOHN BAPTIST JANSSENS,

General of the Society of Jesus

NOTES

- ¹ *A.R.*, XII 108-124.
- ² *A.A.S.*, XLII 570.
- ³ *Litterae encyclicae Miserentissimus Redemptor*, *A.A.S.* XX 165-178.
- ⁴ Cf. *Praefatio antiqua Constit.* In edit. 1949 p. 6.
- ⁵ Cf. Inscriptio ad "Praesupponendum" Exercitiorum [22].
- ⁶ *Exam. Gen.* c. 4 n. 46 [103]; *Reg. Summ.* 12.
- ⁷ *Constit.* P. III c. 2 n. 3 [296].
- ⁸ *Ibid.* P. VI c. 3 n. 1 [582].
- ⁹ *Ibid.* P. IV c. 10 n. 4 [423].
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.* P. IX c. 2 n. 3 [726].
- ¹¹ *Exam. Gen.* C. I n. 6 [8]; *Reg. Summ.* 4.
- ¹² *Constit.* P. III c. 1 n. 25 [287]; *Reg. Summ.* 24.
- ¹³ Cf. I Cor. IX, 27.
- ¹⁴ *Exerc. Spir.* I Hebd. Addit. X [82].
- ¹⁵ Cf. I John I, 8.
- ¹⁶ Cf. *Conc. Trident.* Sess. XIV, *Doctrina de Sacramento Paenitentiae*: c. 8 et 9; *Denz.* 904-906.
- ¹⁷ Cf. Col. I, 24.
- ¹⁸ Cf. H. Rosweyde: *Vitae Patrum*, *Libr. V*, lib. 5, n. 27, p. 439. *Lugduni* 1617.
- ¹⁹ *Suppl. Q.* XIII art. 2 in C.
- ²⁰ Cf. Luke XI, 21.
- ²¹ Cf. Mark IX, 28.
- ²² Matthew VI, 17.
- ²³ *Constit.* P. III c. 2 n. 5 [300]; *Reg. Summ.* 48.
- ²⁴ Rodriguez, A., *Ejercicio de Perfección y Virtudes Cristianas*, P. III *Tr. V*, c. 16 n. 2. S. Bernardus, *Serm. 30 super Cant.*
- ²⁵ *Lib. Gen.* III, 19.
- ²⁶ Cf. *Constit.* P. X n. 10 [822].
- ²⁷ *Epit.* n. 208, 1°; *Coll. decr.* 60.
- ²⁸ *Conc. Trident.* Sess. XIV, *Doctrina de Sacramento Paenitentiae*; *Denz.* 906.
- ²⁹ *Constit.* P. III c. 1 n. 4 [250].
- ³⁰ *Exerc. Spir.* I Hebd. [53].

DEVOTION TO MARY IN THE SODALITY

JOSEF STIERLI, S.J.

Author's Preface

In our day the subject of the Marian devotion that is proper to the Sodality demands attention on two scores. First of all, from the viewpoint of the new flowering of devotion to Mary whose fruits we see in theology and in piety. This resurgence obliges the Sodality to examine and to intensify its own devotion to Mary. Secondly we are also obliged by the actual historical moment in the life of the Sodality to furnish a sound interpretation of the meaning and importance of devotion to Mary in the total structure of the Sodality. Indeed the Apostolic Constitution *Bis Sæculari* and all the other pronouncements of the Pope concerning the Sodality are resounding calls for a renewal of the pristine spirit of the Sodality. The resulting consideration of the essence of the Sodality compels us to explain precisely the position and the nature of its Marian devotion.

To explain devotion to Mary in the Sodality, the present work is divided into two parts:

First of all we shall consider devotion to Mary in the light of the history of the Sodality (Chapter One).

Secondly we shall consider devotion to Mary according to the internal structure of the Sodality idea (Chapter Two).

Chapter One

Devotion to Mary in the Light of the History of the Sodality

Two preliminary ideas should be noted. First a word about the significance of historical research. We do not study the history of the Sodality merely for its inherent interest, nor in order to bask in the sun of its earlier accomplishments. The Sodality should be opportunely warned against this danger just as it should be advised of the necessity of stimulating a self-understanding and a dynamic trust

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for the future through a study of its history. Finally research into its history does not have as its objective the freezing of the Sodality's past as its unchanging form. The Sodality has a right to existence only when it exists for today and for tomorrow. Our objective is to find the essence of the Sodality in its history; we wish to feel its living heartbeat of today in rhythm with the past, and fanned by the warm breath of its early enthusiasm, we shall strive to rekindle the flame of its ideal.

A further reason makes it imperative to study the history of the Sodality. The suppression of the Society of Jesus and, at a later date, the expulsion of the same Society from Germany and Switzerland broke the living contact of the life of the Sodality with that of its first two centuries and loosened the spiritual ties that bound it to its original plan. In many places this led to false projections and to a wrong type of development. In their aprioristic interpretations and decisions, which not only fail to agree with the original idea but even at times directly contradict it, even zealous priests manifest this disastrous lack of historical knowledge.

This leads to our second preliminary note. The historical approach and especially the architectonic formation of the Sodality idea postulate references to the Society of Jesus. We must not attribute such references to a biased desire for power or totalitarian absorption. Rather we must acknowledge an historical fact which does not contribute to the reputation and honor of the Order nearly as much as it imposes upon it a serious responsibility in the present and for the future. We will have occasion to investigate more thoroughly the mutual relationship between the Society of Jesus and the Sodality and in so doing we will understand that an exposition of the essence of the Sodality must take into account as basic this interrelation. Before considering the historical evolution of devotion to Mary in the Sodality we must explain, at least in brief outline, the origin of the sodality idea. This first chapter can be divided into two sections. First we must consider the formative forces in the early history of the Sodality, and secondly within this framework we shall discuss the question of the spiritual and historical basis for the Sodality's devotion to Mary.

I. The Formative Forces of the Original Sodality Movement

In the history of the Sodality we distinguish two great eras essentially different one from the other. The first embraces the period from its founding in 1563 to the year 1773, that is, to the time of the general suppression of the Society of Jesus. During this time the Sodality was practically under the exclusive direction of the Society of Jesus with basically the same ends and, as far as possible, the same means translated into terms of the life of the laity. In the light of this fact, the relatively small number of sodalities during the first two centuries of Sodality history becomes reasonable. During this period we find in all about 2500 foundations, a number equal to the new foundations of a two year period between the First and Second World Wars.

The second era begins with the suppression of the Society of Jesus. In the summer of 1773 the Sodality seemed marked for dissolution, because as a spiritual work of the Society of Jesus it also was subject to the terms of the Brief *Dominus ac Redemptor*. Soon however influential circles endeavored to restore this religious, apostolic lay society, and as early as the autumn of the year of suppression a cardinalitial commission was entrusted with the direction of the *Prima Primaria*. Individual sodalities, however, at least those which were not automatically dissolved with the colleges and schools of the Order, passed over to the direction of the local ordinaries and to the priests under their jurisdiction. Nevertheless, terrible crises and a dangerous decline could not be avoided. An essentially new orientation was canonically given to the Sodality. Up to this time the Sodality was a subsidiary organization of a religious Order. It is true that the Sodality was always ecumenical in its outlook and activity; still it was under the Order and not immediately under the Church. From now on it was under the Church itself. Nor was this change substantially modified when in 1814 the Jesuit Order was restored. Only the sodalities attached to the churches and schools of the Order were under the direction of the Father General. Today these Jesuit sodalities comprise only four percent of the total number, while all the other sodalities are dependent on the local ordinaries. The Jesuit General can do no more than aggregate them to the *Prima Primaria*.

This second era is marked in particular by a tremendous growth in membership especially during the last hundred years. Today there exist seventy to eighty thousand sodalities with from seven to eight million members. However, this is accomplished by an unhealthy mass membership and superficiality. In many places the emphasis has shifted to women's sodalities, whereas up to the year 1751 only young men's and men's sodalities were established and these alone were considered as genuine.

Perhaps we stand today at the turning point to a third era introduced by the Apostolic Constitution *Bis Sæculari*. In any event, a new development is the sincere wish and the set purpose of the Holy Father. During this new period it will be a question of a lively, progressive synthesis between the first and second eras, and the inculcation into the present large groups of the spirit of the early Sodality.

In studying the formative forces of the Sodality movement (forces which should shape the work of our present-day sodalities), we shall study above all the times of the first era and in particular the century of its origin and of its dynamic growth. In that period the Sodality is characterized as follows:

- (1) It is a lay movement of the Society of Jesus;
- (2) It was therefore pledged to the same end of self-sanctification and the sanctification of the world in the sense of a universal apostolate;
- (3) It was vitalized by the spiritual springs of the Exercises to which the Society owed its own existence.

1. The Sodality Was Founded as a Lay Movement of The Society of Jesus

Whoever studies the history of the Sodality, even cursorily, recognizes in this religious, apostolic society, placed under the special patronage of the most holy Virgin Mary, the work and offspring of the Society of Jesus. As a matter of fact, the beginnings of the history of the Sodality may be traced back even before 1563, the date usually assigned as the year of its founding. Father Emil Villaret, the onetime Director of the Roman Central Office of the Sodality, in a valuable study published in the *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, gives us a

glimpse of the "prehistoric" sodalities which arose spontaneously with the founding of the Order.¹

A twofold circumstance led thereunto: The number of Jesuit workers in the face of the great needs of the Church was small, and the first apostolic work was characterized by a rapid expansion. Under these circumstances the few men about Ignatius were sent out by the Pope and the General from one city to another and from one country to another in order to bring about reform. As a result, there arose a pressing need for apostolic assistants who would multiply the efforts of the few Jesuits and, after they had departed, could cultivate the seed of a zealous religious life which had been scattered and was now growing. A basic principle of the Constitutions of the Order was also in play, namely, that in the choice of works special care should be taken for the permanence and radiation of apostolic influence. Out of these initial situations developed the proper Sodality movement. This included, first of all, college students, then university students and theologians, and with the organic progress of the years, professional men and priests. At the end of the sixteenth century among the more than two hundred colleges of the Order, there was not a single one without a Sodality. The idea of the Sodality quickly spread to bourgeois groups of officials, merchants, apprentices, artisans—and always, where it was possible and prudent, based itself on the class principle of grouping together men sharing the same ideas and tasks.

The apostolic work which the Society of Jesus had performed within the pattern of the Catholic Reformation and the Jesuit contribution to the missions were vitally supported by the sodalities and without their valuable aid the extent of these great works would never have been possible. The following statement was made by Father Joseph Miller of Innsbruck after he had made a study of the sodalities of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: "We must not view the sodalities of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in isolation. They performed an essential function in the great work of reform which the Society of Jesus had undertaken. If we are to understand and judge them correctly, we must see them as a religious revival movement in the spirit of the

Order as delineated in the meditation on the Kingdom of Christ in the Spiritual Exercises.”²

2. The Sodality Is Intended To Be a Religious and Apostolic Society for an Elite

The Sodality was not merely founded by the Society of Jesus. It also had the same objectives, that is, it was not just a lay movement organized by the Jesuits but a lay organization according to the Jesuit ideal. It should be characterized by the same spirit, the same ends, the same methods in so far as these are feasible in such groups. “The end of this Society is not only that we should occupy ourselves by the divine grace with the salvation and perfection of our own souls, but also that we should by the help of the same grace earnestly devote ourselves to the salvation and perfection of our neighbor.”³ The objective which St. Ignatius established for his own Order in his Constitutions was also to be the spirit of this organization.

Moreover the Sodality should seriously attend to the universal ideal of Christian perfection. The word *self-sanctification* was not merely a slogan but a goal to be achieved with high, unflinching effort—a goal that would be attained by a gratifyingly large number in the fullest sense of ecclesiastical approbation through canonization, and would be approached more or less closely by very many others. The distinguishing mark of this striving after sanctity is a synthesis of intensive sacramental-liturgical life together with more earnest personal effort in the interior life of prayer and solid-work in the formation of character. From the richness of a personal Christianity an apostolic commitment would then develop of itself both in the individual as well as in the community of the sodality. If the Pope so emphatically ascribes to the Sodality the full title of Catholic Action, then history merely corroborates the fact that the Sodality has long ago truly realized this central program of Catholic action. In repulsing a victoriously advancing Protestantism, in the rich reconversion of lost regions, and in the work of revival within the Church, the sodalities made a contribution which can no longer be dismissed from the picture of history. This apostolate was not merely an assistance rendered to the

clergy. Hundreds of thousands were brought back to the Church and to a living faith because of the sodalities alone. Their apostolic activity also had a part in the Jesuit missions of India and even more so in Japan and China. The sodalities provided the leaven for a new Christian community.

It is quite obvious that such a community depends on a select group. However the notion of an elite is a matter of quality rather than of quantity. Quantitative selectivity in the sense of restriction to a small number is nothing more than the practical application of the principle of quality. By reason of its nuclear idea the Sodality makes demands which are more than average, and consequently it mobilizes a high idealism which is never something to be found in the large mass. Only at the cost of diluting it can the Sodality ideal be presented to the ordinary Catholic as accessible and agreeable. The elite character of the Sodality has been proposed as a problem of many discussions in past years. There is actually no problem. The Sodality is an elite phenomenon because it is an ideal carried over effectively into practical life.

3. The Sodality Ideal Originally Stemmed from the Spirituality of the Exercises

Since the Sodality in its original form was the lay movement of the Society of Jesus and grew out of the Society's purposes, it follows that the Sodality like the Jesuit Order itself was rooted in the Exercises. Furthermore, just as the Society of Jesus is the spirit of the Exercises in the form of an organized religious order, so, too, the sodalities are its parallel in the form of the incarnation of the Exercises in a religious apostolic lay society. Consequently the fundamental principles of the Exercises are the fundamental and formative forces of the Sodality: the application of the Principle and Foundation, the resolution to follow Christ enthusiastically but soberly in terms of a devoted love that "finds God in all things."

This explains the early recommendation in the Sodality rules that the members should make an annual retreat. By this means through the spirit of the Exercises the everyday life of the sodalist is formed in his religious exercises, and in the concrete dedication to his own calling and state of life. Just as one must look for "the power and secret of the

Jesuits" in the Exercises, so must one look to the same source for the power and secret of the Sodality. It follows as a practical corollary that we should not make the mistake of giving to sodalities and to our sodalists the customary attenuated retreat, but that we should realize their solid religious formation in retreats of from six to eight days. A statement of the late Father Bangha, who had for some time directed the central secretariat in Rome, may be cited as a conclusion for this section.

Sodalities were something quite different from what the later organizations, which are called sodalities today, would lead one to believe. They were foci of religious movement and activity; they became a powerful force in the work of religious regeneration. They were moreover vessels into which the distinctive spirit of the Society of Jesus was infused so that it might be diffused into the widest possible circles.⁴

II. The Spiritual and Historical Foundation of Devotion to Mary in the Sodality

This sketchy analysis of the essence of the Sodality derived from its historical evolution provides a framework within which we can develop our particular question concerning devotion to Mary. For a correct understanding of the Marian character of the Sodality it is useful and to a certain degree downright necessary to consult history. It is precisely this historical vision that will enable us to construct an accurate judgment of devotion to Mary in the spirit and temper of our times without distorting the original idea of the Sodality.

This topic admits a clear threefold division.

(1) First of all it is necessary to establish conclusively the fact of a particular Marian character of the Sodality;

(2) Secondly we shall consider the source of this Marian character and find it in the spirituality of the period of its origin;

(3) Lastly an even more profound and ultimate source will be found in the parent-Order of the Sodality and in that Order's founder. The Marian character of the Sodality is determined by the Marian character of the Society of Jesus which in turn is determined by the Marian spirit of St. Ignatius.

1. The Fact of a Special Marian Character of the Sodality

The fact that the Sodality today has a Marian character cannot be doubted. That this is a *de iure* reality and not merely a *de facto* phenomenon must be emphasized at this point in opposition to the tendencies which spring from considerations of adaptation and propaganda, and which tend to relegate the Marian element to the background. All official documents on the subject of the Sodality in our time stress this Marian character.

Even an elementary knowledge of the general statutes manifests this point so clearly that further discussion would seem to be superfluous. In addition to this, the Apostolic Constitution, *Bis Sæculari*, the authoritative canonical statutory code for the Sodality, emphasizes strikingly this basic Marian feature of the Sodality:

These Sodalities are to be called Sodalities of Our Lady not only because they take their name from the Blessed Virgin Mary, but especially because each Sodalist makes profession of special devotion to the Mother of God and is dedicated to her by a complete consecration, undertaking, though not under pain of sin, to strive by every means and under the standard of the Blessed Virgin for his own perfection and eternal salvation as well as for that of others. By this consecration the Sodalist binds himself forever to the Blessed Virgin Mary, unless he is dismissed from the Sodality as unworthy, or himself through fickleness of purpose relinquishes the same.⁵

As a further testimony we might adduce, at least as a marginal note, the speech of Pius XII on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of his reception into the Sodality, or the letter of His Holiness addressed in April, 1950 to the conference of Sodality promoters which met in Rome. In that letter the Pope affirmed with terse cogency: "This basic formation of the soul and the apostolic efficacy resulting therefrom must have a thoroughly Marian character."⁶

This clear assertion in our own times is by no means an innovation even though the Marian character was not so evidently underlined during the first period of the Sodality's history. In those first Sodalities devotion to Mary was much more taken for granted and presented no problem as it does to many today. The student association of Father Leunis by reason of its consecration to Mary on January 1, 1564 became a true Marian Sodality, that is, a society dedicated to Mary in

a particular manner and, in consequence, acknowledging special obligations to her; a society over which Mary had special rights and which was commended to her protection in a special way. In the oldest rules of the Roman Sodality we read a golden phrase which was carried over into the Statutes of Father Claude Aquaviva and has been handed down to us in stereotyped repetition through the history of the Sodality:

Since the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Mother of God, is the first patroness of this society, we can be confident that, as the Mother of Mercy, she will care for us in a special manner; moreover, since she loves those who have a love for her, it is expedient that the sons of this society should not only love and honor her in a special manner, but that they should also endeavor to imitate the example of her lofty virtues by the purity of their doctrine and of their conduct and to encourage one another to love and devotion for Mary by frequent conversation among themselves, and to cherish in their hearts a burning desire that her most holy name be ever more praised.⁷

The man who acts in conformity with this ideal, automatically belongs to the elite.

The extent to which they were aware of this Marian characteristic in those original Sodalities is evidenced by the statement of Gregory XIII in the Bull of December 5, 1584, confirming the *Prima Primaria*. Here it is declared that every similar society which would seek affiliation with the mother Sodality in Rome for the enjoyment of its privileges and indulgences must adopt this same title of the Annunciation of Our Lady. Subsequently, at the request of Father Aquaviva, Sixtus V suspended this condition and in effect no Marian denomination was required. Actually, however, most of the Sodalities during this period were Sodalities of Our Lady with some title of the Mother of God and with devotion to her taken for granted. Finally, Benedict XIV sanctioned a middle course in the "Golden Bull" of September 27, 1748 (on the bicentenary of which the Apostolic Constitution *Bis Sæculari* was promulgated), whereby a Marian denomination was required with Mary as principal patroness, but freedom of choice was permitted in the selection of the particular mystery of Mary's life.

Over and above these official testimonies the whole history of the Sodality furnishes proof that the devotion to Mary was emphasized conspicuously. These evidences lead us to

the question: What is the source of this Marian character of the Sodality?

2. The Relation of the Marian Nature of the Sodality to the Religious Spirit of the Period of Its Founding

In a truly significant sense the Sodality's devotion to Mary is the fruit of the actual religious character of the era which the Sodality naturally assimilated. The age in which the Sodality was founded, the period of the Catholic Reformation and of baroque art, was distinguished like all epochs of religious revival by a Marian character which develops a more profound and interior religious life and is nourished by that spirit. The joyful Catholic life, which that era stimulated and cultivated, revealed itself in personal devotion to Mary which found expression in prayer and in song, in pilgrimages and in religious drama, in theology and in the establishment of religious societies.

Another situation developed during this period: the spreading Reformation attacked with ever increasing vehemence the honor and devotion directed to the Mother of God. Precisely for this reason there arose in the associations of the idealistic men and youth of the Sodality a desire for valiant defence and zealous reparation. That explains the fact that this Marian feature was more strongly emphasized in the northern Sodalities of this period and assumed an apologetic, knightly, protective character. The original formula of consecration, which goes back to Father Coster and is familiar to us today in connection with the name of St. John Berchmans, expressed this desire vividly. In fact, however, even with these citations we have not as yet arrived at the deepest source of the devotion to Mary that is proper to the Sodality. In the Baroque era the Marian spirit was itself radically influenced by the Marian apostolate of the Society of Jesus. Moreover, the knightly service of love, as it is seen in the Sodality, has its model as well as its spiritual and historical background in the founder of the Society of Jesus.

3. The Roots of the Marian Character of the Sodality in the Piety of the Society of Jesus and of Its Founder

The most important document in the history of the original Sodality, the "Golden Bull," furnishes a sketch of the his-

torical development of the first Marian piety in the Society of Jesus. Thereby it traces the Sodality's devotion to Mary back to its sources in the Society. It presents, first of all, a picture of Montserrat:

Under the guidance and with the help of Our Lady, Ignatius of Loyola entered upon the arduous way of perfection . . . When he had chosen his first group of companions and had determined to lead them into battle, together with them he bound himself by a solemn oath in the sanctuary of the Blessed Virgin at Montmartre, and upon this powerful rock he laid the foundation of his Order.

He himself was accustomed to command no work of great moment nor to assume such work himself without first of all calling upon the holy name of Mary. Therefore it was his desire that all his disciples would make it a rule of their lives, in all the tasks and duties imposed on them by their vocation, to place their highest hopes in her protective patronage and, in all the dangers which they would have to undergo in the service of religion, to rely upon this Tower of strength from which hang a thousand shields and to confide in it as the safest place of refuge and the most powerful bulwark against the attacks of the enemy.

Now, as they carry the adorable name of Jesus across the oceans and to every part of the world, to kings and nations, they could never fail to make known at the same time the most loveable name of His Mother, Mary; and so, they propagate along with the light of faith and holiness of life the veneration and devotion to the Mother of God in all parts of the world.⁸

Even if we prescind from accounts that refer to the days of his pre-conversion, there were numerous appearances of the Mother of God in the sick-room at Loyola related in the life of St. Ignatius and these, on his own testimony, brought him freedom from temptations of the flesh for the remainder of his life. A truly knightly act followed, for, on his way from the old to the new life, he gave all the money he had left to pay for the restoration of a picture of Our Lady in a half-ruined chapel. During this same critical period, as he was entering upon a new way of life, the fervent prayer that he made in the Chapel of Our Lady of Aranzazu—that he might be a true servant of Mary throughout his life—was answered with quick and wonderful results. From the same spirit sprang that knightly deliberation whether or not he should pursue the Moor who had insulted Mary and with his dagger chastise him. The knightly vigil and the knightly vows at Montserrat where, significantly, on the morning of the feast of the An-

nunciation, he bound himself forever through Mary to Christ, the eternal King, are symbolic of his new way of life. Here was foreshadowed in its purest form all future consecration to Mary in the Sodality. At Manresa he often made pilgrimages to the Church of Our Lady in Viladordis and he fasted in Mary's honor every Saturday. The opinion that Mary dictated the Spiritual Exercises to him in the holy cave may not be fully authenticated, but it is undeniable that during the ten months of his experiences there Ignatius was in extraordinary communion with Mary. From that time on, Our Lady was not to be excluded from his own life, from the book of the Spiritual Exercises or from the Society that was to be established. We could develop this evidence at greater length—the vows at Montmartre on August 15, 1534; the solemn profession before the venerable image of Our Lady in the Church of Saint Paul Outside the Walls; the efforts to obtain the little Church of Our Lady of the Way as the first church of the Order. Finally, there are memorable passages in the Spiritual Diary one of which deserves consideration in this discussion:

February 15, (1544): Afterwards, as I began my preparation for the celebration of Mass, I beheld Our Lady. She revealed herself to me and I realized how much I had failed the day before. Not indeed without deep emotion and abundant tears it seemed to me that by my wretched faults I had caused shame to Our Dear Lady since she had to intercede for me so often, and so Our Dear Lady concealed herself from me and I no longer felt any attraction for prayer whether to her or to the Most High.

After some time, groping in my inability to discover Our Lady, I raised my eyes and I experienced a powerful impulse to tears and sighs, and at the same time I understood clearly that Our Heavenly Father was well disposed towards me, so much so indeed that He permitted me to understand by a sign that He would be pleased if Our Dear Lady, whom I could not see, would intercede for me.

While preparing the altar, after vesting and during Mass, I experienced profound interior emotion together with abundant tears so that many times I was incapable of speech. When I had finished Mass—and even before Mass during my preparation and at thanksgiving—I was keenly aware of the presence of Our Dear Lady as she interceded for me with the Father, so that in my prayers to the Father and to the Son, and during the consecration, I could think of nothing else but that she was the cause and the means of the rich spiritual graces which I felt.⁹

We can describe this devotion of St. Ignatius to Mary with two words. Considered from the point of view of historical psychology it is the valorous love-sacrifice of a knight for his lady, the exalted Lady to whom the pure love of his heart belongs. It is one of the many psychologically possible and historically developed forms of devotion to Mary influenced to a definite degree by time and circumstances. This naturally raises the question whether in practice we cannot exploit this knightly form of service to Our Lady in our sodalities for young men and for men in general.

The second characteristic note of Ignatian devotion to Mary stems from dogmatic grounds and has an absolute value over and above all the conditioning of an historical period or psychological motivation. We find it in the gradation of the triple colloquy of the Spiritual Exercises, which occurs at the most decisive points and the most important phases. We find it even more frequently in the Spiritual Diary of St. Ignatius and so learn how dear to the Saint was this form of prayer. The suppliant, first of all, makes his petition to Mary, the noble Lady and tender Mother; with her he goes to the Son to present his petitions to Him in the company of Mary; with both of them, as Ignatius often says, he turns to the Father in order to gain the grace he is asking for.

This triple approach is not merely a favorite form of prayer. It is the dogmatically sound and radical plan of his spiritual development and, in general, of his ascetical system: to go to Mary so that in her and through her he may arrive at a most intimate following of Christ, and thus, with Mary and with Christ, to bring to perfection a loving, life-long service of the divine Majesty of the Father.

Although these historical connections are helpful for an understanding of the devotion to Mary that is proper to the Sodality, still they do not furnish a full explanation. There are still deeper meanings behind these historically authenticated facts.

The Sodality was formed at a critical period in the history of the Church. All such crises, however, from the Christian controversies in the early Church up to our own depressing but not entirely unconsoling age, exhibit a clearly discernible Marian character. In this historical phenomenon, obscured, but to some extent recognizable, lies the truth that Mary has

been given to us as a sign of salvation, as our refuge in times of distress, as the dawn of the divine victory of the Cross. Thus the prophetic vision of the Seer of Patmos in the *Apocalypse* (Ch. XII) is fulfilled.

If then the Sodality through its founders has received such an express Marian character, we must see God's grace at work in all these historical and psychological phenomena. The God of history has Himself stamped this Marian character on the Sodality and has made of it a fruitful instrument of sanctification. In view of the fact that the whole economy of salvation operates from God through Mary to us, our personal salvation and the success of our work for the salvation of others will be attained to a degree commensurate with our intimate union with Mary.

Whoever studies the richly blessed history of the Sodality appreciates something of the divine theology of history as he looks back into the past. He must be firmly convinced, as he looks into the future, that the hour of the Sodality strikes with particular urgency today.

Chapter Two

Devotion to Mary in the Structure of the Sodality Idea

Let us keep in mind the conclusions of the foregoing analysis as a point of departure for this second chapter which treats the place of devotion to Mary in the internal development of the Sodality idea.

(1) The Sodality was born and developed as a lay movement of the Society of Jesus; it then evolves as the fruit of a providential crisis, in the transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, into a world-wide work of the Church itself. This new constitution was again solemnly sanctioned in the Apostolic Constitution *Bis Sæculari*. But in the light of other repeated descriptions of the Pope the origin of the Sodality from the spiritual womb of the Society of Jesus cannot be disregarded. There are two principal reasons for this: first, the recognition of this primary relationship between the Sodality and the Society of Jesus will contribute to a correct understanding of the Sodality idea; secondly, the

fact that the Pope clearly and emphatically commanded the Order which founded the Sodality to care for its further development also clarifies this internal relationship. This mandate is not intended as a bestowal of vested control but is directed designedly towards a genuine apostolate for souls.

(2) The Sodalities, as organized according to the spirit of their original idea, are religious, apostolic and select groups—Catholic Action in the truest sense of the word, inspired by the spirit of the Mother of God and entrusted to her powerful and maternal patronage. Pope Pius XII has repeatedly stated this as the essential Sodality idea.¹⁰ The historical dependence on its founding Order and its own purpose permit us to comprehend more clearly and precisely the end which the Sodality has in view. In this essential task of the Sodality no essential change has been introduced by reason of its canonical transition which marks the passing from the hands of the Society of Jesus to direction by the universal Church. *Bis Sæculari*, as well as many other documents, furnishes unambiguous testimony to this fact.

(3) From its original organization we glean another fact, namely, that the genuine spirit of the Sodality is identified with the highest ideal of the Spiritual Exercises in which it was rooted and by which it must always be nourished. Therefore, the Exercises, in the purest possible form, will be the best school for the true, dynamic spirit of the Sodality.

(4) This religious, apostolic society called the Sodality throughout its history has retained its true Marian character essentially unchanged despite varying modes. The resulting devotion to Mary is not merely an inheritance from the time of its origin but rather the inheritance from its founding Order. Consequently its potentialities are world-wide because it is dogmatically profound and trans-temporal.

On the basis of these conclusions which we have reached through an historical consideration is posed the question: In the development of the idea of the Sodality what is the proper position of, and what is the specific function of, devotion to Mary? How are the fundamental ideas of the Sodality and devotion to Mary related? In what sense does the Marian feature determine the essence of the Sodality?

We will proceed through two steps in answering these

questions. In the first place a negative delimitation is suggested in order to avoid false or erroneous interpretations of the Marian nature of the Sodality. Thereby we will clear the way for a positive explanation of this fruitful Marian mystery. If we so explain the meaning and limits of the Marian character of the Sodality we will possess a clear picture of its essence.

I. Negative Delimitation

Before we approach the individual propositions which are intended to provide a negative limit, we would like to emphasize that this negative norm should not be considered in isolation but rather in closest connection with the positive presentation. Then we shall not encounter in these negations any danger of minimizing the Marian orientation of the Sodality, a mistake which we find taking place in some parts of the Church. On the other hand, love of Mary should not mislead us into making assertions and claims which are not tenable in the light of the history and ideal of the Sodality. Truth and love, moderation and zeal must all play their parts.

1. Devotion to Mary Is Not the Proper End of the Sodality

For the proof of this thesis we need only refer to the first chapter of this work and let the documents speak for themselves. Until the time of the General Statutes of 1910, in which for the first time devotion to Mary was classified as an objective, all the rules with constant unanimity, although the precise wording may vary, have given the same answer to this essential question. The end of the Sodality is Christian perfection, with particular emphasis on the perfection of one's state in life and on the apostolate. The Apostolic Constitution *Bis Sæculari*, which today forms the basic canonical law of the Sodality, acknowledges no other end. The Sodality exists in order to achieve a Christian life, ever moving towards its highest ideal form, which quite naturally is realized in the double orientation of self-sanctification and the sanctification of the world.

We could dismiss the subject with this conclusion were it not for the fact, to which we have adverted, that the first rule of the General Statutes of 1910 approved by the authority of Father General Francis Xavier Wernz seemingly

propounds another concept. There we read the following: "The Marian sodalities established by the Society of Jesus and approved by the Apostolic See are religious societies with this objective, to cultivate in their members a special devotion, respect and childlike love for the Blessed Virgin Mary. . . ." ¹¹ Is, then, devotion to Mary the end and purpose of the Sodality? The solution of this difficulty is not hard. It is certain that the Rules of 1910 were not formulated to bring about an authoritative reformation of the Sodality. This becomes clear to us if we examine these rules in their totality and analyze the other statements of Father Wernz on the subject of the Sodality. These always propose the same ideal, often in the same words, as the traditional documents. Rule One, which seems to express the objective of the Sodality, is in fact an editorial contraction of the earlier rules one and three; it attempts to combine devotion to Mary and the service of Christ in one statement. It is clear from the second part that the two are to be joined hierarchically. It goes on to say: ". . . and through the medium of this devotion and under the protective leadership of so good a Mother to train their members to become real Christians who sincerely strive to sanctify themselves in their state of life, and zealously proceed . . . to save and sanctify others." ¹² Here again devotion to Mary is looked upon as a means and a way for the attainment of the proper end.

To some extent, perhaps, this discussion whether or not devotion to Mary is an end or a means is only a dispute about words. Certainly it is not simply that. If we wish to call *end* all that we are striving to attain, we could indeed speak of devotion to Mary as an end and we could recognize it as a concomitant end—subordinated to the principal end of the Sodality, by means of which, as Rule One expressly states, we can try to bring to realization the essential goal of the Sodality, namely, self-sanctification and the apostolate. The important thing is that in determining this objective we do not stop at devotion to Mary but see the proper end of the Sodality in a consummate Christianity which transcends the limits of duty and effects its own self-sanctification and the sanctification of the world.

2. Devotion to Mary Is Not the Most Important Means of the Sodality

In modern books about the Sodality one frequently encounters the idea that devotion to Mary is the principal means of attaining the end of the Sodality. Opposed to this we read in the earliest Roman Statutes: "Because the objective of our organization is to unite knowledge with Christian piety, and because the principal means to this end is the frequent reception of the sacraments, as the saints also counsel, we therefore propose to adopt these means."¹³ We read similar statements in the First General Statutes four years later and in many other rules, including those still in force today, which were formulated on this pattern.

The reception of the sacraments has first place as a means. In this respect also the Sodality is essentially the child of the Society of Jesus which from its inception stimulated a widespread sacramental movement. The testimony of history concerning the cultivation of the sacraments in the Sodality, and through it in the Church generally, is nothing more than a vital manifestation of the rules. Moreover, among the means emphasized are prayer, meditation, examination of conscience, frequent attendance at Mass, the recitation of the rosary, spiritual direction by a regular confessor, devotion to the saints, in which definite forms of Marian devotion are included, the Spiritual Exercises, and others.

At this point we can hear the obvious objection: In that case, if devotion to Mary is neither the objective nor the principal means in the Sodality, what is left?

For the moment let us anticipate the answer which will be developed more fully and clearly in the second part of this chapter: Devotion to Mary in the Sodality is a universal approach to the attainment of the Sodality's proper objective, the fully integrated Christian life. The sodalist pursues his goal of close personal fellowship with Christ and of generous Christian service to the world along with Mary, in her spirit and under her powerful protection.

If this be the meaning of the assertion that Marian devotion is the principal means of the Sodality, then we agree completely. Pius XII himself confirmed this interpretation in the Apostolic Constitution with a statement which we have

already quoted in the early part of this work: "The Sodality is Catholic Action under the leadership and in the spirit of the most holy Virgin Mary." In this statement there is both a subjective and an objective accent: The sodalist by his service of Catholic Action stands under the protective leadership of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and he fulfills his mission animated by her spirit.

3. Devotion to Mary in the Sodality Is Not Different from the Common Catholic Devotion to Mary

This third limitation is necessary in order to avoid the attachment of an erroneous meaning to the statement of the Pope which we have just quoted. Devotion to Mary in the Sodality is essentially the same as the common devotion of Catholic people to Mary. Objectively this means that the Sodality does not restrict its Marian devotion to a single Marian mystery which would control its entire Marian piety. When in its early history we frequently come upon the mystery of the annunciation as a title of the Sodality, this does not argue to a one-sided preference of the Sodality for this mystery, but it is due, in part, to the fact that the meeting place of the first sodality was the Church of the Annunciation of the Roman College and that Gregory XIII, in his Bull of Confirmation, ascribed this title to all the affiliated sodalities. But we find by a more penetrating analysis a reason for this in the position of cardinal significance which the annunciation has with respect to all the mysteries of Mary.

From the subjective point of view there is no peculiar Marian asceticism in the Sodality. If we wish to speak of an asceticism proper to the Sodality, we must look much more to the Book of the Spiritual Exercises out of which the whole movement sprang and of which, it must be added, the spirit is a completely Christocentric type of piety.

When in the fourth decade of this century a spirited controversy arose on the subject of the Marian nature of the Sodality, Father Joseph Miller of Innsbruck wrote an article, *The Sodalities in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, which climaxed the discussion.¹⁴ On that occasion Father General Ledochowski, appointed by the Church as the interpreter of the rules of the Sodality, stated his decision in this matter. In it is the answer to our particular question:

"In the Sodality there is no singular type of Marian piety or asceticism that is imparted. Moreover, its devotion to Mary is nothing exclusive; it is a simple form of devotion that spontaneously springs from a tender love of Jesus and Mary and, consequently, is in common practice in the Church."¹⁵

The Congress of Moderators held in Rome in 1935, a significant gathering, issued a statement concerning our question:

This devotion to Mary does not differ in kind from that devotion which is common to all the faithful. Nevertheless, the sodalists should be conspicuous for it and, most assuredly, in all its forms and applications, the simple as well as the more demanding, provided they are commanded or counselled by the Church. A devotion to Mary should be fostered which has this object in view, namely, that the sodalist be constantly more united to Christ and that he should take for himself this motto: "To Christ through Mary."¹⁶

Again, what this devotion to Mary in the Sodality stresses is its inner strength and power, its conscious and assiduous emphasis whereby in intensity it transcends the limits of devotion to Mary as commonly practiced among the faithful. The above mentioned letter of Father Ledochowski continues with this idea: "The sodalists should be distinguished by the strength and ardor of their devotion to Mary and the development of Mariology in the teaching of the Church and in her devotion should find a loving sympathy and a ready acceptance in the Sodality."¹⁷

This depth of Catholic devotion to Mary is something taken for granted in the original Sodality movement for two reasons: first of all, because of the history of the period. The Sodality was founded and had a marked success in a period which was distinguished by its fervent practice of devotion to Mary. We have already noted that in our historical survey. The other reason flows organically from the peculiar spirit of the Sodality: it demands and cultivates perfectly an intensive spiritual life into which the sincere practice of devotion to Mary is harmoniously and naturally built. For, an intensive religious life without an ardent practice of devotion to Mary would contradict integral dogma.

II. Positive Presentation

The result of this necessary delimitation is to leave us with the necessity of an assiduous practice of devotion to Mary,

not, indeed, as the primary objective, nor as the first and therefore most important means, nor in the form of a peculiar Marian asceticism; but precisely as a basic characteristic and as an indispensable element of the spirit of the Sodality.

Now we are in a position to approach the positive explanation: Where precisely does this intensive practice of the common Catholic devotion to Mary fit in the Sodality?

1. Intense Devotion to Mary in the Sodality Finds Its Specific Expression in the Patronage of the Blessed Virgin

Let us recall the more significant facts: On January 1, 1564 Father Leunis placed his school organization, which had been established in the Roman College of the Society of Jesus a year earlier, under the special protection of Mary and he gave to it the name of the church of the college calling it the Sodality of Our Lady of the Annunciation.

On that account Gregory XIII, in his Bull of Confirmation on December 5, 1584 prescribed that all similar societies desirous of obtaining the indulgences and privileges of the principal Sodality in Rome should take the same title of the annunciation. Sixtus V at a later date abrogated this rigid condition and, in fact, he did not demand even a title of Mary for affiliation with the mother Sodality at Rome. Benedict XIV, in the "Golden Bull," then provided a middle course inasmuch as he decided that for affiliation a congregation must choose Our Lady as its chief patron and must, consequently, take some Marian title.

In practice, however, even before this decree, most of the sodalities were under the special patronage of the Mother of God; and here we see one of the most significant values of the Sodality. Let us recall the rules of the oldest Roman Sodality to which we have already made reference. Ten years after Father Leunis had consecrated his group to Mary those rules begin with the highly significant assertion: "Because the Blessed Virgin Mary is the first patroness of this society we can entertain the hope that she, as the Mother of Mercy, will care for us in a special manner; furthermore, since she loves those who love her, it is quite proper that the sons of this society should not merely love and honor her in a special way, but that they should endeavor, through purity of doctrine and

conduct, to imitate the example of her lofty virtues, and by habitual conversation among themselves they should encourage one another to love and respect her, and they should cherish in their hearts an ardent ambition to see her most holy name praised ever more."¹⁸

Again, the original Common Rules of Father Aquaviva highlight this acknowledgement of the special patronage of the Blessed Virgin. Subsequently, in all the official documents that concern the essence of the Sodality, we find this confirmed, as in the Fortieth Rule of the present General Statutes: "The most holy Virgin Mary is the principal patroness of the sodalities."

Here again, as was indicated in the first citation, deep devotion to Mary and her patronage are found to be in a mutual and causal relationship. Deep devotion to Mary achieves proper expression in the patronage; this patronage, in turn, establishes a new obligation for the practice of devotion to Mary. That the Sodality is under the direct patronage of Mary is an indisputable fact. What concerns us more at this point is the question: How does this patronage of the Mother of God over the Sodality and over its individual members originate?

The answer is simple. It is accomplished in the same manner in which the first sodality of Father Leunis was placed under the patronage of Mary: by consecration to Mary.

At a very early period in the Sodality movement we discover definite formulas whereby not only the Sodality as such, but each individual member also, upon his reception into the ecclesiastical organization of the Sodality, is placed under the protection of Mary. Attempts were made to establish a separation of the idea of patronage from that of total consecration to Mary. In reality, however, both of these are intimately interrelated. Consecration is the act whereby we initiate patronage; patronage is the fruit and lasting expression of this consecration. Consecration is the subjective aspect and patronage the objective aspect of the same reality, namely, deep devotion to Mary. In the official letter concerning the Marian nature of the Sodality, to which several references have already been made, Father Ledochowski confirms this position: "By consecrating his life to Mary the sodalist places his religious life and activities without reserve

under the powerful protection and under the secure direction of his heavenly Queen and Mother."²⁰

The Mother-child relationship between Mary and the sodalist, already established by reason of baptism, through consecration is worked out more clearly and more intimately; it also gives to it a more specific and intelligible interpretation. Pius XII in his memorable discourse on the occasion of his own golden jubilee as a sodalist on January 21, 1945 expresses the same thought:

Consecration to the Mother of God in the Sodality is an absolute surrender of one's self for the remainder of one's life and for eternity. It is not a mere formality, not an emotional thing. It is more. It is a real surrender which proves itself in a full Christian, Marian life and in apostolic work. It makes the sodalist a servant of Mary and, at the same time, her visible worker on earth. Joined to this is the spontaneous growth of a vigorous spiritual life which permeates all external works of genuine piety, of God's service, of charity and of apostolic zeal.²¹

And so, we come face-to-face with the next question: What is the meaning of this patronage in its proper and genuine sense?

2. The Patronage of the Blessed Virgin Is a Deep, Life-long, Love-inspired Covenant of Protection and Service Between Mary and the Sodalist

We can illustrate the intrinsic worth of this patronage, as it proceeds through the consecration, from two points of view: first of all, from the historical meaning of the idea of patronage; then, more profoundly though profitably illustrated by the first point of view, from the dogmatic aspect.²²

As we have already indicated in the historical section of our work, the sodalist's consecration in the primitive stage of men's and young men's sodalities was marked by a knightly significance. This characteristic was especially developed in the North because of the valiant defence of the honor of the Mother of God which had been attacked. It was from this martial and knightly spirit that Father Coster's consecration formula sprang.

Much of the medieval spirit of a noble and knightly service of Our Lady perdured in the original idea of patronage; even as, in general, the Middle Ages had with great success applied images of the secular world to the sphere of religion thereby

enriching religious life on the one hand and, on the other, giving a unique religious touch to the secular world.²²

There are especially two images which have influenced devotion to Mary. In the first Mary is represented to the believer as an empress or queen, as *señora* or *madonna*, and thus the relation of a Christian gentleman to her took the form of a knightly allegiance springing from a personal relationship of trust and loyalty, love and honor, dedication and service.

Besides this image of the Lady (a word that never had a fixed meaning but connoted rather the respectful submission to a Noble Lady) and its correlative complement, the free knight, the Middle Ages also had a living image of Mary as patroness by means of which the first two images were joined and integrated. This concept of patroness was also greatly enriched by the legal forms of the period, although the religious idea of patronage was older than the Frankish-German legal system. In the turbulent, often lawless, times from the eleventh to the fourteenth century lesser free knights spontaneously entered the service of a powerful man. This man was known as a patron, advocate, or guardian. The surrender took place in the form of a legal act, the *Comendatio*. By it the patron promised to requite all the wrongs perpetrated against his client, his *friend* and *servant*; to plead for him and to avenge his death. The client on his part pledged himself to serve his lord in all things. The relationship of both men was a personal one which concerned them in every detail; it was a life-long attachment to the patron. But the *friend* did not thereby become a bondsman; he retained his previous social standing, for example, of knight or of a free land-holder. During the legal process the ceremony of imposition of hands or of covering with a cloak was customary. Thus we see in the familiar image of the protective mantle of the Madonna a direct transference of secular relationships into the religious sphere and an example of patronage that can be understood at first sight as it is implied even today in our hymn, "Mary Spread Out Thy Cloak."

While the religious significance of patronage goes back even to the time of the Roman Empire, nevertheless these medieval legal forms have given to it, as to so many similar things, a new force whereby they live on in the realm of religious thought long after the disappearance of parallel relationships in secular

society. We have a classical example of this in the parable of the King in the Spiritual Exercises and in the concomitant notion of the following of Christ.²³ From these parallels, taken from legal history, the concept of patronage now takes on a much richer aspect: Patronage takes place by a solemn legal act of consecration which goes back directly to the medieval custom of dedicating one's self to a patron, and which frankly takes over the legal concepts of that dedication. The basis of this consecration is mutual trust and allegiance, reverence and love. It implies on the part of the sodalist a pledge of loyal service for his entire life; on the part of the Blessed Virgin her promise of powerful and motherly protection with an abundance of graces.

With this knowledge we can enjoy a clearer and deeper understanding of the words of Pius XII spoken in 1945 on the occasion of his jubilee as a sodalist: "A sodalist who is truly a son of Mary, a knight of the Blessed Virgin, should not be content with an ordinary service. He must dispose himself to receive all the instructions of his Lady. He must make himself the protector and defender of her Name, her privileges and her interests. He must bring to his brothers the graces and affection of their common Mother, and he must fight unceasingly under her leadership which alone drives all error from the world. The sodalist has vowed himself to enduring dedication under her banner. He no longer has the right to lay down his weapons through fear of assault and persecution. He can no longer, without being unfaithful to his word, give up and abandon his place of battle and of honor."²⁴

It can be objected that in our own times this knightly idea of patronage has paled into insignificance. However, we can retort, given the still existent canonical formula of patronage, can we not renew the ideal on the basis of such historical precedents just as we clarify the revelations and parables of holy scripture through comparative history? And, even though there is something of dead romanticism in the image of knightly service, yet, fortunately, the young man is still something of a romantic who can be inspired by such images, comprehending the inner content much differently than does the cold intellectualist who analyzes and vivisects them.

We should not, however, rely merely on historical references, no matter how valuable they may be, for the deeper and

more significant comprehension of patronage. It is rather the dogmatic consideration which presents to us the full richness of patronage. In his consecration the sodalist achieves in his own fashion that which was achieved by the eternal Son of the Heavenly Father. He surrenders himself completely in loving faith and trust to the mystery of the motherhood of Mary. Just as the divine Logos, in order to become man, entered into Mary in every way possible and she protected Him with the warmth of her love, and served Him selflessly with all her heart, in both the physical and spiritual sense of the word, and then anxiously accompanied Him on His grievous and painful way, so, too, the sodalist, by the consecration of his life enters into Mary consciously and in the most intimate possible manner, in order that in her and through her he may arrive at the full stature of Christ and may by participation in the grace of Mary's maternity cooperate in the work of redemption. In other words we are faced with the universal, Catholic meaning of consecration and thus recognize its Christocentric character.

3. The Patronage of Mary and the Sodalist's Devotion to Mary Implied in It Marks the First Universal Stage of the Christian Way to the Father

Although the historical explanation of the notion of patronage is valuable, still, the dogmatic aspect furnishes us an essentially more profound appreciation. In it we find the harmonious solution of all the problems concerning the Marian nature of the Sodality.

Christian life is brought to perfection through stages. This does not mean that we leave one level below us, once we begin to advance to the second. Rather, this gradual way is the continuous living rhythm of our earthly pilgrimage. St. Ignatius of Loyola has outlined this development, as we have already observed in the historical chapter, in the Triple Colloquy which, as a form of prayer, is placed at the close of the most important meditations of the Exercises and which occurs as movingly in the personal spirituality of his diary: Then we make our petitions to Mary. With the Noble Lady we go to the Lord to present with Mary the selfsame petitions; and then, with both Intermediators, as St. Ignatius always says, we will finally make our prayer to the Father so

that He, by reason of the intercession of Jesus and Mary, will grant our petition. In this Ignatius with the deep vision of the mystic has grasped the mystery of the triple ascent characteristic of Christianity. Development of the doctrine of the redemption clarifies this more and more. This way of approach to Mary, with Mary to Christ, and with both of Them to the Father is not the privileged way only of the holy man of prayer; it is the objective pattern of the spiritual life for all of us. Just as salvation was granted to us by the Father in Christ and through Mary first in the Incarnation and from then on through the distribution of His graces, so the way of redeemed man proceeds from Mary's maternity in the Church to living fellowship with Christ and, thus, to childlike dedication and filial service to the Father.

This way is objectively and universally valid. It is the only way to salvation which we follow if we achieve salvation, even though we only travel along it step by step unconsciously.

Moreover, especially here at the very core of Christianity, it is the absolute ideal that subjective perfection should correspond as far as possible to the objective order. The sodalist, therefore, seeks loyally to achieve this ideal in its purity because he wishes to be an integral Christian. That is the deepest meaning of his consecration to Mary and of his devotion to Mary.

As a result of this dogmatic approach we understand better the negative side with which we had to preface the positive exposition. Because Mary is not the goal of the way of salvation but simply constitutes the way to Christ and through Him to the Father, it follows that we cannot designate devotion to Mary as the proper end of the Sodality. But, since the Marian mediation of the salvific process is universal, embracing the total man and all his activity, and is co-extensive with his total life as long as he is a pilgrim on earth, we must not consider his Marian piety as "nothing but" a means; rather, we must expand it into an all-embracing spiritual attitude of the Christian wayfarer, an attitude in which all the means for salvation are dynamized and realized.

In the light of this dogmatic consideration we can appreciate fully the deep and fruitful meaning of consecration to Mary as a total, life-encompassing and life-forming dedication to Mary. It also explains its dynamic incorporation into the

objective of the Sodality: Man's total transformation into Christ and the Christianization of the world, thus to bring home the individual and a part of the world to the Father in heaven.

NOTES

¹*Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*. January, 1937, pp. 25-57.

²*Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*. 1935, p. 109.

³*Institutum Societatis Jesu: Examen Generale: Cap. I, n. 2.*

⁴Cited from Stierli "Die Marianischen Kongregationen," *Werkheft I*, p. 5.

⁵From the English translation published by the Revista Catolica Press, 1948, pp. 11-12.

⁶From German edition, Munich, p. 5.

⁷Quoted from Stierli, *Werkheft, I*, p. 55.

⁸Mullan, Elder: *The Sodality of Our Lady*, NN. 1015-1016.

⁹Feder: "*Tagebuch des hl. Ignatius von Loyola*, pp. 47-49.

¹⁰The first such statement was made in 1938 on the occasion of a Sodality Day which was held in Menzingen in Switzerland.

^{11, 12}Cited from the German translation in Stierli, *Werkheft, II*.

¹³This citation is to be found in the works of Elder Mullan and Emil Villaret.

¹⁴Stierli, *Werkheft, I*, p. 55.

¹⁵*Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*. Vol. 58 (1934), pp. 83-109.

¹⁶*Acies Ordinata: 14* (1937), p. 6.

¹⁷*Acies Ordinata: 13* (1936), p. 104.

¹⁸*Acies Ordinata: 14* (1937), p. 7.

¹⁹Cited by Stierli, *Werkheft, I*, p. 55.

²⁰*Acies Ordinata: 14* (1937), p. 7.

²¹*Präses: 4* (1945), p. 17.

²²The following sketch is taken from the works of Ivo Zeiger, S.J., on the history of law.

²³Zeiger, Ivo: "Gefolgschaft des Herrn" in *Zeitschrift für Askese und Mystik*, 17 (1942), pp. 1-6.

²⁴*Präses: 4* (1945), p. 18.

ST. FRANCIS XAVIER—THEN AND NOW

HONORABLE CLARE BOOTHE LUCE

Quite recently I edited a book for Sheed and Ward about some of the great lovers of God, the strong and sweet ones of the world who loved Him above all else, and who were judged in the evening of their lives in love. They were judged to be saints for then, and forever. And that means, of course, *Saints For Now*.

Two Jesuit saints appear in the book. Ignatius Loyola is there, of course; surely the man himself and the Order he founded were never more timely than now. And Francis Xavier is also in the book; next to Ignatius himself, he was the founder of the Society of Jesus, as a great missionary Order.

Kate O'Brien did his portrait, and it is a vivid, sharply cut, finely conceived one. But, with your permission, I will tonight make a few comments of my own on this darling hero of God. For it seems to me that there are few saints in the calendar who lived in an historical context more similar to our own. He speaks to our human situation, as well as our spiritual condition, in a startlingly familiar way. For he fought in the dark night of Asia's godlessness for the soul of China, as we must fight for it again today, in the re-gathering gloom.

There is an editorial in the October issue of *Jesuit Missions* (a wonderfully informative, excellently edited magazine) which reminds us of the historical fact that in the sixteenth century Francis Xavier "stood at the beginning of a new era." It was the era of colonial expansion into the Orient. It was the time when the greedy Westerner first came to the Far East in search of the fabulous wealth of the Indies, its silk and silver, its spices and pearls. It was the time, too, when the Church, in the flame-like person of Francis Xavier, first came to the Far East, in perilous quest of treasure of another kind. Xavier sought that pearl of great price, that imperishable jewel, Asia's soul.

Four hundred years have passed. And today the great colonial empires founded in the sixteenth century all lie withered or have been destroyed. Today the Westerner is departing

An address delivered at the tenth annual Jesuit Mission dinner in New York City on November 6, 1952.

from Asia; more precisely, he is being thrust out. We stand now at the beginning of a new political era.

We stand, too, at the beginning of a new spiritual era. The Church has not, and cannot, leave Asia with the Westerner; for the Church is not of the West nor of the East, but of all the world and of every age. The quest for the pearl of great price still goes on. But the quest has become more urgent and more perilous with each passing day. Then let us who love the Church and who love that pearl-like soul of Asia too, invoke the lambent spirit of Francis Xavier to stand with his Jesuit brethren, with the Church, with us, as all together we confront the new era and its new perils.

Shall we first evoke the memory of the man, summon up again the poignant scene of his last hour? It was his hour of night, that was also the hour of Asia's dawn. We see him on the island of Sancian, six miles off the coast of China, some one hundred miles southwest of Hong Kong. Beyond lies the land of the Emperor Kia-Tsing, great ruler of the Ming Dynasty. Xavier is still a young man, as we now know age. He is forty-six. But his curly black hair and beard are shot with white, silver ribbons won in his long battle for beloved souls in danger. His splendid strength is consumed by ten years of spendthrift labor and prodigal journeyings on dangerous tropical seas. In the words of Claudel's poem on St. Francis Xavier, "His body is more worn than his old soutane." There, in a dot of a hut on a poor pinprick island in the vast Asian seas, Xavier lies dying, alone except for Antonio, a faithful Chinese. And there in the distance lies his heart's immediate earthly goal: the mainland of China with its millions of unbaptized souls—China, the great gateway he dreamed of opening to Christ. The gateway is barred to him. And because he could not enter through it, he dies before it, offering his life as a sacrifice upon the altar of Asia's Christian destiny.

The deathless memory of this dying Saint is itself an inspiration for our zeal and a reproach of our lassitude. But let us dare do more than evoke a memory of the man. Let us invoke the presence of the man himself. Let us boldly transplant him in history and place him on Sancian today. There he stands again in the vigor of his young years, looking out upon the

teeming world he loved—China, Japan, India, Malaya, Indonesia, Indo-China.

And let us ask what he would see today and what, out of his apostolic heart, he would say to us.

What would he see? Surely his first eager look, athirst with love, would be bent in the direction of his last dying look—upon China. Ten years of labor in India, Malaya, and Japan had convinced him that China was the key to the Orient, and the door to Asia's soul. Four hundred years ago Xavier believed that to free the soul of China unto captivity to Christ the King would be, in the end, to bring the freedom of the grace of Christ to all Asia.

The profound intuition of the Saint has proved increasingly true since Xavier's time. But was it ever, in four hundred years, more true than it is today? And yet today Xavier would see the door to China more firmly closed against the Christian missionary than ever before in history. More firmly closed than it was in his own day.

In 1552 an edict of the Emperor Kia-Tsing had shut the door to China in Xavier's face. Simple age-old hatred for the foreigner had prompted the edict. And hatred and fear of the foreigner are nothing new in the history of nations. Moreover, the China sealed off from Xavier was the China of Confucius. Confucianism was rationalist and materialist, but it was at its best a noble system of human ethics based on filial love and loyalty. As Dr. Paul K. T. Sih, the Catholic convert, writes in his spiritual autobiography, Confucian teaching could be "a national foundation stone to the supernatural edifice of the Church." Once the door of Xavier's own time had been battered down, there was to be found behind it something good to build upon.

But Xavier, alive today on Sancian, would confront a more impregnable door, a door of iron. Its guardians are far more sinister than the Emperor Kia-Tsing. Their hatred is not merely instinctive hatred of the foreigner's person; it is a quite conscious hatred of one person whom they blasphemously call "foreign," the person of Christ Himself.

Think of the new adversary that Xavier would face today. He would face Mao-Tse-Tung, servant of the power of the Kremlin, and herald of the "faith" of Lenin. Xavier would face

a new materialism, dynamic, revolutionary, total in its claims, missionary in its essence. He would confront today a thing unknown in his own day—a new secular faith, counter to his own, with its own corps of trained missionaries, that is making a carefully calculated counter-bid for the ancient pearl of great price, the soul of China—the China that is now Christian, as well as the China that is still Confucian.

What a historic irony it is that the Communists today should have inherited the prophetic vision of a Jesuit missionary! Xavier, dying, had bequeathed his deathless vision to his own brethren. And with Jesuit purposefulness they acted on it. Through four centuries they have kept in their hearts the mighty hope that glows serenely and ardently in the words that Xavier wrote to Ignatius from Sancian just before he died: "I have the highest hope that by means of the Society of Jesus both the Chinese and the Japanese will abandon their idolatry and adore God and Jesus Christ, Saviour of all nations."

In the effort to realize this redemptive hope, which is the hope of Christ Himself, the Jesuits have written across four centuries of Eastern history a thrilling record of patient labor and glad sacrifice, of heartbreak and heroism, even unto death.

And now today, alive on Sancian, Xavier would see the iron door of history's most evil idolatry closing upon the imprisoned Asiatic millions, threatening death to the hope which is found only in Christ Jesus, Saviour of all nations.

Would Xavier, alive today, be dismayed by this new and deeper darkness over Asia? Would he flee in fear from the long heavy hand that stretches out from Moscow to seize by violence the Church's pearl of great price, the soul of China? Or would his heart sink at the other spiritual spectacles that would greet his ecumenical gaze? There is war on the Chinese mainland—savage in itself, ominous as a portent. There is war in Malaya and in Indo-China, symbol of boiling unrest. A dark irrational force, colonial nationalism, whose European progenitor he had hated, is churning to its depths the whole of the Far East, and the Near East, and Egypt, and Africa. These are spectacles big with menace to the City of Man and the Kingdom of God.

But no one could possibly imagine Xavier being dismayed by

them. To be sure, his great heart would feel even more agony than it did four hundred years ago. For he would be more fiercely caught in the grip of that immense "compassion on the multitude" that drove him relentlessly, for ten years, over thirty thousand miles of typhoon-swept seas, over ten thousand miles of land, in the steaming heat of the Great Archipelago and in the freezing cold of Japanese winters.

"He was," writes Father Brodrick in his wonderful new biography of St. Francis Xavier, "indeed one to have compassion on the multitude, the humble peasant scraping and scratching from morn till night to wrest a pittance from the sunbaked ground, the fishermen in their bobbing catamarans, the ragged children swarming everywhere, mirthful though starved, the desolate negro slaves pining for their African Kraals, the huge anonymous crowds in the cities who had no crucifix to assuage their sorrows or give their deaths a meaning, these were the parishioners of Francis, and the thought of his impotence to help them made his daily Gethsemane."

Yes, his Gethsemane would today be more terrible because he would see these great Asiatic multitudes, not wandering as sheep without a shepherd, but driven as sheep towards an abyss by false shepherds. And with his compassion for the multitude there would be in his heart a great wrath against the evil tyrannies that hold them in thrall.

But in Xavier's heart there would be no dismay. Upon his naturally gay, buoyant, sanguine, Basque temperament supernatural grace had built an unshakable structure of hope and confidence in God. Hardly more than a month before he died, he wrote to Father Perez in Malacca of the perils to be met on his hoped-for journey to China. He recounts them soberly, but then he adds: "The danger of all dangers would be to lose trust and confidence in the mercy of God for whose love and service we came to manifest the law of Jesus Christ, His Son, our Redeemer and Lord . . . To distrust Him would be a far more terrible thing than any physical evil which all the enemies of God put together could inflict on us, for without God's permission neither the devils nor their human ministers could hinder us in the slightest degree."

In our era the enemies of God seem better than ever organized for a final assault on the body and soul of man. Never-

theless, if Xavier were writing today, he would still give this magnificent statement of the "danger of all dangers," this ringing witness to his confidence in God, which was so great that it spilled over even into a human optimism. Xavier was himself no poet, but Claudel, who was, has caught his living spirit in the powerful lines: "The devil is not as large as God, nor is Hell as vast as Love. And Jericho after all is not so great that we cannot encircle it with siege."

Jericho, the City of Evil, has assumed appalling dimensions in our day. But Xavier would not doubt that its stubborn walls can be shattered by the singing trumpets of Christian love.

And he would not wholly lack visible grounds for his victorious hope. Because, look you, in all the lands through which he urged his weary steps—and in other lands too—there is still shinningly visible his own Society. Jericho, Satan's world, is still besieged. Let us call the roll of its besiegers. And since we are a sort of Jesuit family tonight, let us name only Xavier's own brethren, the men of the Company of Jesus.

In China, 994 Jesuits, and in Japan 232; 1,845 Jesuits in India, and in Ceylon 115; in Java and the Great Archipelago, 225 Jesuits; and in the Philippine Islands, the only pearl of the Orient that reposes in the treasury of the Church, Jesuits to the number of 401. In all, 3,782 in the lands where at his death Xavier had left but a struggling handful. Add to them, 1,112 Jesuits in the Near East, Africa and Oceania, and then add to this total of some 5,000 the further thousands of priests and religious men and women of other Orders and Congregations, and you will see indeed that Jericho is not so great that it cannot be encircled, nor is Satan grown so large that he can daunt the men of God.

The Jesuits who challenge his power, with Xavier's own urgent love, are from England and Ireland and Canada and Australia, from France and Spain and Portugal, from Italy, from Holland and Belgium, from Germany, Austria and Hungary. And with them, and with the native clergy around them, are Jesuit men from our own country. New York is in the Philippines and in Oceania; Maryland is in India and Japan. But at their posts, these Americans are no more Americans than Xavier was a Basque. Like him, they are men of the Church universal.

And each of them, if he were questioned as to his hopes, would say, I think, that he was striving to have written above his grave that simple line in Claudel's poem which well serves as an epitaph of St. Francis Xavier: "He did what he was told to do—not all of it, but what he could."

Xavier, alive today on Sancian, would be full of that anxious solicitude for all his brethren that breathes through his busy letters. If he were to look upon them and upon the world in which they work, or suffer when they cannot work, he would surely have something to say to us here tonight. It would be a simple message; for he was no man of rhetoric. But in it would be all the passion of his divinely passionate heart.

He would say: "You too do what you are told to do—all of it, as far as you can. You are told to pray, 'Thy Kingdom come!' Let it not be a prayer that slips lightly from your lips, untouched by any fire from your heart. Let it be a terrible sigh from the Christian depths of you, that may reach to the heights of God's mercy, and fetch it down upon the vast shadowed pagan world."

"You have been told," St. Francis would further say, "You have been told with assurance, 'whatever you do unto the least of my brethren, you do unto me.'" And he would go on to make, as I now make, a simple forthright plea for his own brethren, that they should have our aid and alms, and thus we their gratitude, in the sweet name of Jesus.

* * *

O God, Who by the preaching and miracles of blessed Francis wast pleased to bring into Thy Church's fold the peoples of the Indies, grant us this favor, that we who revere his glorious achievements may also imitate the pattern of his virtues; through Christ our Lord. Amen.

—from the Mass of St. Francis, Dec. 3.
Novena of Grace: Mar. 4-12.

OBITUARY

FATHER RAYMOND J. McINNIS

1891-1952

Both of Father McInnis' parents—his father, James, and his mother, Margaret (Feehan)—were from Prince Edward Island, Canada, where five of their seven children, four boys and three girls, were born. Raymond and Victor were born after the family removed to Boston—Raymond on March 17, 1891. Two sisters, Anna and Mary, survive. One child, baptized George, died in infancy; Lewis, in 1915, when Father McInnis was a philosopher; Adelle, Sister Mary Margaret of the Charity Sisters of Halifax, in 1926; and Victor, in 1935, when Father McInnis was teaching at Weston.

In Boston the family settled in the section known as Roxbury. The immediate neighborhood, Mission Hill, takes its name from the Mission Church of the Redemptorists, where Father McInnis served Mass during his entire boyhood and for several years was soloist in the boys' choir. The evening of his graduation from the Mission Church Grammar School, June 15, 1904, his mother died. But the news was kept from him until after the exercises, during which he took part in a play and sang several solos.

After winning a competitive scholarship, he entered Boston College High School in 1904 and during his four years was awarded the medal for the highest average in his class. After graduation he again won a competitive scholarship for Boston College, where he continued to lead his class in all branches. After freshman year he entered the novitiate at St. Andrew-on-Hudson, August 14, 1909. Here he began his religious life as a cheerful giver such as God loves, and in whom He "is able to make all grace abound." And his cheerful giving did not fail in the hour of his father's death, early in the second year of his novitiate. During the two years of juniorate he was brilliant but never ostentatious. It was not until philosophy that his extraordinary ability became really manifest. At the end of the regular three-year course, he was appointed to prepare for a public disputation in psychology and criteriology. The disputation was held in the old Woodstock Library, May

2, 1917 in the presence of the late Cardinal Gibbons, the Rector, faculty and student body, and a large gathering of distinguished guests. At the close of the two hours' disputation, Cardinal Gibbons spoke and especially commended the defender for his wide knowledge of his subject and its able presentation. From Woodstock, Father McInnis went to Holy Cross for three years of regency, during which he taught freshman and sophomore and was moderator of *The Purple*. Among his former students, now alumni, he is still a tradition—his brilliance in the classroom, his friendliness on the campus, his amazing ability in every branch of athletics. As one of them has written: "He was the rare man whose very presence commands the best in you; who draws out your noblest qualities and, in an instant, all without words, fires you with zeal to do your best and be your noblest. His perfect loyalty was his finest gift—he was unshakably true and devoted. Those who knew him as a close friend, knew the wonder of constant and uncompromising fidelity."

Returning to Woodstock at the conclusion of his regency in 1920, he followed the regular course in theology and at the end of the third year was ordained by the late Archbishop Curley at Georgetown, June 28, 1923. After the fourth year of theology, he went to the Gregorian University, Rome, for a biennium in dogmatic theology, 1924-1926. He returned to the United States for tertianship at St. Andrew-on-Hudson, 1926-1927, and immediately after the tertianship was assigned to Weston, where he pronounced his final vows, February 2, 1928, and remained for fourteen years as professor of dogma. In 1941 he was made instructor of tertians, an office which he held for eleven years until his death.

A few years after he went to Weston, Father McInnis inaugurated an academy on the Spiritual Exercises. The purpose of the academy was to stimulate interest in retreats and to compile a source book of the best available material. A special library of more than three hundred volumes on the Exercises was established for the work. One Exercise was assigned to a particular theologian whose duty it was to read widely on the subject, select what was best, have it mimeographed and distribute it to the theologians. Then a meeting was called and Father McInnis gave a model meditation on the

Exercise under discussion. In this way, in approximately three years, the Four Weeks of the Exercises were studied and discussed, and three mimeographed volumes of notes were compiled. More eloquent than an encomium of this great work is the fact that after a lapse of twenty years, these notes are still in demand by retreat masters and copies are to be found in nearly every part of this country and in many places in Europe.

In 1939 Father McInnis inaugurated the two-year course in sacred eloquence, for those selected after the completion of four years of theology. Daily lectures were given on dogmatic, ascetical, moral and sociological subjects, on the Spiritual Exercises and papal encyclicals. There was a daily written assignment which was meticulously corrected by Father McInnis for defects in expression, development and general technique. There were also classes in the training and use of the voice.

This meagre outline of these two great accomplishments is totally inadequate to give an idea of their significance and extent, but it will exemplify the unusual versatility of Father McInnis and the unsparing use he made of his gifts.

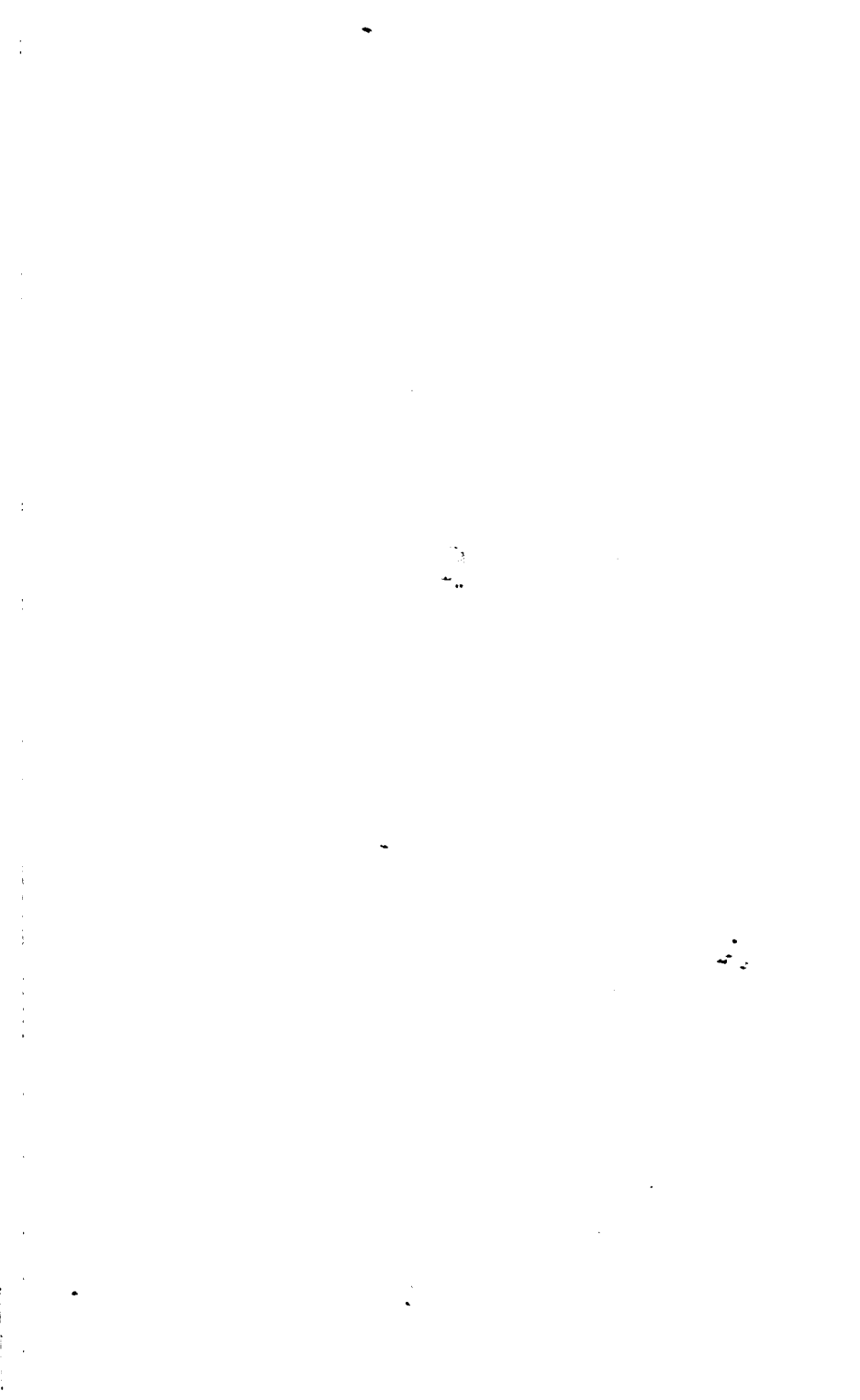
The opening words of Father McInnis' Long Retreat to the tertians were St. Paul's in his *Second Epistle to the Corinthians, IX, 6-8*: "Now this I say: He who soweth sparingly shall also reap sparingly: and he who soweth in blessings shall also reap blessings. Everyone as he hath determined in his heart, not with sadness or of necessity: *for God loveth a cheerful giver.* And God is able to make all grace abound in you; that ye always, having all sufficiently in all things, may abound to every good work." It would be difficult to find a clearer statement of Father McInnis' personal ideal of the spiritual life, or a more complete summary of his life's attainment. He was a cheerful giver, always, and grace abounded in him to the doing of a great work. As he himself expressed it, "It does not tax omnipotence too heavily to bring out the best that is in us, once we have shown the determination to be cheerful givers." From the first days of his life as a Jesuit, he gave unsparingly as well as cheerfully of himself and his great gifts of body and soul. And the recipients of his giving were almost exclusively Jesuits.

Because of his unusual natural endowments, there were those who regretted that his life was spent so entirely with and for Jesuits. As one of Ours rather picturesquely expressed it, in football lingo, after he had heard Father McInnis give a talk at a Communion breakfast, "They have him all wrong. They should not have him playing in the line out there at Weston. He should be in the backfield. They should build up the plays around him—give him the ball, get him out in the open and let him run with it." But superiors had other ideas. And, we may add, so had Father McInnis—the hidden work of fourteen years as professor at Weston and eleven years as instructor of tertians was the sort of life he loved, because it was work *with* and *for* Ours. It was his personal exemplification of what he once said to his tertians, "The Society is not impressed by your efficiency, initiative, by purposes and plans—this *My New Curate* idea is in all young men. The Society wants to know if you fit into the vast A.M.D.G. movement where one ounce of the interior life counts more than a ton of explosive, external, natural or selfish effort. . . . God was not talking idly or into thin air when He assured us: '*unum est necessarium.*' And the *unum necessarium* is prayer, union with Him, love of the law and obedience."

On the relatively few occasions when he worked and mingled with externs, he was always eager to go home. And home for him was the Jesuit house where he was stationed. The rule of companion was never a burden to him. He never wanted to go anywhere unless he had one, two or three Jesuits as companions. And wherever there was a group of his contemporaries together—novices, juniors, philosophers, regents, theologians, or fellow priests—he just naturally assumed leadership, whether it was in games, in singing, in discussion, or in work. He was blest with unusual physical strength and skill in every branch of athletics, a good voice and a prodigious memory for music and words, a gaiety of spirit, largeness of heart, unusual intelligence and a generous nature which was often taken for granted under the false impression that it cost him no effort. A man of less wisdom would have relied upon these natural gifts for success in life. But Father McInnis had a healthy and, at times, a seemingly reckless disregard



FATHER RAYMOND J. McINNIS



for them because he measured their worth against eternal verities and the grace of God. He disdained formality divorced from reality, but he had a reverent regard for convention when it was joined with essential goodness. These traits and similar ones were easily discernible to anyone who met, or knew him slightly. But there was one trait known only to his friends—natural shyness and diffidence so great that he became actually ill, on occasions, at the prospect of facing a class or audience. From this came a subtle power of concealing his finest qualities with the air of one who was doing an ordinary thing in an ordinary way.

In the numberless tributes to Father McInnis written since his death, nearly everyone mentions his integrity and love of truth. He consistently applied to his own life and actions the principle enunciated by Leo XIII when he opened the Vatican archives to historians, "The first law of history is not to dare to utter falsehood; the second, not to fear to speak the truth." Not infrequently, integrity and love of truth are joined with ruthless disregard of an opponent. But Father McInnis, whether in the classroom, private conversation, or taking part in group discussion, would express his opinion in a forthright, uncompromising way, without the slightest offense or annoyance to those who disagreed with him. He could demolish an argument without demolishing his opponent and he was far too intelligent to confound vehemence and a loud voice with strong argument. He was so humbly confident of the truth of what he was saying that he never indulged in sarcasm or cynicism, that last refuge of the vanquished. Especially in class at Weston and in conducting oral examinations he invariably tried to make an answer appear reasonable, if not altogether correct, even when it was not easy to do so.

In his study of theology and Holy Scripture, Father McInnis had a healthy disdain for anything that savored of *Wissenschaft*. He inclined more to the *assensus pius*, and tended to accept such wonders as those of a second nocturn until they were proved false. His rare versatility of mind delighted in the stories of Father Finn as well as in the works of the great masters. He could give himself completely to the writing of a play for the colored children in Woodstock and he

worked hard to train them to act and sing. He had surprising knowledge of politics and world affairs and of numberless wise and foolish things alike, because of his wide reading, his prodigious memory, and his seemingly effortless ability to master any subject any time.

One of Father McInnis' greatest gifts was his power in the use of words. He could literally make them talk—little words, big words, foreign words, familiar words and, especially, coined words that smacked of genius. He had an instinct for the *verbum proprium*, the "punch line" and the O'Henry ending. His style was usually popular but seldom pedestrian and never flippant.

He described the first Good Friday as "the day the world went mad." To the tertians he once said, "You need not be old fashioned and long faced. You can be as modern as a zipper and as cheerful as St. Philip Neri." On the necessity of prayer in a priest: "Sickness, accidents, battlefields bear witness to the laity's eagerness to have the priest. They want God's man. They can't get God Himself. And after God, we are the next best. They want the man with richer endowment than the world can give. They want the *alter Christus*, the soul-healer, the sacrament-giver, the man who deals in holiness and stands between God and man for the salvation of the world. In the providence of God, the world needs us, wants us just as surely as the enemies of God want our destruction. It is part of our accepted Catholic tradition that we know God's ways, speak His language, are nearer to Him, more potent in intercession. *Are we?*"

Developing a human parallel to St. Peter's reaction at the sight of the Risen Saviour: "There is an uncontrollable urge to cry when you see the Holy Father. There is a moment under ecstasy but above joy, when control is gone—and a strong man blurts out his heart in sobs." Contrasting the finite and Infinite: "We cannot stuff God's Infinite Wisdom into finite, limited minds. God measures life for what it *is*, not for what it *seems*." On the Two Standards: "Can I put more meaning into the phrases 'I belong to God,' 'I am God's man,' 'Jesus Christ is my *Way, Truth and Life*'? I mean now, I suppose, that He is my Ideal, sought and at times prayed for. St. Ignatius says He is an actuality, really attainable. And St.

Paul literally 'put on Christ.'" Describing the scene on Calvary: "There is a whole series of words in the story of the Passion that have hardened into stereotyped meaning. We don't read the venom behind an old-fashioned word like *Vah!* We speak of mockery, taunts and jeers, but we don't deal with these words and we fail to realize that this day of God's misery was a day of wild laughter for His enemies. That was Calvary—until terror broke over the hill. They were laughing, splitting their sides, nudging one another, thinking out wisecracks about Christ's appearance, His record, His Mother! He was spared nothing spiteful, personal or obscene that a saint or follower would have to hear. And they applauded and yelled with laughter when some blasphemy was newly-phrased, some novel insult screamed to win special attention." On His sufferings and the torture of martyrs: "Campion and Southwell will tell us when they see us, of the agony in the distention and dislocation of a racked body—like Christ's that was pulled and stretched to meet the dimensions possibly arranged for Barabbas." On Ignatian Indifference: "Here's the rub! This indifference, actually had or purposefully sought, is a necessity if work is to be apostolic, if the greater glory of God is to be procured, if our own salvation is to be made certain and other saved-souls multiplied. It happens to be an essential element of our service! The man who keeps his eye and ideal on God's majesty and Christ's hunger for souls, who remembers that he is called in an Ignatian way, simply has to smash to bits his personal aims and wants and preferences, his longing for his own way and his own people and yield without compromise to the truth that he is God's man, working at the dictation of Jesuit superiors in a service as wide as the world, unending as time, important as Christ's own apostolate." Finally, in a meditation on the last word of Our Saviour on the cross, "'Father, into Thy hands I commend my Spirit': Christ's only unbroken treasure. They have smashed and smeared His Body; they have torn His reputation to ribbons, scattered His organization, pricked the bubble of His popularity, parched His tongue, tied His feet, fettered his giving-hands—but they never broke His spirit; they never reached His spotless and courageous soul. . . . Now that He has won for the world atonement and given us all a Mother,

now that pain has had control long enough to kill the strongest of men, Jesus Christ, still King, still strong, still fighting, lifts Himself literally on His wounds and shows us how sublimely a man can die. He calls to us in death: 'Just die—and find out what I have won for you. You could never conceive it.'” Those who were privileged to watch Father McInnis die, know that he learned what he taught and gloriously exemplified it in the end.

God's providence is often mysterious in its manifestations. But there are times when it is tempered to human understanding, as when Father McInnis was appointed instructor of tertians. "My job?" he wrote. "Miles over my head! I've been plugging all day, but I can't seem to pull threads together. It will take years to build up the assurance that will make my talks worth while. In the meantime I'll chew on failure as a diet and see how I like it."

Previous to this time there were periods when an excess of charity resulted in a great waste of his time. He seldom sought the company of others. But he was incapable of denying his own company to others whenever it was sought. And it was often sought when his own preference would have been study and quiet reading, which might have resulted in some, at least, of the published works for which his friends hoped until the end.

In his letters there was often a revelation of self that his deliberate reticence of action habitually concealed. On the last anniversary of his ordination, he wrote: "Yours was the sole remembrance of my anniversary. The loved ones who might have written can write no more. I said a prayer for myself at Mass—the special prayer allowed on this day—and then wrote to a young Jesuit just ordained, hoping that he'd make more of the grand privilege than I have." To a friend who was ill: "I come to you at your physical worst and religious best and say, 'God must trust you a lot to let you so closely into His redemptive activity! The whole business of pain staggers me—except to know that it is the divine secret of complete fellowship with Our Lord, who chose it, won by it, bears the marks of it and shares it with big friends.'"

A Christmas card bright with singing birds bore this inscription: "Your lovely letter would make anyone sing in his

heart. So, in gratitude I join the birds in the easy praise of song hoping that God will accept it in place of more reflective prayer. Here I just look out the window and thank Him for sea, clouds, sky, trees, grass, friends, roof, food, drink, recreation, grace, sacraments and for Himself in our chapel."

There are flashes of his integrity, wide knowledge and power of the written word in his many reviews that appeared in *America*. But the characteristics of his writings are best found in the notes of his Long Retreat from which we have already quoted. Some of the meditations must have had a deeper meaning for Father McInnis during his last Long Retreat in October, 1951. This was during the interim between his first illness and serious operation for cancer during the summer of 1950, and the second illness, November, 1951, which terminated in his death. It is difficult to choose where the standard of excellence is so high and so uniformly sustained.

In the first meditation: "There may be a tendency to say: 'I'll take it easy, to start, and then work into it,'—or: 'I'll let it come to me,' or: 'There's no need of diving overboard,' or: 'I won't bite off more than I can chew.' They are all fair, human, natural reasonings, nicely practical for things of time, and wholly inadequate for things of God. We are starting on spiritual exercises—starting to *do*, not to *wait* for things to come. We can't start with an easy, little 'yes way' of holiness. There is need of diving overboard if you want to make a clean break, a full gesture towards self-realization and conquest of God. And you must bite off all you dare. Who knows how much you can chew? Did Lawrence think he could stand fire? Did Bobola think that he could stand live butchering of his own body? Did Jogues think he could stand Iroquois clubs and teeth? Did Southwell think he could stand the rack? They all bit off more than they could chew—did it, as St. Paul says, not grudging anything, not of necessity, like slaves or animals, but high-hearted, finding in the depths of their own souls, strength they had not known, gifts grand enough for God."

On the will to suffer: "What of pain? Only that, on faith, it is a proof of love—Christ's proof, as Calvary shows. Inward penance, a disciple's self-denial, is bound to overflow into

outward act, as the body under the will's sacrificial impulse is used as the instrument of sanctification. Body and soul, I work and pray and suffer for the love of God. I school myself in small practices, to be ready for the sharp crisis, the last illness, the full surrender to God."

In points on the Ascension: "Without Christ the Apostles were as we are—men of faith. We shall see God—you and I who are called to His apostolate, favored by His Presence in sanctifying grace, familiar enough to hold and carry His Body, dear enough to be called *socii Jesu*. We are to see Him face to face and talk over with Him our adventure, the strangeness of human living and our own faltering and blundering efforts. We have in us some of the overboldness of Peter, the doubts of Thomas, the sins of Magdalen, the dumb understanding of Philip, the temper of James and John, the slowness of Simon and Jude, the material outlook of Matthew. But we are His men, His apostles, His friends.

"What He wants, we know. He has quick understanding and full forgiveness for the actual falls and faults of His friends. But He wants the habit of hope entrenched. He wants the habit of love to be consuming. In a world where hope has died and given place to cynicism, boredom, flippancy, He has called us to preach His gospel, His good news. In a world made sad by jealousies and ridiculous by self assertion and greed, He has called us to live the gospel of charity, one with another and each with God. He marks us for suffering—some of it voluntary penances, some of it the inevitable sickness and anxieties of time—by amice, stole, maniple and chasuble. He clothes us in the white alb of fools. He has us dressed in defiance of world fashion and asks us with a hundred liabilities to traffic till He comes, to try, to fail, to decrease, to be ill, to go to far places, to die—and He will find us, He will come, He will bring us where we belong—into the very heart of God."

In the meditation of death: "Death is unique in this—it comes only once. There are no rehearsals. There is no chart. There is no previous experience. It is irrevocable—we meet or lose God forever as the door closes. I must go alone.

"A day comes and is now known when my world dwindles to four walls—when sensations are blunted, speech almost im-

possible, mind clouded, temptations strong, body restless or inert, and I am called upon to do the biggest thing I've ever done—a personal interview with Almighty God. I face a door and it opens on eternity. I am afraid to go forward. I can't go back. Men have schooled themselves to bear fatigue, cold, pain—but the mystery here has some chill for every blood. There is nothing romantic about dying!

“There is small danger of our dying in mortal enmity to God. There is persistent danger of dying with sinful attachments that lower our record and keep our dying from being that big and unconditional surrender it should be. The light of a deathbed candle reveals new values and proportions. Let me learn them now. From the mountain of God's mercy where Christ died to ease my dying, let me gather the trust to die and live in God's love.”

The tertians who listened to that meditation only a few months before the lips that spoke it were silent in death will, indeed, be fortunate priests and disciples if, as their master once bid them by word, and since has taught them by example, they gather “from the mountain of God's mercy where Christ died to ease [our] dying, the trust to die and live in God's love.”

While extreme unction was being administered by Father Patrick Haran a few days before the end, Father McInnis, whose mind was clear and alert until the last hour or two of his life, answered the responses in a clear, strong voice. As he blessed himself at the end, he said to Father Haran and another Jesuit who was present, “Now I have a favor to ask of you two. Don't feel sorry for me! I have had everything a man could possibly desire. It's wonderful.”

If ever a man died as he lived, that man was Father Raymond McInnis. A Jesuit who saw him often during his last illness, wrote the following letter, after his death: “Now that the end has come for Ray, an end that is surely only a beginning, you will want to know more details than I could ever find time to tell about his illness and death. I feel rather a loathing and a sense of editing things too secret for words in sending even this much. But you will be patient and understanding, I know, judging the motive and not the accomplishment.”

"During the many weeks of Ray's illness I saw him at least once or twice a week, and during the last three weeks I saw him every day—missing only yesterday, the last. I scarcely know how to tell you what I most want to say, because it eludes words. Perhaps I can suggest it merely by saying that as I watched him from day to day, his body becoming emaciated beyond your imagination to picture, I felt no horror and no revulsion in what I saw. Without my consciousness of it, there grew within me a realization that this falling away of the body was revealing the veiled soul that we had loved but never known. There was nothing dramatic, nothing notable, nothing that can be described in words—merely a quiet revelation of patience without end, complete simplicity and absolute confidence in God's mercy. Always Ray would thank those who visited him for their friendship and devotion—utterly unconscious of the fact that in death as in life he gave more than he ever received. Next to the last time I saw him, he asked me for my blessing which I gave. That night as I recommended him to God in prayer I realized my own conceit in giving a blessing where I should have asked one, and so I prayed that Ray might live until the next day. When he did, I lost no time in going to Worcester to ask his blessing. He gave it, enunciating every syllable and making a well-defined sign of the cross. I believe it was the last blessing he gave. And I know that he will want me to say that it was for you and all his friends—not only for me.

"A few days before the end Ray turned and said, 'Perhaps this is dying. If it is, it is very easy. I have no pain. God has been so good! It seems He does not want to hurt me.' Any comment would be a strange blend of affectation and presumption. You will, I know, be generous in your remembrance of his great soul at the altar."

Death came at four o'clock, Monday afternoon, February 18, 1952 in St. Vincent's Hospital, Worcester. The body was brought to St. Mary's, Boston, where, on Thursday morning, February 21, the office of the dead was chanted and the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass offered by Very Reverend Father Provincial in the presence of Father McInnis' family and friends and a very large number of Jesuits from the New

York and Maryland Provinces as well as from New England. Burial was at Weston.

Since Father McInnis' death there have been many tributes to him from laymen, religious, friends and fellow Jesuits. In all of these tributes the same qualities are stressed—absolute honesty, straightforwardness, fidelity, selflessness, generosity, integrity of life and of judgment, unequalled love of the Society and its members, great love of the priesthood, a consuming love of God, and a tender love of His Blessed Mother.

In a book review on mysticism, printed in *America*, (September 22, 1951), less than six months before he died, there is a paragraph with which we shall close. We shall not mar by any comment of our own the disparagement of self which could only be inspired by such humility as was his: "We who walk only in the lowlands, partially perhaps because we have been afraid to climb, thank God for those who took the high road at His call and came so near to invading, while yet in the body, the realms of Vision. But even for us, the cowardly, the often ungenerous, there is still the example of the lovely two who were closest of all. Through the mercy of Jesus and the intercession of Mary we hope to come in simplicity, in small strivings, after many defeats, to the same eternal union with God."

TERENCE L. CONNOLLY, S.J.

FATHER EDWARD C. PHILLIPS

1877-1952

The seventh of eleven children, Edward Charles Phillips was born in Germantown, Philadelphia, on November 4, 1877, the son of Charles L. and Mary Louise (Stewart) Phillips. One week later he was baptized at St. Vincent's Church. Little is known of his mother, except that she died at the early age of thirty-nine years, on July 7, 1885. Although Edward was less than seven years of age at the time, he recalled years later that he was sent to summon the priest, when she lay dying.

His father, Charles L. Phillips, was born in 1846. He was a distinguished Catholic; in fact, a prominent one, if we may judge from the fact that he was a co-founder of the Catholic Club and the Champlain Club as well. An address entitled *The Layman's Call*, which he delivered at the dinner of the Xavier Alumni Sodality in 1904, was printed in the *Fordham Monthly*. For years Mr. Phillips was the president of the Particular Council of the St. Vincent de Paul Society and for the last twenty-five years of his life was a daily communicant.

During the depression of the late 1880's, Mr. Phillips' bank failed. Though he was personally not responsible, the depositors evidently thought so, for a mob threatened to burn down his home. Alarmed at the possible harm to his children, Mr. Phillips sent them to France where he had some holdings and resources. The girls attended the St. Servan Convent School, near St. Malo in Brittany. In a letter, written some sixty years later, Father Phillips recalled a visit which he and his brother Osmund made to this convent on Christmas eve, 1887. The family was never again to be completely reunited, as two of the Phillips' girls married Europeans, one residing in England, the other in Holland.

Writing to a newly discovered niece in England in 1949, Father Phillips reminisced on his own solitary journey to France as a little boy of ten years. His destination was Paris, where his father's agent lived. The latter was supposed to meet the boy at Le Havre but he missed the boat-train and little Edward arrived alone in a strange land, unable to speak a word of French and unaware of his exact destination. A kind gentleman, who had befriended him on the boat, found his destination in the boy's trunk and discovered a telegram at the steamship office, directing that the boy be put on the boat-train for Paris. In later life Father Phillips remarked that the gentleman took only what was needed for the ticket and put the rest back in the boy's purse. He also recalled that he did what any little boy would do under the circumstances: he sat on his trunk and cried.

At Paris he was met and taken to a *pensionat*, where his future stepmother was the concierge. He tells us that, although neither of them understood the other's language, he could sense that she was a very kind person.

His sister Pauline, who survives him, writes that the family

lived in the country for a while at a village in Brittany named Pleurtuit. Father Phillips, again writing to his newly discovered niece, said that he and his brother Osmund went every morning to the seven o'clock Mass at the parish church after which they had breakfast at the convent of the Sisters of Charity and studied French. According to his sister Pauline, he and his brother later went to the Christian Brothers' School at Neuilly, near Paris. French became practically a second mother tongue for him and he loved to speak it throughout his life.

His sister does not recall exactly how long the family remained in France. But it could not have been more than five or six years, as he was about ten when he journeyed to France in November, 1887; and in 1893, at the age of fifteen, he entered St. Francis Xavier's, New York, for first grammar. According to his *curriculum vitæ* he had had some schooling in Brooklyn, New York, where the family then resided. His father had remarried.

Edouard, as he first signed himself on coming to Xavier, completed first grammar with honors in 1894 and enrolled in the college department in September, 1894. He had the highest average in his class that freshman year and won the gold medal in religion, English, Latin, and French. Sophomore year brought him his second gold medal for English and Latin. In his junior year the gold medal was a reward for excellence in religion, Latin, Greek, mathematics and chemistry. He was credited with the highest average in his year: 98.1. In June, 1898 he graduated *summa cum laude* with the Bachelor of Arts degree and the highest average in the graduating class—a mere 98.9. This time the gold medal was awarded for his excellence in religion, mental philosophy, natural sciences and applied mathematics. He belonged to the League of the Sacred Heart and the Sodality, of which he was second prefect, and was a promoter in the Apostleship of Study, or the Pope's Militia, as it was called. In addition he was vice-president of the senior debating society and assistant editor of *The Xavier*. This extraordinary record was the beginning of the brilliant scholastic career he was to have in the Society and at Johns Hopkins University.

On August 14, 1898 he entered the Society at Frederick, Maryland. We are fortunate to have his spiritual notes and

some other writings of his from his noviceship days onward. They portray a very earnest novice, assiduous in prayer, careful of his particular examen. The only extant examen book is his last and it is marked up to the night before he died. He had great difficulties with this practice, as he often confessed in his diaries; but the remaining booklet is a remarkable tribute to his faithfulness. During the noviceship he was very much concerned about charity. One of his fellow tertians, who was later associated with him in his early teaching days at Woodstock, informs us that Father Phillips was extremely solicitous about charity in word and he applies to him the judgment of St. James: "a man who is not betrayed into faults of the tongue must be a man perfect at every point . . ." (James 3, 2). Some of his noviceship notes show how he laid the foundation for this early in his religious life. He tells us, for instance, that he will interpret the actions of others in the best possible light, and, if the action cannot be defended, he will at least give the person credit for a good intention. This perfection of charity is observable throughout his life. As provincial, we find him pondering during his retreats how he can serve and love his brethen more. And it is highly significant that the one and only resolution of his last retreat, the 1951 house retreat at St. Andrew-on-Hudson, was to "see Christ more and more in my brothers."

During the year of juniorate Mr. Phillips' diary evidences a continuance of noviceship fervor. He was very serious about the ordinary penances, asked for an increase in their use and he showed that abstemiousness that was to characterize him throughout his life by not taking dessert, or by taking as little as possible by the device of eating slowly. It was during his juniorate days that he decided to dispense with siesta, whenever possible. When it was really necessary, he would not prolong it. As provincial, he rarely took a siesta beyond a half-hour, when he did so at all.

After one year of juniorate, he was sent to Woodstock for philosophy in 1901. Here he became beadle in his second year. He was not allowed, or did not ask, to accelerate his course, although, as one of his teaching associates remarks, he was certainly capable of doing so. In his first year of philosophy he had a defense. The following year he read a paper at the disputation on the liquefaction of gases. In his spiritual notes

for this period, he remarks that never had a task so interfered with his prayer as had this essay.

At the conclusion of his philosophy in 1904, he was given the then unusual status of graduate studies in mathematics at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. His spiritual diaries of this period reveal the same struggle for perfection in his spiritual exercises and his studies. He upbraids himself for not excelling in his studies, even accusing himself of sloth and procrastination. But these confiteors are to be understood in the light of two facts: he was unwell, as his battle with tuberculosis was soon to disclose; secondly, his professors were evidently more than satisfied with his performance, as he was elected a fellow of Hopkins on June 4, 1906. He had such high ideals of what a Jesuit Scholastic should be both spiritually and in his studies, that he found that he was not measuring up to these standards fully. His deep humility was always based on truth. Thus he always recognized his gift for mathematics—knew, too, that he excelled in it. But he never looked down on others less gifted. All his fellow Jesuits acknowledged his brilliance of mind and the accompanying humility.

Tuberculosis finally forced him to interrupt his graduate studies at Hopkins during the year 1906 and he journeyed in July to Gabriel's Sanatorium, near Lake Saranac, New York, to seek a cure. The arrestment was effective, though he always had to be careful about his health.

On December 14, 1906 he was recalled to St. Francis Xavier's, New York City, where he completed the scholastic year, teaching a third year high school class Latin, Greek and English. His spiritual diary of this period shows that he was tempted to great discouragement. He felt that he was not a good teacher and that he could not enforce discipline. He did not blame the boys but shouldered it himself and, through motives of zeal, attempted manfully to remedy what was wrong. His discouragement was resolved by a consideration of the sufferings of Our Lord.

In September, 1907 he was back at Johns Hopkins and was elected a fellow for the year 1907-8 with remission of tuition. His dissertation was on the pentacardioid. He won the doctorate in June, 1908 and was elected a member of Phi Beta

Kappa on May 7, 1908. The following year was spent teaching physics, astronomy and calculus at Boston College.

The Fall of 1909 found Mr. Phillips a theologian at Woodstock and he attained the goal of the priesthood on June 24, 1912 at the hands of Cardinal Gibbons. True to his principles, he kept a faithful record during theology of his retreats, monthly recollections, and tridua. Here it is not difficult to discern an ardent desire for perfection and a somewhat merciless self-scrutiny. He had to struggle against illness and fatigue and this accounts for the difficulty he had in keeping awake during meditation time. Not unconnected with the illness that was to threaten him throughout his life, there were also other trials and temptations, which troubled him not so much because of the bother they gave him but because of his purity of conscience. He was tender-minded rather than scrupulous. But he was remarkably obedient to his confessor and spiritual father.

His studies at Hopkins had whetted his interest in mathematics and we find him censuring himself for devoting so much time to this diversion. However he never really neglected his theology, as is shown by the fact that his fellow theologians consulted him and found him, not only a master of his field, but very honest in admitting if he did not understand or disagreed with an opinion taught. But he would say that he did not see the cogency of the proof rather than express it as a criticism. Another index of the brilliance of his course may be seen in the fact that superiors assigned him to teach *De Ecclesia* and *De Actu Fidei* immediately after his fourth year of theology.

In the spring of his third year of theology, his revered father died. In one of his reflections of that period, he makes the remark that he had been spared so many temptations because of his good Catholic home and parents. During theology he exercised his zeal by teaching catechism at Ellicott City, where he struck up a life-long friendship with Father Ryan, the pastor of St. Paul's Church. He never forgot such friends and benefactors.

How did he impress others? In his ordination retreat this very thought must have arisen in his own mind. He was meditating on the "little things of daily life" and, referring to recreation, he asks himself: "Do I help to make it (recrea-

tion) religiously agreeable and agreeably religious? Do I frown? Am I a mar-joy? General Examen: Is my conduct singular? Am I considered an oddity—and why? Perhaps I am. Do I make it my business to attend to other people's business? Am I a fault finder?" Some of these questions may be repetitions of suggestions made by the retreat master. We have no way of knowing. But it cannot be said that he was what one might term a popular person. In fact, he must have been in those student days a lonely man as far as close human friendship is concerned.

One of his fellow novices offers the following brief sketch of these scholastic days. "He was always kindly but rather withdrawn, I would say, until he became provincial. He did not manage to go out to people. If you managed to get in to him, you found him everything you would want in a friend: sympathy, kindness, good advice. Due to this reserved attitude, he might seem cold. He was strict, of course, in his judgment not of others but of himself. And he was an official—beadle in the noviceship and in philosophy—and that put the stamp of the law upon him, too." There seems to have been some awesomeness about his strict, unerring observance and his reputation for brilliance and learning probably helped to build a sort of barrier. But there was a natural shyness in him, which grace finally enabled him to overcome.

If we look for reasons here, it will be recalled that he lost his own mother when he was very young, that the family was separated for some years, never in fact to be fully reunited. In the Society he rarely had visitors and even at his ordination, there were no relatives present. He told the juniors in his last years that he "adopted" some of the visitors of one of the Italian *ordinati*. His father had but recently died. None of his brothers or sisters or his stepmother was there to share his gladness. He explained this in later years by saying that they were indisposed. The religious indifference and even apostasy from the faith of several members of the family had raised barriers between them and him. In his zeal to reconcile the members of the family he had unintentionally stirred up antagonism. All these differences were later settled and he was genuinely loved by all his relatives.

After one year of teaching fundamental theology at Woodstock, he was released to make his tertianship at St. Andrew-

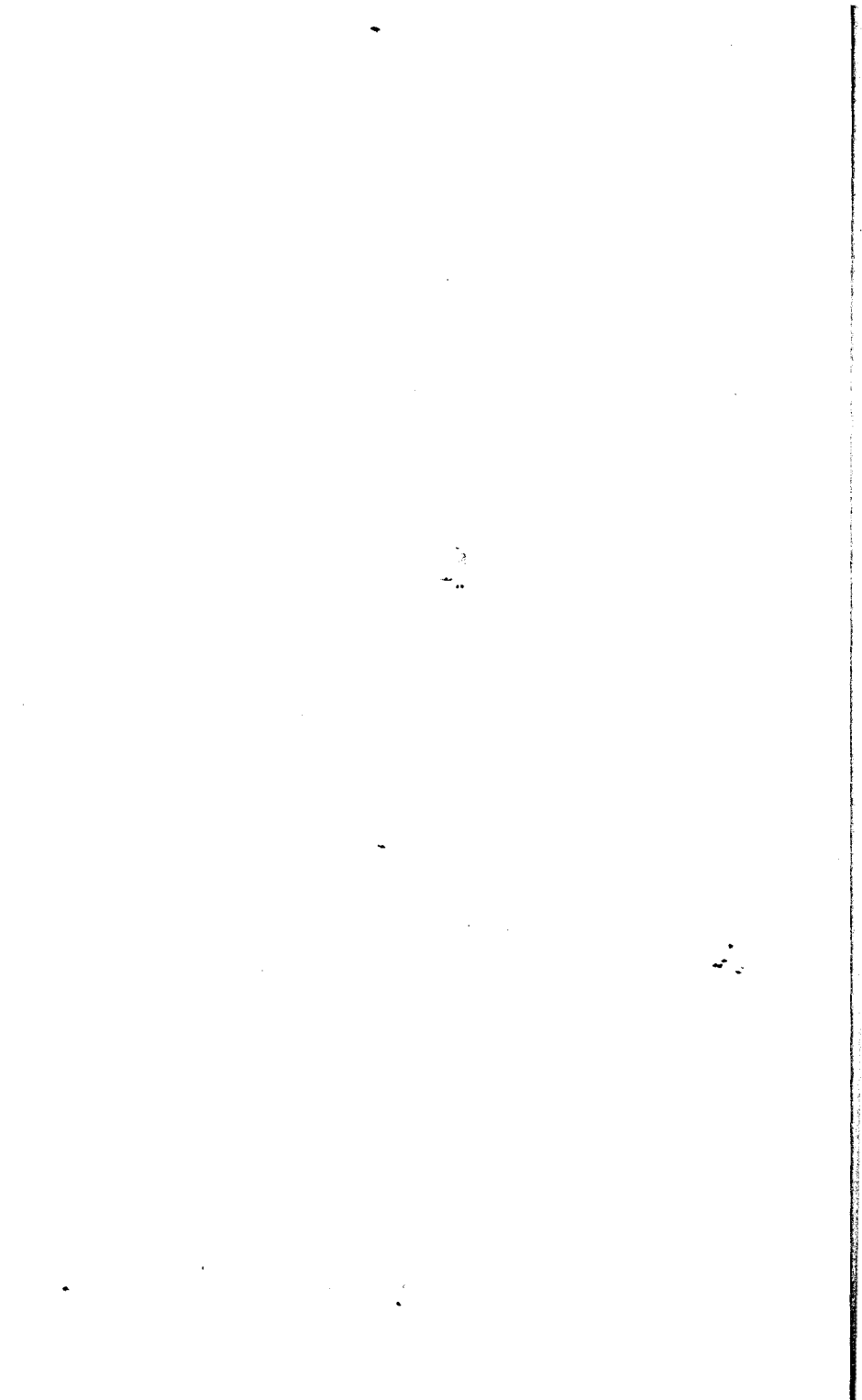
on-Hudson under Father Thomas Gannon. It was certainly here that he laid the foundations for that fine grasp of the Institute, which was to grow when he became provincial some fourteen years later. It is not surprising to find him as exact a tertian, as he had been a novice. Indeed this characteristic exactness in every grade of the Society struck everyone with amazement till the end of his life. The novices and juniors, during his declining years, noticed it immediately and were very edified. His careful notes on the conferences on the Institute and the knowledge they show of the classical authors on the same subject make it very evident how busily occupied he was as a tertian. His diary of the long retreat is extant and in its pages we observe a soul ardently in search of the gift of prayer, to which he had been faithful all his life. There are renewed accusations of neglect of and dryness in prayer. But they have to be viewed in perspective, in the light of the high ideal he had of what a Jesuit's prayer ought to be. He had his consolations and desolations in meditation all his life. In regard to his diaries and spiritual notebooks, one point should be stressed: there is never a word of recrimination of superiors or of the brethren. He searched for the blame in himself for everything that happened. Certainly he planned during tertianship a regimen of sanctity, which all believe he attained.

Throughout his life he was gathering material for sermons and conferences, though the actual number of sermons and conferences that survive are few in number. Actually he gave only one six-day retreat and a limited number of tridua. Rarely did he preach. All this was simply not his forte and he was kept too busy in other assignments. Zealous as he surely was, he really longed for the ministry. His sermons manifest careful reasoning and homely similes. But when it came to delivery, his voice was weak and sleepy and his mathematical and theological studies and interests must have parched his style. He had little taste for imagery, just as he had little time or appreciation for beautiful scenery when he was traveling.

Tertianship over, he was sent to Woodstock to teach short course. This was an unusual status for one who had done brilliant studies in mathematics. One of his rectors at Woodstock deplored this failure to capitalize such abilities and



FATHER EDWARD C. PHILLIPS



eventually succeeded in having Father Phillips assigned to fields more germane to his abilities and interest. But in all his notes and diaries, there is not one suggestion of complaint. In fact, he censures himself for devoting too much time to his mathematical interest and not enough to preparation for his theology classes. He perhaps did not know that his notes, though intended for short course theologians, were highly prized by the long course men as well.

Beginning in 1919, and for six years thereafter, he taught astronomy, physics and mathematics at Woodstock. Now he was in his element, though he accuses himself of not studying astronomy more deeply, so as to make his classes both more interesting and profitable for his students. Field work, especially surveying, always attracted him. For this he would enlist the help of philosophers who were interested. The observatory was open to welcome any one who wanted to observe the stars. In teaching calculus he seemed to aim his course at those who would profit most. This was sound pedagogy; and those who were less well prepared always found him most willing to retrace his steps if he omitted any. In 1923 he was made prefect of studies at Woodstock.

Father General called a group of experts to Rome for a cosmological congress in 1924. Father Phillips, along with Father John Gipprich, was sent from the old Maryland-New York Province and he read a paper entitled: *De Structura Systematis Stellaris*. The account of the congress that appeared in the WOODSTOCK LETTERS was his. During his stay at Woodstock, in fact while he was teaching theology, he designed an instrument which he called: a new transit reduction computing machine. The purpose of the machine was to relieve astronomers of the burden of long calculations in the correction of clocks for the determination of time. Naval Observatory astronomers manifested an initial interest in the invention, when Father Phillips read a paper on the machine at the summer meeting of the American Astronomical Society. In fact a comparative test was staged, in which Father Phillips, employing the device, finished the calculations in a much shorter time than did a designated member of the Observatory staff. But the First World War was on and the Observatory astronomers were busy about many things. The result was that Father Phillips' instrument was never

adopted. Now more modern methods of determination are employed.

Another essay in charity, as well as science, was his Woodstock percentage computer. It was designed to minimize the labor of teachers in computing marks and grades with skill and speed. Both devices demonstrated inventive skill and, but for the circumstances of the times and other later developments, might well have found wide application. Few people perhaps knew of this very practical side of his character and ability.

In 1925 Father Phillips was transferred from Woodstock to the post of director of the Georgetown Astronomical Observatory. It would seem his scientific career had now been launched. But he was to hold the post for only three years. In his diary he honestly appraised his practical experience in astronomy and admitted that it was limited. But at once he set about to remedy this. He visited some of the more important observatories in this country and consulted eminent men about the fields of research that lay open to Georgetown. Apparently he first envisaged some work on latitude determinations and, in fact, was invited by the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey to take over the Gaithersburg (Maryland) International Latitude Station. On consultation with Father Hagen, he declined this invitation, though he did some research in this field. He soon embarked upon an important international astronomical enterprise: the world longitudinal determinations, in which radio was used to transmit the time signals. The three chief stations of the cooperative venture were the Jesuit observatories at Zikawei, San Diego and Algiers. Many other observatories participated with Georgetown in this project. Father Phillips declared that his chief purpose was "to secure a more precise determination of the longitude of Georgetown and also to contribute one more link in the chain of secondary stations." Another purpose was to test the hypothesis of movements in the earth's crust. An account of this work appeared in the *Jesuit Science Bulletin*.

As director of the observatory he undertook a study of the personal equation in observing occultations and, at the meeting of the American Astronomical Society in 1926, read a preliminary report on this work. Not only was the report well received, but he was encouraged to continue the work.

An abstract of the paper appeared in *Popular Astronomy*. His first list of fifteen occultations was published in the *Astronomical Journal*. At the 1927 New Haven meeting, Father Phillips read a paper entitled: "A Second Note on the Personal Equation in Observing Occultations." In this paper he offered a synopsis of most of the work that had been done on this problem during the preceding forty years or more. Several of the astronomers in attendance requested or advised the publication of this correlated data. The paper appeared in *Popular Astronomy*.

During his stay at Georgetown, he did not lose interest in mathematics and was invited to lecture on Gothic tracery at the Kansas City meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in December, 1925. He lectured on the same subject at Goucher College, Baltimore.

How he supernaturalized all his scientific labors may be seen from the notes on the second meditation of his 1926 retreat. "I have accomplished practically nothing for the glory of God during the past year. I seem to be useless in His Vineyard and scarcely know what to do. I must purify my intention more in my scientific work and I must be more methodical in it, so as to secure, if possible, some definite scientific result, in order that this indirect means of helping souls may be efficacious. Otherwise I am like the barren fig tree and uselessly occupying the ground." During the same retreat, on the meditation on the annunciation, he wrote: "I should overcome my fear of labor, my dislike for outside active work with people of the world and all other impediments, and say generously: Ecce adsum, Domine, fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum . . . Quidquid Deus vult." The above self-accusation of laziness and unproductivity must be viewed in the light of various facts. At the time of this retreat he had spent about one year at the Observatory. He was still trying to chart a course for research. When he had first arrived at Georgetown, he had surveyed the situation, taken stock of his own qualifications for the post and of the work to be done or continued in the fine tradition of his predecessors. He had had no formal training in astronomy and, among the recommendations that he made in his report, he had suggested that he be sent to some university for the necessary training. For good reasons, no doubt, he was never given this

opportunity. Without it he went ahead and learned the hard way and, in a few years, he did win recognition in astronomical circles. If he felt frustration at times, he never expressed it in his reports to superiors or in his spiritual diary. Like the saints he took the blame himself. His success and labors at the Observatory must be accounted a triumph of obedience.

It does seem true to say that God led him to the provincialate through the stars, as He had the Magi. When Father Phillips' appointment as provincial was announced, Father William Tynan made the witty comment: "Well, that is something remarkable. Here you have a man who has looked at fixed stars all his life. And now he's going to look at variables!" Father Phillips himself used to say of his appointment rather mournfully: "If I had not gone to Rome, I would never have been provincial." The story of his appointment is rather amazing.

The Astronomical Society had appointed him a delegate to the 1928 International Meeting at Leiden, Holland. Father Kelly, then provincial, had asked for permission for him and Father Matthew Fortier to attend various European conventions and to go to Rome. The reply was rather slow in coming and, when it arrived, it turned out to be a refusal. For special reasons Father Kelly decided that Father Fortier should go, and he informed Father General. But he intended to detain Father Phillips. The message, which he sent to Georgetown to notify him, never reached Father Phillips. On the boat Father Fortier, believing that Father Phillips had Father General's approval, asked him to intercede with Father General in his behalf, when he reached Rome.

At the Leiden Congress Father Phillips presented the preliminary results of the longitude operations carried on at Georgetown in 1926, and also made a brief report of the work done at the Observatory on the personal equation in observing occultations. In the interests of his work he visited observatories and other astronomical institutes at Heidelberg, Mannheim, Strassbourg, Milan, Merate, Florence, and finally arrived in Rome on July 31, 1928. He spent a little less than three weeks there, mostly at the Vatican Observatory with Father Hagen, one of his predecessors at Georgetown. But one night Father General called for him and gave him an

assignment which precluded his being provincial. The very next morning he summoned him once more and appointed him provincial of the Maryland-New York Province. There seems to be good evidence to believe that another Father had already been appointed to this post. But Father General rescinded his previous appointment in favor of Father Phillips.

On September 12 the new Provincial was read in at Kohlmann Hall. There was an amusing incident. When Father Phillips arrived at Kohlmann Hall and presented himself to the Sub-Minister, he was told that there was no room for him and that he should have written ahead.

The appointment was a blow to him, as he tells us; and it took him some months to grow into it. He had never been either minister or superior and it is unlikely that he was ever included in the list of the *apti ad gubernandum*. He rode almost immediately into the depression and, when his procurator became ill, he had the added burden of watching the finances of the Province. For work such as this he was particularly fitted. Some members of the Province attributed our weathering the storm of the depression to his guidance and prayers. He would take particular delight in watching the fluctuations of the stock market because he realized the needs of the province, and the intricacies of the market intrigued him. He was averse to speculation and always insisted upon safe investments, even though the returns were less spectacular. The result was that the Province weathered the storm successfully, and Father Phillips was not forced to limit the number of candidates received for the novitiate. He used to say that if God gave a boy the physical, mental, and moral qualifications for admission, He would not fail to give us the money to support him. On the other hand he was adamant in maintaining the standards that had been set for admission.

The job of being provincial was a blow to him, because he deemed himself incapable of governing, and he admits in his spiritual notes a dislike for all preferment. Yet he worked up the courage required by relying on God's help. In his retreat for 1933, in meditating on the Incarnation, he indicates the source of his fortitude. He writes: "I then went to speak to God the Father under the mantle of my Mother, and holding

the hand of Christ, my Brother and Redeemer, I asked Him to help me to know His Son better, to keep close to Him, to walk hand in hand with Him, though I know how utterly unworthy I am of such intimacy."

In one of his retreats as provincial, he ponders very beautifully the opportunity he has as provincial to give pleasure to Christ by doing good to the brethren. He realizes that he ought to see Christ in his brethren, that, in serving them, he is serving Christ. Again, it was his high ideals that makes him brand himself as pusillanimous, when the opposite impression was shared by all. He was absolutely fair and just, and would call for obedience from superiors as well as subjects. He was convinced that reform, where needed, should begin at the top.

It was said that in the beginning he was too attentive to the reports of superiors. But he soon gained the reputation of hearing both sides and was called the "champion of the underdog." He used to say that he often found it difficult to determine where the truth lay in conflicting stories or reports. Sometimes, he said, Providence would provide the answer and he had to wait for it.

It is hardly necessary to state that he was obedient as provincial to the ordinations and wishes of Father General and respectful to ordinaries. When Father General issued the *Instructio* of 1934, Father Phillips began to set more men aside for higher studies. He built up the faculty of Woodstock, especially that of the philosophy department, by increasing the staff. As a subject he was most exact in his obedience. An amusing example of this occurred when he had returned to Woodstock, after his term as provincial had expired. During his incumbency of that office he had always refused to grant permission for golf at Woodstock. He considered it against poverty. Almost immediately his successor granted the permission and Father Phillips undertook to survey the projected site for the course with the same eagerness as if he had granted the permission himself.

His honesty and fairness in dealing with subjects became proverbial. Some felt that his scientific training prevented him at times from reaching a moral, rather than a mathematical judgment; and they might not always be able to agree with some of his decisions. But these same people, and all others, admitted that there was nothing capricious or purely sub-

jective about his judgments. They were impartial and just. As one member of the province once put it: "There is a man who would rather die than do the least injustice to any one of us." He would enforce a regulation, such as that on Christmas travel, without favoritism or human respect, whether the request came from superior or subject. Yet he was justly deferential to superiors and would make most of his permissions subject to their approval. His annual status was, in the latter years at least, almost invariably late in appearing. The reason was not procrastination but a deep concern to save the reputation and feelings of a subject, when he had to be changed for reasons of incompetency or for some disciplinary matter. He was ever alert to guard the reputation of his subjects, even to the extent of keeping his socius in ignorance of certain things.

One incident which occurred in 1933, demonstrates an extension of this protection against attack on Ours by externs. Father Louis Bonvin, a distinguished musical scholar, had been accused in *Commonweal* of formal disobedience to the Holy See for some statement, attributed to him at least, on the liceity of mixed choirs. The old scholar could not rise to his own defense as he had been told not to write on affairs of Church Music. Father Phillips wrote a very calm letter to *Commonweal*, which he asked them to publish. He disavowed any intention of starting a controversy but declared that he wished to set the record straight. He remarked that it was the exclusive right of ecclesiastical superiors to accuse a priest of formal disobedience to the Holy See and, as far as Father Bonvin was concerned, there had been no such accusation nor had he been disobedient. The *Commonweal* finally published the letter vindicating Father Bonvin.

Coupled with his honesty and integrity was his accuracy; we might even call it a passion for truth. It was part of his very nature but had been reinforced by his scientific training and wholly supernaturalized. Unless you knew him intimately, you might be tempted to regard it as painful exactness. Thus he would use circumlocution in giving the time. He would say: "It is about ten o'clock," or "a little after ten," because there was necessarily a lag between the time indicated and its subsequent announcement. In his last years, doubtless due to his illness, this concern for the truth was really

exaggerated, as was manifest in the points he gave to the juniors. He would spend a disproportionate amount of time on some irrelevant point of detail of the composition of place. But it was all a part of a pattern of love for the truth. And it was definitely not scrupulosity.

Despite his self-accusations of laziness and procrastination in the performance of the duties of provincial, he was always busy and would hardly ever take a siesta. And yet in those closing years of his office he was a very tired man. He expected the same application to duty on the part of his subordinates in the Curia, and showed this, not indeed by tyrannical insistence but by his example. There were no days off or holidays. As procurator later on, he regretted this and said that when he was younger he never realized that young men need more relaxation, though he personally could dispense with it. He learned a lot about human nature, or the "variable stars," in the course of office and definitely mellowed in his expectations of others. However there had never been anything harsh in his requirements or enactments and I remember overhearing him counsel a visiting provincial, who had a reputation for harsh exaction, to lean more towards gentleness in government.

He supernaturalized everything and this proved a source of strength in his government as well as a cushion for others, when he had to make some adverse decisions. In reaching his decisions he was ever guided by the Rules for the Election, as laid down by St. Ignatius. Certainly that crucifix above his desk could tell of many a sigh and pleading glance during such elections. One of these recorded elections on a little slip of paper, dating from his hurried plane trip to Manila in the Summer of 1948, begins with the invocation: "Doce nos Domine Voluntatem Tuam. Decision submitted to our Lord during Mass, Wednesday, July 21, 1948. Better move the Ateneo to Cubao."

Just sixteen years before, in 1932, he had had to decide that the Ateneo should be moved to the San José site, after the old buildings had burned down. That was during his visitation of the Philippine Mission. In this visitation he spent almost six months, including travel, and he visited every station, no matter how remote, in order to show his fatherly interest in each missionary. Those who profited by this visitation still

remember his deep kindness and concern. This interest and predilection for the Mission and its members never waned and he kept up correspondence with missionaries, old and new, including the Scholastics who had left St. Andrew as juniors, while he was stationed there. The writer thought that the missions and mathematics were his predominant special interests. If he was abstracted at recreation you had only to mention either the missions or some mathematical problem and Father Provincial was all alert. It was during his visitation in 1932 that Novaliches was opened as a novitiate for the Philippine Mission. Other important decisions were reached in regard to the Mission at that time. Funds accruing from the government salaries of the staff of the Observatory and Weather Station at San José had been accumulating. Father Phillips transferred them to the *Arca Seminarii* and thus helped to put the Mission on a solid financial basis. He encouraged the building of the new San José Seminary, when the latter's buildings had been taken over by the Ateneo.

He had to report to Father General and to the Holy See on his return trip from Manila and thus he went to Rome. The division of the diocese of Zamboanga resulted from that trip. In the course of his audience with the Holy Father, Pius XI, Father Phillips suggested to his Holiness that the Philippines were too large for one province or order to handle. The Holy Father replied: "Father Provincial, I expect the impossible of the Society." Then he went on to explain that, because of the training of the Society and the number of men, we were able to accomplish things that others could not. Father Phillips always cherished those words of the Holy Father. Later, both Bishop Luis del Rosario and Bishop (now Archbishop) James Hayes invited other congregations of religious men into their dioceses to help in the harvest of souls. As provincial, Father Phillips was very generous in men and money to the Mission and to the missionaries as well. At Christmas time, even during the depression, he would have the procurator of the Mission Bureau send perhaps twenty-five or fifty dollars to each Mindanao missionary, whether Spaniard, Filipino or American. It was not much, but it did attest the faithful interest of Father Provincial in each lonely missionary.

He always adhered strictly to the principle set down, or

rather reasserted by Father General Ledochowski, that application to the mission was for life. When someone suggested that this was not universal, since there was evidence that, in the old English Mission in Maryland, men were sent back to England at times, Father Phillips held strictly to the principle, since it was Father General's wish. Once his secretary suggested that there might be more volunteers, if Father Provincial would make it clear that there could be, exceptionally at least, enlistments for from three to five years. But Father Phillips refused to make any offers that would impugn the general rule. The same secretary once asked Father Provincial if he thought only the best men should be sent to the Mission. His reply was: "Well, perhaps not all the best."

In calling for volunteers, he was at pains to make it clear that a mission vocation involved hardships. On his return from the Philippines, he issued a call for volunteers. It was a objective statement, in which he set forth the needs of the Mission, the difficulties involved, and all this without romantic appeal of any kind. His secretary volunteered on this occasion. And Father Phillips, perhaps fearing that the priest did not understand the full implications, or perhaps might be seeking an easy post, said with characteristic honesty: "It may mean the bush, Father."

During his regime the new Wernersville novitiate was opened and St. Peter's College, Jersey City, was reopened at the insistence of the Ordinary of Newark. Bellarmine Hall was purchased as a villa. Aside from these, there were no new foundations during his term of office. Faithful to Father General's insistence that we consolidate our commitments, he was averse to new engagements. In those days the personnel of the Province was somewhat inadequate and Father Phillips was deeply concerned that Ours, especially the teaching Scholastics, should not be so overburdened with duties that their spiritual life would suffer.

Well versed as he was in the Society's legislation on the poverty of different types of houses, and also due to the financial exigencies of the Province, he began to demand from the better-off colleges that stipends and perquisites for Masses and other spiritual functions be sent to the *Arca*. He was very chary about giving permission for automobiles for the houses, unless certain requirements were fulfilled. In his own

personal poverty, he was exemplary; and he remained that way till the end. The juniors found him mending his own habit—no doubt to avoid notice. He always appeared neat, but his clothing was old and sometimes threadbare. On returning from a visitation one day, his secretary suggested to Father Provincial that he needed a new hat. The only reply was: "It's good enough for me."

He had an old Woodstock duster for about forty years and brought it out for use at St. Andrew. I do not know whether he ever used a parlor chair on a train, but I do recall traveling from Buffalo to New York with him in a coach and he brought his lunch along with him. He never smoked, though he was not the wet-blanket type that would make smokers uncomfortable in his presence. Like St. Ignatius he did not demand or counsel the same for all. But, if he thought a subject was ready for it, he would suggest that he give up smoking or other things. In this connection I recall one conference which he gave when we were theologians at Woodstock, the burden of which was: "Be reckless with God."

Father Phillips will long be remembered for his long-suffering patience in listening to manifestations during visitations. The result was that he could not always complete the visitation of the whole province each year. Never did you feel that you were pressing him for time. Even the novices could spend all the time they wished with him and they would come in with their notebooks and comments on the points for rendering the account of conscience. He felt that he was giving them practice in this important exercise and never begrudged them the time. It was not uncommon for him to spend four weeks or more in the visitation of Woodstock.

In the same way at the provincial's residence he was always available. At times this must have amounted to a real trial for him, when he was immersed in business, but I cannot recall one complaint or any refusal of admission. There was no one to regulate admissions, although many would first ask Brother Ramspacher or Father Socius to announce their arrival. Most of the visitors simply knocked at his door and that weak, somewhat tired-sounding, but always pleasant voice answered: "Come in."

A very painful trial overtook him in 1934, when his brother Osmund, then City-Editor of the *New York Times*, died sud-

denly. Mr. Phillips had married a Protestant and apparently attended Protestant services, if he did not become a Protestant. Father had wrested a promise from his sister-in-law that she would call a priest in case his brother was in danger of death. But it all happened very suddenly and so there was no time. A Protestant burial service was held, which Father Phillips did not attend. He did, however, go to the actual interment. At the time of this death, Father was making his visitation of St. Andrew-on-Hudson. Just after he had received the tidings, the Father Socius to the Master of Novices came to his room with the mail. Father Phillips admitted to him that he was going through the agony of the garden. For some years there was a deep misunderstanding between Father Phillips and this sister-in-law, evidently due to his attempts to straighten out his brother. Later this was cleared up and he kept up correspondence with her and his non-Catholic nieces in an attempt to win them to the Church. The defection of some of the family from the Church was a great cross to him all his life. Their reconciliation with the Church was uppermost in his mind, though he had a deep affection for them, too.

When after many years, communication was re-established with his sister, Mary Frances, and her daughter, who lived in England, Father Phillips wrote to his niece, February 27, 1950:

What I want to know especially is whether when you say that your mother "goes to Church when the weather is fine" means that she goes to the Catholic Church or not; you know that we were all brought up as Catholics and that is the reason why I ask. You do not say that you accompany her but I take this for granted. Perhaps I am mistaken. The fact that Mary Frances says that her marriage with the Baron de Lorme—for I have always thought that he was a French Baron—was in "a chapel" I have taken it for granted that it was in a Catholic chapel; you can be very honest with me for I am a priest and am interested very much in this matter, as you know.

It would be interesting to give detailed references to the high esteem in which Father Phillips was held by Father General and his fellow provincials of Canada and this country. This was very much in evidence at the provincials' meetings each year, over which he presided. He sent the travel money to one provincial, whose province was then in

dire need, so that he could attend the 1934 meeting at Montreal. A Father of this province who was studying in Rome when Father Phillips was a delegate to the General Congregation in 1938 and later stayed on for the work of the revision of the *Ratio Studiorum*, writes that he often walked about Rome with Father Phillips and felt that he was walking with a saint. He adds: "The impression of other Jesuits in Rome was that Father Phillips was one of the finest and holiest Jesuits they had ever met and they added: 'Have you any more like him?'" He was kindly and sympathetic to lay people and helped not a few relatives of Ours, who came to him for financial help. But in all this he was conforming to the same pattern. Everyone realized that in Father Phillips they were meeting a man of keenest intelligence, unassuming charity, and sanctity.

Just as he had never ambitioned office or preferment, so he would have been delighted to be relieved of office after six years of service. But Father Ledochowski in a personal letter asked him to continue in office for another year. This extra burden he took with true resignation, despite the fact that he was a very tired man, ever threatened with tuberculosis, which a wheezing cough always betrayed. But liberation came in August, 1935. For a few months more he remained at Kohlmann Hall, where he volunteered to clean out the files for his successor. In the late fall of 1935, he arrived at Woodstock as spiritual father of the theologians. It is not to his discredit that he was not universally acclaimed as a spiritual father. However, he was always on hand, as his beloved predecessor the saintly Father Barrett had been, and was very conscientious about the colloquia.

From 1937 to 1940 he was, officially at least, dean of philosophy at Woodstock and did some tutoring in mathematics as well. However the Provincial Congregation of 1937 elected him delegate to the General Congregation, which was to convene on March 12, 1938. During the General Congregation, he and Father John Hynes, of the New Orleans Province, were appointed to the Commission for Higher Studies to act as the representatives of the American Assistancy. The appointment was more than a sinecure and involved, in fact, considerable work in addition to the usual duties of delegate. This commission had as its purpose the preparation and

presentation of the *Postulata* on the revision of the *Ratio Studiorum* for the consideration of the Fathers of the Congregation.

By its Thirty-eighth Decree the Congregation, while committing to Father General the task of the actual revision of the parts of the *Ratio* pertaining to Philosophy and Theology for Ours, recommended that Father General appoint a commission to help him in the revision. Father Ledochowski proposed that the congregation reserve to itself the selection and approval of the members of the proposed committee. Accordingly each assistancy selected two names. Father Phillips was first choice of the Assistancy and thus became a member of the commission for the revision of the *Ratio*. In the report which he submitted to the Editor of the WOODSTOCK LETTERS, Father Phillips offers some interesting details of the work of this committee. It was actively engaged for some 342 days, beginning May, 1938. There were 135 sessions in all, each of which lasted about two hours. Counting the preliminary work for each session, he calculated that this amounted to some 800 clock hours of labor for each member. The work was concluded in June, 1939 and the new *Ratio* was promulgated on July 31, 1941. Father Phillips arrived back in the States in the Summer of 1939.

He did not return to Woodstock as dean of philosophy. Instead he was appointed director of the Graduate School at Georgetown University. He was to man this post from 1939 till 1943. As provincial he had always insisted that our graduate schools should not attempt to emulate the complete graduate departments of the opulent state and private universities. He believed that each graduate department should specialize and concentrate along certain lines without unnecessary duplication, so that, taken together, the different schools would offer reasonably complete graduate courses. This was probably his policy at Georgetown. In addition to his duties as director, he was revisor for both Woodstock and Georgetown from 1936 to 1943. He took this extra work very seriously.

His skill in finance made him a logical candidate for the post of procurator of the newly formed New York Province in 1943 and he held this post till 1949. He was now in his sixty-sixth year, when he undertook this burden and after some

months almost died after a very serious operation. As it was, he all but lost vision in one eye, due to a blood clot. When he took over the post of procurator, the big problem confronting the two provinces was an equitable division of the funds, and in Father Phillips both provinces found an objective and just arbiter. The long, painstaking labor involved in drawing up the list of assets will hardly ever be realized and it was in addition to his regular duties of a procurator of a large province. Assistance he had, of course, in this arduous work, but his was the final responsibility.

Towards the end of 1948, before he could put the final touches to his report on the financial division, he suffered a stroke, from which he recovered much to his surprise. Once during his hospitalization, as he used to love to tell the juniors, he was taken for dead and preparations were being made for the disposal of the "corpse," when he came back to consciousness. On leaving the hospital he spent some time recuperating at the Fordham infirmary and in January, 1949 went to Shrub Oak for further rest. The stroke had taken quite a toll from him and never again was he completely his old self. He knew that another stroke would carry him off and often mentioned this. Writing to the Rector of Syracuse on December 9, 1951 he says: "My health, although it does not satisfy the doctor, is really good. It surprises some that think of me only as an 'old man.' So do not think that I will disappoint you, although I know I may get a stroke any time. But we are in God's hands, so that never troubles me."

At the time of the stroke he was in his fifty-first year in the Society and Father Provincial thought it time to relieve him of further high responsibility. In the Spring of 1949 he journeyed to St. Andrew-on-Hudson to be spiritual father of the formed Brothers. At once he wanted to give points to them every night but superiors realized this would be too much for him, so he had to content himself with alternation with others. He made a real job of what might have been a sinecure. But Father Phillips was never the man to retire from life and labor. Rather he retired to other work and his ingenuity in this respect is remarkable in a man of seventy-two years of age, who had been in delicate health all his life in the Society.

In a way life was now a *second spring* for him inasmuch

as his direct influence especially over the younger men and the Brothers widened perceptibly. He became more and more lovable, as he grew older and as God, the Divine Artist, put more and more finishing touches to his sanctity. The Brothers and those juniors who came to him for confession, or sought his direction, found him a very kindly and sympathetic priest, who reflected the sanctity that he inculcated. He would encourage them to keep on trying to be good Jesuits. One of the juniors remarked that the only time he appeared worked up was when he tried to convince one who needed it that the fruit of the sacrament of penance should be peace of mind. Another favorite exhortation of his was to do all their actions for the love of God.

Almost bewildering is the account of the number and extent of the work projects in which this septuagenarian was engaged. Father Haitz, then minister at St. Andrew, states that Father Phillips frequently came to him to ask for more work. In addition to his occupations with the Brothers, he frequently gave points to the juniors. Twice each week he literally shared in the outdoor work period of the novice Brothers. He would often be seen going out in his old faded duster to trim bushes and cut off dead branches. Towards the end he was told to stop his hard work, so he would go out to direct the juniors in their outdoor work and would occupy himself in cleaning up afterwards. At picnics he would cheerfully share in the work of washing dishes after the meal.

One of his major projects at St. Andrew was the surveying of the property, and characteristically, there was much preliminary research in the records of the city of Poughkeepsie for the legal limits of the property. He started some preliminary surveying for a projected dam at the reservoir. When Father J. Joseph Lynch, noted seismologist and physicist at Fordham, needed a new tripartite station at St. Andrew to determine the source of a two-second frontal microseism, he could count on the interest and help of Father Phillips. The careful survey map of the property, which Father had now completed, was indispensable. Father Phillips checked and re-checked the distances between the apices of the triangular station that had to be set up. Then he started to train some of the juniors to read the records of the microseism as they appeared.

The last work project which he undertook was that of estimating the total cubic capacity of Duck Lake, formerly known as the Upper Pond. If it were ample enough, it might prove to be an added supplementary source of water in case of a fire. Actually this was true and the insurance rate of St. Andrew was lowered. During this project a junior would tow Father in a little dinghy over the lake in different directions, while he took frequent soundings at fixed intervals. Just four days before he died, he posted the results of his investigation on the juniors' bulletin board. There was great merriment over the sign. Father had correctly calculated the capacity of the lake and translated it into gallon capacity. But in his final summary he misread the previous figures and made the capacity ten times the true figure. Next morning the juniors found the sign amended in his own hand.

During the villa season he usually went to Monroe as spiritual father for part of the time at least. The points which he gave were always enjoyed and he would share in their games, often teaching the juniors mathematical games of his own.

His genuine charity was shown in his great devotion to the sick. Twice each day he would visit the infirmary, after duly getting permission from Father Rector, Father Master and Brother Infirmarian. Twice each day, too, he would play checkers with an invalided Brother, who loved the game. Usually Father Phillips lost, though as he told one of the infirmarians, he had tried in his room to work out some mathematical means of winning the game. But experience triumphed over mathematical skill, though not over the humble mathematician. One of these visits would usually coincide with mealtime for this invalided Brother. So Father Phillips would push his wheelchair to the infirmary kitchen and there serve him his dinner. It was his custom to offer the Holy Sacrifice in the infirmary chapel, where he communicated the sick. One of the infirmarians informs us that Father Phillips frequently urged him to be good to the sick.

The community at St. Andrew appreciated the loving faithfulness, the patience and simplicity, the regularity of this hard-working, perfect old priest, who with all his learning was as simple as a child and as observant as the most exact novice. But the night was coming on, when no man could work. And death did not find him dismayed. Upon his ar-

rival at St. Andrew he told Father Rector that he was practically blind in one eye, had had a stroke and that in about two years, the stroke would have its telling effect. He could expect to find him lying on the floor dead some morning. If it was not a prophecy, it was at least the truth. When he had returned from Gabriel's Sanatorium in 1906, he had a presentiment of an early death. In that he was mistaken. But now his thoughts were often on death and without any morbidity.

Like St. Ignatius he never feared death. This is abundantly clear from the meditations on that topic in his annual retreats. Only once, when he was provincial, did he betray a little anxiety, not indeed of death itself, but that he did not fear it. So he pondered its meaning and implications. Around Easter, 1952 he must have been thinking of death and he expressed it in a letter to his niece Mary, who replied as follows:

It was nice to read in your letter that you are in good health, but it made me very sad when you said you have a feeling that you won't live very long. What makes you think such gloomy thoughts?—though, as you say, it is really a joyful thought to think of going to sleep here and waking up with Christ welcoming us. . . .

A Brother Infirmarian tells us that one day he was conversing with Father Phillips and the subject of death came up. Father remarked: "That is the only thing I have to look forward to. I am ready when God wants me." This remark shows that he had recovered, or rather maintained, the same attitude towards death that had always characterized his life in the Society. He would have agreed with St. Paul that death was a prelude to the time when "we shall be with the Lord forever" (I Thess. 4, 16).

God called his servant home on the morning of May 9, 1952. The previous evening he had given points to the Brothers and had been almost jocular, when he spoke of St. Peter's attempt on Malchus' ear. A Scholastic who confessed to him that night noticed that Father Phillips seemed to find difficulty getting up from his prie-dieu and that he asked the Scholastic to repeat several times, which seems to argue that his concentration and memory were failing him. That night he did something very unusual for him at that time. He took a shower before going to bed. After that he had thrown his

habit about him, when he had the fatal stroke. Father Minister saw the light in the bathroom sometime after ten o'clock and, again, at five-thirty in the morning. He sensed at once that something was wrong and called Father Master. Together they opened the window of the bathroom that faced on the cloister and there they saw Father Phillips still breathing, lying where he had fallen some seven hours before. He was anointed at once and shortly thereafter passed into eternity. As Father Minister expressed it: "He seemed to have been waiting for this last sacrament." May we not see in this final grace vouchsafed him the presage of the fulfillment of the effects of this sacrament, according to St. Thomas—"a preparation for immediate entrance into glory?"

A distinguished member of the Province, on learning of Father Phillips' death, wrote: "Our saintly Father Phillips has gone home; and how much at home he will feel with all the faithful selfless servants of our great Master! The hidden simplicity he cherished so dearly in life did not desert him in death. Ask him to pray for me in my many needs."

A fellow novice of Father Phillips wrote: "There is no need of my telling you that he was a man of prayer and I attribute that kindness and mellowness that came to him during his later life in the Society to that prayerfulness. He seemed so recollected, as if communing or taking advice with his soul (or God) in every step he took. He had himself always in control. He was gentle and sweet and most considerate of the shortcomings of others."

God was *the reality* of his life. He saw all things in God and them all in Him. That was the source of his simplicity, of his communings at every moment. God was his mountain of strength, the fountain of his joy, the anchor of his hope, the witness of his actions, the compass and gyroscope in all difficulties and trials. And this "fact of God" he learned in and through Christ, with Whom he was ever "walking hand in hand, under the mantle of Mary," Christ's mother and his.

No wonder that a master of novices could write of him: "It is not hard to see Christ in our Father Provincial."

HUGH J. BIHLER, S.J.

TRIBULATIONS

Sometimes the sinner is stricken that he may be amended, as it is said to one in the Gospel, "Behold, thou art cured. Sin no more, lest something worse befall thee". (John 5, 14). For the words of his deliverer indicate that it was past sins which were exacting all the violence of the pain which he had endured. In some cases the person is smitten, not for the obliteration of a past offence, but for the avoidance of a future one, which the Apostle Paul openly testifies of himself, saying, "And lest the greatness of the revelations should puff me up, there was given me a thorn for the flesh, a messenger of Satan, to buffet me" (II Cor. 12, 7). For he who says, not that he was puffed up, but, lest he should be puffed up, clearly shows that by that stroke it is held in check that it may not take place, and that it is not a fault that has taken place now clearing away.

But sometimes the person is stricken neither for past nor yet for future transgression, but that the alone mightiness of the divine power may be set forth in the cutting short of the striking; whence when it was said unto the Lord concerning the blind man in the Gospel, "Who has sinned, this man or his parents, that he should be born blind?" The Lord answered, saying, "Neither has this man sinned, nor his parents, but the works of God were to be made manifest in him" (John 9, 2 f.): in which manifestation what else is done, saving that by that scourge the excellence of his merits increased, and while there is no past transgression wiped away, the patience may engender a mighty fortitude.

Job then, with all the surpassing powers whereby he was sustained, was known to his own conscience and to God; but had he not been stricken he would never have been the least known to us. For his virtue had its exercise indeed even in peaceful times, but it was by strokes that the report of his virtue was stirred up to fragrance; and he, who in repose kept within himself all that he was, when disturbed did scatter abroad the odour of his fortitude, for all to know. For as unguents, unless they be stirred, are never smelt far off, and as aromatic scents spread not their fragrance except they be burned, so the saints in their tribulations make known all the sweetness that they have of their virtues.

Books of Interest to Ours

ROME AND IRISH INDEPENDENCE

The Holy See and the Irish Movement for the Repeal of the Union with England, 1829-1847. *By John F. Brodrick, S.J.* Rome, Gregorian University Press, 1951. Pp. xxvii—237. \$2.40.

This book is outstanding for readability and prudent judgment of historical evidence. The style is such that a reader only moderately interested in the subject matter would easily be convinced to read on attentively to the end, and feel he has a good insight into the character and interests of such men as Daniel O'Connell, Archbishop MacHale, Metternich, and Aubin.

The history developed in the book first presents a picture of the Irish movement for Catholic Emancipation and shows how this popular movement was definitely encouraged by the entire Irish hierarchy and, it would seem, all the priests, although at first the clergy felt they should remain aloof from political matters. When O'Connell succeeded in obtaining Emancipation, he set about destroying the legislative union that bound Ireland to England for all its laws, and deprived Ireland of a domestic legislature. Here again he hoped to be aided by the clergy, and in this he was largely successful. However there were two schools of thought among the Irish clergy with regard to problems that were partly political, partly moral. One school, led by Archbishop MacHale, believed that the clergy should join the people in an attempt to use non-violent means to obtain justice; the other school, led by Archbishops Murray and Crotty, believed the clergy should remain in the sanctuary and not take sides on political matters. Thus in November, 1841, O'Connell reported that of the clergy, one archbishop and ten bishops were members of his Repeal Organization, and he believed "none of the hierarchy were hostile . . ."

Pressure was constantly being applied to Pope Gregory XVI to have the Irish clergy disassociate itself from the Repeal movement. Thus Aubin, the English unofficial, but paid representative of England at Rome, and his successor, Petre, together with the Austrian Minister, Metternich, requested that the Pope publicly censure the Irish clergy who backed O'Connell. Gregory XVI did not do that, but in 1839 and again, more forcefully, in 1844, he wrote to the Irish Primate and the bishops through Cardinal Frasoni, urging that they seek solely the salvation of souls and the good of religion. Though the rescripts caused much confusion, they did not change the conduct of the Irish clergy. Oddly, the English press strongly commended the Pope's action, while the Irish appealed to the oath that Catholic officeholders had to take to illustrate their contention that the Pope had no right to direct Catholics in temporal matters. Some interesting apparent intellectual somersaults which Father Brodrick pointed out: the British held that the clergy should keep their concerns within the sanctuary, but forgot that principle when a clergyman sided with them, and of course, labored hard to have the

Pope force a vital decision in a temporal matter, by urging the clergy to forget politics. O'Connell, too, seemed to find himself in difficult positions: he was very concerned to have the backing of the clergy and always gave them prominence in public meetings, yet he went to great lengths to prevent papal pronouncements in matters political from being accepted in Ireland. He made his own O'Neill Daunt's remark: "As much theology from Rome as ever you please, but no politics."

Father Brodrick takes a calm, objective view of the evidence. His research must have been difficult, but in view of his success, I believe he could write several similar volumes on the Church and the Fenian Movement, or the Church and the move for independence in the present century. And I believe the book should be reprinted in this country to increase the likelihood of a wide reading.

THOMAS HENNESSY, S.J.

SUBLIME THOUGHTS SIMPLY EXPRESSED

Novissima Verba. The Last Conversations of Saint Thérèse of the Child Jesus. New York, Kenedy, 1952. Pp. xvi—152. \$2.25.

This revised English translation of *Novissima Verba* will be welcomed by many. The earlier edition which left much to be desired has long been out of print. The new translation is very well done and Cardinal Spellman has written a beautiful and timely introduction.

The confidences of St. Thérèse which her sister, Mother Agnes of Jesus, carefully recorded, show the young Carmelite at the peak of her sanctity. Here we have holiness in the pure state. Other saints were great leaders, theologians, teachers. Thérèse, who was by no means devoid of talent, never had occasion to exercise it except on practical sanctity.

From her letters it is obvious that Thérèse addressed herself to Père Almiré Pichon, S.J., as early as 1887 when she was still in the world. "I thought, as you have concerned yourself with my sisters, that you would be kind enough to take on the youngest too," she wrote. On her death bed she sent him a long letter which has unfortunately been lost. Thérèse said, "My whole soul was in it."

EDWARD A. RYAN, S.J.

Life Begins With Love. By E. Boyd Barrett. Milwaukee, Bruce, 1952. Pp. x—114. \$2.50.

This little book contains a detailed, practical treatment of the important aspects of charity. The doctrine is based on the holy scriptures and on the *Imitation of Christ*. Many fine examples enliven the text. In general, however, the treatment is analytical rather than inspirational and appeals more to the head than to the heart.

EDWARD A. RYAN, S.J.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PHILOSOPHICAL SPECULATIONS

Theoriae Corpusculares Typicae in Universitatibus Societatis Jesu in Saec. XVIII et Monadologia Kantiana: Doctrina J. Mangold, G. Sagner, R. J. Boscovich, B. Stattler. Auctore Josepho Feyér, S.J. Romae, Catholic Book Agency, 1951. Pp. 69.

All Scholastic philosophers (but especially Jesuits), interested in the important modern history of their subject and already familiar with the impressive but incomplete researches of Bernhard Jansen, S.J., [(1) "Deutsche Jesuiten-Philosophen des 18. Jahrhunderts in ihrer Stellung zur neuzeitlichen Naturauffassung," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 57 (1933) 384-410, and (2) *Die Pflege der Philosophie im Jesuitenorden während des 17-18. Jahrhunderts* (Fulda: 1938)] will welcome with interest and enthusiasm this component monograph on four representative Jesuit spokesmen of the same (somewhat deplorable) era. The essay is neatly expository, soberly critical, and historically accurate. The brochure is an excellent addition to a contemporary Jesuit philosopher's library.

For the author is correctly convinced that this pioneer study is a contribution to the history of modern philosophy: "cognitio enim scholasticae saeculi XVIII. multum confert ad intelligendum ortum idealismi in-ertiamque philosophiae christianae coetaneae ad eum praecavendum, ac etiam originem neoscholasticae, cuius succitamentum praecipuum ipsa insufficientia philosophiae tunc vigentis suppeditabat" (p. 5).

The four Jesuit philosophers whose work is here subjected to detailed exposition and incisive criticism are: (1) Joseph Mangold (1716-1787) who after seven years as professor of philosophy and theology at Ingolstadt, was thereafter rector of two other colleges in Germany. He published in 1755-1756 his three volume *Philosophia rationalis et experimentalis hodiernis discentium studiis accommodata*; (2) Gasparus Sagner (1720-1781) was Dean of the Philosophical Faculty at the University of Prague, and published in the years 1755-1758 his four volume *Institutiones philosophicae in usum scholarum ex probatis veterum recentiorumque sententiis adornatae*; (3) Rogerius Josephus Boscovich (1711-1787) functioned as professor of philosophy and mathematics in the Roman College where in 1758 he published his major work: *Theoria philosophiae naturalis redacta ad unicam legem virium in natura existentium*; and (4) Benedictus Stattler (1728-1797), professor of both philosophy and theology at Innsbruck, where from 1769-1772 he published his seven volume treatise on *Philosophia methodo scientiis propria explanata*.

In Part I (pp. 9-40) the author expounds in sequence the logical anatomy of each system. Irrelevant details are wisely omitted and the respective analyses are gems that exhibit neatly the structure of each philosopher's speculations. Future historians of philosophy can here borrow with confidence the thumb-nail sketches that are needed to complete their story of this period.

In Part II (pp. 41-61) the author first discusses the very ambiguous concept of *vis* as it is employed in each system, and then displays in de-

tail how the notion is employed by each representative in the interpretation of extension as well as in the analysis of substantial unity and processes of change. The section closes with a brief but pointed comparison of these philosophical systems with Kant's 1756 treatise: *Metaphysicæ cum geometria iunctæ usus in Philosophia naturali, cuius Specimen I continet Monadologiam Physicam*.

Sample results of this penetrating study are: (1) "Paucis rem absolvendo, dicere possumus omnes quattuor auctores convenire in negatione illius strictæ unionis, qua ens compositum vere *unum ens*, unam substantiam constitueret. Fideliter servant doctrinam Christiani Wolff: 'In ente composito nihil datur substantiale præter entia simplicia . . . Essentia enim entis compositi non constat nisi meris accidentibus'—sc. figura, magnitudine et situ partium, quorum omnium fundamentum est coniunctio elementorum totum constituentium . . . Pro mutatione explicanda facilis ex his dabitur conclusio: quaelibet mutatio ad motum localem partium reducit. . . ." (pp. 55-56); (2) "Fundamentum commune omnium quattuor auctorum, et cum iis fere omnium philosophorum huius ætatis his paucis verbis exprimi potest: '*Nihil potest dividi, nisi in tot partes, quot iam prius determinato numero actu existentes continebat*'" (p. 62); and finally (3) "specialem considerationem meretur Boscovich, qui ut vidimus, non deductione quadam aprioristica, sed ope legum empiricæ stabilitarum ad affirmationem inextensorum pervenerat. Prima facie fortasse ita res appareret, ac si præconcepta illa idea multitudinis partium actu existentium nullum, vel saltem non magnum momentum in systemate eius haberet. Et tamen, adversarius iste principii rationis sufficientis argumentum suum tam originale tamque a reliquis diversum eidem superstruit fundamento, ac ii, qui ope principii ab eo reiecti statim ad existentiam inextensorum concludunt. Etiamsi enim principium continuitatis in mutationibus velocitatum admittatur, et consequenter tanquam certa affirmetur virium repulsivarum existentia, illegitimus tamen dici debet transitus, quo Boscovich ex repulsione inter distinctas particulas vigente statim ad impossibilitatem extensionis continuæ (quam cum contigua manifesto identificat) concludit. Hic latet, si quidem non nimis clare apparet, suppositio illa fundamentalis, quam supra ut notam characteristicam omnium istorum systematum indicavimus. Materia continua ideo dirumpitur viribus repulsivis, quia supponitur multitudinem continere entium repulsive—ergo contra invicem—agentium, quæ igitur independenter actu existunt" (pp. 63-64). To have clearly disengaged this significant point from the welter of Boscovich's deceptive novelties is a commendable achievement in criticism and should serve to bring hereafter the legendary reputation of Boscovich for exceptional acumen back to the more modest dimensions that he rightly deserves.

The format of the brochure is neat, the typography clear, and while there are numerous printer's errors, they are minor and easily corrected. It is, in sum, an invaluable brochure and, one may hope, only the prelude to future researches of the same calibre in the same field.

JOSEPH T. CLARK, S.J.

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CONTENTS FOR MAY, 1953

ST. JOSEPH'S UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT.....	99
Charles Chamussy	
MODERN XAVIERS IN JAPAN.....	110
George Minamiki	
FATHER HENRY HARRISON.....	118
Robert A. Parsons	
SOCIAL EXPERIMENT ON THE PARANA.....	148
F. Rawle Haig	
HISTORICAL NOTES	
Archaeology Serves History.....	156
OBITUARY	
Father John A. Morgan.....	171
Father Francis X. Bimanski.....	177
BOOKS OF INTEREST TO OURS	
Christ as Prophet and King (Fernan).....	181
The Fire of Francis Xavier (McGratty).....	182
Saints for Now (Luce).....	183
Sea of Glory (Thornton).....	184
Listen Sister: Thoughts for Nuns (Moffat).....	185
The Theory of Transfinite Numbers in the Light of the Notion of Potency (Elliot).....	187
The Christmas Book (Weiser).....	190
Practice: A Pool of Teaching Experience (Knoepfle)	191
Be Not Solicitous. (Ward).....	191

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* * *

Note to Contributors

It would be well when submitting contributions to the WOODSTOCK LETTERS to observe the following: type *triple* space, leaving a one-inch margin on either side of the page, i.e., approximately sixty spaces to a line. This will aid greatly in determining ahead of time the length of articles submitted to us, and leaves sufficient room for the insertion of printing directions. Subheadings should also be used, at least one to every other page, in articles and Historical Notes. Pictures, fairly large and clear, should accompany obituaries and other articles, as far as possible; these will, of course, be returned to the contributor.

* * *

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ST. JOSEPH'S UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

St. Joseph's University of Beirut, founded in 1875 by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, has for more than seventy-five years accomplished a cultural and social service on behalf of the youth of Lebanon and the other countries of the Middle East. It possesses a Theological Faculty which directs the studies of its Oriental Seminary, a Faculty of Medicine and Pharmacy, a Law Faculty, an Engineering School, an Institute of Oriental Letters (Middle Eastern languages, literatures and antiquities), a School of Social Service, and a Secondary School. In the Bekâa region it directs an astronomical, seismological and meteorological observatory and two experimental stations at Tanaïl and Ksara for the agricultural development of the country. Its students in all departments at present number approximately three thousand.

Its teaching staff aims especially at forming in the young a social sense and at awakening in them the desire to work for the economic and cultural development of their country.

Several projects, stressing still more this social formation, have actually been drawn up but their accomplishment is hindered by lack of necessary funds. Since Point IV would foster any plan aiding the economic and social progress of lands as yet insufficiently developed, St. Joseph's University with this in mind would request grants for the projects which are set forth in the following reports and whose accomplishment can be assured only by credits advanced under Point IV.

Institute of Oriental Letters

Lebanon, predominantly an agricultural country, has only three or four large factories employing more than five hundred workers. Out of a total population of about 1,300,000, the peasantry numbers 750,000 and city dwellers (in large and small cities) 550,000 approximately. The urban population is roughly divided as follows: 90,000 industrial workers and artisans, 200,000 students at all levels (superior, secondary and primary

The Point Four Program, designed to help the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America to create a better life for themselves by showing them how to conserve and develop their God-given resources, was proposed by President Truman in the fourth point of his 1949 Inaugural Address.

studies), 260,000 merchants, public officials, those engaged in the liberal professions, the banks and the armed forces.

Since Lebanon obtained its political independence, it has embarked on a social reorganization that is still in its beginnings. Certain professions have been given a legal status: lawyers, doctors, engineers, journalists, and others.

A Labor Code has been established, embracing general legislation dating from September 23, 1946 to which were added two previous legislative decrees; a decree of May 4, 1943 referring to working accidents; a decree of May 12, 1943 establishing a minimum wage and family allocations. This code however is as yet very incomplete.

Labor unions have been authorized since 1946. About eighty have been formed (company or workers' unions) but their activity, for want of competent direction, is not national in extent.

It can be said that the dominant attitude is still individualistic; even among the elite there is little social sense and less knowledge of social planning.

There exist at Beirut three centers of social teaching: the American University, the Law School of St. Joseph's University, and the Institute of Oriental Letters.

Instruction at the American University is given in the Department of Sociology under the direction of Professor Baty. It embraces the teaching of sociological theory and principles, social philosophy, human and rural ecology, anthropology, the practical study of social problems, and a school of applied knowledge.

The Law Faculty of St. Joseph's University provides a course in industrial legislation as a partial requirement for the French licentiate. The matter of this course includes both general social legislation and its applications to Lebanon.

The Institute of Oriental Letters prepares its students for a certificate of sociological studies, including the general sociology of the Middle East, ethnology and Lebanese folklore, and Islamic sociology.

The teaching of sociology is at present directed almost exclusively to future magistrates, lawyers or professors. It is not sufficiently extended to the groups able actively to organize the country on a sound social basis. Mention has already been made of the want of social spirit among the leaders of the vari-

ous classes of society as well as of their ignorance of methods and institutions realized in the Occident.

Hence it seems necessary to institute sociological studies more suited to the needs of the country: to provide a solid formation for future directors of social services and professional groups (liberal and industrial professions, banking, and skilled labor), as well as to avert harmful social teachings that are already proposed and threaten to spread.

For this purpose we plan to establish a chair of labor unionism and applied sociology, and to engage as professor an Occidental specialist, in order to train leaders of workers' unions who in their turn will instruct others.

To bring such a specialist and to establish him at Beirut and to provide his salary a grant under Point IV would be necessary.

The Medical School

In Lebanon, from the medical viewpoint, there is to be noted: (1) A bad distribution of doctors. Although there is one doctor for every thirteen hundred inhabitants (one to every thousand is considered normal), they are too numerous in the large cities where they can scarcely find work, while in the country it is often necessary to travel for long distances to find one. This is a result of the inconveniences of village life and of the poverty of the peasants who cannot provide a medical man with enough for a decent livelihood. (2) A serious lack of general hygiene and of preventive medicine. The homes of the workers and peasants are unhealthful; essential sanitary installations are wanting; water used for drinking and domestic purposes is often polluted. Parents frequently lack the most fundamental notions of hygiene and the care of children. Antimalarial measures and the inspection of drinking water and sanitation are still insufficient or nonexistent over large areas of Lebanon and Syria. (3) The need of developing practical instruction in preventive medicine for medical students and student midwives and nurses. The rôle of midwives and nurses is especially important. If it were possible to choose girls of ability and of some education, acquired in the villages, in order to train them as nurses and midwives, they could, at the end of their studies, establish themselves in the mountainous regions more easily than doctors and could render service to the people in general

as teachers of hygiene and the care of children. The government then might be induced to set up posts for visiting nurses, especially in the villages which are without doctors.

To remedy some of these deficiencies requires the intervention of the state, but others could be supplied by medical schools, if they had the trained personnel and technical equipment necessary. If aided financially under Point IV, the Medical School of St. Joseph's University could accomplish progress in the following directions. The practical teaching of hygiene and preventive medicine to medical students requires field transportation of these students—for example, for malarial control, visits to plants for purifying water, group investigation of means to better the hygiene of an unhealthful site. For this purpose we would need a bus able to transport between twenty and thirty persons. Medical students and student-nurses being trained in medico-social investigation go at present in small groups into the slums adjacent to dispensaries already established. This service is completely insufficient for want of personnel. We would need to plan for an extension of this work requiring the services of two additional medico-social workers. The student midwives have established a visiting service to the homes of needy women who come in large numbers to be delivered at the maternity hospital dependent on the Medical School of St. Joseph's University. They give the mothers practical advice for the care of new born and young infants. A midwife or a social worker on a full time basis is needed to direct this service, to draw up a filing system, and to insure regularity in the visits.

Assistance received would be applied not only to provide social services, but especially to assure the education of medical students, and student midwives and nurses in preventive medicine and social hygiene.

Briefly, then, we would request subsidies for the purchase of a bus with a capacity of thirty persons, the salary of two medico-social workers, and the salary of a midwife supervisor.

As a further step we plan to send teams of students in medicine and nursing into the villages to educate the people in hygiene and preventive medicine, to discover contagious diseases often unperceived (tuberculosis and trachoma), and to prescribe the necessary care. Also planned is the establishment of

regular medical circuits and a free consultation service in regions deprived of doctors and too poor to obtain medical care in any other way. Besides the bus, then, this would demand an X-ray truck for lung examinations.

School of Social Studies

The Lebanese School of Social Education aims at forming social workers whose competence and worth will correspond to the social needs of the country. From its inception the School of Social Education has been recognized as an institution of public utility by official decree of the Lebanese Government. In September, 1949 it acquired the right to grant Lebanese state diplomas of social training conferring the official title of social worker. At present it is the only institution of social formation officially recognized in Lebanon, although remaining under private auspices. The teaching of social theory is imparted by a staff recruited from the faculties of law and medicine of St. Joseph's University. Practical training and case work are provided in two Social Centers for the care of mothers and infants which the School has established in two of the poorer quarters of the city, and which also fulfill another urgent need of the country: the instruction and training of young mothers of families. These two Centers offer the following medical services: advice on pre-natal care, on breast-feeding; clinics for maladies of the eye, ear and throat, and for skin diseases; general medical treatment.

An assistant social director is in charge of each Center and several doctors offer their cooperation and services. Each day at the Center there is provided for mothers a regular instruction, accompanied by practical demonstrations, informal talks, a workshop and the showing of educational films. Home visits are a regular feature. A summer camp attached to the Center provides each year a month in the mountains for the children most in need of it.

The School of Social Education and its Social Centers receive no financial grants. Up to the present the gratuitous cooperation of the School's teaching staff has permitted the imparting of a solid social training to the students, but to provide for the present needs of the country the School and its Centers should extend their activities.

For this the following plan has been made for the training of women social workers: to intensify the training of professional social assistants and to increase their number in view of the social work being extended in Lebanon by the newly established Ministry of Social Affairs which now seeks to incorporate into its services a number of graduate female social assistants; to develop at the same time by courses, informal talks, conferences, documented visits and practice tours, the social consciousness of a wider public and to acquaint with social problems the women of tomorrow who will be able to influence the social evolution of the country.

The School of Social Education should, then, set up larger quarters including lecture and demonstration halls; equip a library for study and research in all social fields; organize a social documentation service; provide for the students a film projector for educational purposes; and establish burses to pay the expenses of deserving students of limited means and to cover the expenses of documented visits, practice projects and field trips outside the city.

A plan has also been made for the extension of the Social Centers: to increase the medico-social services. For this the Centers should acquire more and more equipment and modern instruments; to train young mothers by setting up meeting and demonstration halls furnished with working equipment; to prepare girls for their future work by providing courses in housekeeping, the care of children, and domestic hygiene; to set up an emergency fund to aid needy families in case of sickness, unemployment or other accidents; and to increase the facilities of summer camps for the poor by improving the water supply, installing modern kitchens and laundries, thus to permit the better training of the children who benefit by them.

These projects would entail large expenses. To what extent could financial aid be advanced under Point IV to begin their realization?

Engineering School

The Engineering School provides for governments and for large companies, national or foreign, a testing service for various materials: concrete, bricks, asphalt, tiles, electric lamps, and a soil analysis service. The equipment it possesses for these testings is beginning to be insufficient. To the one hun-

dred ton Ansler press we have, should be added a press of five hundred tons. Other equipment is needed to measure the wearing, hardening, and permeability of mortars. We have limited facilities for study of photo-elasticity. Brake testing equipment is also needed in the testing of automobiles. We possess a photometric table and photometers. There is need of a lumen-metric sphere and standards.

Circumstances have provided the Engineering School with a professional staff of outstanding architectural ability: Mr. Joseph Naggear, bridge and road specialist, former Minister of Finances, member of several commissions on urbanism and related questions; Mr. Charles Nehmeh and Mr. Henry Edde, perhaps the best known builders in Lebanon, who have both made studies in housing in Lebanon. Mr. Naggear has specialized in city-housing both in Beirut and in Lebanese vacation centers, and in the development of a style in accord with national traditions. Mr. Charles Nehmeh is the author of two important projects: the establishment of a rest center and a convalescent home on the slopes of Mount Lebanon, and the construction of a model city near Beirut, similar to that of Heliopolis in Egypt, to be named Roosevelt City. Mr. Henry Edde is especially interested in slum clearance projects. He has in mind the investigation and statistical study of unhealthy living quarters and of those who occupy them; a study aimed at the reclassifying of housing facilities on a technical, legislative, economic, and social basis; a study of construction methods for cheap but healthful and comfortable housing. He believes that, by simplifying building processes and by using prefabricated materials, a dwelling could be completed at a cost of about thirteen hundred dollars, which would permit a rental price of about fifty dollars a year.

In addition to the slum clearance projects, these two professors have also undertaken an analysis of building methods used in Lebanon, and their systematic improvement by proper orientation of buildings, heat- and sound-proofing, heating and sanitation ducts, interior room lay-outs, and new types of building material.

At present this research is being carried on in spare time and cannot be widely advertised. Help under Point IV would permit the professors to give more time to these investigations,

to finance publications (secretary, draftsman, printing costs) and to start carrying out their projects.

This laboratory, directed by Mr. Zallum, doctor in industrial chemistry of the University of Bologna, has already done extensive work for local industry, but it needs modern equipment for spectographic, electrolytic, microchemical, and polarographic analyses.

There is need of improved apparatus, such as electric furnaces and drying ovens, microanalytic scales, polarimeter, refractometer, and metalographic microscope.

Sociological Training Tours

Lebanon acquired political independence only recently and hence its social condition is extremely complex. Its agriculture is on a large and small scale; its industry takes the form of handicrafts and incipient industrialization; Lebanon's working class is in process of growth, but is suffering from unemployment (emigration often deprives the country of its best elements). The refugee problem devolves around Assyro-Chaldeans, Armenians, Palestinians. The economy is still feudal in some sections. The labor union movement is in danger of being absorbed by Communism. The situation is highly complex for a small country and urgently requires the formation of leaders conscious of social problems and of solutions already applied in lands longer independent.

The purpose of the sociological training tours of St. Joseph's University is to form each year about thirty young men of ability who, after investigation and personal work, may put at the service of their country a social training of which it has need.

Two encampments were held in Lebanon to render the participants aware of the situation and the needs of their country. These experiences convinced the directors of the need of enlarging the field of activities by putting the campers in contact with industrialized countries. In 1950 the encampment took place in France with work in factories, introduction to centers of social re-education; and in 1951, in Nordic countries with investigations on housing, conditions of life, social security legislation.

In 1952 St. Joseph's University would like to send thirty

young people to complete their training in the United States of America. His Excellency, Mr. Charles Malik, Minister of Lebanon at Washington, has been informed of this project and intends to investigate its feasibility.

Other similar encampments and tours are planned but they involve a substantial expenditure. It would be regrettable if young men without means could not benefit by such training in the same way as their wealthier companions.

There is no disputing the educational profit and the broadening of view derived by young Orientals from close and sometimes grating contact with the demands of modern life. The welfare of Lebanon requires such training, and for this reason we would request your interest and help in making it available to the largest possible number of young people.

Rural Development

The rural development of Tanâil-Ksara, directed by Jesuit Fathers of the Middle East in collaboration with St. Joseph's University, is located in the Bekâa Plain region at Chtaura, Lebanon. The Bekâa Plain is the most important agricultural region of Lebanon, but penury here is widespread and brings in its train undernourishment, unhealthy housing (a single room for a whole family), and endemic diseases, especially malaria and typhoid. Such conditions are encouraging a dangerous expansion of Communism.

The causes of this penury are, first, lack of social organization; second and more important, low agricultural yields which prevent the inhabitants from turning their lands to full account. On the other hand, a Communist cell of the Bekâa region was completely destroyed last year by the social amelioration of the workers.

The site of Tanâil-Ksara was ceded to the Jesuit Fathers in 1860 by the Ottoman government as indemnity for the massacre of four Jesuit missionaries in the Druze revolt of that year. At that time it was an uncultivated marsh where malaria made permanent settlement impossible. The Jesuits drained the swampland and made it into a relatively model farm.

This development constitutes a pilot project for Lebanon. It is important to note that most peasants in the Bekâa region

are insufficiently evolved to profit by teaching. They learn by example and imitate what they see successfully accomplished by others. For ninety years they have been accustomed to come to Tanaïl to see modern occidental methods of agriculture put into practice, in order to apply them to their own lands. Thus they have learned at Tanaïl how to drain marshland, sort out wheat for seeding, employ chemical fertilizers; how to use agricultural machinery, engage in truck gardening, apply European vinicultural methods, and plant orchards.

Consequently, any agricultural advance made at Tanaïl-Ksara had great importance for the whole Bekâa region, because what is done at Tanaïl is gradually introduced elsewhere. Such progress realized at Tanaïl-Ksara will have a greater and more widespread influence than any other teaching project, for the peasants of Bekâa who are quite suspicious, have learned during the last ninety years to trust the Jesuit Fathers.

At present the following types of demonstration could be usefully staged in Tanaïl-Ksara: Scientific cattle feeding, by the construction of silos for winter fodder. The people of Bekâa are now accustomed to feed their cows with chopped up straw, from which they derive a low milk production. They should be taught scientific cattle feeding methods. With silos they could be shown how to increase milk output by better feeding, thus to raise health standards among the children of Bekâa who are now undernourished for want of milk. Modernization of the cattle barn and dairy of Tanaïl would exemplify a model stable and hygienic milk and butter production. The importance of an irrigation project would be to show how water might be found and used effectively to double agricultural yields by making possible two harvests each year. Purchase of modern equipment, especially of a wheat combine (mechanical harvester and thresher), would show how harvesting losses might be avoided. In Bekâa wheat is still threshed on threshing floors by methods used twenty centuries ago. Improving the Ksara wine cellars could teach the wine makers of the Chtaura region (the wine center of Lebanon) how to improve their wines by refrigeration. Improving the tree nurseries of Tanaïl would help reforestation of Lebanon with cedars, pines, eucalyptus, and other trees.

Tanaïl would wish to transform the orphanage it conducts into an agricultural and trade school. To improve its present setup there are needed workshops for mechanics, carpentry, and electrical training and so forth. A small canning factory could be set up to obtain wider outlets for farm produce, and to train workers in an industry that has an important future in Lebanon: tomato juice, pickle, and fruit canning. The Tanaïl dispensary cares for the sick among the poor of the central Bekâa region (forty-five to fifty thousand patients yearly). Medical consultations and medicines are gratuitous. The increased numbers using this dispensary (sometimes three hundred patients in one day) make necessary better equipped quarters.

If sufficient funds could be advanced to effect these improvements, the Tanaïl-Ksara rural development project would be transformed into an up-to-date model farm that would serve as a practical example for the whole Bekâa region. More than any teaching program this example would be effective in improving agriculture and raising standards of life in the Bekâa, for the people of this region for more than ninety years have been accustomed to imitate what they have seen done at Tanaïl-Ksara.

Such are the projects whose accomplishment would be assured by the generosity of the Administrators of Point IV.

CHARLES CHAMUSSY, S.J.

* * *

Jesuit Novitiates Round The World

The universality of the Society of Jesus is mirrored in its seventy-one novitiates spread round the world. Persecution has closed four of these: in Bohemia, Hungary, Romania, and Czechoslovakia; that of Turin has been temporarily attached to the one in Rome. Mission lands have twelve novitiates: in India there are four; in Africa, two (in the Belgian Congo and Madagascar); Japan, Java, Lebanon, the Philippines, and Tinos, one each; and the refugee Chinese novitiate is now functioning in Manila. Latin America, including Mexico and Cuba, boasts fourteen novitiates. There are eight in the United States; five in Spain and Italy; three in Brazil and Germany; two in Belgium, Canada, and Mexico.

ÉCHOS: August 1952

MODERN XAVIERS IN JAPAN

GEORGE MINAMIKI, S.J.

Our account of the labors of the Modern Xavier in Japan begins with a passing reference to St. Patrick, and for this we make no apologies. For in Japan, March 17 is the Feast of Finding of the Christians. On this day in 1865, after the doors of Japan were opened for overseas trade by the arguments and cannons of Commodore Perry, a French missionary who was in charge of a chapel for the foreigners in the open port of Nagasaki was accosted by a group of Japanese who asked him three questions: "Are you married? Is Papa-sama in Rome the head of your church? Do you honor Maria-sama?" Thus were the Christians found, these descendants of the first converts of St. Francis Xavier. Without priests, without six of the sacraments, they had kept the faith for over two hundred years. Soon freedom was granted to the Church and a new missionary era opened. The French Fathers began other stations in the islands; then came the Sisters of St. Maur and those of St. Paul de Chartres; after them, the Marianists and the Trappists. But even with the arrival of the Religious of the Sacred Heart and the Dominicans, the Jesuits were yet to make their appearance.

In 1905 Bishop William Henry O'Connell of Portland, Maine, was sent by the Holy Father as special envoy to Japan. On hearing that he was trained by the Jesuits in Boston and that he was friendly to the Society, the Japanese entreated him to send their first missionaries back to them; and thus soon afterwards, Pope Pius X assigned to the Society the task of founding a Catholic university in Tokyo.

With the arrival of the three Jesuits, a German, a Frenchman, and an American, Father Rockliff (later provincial of California and first rector of Mt. St. Michael's), the new mission began. For practical purposes the international venture was consigned to the Lower German Province. The First World War, however, interrupted their early efforts. Two years after the Armistice, the Hiroshima Mission was added to the labors of the missionaries. Then the Great Earthquake of Tokyo reduced the school in the capital to a heap of rubble; but with aid coming from the entire Society a new edifice was

built. In 1938 a high school was begun in Kobe at the request of the Bishop of Osaka. Then the Second World War caused heavy incendiary damages on the campus in Tokyo, and in Hiroshima total destruction by the atom bomb blast. But the Mission recovered sufficiently to be made a vice province and a second high school was started near the American Naval Base in Yokosuka. In 1947 the Ordinaries of Japan entrusted to the Society the Inter-Diocesan Seminary of Tokyo, and finally in this fourth centenary (1952) of the death of St. Francis Xavier, the task of erecting a third high school in the atom-bombed district of Hiroshima was committed to the California Province.

With this as a brief overall background, we shall set off on our round of the Jesuit houses with a short visit first to Sophia University, or in Japanese, Jochi Daigaku, which is located near the Imperial Palace in Tokyo. Compared with institutions like Louvain, Fribourg, or Fordham, Sophia can hardly be called a Catholic school. But when one considers that only 150,000 people out of a population of 84 million are Catholic, then the presence of 331 Catholics in a student body of 1142 takes on a more hopeful appearance. Still, statistics alone do not tell the story of the hardships that marked the short history of Sophia: the sacrifices demanded of our students who, because of their faith, were kept out of certain industries; the strictures imposed upon the Fathers by pagan customs which forbade cassocks in the classrooms; the privations forced upon the Belgian Jesuits who were incarcerated during the recent war by the Kempei or Japanese Gestapo; the heroic suffering endured by an eighty year old Japanese Jesuit who was forced by wartime legislation to assume the presidency of the school and to march with the students to the national shrine to bow to the ashes of the war dead.

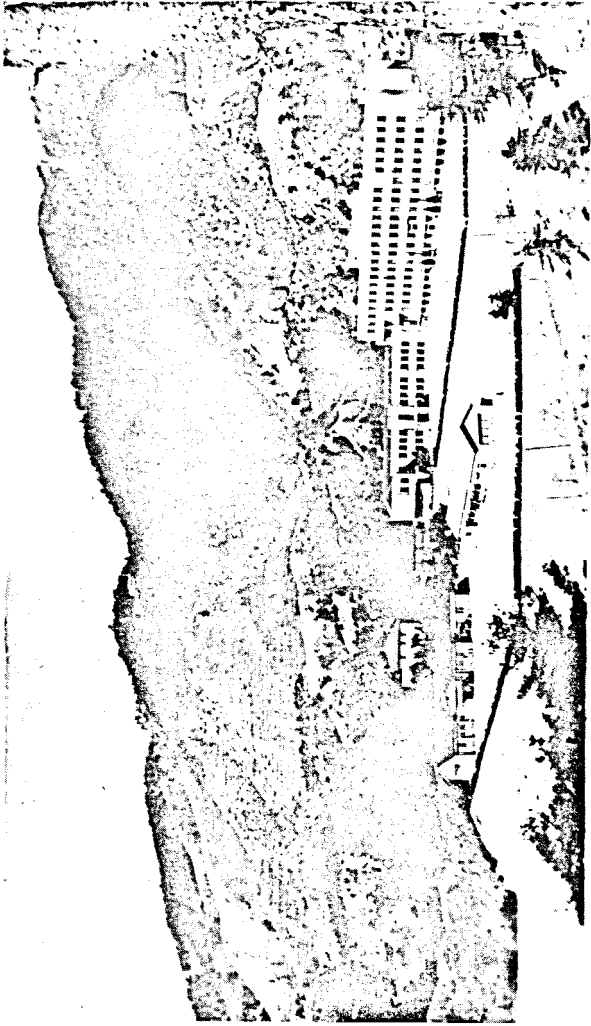
As a matter of fact, the period after the signing of the surrender in 1945 might be called the real beginning of Sophia. Only after the political and social changes occasioned by the benevolent policy of the former SCAP and General MacArthur, has Sophia been able to develop according to the designs of its founders. Yet we must remember that Sophia, though the most important work of the Society in Japan, is but one among 418 similar colleges and universities in Japan.

Within a short radius of 10 miles there are 5 universities with student enrollment exceeding 10,000. Almost within the shadow of Sophia the Protestants with the backing of influential Americans have begun their inter-denominational post-graduate university with pledged funds amounting to 10 million dollars. Despite these handicaps, earlier this year Sophia was among the small number of 36 universities which were approved as the first and only official Association of Japanese Universities. One of the members of the governmental committee which carried on the work of screening the schools for this Association was a Japanese Jesuit, Father F. X. Oizumi.

However, the real story of Sophia is the story of the men who make Sophia what it is today. We might suggest that you accompany us to the visitors' call room through which each morning the members of the Sophia community pass on their way to their various labors. Breakfast—which here means coffee, a slice of German bread, and if you are lucky some cheese—is no sooner over than Father Herzog is heading for his faithful jeep. Father, besides being a doctor in sociology from Fordham, is also the editor of the *Japanese Reader's Digest* and has to report early to his office. Then appears the inimitable Father Roggendorf. He has time only to give us his greeting and off he goes on his two-cylinder motor bicycle headed for Kyoiku Daigaku, the famous teachers' college, where he has been invited to lecture on English literature. As you see his vehicle disappear in the distance, you would hardly realize that this is the man who organized the Laymen's Theology Course, prepared the first major convention for Catholic educators, and founded two Japanese publications. Perhaps by now you hear loud chatterings at the doorway—the students are waiting for Father F. X. Bosch, a popular figure on the campus, though his is the unenviable position of dean of discipline. He spends much of his time giving talks on ethics and religion to students in outside universities, a feat which is witness to the fact that he talks Japanese like a native. Close upon his heels comes the ever efficient Father Miller from Maryland who with Father Farrell of Chicago organized the coeducational International Division of the University to enable the GI's and other American civilians to continue their Jesuit education in the shadows of the



Jesuit High School and Language School, Yokosuka, Japan



Rokko High School in Kobe, Japan

Korean conflict. Then we meet Father Roggen, head of the Graduate Department. He seems slightly perturbed today, wondering no doubt what effect the talks of one Margaret Sanger are having on the people. Father happens to be the chaplain of the Association of Catholic Doctors. We must meet one other personage. He is no other than Brother Gropper, chief architect of the mission. No house goes up in the Vice Province without his recommendation, and for years the tab, "Gropper-built," has been more reliable than any other trade name on the market. Well, if we should stay a little longer, we would have the pleasure of meeting all the other members of this community, the many Japanese visitors such as the Catholic Chief Justice who come frequently to see the Fathers, and of course the many army and navy chaplains who make Sophia one of their principal rendezvous spots during their stay in the capital. However, we are pressed for time and must bid farewell to the Japanese doorkeeper, Zaimonsan, who by now must be dozing away, his favorite pastime.

After a short ride of two tramway stops we pay a quick visit to the scholasticate, familiarly called "Miki House," dedicated to the Japanese Saint. Except for its Superiors, the house is composed entirely of native Scholastics. There are fifteen of them and some of them have seen action in the last war. In the eyes of the Vice Province they are the real hope of the mission. We would like to become better acquainted with all of them but are forced to decline the kind invitation of Father Keel, the Swiss Minister from the Missouri Province, for our train is due to leave in a few minutes from Tokyo Station.

We are now ready to depart from this capital of six and a half million people. The station platform moves slowly behind us. You must not count on finding an empty seat in the train, especially if you are going third class; and if you do not like crowds, well, you will have to learn to become accustomed to them, for all this pushing, jostling, elbowing is just another reflexion of the plight that eighty-five million people find themselves in, crowded into an area equal to the size of the State of Montana.

Soon the train passes through the harbor city of Yoko-

hama, and then heads in the direction of Yokosuka. A few miles from this American Naval Base we alight from the train at the town of Taura. We are fortunate today, for one of the Spanish Scholastics returning in the jeep from an errand for Father Minister spots us in our Roman collars, and after a short ride of two miles or so we are in full view of Eiko Gakuen, located on the shores of Uruga Strait through which in 1945 the "Mighty Mo" passed for the signing of the surrender. The giant moorings along the concrete piers and the general layout of the plant reveal that this location was formerly a submarine repair base, a fit environment for a Jesuit house. A moment after our arrival we are surrounded by a crowd of Scholastics, thirty-five strong, students at the Language School. After burying themselves all morning under an avalanche of Oriental hieroglyphics, they find any visitor a good reason to tear themselves away from their books. Father Rector Forster of Oregon has seen us from his second story window and soon disentangles us from the crowd to lead us into the refectory for it is almost noon. When you reach table you are struck by the international flavor of the community. One never knows whether he will sit next to a Basque, a Brazilian, a New Yorker, a Hungarian, a Frenchman, or even an Irishman. No less than twenty provinces are represented. The saving features in all this are that English is the house language, that knives and forks are used at table, and of course, the common charity of the Society.

Here, at Eiko, the neo-missioners labor for two years at the language; but to be sure all is not work. On Thursdays many make pilgrimages, so to speak, to pagan shrines and temples of which this territory abounds; on feast days some set off to scale the heights of Mt. Fuji, while others are content to sit through a few hours of Kabuki plays in some Tokyo theatre. After two years of this, that is, of study, they are ready for active service, and that may mean the classroom, the dormitory, or the mission station.

Across from the Language School stands Eiko Jesuit High School. Lunch period is not yet over for the students as the principal, Father Voss, leads us through the rooms. The students take their lunches inside, managing their portion of rice and fish with bamboo chopsticks. No doubt you have noticed how meager their fare is. Perhaps one of them ap-

proaches the teacher asking permission to leave early for the yard since he forgot his lunch box at home. An experienced regent knows that usually this is only another way of saying that mother just did not have enough to go around. Later on in some unembarrassing way he will see to it that the hungry lad has his first real meal in days.

Much as we would like to stay, we must bid farewell to Eiko. Backtracking up the peninsula we head for Nagoya, scene of the labors of the Divine Word Fathers, and then for Kyoto, the city of a thousand temples and headquarters of the Maryknoll Fathers. Here too the Dominicans are busily engaged in the work of the apostolate at their St. Thomas Institute, putting the finishing touches on their translation of the *Summa*. Finally we reach Osaka, the industrial center of Japan and the recent target of the B29's. The entire coast from Osaka to Kobe which was lined formerly with the heavy industrial plants of the Mitsubishi's was battered down by the incessant poundings of the American bombers. But our thoughts are presently interrupted by the rousing cheers we hear in the distance—we are reminded that we are near Nishinomiya Stadium, home of Japanese professional baseball, where fifty thousand enthusiastic fans turned out to see Joe Dimaggio in one of his exhibitions slam "a few" out of the ball park and run jauntily around the bases.

Soon we approach Kobe and we are in full sight of the famous Rokko Mountains. If you know where to look, you can make out the faint outline of the concrete building of Rokko Jesuit High School, the last edifice to go up in this area before the bombing of Pearl Harbor. We have not time to pay them a visit but perhaps you have noticed a few youngsters looking curiously at our Roman collars. If you look at their caps you will know by the insignia that they are some of our Rokko students who ride to school on the train. You can always make them out by their neat uniforms and their short cropped hair. They are typical Kansai boys, much more free and gay than boys elsewhere on the islands—and noisier, too. They are the sons of the soldiers who in the Manchurian war were adjudged the most recalcitrant group in the Japanese army; they are also the boys who during the air attacks of the last war used to tear themselves loose from their mothers to run out of the shelters to watch almost gleefully the beautiful dis-

play of fireworks being dropped by the B29's in their mission of destruction. Suddenly one of the youngsters points to the window and beckons us to look outside, for there is Father Hughes, a New Englander and teacher at Rokko, speeding along the highway on his motorcycle—on his way most likely to administer the sacraments on board a transport heading for the Korean waters.

We leave the boys at Kobe Station and continue on to Himeji and then to Okayama where the Scheut Fathers have their mission stations and where the Notre Dame Sisters recently established their college for women. With our arrival in Okayama we have finally entered the Mission Territory of Hiroshima which includes five Prefectures under the supervision of the Vicar Apostolic, a Japanese Jesuit, Monsignor Ogihara. To one who looks at the missions in terms of working alone in the bush, teaching God's words to superstitious pagans, building his own chapel, and running away from "bright lights and landlords," no better paradise can be imagined. Here the missionary lives in the midst of the Japanese least affected by contact with the West except by way of the atom bomb. All told, there are some six and a half million pagans in this area and, besides the Scheut Fathers, there are only thirty Jesuits distributed among the twenty-three mission stations. One might pause to wonder how the gospel will be brought to all these people through the labors of a mere handful of missionaries; but meantime, there is work to be done and there is no time to be given to such disquieting thoughts.

There are only two large churches in this area. One is the Memorial Church of Peace constructed almost on the spot where the Bomb fell. It stands there as the Christian answer as to how true peace can be attained, a monument of salvation and not of destruction. Nearby is located the Novitiate of St. John Goto where fourteen native novices are being trained in the religious life by Father Arrupe, the Basque master of novices. The other church is the Memorial Church of St. Francis Xavier in the City of Yamaguchi and it is here that we shall terminate our journey. Nearby stands a large monument dedicated to Zaberio-sama, as the Japanese call the Basque Saint. This monument was originally built in 1925 by the people of the city to honor the Saint. It consisted of a large cross of granite with the bronze bust of Xavier in the

center and his coat of arms on the back. After the bombing of Pearl Harbor the military confiscated the metal part of the monument for war purposes. But the people of Yamaguchi, though mostly Buddhist, preserved their deep devotion to Zaberio-sama and considered it their duty to restore this memorial. And so after the war when the sacred arm of their Saint was brought to Japan to commemorate the four hundredth anniversary of Xavier's landing on the islands, they took the occasion to build another monument in his honor. Thus, even today Francis Xavier exerts his influence over the people whom he loved so much during his lifetime. We entreat him to continue his care and protection over the Japanese and with this earnest prayer we leave the Modern Xaviers of the Vice Province of Japan, two hundred strong, to continue the work of Zaberio-sama in his favorite mission.

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Roman Breviary for the Society

A Roman Breviary for the use of the Fathers of the Society has recently appeared, beautifully executed on the presses of the pontifical publisher, Marietti. The work, which was spontaneously undertaken by the publisher with Father General's approval, calls for special notice inasmuch as it is the first edition of the Breviary in which the Proper of the Society of Jesus, with its own special feasts and rubrics, has been handily interspersed among the parts of the Breviary common to the whole Church. The book has, besides, a certain elegance and clarity, with suitable repetitions and a convenient arrangement of material, so that the priest is not forced to turn too frequently from one part of the text to another, as he prays.

This report is intended to bring the work to the attention of Ours, and to assure that in some fashion, at least, our gratitude to the courteous and distinguished publisher may be publicly expressed. The Breviary is *not* on sale at the Curia, but at the offices of the publisher.

From MEMORABILIA, S.J.

FATHER HENRY HARRISON

ROBERT A. PARSONS, S.J.

In the will of Peter Dubuc, dated October 14, 1693, we read: "And further I give unto father Smyth, now or late of Talbot County in the Province of Maryland the sum of fifty pounds like silver money."¹ Catholic historians for quite a number of years were much interested in the identity of Father John Smyth, who knew Peter Dubuc so well, and who, as we know by inference, said Mass in Philadelphia earlier than 1693. Martin I. J. Griffin, the editor of the *American Catholic Historical Researches*, was certain that Father John Smyth was an alias for Father Thomas Harvey of the Society, the founder of the New York Mission of the English Jesuits. Father E. I. Devitt was equally convinced that Father John Smyth was Father Henry Harrison of the Society, the assistant of Father Harvey. Father Thomas Hughes in *The History of the Society of Jesus in North America* wrote: "The great character among the Jesuits (in New York) was Fr. John Smith, that is Thomas Harvey."² The authority for this statement was the Researches of Martin Griffin, citing the will of Peter Dubuc of October 14, 1693 bequeathing £50 to Father John Smyth.³

I think that enough time has elapsed since the controversy of Martin Griffin and Father Devitt to ask the question once more: Was John Smith the alias of Father Thomas Harvey, or of Father Henry Harrison?

At the beginning of this study let us put two dates together, the first found in Brother Henry Foley's *Records of the English Province* and the second in the will of the Franciscan, Richard Hobart of Charles County, Maryland. Foley writes, "In the Catalogue of 1685 Father Thomas Harvey is mentioned as being in the Mission of New York, and in the following year he was declared Superior. In 1696 he went into Maryland and died in the same year, *aet.* 71."⁴

The *Jesuit Relations* give a much fuller picture:

Governor Thomas Dongan brought with him to New York (1683) an English Jesuit, Fr. Thomas Harvey, and within a year or two, Fr. Henry Harrison and Fr. Charles Gage also were sent thither. The intention of the English authorities was to counteract the

influence exerted on the Indians by the French Jesuits, and to form a village of Catholic Indians under English influence. They also acted as chaplains to the Governor, and for a time maintained a Latin School. This school was to be the nucleus of a Jesuit College in New York, but all their plans failed, on account of the Revolution in England and the consequent usurpation of the New York government by Jacob Leisler (Dec. 1689). These Jesuits were driven from the colony, but Harvey returned in the following year, and continued his position for several years, until broken health compelled him to return to Maryland where he soon after died.⁵

If we now look at the will of the Franciscan, Richard Hobart of Charles County, Maryland, in the year 1698, we notice that he left personalty to the Jesuits, William Robert Brooke, John Hall, Nicholas Gulick, and John Smith, and to his Franciscan confreres, Christopher Plunkett and Thomas Massey and most probably to two other Franciscans that bore the aliases of John Bredd and Thomas Piper.⁶ Since Father Hobart's will was probated in 1698, and since Father Harvey had died in 1696, it should be apparent that Father Harvey was not Father John Smith. And, since Father Charles Gage was back in England in 1688 and left the Society in 1693,⁷ it should be apparent that the alias Father John Smith fitted the only other Jesuit who was in America at that time, namely Father Henry Harrison. Father Devitt pointed out in his controversy with Martin Griffin that it would be remarkable for Father Harvey to have two aliases, Barton and Smith, and for Father Harrison to have none. Yet for the sake of congruity we can see why Father Harrison should appropriately bear the alias John Smith, because thirty-five years previous in 1650 in England, a namesake, Father Thomas Harrison of the Society, who was judicially murdered at Lancaster Castle,⁸ bore the alias John Smith. Father Henry Harrison of the New York Mission in assuming this alias had a patron in heaven to invoke in time of need and trouble. With this fact established, namely that John Smyth of Peter Dubuc's will was in reality Father Henry Harrison, we can readily see how certain contradictory and disconnected facts concerning the New York Mission and Pennsylvania can be harmonized and put in their proper place.

One of the best guarded secrets of the Jesuit Maryland Mission was the work of the Jesuits among the Indian tribes: the Piscataways (Conoys), Conewagos and the Susquehannas

(Conestogas).⁹ This Mission, as we shall see, lasted continuously from 1634 to 1644. Then it was allowed to lapse and finally was broken up in the Clayborne and Captain Ingle Rebellion. The Indian tribes on both sides of the Susquehanna were Hurons.

Maryland Mission's Apostolate Among the Indians

There are many references to the Maryland Mission's apostolate among the Indians. A *Jesuit Relation* of 1670 mentions the Conestogas, stating that they were instructed and baptized and that some had been found by Fremin who had been instructed by Maryland Fathers.¹⁰ The "Relation" of Father Andrew White is filled with the apostolic work of the Jesuits among the Indian tribes of Maryland. Father Philip Fisher, alias Thomas Copley, later on followed some of them to their new habitat along the Susquehanna River.¹¹ Father Pierron from New France in 1674 recognized that the tribes along the Susquehanna River belonged to the English Assistancy.¹² As we shall see, Father Henry Harrison worked among these Indians for almost ten years. At a council held at Conestogue below Lancaster July 8, 1721, Governor Keith warned the Indians not to be deluded by the Jesuits and interpreters.¹³ Father Joseph Greaton, the founder of the Pennsylvania Mission, started his missionary work among these Indians, 1726-30.¹⁴ In 1744 Father Richard Molyneux, superior of the Maryland Mission, was present with these Indians as interpreter at the important treaty at Lancaster.¹⁵ Father Thomas Diggs from 1742-1752 was vice-superior in the Indian mission known as Susquenock,¹⁶ a territory of the lower Susquehanna River in Maryland and Pennsylvania, where once the all powerful Susquehanna Indians lived.¹⁷

The reason why this apostolic work was such a well guarded secret was because the Indian problem in colonial times was explosive politically. The Colonial Archives of Pennsylvania are filled with the meetings between the governors and the various Indian tribes; at one time with delegations of the conquerors, the Five Nations (later, the Six Nations); at another time with the conquered, the Susquehannas or Conestogas, the Conoys, and the Delawares. The early archives of Massachusetts, New York, Maryland, and Virginia

show the anxiety of the various governors to placate the Indians on their western borders. For, over all the colonies hung a great fear, the fear of the redman converted to Popery by the Jesuits, ready to take up arms for France and drive the English colonists into the sea, or worse, to subject all good Protestants to the See of Rome.¹⁸ The Five Nations, whose center was at Onondaga, New York, were always in a strong position up to the American Revolution, because they held the balance of power between the English and the French. Officially the Five Nations were under the aegis of the English, but emotionally those nearest the English Colonies were pro-British while those nearest New France were pro-French.¹⁹ The Jesuits in Maryland knew how explosive the entire Indian problem was; consequently they hardly ever advertised the work among the Indians of their assistancy. In fact Father Joseph Mosley at a much later date (1774), writing to his sister in England, said, "Indians? We've ne'er a one in any of our congregations, the law forbids us to meddle with them."²⁰ Yet from quite a number of facts and a few letters we can get a rather clear picture of the apostolic work of the Jesuits among the Indians, most of it, as we shall see in a locale that is now part of Pennsylvania, along both sides of the Susquehanna River, from the Blue Mountains to the headwaters of the Chesapeake Bay.²¹

When Thomas Dongan was governor of New York, Sir John Werden left him a memorandum: "Touching Susquehanna River or lands abt or trade in it, wch the Indians convey to you or invite you to, we think you will doe well to preserve yr interest there as much as possible that soe nothing more may goe away to Mr. Penn or either New Jerseys."²²

The Onondaga and Cayuga Sachems on August 2, 1684 spoke to Thomas Dongan:

Wee have putt all our land and our selfs under the protection of the Great Duke of York, the brother of your great Sachem; we have given the Susquehanna River which we wonn with the sword to this Government and desire that it may be a branch of that great tree that grows here, whose topp reaches to the sunn, under whose branches we shall shelter ourselves from the French or any other people, and our fire burning in your houses and your fire burns with us, and we desire that it may always be so, and will not that any of your Penn's people shall settle upon the Susquehanna River; for our young folks or soldiers are like wolfs in the woods, as your

Sachem of Virginia know we having no other land to leave our wives and children.²³

Thomas Dongan said almost the same thing when writing to London:

Further, if Pennsylvania be continued as by Charter, running five degrees to the Westward it will take in most of the five Nations that lye to the Westward of Albany, and the whole Beaver and Peltry Trade of that Place, the consequence whereof will bee the Depopulation of the Government for the people must follow the trade. Those Indians and the people of this Government have been in continual peace and amity one with another these fifty years.²⁴

In this same report Governor Dongan made a distinction between those Indians (the conquered ones) who have been friendly for fifty years, and the conquerors, the Five Nations, whose allegiance was always doubtful. The basis of the Governor's thought and endeavors was the rich peltry trade with these two groups of Indians. William Penn had tried to buy the lands on both sides of the Susquehanna River from the Five Nations but was turned down.²⁵ In the interests of England, Governor Dongan kept three things separated in his mind, his policy towards the Indians on the great River, his dealings with the Five Nations, and especially with the Senecas who lived north of its two great branches, and thirdly his desire to bring back from Canada the race of Catholic Indians who had migrated there when the English captured New York. Along the Susquehanna River he sent two Jesuits to live with the conquered tribes, for on May 2, 1686 he wrote to Monsieur de Denonville, Governor of Canada:

I have had two letters from the two fathers that live among *our* Indians, and I find them somewhat disturbed with an apprehension of warr, which is groundless, being resolved that it shall not begin here, and I hope your present conduct will prevent it there, and refer all differences home, as I shall doe, I hear one of the fathers is gone to you, and 'tother that staid, I have sent for him here lest the Indians should insult over him, 'tho it's a thousand pittys that those that have made such progress in the service of God should be disturbed, and that by the fault of those that laid the foundations of Christianity among these barbarous people.²⁶

And in another letter to De Denonville from Dongan on July 26, 1686 we read: "For my part I shall take all imaginable care that the Fathers who preach the Holy Gospel to

those Indians *over whom I have power* be not in the least ill treated."²⁷

The Catholicity of Governor Dongan's policy towards the evangelization of the conquerors, the Five Nations, is, to say the least, questionable. In dealing with these Indians the peltry trade came first, because of its paramount interest to England; the evangelization came second. As we have just read, he knew that the French Jesuits had evangelized these peoples long before the English conquered the Dutch in New York. And to the English, the Governor included, the French in any form, whether voyageur, explorer, Jesuit or Recollect Missionary, or the Grand Seigneur of Canada, were all enemies and must at all costs be driven out or supplanted. To salve his conscience he chose the latter course, that is, to supplant the French priests with English priests.²⁸ Writing to De Denonville he said:

'Tis true I ordered *our* Indians if they should meet with any of your people or ours on this side of the lake without a passe from you or me that they bring them to Albany.²⁹

I have ordered *our* Indians strictly not to exercise any cruelty or insolence to them (the Missionary Fathers) and have written to the King my Master who hath as much zeal as any prince living to propagate the Christian faith and assure him how necessary it is to send some Fathers to the natives *allied to us* and care would then be taken to dissuade them from their drunken debauches though certainly our Rum doth as little harm as your Brandy and in the opinion of Christians is much more wholesome; however to keep the Indians temperate and sober is very good and Christian performance but to prohibit them all strong liquors seem a little hard and very turkish.³⁰

On June 20, 1687 he wrote to De Denonville: "I am daily expecting Religious men from England which I intend to put among those five nations."³¹

On August 21, 1687 De Denonville pulverized the arguments of Dongan:

When you arrived in your present government did you not find, Sir, in the whole of the 5 Iroquois villages, all our missionaries sent by the King, almost the entire of whom the heretic merchants have caused to be expelled even in your time, which is not honorable to your government. It is only three years since the greater number were forced to leave, the fathers Lamberville alone bore up against the insults and ill treatment they received from the solicitations of your traders. It is not true, Sir, that you panted only to induce

them to abandon their mission? You recollect, Sir, that you took the trouble under the guise of duty, so late as last year, to solicit them by urgent discourses to retire under the pretext that I wished to declare war against the village of the Onontagues. What certainly had you of it, Sir, if it were not the charge and prohibition you had given them not to send the prisoners I demanded of them and they surrendered to me? You foresaw the war I would make, by that which you were desirous of waging against me through them, and which you have waged against me through the Senecas. In this way, Sir, it is very easy to foresee events.³²

On August 22, 1687 Governor de Denonville waxed even more eloquent and devastating when he attacked Governor Dongan's proposal to supplant the French with English priests. He wrote:

I should think, Sir, that you ought to have waited the decision of the differences between our Masters relative to the boundaries, before dreaming of introducing religious men among the Five Nations, your charity, Sir, for the conversion of these people would have been more useful to them or more honorable to you had you commenced by lending your protection to the missionaries they had for the advancement of religion, instead of taking pains to drive them from their missions and prevent them converting the heathen. You cannot deny, Sir, that should our missionaries leave, these poor infidels will be a long time without instruction if they must await the arrival of your religious men, and until these have learned the language.³³

That De Denonville was speaking the truth is proved by Governor Dongan's earlier message to England. In speaking of the French he wrote:

They have fathers still among the five nations aforementioned, viz. the Maquaes, the Sinicaes, Cayouges, Oneides and the Onontagues³⁴ and have converted many of them to the Christian faith, and doe their utmost to draw them to Canada, to which they have already 6 or 700 retired, and more like to doe, to the great prejudice of this Government, if not prevented. I have done my endeavors and have gone so far in it that I have prevailed with the Indians to come back from Canada on condition that I procure for them a peece of land called Serachtague (*Saratoga*) lying upon Hudsons River 40 miles above Albany & there furnish them with Priests. Thereupon and upon a petition of the people of Albany to mee setting forth the reasonableness and conveniency of granting to the Indians their requests I have procured the land for them, altho it had formerly been patented to the people of Albany & have promised the Indians that they shall have Priests & that I will build them a Church & have assured the people of Albany that I

would address to his Maty and to your Lops (*Lordships*) that care may be taken to send over by the first, five or six, it being a matter of great consequence.

These Indians (the Five Nations) have about ten or twelve castles as they term them & those at a great distance one from another; soe that there is an absolute necessity of having soe many priests, that there be three always traveling from Castle to Castle & the rest live with them that are Christians.

By that means the French Priests will be obliged to retire to Canada, whereby the French will be divested of their pretence to ye Country & *then wee shall enjoy that trade without any fear of being diverted.*³⁵

Governor Dongan's dealing with the Five Nations with regard to sending them missionaries fell through, as did his scheme at Saratoga. But the Indians on the lands around the Susquehanna River were evangelized by a Jesuit for almost ten years.

Pertinent Annual Letters

The reason the English Province sent three men to labor among the ten or fifteen Catholics of New York City³⁶ is a fact that is often distorted. Ostensibly it was on account of the ill-starred Latin School of the city,³⁷ but it is apparent that there was a much deeper reason. And this becomes clearer when we analyse the pertinent *Annual Letters of the Maryland Mission*. In passing, the first thing that we notice about certain of these Latin letters is that they were not translated correctly; the second thing that we notice is that their background, political and geographical, taken for granted in those days has disappeared. The English translation often was so deliberately toned down that it gives a completely different sense. The political background is seen in various archives of the Colonies and the geographical is seen, not in our maps, but in those used by the Jesuits of those centuries. For instance the Latin triennial letter which deals with the founding of the Maryland Province was translated as follows into English:

The affair labored under heavy and many difficulties, for in leading the colony to Maryland, by far the greater part were heretics, the country itself *a meridie Virginiae ab Aquilone*, is esteemed likewise to be a New England, that is two provinces full of English Calvinists and Puritans, so that, not less perhaps greater danger threaten our fathers in a foreign, than in the native land

in England. Nor is the Baron himself able to find support for the Fathers, nor can they expect sustenance from the heretics, nor from the Catholics for the most part poor, nor from the savages who live after the manner of wild beasts.³⁸

Here is the literal translation of the same Latin passage:

The expedition labored under neither light nor few difficulties. For since the colony to be brought into Maryland would be for the most part heretical, and since this region would be bounded by Virginia on the south and New England on the north, that is to say two provinces full of English Calvinists and Puritans, not less, but perhaps more difficulties loomed up before our Fathers in an alien England than in England itself. And the Lord Baron could never be budged to donate even one obol for the support of our fathers. And so they could expect a living neither from the heretics separated from the faith, not from the Catholics for the most part poor, nor from the savages living after the manner of beasts.³⁹

There is quite a difference between the first translation and the second. The first is blurred and toned down on purpose; the second shows us two things: first, the attitude of the Jesuits to Lord Baltimore who would not even contribute the smallest possible Jewish coin⁴⁰ to the Mission, and second, the map that the Jesuits had in their libraries, that is, the map of the anonymous *A Relation of Maryland* printed in 1635,⁴¹ which clearly shows Virginia on the south of Maryland and New England on the north. We must remember that neither New York nor Pennsylvania were founded by this time, and accordingly New England was all that territory north of Maryland. With this map before us, that is, the one that the early Jesuits used, a cryptic letter or two of Father Copley written in double talk become crystal clear. He had asked permission from the Very Reverend Father General Mutius Vitelleschi to go to New England and in his letter he used the cryptic words *opus bonae spei*.⁴² Taking the words at their face value one might suspect that Father Copley wanted to evangelize the Puritan Saints of the Charles River, but when we look at the map of *A Relation of Maryland* we notice that the only mentioned inhabitants on the map which shows lower New England were the Susquehannas who lived on both sides of the Susquehanna River. Now we understand what the *opus bonae spei* meant. And in due time the General blesses "the work of good hope."⁴³ With the aid of another letter of Father Copley's and another map we can figure out where

both he and Father Starkey were in 1650 and we can find the exact locale and can make a shrewd guess about the death of Father Copley with the aid of a bit of news that St. Isaac Jogues knew.⁴⁴ However, this leads us too far afield and is the matter of another article. I merely wish to point out that the apostolic labors of the Jesuits along the Susquehanna River is almost as ancient as the founding of the Maryland Mission.

Since this article deals primarily with the work of Father Henry Harrison among these Indians we obtain the proof by the same method outlined above. We have seen already that two priests were working among these Indians.⁴⁵ In the triennial Latin Letter of 1696 we notice the same two purposeful errors: the toned down English translation and the lost background, political and geographical. For the purpose of clarity I shall give the pertinent Latin original. In the first part of the letter the writer describes the work of the Jesuits among the white settlers from the earliest days of the mission. The entire second half deals entirely with their work among the savages. Here is the second part:

Cum aboriginibus, minus quam in votis esset, commercium nec missionem ad eos ullam certam instituere adhuc nostri, quia singuli fere in silvis ferarum more et venationis causa, qua sola aluntur, mutatis frequenter sedibus, degunt sine ullo pago proprie dicto, licet urbes vocent tot hominum intra 5 vel 6 leucarum ambitum degentium numerum eumque qui illis praest regem, qui vere pluribus talibus praesunt imperatores audiunt. Horum unus, plures illorum in primo huius missionis decennio baptizati sunt. Majus cum eis in Novo Eboraco cum eorum 5 gentibus commercium, vendentibus illis pelles ursinas, castoreas aliasque varii generis. Hic septennium exegit unus e nostris, sed ante triennium coactus exire, ut furori cederet uxoris novi gubernatoris, a principe Aurioco submissi, non quidem titulo religionis ejectus sed quod in regis sui legitimi Jacobi obsequium posset multos trahere delatus, in Mari-landiam venit.⁴⁶

Father Hughes, following the original English translation of this letter, writes:

The documentary record of 1696 simply reads: "In New York one of Ours spent seven years, but three years ago he was forced to leave, owing to the fury of the wife of the new governor that had been appointed by the Prince of Orange, not indeed that he was expelled on the plea of religion, but that he had been denounced as capable of bringing many to the service of their legitimate King

James, and so he came to Maryland." As it is quite clear that the Governor, Colonel Fletcher had no need of his wife's interposition to police the province against Jacobites we infer that "the fury of the lady for its political integrity of New York was a screen for something else."

And in a learned footnote Father Hughes infers that the interest of the good lady and the governor was in piracy and in a certain Capt. Kidd in particular.

All through this passage Father Hughes took it for granted that the writer of this letter was speaking about Father Harvey.⁴⁷ If one looks at the Latin original with its balanced sentences and Ciceronian phraseology, it is apparent that the writer was talking about the apostolic work of some New York Jesuit among the Indians. It is clear that the writer was contrasting the work of the early Maryland Jesuits among the Indians with someone in particular (*unus e nostris*) who was doing the same kind of work from a base in New York. In the first ten years (*decennio*) of the Maryland Mission, that is, from 1634-44, one emperor and many Indians were baptised. But there was more fruit amongst these same Indians by one of Ours who labored in New York. *Majus cum eis in Novo Eboraco*, etc., is literally translated. "There was more fruit with those Indians in New York who sold to the Five Nations bear skins and beaver skins and such like." Then follows the connecting words: *Hic septennium exegit unus e nostris*. Here for seven years one of Ours labored. The word *hic* is not New York City, because both the Dutch and the English saw to it that no Indians lived in or near the city. The *decennium* of the early Maryland Mission's apostolic work among the Indians is balanced against two periods of later apostolic work—a *septennium*—and a *triennium* (almost) which would make roughly a second *decennium*. Certainly *ante triennium* does not mean three years ago; the author would have used *tres annos abhinc*. *Ante triennium* means before three years, that is, some time over two years.

The *unus e nostris* who performed almost ten years of apostolic work among the Indians was certainly not Father Harvey. He was much too old for that hazardous and onerous work; the almost ten years amongst the Indians who had no fixed abode would see him on such a mission between his

fiftieth and sixtieth years. Besides this work was going on in 1697-8, two years after Father Harvey was dead.⁴⁸ Consequently he was not the *unus e nostris*. Secondly, it was not Father Charles Gage of the Society; he lasted just two years in New York and went home.⁴⁹ That it was Father Henry Harrison is obtained by the process of elimination. He was the only one left. He was physically fit, just thirty-two years of age when he came to New York in 1684; secondly, when Governor Dongan was negotiating with the Five Nations at Albany in 1687 he did not take Father Harvey with him, he took one who knew the Algonquin dialect, Father Harrison.⁵⁰

Locale of Father Harrison's Labors

The next point to clarify is the locale of Father Harrison's labors. It certainly was not at Saratoga among the Cone-waugha Indians; these Indians refused to come to New York, as is apparent to anyone reading the documents relating to Governor Dongan. When these Indians finally migrated they settled along the Susquehanna River.⁵¹ Neither was Father Harrison working among the Five Nations; we would have learned that from De Denonville or from the *Jesuit Relations*. But as Governor Dongan told the Governor of Canada, he was working with another Father along the Susquehanna River.⁵² The Governor called these Indians "ours" in contradistinction to the Indians of the Five Nations, our allies. The other one working for a while with Father Harrison was Father Charles Gage.

This locale was in perfect harmony with the traditions of the English Province. It certainly is in keeping with the correct translation of the *Letter of 1696*. The author was treating about the same Indians tribes who had once been in Maryland and were now in some spot in New York State, that is, the Susquehanna River. That the French Jesuits recognized the jurisdiction of the English Jesuits over this locale is seen from the following citation from the *Relations*. In 1674 when Father Jean P. Pierron came from his visit to Acadia and Massachusetts to Maryland,

he found two of our English fathers, dressed like seculars, and a brother like a farmer, having charge of a farm which serves to support the two missionaries. They labor successfully for the con-

version of the heretics of the country, where there are in fact many Catholics and among them the Governor. . . . As these two fathers do not suffice Fr. Pierron cheerfully offers to assist them, and at the same time to establish a mission among the neighboring savages with whose language he is familiar. But there are many obstacles in the way of this project which seem incapable of execution; *because this is a mission belonging to Our English Fathers* who should themselves ask Fr. Pierron's aid; because it is in another Assistancy and the Father does not wish to leave that of France, and finally because a considerable sum is needed to commence to carry out the project.⁵³

We notice in 1674 when the English Jesuits had no men to evangelize these Indians, that is, those that lived along the Susquehanna River, that they claimed this territory as being in their own Assistancy and that the French Jesuits respected that claim. Quite a number of these Indians lived below the 40° parallel, which Maryland considered to be in its own territory. If we compare the foregoing account in the *Jesuit Relations* with the English *Letter of 1696* we can readily see that one of the great cares of the English provincials was to send someone "to labor among the neighboring savages." And we have seen that the one destined for that mission in 1684 was Father Henry Harrison.

With this established we can now put a number of facts in their proper order. Henry Harrison was born in Antwerp of English parents in the year 1652.⁵⁴ He entered St. Omers, the Jesuit School in Flanders, about 1666 and in 1673 entered the Society of Jesus as a novice at Watten just three leagues distant.⁵⁵ The Maryland catalogue mentions him in New York, working with Father Harvey in 1684 when he was thirty-two years of age. Here he began the *septennium*, mentioned in the *Annual Letter of 1696*, and labored with the Indians who lived on both sides of the lower Susquehanna River. Looking at the very early maps of Pennsylvania we notice a trail starting from present day Harrisburg running almost due east and ending in upper New Jersey. This was the "forbidden trail" on which no white man or conquered Indian was allowed to enter.⁵⁶ As we learn from Governor Dongan's letter of May 22, 1686, Father Harrison had a companion, Father Charles Gage. When the two men came down from New York they were obliged to pass through Burlington, New Jersey, then over the Delaware River to Bristol, down the

road to Philadelphia. Then they went west along the trail that was to be called the Lancaster Pike, until they came to Conestogue. A little farther they came to Wright's Ferry which took them over the Susquehanna River. As they entered the Conewago Valley it was filled with the conquered tribes, living in the dense forests that grew there.⁵⁷ By this time the Andastes or Susquehannas were a conquered nation. These Andastes, commemorated in the *Jesuit Relations*,⁵⁸ often mentioned in the early *Maryland Archives*,⁵⁹ and spoken of by Father Andrew White in his *Relations*,⁶⁰ were the fiercest of all the eastern Indian tribes. Finally, in 1672 they were conquered, and were now a nation whose members were called Nephews and could make no decisions unless ratified by their Uncles, the Sachems of the Five Nations, whose chief Council Fire was at Onondaga, far to the north over the Endless Mountains.⁶¹ All this territory which was visited later on by Father Joseph Greaton in 1726 from a base on Pipe Creek, a tributary of the Monocacy River, was to be the locale of the Conewago Mission, founded by Father William Wappler in 1742, and consolidated by the giant missionary, Father James Pellentz in 1787.

As we learn from the *Letter of 1696* this mission had no definite site, because the tribes had no fixed abode and had to travel great distances to obtain their food. Then came trouble between the French and the neighboring Indians, the Senecas. As we learn from Dongan's letter, one of the Fathers went to Canada (undoubtedly Father Harrison, because he, being born at Antwerp, knew the French language) and Father Charles Gage was recalled to New York City. In 1687 Father Harrison was at Albany with the Governor dealing with the Five Nations. In 1688 Father Harrison was back with the Indians on the Susquehanna River. On this trip, as he stopped in Burlington, he made the acquaintance of an old classmate at St. Omers, John Tatham, whose alias was John Gray.⁶² John Tatham was a merchant, "locally suspected of being a Roman Catholic,"⁶³ agent for Dr. Daniel Coxe of London (one of the owners of West New Jersey). John Tatham had one of the largest libraries in America⁶⁴ and was known to William Penn as "a Scholar and averse to the Calvinists."⁶⁵ The next stop for Father Harrison was with Peter Dubuc who

lived in a rented house in Philadelphia. He undoubtedly said Mass in both houses. Peter Dubuc, the goldsmith, was quite friendly with the Quakers, and undoubtedly introduced Father Harrison as Father John Smith to them. The Quakers of Philadelphia had quite a number of relatives who lived on the eastern shore and in Ann Arundel County.

Then came the Orange Revolution in England and the imitative Rebellions in 1689 in Maryland under Jack Coode and in New York under Jacob Leisler. Eventually the news of the Revolution got to Father Harrison's ears and he hurried back through Philadelphia and the older Quaker town, Burlington, neither of which felt the shock of the Revolution, and took up his abode with William Pinhorne in Monmouth County, New Jersey.⁶⁶ The little flock of Catholics in New York scattered to the neighboring state or even farther, to Pennsylvania. And the ex-Governor went into hiding.

After Colonel Dongan was relieved of his commission as Governor, April 22, 1688,⁶⁷ he retired to his estate at Hempstead.⁶⁸ He evidently thought it safer to be in America than in England with a triumphant William of Orange on the throne. However, when Jacob Leisler seized power for himself in New York City on May 31, 1689, Colonel Dongan became a "hunted man" as one of his contemporaries wrote.⁶⁹ On July 9, 1689 Dongan put to sea in the brigantine that he owned, but soon put back to shore on account of seasickness.⁷⁰ Among the wild rumors going the rounds in New York was the story that Colonel Dongan had an arsenal on his estate. There evidently was some truth to that story. A quite plausible theory is that when he left his estate on July 9, he took a number of rifles and blunderbusses down the Sound, around New Jersey and up the Delaware Bay to John Tatham's house in Burlington, because in the latter's inventory of goods is included a considerable number of rifles and blunderbusses that does not fit into John Tatham's role as a scholar. Pretty well authenticated is the fact that Colonel Dongan was in New Jersey during the early part of 1690, for Mr. Van Cortland, writing to Sir Edmund Andros, said: "Governor Dongan was confined in his house at Hemstede, but is gone to New Jersey."⁷¹ Colonel Bayard hinted strongly that Colonel Dongan had a number of guns aboard his brigantine for he wrote:

I have been aboard myself and see; she is loaded with pipe-staves and flowers and designed for Madeira; as for the Guns the Captain told me that if I would give him security, that if he was taken by the Turk or any of his people to redeem them, that then he would leave his guns, but I thought that might cost possibly three or four thousand pounds if such a thing should fall out and would not venture to give such security, and the guns are his own and I could not take any man's goods by force beside the Captain swears that if any come aboard, he will cut them over the pate or knock their brains out.⁷²

Escape from America

Although Father Harrison was reported in Ireland in 1690 and Colonel Dongan in London in 1691, circumstantial evidence points to the fact that the ex-Governor and his Chaplain went to Ireland in the same ship. Dongan had many reasons for going to Ireland; Father Harrison had none. Dongan's uncle, Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel, had been made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on January 17, 1687. John Evelyn in his diary, a book that has all the marks of having been doctored years after the recorded events, wrote this entry: "17 Jan. 1687. Lord Tyrconnel gone to succeed the Lord Lieutenant (Clarendon) in Ireland, to the astonishment of all sober men and to the evident ruin of the Protestants of that kingdom, as well as of its great improvements going on."⁷³

On October 24, 1687 Dongan wrote to James II: "May it pleas your Majestie: Since Judge Palmer went away, I received a letter from the Earl of Tyrconnel, wherein he lets me know it will be requisite for your Majesties service that I goe home."⁷⁴

And home to Dongan meant Ireland, for he was born at Castletown in County Kildare in 1634. "His father was Sir John Dongan, a member of the Irish Parliament. His mother Mary was a member of the distinguished Talbot family."⁷⁵

When we start investigating the avenues of escape from America in those days for persons who were hunted by the intolerant governments, we notice that there were only two ports where one could ship out in comparative safety, Philadelphia and Burlington. Judging from the way that the people of Boston treated Sir Edmund Andros immediately after the Orange Revolution, we can rule that port out as one of

the avenues of escape to Europe.⁷⁶ Then too with Jacob Leisler watching every ship that left New York we know that Dongan would have little chance of putting out to sea from that harbor. In Maryland the situation was just as impossible. When Jack Coode, the ex-Anglican minister, suddenly flowering out in a Colonel's uniform on July 25, 1689,⁷⁷ took control of the Province he gave orders that no ship was to leave Maryland except in convoy.⁷⁸ We notice that Henry Darnall managed to ship out on the *Thomas* and *Susanna* (Captain Thomas Everard, Commander) by subterfuge, but he seems to have been the only one who escaped to England.⁷⁹ When he found it impossible to leave Maryland for England he first went to Philadelphia and missed shipping from that port⁸⁰ and then came back to Ann Arundel County. He wrote: "On the 26 of September when (Majr Sewall then being sick) I myself got a passage hither in one Everard."

The Quakers of Philadelphia and Burlington were extraordinarily uninterested in the accession to the throne of King William; consequently neither town was rocked with rebellion. Their Majesties, William and Mary, were officially announced as occupying the throne of England, and after the announcement the Quakers went quietly about their business.

From the *Annual Letters of Maryland, Series of 1685-1690* we learn that because of the Rebellion in New York a Father walked from that city to Maryland. This was Father Thomas Harvey, the superior of the New York Mission. He was back again in New York in the following year as we learn from the *Jesuit Relations*,⁸¹ and consequently we have another reason showing that Father Harvey was not Father Smith of Talbot County, Maryland. Father Harvey met Peter Dubuc of Philadelphia in 1689 and again in the following year, 1690, when he was returning to New York. In 1693 he certainly was not Father John Smith, late of Talbot County, Maryland. If Peter Dubuc were writing of Father Harvey in his will he would have mentioned him as of New York or late of New York. Father Harvey stayed in or near New York until he finally retired to Maryland in 1696 to die. In the same *Annual Letter* we also read that the other Father, "after many perils of the sea, even being captured and robbed of his possessions by Dutch pirates, eventually came safely to France."⁸²

John Tatham was part owner of the sloop *Unitie* with James Johnston of Monmouth County, New Jersey. This ship carried tobacco from Maryland and Virginia to England.⁸³ And since John Tatham was such an ardent Jacobite and good Catholic, I think it safe to say that the two priests, Father Harrison and Father Harvey, accompanied Colonel Dongan to Burlington, that Father Harrison and the Colonel shipped out of that port to Ireland, and that Father Harvey went the rest of the way by foot to Maryland. The only reason why Father Harrison should go to Ireland was to accompany the ex-Governor since he still considered himself to be his chaplain. After the two landed in Ireland, Father Harrison took ship for Flanders and was captured by Dutch pirates. On February 2, 1691 he took his last vows⁸⁴ and in the following year he was back in Maryland ready to being the *triennium* among his beloved Indians.

On October 21, 1692 Governor Benjamin Fletcher, Esquire, who was in charge of the Colony of New York was also appointed over the Proprietary of Pennsylvania.⁸⁴ The new governor like so many others that came from England was busily engaged in making his fortune at the expense of the colony. His successor, Richard, Earl of Bellomont, proved that fact through many dreary pages of dispatches sent to the Lords of Trade and Plantations in England.⁸⁵ Fletcher was noted for his inordinate vanity which everyone except himself recognized. When the French and Indians fell on the hapless hamlet of Schenectady, Fletcher got up a leisurely expedition against the marauders and when he arrived on the scene the enemy was not in sight. Immediately the Indians of the Five Nations gave him a nickname: *Cajenquiragoe*, Lord of the Great Swift Arrow,⁸⁶ which one of his white contemporaries said was, "design'd as a droll on the man and his vain glory . . . the Indians bestowed that name on him as a sarcasticall pun." After receiving the forced praise of the people of Albany, coming home to New York and receiving a gold cup worth £120, which was never paid for, he composed a pamphlet entitled, "A Journal of the late actions of the French at Canada with the manner of their being repulsed by His Excellency Benjamin Fletcher, their Majesties' Governor of New York, impartially related by Colonel Nicholas Reyard and Lieutenant Colonel Charles Lodowick who attended his

Excellency during the entire expedition," which was printed in London for Richard Baldwin in 1693.

The other interest of Benjamin Fletcher was in the establishment of Trinity Church in New York.⁸⁹ He was ably assisted in this by his wife. A bone of contention was the "King's Farm" outside New York City, which was given to the Vestry of Trinity Church by Fletcher. The proceeds of the King's Farm had been set aside for the Latin School run by the Jesuits in New York. Governor Dongan had made this assignment but was told by James II to annul it. Fletcher's attachment to the new church was called into question by a contemporary who wrote:

After this all you will perhaps wonder when I tell you that this mans bell rings twice a day for prayers and that he appears with a great affectation of piety, but this is true, and it is as true that it makes him all the more ridiculous, not more respected. For we are a sort of a downright blundering people that measure mens piety by their practice than by their pretence to it, or ostentation of it.⁹⁰

The church wardens, however, were of a different opinion,

for Colonel Fletcher, by his great zeal, generous liberality, and indefatigable industry in the latter part of his government brought so far to perfection that before his departure, he was divers time present (to his own and the general satisfaction of the lovers of the English Church and Nation) at the public worship of God, of which (if we must not say he was the sole founder) it is an offence of truth and an injustice to him not to affirm that he was the principal promoter, a most liberal benefactor to it, and that without him to this day it never had had a being.⁹¹

His attachment to the Anglican religion is shown in the following:

When Governor Fletcher also took over the Proprietary of Pennsylvania he tried to make the Church of England the established church, but Wm. Penn blocked him by writing the following letter: "I hope Lord Somers with the other great and just men will easily think that it was never intended that Pennsylvania should be a church plantation."⁹²

One of the great preoccupations of the Anglican Church in New York was to send their own missionaries to the Indians and it was either over this fact or the possession of the revenues of the King's Farm that Father Harrison ran afoul of the wife of Governor Fletcher. In reading over the *Annual*

Letter of 1696 we notice that he was driven out of the Indian mission along the Susquehanna River, not by the title of religion because that would have alienated the Catholic Indians there, but because of a serious political charge, namely, that he would turn all the Indians there into Jacobites, who in turn would be a menace to all the colonies. Certainly the author of the *Annual Letter* was not talking about the ten New York Catholics of 1696 becoming Jacobites and thus being a serious threat to the Colony.⁹³

Father Harrison Recalled

When the English Provincial heard of this second failure of the Indian mission he recalled Father Harrison from Maryland and sent him as English Penitentiary to the Holy House at Loreto in Italy.⁹⁴ Father Harrison's health was never too good; and the Provincial thought that a more benign climate would be beneficial to the missionary. While Father Harrison was in Italy the Holy See became interested in the faculties that the Jesuit Fathers used in Maryland. In answering a questionnaire sent him by Father Francis Porter (Rome), Father Harrison said:

All the aforesaid countries and islands are under the heretical Bishop of London. When I was sent by my Superior to those missions, there was not as yet any English Catholic Bishop. Afterwards, four such were created under the Catholic King, James. But to which one of them the aforesaid countries are subject, I do not know. At all events, when I was on those missions, there was no Vicar Apostolic there; but all the missionaries depended upon their regular Superiors alone.⁹⁵

Towards the end of the year 1695 Father Thomas Harvey, broken in health returned to Maryland and died in the following year. When news of his death was received in England, Father Harrison was recalled from Italy and once more was sent to Maryland.⁹⁶

Before Father Harrison returned to Maryland he went to London and sought out Colonel Dongan and told him the whole story about the Indian Mission and how the wife of Governor Fletcher was the principal cause of his expulsion from the lands on the Susquehanna. Now Colonel Dongan had an extreme dislike for William Penn and resisted all efforts towards Penn's acquisition of the lands along the Susque-

hanna. But on January 12, 1696 Colonel Dongan had a change of heart. The Catholic missions came first now. The interests of England in the fur trade and the integrity of the Province of New York came second. He made the *amende honorable*; he deeded the entire territory to William Penn for the trifling sum of £100 and a peppercorn rent for the next thousand years. In this way he had his revenge on Governor Fletcher and his wife at the expense of his animosity to William Penn.⁹⁷

Father Harrison returned to Maryland in 1697 to find the Jesuits once more established on their lands. In 1698 Father Hobart the Franciscan died on his estate in Charles County and, as we have seen, remembered Father Harrison in his will. When Father Harrison returned to the Indian Mission on the Susquehanna River he was surprised to learn that the Indians of the Five Nations did not recognize the deed of Colonel Dongan to William Penn.⁹⁸ The Sachems of the Five Nations considered that the Susquehanna Indians were incapable of selling these lands in the first place because they were a conquered people, and secondly they had merely given them to Dongan in trust. Still Father Harrison continued working among these peoples, returning once in a while to Maryland. We get the last glimpse of him in a letter of John Talbot, rector of St. Mary's Church, to Richard Gillingham, dated November 24, 1702. As usual the news was a little late but it was authentic.

The papists have been zealous and diligent to send priests and Jesuits to convert the Indians to their superstitions; 'tis wonderfully acted, ventured and suffered upon that design; they have indeed become all things, and even turned Indians as it were to gain them, which I hope will provoke some of us to do our part for our holy faith and mother, the Church of England. One of their priests lived half a year in their wigwams (i.e., houses) without a shirt and when he petitioned Lord Bellomont for a couple he was not only denied but banished. Whereas one of ours in Discourse with My Lord of London said "who did his Lordship think would come thither that had a dozen shirts."⁹⁹

Father Harrison's Death

We now put the last pieces of the puzzle in their proper place and we have the complete picture. The Maryland Cata-

logue for 1700 speaking of Father Harrison says, "He was on his way but nothing has been heard of him," and in 1701 it records his death without mentioning the day or place, "Aet. 49."¹⁰⁰ If we look at the Latin text we get another picture: "De P. Henrico Harrison qui eo tendebat nihil adhuc audimus."¹⁰¹ Father Hughes thought that the phrase *qui eo tendebat* meant that he was coming from England to the Maryland Mission, but such a conclusion could not be correct. The Maryland Catalogue places Father Harrison in Maryland in 1697, the will of Father Hobart proves him there in 1698, and the letter of John Talbot shows that he was working along the Susquehanna a little later. The Latin phrase *qui eo tendebat* was one of those cryptic phrases understood by every Jesuit in England—it meant he was on his way *there*, that is, to the secret Indian Mission of the Jesuits along the Susquehanna River.

In the following year his death is recorded not by a question mark but by a period. If the Jesuits were not certain of that fact they would never have given the year of his death as a fact. In a learned article by Anna Dill Gamble entitled, *An Ancient Mission among a Great People*, we learn that the Jesuits in Maryland were often in touch with their confreres in New France by Indian runners who travelled from St. Thomas' in Maryland to Quebec to obtain faculties and holy oils from the Archbishop.¹⁰² Undoubtedly one of these runners brought news of the death of Father Harrison in 1700. In the Georgetown University Library is a *Manuale Sacerdotum* according to the Salisbury rite, which the English Jesuits used in England and in Maryland. At the beginning of the book on ten blank pages, the Our Father, Hail Mary, the creed, the gloria, the ten commandments, and three precepts of the Church are written by hand in English and translated into an Algonquin dialect. This book undoubtedly was brought back to St. Thomas' along with the chalice and patten and his vestments as a mute and sure testimony of Father Harrison's death in 1700, so that the next year's Maryland Catalogue could record his demise with certainty. If he was murdered by the Twightwees (Miamis), a tribe that had advanced to the headwaters of the Potomac River and was always a source of apprehension to the authorities of Maryland and

Pennsylvania, he emulated his namesake, Father John Smith, the alias of Father Thomas Harrison who was judicially murdered at Lancaster Castle in 1650.

In closing this article we notice that none of the horrors of the wars between the Five Nations and the Catawbas took place in the Conewago Valley; neither did any of the greater horrors of the aftermath of the French and Indian War take place in these parts. The Catholic Indians, though a conquered race, always striving for their independence from the domination of the Five (Six) Nations, respected too much the memory of the great Jesuit who labored so long among them and whose peaceful spirit hovered over the lands of the Susquehanna.

NOTES

¹*American Catholic Historical Researches* in the future will be referred to by its initials ACHR. Vol. 14, pp. 177-78 gives the entire will. Vol. 15, pp. 65-68 gives the controversy between Martin Griffin and Father Devitt, S.J.

²Thomas Hughes, S.J., *The History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, Vol. 2, p. 148. Henceforth, *The History of the Society of Jesus in North America* will be referred to as Hughes, Text or Documents.

³Hughes, Text, Vol. 2, p. 151, note 8.

⁴*Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, Part the First, p. 343. Henceforth, referred to as Foley, Collectanea.

⁵*Jesuit Relations*, Thwaites, Vol. 64, p. 280.

⁶*The Maryland Calendar of Wills*, composed and edited by James Baldwin, Vol. II, from 1685 to 1702, p. 162. Henceforth, referred to as Md. Wills, Baldwin.

Hobart, Richard, Chas Co.

7 May, 1698

14 June, 1698

To William Hunter, Robert Brookes, John Hall, Nicholas Dewlick, Christopher Plunkett, George Tubman*, each child of Maj. Wm. Boarman** to son (unnamed) of Anthony Piper, Mary Benson, Leonard Brooke and his wife, and to Ann Brooke and their hrs. personalty.

Exs. Anthony Neale, Wm. Boarman, Benj. Hall.

*Father Hobart was a very charitable individual. George Tubman was the Anglican rector of Portobacco. Dr. Bray at his visitation had this to say about this divine. "Lastly as to place; it so happens that you are seated in the midst of Papists, nay within two miles of Mr. Hunter, the chief among the numerous priests at this time in this province; and who, I am credibly informed by the most considerable gentlemen in these parts, has made that advantage

of your scandalous life, that there have been more perversions made to Popery in that part of Maryland, since your polygamy has been the talk of the country than in all the time it has been an English colony." Hughes, Text, Vol. 2, p. 443; see also note 18.

Nicholas Gulick was dismissed from the Society in 1696. (Hughes, Vol. 2, p. 681.)

**Major William Boarman had a Catholic chapel on his plantation in Charles County. Hughes, Text, Vol. 2, p. 450. Md. Wills, Baldwin, Vol. III, p. 140. One should not confuse the John Smith (Catholic) of Charles County who died in 1705 (Md. Wills, Vol. III, p. 71) with the John Smith who is numbered among the Jesuits and Franciscans of this Will. Father Hobart, noted for his charity, would not purposely exclude Father Harrison, who was at St. Thomas' 1697-8, and include in his will the polygamous Anglican divine, George Tubman.

⁷Hughes, Text, Vol. 2, p. 683.

⁸Foley, Collectanea, Part the Second, p. 914; also recorded in *Records*, Vol. 1, pp. 664-5.

⁹The names in brackets are the Pennsylvania names for the same tribes.

¹⁰Gilmary Shea, *Catholic Missions*, p. 291.

¹¹Cf. note 60 of this article.

¹²Cf. note 53 of this article.

¹³*Colonial Records*, Pennsylvania, Vol. 3, pp. 129-30.

¹⁴The author has another article on Father Joseph Greaton, S.J., showing how he started his apostolic labors among these Indians from the plantation of James Carroll, called "Pork Hall" situated on Pipe Creek, one of the tributaries of the Monocacy River.

¹⁵This is recorded in the Memorial to the Earl of Halifax. See ACHR, Vol. 9, p. 42. "The Maryland Memorial to the Earl of Halifax states that during the treaty of June and July 1744 the Superior of the Maryland Jesuit Mission, Father Richard Molyneux, S.J., was in Lancaster with the Indians. He had been brought there evidently by the Proprietary of Pennsylvania and had been frequently at Worrall's Inn consulting with the Pennsylvania Commissioners."

¹⁶Hughes, Text, Vol. 2, p. 691. Father Thomas Digges, S.J. (1749) "in Susquehanock", 1750 "in Sequanock" V. Superior, 1752 "in Sequanock Superior."

¹⁷Consult map in *Narratives of Early Maryland*, Clayton Colman Hall (Chas. Scribner, N. Y. 1910).

¹⁸This expression is seen verbatim in almost every non-Catholic controversial booklet or broadside of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There must be somewhere in England a master copy of anti-catholic propaganda of the sixteenth century which told all good Protestants what was the proper thing to say when talking about the Catholic Church.

Colonial Records, Pennsylvania, Vol. 3, p. 441. "August 26, 1732. At a meeting with Tyoninhogoron and other chiefs, the Proprietor,

Governor and others being present, the chiefs say that the French priests and *others* that come among them speak nothing but Peace to them."

¹⁹For fuller information on this subject *vide* Conrad Weiser, *Friend of Colonist and Mohawk*, by Paul A. W. Wallace; Phila., University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945.

²⁰*Records of the Cath. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. 17, p. 259. On Oct. 3, 1774 there were no Indians on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, where Father Mosley worked. They had all started migrating to Pennsylvania from the year 1690 to 1709. *Vd. Arch. of Maryland, Proceedings of Council*, 1687/8-1693, p. 181.

²¹See Deed of Thomas Dongan to William Penn, described later on in this chapter. Cf. note 97.

²²*New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. 3, p. 350.

²³*Ibid*, p. 417.

²⁴*Ibid*, p. 393.

²⁵*Ibid*, p. 418.

²⁶*Ibid*, pp. 455-6.

²⁷*Ibid*, p. 460.

²⁸*Ibid*, p. 440.

²⁹*Ibid*, p. 463.

³⁰*Ibid*, p. 463.

³¹*Ibid*, p. 465.

³²*Ibid*, pp. 467-8.

³³*Ibid*, pp. 471-2.

³⁴"The Mohawks, keepers of the eastern door, were a part of the Five Nations Confederacy (the Iroquois) whose chief towns and council fires dotted the forest along the Ambassador's Road between the Hudson River and Niagara. From east to west first the Mohawks, properly the Caniengas, the People of the Flint-Mohawk being a name given to them in derision by their enemies, the Delawares, whose nation, having originated the League, was known as the Eldest Brother; then the Oneidas, or People of the Standing Stone; the Onondagas, or People of the Mountain; the Cayugas, the Great-Pipe People, and the Senecas, or people of the Great Hill." Conrad Weiser, Wallace, p. 19.

³⁵*New York Colonial Manuscripts*, Vol. 3, pp. 393-5.

³⁶*New York Colonial Manuscripts*, Vol. 4, p. 166.

"In obedience to Yr Excell Comds I doe returne a List of the Roman Catholicks in the City of New Yorke, which are:-

Majr Anthony Brockholes*** Peter Cavilier John Fenny*

Mr. Thomas Howarding John Cooly Phillip Cunningham

John Caveleir Christiane Lowrence

Mr. William Douglas** signed Pr Will. Merrett Mayr."

*John Fenny (on page 310 same Vol.) was a Popish taylor and a beggar on May, 1698 according to Richard, Earl of Bellomont, Gov. N. Y., noted for his dealings with Capt. Kidd. See pp. 470 and 762—articles of agreement.

**Mr. William Douglas bought land in Cecil County, Maryland. See author's article on Father Thomas Mansell, S.J.

***Majr Anthony Brockholes retired to N. J. *Idem*, Vol. 3, pp. 657, 721.

³⁷*New York Colonial Manuscripts*, Vol. 4, p. 490. Report of Bellomont to the Lords of Trade, April 13, 1699. "Besides Mr. Attorney Generall assures me that in Colonel Dongan's time, he, to make his court to King James, desires this farm might be appropriated to the maintenance of a Jesuit School; but King James (bigot though he was) refused, saying he would not have his Governors deprived of their conveniencies." Bellomont had been trying to get this farm (the King's Farm) for himself, but his predecessor Fletcher had given the same to the Trustees of Trinity Church. See also Hughes, Text, Vol. 2, p. 147.

³⁸Foley, Series VII, p. 364.

³⁹The Latin text is in Hughes, Documents, Vol. I, p. 178.

⁴⁰See Ezechiel, Chap. 45, v. 12. "And the sicle hath twenty obols. Now twenty sicles and five and twenty sicles, and fifteen sicles make a mna."

⁴¹This booklet is very rare. There are only two copies known to exist, one in the British Museum and the other in the New York Public Library, 5th Ave. and 42nd St., New York.

⁴²Hughes, Documents, Vol. 1, p. 31. "Quoad excursionem attinet Rae Vae in Novam Angliam non habeo ego quod opponam. Perpendat ipsa diligenter difficultatem operis suis cum consultoribus, et si *rei bene gerendae spes* affulgeat per me licebit."

Hughes, Text, Vol. 2, p. 24. "In the month of February, leaving Starkey there to undertake 'a work of good promise' (*opus bonae spei*) Copley penetrated into Maryland."

⁴³In March, 1648 Copley reported to the General (Documents, Vol. 1, pp. 128-9.) "Iter terrestre per silvas jam nuper apertum est duorum dierum a Marilandia in Virgineam, ita ut in una missione jam comprehendi potest utraque regio," i.e., Virginia and Maryland. In a footnote pp. 24-25, Text, Vol. 2. As to the road lately opened "a two day's journey," compare Mobberly. "From St. Inigoes house (on St. Mary's River) to the Potomac is supposed to be five miles, the distance from the said house to the Virginia shore, twelve or fifteen. This led us to believe that the new road was from Potomac to Jamestown in Virginia. The Rev. E. I. Devitt, S.J., is of the opinion that the road was from Maryland on the eastern shore to Accomac; that in Accomac Father Rigbie had died; that there too Fathers Starkey and Copley lay hid and subsequently ended their days."

N.B. Both of these theories do not stand on a firm foundation because both Father Hughes and Father Devitt were using the English translation in Brother Foley's Records. "*Iter terrestre per silvas*" is not a road; it is an Indian trail. This trail was the Monocacy Trail opened up by the Seneca Indians in their wars against the Tuscororas and the Catawbias in the Carolinas. This Indian trail started at Wright's ferry, down through Conewago, along the Monocacy River, over the Potomac at "Patriomeck" (on the Map of the *Relation*) or Potowomeck on John Smith's map of 1606. It was to this place on

the upper Potomac that the Piscataway Indians had fled after one of the incursions of the Susquehannas. Therefore from some place on the Susquehanna River to Potowomeck in Virginia the journey was two days; from the same place Father Copley could reach lower Maryland in two days along the trail that came through Deer Creek. It was to the same place, Pottowomec (Harper's Ferry) in Virginia, that the Jesuits fled in 1655-6 after the Battle of Providence. At Accomac they would not have been safe; besides they could have obtained wine at the Inn; but at Potowomeck they would have been safe and would obtain no wine. The scenery given in the Latin letter *vasta flumina* shows that there were at least two rivers. The two rivers that meet at Harper's Ferry are the Potomac and the Shenandoah.

⁴⁴*Catholic Missions*, Gilmory Shea, last chapter.

⁴⁵Cf. notes 26 and 27.

⁴⁶Hughes, Documents, Vol. I, p. 140.

⁴⁷Hughes, Text, Vol. 2, p. 152.

⁴⁸Hughes, Text, Vol. 2, p. 682.

⁴⁹Hughes, Text, Vol. 2, p. 683. "1686-1687, in N. Y.; 1688 back in England; left S.J., 1693."

⁵⁰*Thomas Dongan, Colonial Governor of New York, 1683-1688*; by Rev. Joseph Patrick Phelan, M.A., Litt.D.; LL.D., P. J. Kenedy & Sons, p. 67. "Fr. Harrison accompanied the Governor to Albany in 1687 and spent the winter there."

⁵¹*Conewago Collections*, by John T. Reily, p. 1049. "The Indians that gave our Conewago its name were refugees from this old St. Lawrence Mission country, of a tribe at war with and conquered by the Five Nations—not native dwellers of this section, but hidiers from Iroquois vengeance."

⁵²Cf. note 26.

⁵³*Jesuit Relations*, Thwaites, Vol. LIX, pp. 72-74.

⁵⁴Foley, Collectanea, Part First, p. 335; Hughes, Text, Vol. 2, p. 682.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*

⁵⁶One of the authorities on the Indians of Pennsylvania and the Six Nations is Mr. Paul A. W. Wallace, Annville, Pa. In his forthcoming book he will discuss the various trails of the Indians in these parts. According to him there were various trails for different purposes, war, vacation, hunting, and the other secret trail known as the Forbidden Trail.

⁵⁷*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 24, pp. 469-470. "Letters of the Rev. Richard Locke of the Society of Propagating the Gospel in Foregin Parts" by Benjamin F. Owen. The Rev. Locke in 1746-1752, talking about Conewago, wrote: "There is a public Popish Chappel supplied by the same Jesuite as supplys Lancaster with abundance of Papists, but as the whole Country is one continued wood, tis impossible to find out the number of ym."

⁵⁸That this fort was there we learn from John Smith's map of 1606, and from Augustine Herrman's map of 1670. That the fort was destroyed we learn from Thornton Seller's map of 1681. For a fuller

description see Miss Anne Dill Gamble's article in *Records of American Catholic Historical Society*. "An ancient mission among a great people," Vol. 60, p. 125 seq. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. XXXIII—*vd.* Father Ragenau 1647, Father Jerome Lalemont's description of these people in same volume.

⁵⁹In 1652 the authorities of Maryland made an alliance with these peoples.

⁶⁰Hughes, Documents, Vol. I, p. 104. *Sasquehanoes, gens bellis assueta, etc.*

⁶¹Conrad Weiser, Wallace, *passim* in dealing with relationship of conqueror to conquered. For the "Endless Mountains" see Lewis Evans, Map. A Map of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York and the Three Delaware Counties: by Lewis Evans, MDCCXLIX.

⁶²The names of the students at St. Omers from the beginning have been lost, however, the names of the first five students in their class standing are extant, and among these is John Gray. Extract of letter of Father H. Chadwick, S.J., archivist, Stonyhurst College, England. "The other John Gray was in Figures in 1661 (perhaps came that year?) and in Grammar in 1663; if he went on normally to Rhetoric he would have left at the end of the school year 1666-1667."

⁶³*Burlington Court Book of West New Jersey, 1680-1709*, edited by H. Clay Reed and Charles J. Miller, The American Historical Society, Washington, D.C., 1944, p. lii.

⁶⁴See author's forthcoming article on John Tatham. See *Records of American Catholic Historical Society*, Vol. VI, pp. 117-133.

⁶⁵*ACHR*, Vol. 20, p. 166.

⁶⁶*New York Historical Documents*, Vol. 4, p. 398.

⁶⁷*N.Y. Colonial Manuscripts*, Vol. 3, p. 550.

⁶⁸*Ibid*, p. 655.

⁶⁹*Ibid*, p. 721. "Coll: Dongan has been hunted by the sd Leysler from place to place and last come hither, where I hope he may be quiet." This letter was dated May 26, 1690, Boston.

⁷⁰*Ibid*, p. 595.

⁷¹*Ibid*, p. 716.

⁷²*Documentary History of New York*, O'Callaghan, 4 Vols. Albany, 1849-50. Vol. 2, p. 30.

⁷³*Diary*, John Evelyn, p. 272.

⁷⁴*New York Colonial Manuscripts*, Vol. 3, p. 492.

⁷⁵*Thomas Dongan, Governor of New York* by Rev. John H. Kenedy, p. 14.

⁷⁶Governor Andros, by no means a Catholic, was kept a prisoner for quite some time in Boston. Thomas Newton, writing to Captain Nicholson, expressed his doubts about the safety of Colonel Dongan in Boston. Cf. note 69.

⁷⁷"The Declaration of the reason and motive for the prest appearing in arms on His Majtys Protestant Subjects in the Province of Maryland" was signed by John Coode and his associates on July 25, 1689.

Archives of Maryland, Proceedings of the Council, 1687/8-1693, pp. 101-7.

⁷⁸*Ibid.* p. 197 Nicholson to Coode. "I am alsoe to give you notice tht in persuance of His Majesties commands, that noe shippes be permitted to goe for Europe but in Fleets etc." p. 187—same to same—"hope you will take care that noe Shippes or Vessells be permitted to sayle from thence until the 24th of July next."

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, p. 175.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, p. 157.

⁸¹Cf. note 5. "But all their plans failed on account of the Revolution in England and the consequent usurpation of the New York government by Jacob Leisler (Dec. 1689). These Jesuits were driven out of the colony, but Harvey returned in the following year, and continued his position for several years, until broken health compelled him to return to Maryland where he soon after died."

⁸²Documents, Vol. 1, p. 138. "Alter in Marylandiam pedestri itinere profectus est; alter, post multa maris discrimina, a piratis etiam Hollandis captus et spoliatus, tandem incolumis in Galliam pervenit."

⁸³*New Jersey Archives, Calendar of New Jersey Records*. First Series, Vol. XXI, p. 221. "June" 15, 1691. Bond. John Tatham and James Johnston, owners of the sloop *Unitie* to Matthias de Hart, master thereof, to hold him harmless in regard to his freight of tobacco." On page 260, *ibid.*, we learn that James Johnston lived in Monmouth County. Foley, *Collectanea*, Part the First, p. 335, speaking of Henry Harrison: "In 1690 the same Catalogue (Maryland) records him as in Ireland."

⁸⁴Foley, *Collectanea*, Part the First, p. 335.

⁸⁵*New York Colonial Manuscripts*, Vol. 3, pp. 860-1.

⁸⁶*New York Colonial Manuscripts*, Vol. 4, *passim*.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, p. 222.

⁸⁹*Ibid.* For this item see *New York Colonial Manuscripts*, pp. 463, 473, 483, 813.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 224.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, pp. 526-7.

⁹²*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 73, p. 367.

⁹³See note 46.

⁹⁴Foley, *Collectanea*, Part the First, p. 335. "On April, 1695 he left Rome for Loreto to take the place of Fr. Philip Wright there as English Penitentiary."

⁹⁵*Dublin Review*, No. 134, 1904, p. 68. "The London Vicariate Apostolic and the West Indies" by Rev. Thomas Hughes, S.J. Father Hughes also treats at length on this subject in *Text*, Vol. 2, Chap. XVIII, p. 567 seq. The citation of Father Harrison to Father Francis Porter is found in *Propaganda Archives*. America, Antille, I. f. 287.

⁹⁶Foley, *Collectanea*, Part the First, p. 335. "In 1697 he reappears in Maryland."

⁹⁷Deed of Thomas Dongan to William Penn, January 12, 1696.

The tract of land lying upon both sides of the River commonly

known by the name of the Susquehanna River and the lakes adjacent: in or near the Province of Pennsylvania in America beginning with the Mountains or head of the said River and running as far as into the Bay of Chesapeake with all isles etc. which the said Thomas Dongan lately purchased of or had given him by the Sinneca Susquehanna Indians. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. 1664-1747, p. 121.

⁹⁸Conrad Weiser, Wallace. Canasatego speaking, "We have had your deeds interpreted to us and we acknowledge them to be good and valid, and that the Conestogoe or Susquehannah Indians had a right to sell those lands to you, for they were then theirs, but since that time we have conquered them, and their country now belongs to us, and the Lands we demanded satisfaction for, are no part of the lands comprized in those deeds."

⁹⁹Hills, *History of the Church in Burlington, New Jersey*, p. 27.

¹⁰⁰Foley, *Collectanea*, Part the First, p. 335.

¹⁰¹Hughes, *Text*, Vol. 2, p. 682.

¹⁰²*Records of American Catholic Historical Society*, Vol. 60, p. 125 seq.

* * *

A JESUIT PRIEST'S PRAYER

Dear Jesus, have mercy on me again and grant me the grace always to be sincerely sorry for all my sins; always to obtain pardon for all my sins; always to avoid all deliberate sins the rest of my life; always to overcome all semi-deliberate sins that might offend God, dishonor the Immaculate Heart of Mary and harm souls; always to love You with all my heart; always to love Mary Immaculate with all my heart; always to love all mankind with all my heart by doing all I can now and the rest of my life and after my death to help all mankind love You forever; always to be a holy Jesuit priest and apostle of Your Most Sacred Heart and of the Immaculate Heart of Mary; always to do the holy will of God perfectly; always to say Mass well daily; always to make my spiritual exercises well; always to make my particular examen well; always to do penance well and to take recreation well; always to think and choose and say and do and suffer what You want me to in the way You want me to; always to choose what will better help me be a holy Jesuit priest forever; always to be attentive to and obedient to and grateful for the inspirations of divine grace; always to give and receive the Sacraments well; always to receive You well daily in Holy Communion, to receive You well often in Spiritual Communion; to receive extreme unction well and Holy Viaticum well when I am dying. And I humbly beg these same graces or similar graces for all the rest of mankind for the greater glory of God, the honor of Mary Immaculate, the salvation and sanctification of souls, and for all the intentions ever commended to my prayers. Amen.

PAUL E. DENT, S.J.

SOCIAL EXPERIMENT ON THE PARANA

F. RAWLE HAIG, S.J.

With the expulsion of the Society of Jesus from the Spanish territories in 1767 there came to an end a great experiment in concrete philosophy. For approximately a century and a half Jesuit missionaries had been striving to Christianize a barbarous people and to create among them a Catholic social order. It was a supremely arduous, heartbreaking, yet glorious attempt. It is a story eminently worthy of our consideration.

Preliminary Notions

The Spanish avalanche began its tumultuous advance down the South American continent in December of 1531 when Pizarro launched his spectacular attack on the Inca empire of Peru. By 1533 Atahualpa, last of the Inca monarchs, was dead and the Conquistadores, richer by the fifteen million dollars that was to have been his ransom, had entered Cuzco in triumph.

But the Spaniard never forgot that one of his chief purposes in coming to America was the spread of the Faith of Christ. Conquest and colonization might proceed rapidly, but never far behind and often far in advance of the iron-armored soldiery would go the missionary: Franciscan, Dominican, Capuchin, and Jesuit.¹

Native tradition had it that a white man had once passed through South America teaching the people the sign of the cross and promising some day to send them missionaries. Strange as the legend may sound, nevertheless the fact remains that many traits of the ancient Peruvian religions bore considerable resemblances to Christianity.² Some Peruvian Indians, for example, were not unacquainted with incense, processions, and the monastic life. Early missionaries found the parallels so close that they imagined the Indians must indeed have received Christian instruction at some time in the past. Therefore their conversion was more of a "leading back" to something already known than a turning to something new. The Indian missions all over South America consequently became known as reductions.

Beginnings

In 1587, Alonso Guerra, Franciscan bishop of Asunción, asked the Jesuits to help evangelize the savage tribes of Paraguay. In the sixteenth century the name Paraguay denoted the entire southern half of the continent from Bolivia to the extreme tip. Actually, of the thirty reductions of "Paraguay," only seven were in the present country of that name.³ The remaining were located in northern Argentina and southern Brazil.

The three Fathers who answered the call of the bishop worked heroically for several years but with little success. For a moment the Jesuits hesitated, wondering if it might not be better to give up a project which they had not the men to accomplish. In 1607, however, Father Diego de Torres returned from Rome with an appointment as provincial of the new Province of Paraguay which Father General Aquaviva had determined to erect. Any hesitancy was over.

Several factors urged the Fathers to the foundation of the reductions along the Paraná and Uruguay rivers. The Spanish conquerors had aroused the hatred of the Indians by their unbridled cruelty. The attitude of the conqueror was most clearly evinced in the institution of the *encomiendas* and the *servitium personale*, a social order strongly reminiscent of European feudalism but much more severe. Philip III, however, in an effort to help the missionaries, had explicitly exempted the Indians of the reductions from such treatment.⁴

Another factor determining the establishment of the reductions was the notoriously bad example of the colonists. Just as Xavier in India had found the Portuguese traders his worst enemies, so too in the early days of South America the missionaries found it impossible to counteract the demoralizing influence of many of the whites.⁵ The reductions of Peru, for instance, had been brought to ruin by the presence of Spanish colonists.⁶ Consequently the Jesuits were quite satisfied to build separate Indian villages at a considerable distance from the white invaders.

To convince the Indians to found and settle in the reductions was a hazardous and difficult task. The missionary, accompanied by some friendly native *caciques* (chiefs), would

journey to the prospective tribe, call a meeting of the Indian leaders, and describe the advantages of establishing a separate village where the food supply would be secure, where their children could be educated by the Fathers,⁷ and where they could learn of the gospel of Christ. Sometimes the Christian Indians alone went out and attempted to persuade their non-Christian brothers to come back with them. It was a "touch-and-go" business in which twenty-nine Jesuit missionaries lost their lives for the Faith.

The Jesuits used the reduction technique in many sections of South America, establishing in all approximately one hundred.⁸ The most famous, however, are the thirty of Paraguay with which we are dealing.

Trials and Successes

Most tragic of the external conditions that "fostered" the growth of the reductions were the slave raids. The Portuguese had settled to the north of Paraguay around São Paulo. From there they sent out raiding parties into the interior in search of Indians who might be brought back to be sold as slaves. Beginning in 1618 the *Mamelucos* or *Paulistas* (they were called both) began penetrating into the area of the Jesuit reductions. The Indians flocked to the reductions for protection while the Jesuit missionaries sent out plea after plea for help to the Spanish officials. No help was forthcoming. In fact it appears that there was no little connivance between the Spanish officials and the Portuguese slave traders.⁹

The losses of the reductions were heartrending. Over thirty thousand Indians were kidnapped from the reductions of Guayrá from 1628 to 1630 alone. The missionaries first attempted to meet the threat by moving whole reductions south to be out of the reach of the *Paulistas*. When this expedient failed, the Jesuits took the one measure left to them and under mandate of the King began the formation of an Indian army. When the *Paulistas* returned in 1639, the Indians, under Spanish leadership, were waiting. At Caazapaguazú they met and broke the raiding party. The *Paulistas* tried once more in 1641 and this time met complete disaster at Mbororé. They did not return again in force for over a hundred years.

Successively forced to defend themselves against the Spanish

encomienderos who desired to enslave them, against nuisance raids by the *Mamelucos*, and against attacks from neighboring hostile tribes, the reductions maintained themselves nonetheless in relative prosperity. While the native population was being exterminated on all sides, the Guaraní, the nation involved in the reductions, continued to increase. Only one power was to prove strong enough to crush them, that of intrigue at the court of Madrid. But before turning to the tragic close of the Jesuit reductions, it will be profitable to consider them in themselves.

Social Organization of the Missions

In the government of the missions the Jesuits followed two principles, one that of *Las Leyes de las Indias*, the admirable Spanish Indian code adopted in 1680 which decreed that native villages should be ruled, as far as possible, as Spanish towns,¹⁰ and the other a general principle of not demanding a change from native procedures except where absolutely necessary.

Each reduction therefore was set up physically and governmentally like a Spanish *pueblo*. In the center was a large square flanked by the church, residence of the Fathers, schools, hospital, and long, communal dwellings of the Guaraní laid out in a straight-line pattern covering on the *plaza*.¹¹

The government, while under the supervision of at least two missionaries stationed at each reduction, was carried out by the native *caciques*. The native head of the mission, the *corregidor*, was chosen for life by the missionary and approved by the Spanish governor of the province. The council, or *cabildo*, was elected each year by the outgoing council and similarly approved by the missionary and governor. It consisted of two *alcaldes*, administrators of justice, an *alférez real* or royal standard bearer, and *regidores* who were the subordinate police officials of the little village.¹²

It is the economic organization of the missions, however, which has aroused the most interest. From old tribal customs the reductions inherited a strong socialistic flavoring which the Fathers were unable and, to an extent, did not desire to change.¹³

In accordance therefore with Guaraní traditions and in keeping with the necessities of tropical life, land was held in common. Given into the charge of the *caciques*, it was apportioned by them to the individual families. This plot of land (*abamba*) could not be sold and the *alcaldes* saw to it that each family worked hard enough to produce an immediate sufficiency for itself and a surplus to be stored for its personal use during the winter months. These stores were bagged, marked with the family's name, and kept in common granaries. Such a procedure was necessary to ensure that the naturally improvident Indians would have food during the winter months and in case of famine.

The *tupamba* (God's acre) was a piece of communally tilled land whose produce was used to pay officials, support the poor of the mission, and alleviate want wherever it occurred. Cattle were also held in common, for the Fathers never succeeded in convincing the Indians to raise and care for their own. Meat, therefore, which was the common staple of the Indian diet, came from the common slaughterhouses. The Indians raised on their own land maize, manioc, cotton, wheat, rice, tobacco, and fruit.

Most important of all the products of the reductions, however, was *mate*, a South American tea. Only toward the close of the missions did the Fathers succeed in cultivating the plant within the confines of the village *huerta* (orchard). Most of the time the Indians had to go out and collect the leaves of the plant in the midst of the jungle under conditions of hardship and danger.

Strangely enough, *mate* was the substitute used by the missionaries to seduce the Indians away from their notorious habits of drunkenness.¹⁴ Periodically the Indians used to go off on three-day sprees using a type of native liquor made from corn or honey. The Fathers would first convince them to cut down the orgies to two days, then one day, and finally, after about two years of such cajolery, the custom would die out completely. Instead the Indians took *mate*!

As the Guaraní were particularly adept at manual trades, the German lay brothers who came to aid the Spaniards soon trained the Indians as expert craftsmen—carpenters, blacksmiths, painters, dyers, instrument makers, artists, and bookbinders. These latter helped the missionaries to care for the

nine thousand volumes, a thousand of them in Guaraní, found in the missions at the expulsion of the Jesuits. The size of these libraries gives some indication of the vast amount of scientific observation and research that the Jesuits performed while working among the Indians. Their achievement is acknowledged by modern ethnologists.¹⁵

The Jesuits of course made no secret of the fact that the reductions were pure theocracies. The day began with Mass. The workers went to the fields singing religious songs. The feast days were celebrated with a brilliance characteristic of Indian tastes. And lest it be thought that this manner of life was forced on the Indians, one need only recall that the missions averaged three thousand Indians and *two* Jesuits. Yet never once did the Indians rebel against the Jesuit supervision.

The Close of the Missions

Never once, that is, until the "behind-the-scenes" political forces at Madrid set the wheels in motion to crush the Jesuits and to destroy their work. And even then it was to protect the Fathers that the Indians rebelled.

In 1750 Ferdinand VI signed a secret treaty with Portugal handing over to her the territory of the seven reductions on the left bank of the Uruguay in exchange for the disputed colony of San Sacramento at the Uruguay's mouth.

The missionaries were stunned. The treaty meant that the thirty thousand Indians on those reductions would have to leave their homes and emigrate to the other side of the Uruguay. Despite all the Fathers could do, the Indians rebelled, refused to permit the Jesuits to leave the reductions, and took the field in the tragic War of the Seven Reductions. They were defeated of course with terrible losses. The remnants crossed the river with the Fathers and attempted to begin again.

In 1759 Ferdinand VI died and Charles III became king. Within two years he abrogated the Treaty of 1750 and fifteen thousand Indians returned to their old homes. But the damage had been done. Now the enemies of the Jesuits could always whisper that the Jesuits had urged on the Indians to rebellion out of a desire for personal power and kingdom.¹⁶ Charles III gradually weakened until finally he set his seal to the de-

creed of expulsion of the Jesuits from Spanish America (1767).

Bucareli, Spanish governor of the region, waited for a year to execute the order until he could gather substitutes for the missionaries.¹⁷ Then he came, troops and all—a singularly futile gesture since, if the Indians did not resist, the troops would be useless, and if they did, the handful of soldiery could never have stood against them.

The reductions did not recover from the blow. Franciscans attempted to replace the Jesuits but the missions gradually decayed until they were totally abandoned early in the nineteenth century. Today only ruins remain.

Thus ended the Society's most famous and successful social experiment. Catholics are often upbraided for dealing only in abstractions and for merely mouthing moral inanities strictly divorced from reality. Here is one example of a group of Catholics face to face with a supremely difficult situation who found within the riches of Catholic social doctrine the answer they needed.

NOTES

¹Edwin Ryan, D.D., *The Church in the South American Republics*. (Westminster, Md.: The Newman Book Shop. 1943), p. 31.

²*Ibid.*, p. 32.

³Pablo Hernández, S.J., *Organización Social de las Doctrinas Guaraníes*. (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili. 1913), Vol. I, p. 1f.

⁴"*He tenido por bien que los que se redujeren de nuevo a nuestra santa fe Católica . . . no se cobre tributo por tiempo de diez años, ni se encomienden.*" ("I have considered it expedient that those who return again to our holy Catholic Faith (i.e., the Indians. See page 1.) should not pay tribute for a period of ten years nor should they be placed on *encomiendas*." Translation, the author's) Cédula real of Jan. 30, 1607, as given in Hernández, *op cit.*, Vol. I, p. 511.

⁵James Brodrick, S.J., *Saint Francis Xavier*. (New York: The Wicklow Press. 1952), pp. 203, 206-7.

⁶*Cath. Encyc.*, Vol. XII, p. 696, column 2.

⁷This was a particularly strong inducement for the Guaraní. See Hernández, *op. cit.*, p. 389f. The complete story of how the Indians were persuaded to form reductions is also in Hernández, *ibid.*, pp. 383-405.

⁸*Cath. Encyc.*, Vol. XII, p. 690, column 2.

⁹Hernández, *ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁰Webster and Hussey, *History of Latin America*. (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1941), p. 103.

¹¹Cf. the diagrams of several missions given in Hernández, *ibid.*, facing p. 106.

¹²Alfred Métraux, "Jesuit Missions in South America," *Handbook of South American Indians*. Julian Steward, editor. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1944), p. 648.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 652f., where Métraux gives an impartial evaluation of Jesuit collectivism. His whole account is generally reliable but also repeats some of the strange motions once held about the missions, i.e., the use of force to persuade some Indians to join the missions and a special "spy system" composed of children. Unfortunately he gives no documentation. For a documented account confer Hernández, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-97 and 308-405. In respect to the children even the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (Vol. XII, p. 693, column 1.) has the odd notion that they ate their morning and evening meals in common in the college courtyard. Of course, they ate at home. Hernández, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

¹⁴Hernández, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-5.

¹⁵Métraux, *op. cit.*, p. 645.

¹⁶*Cath. Encyc.*, *ibid.*, p. 699, column 1.

¹⁷Hernández, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

* * *

Vineyard of Latin America

The formation of the clergy in Latin America is for the most part in the hands of our Fathers. At Rome, to begin with, in the Brazilian College and the "Pio Latino Americano" there are a total of 243 seminarians from South America. In the national Mexican Seminary at Montezuma, U.S.A., there are 360 theologians and philosophers. Our Fathers run the Counciliar Seminary in Guatemala, in Ecuador the minor Seminary of Cuenca with 40 seminarians, and in San Salvador the central major Seminary with 193 seminarians.

In Venezuela, the Society takes care of the major archdiocesan Seminary of Caracas where there are at present 32 Theologians, 24 Philosophers, and 62 in classical studies, and also the minor Seminary of Coro. Colombia sends seminarians to our University of St. Francis Xavier at Bogotá, and Jesuits run the minor Seminary in El Mortiño (125 students).

In Brazil, the largest country of South America, Jesuits direct the Central Seminary of São Leopoldo where there are 127 Theologians and 184 Philosophers, and also minor seminaries in Cerro Largo (97 students) and Santa Maria (180 students).

Argentina boasts a Jesuit-directed major seminary at Buenos Aires with 188 seminarians and a minor seminary with 141 students. The minor seminaries in Chile (474 students), Uruguay (40 students), and Porto Rico (98 students), the major seminaries in the Dominican Republic with 162 seminarians, and Uruguay with 77, complete the list of Jesuit-directed diocesan seminaries in Latin America.

In all almost 3000 seminarians are being prepared for the South American apostolate under the direction of Jesuits.

HISTORICAL NOTES

ARCHAEOLOGY SERVES HISTORY

EXCAVATIONS AT FORT STE MARIE AND AT ST. IGNACE, NEAR MIDLAND, ONTARIO

On the feast of the Patronage of St. Joseph in 1940 the ruins of old Fort Ste Marie at Martyrs' Shrine near Midland, Ontario, passed once more into the hands of the Society of Jesus, and since the Summer of 1941 the site has been the scene of painstaking archaeological investigation whose chief aim has been the redraft of the plans of the buildings and the determining of the form and shape of the various walls and palisades that made up the ancient residence of St. Mary-on-the-Wye. At first consideration it might seem a hopeless task. The fort had been dismantled and the missionaries had carried away with them everything that could be made use of in furnishing and building the new fort on Christian Island, and whatever was left was given over to the flames lest it serve as a shelter to the Iroquois. Only a charred ruin remained in the Summer of 1649; and season after season, three centuries of rain and wind and frost have worn to dust all but the masonry of its towers and fireplaces. Two forces have been at work protecting the ruin; the accumulation of fallen leaves and the grassy sod have helped to cover the nakedness of the ruin, but on the other hand the disrupting roots of trees and underbrush have conspired to pry asunder the very stones of wall and chimney. One hundred years ago the early settlers ploughed up the level plots to make their garden; only the rough, irregular rectangle between the four stony mounds that once were towers was left undisturbed.

Twice during the last century the ruins have been visited and examined by members of the Jesuit Order. In 1844, just two years after their return to Canada, Father Pierre Chazelle, S.J., made a special trip to locate the ruins, and eleven years later, Father Felix Martin, S.J., made an expedition to examine them in greater detail. "The four corner

bastions," he wrote, "stood four to six feet high." It was before the days of photography so he sketched the ruins in water colours and drew up a detailed ground plan of the fort as he believed it to have been before its destruction. Father Martin's diagram has proved both a help and a hindrance to subsequent students. The measurements and description of what he actually saw have been a help in trying to revisualize the fort as it stood in the eighteenth-fifties, but since he had few facilities for investigating below the surface and the remains of the charred beams had long become buried, his conjectures and deductions have led those who followed him to many false conclusions, notably with regard to the extent of the old fort and the moat system he professed to describe in detail.

Relying on the accuracy of Father Martin's plan the Jesuit Fathers invited the technicians of the Royal Ontario Museum (which is subsidiary to the University of Toronto) to undertake the excavation of the plot between the four bastions, believing this to be the entire fort. Dr. H. J. Cody was then president of the University and Dr. C. T. Currelly, director of the Museum—both of these gentlemen took a personal interest in the work. Mr. Kenneth Kidd, ethnologist at the Museum was placed in charge of the field party. He came to the task with practical experience derived from excavation work in Egypt and exploration of Indian sites in Algonquin Park. Assisting Mr. Kidd were Mr. J. H. Classey, in surveying and measuring; Miss W. Needler, egyptologist at the Museum, in recording and photographing; the late Miss L. Payne, in cataloguing; and Misses B. Maw and M. Thompson. All of these were technicians of the Museum Staff whose services were graciously contributed by the University for the project. Two Jesuit Fathers worked with them at different times: Father John McCaffrey, now rector of Loyola College, Montreal, and Father Daniel Hourigan, the writer of the present article, then parish priest of Waubauskene. The Martyrs' Shrine provided the services of five or six workmen to cut the trees, do the heavier digging and push the wheel-barrow. The work consumed two summers, 1941 and 1942. In 1942 the war effort curtailed such non-

essential projects and Mr. Kidd finished what little work remained almost singlehanded.

The report on the excavations has been published by Mr. Kidd in a handsome 250-page volume printed by the University of Toronto Press. Much of the report is necessarily technical, but there are in addition to the forty maps and drawings in the text, fifty pages of beautiful plates illustrating the work at various stages and showing samples of the masonry and specimens of the iron and brass objects discovered.

Accurate measurements and exact description are the hallmark of scholarship, but for the uninitiated the conclusions drawn from the data discovered are of greater interest. When the loose stone and soil accumulation of three centuries were removed, the four bastion towers stood out prominently. The great twin towers on the east were twenty-five feet square and still stood three to four feet high. The southwestern tower was smaller, about fifteen feet square. The northwestern tower was found to be quite irregular and its remains were in poor condition. While the other three displayed first-class masonry, it seemed to be almost a dry stone wall (without mortar) and it was judged improbable that it ever bore any considerable super-structure. The inner corners of the eastern bastions were connected by a stone wall, and halfway between them was a seven-foot break—probably the main gateway of the fort. The charred wooden sill was still in position. Between the northern bastions there was also a wall, unbroken seemingly by any gateway, but there was a channel or covered ditch which passed underneath the wall, bringing flowing water into the enclosure. These walls were “probably in Jesuit times supplied with wooden super-structures. No defense work was found along the south except the moat.”

Within the compound were found three stone fireplaces, one of them adjoining the northwest bastion. Its chimney had been partly of brick and its hearth was unusually long and shallow. Another fireplace, the greatest, was centrally located and faced the west. It showed signs of having been used more than the others. The third fireplace was some twenty-five feet farther south. It was a double fireplace,

the two hearths having a common flue between them. There were at least two buildings: the northerly one, about twenty feet by thirty, was thought to have been the chapel. It was connected to the northwest bastion by a narrow doorway beside the fireplace. The latter was built almost all the way across the northern end of this building. Some of the charred floor supports were still in position, while large, flat stones irregularly placed, seemed to have supported sills that had long since disappeared. There were many nails in this area—on the whole site some thirteen hundred nails were found, varying in length from one-half inch to eight inches. There were no objects found in this building that definitely established it as a chapel, but we must bear in mind that the fort had been dismantled and everything useful was carried off to Christian Island.

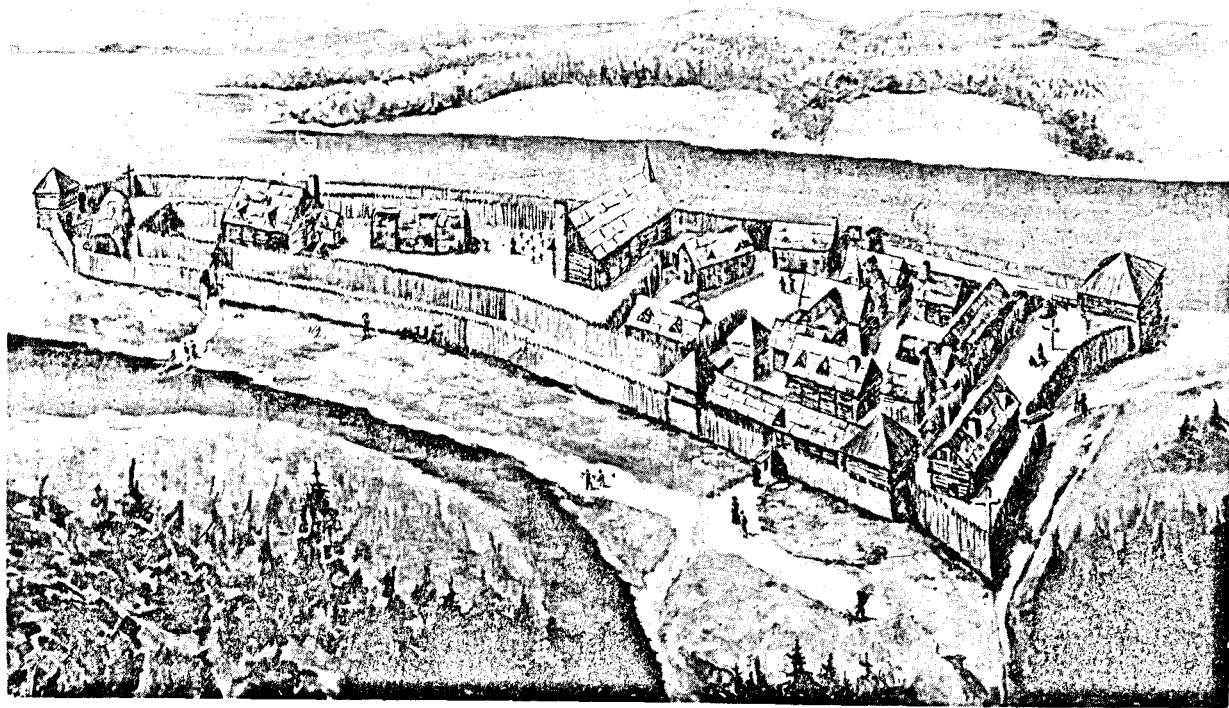
The other building within the enclosure was about twice as large and was divided into rooms; the fireplaces facing different directions led to that conclusion. This building was thought to be the Fathers' living quarters and was probably two storeys in height. The main chimney had been a tall one, perhaps about twenty-eight feet in height, a rough estimate, for we suspect that much of the loose fallen stone had already been carried away.

One of the most interesting tasks in which the present writer helped was the careful examination of what was left of the charred wooden flooring that extended in front of the great hearth. It was one of the best preserved sections of flooring that we found. In the cracks between the boards we found a little section of a rosary; this seemed an intimate link with the seventeenth century occupants of the central residence of St. Mary among the Hurons. Near the same place several coloured beads were found and also a few charred grains of corn and beans that had lodged in the cracks of the flooring and had been calcinated when the fort was burnt.

Almost in front of the main hearth was one of the most puzzling finds. There was a box-like pit about thirty inches long and two feet deep. At the bottom were the remains of two wide boards that once covered its floor; a large six-inch iron hook was once fastened to them. Technically such a little

chamber is called a cyst. In his report Mr. Kidd says: "There is no indication as to its use, but it is possible that it was a sort of cooling cellar for perishables and that the tray (he believes that the two boards were once a tray) was for raising and lowering them into the pit." Others have thought that it may have been used for a more important purpose, as a safe storage place (comparatively fire-proof) for books and documents. The Indians were of such an inquisitive nature that few places were safe from their meddlesome fingers. The room with the great hearth was probably seldom empty, and hence this place beneath its floor would be as safe as any, for anything that was highly prized. When the cyst was first discovered (the day before the feast of the Martyrs, 1941), we thought it might be the place where their precious bones were once hidden away after the fall of St. Ignace.

Near the residence but to the west was made another significant religious find, the little silver medal of SS. Ignatius and Francis Xavier. The silver was quite black, but the inscription was as legible as the day the metal was struck. It was oval in shape and about an inch long, and had a little projecting flange at the top for cord or pin. One face bore the bust of St. Ignatius; he is dressed in a Roman cloak with a high stiff collar; he wears a sort of halo and is facing right with hands clasped before a crucifix at eye level. Around the rim is a Latin inscription in customary abbreviations which, translated, reads: "Blessed Ignatius Loyola, Architect (*auctor*) and Founder of the Society of Jesus." On the reverse is a similar representation of St. Francis Xavier. He too has a halo but is facing the left towards a radiant sun, and his hands are crossed on his breast. The translation of his inscription runs: "Francis Xavier of the Society of Jesus, Missionary (*praedicator*) to the Indies and Japan." These two Saints had been recently canonized when the medal was lost three hundred years ago. Beyond doubt the medal once belonged to one of the missionaries, or at least to one of the French lay-helpers (*donnés*) on the mission. St. Ignatius, not yet one hundred years dead, had drafted the rule of life that they were following, and St. Francis Xavier, best known perhaps of St. Ignatius' first companions, was the young Society's first great missionary.



Artist's conception of Fort Ste Marie (1639-1649), based on archaeological discoveries at Midland, Ontario



Was there at one time a little chapel in the southwest bastion? In it was found a little sanctuary bell, made of iron and shaped like a half orange. Its little clapper was missing but the fastener was still there. The ground floor of this bastion, about twelve feet square, had only one door and that on the north side, hence within the compound, and would have served as a quiet little chapel for private Masses; there were sometimes twenty priests at the residence when they gathered from their mission centers.

We would have to duplicate Mr. Kidd's report if we were to enumerate and describe all the interesting specimens discovered. The beautiful vase of venetian glass that appears as the frontispiece of his book was painstakingly reconstructed from its many fragments found in the diggings. There were all told some forty thousand different items catalogued, many of them, however, mere bone fragments or bits of hardware, such as nails, clamps and broken tools; among the latter were thirty-eight broken axes. "Since Europeans in the wilderness would prize their axes above most other possessions and take good care of them, the damage shown on so many specimens argues strongly for Indian use." There were also finer household articles, scissors, a silver needle case with the remains of three needles, a thimble, a padlock, several keys, even a small iron corkscrew! Between the Fathers' living quarters and the southwest bastion were the remains of a forge, and around it were found many nails and fragments of iron scrap.

On the whole the results of the first part of the excavation were at once gratifying and disillusioning. Gratifying, in as much as we felt that whatever lay hidden had been brought to light and that every secret of the fort's remains had been investigated and put on record for all time. But at the same time we had, unreasonably perhaps, hoped for more. In our ignorance and inexperience we thought that the exact ground plan of every building would be brought to light and we would be able to reconstruct the picture in still greater detail. We will be forever indebted to the University of Toronto, to the Royal Ontario Museum and to Mr. Kidd for the accurate, painstaking investigation of the first section of old Fort Ste Marie.

Post-War Period

During the latter years of the late World War, the excavations at the old fort were at a standstill. Though we would gladly have explored the area outside the European compound, as it was called, the means of doing so were lacking. It was impossible to engage men to do work that did not contribute to the war effort, and so once again the grass began to grow over the recently uncovered ruin.

As the war tension eased and labour and building supplies became available it was deemed advisable to make some beginning of the restoration of the Fort which would be a token, at least, of what we hoped ultimately to do. This seemed the more imperative since 1949 was the tercentenary year of the deaths of the Martyrs and would focus attention on the Fort which had been their home. The Fathers realized that the work of research and excavation was incomplete, but they felt that some units, the bastion towers, for instance, had been thoroughly examined and that their restoration would not interfere with further work on other parts of the fort. Great quantities of stone had been set aside during the excavation—stone that had fallen during the centuries from higher parts which have long since disappeared—and with this stone the three most regular bastions were rebuilt to a height of fourteen feet under the direction of Mr. Lindsay Wardell, architect, of Toronto. The old walls were not solid enough to bear the weight of a superstructure and yet it seemed a crime to demolish masonry that had survived three hundred years, so the new bastions were built outside the old. Hence within them may be seen the original walls just as they remained in 1947 and they are thus preserved for all time for future generations to revere. The cornerstone of the restored northeast bastion was blessed on September 8 by His Eminence Cardinal McGuigan in the presence of their Eminences Cardinal Griffin of England and Cardinal Gilroy of Australia, and laid by acting Premier Leslie Frost one month later.

Considerable uncertainty remained about the type of beams to be used on top of the bastions and the exact shape of the roof that should cover them. Not wishing to take any steps that future research might prove to be incorrect, Very Rev-

erend Father Provincial and Father Lally, Director of the Martyrs' Shrine since 1928, decided to call a round-table conference of recognized authorities on architecture of that period and others, in order to reach a decision that would be as accurate as the pooled wisdom of experts could insure. The meeting was held at the Shrine on November 18, 1948, and the following took part in the discussion: Very Reverend Father Nunan, acting provincial during the absence of Father Swain in India; Dr. Marius Barbeau, anthropologist and archivist of the National Museum of Ottawa; Mr. C. W. Jefferys, Canadian artist and historian; Mr. Kenneth Kidd, ethnologist at the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto; Mr. Wilfrid Jury, curator of the Museum of Western University, London; Mr. Lindsay Wardell, architect, Toronto; Father J. S. McGivern, S.J., historian and perhaps the greatest living authority on the *Jesuit Relations*; Father Lally and his assistant, Father Fallon. The minutes of this meeting were never published, but the policy adopted was that of prudent waiting, lest by some too hasty decision something might be introduced into the restoration which would later be proved an anachronism or not in harmony with the newer discoveries that were then being made.

In the meantime attention was drawn to another site intimately connected with the fort—St. Ignace II where the martyrdom of Brebeuf and Lalemant took place. The descriptions of the place left in the *Relations* had so far not been sufficient to identify the site. The eminent archaeologist Father Arthur Jones, S.J., had, at the beginning of the century, chosen one location which he thought verified the descriptions given and a shrine had been built there in 1907, but with the years the conviction grew that it was not the St. Ignace of the *Relations*. It was undoubtedly an Indian village site but not the one described by Father Ragueneau. The names of Thomas Cannon of Goderich, Alphonse Arpin of Midland, Mr. W. J. Wintemberg of the National Museum of Ottawa, Dr. Sherwood Fox, then president of Western University, London, are all connected with the continued search for a site that would verify the known factors from the *Relations*: two league distance (about six miles) from Ste Marie, one league from Fort St. Louis and in the same direction, and the site itself,

a plateau capable of containing a village of seven hundred and surrounded on three sides by a deep ravine with a narrow level entrance in the east. The data seemed quite definite and yet in that hilly district there was more than one tongue of land that seemed to satisfy the conditions. The search narrowed considerably when Mr. Wintenberg identified the post molds of the ancient palisade around the site on the Hamilton farm in the summers of 1937 and 1938. His discovery is reported in the book *St. Ignace* by Dr. Fox (page 96) :

Traces of the palisades consisting of round humus-filled cavities, from two to four inches in diameter, and about two or three feet deep, formed by the decay of the posts, and which were much softer than the surrounding soil, were found to extend almost clear around a ten-acre field. Even the gateway of the stockade was traced. To find these, the top soil covering the fine yellow sand had to be removed and the post molds uncovered one by one, each mold being marked by a wooden stake as soon as it was located so that its position could be measured and marked on a map. In many cases the molds were at regular intervals, and from one to about two feet apart, and they followed the irregular outline of the hill on which the site is situated.

Mr. Wintenberg died in April, 1941 before his notes were published. Dr. Fox interested the curator of his University's Museum, Mr. Wilfrid Jury, in the task and it was his work of plotting the positions of twenty-six long houses on the site in 1946 that removed the last lingering doubts from the minds of all—St. Ignace II lay on the corner of the Hamilton farm.

How did Mr. Jury carry on his investigation? Let us quote from Dr. Fox's book (page 101) :

Mr. Jury sank trenches that cut through the once cultivated sand down to the subsoil. The bottoms of the trenches, when slightly scraped, revealed here and there the gray imprints left by the decayed ends of posts. Probing these imprints downward to their very tips he ascertained that the posts had been buried in the ground to depths varying between eighteen and thirty inches. In conformity with regular Indian practice the point of each post had been burnt into the form of a sharp cone. Throughout the site the charred coatings of such points, which have resisted decay, are clearly discernible in the outlines of house walls and palisades. The diameters of such molds range between four and eight inches.

The next season Mr. Jury turned his attention to the site of

Teanaostaie, where St. Anthony Daniel had been martyred. A monument had been erected at the place traditionally believed to be the location of the ancient village (about one-half mile southwest of the church of Mount St. Louis and about fourteen miles from Fort Ste Marie). By careful research Mr. Jury proved conclusively that it was merely the site of a pre-Christian village. This he did by showing the abundance of Indian objects in the soil and the absence of articles of French manufacture, and by demonstrating that the palisaded area was too small to house a village of two thousand souls. Then he located another site, about a mile nearer the fort, within sight of Mount St. Louis Church, which gave abundant evidence of French occupation, knives and tools that could have come only from the missionaries. This village was much larger than the former and was better provided with a supply of water. In these investigations Father J. S. McGivern, S.J., an earnest student of Huronia, collaborated with Mr. Jury, putting at his disposal his intimate knowledge of the *Jesuit Relations*.

It was not until 1948 that Mr. Jury came to Fort Ste Marie where the University of Western Ontario graciously allowed him to devote his time to archaeological research. Kind friends enabled Father Lally to provide him with helpers: the curator's devoted wife, Mrs. Elsie Jury, as secretary; Mr. Fraser Metcalfe, a student from Western University, as draftsman and cartographer; Paul Buchanan, a high school boy and several workmen, engaged as circumstances permitted. Two Jesuits, Father James McGivern and Father Dennis Hegarty, late chaplain with the Canadian Army, have both devoted considerable time to the project under Mr. Jury's direction. Dr. Yaroslav Pasternak, Ph.D., an archaeologist from Lwow and Bonn Universities, whose published works in his field have won him a European reputation, also helped Mr. Jury throughout one season. Many of the guests at the Martyrs' Shrine Inn, both clerical and lay, have profited by the opportunity of working under Mr. Jury's guidance, at this important task. And during the Summer of 1950 a Summer School of Indian Archaeology was held at the Shrine with an enrollment of twenty students, many of them school teachers anxious to learn how history can be read from

ashes and post molds as from documents left by our forebears.

Mr. Jury is a man of extensive experience in his own field. He has made Indian archaeology the hobby of his lifetime. He first learned the elements of it from his venerable old father who paid a visit to the old fort and charmed everyone by the keen interest he showed in his son's work. Fairfield, Ontario, near London, was the site of an important Neutral village where Mr. Jury's research won for him recognition by the scientific world. Mr. Jury displays an almost intuitive flair for interpreting contours and soil formation, and in reading soil markings he enjoys a national reputation. The results of his work have not as yet been completed and as a consequence are not yet available in summarized report form, but so far they have exceeded our hopes in ascertaining the dimensions of the fort buildings and in locating the long sought for cemetery.

One of the most gratifying features of Mr. Jury's excavations has been the proof of the greater area of the establishment. Instead of being limited to the part we had learned to call the European compound (the area of fifteen thousand square feet enclosed by the bastions), it was established that there were palisades on the north and south running to the river bank where there had been twin timber bastions, corresponding to the two great stone bastions on the eastern front. This area was eighty thousand square feet or about five times larger than the former calculation. When trenches had been sunk the soil markings of the post molds were plainly visible even to an inexperienced eye and in some places shreds of the cedar posts were still in the soil.

When the outline of this large new section had been determined, its interior was carefully examined. This part of the property had been under cultivation for a number of years and the top soil had been turned again and again, but beneath this disturbed soil evidence was uncovered of buildings that once surrounded a central court. Their doorways were discerned and the five cellars beneath several of them were excavated. In one of these cellars were found two little objects of note: a much corroded but still recognizable little hook such as would be used on a Jesuit cassock, and a little phial of pale green Venetian glass. This little flagon, about five

inches tall, has a very pleasing shape and may well have been a Mass cruet.

Besides the post molds that indicated the structures built around the open court there was another set, not in alignment with any of the above, that outlined a sizeable long house. This was thought to be Ste Marie's first building in 1639, an Indian-style lodge or long house built near the riverbank and at an angle to it. The presence of some tree or trees may have determined the axis of the long house. Because this primitive house was later demolished to make way for later construction, the details of its structure are not as evident as those of the later and more permanent buildings erected by the French workmen probably around 1645-46.

In one of these buildings, the one on the south side of the inner court, a piece of masonry was brought to light which has proved one of the many enigmas to which no definitive solution has been found. It is described by Mr. Jury in the *Midland Free Press Herald*:

The stonework is shaped like a flattened capital *H*. The horizontal bar joining the two uprights is much longer than the uprights themselves. The outside measurement is fourteen feet in length and the uprights are nine feet nine inches. The thickness of both uprights and crossbar are two and one half feet. The length of the crossbar between the uprights is ten feet five inches. This stone foundation must have been built to carry a substantial upper structure, since it is four feet in depth and solid enough to carry a house wall today, though three hundred years have elapsed since its construction. Its meaning has not yet been determined.

The hypothesis that it might have been the base of a double fireplace was ruled out since there was no evidence that the well-tooled stones that formed it had ever been subjected to heat and there was no evidence either of ash in the immediate vicinity. Mr. Jury is inclined to think that it was the foundation of an altar, perhaps of a double altar like the papal altar in St. Peter's where Mass can be said at either or both sides; others have preferred to search further for a solution. Some army officers from a neighboring camp offered the suggestion that it may have been the foundation of the belfry or bell tower. We know that there was a large bell at Ste Marie which was later taken to the new fort on Christian Island.

Pieces of it have been found there; one segment is in the Shrine Museum. Such a large bell would need a solid turret in which to hang and the scaffolding may well have required a solid foundation in the shape of that described above.

One impressive feature of the second season's work was the moat or canal which extended west from the south bastions to the river. The source of fresh spring water for the fort had already been traced to a point across the present railway track. The water flowed through a boxed channel or aqueduct whose boards were still in place, under the northern curtain and through the centre of the European compound, and now the heavy hand-hewn planks at the bottom of the great moat seemed to indicate the course the waste water or sewage took on its way to the river. This flume was at a low level so that even in the winter it might be able to function under the ice. The row of cedar posts along the side of the moat were all of equal length and were tipped with black—they had burnt to water level in mid-June three hundred years ago! Other features of the great channel or moat are not equally clear and will bear further study.

On of the most significant discoveries was the existence of a "lock" system by which the level of the water could be raised above that of the river. Hence the canoes could be floated in by an arrangement of triple locks, perhaps the first of its kind in Canada or even North America, according to a prominent civil engineer. The moat or canal contained several hewn-out cedar logs which served as connecting pipes to the river. One of these, about nine feet in length, is considered among the largest and oldest relics of this workmanship in Canada.

In his report of 1855 Father Martin had vaguely indicated that the plot south of the fort as he knew it, was the Indian compound and contained the church, a hospital, and a guest house where transient families might be given shelter. The presence of a stucco house on this part of the property prevented earlier investigation. At the time of sale in 1940 the owners had reserved for themselves ten years' use of this house, but in the Spring of 1950 the lease expired and the house was demolished and the area carefully explored. It yielded the outlines of three buildings which seemed well

adapted for the use suggested in Father Martin's report, namely the church, guest house, and hospital. The largest, thirty-nine feet by seventy-nine, may well have been the church.

But the climax of last season's work, in the estimation of all, was the discovery of the cemetery south of the buildings just described and almost five hundred feet south of the northernmost palisade of the fort. All told, twenty-one graves were opened and examined. The bodies were buried three feet below the surface in the clear white sand (the subsoil elsewhere under the fort is clay). Most of the bodies were buried in coffins about six feet in length. These were seventeen inches wide at the foot and twenty-four inches at the head. Some were square, others rounded. Coffin nails were numerous in the lines of dark gray soil that had been the wood of the coffins. Within the coffins two complete rosaries were identified as well as many odd beads and bits of corroded metal that may have been crosses or medals. In one was a fourteen inch clay pipe! One skeleton held a pair of blue porcelain beads in its hand; this was thought by Dr. Alan Skinner, professor of anatomy at Western University, to have been that of a white man. Now we know from the *Relations* that *Donné Jacques Douart* was slain on April 28, 1648 and was buried "near the fort."

The over-all picture is necessarily sketchy and will remain so until the excavation has been completed and the data discovered has been coordinated and studied. In the meantime though, and forever after, the Jesuit Fathers will remain indebted to Messrs. Kidd and Jury and all the others who worked with them in this excavation of Fort Ste Marie, for by their discoveries we are able to implement the *Jesuit Relations*, so tantalizingly reticent about the details of the great establishment on the Wye that was the forest home of the seventeenth century Jesuits in Huronia.

Fort Ste Marie will always be dear to Canadians and Americans. It was from Fort Ste Marie that St. Isaac Jogues went in 1642 to Quebec for the last time and later to martyrdom at Auriesville, New York, in 1648. It was from Fort Ste Marie that St. Anthony Daniel went to meet martyrdom at Taenaestaye in 1648 two days after making his annual retreat at Fort

Ste Marie. It was to Fort Ste Marie that the mangled bodies of Saints John de Brebeuf and Gabriel Lalemant were carried for burial after their heroic martyrdom at St. Ignace in 1649. It was from Fort Ste Marie that SS. Charles Garnier and Noel Chabanel left for Christian Island with the other refugees in 1649 after seeing their "Home of Peace" devoured by flames. It was at Fort Ste Marie that the Jesuit Martyrs prayed, meditated and prepared for martyrdom from 1639 to 1649. It is to Martyrs' Shrine at Fort Ste Marie that two hundred thousand pilgrims of today flock annually to imbibe something of the spirit of martyrdom so sorely needed today and to receive some of the spiritual and bodily cures reported so often there through the intercession of the Jesuit Martyrs, declared in 1940 Patrons of Canada with St. Joseph, at the request of the entire Episcopate for Canada.

DANIEL J. HOURIGAN, S.J.

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Attention: Librarians

It sometimes happens that one or other house of the Society, shortly to be discontinued or transferred to a new location, wishes to dispose of all or part of its library.- At the same time other houses, newly established, desire to acquire collections of books. In such cases Ours often enter upon negotiations with externs, involving financial loss, because they do not know with whom they might negotiate about the matter within the Society.

Consequently, it seems that we could offer a valuable service to some of Ours, if an information center were to be established with us, the sole function of which would be to advise librarians where opportunities of acquiring or selling such collections of books may be found. If anyone wishes to avail himself of this service, he should acquaint us with his plans. It will be enough to indicate *in a general way* the type of books offered for sale or desired. We shall communicate the collected information to all who apply to us, but negotiations should then be carried on directly between librarians. We propose only to establish the initial contact between them. Letters should be addressed:

Redazione MEMORABILIA

5, Borgo S. Spirito

Roma (Italia)

Translated from MEMORABILIA, S.J.

OBITUARY

FATHER JOHN A. MORGAN

1880-1949

John A. Morgan was born in New York City on October 18, 1880. He attended St. Francis Xavier College there and entered the Society at Frederick on August 14, 1896, more than two months before his sixteenth birthday. Father John H. O'Rourke was master of novices and rector during the four years young Morgan spent at Frederick. In the juniorate he had Father Elder Mullan and Father Raphael O'Connell as professors of poetry and rhetoric.

During the Summer of 1903 Mr. Morgan went to Woodstock for philosophy under Father Henry Casten, Father James Dawson and Father Timothy Brosnahan. After the then customary five years of regency, he returned to Woodstock for divinity studies under Father Walter Drum, Father William Duane, Father Timothy Barrett, Father Henry Casten, Father Joseph Woods and Father Hector Papi. Father Burchard Villiger and Father William Brett were rectors of Woodstock during his philosophy course and Father Anthony Maas, while he was a theologian. Father Morgan was ordained by Cardinal Gibbons on July 30, 1911 and made his tertianship at Poughkeepsie under Father Thomas Gannon, 1913-1914. He pronounced his last vows as a Jesuit on August 15, 1922.

John Morgan's active years as a Jesuit were divided between the classroom and the ministry. He taught for five years as a Scholastic in Boston College, Holy Cross, and Fordham and for five years as a priest at Holy Cross, Brooklyn, and Boston College. As a Scholastic, except for one year of poetry, he taught high school classes. As a priest he was professor of rhetoric. When in 1918 he was taken from the classroom by his superiors it was somewhat of a surprise to many. He had been an excellent teacher, able to command progress and affection from his pupils. But it proved a wise change since Father Morgan was to do his real work in the thirty-one years of his ministry.

After a year as chaplain in the City Hospital at Boston, Father Morgan spent the rest of his life as operarius and retreat master; seventeen years in Philadelphia, five in Baltimore, four in New York City, three at Inisfada and one at Guelph, Ontario.

In the ministry Father Morgan's outstanding characteristic was his zeal. It drove him, as it did St. Paul, from the time of his ordination to his death. To parish and retreat work he gave himself wholeheartedly from the very beginning: preaching, hearing confessions, directing sodalities, instructing individuals and groups, interviewing those in distress, those seeking enlightenment, and those who aspired to greater holiness, giving missions and retreats to all classes. These were so many ways of showing his deep interest in God's children who sought his assistance.

God had fitted him well for his work. He had a heart brimming over with affection. He had a voice that responded to every shade of emotion. His sympathy with those in need or in sorrow tempered his exposition of revealed truth with gentle kindness although his clarity of mind made him uncompromising in his appreciation of ideals.

There was a marked individuality in his thought, for he was never content to repeat what others had said before him; and his words took on new color with each new audience. He was not perhaps a great orator but he was a most convincing and appealing talker. This was evidenced by the fact that in whatever city he labored crowds pressed about him and never seemed to tire of listening to him. One instance of this is furnished by the Working Girls Sodality at Willing's Alley in Philadelphia. Week after week for years, with great inconvenience to themselves, these sodalists crowded St. Joseph's Church.

There was another thing about Father Morgan's ministry which added to its appeal. He was sincerely humble and had a very poor opinion of his fitness. This took away from his preaching anything like aggressiveness and gave just enough of a suggestion of hesitancy and diffidence to disarm criticism and conciliate his audience. It also gave a distinct charm to his message.

The most striking thing, however, about Father Morgan

was his transparent love of souls. His supernatural charity was reinforced by natural affection. He liked people. They were God's beloved children and his brethren. It was easy for him, therefore, not only to translate his love for God into love of his neighbor for God's sake but also to love them for themselves.

Father Morgan had an ardent personal love for Christ and since Christ loved souls, he was tireless in his efforts to bring men to his Master. Some idea of the courage of his ministry may be gained from events at its beginning and end. As chaplain in Boston City Hospital during the Spanish influenza epidemic in 1918-1919 he was night and day at the bedside of the victims with never a thought of his personal risk. Those who witnessed his devotion were amazed that he did not contract the disease. In the Summer of 1949 he went to Nova Scotia to give retreats to priests and religious and intended to press on and preach to the fishermen of Labrador. He set out on this final mission fully conscious that the touch of death was on him. Those privileged to listen to his message that year were also well aware that their retreat master was on the brink of the grave. The result was that he impressed them most profoundly.

Divine Providence is a mysterious thing and is not conditioned by the little minds of men. God's designs on His children are transcendent and, since soul differs from soul, He leads them to heaven by different ways. Some souls are led along sheltered, sunlit paths. They are given vivid faith, happy dispositions, deep convictions, strong wills. They are shielded from severe temptations. Their smiles seem to reflect God's blessed smile all the days of their lives. Others must walk along trails that are deep in shadows, they must be content with the cold light of truth, they must struggle with difficulties, glory in their infirmities and be satisfied with the measure of divine grace that is sufficient for them. If they smile it must be through their tears. This latter road is reserved for strong souls, and this was the way along which God led Father Morgan.

His greatest trial was, no doubt, that he had little of the joy of faith. He had to accept the truths of revelation solely on the word of God. This of course is true of all Christians.

But to many it is given to be so intimately aware of the divine presence that they seem to walk hand in hand with God most of the time. They are so deeply conscious of God's love for them that a supernatural glow of happiness is almost always theirs. The graces they receive so illumine and inspire their souls that they are seldom, if ever, aware of the encircling gloom. Desolation is an occasional incident in their lives; consolation is their daily bread.

It was not so with Father Morgan. God did not treat him as a child, but as a veteran, inured to hardship. He believed with a cold belief and had to be content to know and to do what God commanded. This was hard, it demanded heroism, but it purified his love, making it all for God and quite unselfish. And yet Father Morgan was able to make the faith bright and attractive for others. No one but God knows how many there were for whom he lifted the veil and to whom he brought home how sweet a thing it is to love the Lord. It was this divine gift which brought so many to him to be enlightened, which made his confessional so popular, which attracted crowds to his discourses, which made the faithful eager to seek his counsel, and which so filled his days that for him sufficient rest was an unknown luxury and fatigue his almost constant companion.

Another difficulty in Father Morgan's life was his lack of worldly wisdom. God left him with this disability—if it can rightly be so called—for his purification in the crucible of pain. He possessed the simplicity of the dove but lacked something of the wisdom of the serpent.

He had so absorbing a love for God and was so single-minded in his love of souls that he, at times, rushed in where others would have hesitated or turned back. Had he been more gifted with discretion, he would not have found himself in situations which he had not foreseen and which caused embarrassment to himself and others. But he was so sensitive and responsive to the needs of others, and at the same time so conscious of the absolute purity of his own intentions that he sometimes forgot the courtesy due to chanceries, which others would have remembered, partly perhaps out of motives of personal security. Souls needed help and he hastened to give it, where others would have paused and asked advice, and so

not left themselves open to misunderstanding. As a consequence he several times incurred the displeasure of ecclesiastical authority and was severely treated. This was, of course, to be regretted but God permitted it for Father Morgan's chastening, and it was a consequence of his burning zeal. It caused him great humiliation and pain. But his superiors understood him and merely transferred him to other fields of labor.*

Another source of pain in Father Morgan's life was his constant sense of unworthiness. Few priests of his day influenced religious and lay persons more profoundly than he did. Wherever he went his ardent love for Christ and his desire to bring others to love Him, affected deeply and permanently those who listened to him. He was endowed by God most generously with apostolic gifts. All this should normally have been a source of great consolation. It rather humiliated Father Morgan. He was tireless in his zeal but he felt that he was doing little for Christ. He was greatly and gratefully loved by those to whom he ministered and yet he had an acute sense of loneliness. He was well thought of and admired and his help was assiduously sought, but he lived a hidden life that had few compensations.

Father Morgan's frank expression of this sense of unworthiness was at times very embarrassing to others. An example in point was the speech he made on the occasion of his golden jubilee. About him were gathered his devoted friends. These, it may be noted in passing, were few in number. This was, perhaps, not strange since his aim was to be all to all men. But these few friendships were marked by true loyalty. At his golden jubilee dinner his friends praised him for the noble servant of God that they knew him to be. His reply was first a profession of deep gratitude to his earthly mother, to his beloved Society, and to the Church—all of whom, he

*Some may be surprised that this subject is discussed within the narrow confines of an obituary. It was thought, however, that the only way to avoid a trite and almost meaningless eulogy was to include some mention of the fact. The treatment accorded Father Morgan shows the loving kindness of superiors and their patience. It should serve as a warning to Ours that at all times due consideration must be given to diocesan authorities, no matter what the merits of the case may be thought to be. The Editor.

said, had loved him, cared for him, put up with him, protected him, kept him safe. Then he made a humble avowal of his utter uselessness as he conceived it. He expressed his wonder that, in spite of what he felt himself to be, he was still loved and had long been loved and dearly loved by his mother, by the Society of Jesus, and by God Himself. His sincerity wrung the hearts of his hearers. It was a soul-searing experience that no one who heard it will ever forget. It was something in the nature of a general confession made on the threshold of death. It was the cry of a noble heart literally plunged in humility.

Father Morgan's death was like his life. Stricken while preaching in Nova Scotia, he submitted to medical examination which showed that he was far gone with cancer. He was brought by plane to St. Vincent's Hospital in New York City, where his case was pronounced hopeless. He himself realized that his days were numbered. God had made his last appeal for souls through him and was now summoning the exhausted priest, tired at last unto death, to rest from his labors and make ready to go home. Father Morgan was neither surprised nor reluctant. God had taken from him one by one most of the things that the heart of man loves, and now was asking the sacrifice of what man loves most, his life. Father Morgan made his sacrifice gladly. Those who visited him found him cheerful, more cheerful than in his days of health. It seemed as if the radiance of God's smile had at last broken through the clouds.

There was only one thing, apart from his conformity to God's Will, that Father Morgan could still do for the glory of the Divine Master to whom he had given himself more than half a century before. He could still with extreme difficulty say Mass. Every morning he rose from his bed of suffering, forced his body, in spite of increasing weakness, to the chapel and said his *Introibo*. He no longer wondered if this was to be the last time he would celebrate that particular feast. He knew that very soon he would say his last Mass. At times, perhaps, he wondered how he could, even in heaven, reconcile himself to the fact that he could no longer offer the Holy Sacrifice. He knew theology's answer, but the Mass had been his life, the very beat of his heart, the breath of his lungs.





FATHER FRANCIS X. BIMANSKI

At last there came a day when from the altar he returned utterly exhausted to his room. With sadness in his voice, he said to the nun in attendance, "Sister, I have said my last Mass. Tomorrow I shall go." On the morrow, September 30, 1949, he died. May he rest in peace.

J. HARDING FISHER, S.J.

FATHER FRANCIS XAVIER BIMANSKI

1871-1952

An era in the annals of Cook County Hospital, Chicago, has ended. Father Bimanski, referred to by a fellow chaplain as "Cook County's Corporal of Christ", is dead.

Father Francis Xavier Bimanski (Buman) was born in Sion, Switzerland, April 2, 1871 and entered the Society at the novitiate in Blyenbeck, Holland, November 23, 1889. The saintly novice master, Father Maurice Meschler, greeted him at the door. Under this skilled master of the spiritual life, he laid the solid spiritual foundation that was to carry him through over sixty-two years of fruitful labor in the Society of Jesus. His juniorate was made at Wijnandsrade, followed by two years of philosophy at Exaten and one at the newly opened philosophate at Valkenburg.

After a brief term of teaching at the Collegium Dei Nobili at Cremona, he came to America and taught for five years at St. Ignatius College, Cleveland. His theological studies were made at Valkenburg and Cracow, Poland, where he was ordained priest by Bishop Novak on April 17, 1904.

Returning to America he was assigned to the Polish Mission Band and spent ten years in that work. Early in 1914 he was assigned as chaplain at Cook County Hospital, Chicago.

On February 5, 1914 Father Bimanski began his work at the hospital, a work that was to continue until his death thirty-eight years later. During all these years he labored day and night, scarcely missing a day, and ministered to thousands of all races, colors, and tongues. A gifted linguist, he was able to care for many poor immigrants at the hospital and he endeared himself to all by his cheerful, patient, and sympathetic

ways. He arranged his work so that it would not conflict with the work of the doctors or nurses. His understanding of the demands and restrictions on the time of both patients and hospital personnel was absolute and complete and he governed his own time accordingly.

The tuberculosis patients were the object of his special attention. Even on days when he would have been free from hospital work he always paid a visit to the tuberculosis hospital. Entertainment for his beloved tuberculosis patients was arranged every Monday evening.

Father Bimanski showed great tact and diplomacy in arranging for a chapel when the former chapel building was demolished. Through his efforts a large spare room was acquired in the main hospital building. With the aid of religious and lay friends he was able to equip the chapel. And for years now Mass has been said daily in the hospital where there is a regular schedule of Sunday Masses for the hospital personnel and such patients as are able to attend. Due to community use of the present chapel by some of the Protestant denominations, it is a great tribute to Father Bimanski's quiet diplomacy that proper respect for the Catholic altar has been obtained from all who used the chapel.

Father Bimanski used his gifts as a linguist to good advantage. He was the author of several pamphlets to assist the hospital staff. His *Polish for the Clinic* saw four editions and was advertised in the medical journals of Chicago and New York. All the city hospitals received copies, and even the United States Army did not want to be forgotten. Father received hundreds of letters from doctors throughout the nation asking for copies of this pamphlet and others like it in Italian, Lithuanian, and Bohemian. His pamphlets for nurses, *Reminders* and *Ideal Nurse*, went into several editions. He also published *Helps for Chaplains*. These writings were the fruit of his work at County Hospital.

On two occasions Cardinal Stritch personally congratulated Father Bimanski for his work at the hospital. On November 22, 1940 His Eminence wrote: "I have read closely your report on the work of the Catholic chaplains at Cook County Hospital for the year 1939. I want to say to you that this report edified me greatly for it shows intelligent, pious, priestly work for the salvation of souls . . . These patients for the most part

are poor and among them are many of our weak and wayward sheep. I do not know of anything that I want better done in my archdiocese than the care of these souls of my flock." In February, 1923 the late Father General Ledochowski, who had once been his provincial, wrote a personal letter to Father highly commending him for his work as chaplain.

In 1918 Father Bimanski began his hobby of repairing watches and clocks to relieve the tedium of his hospital work. At first he met with opposition from the trade but by his firm and patient persistence he overcame all resistance. And in time some of the best horologists in the nation became his staunch friends. Through friends thus gained he became a life member of the Horological Institute at Washington, D. C. He was once chosen to give the invocation at a national meeting of horologists in Chicago.

Father Bimanski was deeply devoted to the Society. He practiced the virtues that should adorn a Jesuit life. He loved poverty as a mother and he certainly at times felt its effects. He was content with the barest necessities for his personal use. Strict with himself he was liberal to others. Money given him for carfare and articles of clothing often found their way to others whom he considered to be more needy than himself—a source of privation to himself but often the needed approach to win a soul for Christ. A man of deep piety, he was devoted to Mary and the saints of the Society. He had a good sense of humor; he was humble, cheerful, sincere, reticent about himself, and above all he was always calm and unperturbed. Though he was always busy, he was nevertheless willing to break off his work to lend a helping hand or to give a word of advice. He was always deeply loyal and he demanded loyalty from others. A layman remarked at his wake that Father Bimanski was a man who demanded loyalty and got it because he himself was so loyal. In short he made himself all things to all men.

During the last eight months of life he acted as spiritual father for the St. Ignatius High School community, with whom he lived when he was not on duty at the County Hospital. He labored zealously in the preparation of the monthly conferences to the community. His instructions were brief but to the point—the fruit of long experience and much reflection.

Father Bimanski was stricken while on duty at the County

Hospital on the evening of January 31, 1952. He was at once taken to St. Anthony's Hospital. Everything that medical science could do was done for him. After some weeks in the hospital he was able to return home and he made his annual retreat. But his improvement in health was only temporary. On April 21 he returned to the hospital, but all treatment was in vain. For nearly forty-eight hours before his death, priests from the St. Ignatius community took turns in keeping an almost constant vigil at his bedside. The end came suddenly, though not unexpectedly, on Sunday, April 27—the feast of St. Peter Canisius—just twenty-five days after his eighty-first birthday. The priest in attendance then had barely time to give him a last absolution before his great soul was gone.

Reverend Father Provincial celebrated the funeral Mass in Holy Family Church on April 30—the feast of the Solemnity of St. Joseph. Members of the Cook County Hospital Staff and of the Board of Commissioners acted as honorary pall bearers. Burial was in All Saints Cemetery.

The Board of Commissioners of Cook County passed resolutions of condolence at the passing of the gentle Chaplain who had so influenced the conduct of the affairs of Cook County Hospital. At the instigation of Doctor Karl Meyer, head of the medical staff of Cook County Hospital, Mr. William Steene, a well-known portrait painter, executed a beautiful picture of Father Bimanski. This portrait is to be placed in the library of the new Doctors' Building of the Cook County Hospital.

FREDERICK G. GEHEB, S.J.

* * *

O Lord Jesus Christ, Who didst mercifully grant that the Blessed Virgin Mary, Thy Mother, be the guide of St. Ignatius in the way of sanctity and the Queen and Mother of his family, this blessing we beg of Thee: that all of us who are blessed with her protection here on earth may rejoice in the sight of her glory in heaven. Amen.

—from the Mass of Our Lady, Queen of the Society of Jesus,

April 22.

Books of Interest to Ours

COLLEGE RELIGION

Christ as Prophet and King. By *John J. Fernan, S.J.* Syracuse, Le Moyne College, 1952. Pp. xviii-309. \$3.50.

Two of the Maryland Province colleges introduced their students to a new religion course in 1941. For a text they used a set of printed but unpublished notes. Catholic educators had been wondering how, in practice, to establish the teaching of religion as the central and unifying course in the college curriculum. To this old problem the proposed plan brought a new approach, based on the acceptable assumption that theology for the laity has a teleology distinct from that of a seminary course. In briefest form this aim has been expressed as the presentation of Catholic truth in such a way that students will deepen their understanding of it as an organic whole, and be impelled to live out intelligently their functions as members of the Mystical Body of Christ. This aim consequently determined the content of the course (in emphasis, at least), the order of presentation, and even the teaching method itself. The student was to make intimate contact with the Person of Jesus Christ: His life, the life He communicated to His Church, the new life He gives to each individual. The approach was historical and heavily scriptural. After the war the experiment was adopted by two more colleges in the Maryland Province and three in the New York Province.

Christ as Prophet and King, a text for Freshman year, appears therefore as the first published manual for this new religion course. The many interested Jesuits who have followed the discussions and successes of this teaching experiment gratefully welcome Father Fernan's contribution. This volume and the other three now in preparation suggest that the new course is established on a desirably permanent and official level in the New York Province.

The text has a four-fold division: an introduction to the gospels, a background to the life of Christ, the public life of Christ (with a chronology and comparative synopsis), and a dogmatic summary of Christology and ecclesiology. Test questions and suggested readings follow many of the chapters.

As Father Fernan indicates in a preliminary acknowledgment, much of the unpublished text of 1941 has been repeated without alteration. It would seem highly significant that after a decade of critical analysis and classroom experimentation the original draft was still judged worthy of almost verbatim incorporation. The additions made to the old text quite naturally prompt a comparative evaluation. One might reasonably conclude these new chapters were the result of some recognized need to round out the Freshman syllabus.

The outline of Jewish history is a valuable addition. The pre-Christian eras are sketched from the time of Adam to the rule of the Roman

procurators in Judea. The chapter on inspiration offers a good synopsis of the fact, nature, extent of inspiration, and so forth.

One might question however the advisability of including a section on the credibility of the gospels. This chapter, dealing with the authenticity, integrity and historicity of the gospels, follows the familiar lines of this tract as it is handled in *De Revelatione*. To a teacher not thoroughly familiar with the precise tone and goal of the entire course, this chapter might imply a definite commitment in favor of an apologetic approach in Freshman year. This implication, I take it, was just as definitely not intended by Father Fernan since such an approach is clearly written out of the statement of objectives. From the student's viewpoint, this section might possibly pose more distracting questions than it can hope to answer.

No review questions are found after the sections on the public life of our Lord. It might be that in the development of the public life, above all, the teacher would profit by very particularized directives in harmony with the general aim of the course.

The dogmatic summaries at the end of the text are clear, thorough, and admirably compact. Critics of the new course have at times voiced fretful doubts about an apparent lack of dogmatic content in the syllabus. Indirectly, but quite convincingly, Father Fernan solves those doubts with his excellent summaries of *De Verbo* and *De Ecclesia*.

The attractive format of this textbook deserves the highest commendation. The neat printing, as well as the generous use of subtitles and italics, make for simplified reading and handy classroom reference.

TERRENCE J. TOLAND, S.J.

SAINTS AND HEROES

The Fire of Francis Xavier. By Arthur R. McGratty, S.J. Milwaukee, Bruce, 1952. Pp. viii-295. \$4.00.

Pope Pius XI termed St. Francis Xavier not a missionary but an apostle. For "not only did he, by his sweat and toil, convert many barbarous peoples and lead them to a holy life by his own practice of heroic virtue, but he established them most solidly in the Christian faith and opened up to Catholic missionaries vast regions that hitherto had been closed on every side to the preaching of Christianity."

Just how the son of Navarre became the Apostle of the Orient is the subject of Father McGratty's latest work. The problem is stated in this fashion: "How best, then, catch the *stature* of the man? Perhaps, after all, by sensing the *accumulative* effect given by a progress through the successive chapters of that amazing decade Francis spent toiling in the East." Thus, though the biography is chronological, it is not a chronology. Occasional paragraphs of reflection enable the author to search the spirit of the Apostle. In that search one aspect is stressed, Xavier's striving for constancy in his converts. A letter to Rome drops a hint

of the efforts: "Thus, after many sessions together, and much work, I put together the prayers. When I had them by memory, I walked through the whole area, ringing my bell, summoning all the boys and men who would come. Thereafter I taught them twice every day for a month." This catechizing, his care for providing priests to carry on his work, and the school for native boys at Goa amply testify to Xavier's appreciation of the aim of the Church's missionary apostolate.

The narration of the work in the Indies is straightforward and clear, with no distractions due to historical controversies. Still, in one instance the reader may wish that the author had mentioned the historical dispute about the death of Yajiro, the first of Francis' Japanese converts. A few months after Francis left Kagoshima, so we read, Yajiro became a river pirate and died in China. Historians also offer a less tragic ending, that after being driven into exile Yajiro was killed by pirates.

Then there is the question of names. Every biographer tackling foreign languages must decide on the transcription of proper names. In the present work they are in general anglicized, a laudable practice indeed. Nevertheless, there are occasional lapses that make, for example, an Antonio here into an Anthony there.

But these minor flaws are more than compensated by the skillful section on Xavier's youth. In many lives of saints the early chapters are hurdles in the path of the story. It is fortunately not so here.

The lively narration and frequent flashes of insight will make Xavier even more widely known and loved than he now is. Although Jesuit readers may find the unsophisticated approach less attractive than that of Father Brodrick's more historical study, they will find the volume fully deserving its place on the ever growing shelf of modern hagiography. It will impress upon ourselves and many others the treasure we have in this brother whose career is "perhaps unique in any history of men's endeavor to further a cause."

JAMES J. RUDDICK, S.J.

Saints For Now. Edited by Clare Boothe Luce. New York, Sheed and Ward, 1952. Pp. 312. \$3.50.

This is a thoroughly admirable, apt, and appetizing book. Anthologies can turn out to be pretty dull affairs, but not this one. According to the jacket-blurb, Clare Boothe Luce asked a score of her friends to do a short essay on a favorite Saint. Mrs. Luce is indeed fortunate in her friends. Fifteen men (only one a priest) and five women (only one a nun) responded with twenty brief biographies or appreciations of eighteen Saints, Francis of Assisi and John of the Cross each having been chosen by two writers. It is usual in speaking of such a group of people, to describe them as *distinguished*. In this case they are. Some of the contributors are celebrated, almost all of them are well-known. They know their Saints, they obviously admire their Saints, they even

understand their Saints. In addition, these people can write, and in the pages of this book they do, to the vast satisfaction of at least one reader. The curse of anthologies is, of course, unevenness. In the present instance the standard of both substance and style is not only high, but extraordinarily level. Incidentally, the lead essay, *Saints*, by Mrs. Luce, explains the objective and title of the book: to compile the brief biographies of a handful of Saints whom contemporary people find a working source of inspiration for the living of contemporary life. As we might expect, this essay is itself superb.

As in all contemporary hagiography, the emphasis in these short lives is not on austerities and marvels but on personality and (so to speak) individual philosophy. Consequently, the Saints treated emerge with clarity and persuasiveness. Even Saints of whom little is known become remarkably real, and those—like Simeon on his pillar whom we neurotic moderns inevitably regard as a bit peculiar—come through, in the end, as reasonable and attractive folk. The work of the distaff contributors is especially fine, particularly the candid study of Augustine by Rebecca West and the perfectly charming life of Hilda of Whitby by that Sister Madeleva who, practically singlehanded, has prevented me and many another distracted male from despairing altogether of contemporary womankind. Among the other essays I particularly liked *St. Helena Empress* by Evelyn Waugh and *St. Simeon Stylites* by George Lamb. I preferred Kate O'Brien's *St. Francis Xavier* to John Farrow's *St. Ignatius Loyola*, but perhaps it is difficult for a Jesuit to be detached on the subject of Ignatius. Bruce Marshall's *The Curé of Ars* I found faintly disappointing, but only because Mr. Marshall deliberately muzzled the mordant satire which I like best in him.

The book is adorned, if that be the proper word, with seven illustrations, the frontispiece representing *Sanctity* or *Saint For Now* (it is called both), and the other six picturing various saints. St. John of the Cross has not only two essays but two illustrations, which may prove something or other. For the most part these *objets d'art* are definitely Illustrations For Now, but they do not hurt the book, nor will they harm the ordinary reader. Just don't let the children get too near them.

VINCENT P. MCCORRY, S.J.

Sea of Glory. By Francis B. Thornton. Prentice-Hall, New York, 1953. Pp. 243. \$3.00.

While World War II history has been thoroughly covered by Army, Navy, and Air Force histories, the memoirs of leading statesmen, and the biographies of generals, there was a particular incident, devoid of any political significance or real military importance, but one of deep religious meaning, which Father Thornton has recorded for us.

When the old troop ship *Dorchester* was making her last futile ef-

forts against the sea after being stricken by a German torpedo, four chaplains remained arm in arm on the deck praying. Thirty minutes was the limit of endurance in the icy water of the North Atlantic even with a life jacket, and they had given theirs to soldiers who had been caught without their own. Added significance was given to their act of heroism by the fact that they represented all American faiths, Protestant, Jewish, and Catholic. Secular commentators all over the country were reminded of the text from St. John: "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." All had left dearly-loved families for the call of God to serve Him and their fellow men. They volunteered for a great cause and were found acceptable. Their sacrifice was a source of inspiration to the whole nation and to the members of the armed forces in particular. Thanks to Father Thornton's work, it will continue to send its message to younger generations faced with the same problems of service to God and country during war.

FREDERICK J. REISERT, S.J.

LIGHTS FOR NUNS

Listen Sister: Thoughts for Nuns. By John E. Moffatt, S.J. New York, McMullen, 1952. Pp. 210. \$2.75.

This book, with its modest subtitle, is the fruit of Father Moffatt's many retreats to Sisters both in this country and in Canada. The form in which the author has shaped these thoughts recalls the earlier work of Father Charles and Father Lippert, though, unfortunately, this author possesses neither the grace of style of the former nor the poetry and the profundity of the latter. Nevertheless, if these short essays are read with close and prayerful attention, the thoughts they contain will benefit many Sisters.

The subjects treated follow the round of problems which arise in convent life. Confession, prayer and the distractions which disturb it, presence of God, death, reverence, are all handled here once again but Father Moffatt has generally something new to say which is worth hearing. His chapter on supernatural attractiveness is especially good. Here he cautions Sisters against exploiting their own personalities in the false belief that in this they will bring to God those for whom they work. Americans of the "advertising age" are particularly subject to this illusion and the author firmly but tactfully shows them that this is no way to God but a *cul de sac*.

There is so much that is worthwhile in the book that the reader is saddened to find many half-truths repeated in it which often manage to slip into the armory of spiritual writers who fail to relate their teaching constantly to reality. An example of this "easy thinking" is the frequent evocation of novitiate days as the ideal time to which all religious should strive to return. But if noviceships are characterized by fervor, they represent also a period of physical and spiritual

immaturity. Though, at times, religious do lose their early fervor, it is demanding a psychological impossibility of them to expect them to return to that prior state. They must regain their fervor, of course, but it must now be a deeper and more substantial quality, chastened and matured as they should be by the saddening reality they have glimpsed in their days or years of sloth. The spiritual life must always advance even from the pit of tepidity; it cannot be a series of endless returns to an idealized past.

Again, Father Moffatt's treatment of the "rights" of religious leaves much to be desired. He tells his Sisters that they have the "right" to be humble, to be neglected, to be treated with injustice. Well and good, this is a part of the picture. But the other side deserves at least passing mention. The author must surely have heard of convents where *The Review for Religious*, for example, is reserved to the superior in order that subjects may not prove troublesome. The fact remains that the Church and religious constitutions grant real rights to subjects and it is well that they should know them. The number of Canon Law Institutes for religious women held during recent summers testify to a growing awareness of this need. Perhaps these institutes rather than exhortations to meekness will proffer the solution for the troubling number of defections after ten and fifteen years in religion, which has affected some congregations of religious women.

Finally in his treatment of higher studies, Father Moffatt shows a lack of comprehension of the real difficulties involved in graduate work in first-class universities and especially of the burdens which these difficulties impose on religious women. Here his position is always "slanted" negatively. He talks of Sisters "strutting . . . because of the degrees . . . won." These Sisters may "slave" for their degrees but what are their motives? "Well, it *will* set me a bit above my companions." As for their "Ph.D's," Our Lord will "not be awed by that." Unless they are also "Doctors of Sanctity," they will gain nothing substantial from them.

All this is true in part. Sisters, like priests, may become vain over such things. But why is no mention made of the tremendous help these same Sisters give the cause of God literally by their "blood, sweat and tears"? Is the intellectual life essentially opposed to the spiritual life, or does not the problem lie in showing these Sisters how they may become saints by means of, and not in spite of, their learning? We do not all go to heaven along the same road, even though we belong to the same religious congregation. There are other saints in the calendar besides Thérèse of Lisieux, even among women. We should not forget the existence of Catherine of Siena, to say nothing of Theresa of Avila.

The reason why these points have been so sharply made is that, by his restatement of these half-truths, Father Moffatt is repeating a spiritual teaching which needs thorough reevaluation. Such "truths" cannot fail to spread a patina of unreality over spiritual endeavor and so make it harder rather than easier for intelligent religious to achieve that which

they long for with all their hearts, the complete dedication of their entire selves to the work their Master has given them to do.

FRANCIS J. MCCOOL, S.J.

PHILOSOPHICAL SPECULATIONS

The Theory of Transfinite Numbers in the Light of the Notion of Potency.

Excerpta ex dissertatione ad lauream in Facultate Philosophica Pontificiae Universitatis Gregoriana. *Auctore Clyde J. Elliot, S.J.* Romae, Typis Pontificiae Universitatis Gregoriana, 1952. Pp. 87.

The present thesis is "a critical examination of Cantor's theory from the viewpoint of mathematics and philosophy in order to see whether an actual infinite must be postulated" (p. 14). Hence "the method of this thesis . . . [is] a critical examination of the fundamental notions and theses of the theory of transfinite numbers for the purpose of rejecting the philosophically false base of the actual infinite and substituting in its place the potential infinite" (p. 15). The conclusion is "that the theory of transfinite numbers, far from forcing us to accept the actual infinite, obliges us to retain the potential infinite. It is only through the notion of potency, whose manifold presence we have already pointed out, that the theory of transfinite numbers can be given a satisfactory interpretation" (p. 85).

The present thesis, despite other incidental merits, unfortunately fails to make its central points and succeeds, if at all, only in demolishing a straw-man. This failure results from several basic misconceptions that undermine the entire enterprise. It is of importance therefore to disengage and exhibit these serious misinterpretations.

The author for example alludes to the law of formation, the successive addition of 1, for whole numbers, and then remarks: "the law of formation . . . [is not] sufficient to give us all the individual integers. That law of formation, the successive addition of 1, is an endless process. We are not speaking here of the physical impossibility of writing down all the whole numbers on paper, but of a conceptual impossibility. Even if we were to consider the process in our imagination as going on for millions of years, or even millions of centuries, the process would not be complete nor would all the integers be given. Thus the law of formation which will give us the individual whole numbers, cannot give us *all* these numbers. The numbers must be formed one after another. The process can never be complete. Wherever it is stopped, we have only finite numbers which do not exhaust the possibility of the production of more finite numbers by the same process" (p. 35). The basic confusions here, if not gross, are at least crude. For it is a mistake to suppose that mathematics imposes on individual lay intelligence the presumably arduous task of a personal construction of the number series. It is therefore difficult to take seriously the writer's optimistic proposal that "in place of Cantor's definition we would suggest that a set is a multitude *in fieri* according to a certain law" (p. 36).

Similar misconceptions provoke the important query and reponse: "Is there not then a contradiction in a number greater than all the numbers which have no greatest? It seems so to us because we believe that the totality of whole numbers can never be completely exhibited. The impossibility of actuating *all* the individual whole numbers is not due to a weakness of our intellect but to the nature of the number series itself. Its actuation is always a *fieri* which contains a further potentiality that can never be completely actuated . . . This is the reason why we see only illusion in what Cantor calls the region of numbers 'outside the endless number series 1, 2, 3, . . .'" (p. 46). But Cantor is both precise and clear on the subject, while the author is seriously confused. For it is a confusion to identify as synonymous "whole" and "bounded whole." For there very well may be a whole that is very properly without one or more appropriate bounds. Cantor thus correctly distinguishes an endless set from a set in general. For a set may or may not have terms and hence last members. And it is therefore no contradiction, nor even the semblance of one, to maintain that (1) the set of all natural numbers does not contain a greatest and thus last integer, and yet (2) it is whole, entire, integral, and complete. For all the natural numbers are comprised within it, no natural number is omitted from its embrace, all of its elements are natural numbers, and there is no element in it which is not a natural number.

Father Elliot moreover strives to make clear just where and why he undertakes to differ from Cantor. For [for Cantor] "it was sufficient to give a definition of such a [transfinite] number that would make it determinate and would so establish its relationship with other numbers that there would be a clear distinction between them. But we require a contact with reality to ensure the objectivity of our concepts. If there is no such contact, the concepts developed have a purely speculative interest and cannot serve for practical applications. Such applications are only possible when the conditions assumed by the definition are fulfilled. Such, for example, is the case of the non-Euclidean geometries which are true for the type of space presupposed by the initial postulates and not for the ordinary space which is Euclidean" (pp. 46-47). Here the baleful effects of interpreting mathematics as the reflective study of *ens quantum* in the second degree of formal abstraction take their full and relentless toll. The orientation here is hopelessly erroneous. For the traditional mystery within Scholasticism concerning the application of mathematics to physics is solved without residue by isomorphism, not abstraction. A mathematical physics is possible if, and only if, when, and so far as there just happens to be an identity of relational structure amid a disparity of relations and *relata*. Such isomorphism is no surrender to a reprehensible subjectivism in epistemology. For it leaves empirical knowledge as objective as a responsible realist could demand without the necessity of denaturing mathematics from its native function as a purely speculative science of relations or of order. And in particular there are not any different types of space. There are only different metrics which give rise to the misnamed non-Euclidean geometries. It is therefore impossible to heed with serious intent the author's remark that

"with regard to their objective practical value, they [transfinite numbers] are indeterminate signposts in an illusory space" (p. 48).

And it is simply a major mistake of fatal proportions to report that "the process of counting or numbering is used to determine whether two sets are equivalent or not, that is, whether they have the same power or not. Thus Cantor writes: 'We say that two aggregates M and N are "equivalent" . . . if it is possible to put them, by some law, in such a relation to one another that to every element of each one of them corresponds one and only one element of the other'" (p. 48). I respectfully submit that the quotation from Cantor does not warrant the interpretation here given to its content.

Nor is it to any purpose to present Cantor's neat and profound distinction between *Realität* [*Entität*] and *Zahl* and then to conclude that "one thing is clear enough and that is that he admits that there are more elements in one set [of all whole numbers] than in the other [of only even numbers]. With this admission the long-accepted principle about the whole and the part remains secure" (p. 52). But such comfort, although obtainable in other ways, is here counterfeit, because grounded on a confusion. It was clear to Cantor, as it was to Aquinas in his own way (*Summa theologica* 3. 10. 3. 3), and in fact still is to many discerning persons, that (1) although the set of all natural numbers is somehow more rich in elements than the set of all (but only) the even numbers, (2) its cardinal power or number is identically the same. This precious insight is proof enough that one must get accustomed to the sharp and significant distinction between (a) numerically greater, and (b) entitatively, ontologically, superior, richer, or "greater." For it is a mistake to suppose that the purely incidental coincidence of entity and number, familiarly associated with finite sets, is a general metaphysical law that rules all sets of elements without qualification.

It is moreover not improbable that many serious students of Cantor will construe as an impertinence the remark that "it is impossible, even conceptually, to have the totality of the natural numbers in all their individuality. The concept derived from that set must reflect the nature of the set. If there is an inexhaustive potentiality in that set, our mind would do violence to the objective nature of that set in conceiving it as completely actuated in all its individual elements. Our mind does not form concepts in this violent way. When A_0 [Cantor's first transfinite cardinal power] is defined as the concept corresponding to this set given in its totality, that definition is not a naturally formed concept but an artificial creation of a mind that has not carefully examined the object it would define" (p. 58). It would indeed be violence to intelligence to conceive the *last* element in an *endless* collection. But it is also a regrettable type of intellectual violence to maintain that an *endless* set cannot be whole, integral, entire and complete by adequate and determinate definitional construction.

And if it be correct to argue that "if A_0 is the mental representation of the set of whole numbers, it must represent that set as it is objectively, that is, with its potentiality" (p. 59), it is surely a misconception of Cantor's exquisite theory to construe A_0 as "the mental representation of

the set of whole numbers," and an error of fundamental proportions to regard that set "as it is objectively, that is, with its potentiality." And one may honestly ask the author: if "we cannot concede that the concept of the totality of the number series which would include within itself all the natural numbers and yet leave room for the formation of other numbers, is a true concept, conformed to the true reality of our number system" (pp. 83-84), then what numbers, please, are not included in that set?

In conclusion one may note (1) that in traditional Aristotelian-Thomistic metaphysics act and potency are indispensable and indissoluble correlatives, so that (2) the "potential infinite" becomes *meaningless* in a system where the "actual infinite" (in magnitude or multitude) is contradictory and unreal. It is impossible therefore to agree with the author that "the theory of transfinite numbers, far from forcing us to accept the actual infinite, obliges us to retain the potential infinite" (p. 85). There is a deplorable *ignoratio elenchi* here. For the real issue is *not* between an actual infinite multitude and a potential infinite multitude, but as Cantor saw and was at great pains to make perspicuously clear, between the actual finite, and the actual transfinite.

JOSEPH T. CLARK, S.J.

CHRISTMAS THE WORLD ROUND

The Christmas Book. *By Francis X. Weiser, S.J.* New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1952. Pp. 188. \$3.00.

This collection of Christmas customs is not only a little cyclopedia on the subject but an inspiring testament to the faith of Christian peoples of each age. Written in a delightfully easy style, the book almost belies the patient research that had to go into its making. Since there is nothing like it in English, the book deserves wide circulation and may be used very effectively by priests in lectures and sermons to reveal the religious origins of our most treasured Nativity festivities.

"All the countries which have no more legends will be condemned to die of cold," wrote a poet of our time. It is interesting to note how each national genius has created traditions from its inner warmth (and how sadly true are the poet's words of the Puritans who tried to kill the legends). The simple piety of the poor whether in the Ukraine or the Tyrol enlisted whatever mid-winter material they had to welcome the Infant King. Drama, liturgy, song, vegetation, light, even so domestic a thing as pastry are all given a Christmas flavor that enriches them and us. Many people would be surprised to learn that there is a religious significance to the Christmas tree, the poinsettia, mistletoe, holly, candles, cookies and the exchange of presents. Father Weiser has told the story of all these and many more in neatly arranged chapters.

NICHOLAS J. CARROLL, S.J.

Practice: A Pool of Teaching Experience. Edited by Rudolph J. Knoepfle, S.J. Chicago, Loyola University Press, 1952. Pp. 354. \$2.50.

Monotony is the curse of every profession but nowhere is it more noticeable and disastrous than in the teacher's trade. *Practice* with its 245 successful teaching techniques and methods is designed to help the harassed teacher who anxiously seeks to inject the tonic of variety into his work. Father Knoepfle, the founder of the quarterly, *Practice*, has edited this present volume which represents contributions from 175 Jesuits.

The various subjects and the number of articles devoted to each are arranged in the following order: English (80), public speaking (15), Latin and Greek (55), religion (13), social sciences (21), physical sciences (18), classroom procedure (43). Since English teachers are most vocal on the throes of the rut, the preponderance of articles on English should not be surprising. Most engaging of all the suggestions are the ones which help the student read a deeper meaning into the accepted routine of ordinary life, e.g. having a definite point of view when he peruses the sports page, or glances at an editorial, or studies a *Saturday Evening Post* cover, or watches television. Effecting an integration between class work and life cannot fail to be appealing. The majority of the teaching techniques, however, concerns an effective method of presenting grammar rules, conducting reviews (always a problem), correcting homework, promoting *concertationes*.

Only thirteen articles deal directly with the teaching of religion. This summary treatment seems to reflect the general lack of vitality in the teaching of religion on the high school level. Perhaps the curriculum is at fault. However, the dearth of articles on the formal teaching of religion is offset in part by the numerous suggestions involving the natural introduction of spiritual topics in the secular subjects.

Easy reading might be the characteristic mark of this book. The authors of the articles write clearly and succinctly, sometimes humorously, but almost always manifesting fine psychological insight. Other welcome features include tasteful illustrations, intelligent organization, a comprehensive book list for students of the classics, and a complete index.

The veteran teacher, eager to conduct stimulating classes, would consider the effort well worth while if a thorough perusal of *Practice* yielded only one helpful idea. He should find many.

EDWARD F. MALONEY, S.J.

Be Not Solicitous. Edited by Maisie Ward. New York, Sheed & Ward, 1953. Pp. 254. \$3.00.

Be Not Solicitous is a refreshing series of essays by thirteen very refreshing people, mothers and fathers of families, with but one exception, who have been willing to accept Christ's invitation to put aside

solicitude for the things of this world in order to seek more surely the kingdom of heaven. In her introductory essay Maisie Ward tells us "the theme of this book is God's Providence in relation to Catholic families who put their trust in Him." Because trust in God is a most fruitful virtue, the essays indicate the high spirituality which can be found in Catholic family life and which is actually found in the ordinary lives of these most ordinary people who have found the secret for most extraordinary living. That secret is abandonment to the will of God.

"The case for abandonment is this. . . . It solves the whole complex problem of human existence at one stroke. He who lives in absolute abandonment to the will of God shares in the power and wisdom of God. He can know or do anything God wills him to do. . . . Superficially nothing is changed. . . . Substantially God has taken over (p. 88)."

The constant insistence that Christian family life is the indispensable means for the survival of our Christian faith and culture is another theme which receives almost equal treatment with the main theme of the essays. Christopher Dawson has written: "If the Catholic theory of society is true, the supersession of the family means not progress, but the death of society, the end of our age, and the passing of European civilization." It is a message which is very timely today. It recalls Abbé Michonneau's plea for the Christianization of the family as a family rather than of its members as members, even of its children, because it has not always been true that when the Church won the young, she also secured the next generation. The young must live in the bosom of the family and if this is shallow or thorny soil, the good seed will be choked and die. Editor Ward tells us:

"Somehow we must get back to conceiving the family, not the individual, as the unit . . . it is too easy for propaganda, for waves of enthusiasm, to sweep off their feet masses of the young. . . . The absolutely necessary counterweight must be found in the family, in the balance it gives between generations, in its possession of treasures of wisdom and tradition. . . . (Pp. 10-11)."

The future of the Christian family would indeed be secure if it could be entrusted to people like the authors of this collection.

The essays themselves treat a variety of subjects. While indicating the rôle trust in God should play in Catholic life, they show us the relationship that is possible between family life and poverty, spirituality, the apostolate, and community in the Mystical Body. Of special interest are the essays entitled "Abandonment," "Marriage and Spirituality," "The Joy of Poverty," and "An Interracial Catholic Marriage."

JOHN J. MCCONNELL, S.J.

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VOL. LXXXII, No. 3

JULY, 1953

CONTENTS FOR JULY, 1953

GONZAGA RETREAT HOUSE.....	195
A NEW WAY TO THE HEART OF INDIA?..... Swami Dindass	218
OUR LADY AND THE EXERCISES..... Francis J. Marien	224
HISTORICAL NOTES	
Letters of Father James Pye Neale.....	238
OBITUARY	
Father William J. Brosnan.....	271
Father Walter J. Mills.....	278
BOOKS OF INTEREST TO OURS	
The Catholic Mind Through Fifty Years (Masse).....	284
The Church and Modern Science (Vollert; Pius XII).....	285
Benjamin Harrison: Hoosier Warrior (Sievers).....	286
The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons (Ellis).....	287

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Note to Contributors

It would be well when submitting contributions to the WOODSTOCK LETTERS to observe the following: type *triple* space, leaving a one-inch margin on either side of the page, i.e., approximately sixty spaces to a line. This will aid greatly in determining ahead of time the length of articles submitted to us, and leaves sufficient room for the insertion of printing directions. Subheadings should also be used, at least one to every other page, in articles and Historical Notes. Pictures, fairly large and clear, should accompany obituaries and other articles, as far as possible; these will, of course, be returned to the contributor.

* * *

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GONZAGA RETREAT HOUSE

The Miracle at Monroe¹

The philosopher and theologian will have to wait till Judgment Day to declare definitively if Gonzaga Retreat House merits the title "miracle" *late* or *stricte dictum*. In the interim its story should be told, for the story of Gonzaga is the story of faith and sacrifice uncommon in our times. In a word, it is the story of a retreat house, the first retreat house for youth in America, constructed largely by youths themselves and wholly by volunteers.

Though the major work was finished after thirteen months of labor in time to have eight retreats in the five weeks before the formal dedication on June 7, 1952, the story itself dates back before the war. It stems back to Mount Manresa and Loyola at Morristown, back even to Manresa-on-Severn where Father Raymond J. H. Kennedy in the late 1930's was conducting occasional retreats for high school seniors of the Baltimore-Washington area. After a short time there he was transferred to Loyola Retreat House in Morristown and he brought his hobby with him. It was then that his boys' retreats took on a pre-induction cast, for with Pearl Harbor and the war every high school senior automatically became a pre-inductee, and pre-induction retreats became a crying need of the day.

Of Boys and Retreats

Most of the retreatants came from Jesuit schools, entire classes from the senior year, usually broken up into groups of thirty-five or so. Some few non-Jesuit schools managed to get in, but most of them had to be turned away, for Father Kennedy was likewise giving men's retreats and the houses were geared primarily for the older retreatants. It was the same story when he was transferred to Staten Island with the status of 1942. There the superior, Father Thomas H. Moore, who eyed the work sympathetically, gave Father Kennedy free rein to corral all the boys he could. Retreats were held for them in midweeks, and once, at least, in October, 1943 a pre-induction retreat was held concurrently with a weekend men's retreat for a group of public high school boys.

All through the war and after it these boys' retreats con-

tinued, Father Kennedy conducting all but one or two of them until the Feast of Christ the King in 1949 when he suffered a heart attack during his 399th retreat.

It might have been the end of a tremendous job well done had he not been dreaming since 1944 of a retreat house just for youth and, had the good Lord in His providence not provided against this very day.

Either it was all pure chance or all part of the miracle that a Scholastic, John W. Magan, who up to now had rather scorned the idea of boys' retreats, and was teaching at the Crown Heights School of Catholic Workmen in Brooklyn, New York, had a few free days toward the end of April in 1942. The seniors from Brooklyn Prep School were scheduled to make their retreat at Morristown, and a Scholastic prefect was needed. No other could be obtained, so Mr. Magan was sent. The effects of the retreat on the boys who were making it began to become apparent to him, and, while he was sitting in the bus waiting to go home, the thought occurred to him, "If a retreat can do so much to our boys, what could it do for boys in public schools?"

It was the first Friday in May of 1942. It was this thought that was ultimately responsible for the opening of Gonzaga just a few days short of ten years from that date.

A few weeks after that Brooklyn Prep retreat Mr. Magan visited Father Kennedy who by this time had been transferred to Staten Island, and asked him about the possibility of a public high school retreat. "You get the boys and I'll conduct the retreat," was Father Kennedy's reply, and a date was set for the following Easter Monday, almost a year away. It seemed so simple—to get twenty-five high school boys, the minimum number needed—to make a closed retreat. Yet after almost a year of work there was not even one. Pastors and curates had been contacted and the only results to show were a pair of thinly worn shoes and a ringing in the ear constantly echoing, "Boy, you don't know what you're doing. Why, when we first had released time instruction in this parish two hundred kids showed up out of a possible four hundred and of the two hundred present fifty percent hadn't been to Mass in four years." Yet it never seemed to dawn on the priests concerned that the retreat was the answer to their

problem and that a little cooperation might spell the end of their defeat. No one so much as offered the name of a possible student contact, and no one had yet signed up for the retreat now two weeks away.

On Passion Sunday morning, feeling pretty low, Mr. Magan made his way to the Brooklyn Carmelite convent there to ask prayers that he get his twenty-five retreatants. The nuns promised to pray, and with that he went to Mount Vernon, New York, to visit a Protestant friend who promptly gave him the names and addresses of eight fourth-year public high school boys who were about to go into service, two of them before Easter. These two, Charles Broussard and William Manley, signed up for a men's retreat over the following week-end and two others of the eight signed up for the Easter Monday retreat.

Contacting a public high school teacher in Brooklyn on the same Sunday evening, he was invited to Manual Training High School on the following day. There the assistant principal introduced him to another teacher who forthwith gave him a list of one hundred names and addresses of the senior boys who were thought to be Catholics. In only one case of the hundred did she make a mistake and that one happened to be a very devout High Episcopalian. It was a very different story he had previously obtained from another high school principal—supposedly a fervent Catholic—who advised him, "If you were to ask me and if I were to look most carefully, I might be able to tell you if the boys were white or black, but I have no way of knowing if they be Catholic, Protestant, or Jew." The Manual Training teacher who proved so cooperative upon hearing of this other, succinctly remarked, "I can't tell you if the boys are Catholics either. But I know which ones went to St. Augustine's grammar school and which ones have Italian names." Armed with the list she had given him, Mr. Magan spent his free time in the remaining two weeks climbing the rickety stairs of the tenements in South Brooklyn and knocking on doors of families too poor to have bells. It added up to twenty-seven prospects by Holy Saturday night and twenty-six retreatants on Monday afternoon, the one defection being the brother of a seminarian who talked him out of it by conveying the im-

pression that a retreat meant going into one's shell instead of emerging from it.

Because of the success of this first effort, another retreat for public school pre-inductees was organized for October of the same year and dozens of other boys were rounded up to fill in the gaps of more conventionally organized groups.

Remote Plans for Gonzaga

By the time June and theology came around, Mr. Magan's interest in boys' retreats had overshadowed his initial enthusiasm for sociology and labor schools and, with the approval of Father Provincial, he planned to devote any free time he might have at Woodstock to the study of the Exercises and the problems of young men. With this idea in mind, he visited Father Kennedy on the Sunday before he left for theology. On the way to see him the thought of a boys' retreat house entered his mind. No sooner had he reached Manhattanville College where the meeting was to take place than Father Kennedy suggested to him, "Someday we're going to have a boys' retreat house, and we're going to call it Manresa-Gonzaga." Only God knows which of the two had first thought of the idea. In any case both men were only dreaming.

But Father Kennedy was in a more practical position to dream than was a first-year theologian. So practical was his vantage point that within a few years time boys to whom he had given closed retreats and who were now in uniform, sent him of their service pay an aggregate of ten thousand dollars in five and ten dollar bills. At last the boys' retreat house was getting a foot to stand on.

Plans were to build a house on Staten Island on the property next to Mount Manresa, and five acres of property were actually purchased for this end. Manresa itself was to cede to Manresa-Gonzaga five acres of its own property, thus giving in all a sizeable site for a retreat house.

But apparently God in His goodness did not want the house built there, at least not the first boys' retreat house, for just at this time he called to himself a prominent Catholic layman who had promised to contribute fifty thousand dollars and to induce five other men to make a like contribution.

With that kind of money the house could have been built and an architect friend of Father Kennedy had actually drawn up plans. But the untimely death of the prospective donor caused the whole thing to collapse and the boys' retreat house fund remained ten thousand dollars, being added to now and then by a dollar or two in change.

Four years passed by in the meantime and Father Magan was now ordained. Father Kennedy, whose retreat-giving pace had quickened every year, was showing signs of weakening and on at least three occasions was forced to take a rest, twice in a hospital. A small portion of his retreat schedule fell to Father Magan, but the bulk of it was assigned to Father Justin McCarthy, when Father Kennedy's physician ordered a total rest.

In the meantime Father Kennedy had been residing at Xavier, where Father Magan was likewise stationed, assigned to giving occasional retreats and promoting Brothers' vocations. With the June status of 1950, Father Kennedy went to LeMoyne and, as a farewell word to his protégé, advised him, "It's up to you to build that boys' retreat house."

Never had a more hopeless assignment been given, for in addition to having a status of his own, Father Magan's sole contacts were the boys of South Brooklyn whom he had organized for retreats several years before and other more or less underprivileged young men whom he had met in the interim. Nor had he any knowledge of building. But God can make up for human deficiencies and this time He did it with a vengeance.

Monroe

Father Provincial needed a secretary for the Summer of 1950, his regular amanuensis being scheduled to make a Holy Year pilgrimage. He called Father Magan to Kohlmann Hall and there the opportunity came.

One morning's mail brought an advertising brochure offering for sale the New York Military Academy at Cornwall. It was only a shot in the dark, but as he gave it to Father Provincial, the temporary secretary remarked, "I could think of a good use for this place. It would make a fine boys' retreat house." The Provincial was not impressed and replied,

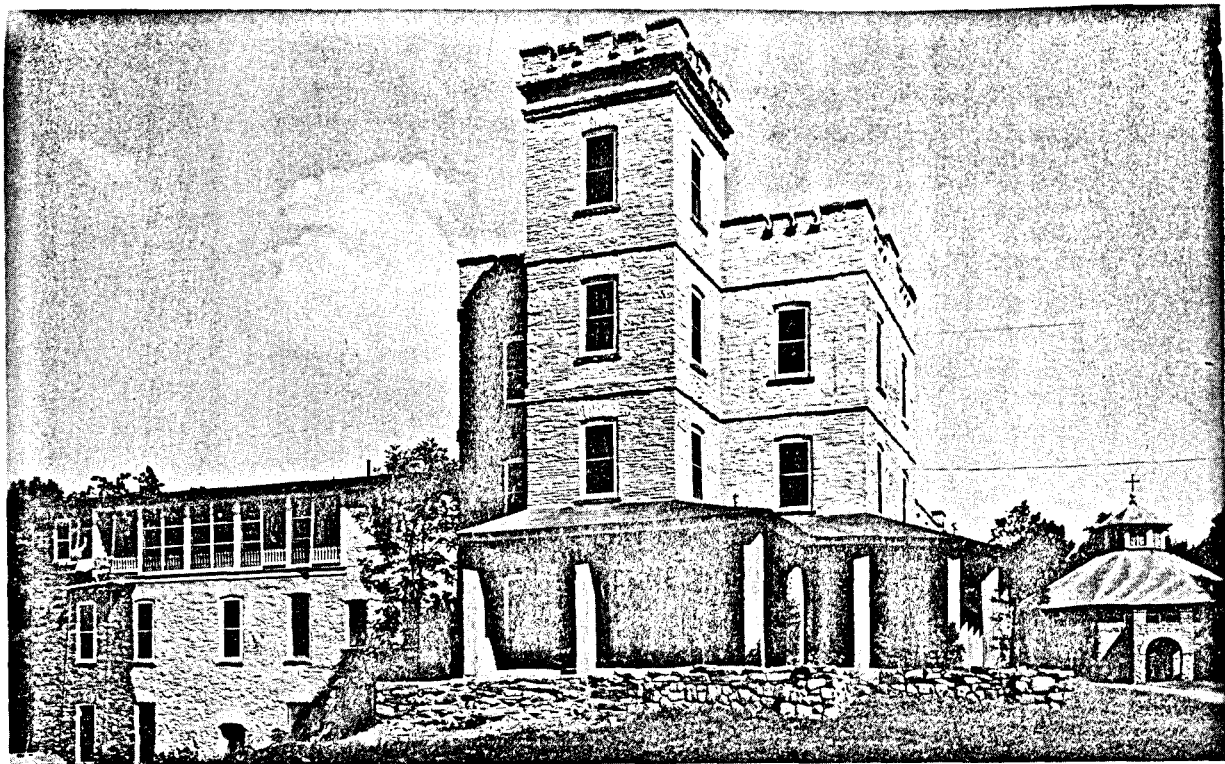
"We're buying no more property until we find a use for Monroe." That ended the discussion but started a new train of thought. And as Father Magan made his retreat at Woodstock prior to taking his final vows on August 15, 1950, the dominant thought of eight days' meditation was Monroe, Monroe, Monroe. He had not seen the place since his juniorate villa in 1939, but vague recollections of the past seemed to say that Monroe could become a retreat house.

After the Mass of his vows on the feast of the Assumption, Father Magan, accompanied by his father and a friend, drove down to the old Seven Springs Mountain House to see if his retreat ideas had been a light or a distraction.

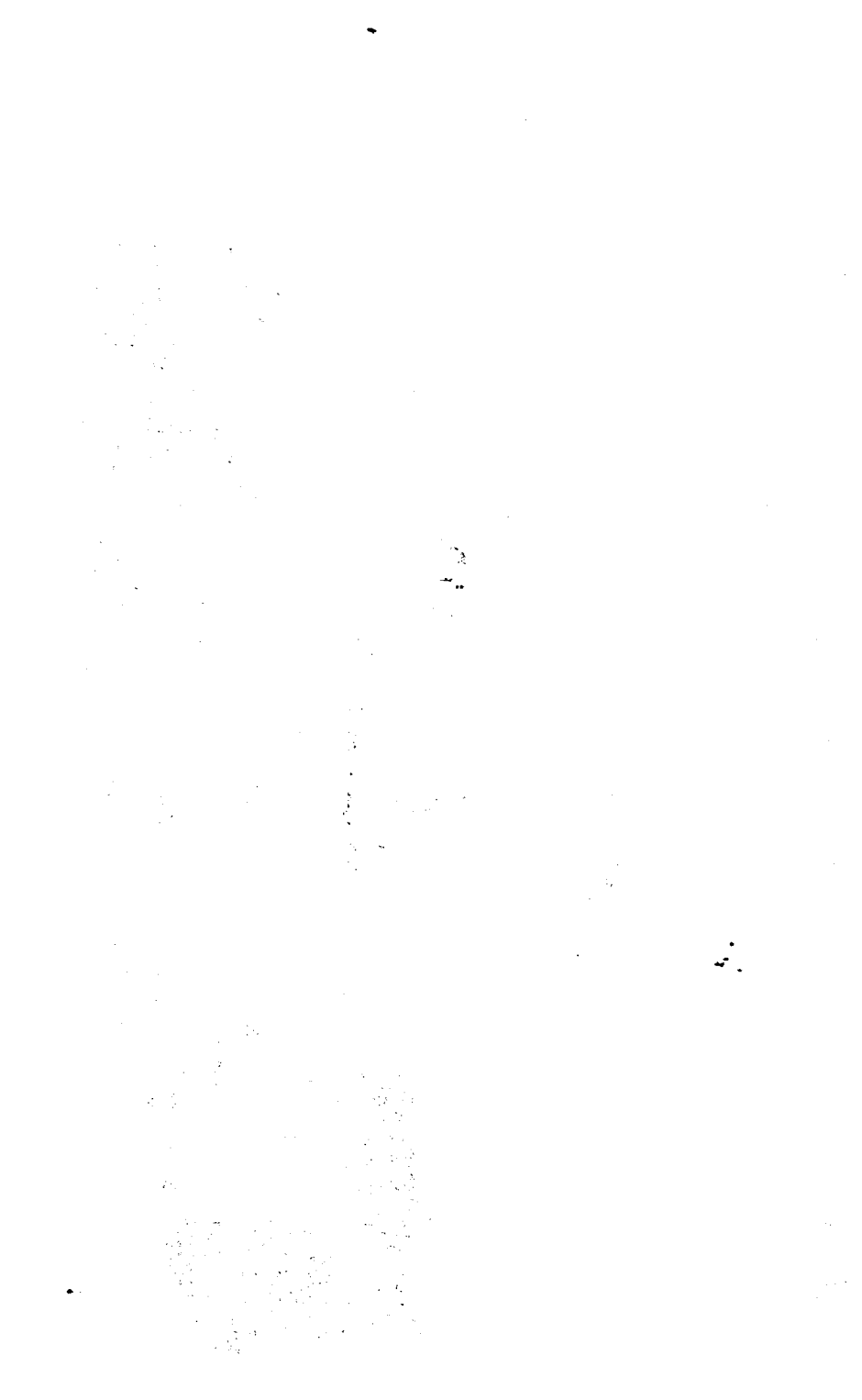
The structure, a building of Civil War vintage, once a famous summer hotel which had housed such notables as General Grant, Oscar Wilde, Sarah Bernhardt, and Edwin Booth, and which gave George M. Cohan his locale when rewriting Earl Derr Biggers' *Seven Keys to Baldpate* had been obtained for the Society in the early nineteen hundreds by Father William J. Walsh, who at the time was pastor of Our Lady of Loretto parish on the lower east side in New York. To it for several years he brought his Italian boys, about two hundred strong, for their summer vacation. In the beginning he used the building in its primitive state, though he transformed the old carriage stable into a beautiful mountain chapel. On the fourth of July in 1913 a fire of unknown origin swept the entire place, virtually nothing being saved but the lives of the boys, the chapel, and the exterior walls of the house.

With the ingenuity manifested in all his building projects (he likewise had charge of the construction of Saint Andrew-on-Hudson and the Seven Springs Sanatorium), Father Walsh turned a mass of rock and burnt mortar into a castle-like structure, ideal for a retreat house.

That was the building which Father Magan found on August 15, 1950. On September 8 he again visited the place, this time in the company of his father and Father William T. Wood who, as a classmate with some knowledge of boys' retreats, he felt would be able to disillusion him if, in his interest in getting a retreat house started, he was seeing too much in the possibilities at Monroe.



Gonzaga Retreat House and the Chapel of the Boy Jesus



With Father Wood's encouragement then, he wrote Father Provincial on that same day suggesting the possibility of using the Seven Springs Mountain House for boys' retreats. The structure was now rapidly disintegrating since for nearly thirty years it had not been kept in repair and had been used in its rather primitive state for nothing but a juniorate villa for three weeks every summer.

Father McMahon promptly acquiesced to Father Magan's request for permission to bring a committee of the student counsellors of the Metropolitan Area up to Monroe to inspect the house with a view to determining its suitability as a boys' retreat house. And on Sunday, October 13, 1950, Father Anthony LaBau (Fordham Prep), Father Thomas Burke (Regis), Father Paul Guterl (Loyola School), Father Jerome Kleber (Brooklyn Prep), and Father Gerard Knoepfel (Xavier) in the company of Father Magan made the proposed inspection.

It was all part of the miracle or pure chance, if you prefer, that Father Magan was once more back in Father Provincial's office at the very time of this visit. Thus he was not only able to type up the list of proposed alterations in Father Provincial's presence and mimeograph them all right next to his office, but, much more importantly, was in a position to answer all questions in his mind, each one as it came.

More than that, he was there on the spot the day after the visit and at Father Provincial's request was able to get in writing the opinions of the committee for presentation to the province consultation on the following day and, when the consultors approved the scheme, to put it in form for Father General and Cardinal Spellman.

Call that fate if you will, but whatever it was, the Lord never worked more deftly in bringing about the arrangements of His Providence, for now, when this phase of the work was done, Father Magan's latest term as Father Provincial's secretary once again expired.

On the feast of St. Stanislaus, 1950 Father McMahon informed Father Magan that Father General had approved of his scheme and a month later wrote to him of the Cardinal's blessing on the work, adding the line, "I have written to Father Hughes (rector of Saint Andrew) and Father Tuite

(superior at the Monroe Sanatorium) telling them that you are in charge."

Of Plans and Planners

At this point the project should have collapsed, for Father Magan had not ambicionado the assignment for himself. He had never driven a nail correctly in his life and on principle, all through his course in the Society, had deliberately avoided mingling in any work which might have had any mechanical implications, secretly scorning his fellow Scholastics who were adept with hammer or saw. But the Lord had His own way of providing. It came in the chance meeting late one night of Father Magan and an unknown Xavier High School freshman.

The lad, still in his military uniform, was lolling around the porter's lodge at nine o'clock in the evening. Father Magan chanced to stop in at the time and, surprised at seeing the boy, exchanged a word with him. One thing led to another and, before the brief conversation was over, the boy had mentioned that his scoutmaster was a marvelous craftsman with wood. It gave Father Magan a light and when he left the boy, he phoned the scoutmaster, Richard H. Neubeck, and asked him to pay him a visit.

Dick Neubeck, a young lad of twenty-three, was at Xavier the next day and Father Magan, still very naive in the ways of construction, asked him to make a few wooden lighting fixtures. His thoughts centered more on decoration than on the real reconstruction of the house. It would have been a trivial job for one who was a craftsman with wood, but Neubeck did not jump on the band wagon as quickly as Father Magan hoped. "Let me see the place," was his laconic reply, "and then I'll give you my answer."

The following Saturday morning, in the company of Mr. Denis Comey, a contractor from Orange, New Jersey, and Mr. Charles Stumpp, an architect from Perth Amboy, the pair visited Monroe. The two professionals had offered themselves for the day that they might give some advice and check over the meagre plans which Father Magan had. Probably more through sympathy than anything else, Comey and Stumpp were virtually silent during most of their visit,

and made very few suggestions. They did confess however that the scheme in Father Magan's mind would run to a lot of money—probably \$150,000 if the work were put out on contract.² But that was never in his mind. He felt from the start that the work could be done almost solely with volunteers. Messrs. Comey and Stumpp admitted that it could, were enough volunteers assembled. How many, they did not say, nor did they give the priest, now trying his hand at building for the first time in his life, any inkling of what a task he had taken upon himself—or had been assigned by superiors, depending on how you considered it.

Dick Neubeck, on the contrary suddenly became quite vocal. Ideas started sprouting in his mind and with his vivid imagination, he saw a finished house and literally thousands of boys making retreats in it. He saw besides, with the vision which goes with faith, how important the work would be were it to result in even a single soul being saved from hell. That was all that was needed and he started making plans. Before the day was over he had called the Provincial's Socius from a restaurant where he and Father Magan had gone to talk over things and, within an hour, Gonzaga was well under way.³

Ten thousand feet of lumber were to be cut down at the Port Kent Villa and delivered to Monroe. This was enough to start on, this and the plans which Neubeck promised to draw up.

Night after night, after spending his days purchasing ladies dresses for Montgomery Ward, he worked making plans for a boys' retreat house. When the plans were finally done and delivered to Father Provincial, together with a note of approval from Mr. Stumpp, the architect, Father Magan was called to Kohlmann Hall to give an account of things. The Provincial, his Socius, and Father Laurence J. McGinley, one of his consultors, asked a few simple questions, while the other consultor present, Father James Barnett, simply looked on in silence. Then it was his turn. For about an hour he quizzed Father Magan about the condition of the roof, the walls, and the electric wires in them. There was not a thing worth asking about, which he forgot to bring up. And somehow the answers came, though most of the questions had not entered Father Magan's mind until Father Barnett had asked

them. At one point Father McGinley lightened the tension of the cross-examination by remarking, "This reminds me of the name of Father Brosnan's book *Faith and Reason*," pointing as he said it, first to the priest on the witness stand and then to the prosecutor. When it was all over and Father Magan was leaving the room, someone remarked to Father Barnett, "You asked him the questions and he surely gave you the answers." But to this day Father Magan does not know where most of the answers came from, unless it was from above. And someone above must have given him the answer to the biggest question of all "How much will it cost?" for when the requested cost estimate was submitted to Father Provincial, the total figure came to thirty thousand dollars, just about the sum in the Boys' Retreat House Account which had been accumulated over the years. In addition to this thirty thousand dollars there were to be three other expenditures, for a new roof, for paint, and for food for the volunteers. And though Father Magan's figure of thirty thousand dollars was, naturally speaking, largely a matter of guess work, when the financial report was submitted at the end of the building project, the total expenditures, exclusive of that spent for the three deductibles, was \$29,517.29.

Volunteers All

But this was not so fantastic as the actual construction itself.

It started on Easter Monday, March 26, 1951, when Father Magan, in the company of four college boys, Robert Vogt, William Boyan, William Branigan, and Joseph Kazanchy went to Monroe to start reconstructing the house.⁴

The next day a few others came and until Saturday of Easter week nothing was done except to remove debris and to get things set up so that Neubeck might set to work.

Temporary quarters were arranged in the present director's room. Double-deck navy bunks were put up in each corner and an old table in the center of the room which was to serve for several weeks as dining room, bed room, kitchen, and recreation room of what virtually became an unofficial religious community, the personnel of which was to change from day to day.

It was a lot of fun, pioneering in this way, but it spelt self-sacrifice and plenty of it for the boys who centered around Father Magan in getting Gonzaga going. At first the days were sometimes fairly warm, but in the evenings the thermometer seldom indicated 32°, with the consequence that running water was a luxury as yet unknown, and the all-purpose living room was heated solely by the warmth of a fireplace which gave off more smoke than heat. Blankets over the windows helped keep out the cold, but they likewise kept out light and added one more inconvenience to a life that was made up of them.

Though spring was approaching, the winter had not waned and, just as Simon Flemming drove up with the ten thousand feet of green lumber from Port Kent, a snow storm of blizzard proportions made the blood freeze in the veins of the boys who unloaded it. But their hearts were warmed by the thought that, come Saturday morning, this lumber would make its way into the walls of the house.

Truth to tell, however, it was to be less simple than that. A winter storm of one day became a spring downpour the next and now, for the first time, Father Magan realized the horrible state of the building. One after the other, the rooms began to show leaks; wash basins were set to catch the water in every front room of the house and all of them overflowed. The blankets on the windows now served a new purpose, sponging up the water which dripped in through the walls and, to some extent, preventing the beds from becoming drenched.

Chins dropped as the boys began to realize how woeful conditions were. And Father Magan, whose chin was the lowest of all, was all set to call the Provincial to admit defeat at the start. But his heart had been set on getting a boys' retreat house and, though it now seemed further than ever from reality (considerable money had already been expended), he could not give up so soon.

As a last resort he summoned a weather-proofing contractor to give him an estimate. The gentleman came on the following Saturday and without so much as going into the building to see the extent of the damage, took out a tape measure and started to measure the walls. Within ten minutes he had set a price of seventy-five hundred dollars on a hit and miss job

which would not have been adequate, and which would have covered only a portion of the building.

Up to this time the big bugaboo in the entire enterprise had been the heating system. This had to be installed by experts and on a strictly business basis. The best estimate to date was twenty-three thousand dollars.⁵ Add seventy-five hundred to this and the entire budget was gone, with a considerable debt remaining. The deal was unthinkable, for in addition to heating and weather-proofing, the thirty thousand dollars had to supply all the plumbing, a new water system, seventeen new rooms, including an entirely new kitchen and dining room, vast electrical changes, and furnishings for the whole house.

It seemed at last that the time of reckoning had come and with it the time for humiliations. But there had to be another try before throwing in the sponge, so Father Magan called a Mr. Charles Pavarini, a protégé of Father Walsh from the old Loretto parish days, and now a large cement contractor. Pavarini frankly admitted he knew nothing of weather-proofing, that his work was entirely different, but he suggested a call to the New York arch-diocesan building commission, hoping that that office might recommend the right man. The name of George Hamilton was forthcoming and he proved to be the ideal.

Unlike the Catholic contractor who had come up previously, Mr. Hamilton, a Protestant, head of the United Construction Company of New York, spent over two hours looking around the building, climbing over the parapet and inspecting every crack. When he was through, instead of giving a figure as the other man had done, he simply asked, "Who are these boys working here?" Upon being told, he replied, "Then you don't want me for this job. These boys can do it for you. I'll do it if you like, but an adequate job will cost \$12,500. There's no need for getting me. Let me teach a couple of them how to do the work, then I'll furnish the tools and the basic materials and come back every week or so to check up and to supervise the work."⁶

The Port Kent lumber that was to be used as stuffing for the walls of the new rooms found itself instead being used for a tremendous scaffold across the face of the building. That

was the first step to be undertaken if every bit of cement was to be removed and then all put back again to make the structure waterproof. Though the winter chill was still to be felt in the air the job was undertaken as if it were really a pleasure. Amid the glow of automobile headlights and that of extension lights hanging out the windows, the scaffold went up largely by night, that more important work might be accomplished during the day.

Nor did the late hours lessen the calibre of the work. When asked if the scaffold was strong enough for unskilled workers to mount it, Mr. Hamilton replied, "It's at least five times as safe as the legal requirements." And safe it must have been, for it supported a countless number of workers—for nearly six months. That was how long it took to accomplish the work on the outside of the building, before anything substantial could be done on the interior.

The work ran on apace all during the summer vacation, as Gonzaga played host to an average of twenty boys who stayed on from the end of classes in June till they convened again in September. Chipping and pointing, pointing and chipping was the order of the day. The work was tedious in the extreme and almost imperceptible, but it was being done.

To supervise it, during the whole of the job, the Lord sent Gerald Leo Heaphy. Jerry, a lad of about twenty-three, had been the receptionist at St. Ignatius Rectory in New York for a year or two before Gonzaga began. His Irish ancestry and English accent, together with his facility for subtly teasing Ours, had endeared him to some of the community and made him despised by the rest. As he had quit the job just about this time, he looked up Father Magan whom he had met once or twice at the switchboard. It was only then he happened to hear of Monroe and went there just when a supervisor was necessary for the pointing operation. It was to him that Mr. Hamilton taught the ins and outs of the trade and it was he who measured the depth of every crack cut in the wall and the mix of each hod of cement. Though he had been born with a silver spoon in his mouth he became a day laborer at Gonzaga and stayed on for six months, until the pointing job was done. Lest any should forget him, his co-workers made sure to give him a special place in Gonzaga Associates' theme song, sung

to the tune of the then popular "Mockingbird Hill":
When we're out on the scaffold
And our fingers hurt,
And mad Jerry Heaphy, treats us like dirt,
When he falls from the scaffold we all will repent
But you can bet your sweet life it was no accident.

Of Destruction and Construction

Pointing the building was not the only outside job, nor was it the hardest of them. At least as formidable was the ditch, two of them in fact, the one running from the chapel to the pump house, a distance of eighty odd feet, and the other four hundred feet from the pump house to the furnace room of the main building where the water tanks were to be set. Each ditch had to be dug four feet deep, and most of the way was through rock and shale. A local contractor refused to set an estimate on the cost of doing the job mechanically for fear of what he might run into, so the volunteers had to dig it by hand, the toil being brutal every inch of the way.

Easier but requiring more skill was the construction of the chapel furnace room, a cinder block structure, which had to go up adjacent to the pump house to furnish heat for the chapel and the water system. The masonry on it was done largely by Stanley Pardo, a third year student from St. Peter's Prep, and Thomas Rizzo, a Fordham Law School freshman, neither of whom had ever seen cement until he saw Gonzaga. The chimney was put up by a most unlikely lad, Donald Murray, a Fordham College graduate, at the time working as an acturarian in the Metropolitan Life.

For the rest, the summer work seemed more like destruction than construction. Floors had to be ripped up in almost every room of the building and plaster had to be taken down. Even as every bit of cement had to be removed from the outside front of the building, so every bit of plaster had to be shorn from the front interior walls. The old dining room floor, made of a beautiful oak, had to be removed before the heating could go through. And the concrete floor in the present dining room had to be torn to bits for the installation of sewer lines. A wooden partition wall in the old carriage garage on the ground floor came down at eleven o'clock one

night to make way for the fireproof walls which now separate the kitchen and furnace room. It was the same story in every part of the house and was succinctly summed up at the October meeting of the New York Fire Department Holy Name Society by a fireman who had fallen in love with Gonzaga: "These boys have been working all summer. They have the floors torn up and the walls torn down. Now we have to get in and help."

Surely some one had to—for by this time most of the younger boys were back in school or college and the lads in their twenties were back at their jobs again.

Knowing this would happen, Father Magan awoke with cold sweats during the last half of the summer, for he knew the lads would have to go back to their classes and he knew of no one who could replace them.

But the good Lord knew and sent a New York fireman, Lieutenant Frank Magan (pronounced *McGann*), a hitherto unknown cousin of Father Magan (pronounced *May-gin*) to visit Gonzaga just before Labor Day. The visit was timed just right—just in time to bring the needed replacements, as the boys returned to school.

Like his cousin the priest, the Lieutenant could not hammer a nail, but he knew many men who could and he knew how to get them to Monroe to do the masonry, the carpentry, or whatever had to be done. When he did not know a man for the job, he simply went out and found one, for by this time Gonzaga, the Retreat House for Youth, meant more to him than most anything in life. Like the boys who were there before him, he was overcome by the place, and he would not be content until he saw it finished. His enthusiasm was contagious, and soon the Fire Department in every borough of New York City had recruits making regular excursions there. But they were not picnics in any sense of the word.

Living in the still cold building, where water lines froze up at night and where the dirt and grime of construction followed them to bed, was no more attractive to firemen than it had been to the boys. Still they came one week after another until the work was done. And the boys too continued to come on week-ends and in vacations, so that seven days a week the project was going on—the one group replacing the other, and all constructing the house.

During all this time Dick Neubeck was the brains and the boss of the job. Arriving at Monroe after work on a Friday night, he personally supervised the work and did much of it himself until about eleven o'clock Sunday evening, when he would leave instructions with Father Magan on what the replacements should do. And the replacements were not only firemen but their friends as well, and friends of the boys who labored, and friends of the friends besides. When the roster is counted, the number exceeds three hundred—only a handful of whom were so much as passing acquaintances of Father Magan when the work began.

As a matter of fact, the ten boys who originally offered their services, and on whose word permission for the construction was originally obtained from Father Provincial, never set foot in the house.

Of those who did work, however, men and boys alike, almost all have a story to tell. And every room at Gonzaga tells a story too!

The kitchen, for example, now tiled and modernly equipped, is fabulous in itself.

Originally it was a workshop of the poorest sort. Measuring twenty feet by twenty it had two unfinished wooden walls, two unfinished stone walls, a concrete floor, and an unfinished wooden ceiling. As the furnace room was to be set next to it, one of the wooden walls had to be torn down and much of the floor, the best thing in the room, had to be ripped up to make way for heating and plumbing pipes. The demolition of the wall was begun at eleven on a Saturday night, a crew of about ten boys going at it with sledges and wrecking bars. This was the first night work on the interior of the house, but not the first at Gonzaga. From the very beginning volunteers had become accustomed to it when a scaffold which had to cover the face of the building was constructed half in the dark and half in the shadows caused by artificial lighting. From the start, skilled work took precedence over rough work of this sort which was relegated to the after supper hours, often continuing to one or two in the morning. Later on in the project, as time pressed in and the first retreats were ever coming closer, some of the fancier jobs went on a swing shift also so that the pump house roof went on at one in the morning, the paint in the reception room went on at two o'clock,

the kitchen ceiling went up at three o'clock and the last of the beds were sprayed as the sun started rising over Schunemunk at four o'clock on April 20, just two days before the opening of the house.

But the new kitchen had to be opened months before the house itself, in order to feed the workers who were coming in every day, some staying for a few hours and some for as long as six months.⁷

The temporary bedroom-kitchen-parlor setup of the pioneering days became a thing of the past when the first spring thaws of 1951 enabled the old kitchen to be opened, thus giving the luxury of running water and a night's sleep free from smoke. It did not give a modern kitchen however, nor one that was in any way suitable for a retreat house. The plans called for an entirely new setup in another part of the building, and when the interior work was begun, the new kitchen held high priority. Room was made for an eight-foot cubed walk-in refrigerator, a dishwashing machine, and the other essentials. A cinder block wall replaced the demolished wooden one, while furring and wire lath cover the other three. But a wire lath wall is hardly a wall at all and needs to be covered with plaster, and in a kitchen, with tile as well. The problem was, who could do it. Willing hearts and strong backs had accomplished much at Gonzaga that should have been left to skill, but up to this point even generosity had not made plaster stick. What little amateur plastering had been tried had failed miserably. The need was for professionals. And when it came to setting tile—the need was more obvious still. But up to now there were neither tile men nor plasterers in the Gonzaga Associates.

And again the Lord had the answer, and He must have laughed as He gave it, for He let Father Magan call every tile man around and visit a plasterers' local union in Harlem to solicit the help he needed, but which would not be forthcoming, at least not from those he contacted.

From the Lord's Warehouse

But like everything else at Gonzaga when the crisis really came, the solution came as well.

With 20° temperatures in November the old kitchen could

not be heated, nor the waterlines to it kept from freezing. The new one simply had to be opened before the real cold set in, else the project was doomed to lie dormant for the remaining months of the winter, with the possibility of never starting again. The new kitchen therefore simply had to be done. Week after week, as he went to the city, Father Magan endeavored to find the men for the job and always returned to Monroe, hoping that the next week would be it, until one Sunday night a Mr. James Welsh phoned and advised him to call a Mr. Andrew Brady. Who Mr. Brady was or why he should call him, Father Magan did not know. Jimmy had simply said, "He might be able to help you." When the call was put through, Father Magan sounded foolish as he told Brady, "Jim Welsh said I should call but I really do not know why." The "why" became apparent as Brady identified himself as the head of the Tile Layers Union, but Father Magan's spirits dropped as the union president explained, "Really I can't promise a thing." Yet he must have done something, for a week or two later a call came from Mr. Harry Florence, the Union's delegate, who in no uncertain terms told Father Magan to be home that afternoon. As he came into the house, he gruffly asked to be shown to the job. After a five minute inspection, he promised (the tone of voice was more that of a threat) to return on Saturday with four men. Saturday morning came, and with it and Harry Florence, came not four but fourteen tile men. They worked all day setting up the tile, a few returning on Sunday to complete the job. As the last block was being polished, an old Irishman among them asked the priest in charge: "Father, what are you doing with the floor." "Nothing," was the answer, "we haven't any money." "But, Father," said the old man with a brogue, "it looks like hell. You have to do something with it." He would not take "No" for an answer. "Ask Harry," he said, "and have him do the floor." The protest that Harry had just done the walls, a job worth \$750.00, meant nothing to the Irishman. "If you can't ask him," he said, "I can." Within an hour Mr. Florence told Father Magan, "The guys want to do your floor. Get the stuff and we'll be up next week." Another protest that the budget would not stand the price of material fell upon deaf ears. "Take this stuff back, there's fifty bucks right there," Harry said, pointing to the wall tile that was left over, and

"get another fifty and buy the stuff for the floor." "But I can't return this tile," Father Magan insisted. There are signs all over the distributor's place saying, 'Absolutely no returns', and besides where can I get the other fifty?" But Harry and the Lord had the answer for that one: "Tell that Guinea I said 'Take it back.'" He did; and he refunded fifty-two dollars to Gonzaga. When Father Magan went to Xavier the following Wednesday there was a check awaiting him for another fifty dollars—the total cost of the floor.

The day the kitchen floor went in, Harry Florence warned Father Magan in advance, "Listen, we're not putting in the floor for the shower room. One of these guys is going to ask me to do it. But I'm telling you right now the answer's 'No.'" But that was simply Harry's way of talking. Without so much as being asked, he and one of his men came back on several occasions to put tile backings on the wash basins in forty-nine of the rooms, and on his last trip up—the day of the formal dedication, he promised to do the shower room floor before he got through at Gonzaga.

Tile men, however, generous and skilled though they are, do not do plastering. The kitchen needed that too and it needed it in a hurry, as the Lord must have been informed, for just three days before Harry Florence's Tile Layers Union of New York made their tangible contribution, the *New York Herald Tribune* on November 1, 1951 fully wrote up Gonzaga in a huge feature article embellished with four pictures.

That same day, Father Magan drove up to Mount Vernon where the Pontiac station wagon (a gift to the retreat house) had been purchased four months before. He was after a speedometer which had broken the day the car was purchased, but why he chose this day to go, only the Lord can say. It was the right day, however, for as he crossed from the Bronx into Westchester County, a Mount Vernon police car followed him several miles right into the garage. As he emerged from the car, a young detective whom he had not seen since they were grade school friends, greeted him, "That was a swell write-up you got in the *Herald* this morning." At lunch the two talked about the retreat house and as the tile men left on Saturday, the detective was helping a friend of his, a professional plasterer, put the white-coat on the walls.

The kitchen was now about finished but the plastering was not. In fact it was hardly even begun.

The deterioration of the exterior walls of the buildings had wreaked havoc with the insides, and every inch of plaster had to be replaced. Whenever a really unskilled volunteer arrived, there was always a good job for him—knocking the old plaster down. After a time so many walls were shorn of it, it appeared it might never get back, until one Sunday afternoon Ace and his Lieutenant marched into Gonzaga. The workers were having dinner in the barn-like dining room, as the two unknown men burst in on them. "Who's Father Magan?" the little one asked, as his husky cigar-smoking companion seemed to stand guard behind him. "They tell us you're doing a job here. We're plasterers, we'd like to look at it." Taking them at their word Father Magan invited them to remove their coats and pick up a trowel at once, but they'd have none of it. They wanted to see the job. That was all they had come up for. Before going home however, Ace, the little man, spoke for himself and his partner: "Maybe we can help you. We'll see. We'll see."

Father Magan reported the visit to Dick Neubeck who replied, "He'll probably send you a 'fin' in the mail." Nor was Father Magan himself any more optimistic, until Thursday evening when a lady called him on the telephone, and promised that her husband, the plasterer, would be up with eight men on Saturday. Like the tile men who came before them, plasterers seemed to like crowds, and on the day appointed Ace brought fifteen professionals to get the job done in a hurry. These men whose labor normally costs twenty-five dollars for a five-hour day, returned again and again with Ace always leading them, until the plastering was done. When it was, Ace, who proved to be Mr. Alfonse Squitteri, the father of a Junior at Saint Andrew, seemed almost disappointed that he could no longer use his plastering ability to advance the cause of the house which he had learned of from his wife who in turn had heard Father Magan speak at a Jesuit Mothers' Guild Meeting. It was the most unlikely place in the world to look for plasterers, but then the Lord is always doing the unlikely—especially at Gonzaga.

Christ's Work

Practically speaking, He had to, for on a chill day in February, 1950 Father Magan and Dick Neubeck had tacked a small holy-card copy of Ibarraran's Sacred Heart on the crumbling wall of what would become the reception room, then loaded with plasterboard, and as they placed it there, they made a consecration of the project to Him, promising that when it was finished they would replace it with a more suitable picture. In that picture and in the promise of the Sacred Heart to priests of the Society to give them power to do things beyond their fondest hopes, Father Magan placed his trust. Nor was it placed in vain.

Though humanly speaking he frequently could not foresee any means of fulfilling his promise to Father Provincial to complete the house with the aid of volunteers and was on more than one occasion seriously tempted to telephone him to say it was all a mistake, he held off one day at a time, hoping that the morrow might bring something out of the blue, as he and Dick Neubeck told the Sacred Heart at Mass each morning, "This is Your job, Lord, and You have to get it finished." Every time the Ordo permitted, Father Magan said the Mass of the Sacred Heart and the one intention he carried to the altar was the finishing of the house.

When it was just about done, the Lord sent women-folk to add the distaff touch. It was on Saturday, April 19, 1952, three days before the first retreat that the ladies came en masse. It was the only day for female volunteers, but they came sixty strong, flanked by forty men to help them clean the house. They came in a chartered bus and in about a dozen cars. They came in from the Bronx and Brooklyn, from Queens, and Greenwood Lake. Armed with their own vacuum cleaners, their mops, and their scrubbing brushes, they came to give the feminine touch to what their men had done.⁸

Every window in the house received its share of glass wax. Every inch of woodwork was polished till it gleamed. Every wall and floor was made fit for a king to come to. And He came that evening after benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, when Gonzaga Retreat House was reconsecrated to the Sacred Heart and another Ibarraran picture, this time

a work of art, was solemnly hung on the main wall of the blue reception room. That picture, please God, will always hang there as a token of gratitude to the Sacred Heart for giving Gonzaga its start, as a portent of future blessings, and as a memento of the Gonzaga Associates who felt what Dick Neubeck expressed in his Benediction Day address on June 7, 1952.

Father Magan did not plan this house. Father Provincial did not plan it either. No Jesuit really planned it. But then again, He was a Jesuit—though a very youthful one. He had calloused hands because they were the Hands of a Carpenter, and He planned Gonzaga a very long time ago. Had He cared to do so, He could have built it alone. But He wanted to share with us the privilege of building it and we are here today to express our gratitude for the privilege conferred on us.

NOTES

¹Only the Recording Angel could hope to give a full account of the origins of Gonzaga. Only He knows the details. This article is intended to give the merest outline of a unique foundation. The reader would do well to consult the books of heaven to learn details which have escaped mention here.

²The *post factum* estimate of the work accomplished was \$250,000.

³When Father Provincial told Father Magan of Father General's approval of the scheme, he asked him "What are you going to call the house?" Father Magan replied with Father Kennedy's "Manresa Gonzaga," but the Provincial demurred, thinking the dual name might lead to confusion with Mount Manresa, the mother of all American retreat houses, and then the name Gonzaga was decided upon.

⁴At this writing, Vogt and Brannigan are Jesuit Novices. Kazanchy is a Franciscan postulant. Of the four original workers only Vogt was previously known to Father Magan. Boyan he had met but once before. The others accompanied Vogt.

⁵The final total cost of plumbing, heating, and water supply, including running water in every room, was less than this initial low estimate for the heating alone.

⁶For over six months Mr. Hamilton faithfully carried out his pledge, coming to Monroe from New York nearly every other Saturday. Besides his knowledge, he invariably brought with him a supply of paint or tools or something else equally useful, and he literally refused to take more than a cup of coffee for his charity.

⁷Besides Gerald L. Heaphy, two other boys, Ronald A. Clark of Coney Island and Walter Sabol of Bayonne, voluntarily worked at the retreat house for six months each. Clark, a lad of nineteen, who cooked all the meals during his sojourn there, became fabulous as a chef. Sabol specialized in the more mechanical things.

⁸As one more sign of God's Providence affecting Gonzaga, an almost uncontrollable brush fire which might have destroyed the house, broke out at high noon on the Ladies' Day. Were it not for the forty men on hand—many of whom were New York City firemen—the work of thirteen months might have been destroyed in an afternoon.

* * *

A POSITIVE SPIRITUAL LIFE

On July 25, 1542 a thought occurred to me which I had often had before, that if a man wishes to purify his soul more and more, he should keep his first intention always directed to God, and in this consists his profit. Hence we must not fix our chief attention, as I have often done up to this time, on remedies for troubles, temptations, and sadness. For he who sought our Lord solely and chiefly in order to be free from temptations and sadness would not seek devotion principally for itself, but, on the contrary, would seem to show that he would little esteem it, unless he were suffering; and this is seeking love from a fear of imperfection and misery and in order to escape evil. For this reason God, in His justice and mercy, allows you to be troubled for a time because your affections were not directed to Him; and in order that you may shake off tepidity and idleness, He sends you these pains and distresses as goads and spurs to urge you to walk on in the way of the Lord without seeking rest, until you repose solely in God himself, our Lord Jesus Christ. Nay, even though you were not to feel any trouble from the enemy or any temptations or evil and vain feelings or imperfections, you ought never to remain inactive, as do the tepid and idle and all those who care only not to fall or go back. Do not be content with merely not falling or going down hill but "lay up in your heart ascensions," increase and progress towards interior perfection; and this not only from fear of any fall but from love of holiness. Desire and thirst after spiritual things, not as if they were remedies against bad or vain feelings but on account of what they are and contain in themselves. Thus you will at length attain to the perfect love of God, and so you will no longer think of things vain and idle nor fear sins which are the hindrances which impede our attaining to God and being intimately united with and at rest in Him.

BLESSED PETER FABER

A NEW WAY TO THE HEART OF INDIA?

SWAMI DINDASS*

India is predominantly an agricultural country. About 87 per cent of the 400,000,000 inhabitants of the subcontinent of India live in 700,000 villages and hamlets, both on the land and from the land. Among them almost all castes are represented: Brahmans, Kshatrias, Rajputs, right down to the aborigines and Pariahs. Mass conversions to Christianity without exception have taken place only among these aborigines and Pariahs. Their proportion among the 4,500,000 Catholics of India is estimated at from 75 to 85 per cent.

The Church and the Hindu Farmer

What is the Church doing for this far greater mass of farmers from the Hindu castes and the Mohammedans? The answer to this question is as discouraging as it is brief: this main body of the population of India seems completely untouched by any Christian influence. If you were to show 95 to 98 per cent of them a picture of Christ or a crucifix, not one of them could give you the meaning or the name of these things.

The question of mission work among these agrarian Hindu castes demands the greatest attention and the most penetrating study of all missionaries and thinking Catholics of India, especially today, since the independence of India has brought the Hindus into power, a democratic constitution has been adopted, and the development of a flourishing body of farmers is being given much attention. These facts make an attempt to get closer to these Hindu farmers and to bring Christ to them a necessity for us.

Up till now, most missionaries and their superiors, too, perhaps, seemed convinced that an attempt of this kind is

* Under the name Swami Dindass, the author explains his new technique of approaching the Indian Mission problem. In reality he is a Flemish Jesuit, Father Quirijnen, former novicemaster at Hazaribagh, India.

* * *

destined to fail right from the outset. "Why," they say, "does the Hindu farmer feel no attraction to us, as opposed to the downtrodden aborigines and Pariahs? He lives only from day to day. Materially, he is well off; intellectually, he is fully occupied by the observation of the prescriptions of his caste. He has the Hindu feasts for his religious needs and sacrifices, superstitious views and usages for every event in his life. Besides that, he is earthy, greedy, and proud. Thus there is no ground here in which the seeds of the gospel can take root."

But we must inquire seriously whether these views have a factual basis, capable of standing close scrutiny, or whether they are not merely just made up and passed on from one missionary to another. Are they founded on mere chance contacts of the missionaries with their Hindu neighbors, especially in business and lawsuits, or upon the reports of experiments of other missionaries that ended in failure?

We cannot permit ourselves any deception in this matter. We will never win *India as a Nation* to Christ, if we do not convert these Hindu farmers. If we do not bring them the gospel, the communists, with their great promises, will win the masses for themselves. Then we will bitterly regret having missed our chance. For they are, after all, worthy men, hard-working farmers, who most probably possess the traditional qualities of the country population of other lands: healthy morals, sober judgment, a deep feeling for religion; qualities, which when completed and ennobled in Christ, make the farmer the chief support of the Catholicity of a land, as our experience elsewhere has already shown.

Have we not failed to win them up till now, because we have never really made a well thought-out and persistent effort to do so? Or were we mindful that in their case, we were no longer dealing with an aborigine or a Pariah, so that in our approach to them, we might have been mistaken?

A New Approach

A few years ago the Indian Jesuit, Father Alvares, after ten years of fruitless labor, following the usual method among the Hindus, obtained permission from his young superior to try a new approach, as a Sannyasi or Sadhu (Indian mendi-

cant monk). He settled among the Lingayats, a well-to-do and influential middle caste, as Swami Animandanda. He assumed the externals of a priest of this caste: a saffron-yellow robe, long beard, uncombed hair, going about bare-foot with a pilgrim's staff and turban. This is the way our new Sannyasi, who is a Brahman by descent, sought to approach the Lingayats. As a "man of God" he went from village to village, begged, ate the food of the people, abstained from meat, fish and eggs, visited the sick, was sociable with everyone and explained that he was a priest who wanted to pray for them and offer the true sacrifice in their midst, in order to implore the blessings of God upon them, their houses, fields, and herds. He wanted to teach them the way of perfect liberation and eternal life. The people of the Lingayat caste received him as a real Sannyasi, listened to his words, gave him food, allowed him to spend the night in their temples, and attended his Mass. The life was hard, but what joy he had, when after two years he was able to baptise his first convert from the Lingayat caste and had a number of catechumens under instruction. A lay helper from Goa generously attached himself to him, shared his strict way of life and helped him in his apostolate. Two young Jesuits of the same mission are being trained for this promising mission among the Lingayats.

The superiors of the Ranchi Mission also permitted a similar experiment to be made in the district of Hazaribagh, where one can travel sixty to a hundred miles in one direction through heathen villages, without coming across a Catholic church or even a single Catholic. Relying upon the prayers and sacrifices of a small group of interested missionaries and friends, I set about this work, built myself, first of all, a little open hut on an out-of-the-way spot on the extensive property in Hazaribagh, put on a saffron-yellow robe, hung a large rosary around my neck, and went around for the most part bare-headed and bare-footed. Christ's command, "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations" gave me the courage for this experiment.

From this place, I visited all the neighboring villages and talked to the people, mostly caste-Hindus. I accosted them on the roads, in the fields, behind their herds, on the threshing floor, at the forge, in the village streets. I inquired how things

were going with them, what their problems were, what caste they were, their names. I made notes and tried to learn their Hindu dialect, which was quite different from the literary Hindi that I spoke. Since, as a European, I did not know very accurately how a Sannyasi should live, the first approach was not easy, until I took some good, cheap medicines along with me one day. As soon as I entered a village, the people, men, women and children, surrounded me. The sick were brought. I gave them the medicine and prayed aloud over them. Soon I was being invited into the inner court, and gradually, even into the living rooms for a meal or to visit the sick. I was never permitted to go away hungry, and was besides even given rice for dinner. What I was able to save in money for food in this way, I could use to buy more medicines. Thus we presented gifts to each other in the name of God—the Christian Sannyasi and the heathen people. The bonds of friendship between me and the people became more and more intimate. Gradually I had begun to play a part in the concerns of their every-day life.

But I still had to live more closely among the people, in order to spend the evenings with them, too. But I did not push myself on them. I waited until a few farmers invited me into their village. That happened after a few months. Men of the carpenter caste asked me if I would come and stay among them. "Good, I shall stay—but where? Will you help me build a hut?" "Sure," they chorused. One man gave me a piece of land, and the others helped me build the hut on it. It had only one room, and was situated near the village in a quiet spot near a brook.

That is where my headquarters are now. From here I undertake my trips into the villages. Now I can more easily meet the people and stay with them in the evenings. After the day's work, they squat around me, chatting and listening. The question of the missionary's approach was solved.

And the Success?

When an Indian farmer transforms a section of jungle into a rice field, he does not expect a harvest the first year. He knows that there is still a good deal of heavy work to be done: underbrush, thorns, and grass to be rooted out, stumps

and roots of ancient trees to be dug up, and the ground must be turned, spade by spade, and levelled. Only then can the first seeds be finally sown, but still without any thought of a great harvest. After a few years he, or his sons, after he has died over the task, will be able to bring back wheelbarrows full of fine paddy, unshelled rice.

So it was clear to me, that much time and work are necessary for Christian fruit one day to ripen in Hindu fields. Therefore, I was not astonished nor even in the slightest bit discouraged, when I could show the bishop no results. Conversions of adults? None. Catechumens under instruction? None.

However, these months of trying and experimenting are sufficient to bring some important bits of information to light.

1) These Hindu farmers approve of the settlement of a Christian missionary among them, in a situation where his character of "man of God" is easily recognizable. As such they greet him, support him willingly, and believe that they are serving God in so doing. They are confident that his mere presence as a Sannyasi in their midst wards off much misfortune, and his prayer calls down the blessings of Heaven on them. When I stopped in another village for a few days, there was great concern in my original home, for they were afraid that I wanted to leave it entirely.

2) Even within the first year there were many opportunities of speaking with individuals and small groups about moral and religious truths, both natural and revealed. I was able to root out some superstitious practices. For instance, there was a woman with a frightful sore on her foot, so that she was wearing an amulet against the evil eye. I dressed her sore twice a day and each time said a prayer for the return of her health. After a few days I asked her to take the charm off. But she wanted to wait until her husband returned. In his presence, I dressed the sore again, pointed at the charm and said "That's useless, and an insult to God." "You're right", he nodded, and had his wife take off the amulet.

3) In danger of death, they made no objection when I gave their sick and their children the "great blessing of Christ, which washes the soul clean and gives everlasting

life." They would even get the water for baptism themselves. Thus I was able to baptise eighteen people quite publicly.

4) Abstinence from beef is essential, while the avoidance of all other kinds of meat, fish, eggs, smoking, and such delicacies strengthens the esteem in which the missionary is held. For even though the majority of them will eat game and goats occasionally, they still expect that their Sannyasi is above such satisfactions. They put great value on his care to lead their life in all respects, such as going about bare-foot, eating their food, speaking their dialect, being interested in all their goings-on. They especially like him to visit their sick and be friendly toward everyone, especially their children.

5) This life of a Sannyasi-missionary is not beyond the strength of a European. Even though I'm no giant of strength and never have had an iron constitution, I still finished the first year in good health.

The clear outlines of a solid method have now been revealed. The goal is certain: the leaven of the gospel must be mixed into Hinduism, while the full Christian life is lived in the daily contact with the Hindu. This method will undoubtedly lead one day to the conversion of adults, especially if the blessing of God is called down upon the undertaking by the assiduous prayer of others.

Note by Editor of *Die Katholischen Missionen*: As Swami Dindass recently wrote us, his experiment will probably be broken off, or carried on under a different form. At the Bishops' Conference for India in October, 1951 Bishop Bouter of Nellore issued the following statement, based on his questionnaire to the Indian Bishops, regarding this type of mission technique: "The wearing of the Sannyasi dress as an experiment is generally approved, with the provision that it be undertaken only by a few men, and these chosen carefully."

* * *

O God, Who didst fortify Thy blessed martyr John with indomitable perseverance to sow the seed of the Catholic faith in India, let his merits plead with Thee, and grant that as we celebrate his triumph, so we may also imitate his faith; through Christ our Lord. Amen.

—from the Mass of St. John de Britto, Feb. 4.

OUR LADY AND THE EXERCISES

FRANCIS J. MARIEN, S.J.

We are all indebted to Father William J. Young for his excellent translation of Father Dudon's *St. Ignatius of Loyola*. Nothing can detract from the substantial value of the original or of the translation. Those who peruse the "Notes and Appendices" will, however, come across a section concerned with the question: "Did the Blessed Virgin dictate the Exercises to Ignatius?" Father Dudon's answer is a simple, "No." It is the purpose of this article to suggest that such a question and answer may be misleading. It is one thing to affirm or to deny that the Blessed Virgin *dictated* the Exercises. It is another thing to ask whether or not Our Lady played a unique part, intervened in some special manner, in their composition.

There is scarcely a house or church of the Society which does not contain a picture or stained glass window depicting Our Lady presenting St. Ignatius with the book of the Exercises or hovering beneficently over the penitent of Manresa, approving his work, instructing him as he composes his immortal manual. It is a fair question to ask what historical fact these pictures represent.

In this article we shall briefly review the controversy on the part Our Lady played in the composition of the Exercises as it appears in the writings of Jesuit historians from 1897 to 1943.

In 1894 Father Henri Watrigant published a booklet devoted to this subject.¹ Cast in the form of letters to a correspondent who wishes to know what foundation exists for the tradition of a special intervention of Our Lady in the composition of the Exercises, the book is divided into four parts.

In his introductory letter, Father Watrigant is careful to point out that, although the early Fathers of the Society held for a kind of divine inspiration of the Exercises, whenever the term "inspiration" is used it has not the precise technical sense employed in fundamental theology. Moreover the legend which usually appears beneath the well-known pictures mentioned above, *Deipara dictante, Ignatius discit et docet*, should be made to read *Deipara docente* instead of *dictante*, as the idea of a word for word dictation could be nothing but a pious

hyperbole.² The author hopes nevertheless to give enough evidence to justify the consoling conclusion of Reverend Father Anderledy who maintained: “. . . *non solum pie, sed fidenter credimus, S. Ignatium quae docuit quaequae praecepit, suggerentem sibi habuisse optimam matrem, Virginem Immaculatam.*”³

The first letter dealing with “Raisons de Convenance” need not detain us. The second is concerned with historical evidence. The author, in the first place, strongly insists on the fact of the wide-spread tradition of Our Lady’s intervention, a “general persuasion” in and out of the Society for three centuries. In support of the existence of the tradition he appeals to many authors of the seventeenth century including Pucci, Rho, Gonzalvez, Nolarci, Vida, Lyraeus, Bourghesius, Negronius, Roth, Nieremberg, Civore.⁴

The author admits that he is unable to quote any explicit document dated earlier than the first part of the seventeenth century. But as evidence of the antiquity of the tradition, he quotes a letter of Father Pucci of Barcelona to Father Ignatius Victor written in 1640: “At Manresa and in all that region it is regarded as a certain tradition transmitted from parents to children that St. Ignatius wrote his book in Manresa with the aid of the mother of God and was enlightened by particular heavenly illuminations.”⁵

In this same letter Father Watrigant appeals to the evidence of the manuscript history of the old college of Belén at Barcelona. As this document figures prominently in the controversy, it will be well at this point to indicate what the document is and what authenticity is advanced in its favor.

In 1872 Father Fidelis Fita made known the discovery of an unedited manuscript, the “Annales” or Annual Letters of the College of Belén.⁶ On page twenty-one for the year 1606 these words are found:

Father Laurence of Saint-John passing through Manresa learned from Señor Amigant that the Blessed Virgin dictated the Exercises to our Blessed Father Ignatius following an ecstasy that he had before the Virgin of the Annunciation (a domestic shrine) of his house . . . (this) they learned from the mouth of the Saint himself when he was staying with his family.⁷

There is no doubt that Ignatius was indebted to the Amigant family at Manresa. The name appears prominently in

the processes for beatification carried on at Manresa.⁸ Father Watrigant considers this document to be the principal evidence for the local tradition, but insists that the word "dictation" is not to be taken in our modern strict sense.

Father Watrigant is hesitant about citing the authority of Laynez. He is content to say that some writers have invoked his name in favor of the tradition. From Father Virgilio Nolarci he quotes the following passage:

Fathers Laynez and Polanco . . . have testified without any hesitation both by word of mouth and in writing that St. Ignatius had no other instructor than that which he received from heaven; that God was his principal teacher, principal because the Blessed Virgin was also given him as teacher.⁹

Father García, writing in 1685, is quoted as saying: "The thrice-holy Virgin was equally the . . . instructress of the author of the Exercises as P. Laynez has affirmed."¹⁰ Unfortunately Father Watrigant is unable to find an express statement connecting Laynez with the tradition before 1685.

Much has been made by the protagonists of the tradition of a painting commissioned by Reverend Father Vitelleschi and sent by him to Manresa in 1626. This famous picture depicts Our Lady appearing to Ignatius as he composes the Exercises. Father Watrigant argues that this act of the General can hardly be explained unless one supposes at least an oral tradition of Mary's special intervention.¹¹

Under the heading of "Divine Testimony," Watrigant cites the revelation made by the Archangel Gabriel to Venerable Marina de Escobar and quoted by Father Luis de la Puente in his life of Father Balthasar Alvarez. In this vision the Archangel made known to Marina that Our Lady acted regarding the Exercises as foundress, protectress, and helper.¹² We shall see later how the critics deal with this revelation.

Another supernatural event is presented as divine testimony. It is the heavenly visitation reputedly accorded to the Venerable Canon Jerome of Palermo. Father Frazzetta who wrote his life gives an account of his last moments during which he told his confessor that the Blessed Virgin in an apparition to him had commended his zeal for the Exercises of Ignatius and assured him that she herself was the author of this method of meditation, and whoever used it would render to her a most agreeable and glorious homage.¹³

After considering such evidence Father Watrigant proposes and solves certain objections of Constantin Cajetan, a Benedictine monk. This remarkable man, sometime custodian of the Vatican library, had a burning zeal for the glory of his order. He claimed that the *Summa Theologica* usually attributed to Aquinas was actually the work of a Benedictine. According to him the *Imitation of Christ* was also to be ascribed to Benedictine authorship. It was inevitable that he should eventually claim that the Exercises were merely adapted and paraphrased from the *Exercitatoria* of the Benedictine, García de Cisneros. His contention was that since Ignatius borrowed from Cisneros, there was no need to invoke any special intervention of Our Lady.¹⁴ It is interesting to note that not only Cajetan's book but also the response by the Jesuit Father Rho were placed on the Index as excessively acrimonious.¹⁵

Cajetan's principal arguments can be summarized as follows: 1) If the Exercises were revealed by Our Lady why does Paul III in his approbation say they were composed from Scripture and the practice of the spiritual life?¹⁶ 2) Why does Polanco say they were written by Ignatius out of his own internal experience and the wisdom gained from the direction of souls?¹⁷ 3) Why does Orlandini say they resulted from usage and daily observation?¹⁸ 4) Why does Ribadeneira say: *Ex accurata observatione eorum quæ sibi contigerant, conscripsit?*¹⁹

Father Watrigant's answer is simple: "No one of these influences necessarily rules out the others. Mary is a cause, an important cause, not the only cause."²⁰ For Father Watrigant the evidence he has presented is sufficient, looked at in its entirety, to justify moral certitude in the special intervention of Our Lady.²¹

The distinguished historian, Father Antonio Astrain, by a single footnote in his well-known history of the Society in the Spanish Assistancy²² exerted "an enormous influence"²³ which served to lessen in many minds the certainty and even the probability of what he called the "pious belief" that Our Lady inspired the Exercises.

In summary fashion the belief is rejected because there is no sound documentary proof of it to be found during the century immediately following Ignatius' stay at Manresa. No

allusion in the writings of Laynez himself justifies using his name in favor of the belief. The evidence of Señor Amigant and the Belén manuscript is refuted by the enormity of its claim: a book written by the Blessed Virgin. One cannot suppose that St. Ignatius, so cautious about mentioning spiritual gifts and experiences even to his closest sons in the Society, would have divulged them to comparative strangers. Father da Camara, first biographer and close confidant of Ignatius, would certainly have mentioned it if he knew of it. In none of the writings which we possess of Laynez, Da Camara, Polanco, Nadal, Ribadeneira, Orlandini, and Maffei is there any mention of it. Father de la Puente does not give historical testimony but mentions only certain revelations of the Archangel Gabriel to an unnamed person.

The judgment of Father Pietro Tacchi Venturi substantially concurs with that of Astrain. In his history of the Society in Italy he relegates consideration of this subject to an even briefer footnote, expressing the opinion that it does not seem worthy of critical examination.²⁴

According to him the tradition finds no foundation in the available source material of the sixteenth century but was widely diffused in the seventeenth century, thanks to the revelations of the Venerable Marina de Escobar upon whom the Church has pronounced no judgment.

One should rather use the words of Ignatius himself, as recorded by Polanco, in describing the supernatural assistance accorded him in the composition of the Exercises: "*non tam libris quam ab unctiōne Sancti Spiritus et ab interna experientia et usu tractandarum animarum.*"²⁵

Father Arturo Codina, one of the editors of the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*, upholds the validity of the tradition. His defense of it, printed in the "Prolegomena in Exercitia" of the volume devoted to the Exercises,²⁶ is substantially the same as the treatment he gives the subject in his work on the origin of the Exercises.²⁷ This latter work, published in 1926, will briefly engage our attention.

Father Codina argues that the famous painting commissioned by Father Vitelleschi in 1626 did not start the tradition but presupposed it. He recalls, what all parties to the dispute must admit, that according to Da Camara God taught Ignatius at Manresa as a teacher instructs a child, and that during this

period he was favored with visions of the humanity of Christ and of the Blessed Virgin, which visions greatly confirmed Ignatius in the faith. Codina is disposed to see in this implicit evidence of Our Lady's intervention.

He suspects that some historians find it difficult to accept the tradition because they give the picture commissioned by Father Vitelleschi a rather too material interpretation. As for the evidence given by Marina de Escobar (the "unnamed person" in Astrain's account), Codina points out that De la Puente who records the revelation was a wise and prudent man, whose own virtues have been declared heroic by Clement XIII. His judgment is not easily to be set aside.

In his critical investigation of the manuscript of the College of Belén Codina remarks that although the passage in question was an addition on the original script, it is contemporaneous to the rest of the manuscript and is written by the same hand.²⁸

In the statement of Señor Amigant, ascribing the Exercises to the "dictation" of Our Lady, the word is to be taken in a wide sense as Father Watrigant had previously insisted. As for Astrain's objection that the humble Ignatius would not have communicated such graces to outsiders even supposing he received them, Codina argues that it is certainly established from the processes of canonization that Ignatius gave the Exercises to Angela Amigant and other pious women who would naturally have praised the Exercises. Ignatius might very well have told them that their praise should be directed to the Blessed Virgin who was in good part responsible for them.²⁹

Codina is confronted with an embarrassing difficulty regarding the evidence of the Belén manuscript and the quotation from Señor Amigant. A certain Juan Amigant was questioned in the process for beatification conducted at Manresa. Article twenty-nine of the form used in questioning witnesses, asked about revelations and supernatural illuminations, and other details. Here would be an occasion, it would seem, for a member of the Amigant family to say under oath what he knew about Our Lady's intervention. There is no recorded statement by Amigant on this point.³⁰

Codina admits that this silence presents a serious difficulty.

"It might be," he suggests, "that in this particular the record is inexact or incomplete."³¹

Relative to the testimony of Amigant, Codina quotes a passage from a codex manuscript "Piedad de los Amigant," a family history in possession of the Marquis de Palmerola.³² According to this document St. Ignatius gave the Exercises to Angela Amigant after the Blessed Virgin had dictated them.

Codina, unlike Father Watrigant who held for a moral certitude, is content to declare that the venerable tradition has solid probability in its favor. It contradicts nothing that is certain and agrees with all that is known of Ignatius. He concludes by saying that we are certain there are many undiscovered letters written by and about Ignatius, and that one day the discovery of one of these may throw new light on the tradition. In any case Ignatius did not want the approval of the Exercises to depend on a revelation but on the judgment of the Church.³³

Perhaps the most enthusiastic protagonist for the tradition is Father Juan Sola. Though his defense in some particulars will seem more vigorous than conclusive, he has offered some forceful considerations. In two articles published in 1931, he advances fearlessly against the attack on the tradition.³⁴

Much is made of the statement of Pius XI in his Apostolic Letter of December 3, 1922, "Meditantibus Nobis," in which he says: "*In illo Minorissano recessu quemadmodum sibi essent praelia Domini praelianda ab ipsa Deipara didicit cujus tamquam ex manibus illum accepit . . . codicem . . . Exercitia Spiritualia.*"³⁵ Likewise the statement of Father Anderledy already quoted in this article is brandished effectively.

The venerable author, who had already written in defense of the tradition forty years previously,³⁶ asks in the light of such solemn documents if it would not give scandal and disedification publicly to resist or not to conform with these pronouncements. Moreover, since this pious belief singularly honors the mother of God and St. Ignatius, places the Exercises in high esteem, and gives a more exalted notion of the Society—"should I (in opposition to tradition) follow my own

proper judgment or that of a few who bring together only a collection of negative arguments?"³⁷

Sola is most anxious to dissipate the idea that the tradition is rejected by all or even most modern authors in the Society. He claims for support Fita, Watrigant, Codina, Drive, Tarre, Poire, and Creixell.³⁸

As for the argument that there is no evidence of the tradition during the first century after Ignatius' stay at Manresa in 1552, he stresses the evidence of the Belén manuscript of 1606 which he considers irrefragable. He appeals to the already existing tradition presupposed in the picture commissioned by Father Vitelleschi in 1626 and reminds us that Father Andrés Lucas, writing in 1633, is able to speak of the tradition as "ancient."³⁹

Against Astrain's argument that Ignatius would not have told the Amigants of his supernatural favors, Sola responds that Ignatius, generous and noble, grateful for the least benefit received, had communicated to Fathers Mercurian, Laynez, Polanco, Nadal, and Da Camara many consoling visions. Why then should he not tell the origin of his treasure to a noble woman who had succored him, often receiving him into her home, and tending him in his illness—a woman moreover who had made the Exercises under his guidance?⁴⁰

Although the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada* likens Marina de Escobar to St. Theresa of Avila, it declares that her writings have received no wide acceptance in the Church and that they contain facts unacceptable to the critic.⁴¹ Sola has little patience with the critics and contends that the unquestioned virtue and solidity of Father de la Puente gives authority to the statement of Marina de Escobar, which he quotes without hesitation.⁴²

In concluding Sola pleads that the tradition be guarded as a precious relic and quotes Canons 1285 and 1286, arguing by analogy that if a relic has been long venerated, that is, for three centuries, no conjecture or merely probable argument may be permitted to disturb its veneration.⁴³

As we mentioned above, Father Paul Dudon in his recent work on St. Ignatius declares⁴⁴ that while certain authors admit the tradition of Our Lady's dictation of the Exercises to be respectable, Fathers Astrain, Tacchi Venturi, and

Watrigan reject it.⁴⁵ Furthermore Ignatius himself said he was the author. His generation commonly attributes the book to him and the Church speaks of it as his. None of the historians of the century after Manresa speaks of the dictation and it does not figure in any of the canonical processes. The tradition goes back only to 1606. The "Annales" or manuscript of Belén, which is the first document to mention it, does not deserve credit as the mention of the dictation is after the fashion of an addition interpolated in the primitive text. The first Jesuit who went to Manresa in 1573 received from the Amigants their recollections of Ignatius, but there is no word of the dictation. Finally Juan Amigant, who according to the manuscript spoke to Father Saint-John (de San Juan), gave evidence at the process conducted at Manresa in 1606 but he says nothing of the dictation.⁴⁶

Two observations are in order about these remarks of Dudon. He has made the tradition consist in a belief in a dictation in the strict sense. This, as Fathers Watrigan and Codina have pointed out, is untenable. The corrections and additions made by St. Ignatius in the text from time to time rule out the idea of a word for word dictation. However the leading modern defenders of the tradition hold for a special intervention on the part of Our Lady and not for a dictation as Dudon understands it. The question for Fathers Watrigan and Codina is this: *Did Our Lady intervene in some special way in the composition of the Exercises?* They believe there is solid reason for concurring with a tradition admittedly three centuries old which maintains that she did.

As for the Amigant reference in the Belén manuscript, as we have already seen, Codina, while admitting that the passage in question is a gloss on the original text, maintains that it is contemporaneous with the original and written by the same hand as the rest of the text.

In 1943 Father Manuel Quera published two articles in which he re-examines the question and reaffirms the validity of the tradition.⁴⁷ He asserts that Dudon raises a pointless issue when he questions a dictation. None of the defenders of the tradition hold for a dictation as he understands it.⁴⁸ Against Astrain's argument that there is no documentary

evidence for the tradition before 1606, he appeals, as did Sola, to the writers of the seventeenth century, to Andrés Lucas especially, who could refer to the tradition as "certain," "constant," and "ancient."⁴⁹ The right of prescription should have some place here. Moreover the tradition has received the solemn approval of a General of the Society and of the Supreme Pontiff.⁵⁰

The argument of Astrain and Dudon that no mention of the tradition is found in the writings of Da Camara, Laynez, Polanco, Nadal, and Ribadeneira is answered by Father Quera who says that besides being merely negative, the same argument can be used against the popular belief concerning the cave of Manresa. There is no mention of the cave in the writings of any of these Fathers with the exception of Ribadeneira, who is on record as saying: "*Quod steterit P. Ignatius in quadam spelunca prope montem Serratum, licet aliqui id dicant, pro certo non habet testis.*"⁵¹ Yet Jesuits have generally accepted the tradition of the cave, and that long before Father Pedro Leturia made known in 1925 the discovery of a Latin text written in 1556 by John Albert Widmanstadt, the earliest and only known text of the period referring without qualification to the cave as a place where Ignatius prayed.⁵² Quera like Codina wonders if some day a newly discovered document will not more clearly explain and justify the tradition.⁵³

Relative to the manuscript of Belén, the testimony of the Amigants, and the assertion of Astrain that Ignatius would not have communicated his visions to these people, Quera quotes a very significant passage from a letter of Ribadeneira to Father Gil, rector of the college of Barcelona, in which he says that Ignatius communicated to Pedro de Amigant and Señora Angela de Amigant the things that passed in his soul, visions, raptures, and other interior things. Ribadeneira says that he learned all this from Dr. Sarrovira to whom the Saint had foretold the whole course of his life. Ribadeneira adds that he had heard the same thing himself from Ignatius, although the Saint was very cautious about revealing the favors he had received.⁵⁴ This remarkable document not only concurs neatly with the Belén manuscript but it completely explodes the aprioristic argument of Astrain against it.

As for Dudon's argument based on the silence of Juan Amigant at the process for beatification, Quera gives the surprising answer that Amigant and the rest of the witnesses said nothing about the "dictation" or intervention of Our Lady for the simple reason that they had no opportunity to say anything about it.⁵⁵ It is true that Amigant is on record as answering only five questions none of which involved article twenty-nine, the article which treated in a general way the supernatural experiences of Ignatius at Manresa.⁵⁶ This article did not ask if the witnesses knew of any specific revelations, but simply asked the rather vague and general question: Did they know that Ignatius had such experiences?⁵⁷ It is most likely, if not certain, on the other hand, that the Juan Amigant of the process, a close relative of the Amigants who befriended Ignatius, did know of such experiences as the letter of Ribadeneira indicates. The argument based on his silence, accordingly, loses its force.

By way of conclusion, Quera expresses the hope that his effort may serve to dissipate the cloud of suspicion and indifference that surrounds the tradition, a cloud created by modern historians who in treating it so lightly have shown an unwarranted disdain of it.

In the light of the evidence presented to the controversy it seems reasonable to maintain that, while the proof for the special intervention of Our Lady may not be absolutely established by documentary evidence at our disposal, nevertheless such evidence as we have favors the tradition. The arguments advanced by those who oppose the validity of the tradition are merely negative and in some instances groundless. Finally there remains the undeniable fact of the tradition itself carrying with it the prestige of prescription.

A further question might be asked. Granting that Our Lady did intervene, what was the nature of the intervention? In what way was Mary responsible for the Exercises? How shall we understand her "dictation"?

Surely we need not invoke Mary's aid to explain the detail or even much of the general structure of the Exercises. One should leave room for the influence of the *Vita Christi*, and the *Flos Sanctorum* as well as the *Imitation of Christ*, probably also for the *Exercitatoria* of Cisneros. Nor should

we limit the dynamic originality of Ignatius himself. Probably the best explanation of our problem is to be sought in the "Ephemeris S. P. N. Ignatii."⁵³ Here the Saint's constant recourse to Our Lady and his mystical union with her are clearly in evidence. We have Ignatius' own testimony in these pages about the help he sought and received from the Blessed Virgin in composing certain parts of the Constitutions. It seems quite legitimate to conclude that Our Lady's intervention in the composition of the Exercises took a somewhat similar form.

NOTES

¹Henri Watrigant, S.J., *La Très Sainte Vierge a-t-elle Aidé Saint Ignace à Composer le Livre des Exercices Spirituels?* (Ucles, 1894). Pp. 110.

²*Ibid.*, p. 6.

³"De Cultu Cordis Jesu Provehendo," *Epistolae Praepositorum Generalium*, IV, (Brussels, 1908), p. 105.

⁴*Op. cit.*, pp. 21-30.

⁵Quoted from the work of John Rho, S.J., *Joannis Rho Mediolanensis Societatis Jesu Achates . . . de Sancti Ignatii Institutione et Exercitiis*, (Lyons, 1643), p. 128. Cited by Watrigant, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁶Fidelis Fita, S.J., (1835-1917), *La Santa Cueva de Manresa*, (Manresa, 1872), p. 17. Cited by Watrigant, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁷Fita, *op. cit.*, p. 47. Cited by Watrigant *op. cit.*, p. 22. For correction of text as given by Watrigant, Astrain and Creixell cf. Arturo Codina, S.J., *Los Orígenes de los Ejercicios Espirituales*, (Barcelona, 1926), p. 90, (translation mine).

⁸"Processus Remissorialis Minorissensus," *Monumenta Ignatiana*, Series 4, (Madrid, 1918), pp. 697-753. Cf. pp. 716-717.

⁹Virgilio Nolarci, S.J., (Carnoli), *Vita del Patriarca sant' Ignatio*, (Venice, 1689), p. 39. Cited by Watrigant, *op. cit.*, p. 26, (translation mine).

¹⁰François García, S.J., *Vida, virtudes, y milagros de San Ignacio de Loyola*, (Madrid, 1685), p. 61. Cited by Watrigant, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

¹¹*Op. cit.*, p. 28.

¹²Louis du Pont (de la Puente), *Vie du P. Balthasar Alvarez*, (Paris, 1628), p. 481. Cited by Watrigant, *op. cit.*, p. 33. Cf. *The Life of Balthasar Alvarez*, (London, 1868), II, pp. 191-193.

¹³Michel Frazzetta, S.J., *Vita, virtu, miracoli del Vener. Servo di Dio D. Girolamo di Palermo*, (Palermo, 1681), p. 140. Cited by Watrigant, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

¹⁴Constantin Cajetan, *De religiosa sancti Ignatii . . . Institutione*, (Venice, 1641), p. 200. Cited by Watrigant, *op. cit.*, p. 37 ff. Cf. "Cajetan, Constantin," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, III.

¹⁵Cf. Watrigant, *op. cit.*, p. 37; Codina, *Los Orígenes*, p. 168.

¹⁶"Pastoralis officii," (1548). Cf. Canutus-Hilarius Marin, S.J., *Spiritualia Exercitia Secundum Pontificum Documenta*, (Barcelona, 1941), pp. 10-11.

¹⁷Polanco, "Quidam de Societate Jesu . . .," (prefatory letter to the first vulgate version of the Exercises), *Monumenta Ignatiana*, Series 2, (Madrid, 1919), p. 218.

¹⁸Orlandini, *Historia Societatis*, LI. Cited by Watrigant, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

¹⁹Ribadeneira, *Vita Ignatii Loiolae*, (Antwerp, 1587), p. 49. Cited by Watrigant, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

²⁰*Op. cit.*, pp. 37 ff.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 36.

²²Antonio Astrain, S.J., *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España*. (7 vols., Madrid, 1902-1925) I, p. 160.

²⁴Pietro Tacchi Venturi, S.J., *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia*, (3 vols. Rome, 1922), II, p. 40.

²⁵Polanco, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

²⁶Arturo Codina, S.J., "De Ope a B. Virgine Ignatio Collata ad Exercitia Conscribenda," *Monumenta Ignatiana*, Series 2, (Madrid, 1919), pp. 39 ff.

²⁷Codina, *Los Orígenes de los Ejercicios*, (Barcelona, 1926), pp. 85 ff.

²⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 90-91.

²⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 91-93.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 92. Cf. "Processus Remissorialis Minorissensus," *op. cit.*, pp. 716-717.

³¹*Op. cit.*, p. 92.

³²*Ibid.*, pp. 92-93. Cf. *Monumenta Ignatiana*, Series 4, II, (Madrid, 1918), pp. 511-513. Unfortunately this manuscript as well as that of the College of Belén was destroyed by the Reds in the recent civil war.

³³*Op. cit.*, p. 93.

³⁴Juan M. Sola, S.J., "La Intervención de la Virgen en los Ejercicios Espirituales," *Manresa*, VII, (Barcelona, 1931), pp. 40-56; 145-169.

³⁵*Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, XIV, (1922), p. 629.

³⁶*San Ignacio en Manresa*, (Barcelona, 1891), num. 24. Cited by Sola, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

³⁷*Op. cit.*, p. 47.

³⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 48-50.

³⁹Andrés Lucas, *Vida de San Ignacio*, (Granada, 1633), pp. 80-81. Cited by Sola, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54.

⁴⁰*Op. cit.*, pp. 145-146.

⁴¹"Escobar (Marina de, la Venerable)," *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, XX, (Barcelona), p. 801.

⁴²*Op. cit.*, pp. 150-152.

⁴³*Ibid.*, pp. 168-169.

⁴⁴Paul Dudon, S.J., *Saint Ignace de Loyola*, (Paris, 1934), p. 616.

⁴⁵It would seem that Dudon has oversimplified the case by listing

Watrigan with Astrain and Tacchi Venturi. It is only too clear that Watrigan respects much of the evidence which the other two reject.

⁴⁶*Op. cit.*, p. 616.

⁴⁷Manuel Quera, S.J., "Influjo de la Santísima Virgen en la Composición del libro de los Ejercicios," *Manresa*, XV, (Marzo, 1943), pp. 64-72; 164-176.

⁴⁸*Op. cit.*, p. 65.

⁴⁹Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 84. Cited by Quera, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

⁵⁰*Op. cit.*, p. 175.

⁵¹*Monumenta Ignatiana*, Series 4, II, p. 904. Cited by Quera *op. cit.*, p. 68.

⁵²Leturia, S.J., "Un texto desconocido del año 1556 sobre la Santa Cueva," *Manresa*, I, (1925), pp. 43-52. Cited by Quera, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

⁵³*Op. cit.*, pp. 68-69.

⁵⁴Juan Creixell, S.J., *San Ignacio de Loyola*, (Barcelona, 1922), p. 134. Cited by Quera, *op. cit.*, p. 164. Cf. *Monumenta Ribadeneirae*, (Epistolae Addendae) II, p. 502.

⁵⁵*Op. cit.*, pp. 166-167.

⁵⁶Cf. "Processus Remissiorialis Minorissensus," *op. cit.*, pp. 716-717.

⁵⁷*Op. cit.*, pp. 175-176.

⁵⁸*Monumenta Ignatiana*, series tertia, tomus I, pp. 86-158.

* * *

RECOLLECTION

For keeping up continual recollection of God this pious formula is to be ever set before you. "Deign, O God, to set me free; Lord, make haste to help me" (Psalm 69, 2), for this verse has not unreasonably been picked out from the whole of Scripture for this purpose. For it embraces all the feelings which can be implanted in human nature, and can be fitly and satisfactorily adapted to every condition, and all assaults. Since it contains an invocation of God against every danger, it contains humble and pious confession, it contains the watchfulness of anxiety and continual fear, it contains the thought of one's own weakness, confidence in the answer, and the assurance of a present and every ready help. For one who is constantly calling on his protector, is certain that He is always at hand. It contains the glow of love and charity, it contains a view of the plots, and a dread of the enemies, from which one, who sees himself day and night hemmed in by them, confesses that he cannot be set free without the aid of his defender.

JOHN CASSIAN

HISTORICAL NOTES

LETTERS OF FATHER JAMES PYE NEALE

In May, 1952 the Georgetown Archives received from Professor E. C. Barker of the University of Texas a packet of one hundred and thirty letters written by Father James Pye Neale to his mother over a period of thirty-seven years. Although there are considerable repetitions, many family references and trifling details in the letters, they afford some interesting glimpses of the old Maryland Province, Father Neale's contemporaries in the Society, the work of the Jesuits in caring for the parishes of the Counties, and the difficulties of a parish priest in the "horse-and-buggy" days. The letters have been studied, and in the following pages is gathered the material which should be of general interest.

Early Years

James Pye Neale was born in Charles County, Maryland, on February 19, 1840 and on September 15, 1852 entered Georgetown College with his two brothers, Eustace and Francis. Their father, a doctor, had died and they were the wards of Captain James H. Neale of Portobacco. Nicholas Stonestreet of Charles County assisted in supporting the boys by paying twelve hundred dollars for the expenses of the first two years of their schooling. Their mother had gone to Texas to live with relatives either shortly before or after their entrance into Georgetown College.

On January 16, 1857, while he was in poetry class at college, Pye Neale wrote to his mother and, among other things, told her:

In this last Christmas at college, we had no mince pies and apples, nor invigorating eggnog and apple toddy; but we had college pies and turkeys with cakes and candies, and last, though not least, the life-giving coffee and bread. Though we had no home-faces to share our mirth, we fed our hopes. We skated, we whistled, we read, we wrote, we went out in town, we ate and drank—but didn't get drunk. Such was our Christmas.

Louis Freeman, writing from Worcester College, says he spent a dry Christmas, and that the people up north did not even know—O shame!—did not even know what one meant by eggnog. . . . We have very cold weather now, and plenty of skating, the ice being nearly three feet thick. . . . The excitement of the forthcoming fourth of March is at its apex. Have you heard anything about the Negro insurrections? They are rife in Charles County, but there are strong patrols always on the road. Northern abolitionists are supposed to be the instigators.

The "fourth of March" to which he referred was the inauguration of President James Buchanan.

James Pye Neale, or Pye Neale as he was known to his contemporaries, graduated from Georgetown College on July 6, 1859 and was the valedictorian of his class. James Buchanan, the president of the United States, presided at the commencement. A long gap in the letters to his mother now follows. On July 20 following his graduation Neale entered the novitiate of the Maryland Province at Frederick, Maryland. After three years here Mr. Neale taught for one year in Baltimore and six years in Philadelphia.

At Woodstock

In 1869 he commenced his philosophy at Georgetown and was among the pioneers who opened Woodstock College later that same year. Both the next letter written on April 6, most probably in the year 1870, and the succeeding ones were all written from Woodstock and describe his days of philosophy and the work of beautifying the new house. Many family references are also revealed and the emotional character of Pye Neale can be seen, a trait which had much to do with his eventual departure from the Society. The stationery of the letter of April 6 is rather unique. The paper is folded into a four-by-six sheet and bears the first picture of Woodstock College at the top of the page. In the course of the letter he said:

By this time I hope we have all learned the necessity of labor and will bring up children no longer to idleness. Constant employment is the best training for youth, hearty work and hearty play interspersed. We of the

old generations of southern people were injured by not being kept steadily at work when we were young. How much more gladly would I look back to have waited on you, to have brought water, chopped wood, etc., instead of having servants attending to me as well as to you. I should feel proud to remember having done something more than receive favors from you.

Woodstock. January 5, 1871. There are 120 in the community. . . . The chapel was decorated for Christmas with 1,500 yards of greens. . . . The crib was erected in the parlor. Statues of Our Lady, St. Joseph, the angels (big and little), shepherds of all sizes, sexes and ages; sheep, goats, dogs, all made in Naples and presented by a friend. Bethlehem, backed by rocks, range of mountains, with clouds painted by a Scholastic. Hills, cave with snow-capped roof, a real fountain (a yard high), real pine trees on the rocks. Open to the public.

Charles County people made a public protest against the spoliation of the Holy Father and published it in the *Mirror*. It was worthy of the old place, or at least to be expected that they should do something of the kind. The county is looking up, materially and spiritually, at the same time.

Woodstock. September 3, 1871. The house retreat was given in elegant Latin. . . . The teachers from Georgetown and Loyola Colleges spent their vacations at St. Inigoes and had a delightful time. . . .

Rosecroft, lately belonging to the Hardy family, has been given to the Sisters of the Sacred Heart and they will open a school there. There are fifteen applications already. A lady of the Hardy family has joined the Order. . . .

I told you, I believe, that Miss Jennie Neale, Nellie and Hortense Digges are to open a school at Mt. Airy. There are five applications for matriculation. My advice to them is to go and join the Order of the Sacred Heart and be done with it. . . .

Fr. Vicinanza has been moved from St. Thomas to Leonardtown. He was up lately and I asked him about everybody from Glymont to Newport. Aunt Mary and the three Thomas ladies live with Dr. C. H. Pye. Mass

is still said in the church your father built. All the old Pyes are buried in the yard near it. It made my hair stand on end with enthusiasm when I looked at the graves of so many holy, truly holy, members of the family. For God's sake, take care of the children in Texas and let them know how good and pious their ancestors were; how charity and mildness made them fall from princely wealth into poverty. It remained for the modern generations to put the stigma of dissipation on the old escutcheon. Olivia was with Edmonia at "Longevity" and there they might now be living rich and happy, but for a fool's advice. The next Pye that wishes to marry his cousin should be bastinadoed, hunted and ridden on a rail to Van Dieman's Land. We'll have whole batches of young donkies branded with a *P*, to show that they are of the Pye ranch, if that thing goes on any longer. . . .

Father Stonestreet spent a day here recently and told me something that may interest you. Cousin Nick last December woke up suddenly from sleep after midnight in a terrible perspiration, and saw standing before the bed on which he lay, his dead sister Filomena and in the Visitation habit. He rubbed his eyes and sat up, but there she stood, and as she moved towards the door, he followed till she disappeared. Not to disturb his wife, who was in a delicate condition, he said to himself: "As I am up, I will wake the boys for hog killing". He superintended that most unideal work till near breakfast time when word was brought to him that his wife had been delivered of a daughter. He went immediately to the house and was met inside by a nurse with the child in her arms, but, wonderful to say, there in broad daylight this man of business and practical lawyer could see no infant but Sister Filomena in her nun's dress, and no straining of eyes could dispel the vision. Of course he wondered a great deal. The child has been named Filomena and has been dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. . . .

Rosecroft, mentioned in the above letter was on the northern side of the mouth of St. Inigoes Creek. Some who spent their villa at St. Inigoes will remember it as the home of

Captain Kennedy. The Sacred Heart school did not prosper; one factor was the refusal of Father Provincial for reasons not stated, to allow the Fathers at St. Inigoes to undertake the duties of chaplain.

Woodstock. November 14, 1871. I went with some Scholastics lately to see the new Mount Hope building, and it was well worth the twenty mile walk.

Woodstock. December 3, 1871. Your old friend Father Matthews (and I may add, relative) was disinterred lately (about three weeks ago) for removal to a new grave yard, for old St. Patrick's is to be demolished and a fine new church raised in its place. Father M's body was incorrupt, so that a great many of his old friends had the pleasure of looking on his face and recognized him easily. He was buried in 1854, you will remember. . . .

The Sisters of the Sacred Heart opened last September down at St. Inigoes. . . .

The Maryland elections went pretty much as they should have done. A piece of bigotry was very nicely foiled in Howard County. The Methodists, because Mr. Carroll (the descendant of Charles Carroll of Carrollton) is a Catholic, determined to crush him and nominated one of the "class leaders" and moved every stone to be successful, but it was all for nothing. . . .

The incorruption of Father Matthews' body was petrification, due to the silica-bearing water from the springs in that locality. When the foundation was dug for the Gonzaga auditorium in 1896, springs, which are still flowing, were uncovered and also quantities of petrified wood.

Woodstock. January 7, 1872. Your talk about "old times" was particularly suited to the season. A few such letters written by our old people in the counties would be historically valuable. I had a plan of getting Uncle Charlie to write down all that he had heard or seen, and I know that the old man would have been delighted at the task of putting his family traditions and reminiscences into clear and orderly form for the perusal of coming generations. Unhappily, records are not the only things that Marylanders have been careless of.

We can scarcely realize the grand old set who, a few

generations back, were sending their children to Europe to be educated, who acted like noble men and lived like saints. Though that day with its glory is gone, you have children who can be taught a lesson, a good solid lesson, from the sufferings of their parents. You ought to drive the lesson home to them and tell them that the Pyes of old allowed their generosity and good-heartedness to smother their prudence, that where a father with four strong sons and fifty servants fell from affluence to poverty (at Oakland) now one young man with hired hands is piling up money with ease (Frank Hamilton). Does this sound too worldly—too much as if money were the main thing? Money enables one to keep select company and to obtain good education and do many good works, and good people ought to have plenty of it, though they should be willing to throw millions away to please God.

Woodstock. April 20, 1872. The spoiling, I think, is in the character and previous life of a boy when there is no special difficulty about his college life. Georgetown is now a hundred miles ahead of what it used to be in morality and discipline. I am dying to hear that Dick is there and has a year saved. If possible, by any way or measure, let him not suffer the horror of a shabby appearance. Dress him well. It helps a boy along wonderfully at college to be respectably dressed. See to it yourself that he be attended to on this point and make sure of it. I, who have been around colleges since '52 and before, in one way or another, know this to be true.

Woodstock. May 5, 1872. A friend bought in Paris the grandest monstrence I ever set eyes on. . . . The altars in Loyola are of marble and statues imported from Italy. The crucifix of papier mâché is lifelike, life-size and colored most artistically. It was brought from Italy by Father Paresce to be carried around on great missions and set up in the church of the mission.

Theology

Since Mr. Neale had seven years of regency immediately after his juniorate we find him passing directly from phi-

osophy to theology in the Summer of 1872, and so his letters continue from Woodstock.

Woodstock. March 21, 1873. I wish you could see the work being done on our grounds here. I have a share in the rougher part of the work. Last week I was engaged in getting a wild honey-suckle, or more properly an azalea, ten feet high, with all the earth around the roots, up the hill. Five of us could not manage it, and a mule and a cart being brought to the rescue, poor old "Kate" slipped up at her first step on the frozen ground, and three of us were nearly "murdered" getting her up on her pins again. She was allowed to munch chopped corn for the rest of that day. The next day I went four miles down the river with a wagon. We dug up thirty-five little holly trees and they are now struggling with the wind on the brow of our hill where "plot bands" have been laid out for ornamental shrubbery. In front of the house of course an ornamental fountain, then further out a fifteen-foot vase, and at distances around, seven statues, flowers, etc., in proper places. The expenses for these things are being borne by a kind friend, for we have no money to spend on such unnecessary things, and we are content to get outside and inside living for the body. We have about a dozen Italians working for us. They are a quiet, pious, honest, well-intentioned set of men. You know they were swindled in New York and we took them in out of charity and managed to give them work.

Woodstock. April 20, 1873. We have put down hundreds of ornamental trees, erected five splendid vases, the gift of a friend. In the midst of our lawn, around which winds a road planted on both sides with alternate arbor vitae and Norway spruce, is a raised and sodded plateau on which are the grand twelve-foot high center vase and eight-feet corner ones, with the exquisite angels holding shells on their heads for flowers. Everything is the gift of a friend. . . .

I endorse your sentiments about St. George and England. It is not wonderful that we who are as English as English can be for generations back should be at-

tached to the great, old, wicked, splendid motherland. We are sorry for her, but we do not hate her.

Woodstock. August 2, 1873. I wish I could send you a photograph of our garden with the Sacred Heart standing in the center. If I can get one of my own I shall certainly send it. They cost twenty-five cents, I believe. . . .

The class to which I belong is to be ordained on the 20th of December coming. . . .

Woodstock. August 26, 1873. I am delighted to be able to send you a picture of the statue erected in the center of our garden on the 20th of June last. The copy is a rejected one and the only kind I could get, as I can not raise twenty-five cents to pay for a good one. . . .

In our little cluster of huts at Woodstock there are fifty-eight children. Twelve children in one family is common here. Scarcely any one ever dies except of old age or by a railroad accident.

Woodstock. November 15, 1873. I told you in my last letter, which by this time must have reached you, of the tremendous change that is to be worked on me by the hands of our Archbishop on the 12th of December. I hope you will give me the aid of those prayers to which I attribute most of the good things that have happened to me in my life. I hope you will give some more of those prayers that an interior and complete change may be effected in me.

Woodstock. March 20, 1874. I can not help thinking how sad it is that while that poor old colored woman who was the first one to whom I gave Communion had many zealous men and women looking after her and instructing her, the descendants of old and glorious ancestry, whose family has kept the faith through bloody martyrdom, should grow up and get married without even making their first Communion. Mixed marriages can do more harm than the sword of the executioner. The saddest thing you have ever written in your letters was the account of the religious ignorance in which our young relatives have been suffered to grow up. They have been taught all sorts of sciences and arts except the first and most important—their catechism, and that among well-

educated Catholic parents and relatives. It is hard to understand.

I taught the little Negroes when I was a boy and have taught night schools to street Arabs, and still teach our darkies here one hour every night their prayers, catechism, reading, writing, arithmetic, and singing, and there is nobody to instruct my relatives in what they need most to know.

The Pyes in England that had gone over to Protestantism have been coming back of late years, while it looks as if in one more generation their relatives in America would desert the old faith. . . .

Father Stonestreet was very well when I last heard from him though he has too much of the drag and haul of a parish priest to attend to. Father Curley is still at Georgetown College and digs in his garden. He performs pretty much the same round of duties as of old. He was lame a year ago but has now thrown away his crutches and taken a new start. Father Maguire is still doing a giant's work, though there are broad lines of gray in his locks.

Woodstock. June 6, 1874. Two of our servants have just returned from a visit to Charles County, and I was talking to one this morning who heard Mass last Sunday at St. Thomas'. He describes them just as you knew them to be years ago. He saw Uncle Robert and all the people, old and young, from both sides of the creek, of African and non-African descent.

Young Frank Digges is working a farm. George, who would make a fortune out west or down south, is almost starving. Eugene Digges, than whom there are scarcely one hundred better educated men in the country, though district attorney, does poorly. There are too many trying to live on brain work where there is very little demand for such work. Hanging around that dead country was not in the nature of your father's children or grandchildren. Though the memory of Frank's terrible death makes me shudder, still it might have been, if possible, worse if he had remained stagnating in Charles County.

Mrs. Middleton is at last relieved of her sufferings

and left her property to Frank Posey. He was to have married Emma Jameson of Newport, but because of his not appearing at the last moment, the bride fainted away, and her brother and others trotted away to Prince George's County to bring up the bridegroom to face the music. They found him in Alexandria, would not hear his apologies, and appointed him one week to get ready for carrying out his contract. There is very little romance in the county except of the heartbreaking kind. I can not tell how I feel as I count over the fine fellows and young dames that have not met with anything but bitter disappointment, whose forelife was spent in blind frivolity and idleness and whose afterlife is one dreary round of unconsolated, unfamiliar drudgery. Most of them bear it in a religious spirit and it has elevated and bettered them spiritually, so that I hope that God has yet some good blessing in store for them, though that will be better if deferred to the next life. . . .

A Neale from Cobb Neck was elected Mother at the Georgetown Academy lately, but refused to accept. . . .

We are putting our grounds in order. A grand colossal statue of Our Lord as He appeared to B. Margaret Mary goes in front of the house; a bronze St. Joseph, holding a beautiful Infant, little over life-size—an excellent figure and countenance—stands at the east end. A statue of Our Lady, of corresponding height, at the west. How happy I would be if a friend of mine could have the honor of putting the angel guardian at the back door? Our back door, however, is no mean place, at least will not be when the back yard is finished. . . .

We had all the boys from Loyola and some from Georgetown out with us on Thursday after Whitsunday. They played baseball, took dinner in the shade near a spring, rowed in our boats on the river, and enjoyed themselves with all the wildness of city boys unused to the freshness and freedom of the country. They came, packed away in carry-alls with teachers, cooks, and waiters; a hack accompanying containing the President. You can imagine the howling, shouting, and singing along the fifteen miles to Baltimore.

Woodstock. June 30, 1874. You speak of a letter of

Sister's and ask if I would like to see it. Why, I would wear it as a relic. I have no memento of her and what could be more appropriate than a letter of hers whose letters to me at Georgetown College were beyond all value in every way. I saw her grave four years ago when we walked the thirty-nine miles to Frederick, and felt glad to see where it was. Think of poor Frank lying in a Presbyterian church yard. It makes me start right up with horror. The descendant of old Catholic ancestors, who bled for the faith, to be lying there among heretics. . . .

I suppose you read in the papers about the pilgrimage to White Marsh, for Frank Leslie had pictures of it and there were reporters on the ground from the *Tribune* and the *Herald*.

We lately erected a fine statue of the Blessed Virgin (about seven feet high). There is a plot of grass with ellipses cut for flowers, in the middle of a tall mound, two blocks of granite on which there is a metal pedestal and then the statue. It is at top of the hill just as the road enters the garden. It is all shaded by fine oaks and poplars. An angel with a vase of hanging petunias stands at each corner and four vases are set to match, lower down.

At Loyola in Baltimore

The status of 1874 sent Father Neale to Loyola in Baltimore where he taught rhetoric and poetry for two years, and his next letter is as follows:

Loyola College, Baltimore. March 14, 1875. I saw Dickie at Georgetown last week and was delighted with him. I could not talk to him at all for every word he uttered brought tears to my eyes. When he began to speak of "Cousin Frank" I had to stop him, and turn him short to some other subject, for all the boys were looking at us. If we had been alone I would have let him talk on and just cried my eyes out. It would have done me so much good. One of the afflictions of my life is to have no power to conceal my feelings and to feel every little thing in such a way that people think I am crazy. . . .

So many farms in Cedar Point have been taken by colored persons (as tenants) that we thought of getting Fred Douglas to buy us out.

Loyola College, Baltimore. May 16, 1875. It is Whitsunday, and after renewing vows at six, attending the boys at seven, who begin today the six Sundays of St. Aloysius, giving Communion twice, besides at my own Mass at eight, then posting off in a carriage to St. Martin's at West End to help in the ten-thirty Mass, then refusing a carriage and walking home so as to be with the family at dinner, I feel free until five, when I will go over to assist in the May procession of the Colored Sisters, after which we will have our own grand evening service of Vespers, May devotions, and solemn Benediction. . . .

The boys are inviting me every day to go fishing, promising to supply lines, worms, eatables and everything. Dear kind darlings, they are too good for me. What do you think a little stammerer gave me the other day? A bottle of cologne. If he had been older I might have regarded it as a hint, as one of the boys did a cake of brown soap that he received at Christmas.

In 1875 Father Neale went to Cold Spring, Pennsylvania, for the villa. This was a run-down old resort in the region of Harrisburg, that seems to have been left to St. Joseph's College. It did not prove satisfactory and seems to have been sold about 1880. Father Neale wrote:

Cold Spring Villa, Pearson, Lebanon County, Penn. July 7, 1875. Dick has gone to Charles County and will soon be telling you about all of his experiences there. Unfortunately things are at a low ebb for the Pyes. The Neales are little better, and the Digges nearly as badly off. There can scarcely be a day of resurrection for any of them in that land. . . .

Well, you ought to see the place where we are. In the coal regions of Pennsylvania, between two mountain ridges, like a boat in the trough of the waves. The scenery on the way to this place is the prettiest I have seen and at the same time most varied. Harrisburg was a prettier place than I expected. We stayed there some hours admiring churches and the State House where

the Pennsylvania legislature pulls wires and sells votes. We expect Bishop Shanahan to spend some days here, as we are in his diocese. There is no dwelling within many miles of us, the woody mountain ranges stretching far off in uncultivated native ruggedness. They say that bears and rattlesnakes are found about here.

Having returned to Baltimore after the villa, Father Neale wrote, on August 21, 1875:

After the overwhelming grandeur and splendor of the larger cities I am glad to be back in old quiet Baltimore. Baltimore is one of the fastest growing cities of the country and is losing some of its simplicity.

Loyola College, Baltimore. October 10, 1875. I have been over to Georgetown College and had a talk with Father Stonestreet. He is as cheerful and healthy as possible, bringing down his fat by the method of Dr. Bantung. Though he says he is now sixty, at which age the Church exempts from fasting (women at fifty), he intends to take advantage of an old man's privilege, not be very hard on himself as he has hitherto been. . . .

We have about 120 as fine boys as ever lived. Education is everything. You can easily pick out the boys whose parents do their duty, without knowing anything about them except what you can get from observing their behavior.

Loyola College, Baltimore. November 8, 1875. We have 130 boys. I have started the practice of reading prayers at Mass every day from the Roman missal, translated, so that there is conformity with the priest, so much praised by the saints, and variety in the matter, so much liked by boys.

The next letter was written from Woodstock on July 23, 1876, saying:

You may not remember that you wrote me a letter just after my graduation at college, urging me to study out my vocation and exhorting me to follow it. The letter only reached me when I had the habit of the Society, and I read it in the garden of the novices. I was lately reading over that precious letter in which you spoke as one inspired by the Holy Ghost. . . .

I am, by a singular favor, passing my vacation at this

blessed house in company with all the devout friends of my youth who took their first vows with me and all now ordained like myself, after sixteen years of all sorts of experiences.

We will start next Thursday, 23rd of July, for St. Inigoes where we will have two weeks on the salt water....

A great number of young men have been sent to the Centennial and when they come back we gather around and "pump" them, to get out of them all the marvels they have seen and adventures they have met. Last year in August I was driven through the Centennial grounds by some boys who used to be in my class, and on last 22nd of February a gentleman paid my fare and took me over to Philadelphia to see the buildings and illumination of the city on that day. To stand in the main building, exactly as it then was, and look over its eighteen hundred feet of length, and its twenty-one acres of level flooring, was an experience that is hard to tell anything about....

I had arranged with a gentleman to attend the exhibition of Notre Dame of Maryland, where we would have seen General Grant and the Archbishop together, but rain prevented....

At Georgetown

In the summer of 1876 he was changed to Georgetown, and wrote on December 30:

I had my hands full up to the last of the school days. Then I started for Alexandria. Said the High Mass on Christmas Eve and preached at it. Heard confessions at night until bed time. Got up at four next day. Sang a solemn High Mass at five o'clock, at which there were three hundred Communions (to the dozen that used to be a few years ago). At ten o'clock I sang another High Mass.

Georgetown College. May 9, 1877. A little boy to whom I was giving private lessons in Greek (great grandson of Thomas Jefferson) got very sick lately; so sick that we feared that we would lose him. His mother

and father came on and, to our great relief, he recovered and we sent him home to recruit. The weather is not at all like May weather. I have a fire in my room all the time and wear a cloak when I go out.

Georgetown College. June 13, 1877. Old St. Patrick's has been torn down and the new St. Patrick's rises majestically on nearly the same site. . . .

You know there is a grand new Visitation Convent built in Washington to which they are soon to move, after twenty-six years' stay in their dear little old family-like residence.

The Visitation Convent which was new in 1877 occupied the block bounded by Connecticut Avenue and 17th Street, L and De Sales Streets, and was then quite removed from downtown activity. The Convent and school remained until about 1918, and Fathers from Georgetown served as chaplains. That city block is now occupied by the Mayflower Hotel and the name "De Sales" is a memento of the Convent's existence.

In the summer of 1877 Father Neale, while in charge of the parish at Bushwood, wrote from Leonardtown on August 21:

I have been up to my congregation and back three times since I wrote to you last. This last time I had the usual variety of interesting experiences, some sad but nearly all joyful. I found that three had been buried while I was away, to two of whom I had given the Viaticum, and to one the last sacraments. They were well prepared. I blessed their graves with consolation.

But I must tell you that I have been sleeping around in the houses and renewing remembrances of what used to take place at home, when we lived at Lochleven. There is a part of the parish miles and miles away from the church where there are a great many old persons who can not get to the church. I went to the house on Friday evening, stayed all night, ate an old country supper, had a good sleep and the next morning went into the parlor, where we had, the day before (I and a widow lady, the oldest in the house) arranged the altar with vestments, chalice, etc., all of which belonged to the lady herself, who bought them from a Mrs. Neale who went to Texas last year. There were over thirty Communion

and baptisms—a whole Protestant family at once “dipped.” There is no end to the confessions, Communion, baptisms, etc. I’ll say Mass at another private house next week.

My parish had a dinner last Wednesday and I rode down to it. It was really well gotten up, and the ladies and gents all deserve the greatest praise. We had it in a big barn—a splendid place, plenty of shade and freedom and a large smooth-floored room for dancing. They began to dance right after dinner, with three fiddles and a banjo. I had to leave early; but they kept up the fun long after my departure. One part of the sport was a speech from an old crazy gent called “Boss Bailey,” who imagines himself a candidate for all sorts of high offices. I do not dine out at all, nor visit, as I see no special fruit from such things, and it is an expensive way of making the acquaintance. I have two boys that come daily to take lessons in Latin and Greek, and I teach a colored boy at night, and over all the good Brother expects me to superintend wine-making, and putting up of tomatoes, etc., so that I do not know where I am half the time.

9:30 P.M. I had to stop to say litanies, examine my worthless conscience and prepare matter for tomorrow’s meditation. In the meantime a letter was put on my table—orders to be in Baltimore next Wednesday. So I am not to stay in the blessed old counties.

Assigned to the Counties

He was wrong about leaving the counties, for the orders in Baltimore sent him to White Marsh in Prince George’s County, and on September 8 he wrote:

Collington Post Office. I arrived here yesterday in a rain storm. . . . Poor people around here in abundance and we must share their poverty. Two little girls were in at Mass this morning and three at catechism (preparing for First Communion), despite the rain which has favored the farmers and ducks for three days. I had a grand, most pleasant, and edifying time down at Leonardtown and grew to admire the splendid people in the two congregations I attended.

October 13, 1877. I saw the Park Street Sisters lately and had a fine talk; they all wished to be remembered to you. Sister Xavier has gone to Washington to "boss" the new convent there.

Father Neale's stay at White Marsh was not very long and his next assignment was St. Inigoes, St. Mary's County. He wrote:

St. Inigoes. January 30, 1878. Off last Friday at 4 P.M. on a sick call, eighteen miles through rain and dark and mud. Saved from neck or leg breaking by the providential grasp of the young man I took along in the buggy. Gave last sacraments to ten; married three (couples), twenty miles apart; arranged for two more couples; baptized a man of twenty-two, and a baby; arranged for several to enter the Church; said Mass across the Patuxent in Calvert County, gave Communion to some fifty, etc.; on the rush all the time, grabbing meals and beds where I could get them.

Back today, Wednesday, found a handful of letters, but proof sheets of prayer book on which I am working did not arrive. Many letters to write and little matters to arrange before starting off again day after tomorrow. I have managed to call on several sick people. A girl who died last week was conscious only till she had finished her confession and then—blank. Candles to be blessed and a thousand arrangements to be made when I get back to St. Nicholas.

I tell you all this to show why the cultivation of bulbs is not indulged in by the present dwellers in St. Inigoes. We have to scratch for a living. With your letter came one from Charles H. Pye begging a loan of ten dollars. I'll send all I can scrape. . . .

We see from the above letter that Father Neale had been given the distant parishes of the St. Inigoes' residence, which meant that he had to drive about seven and a half miles, over abominable roads in bad weather, before reaching his nearest parishioners, those around Park Hall, and then another three and a half miles to Great Mills. Three miles north of Great Mills was the church of St. Nicholas; the greater part of the parish is now covered by the Patuxent Naval Base, with the church being used as a post chapel. We

also see from Father Neale's letter that, when opportunity offered, he crossed the Patuxent, several miles wide at this point, to say Mass for the Catholics in that section of Calvert County. Some four miles south of Great Mills is the parish of St. George's at Valley Lee. After another four and a half miles one comes to the strait separating St. George's Island from the mainland, and on the island is the church of St. Francis Xavier. The present writer had some experiences in these same parishes in 1922, but with an automobile; and only some personal experience enables one to appreciate the hardships of the horse-and-buggy days over wretched roads.

The province catalogue of 1879-1880 puts Father Pye Neale at St. Inigoes, and combining this with a letter from Frederick, dated September 17, 1879, we gather that his tertianship did not consist of much more than the long retreat.

Frederick. September 17, 1879. I am in old Frederick town again. Though I have not visited my sister's grave in the convent enclosure, I said the first black Mass I could for the repose of her soul. I know that I owe her a great deal. This is a heaven on earth. . . . There are a great many things here to recall the past. Old St. John's College, where so many Charles County boys went to school, the old families still about, with whom they boarded. Judge Taney's grave in the garden in which we recreate daily, the Blue Ridge Mountains that are visible from the back piazza at Mt. Airy. I feel at home in Frederick, doubly more on account of the years of noviceship passed here. I left here at the beginning of the war and of course feel an interest in noting all marks of the great conflict. I read the names of several hundred Confederates on a line of tombstones yesterday, and you know with what emotions. Poor fellows! Far from home, but well treated by the nuns and Jesuit novices; most of them converted before they died.

I have come here to make what is called my last probation. We begin a thirty-day retreat tomorrow and leave the world for the desert—nothing but prayers and good reading and meditation from 5:30 A.M. to 10 P.M., and not one word spoken, and then the probability is that I will be sent back to St. Inigoes.

Father Neale's surmise in regard to his status was correct; his next letter was from St. Ingoes on November 28, 1879.

I have, by the count, twenty-six letters to be answered at once, and have to start off to St. George's (twenty miles distant) where I'll stay three days, sleeping in the sacristy, and far from able to write letters or do anything civilized. This lazy old slavery-cursed land is as uncivilized in many respects as if Lord Baltimore had arrived last year. This reminds me that I baptized a baby last Monday named Leonard Calvert Cecil. When I went to put it in the register it came right after the name of Jacob Calvert. I have lost all my reverence for the Calverts. True and deep history does not make them show well. Whenever I pass over the site of old St. Mary's City (as I will tomorrow) and see no sign of the old town left, though I pass right in front of where the old town hall stood (now a seeded wheat field), I feel that the punishment of God on half-hearted Catholicity is there. Maryland Catholicity was a sickly thing from the beginning; but since the war it has begun to improve. They still have the old spirit of starving their priests. I had two tournaments, two dinners and a raffle, but from all realized very little, because we had bad weather each time. One of my parishioners will pay her pew rent in turkeys.

I have had a new picture of "Our Lady of Perpetual Help" put up in St. Nicholas, and will have a grand frame put to it this week. The altar will also be regilded and painted. A young Irishman does these jobs for nothing and paints the churches from roof to floor, not charging a cent. An Irishman down here volunteers to support a priest for his church by himself. Give me the Irish—they are the only true Catholics. I expect to have a triduum at St. Nicholas before the Immaculate Conception. I have bought a crib for Christmas, and the life of Christ in figures to be set up in groups, illustrating various scenes in Our Lord's life. These will be good for teaching catechism to those who can not read. I have my darkies singing in quartet and find it very little trouble to teach them.

My latest idea is to have a floating chapel, a steam-

boat with a chapel on board. A young man in Boston undertakes to collect twenty-five hundred dollars for it, and will get Ben Butler to lecture for me. He thinks it will cost fifteen thousand dollars, but I will buy an old boat for a thousand dollars and rig her up nicely. The old *Columbia* sold last week for one thousand dollars. My next idea is to get spirited hard-working colonists to take land in the counties. We have one form of colony already. Two hundred and seventy children from New York have been distributed in Maryland. The people who adopt them are generally very well pleased with them. Two Sisters of Charity from New York were down last week and I had the pleasure of accompanying them on a tour of inspection to see how their children were doing. I wish I could get them to establish themselves here and open a Catholic school. . . . The grand new building at Georgetown is up to the roof.

Undated Letters from St. Inigoes

Father Neale frequently failed to put the year on the date of his letters, but there are some extracts which are worth recording.

St. Inigoes. Just about to sit down to write to you after getting off a letter to Eustace and here comes a sick call twenty miles away that will not let me come home for three or four days.

December 14. Just starting on a fifty mile ride. Mass at Piney Point before I get back.

St. Inigoes. December 29. Busiest time of the year. Four sermons in three days and two more before the end of the week. Keeps me lively if the several hundred confessions and four marriages and a funeral, etc., didn't do it. Leaving very heavy in heart on twenty-nine sick calls. This is life! Real life! I love it. The people treat me like a king; are as kind as if I were everybody's relative.

St. Inigoes. January 24 (probably 1880). I received a letter from a widow, along with yours, saying she had difficulty getting a piece of paper to write on. She belonged to one of the richest families in the state; but

in a week or two her last property will be sold for debt. I was stopped on the road by another woman with seven children, to whom I gave all the money I had and some biscuits, sausages, butter, sauce, cheese, etc., that I had picked up in my travels. There are the most urgent calls on all sides of us. A little orphan girl was dumped down and left in our yard yesterday, and is staying with our black cook. We have gotten homes in Maryland for about three hundred orphan children picked off the streets of New York, and generally they are getting along splendidly. . . .

The St. Mary river is covered with ice that has been there for three or four weeks. Icebergs are formed on shore by the wind and tide. Very few ducks. A black man gave me two lately; I gave one of them to a sick man and the other to the poor woman mentioned above. I have received a present of six turkeys and a big Cochin chicken and will get a game rooster next week. That is the way they pay pew rent nowadays.

I think of turning an old store into a church and calling it the chapel of the Holy Name, on account of a picture I will hang in it, with the name of God on it in Hebrew, Latin and Greek.

St. Inigoes. February 25. I once imagined that I had tied a horse to a fence and, a few minutes after, I found that I had not when he tore away and broke my buggy. . . .

We have had the deepest of snows and now the profoundest of mud. I have been constantly on the road. It is always my luck to be out in big rains and storms, and so I always go bundled up like an Esquimau, prepared for the worst. . . .

St. Inigoes. March 7. You are off the track when you put the Pyes behind the Neales and Taneys. A Pye girl married a lord in England; their daughter, another lord; and their daughter again married Henry IV, whose son was Henry V of Shakespeare fame. Lords of Kilpeck castle were the Pyes from the time of the Norman conquest. Their name is not their original one—that I have not heard, but it is Welsh "Ap-Hugh" (son of Hugh) the same as McHugh and Fitzgerald. It became

Pugh, but the Welsh pronounce *u* as long *i*—therefore Pugh and Pye are the same. One Pye was a poet laureate of England, but no great shakes, the poorest of all of them, though very learned. To have kept the faith in England is a title to the highest nobility—to lose it in Texas is the opposite.

St. Inigoes. July 13. I can hear the Scholastics tramping up and down the brick wall. Crowds are coming in from the boats, etc. They have a big tent pitched alongside our house for outdoor recreation. Their glee club and band give splendid vocal and instrumental music.

We had a High Mass at the church on Sunday. And as old Mrs. Langley, my dear friend at whose house I have so often stayed even weeks at a time, had often said, "When I am buried, I want to have the Jesuits all in church and have them sing Mass over me," I came as near as I could to granting her wish. As I was celebrant of the Mass I said it for her, and so informed her husband who had come ten miles to receive Communion. I would have felt bad not to have seen her wish carried out; for she was one worthy of everything. She had a whole day visit from her favorite Maria Cecil the day before she died. When a little girl, she used to drive the old patriarch Father Carbery in his buggy, used to read to him in their house, and used to feel his immense double chin with her little hand. She has always been a great favorite of the Jesuits and trained four orphan boys for the novitiate, two of whom were models, even in that holy house. I can not tell how I will miss her in every way. The last time I stayed all night at her house and said Mass in her room, there were more than twenty darkies (many of them her old slaves) who showered the most tender attention and marks of affection on her. This was five days before she died. She was lifted into the kitchen where she superintended the making of my most favorite kind of pudding and said it made her sick to see them so awkward about it. She made me bless her as I went out of the door for the last time.

St. Inigoes. Undated. Just back from St. George's

(twenty miles) where I stayed five days to prepare all who might come for confirmation. Took two Protestants into the Church while there. Start in two hours for St. Nicholas (fourteen miles) with old Jack Straw, a slow horse. My young horse turned me out a week ago and cured me of the chills, but hurt his own foot kicking the buggy to pieces. He is a splendid horse and I will raffle him off to help to build a church to St. Michael near Point Lookout. I must begin to pack up.

St. Inigoes. April 4. We have had several consoling conversions lately in our little congregations. Nearly all the Protestants who become engaged to my Catholic parishioners enter the Church before marriage. . . .

In Baltimore lately, at our church, Father Maguire gave a mission at which there were seven thousand communions, twenty-nine converts, two hundred new members admitted to the Sodality, etc. That is the kind of work Father Maguire is always doing, all over the country.

St. Inigoes. November 13, 1880. It grieves me to hear that you are suffering from the cold. I am in the same fix. I need three stoves. The stove in the place where I sit at home is so far gone that I take tomato cans, remove the heads, and put them around the pipe. I have five on my single section of pipe.

At the Factory, my new chapel of the Angel Guardians, I wrap up well with a blanket when I hear confessions, for I can see through the floor and sides of the walls, and have no fire.

At St. Nicholas I have put up, or intend to try to put up, an old broken stove, the holes filled with a plaster of salt and ashes, which the ladies of the church took down in summer for fear that visitors would see it. So you see I am poorly off in the stove line—to say nothing of St. George's where it smokes so that I have often in cold weather to raise the window or put out the fire and go to bed early.

If I could have foreseen that your other sons would not support you, I could not have entered religion. I threatened Frank that if he did not do something for you I would have to leave the Society of Jesus, as I

was not at that time in Holy Orders; but he begged me not to do it, said he would be able to support you, and went to see you soon after with money for you. Eustace, after I made the same threat, began to send you money. Eight dollars would buy you a coal oil stove, which would be the easiest managed; but eight cents are hard to get here. I say Mass daily to pay for the house in which I live. The people expect me to travel day and night in order to give them the sacraments—all for nothing. Two or three decent people of the Captain Neale type are the support of the churches. The Captain's daughters are struggling along and, with the Digges, living very poorly. All in the counties are poor.

St. Inigoes. April 20, 1881. I rush from one end of the county to the other. Saturday last, after a week through the rain, fifty miles at a clip, I go up six miles to see a group of people, seven of whom wish to enter the Church; see three other families in the same place; strike for the post office, several more miles, calling at a place or two.

At church, my waiter sick; people for confession; baby to baptize; man, thirty-two years old, to enter the Church and get married, making the sixth marriage I have on hand at present. Thank God there will be two nuptial Masses, as there should always be. The parties in one marriage are both to be baptized and then married.

I say office and next morning some fifty confessions, two Masses, catechism, business affairs about church improvements. Plan for a missionary trip broken up by a fever after Mass, and the Calvert County people will look across the Patuxent in vain for me and my Irish fiddler. Out before sunrise to give Easter Communion to old people that could not walk to church, then some thirty others at church to be heard, then Mass, then off to the shore to see an important case. Meet little children who let out just the thing about which I wish to scold the mother, and I meet her on the shore and get along quite well with her.

Call on an important helper of the church and arrange plans; strike for a place called California, six miles off, and meet gangs of my colored people on the road, and as

my buggy is full of blessed palms I give all hands a piece. They come out to the gates and hold up their little children for me to see, and ask them if they "know who that is?" I get to California after meeting a man who has a good deal of liquor in him, who gives me a lecture, saying he and several others won't come to church unless I do something differently. The boys are playing at the school house and I get one to feed my horse. Go into the school house and hear the girls read; the teacher, whom I baptized two years ago, asked me if I have Protestant relations.

I take dinner with Mrs. Cecil; arrange to come up for Mass (twenty miles) next week; see D. about his little daughter who wants a home; see about old Mrs. K. who has not walked for months; meet old J. C. with Emily and tell him to make his Easter next week; have a good talk in the store; have a long talk in the road with a very smart Methodist whose child I refuse to baptize unless he promises it shall be raised a Catholic. Down the Three Notch road at 1:30 P.M. for home; pass the tents of the railroad surveyors; meet Lucy and husband and give them a talking to. Drop in at Mrs. U. to see about chairs she is to cover for me at the church; leave the material which Mrs. Key has presented, give a cent to each of the boys and girls and an egg apiece, pay a bill for tree planting, call in to arrange with a lady for her husband's funeral Mass; meet man driving a steer and give him a letter that I have carried in my pocket for a week; leave a book, like the black one I sent you, for the man who carries the mail.

Men all drunk around the post office. I drive through them fast; one fellow falls off his horse in the middle of the road and reaches up his hand, as he sees me, to shake hands, his mouth all bleeding. I apologize and go by at a gallop. Meet a man whose wife is to be buried at noon tomorrow; girls at the Academy as I go by, and cadets courting.

Called to see about a marriage—"Knocked in the head," says the old man, "she has a husband alive." I dash on after scattering palms and medals among the Catholics and others. Find that a couple have gone by water

to be married by me, but when I get to the church (St. Ignatius) they are gone. Meet on the road a convert that I am preparing and he greatly consoles me by his fervor. Get home towards dark and find that Father Vigilante has gone to Baltimore. Say office, study up some difficult questions of practical theology till I can not hold my eyes open.

Next morning (raining) chink up the boat that leaks terribly and cross the river to Rosecroft to have a contract signed—Sam not at home—his cook treats me badly—bring old Jane Turner back with me, who asks all about my mother, etc. Great crowd at the funeral. I walked up to the church after writing some letters about marriages and gave them to a darky, Joe Neale, to carry to the post office. Tried the organ to see if it was in good order. This is a specimen of my hurly-burly life; no sameness; no day like another; no rest; I am on the road all the time.

St. Inigoes. June 25, 1881. It would have done you good to have gone with me to the poorhouse last week, where I went to see two of my old friends whom I lately took into the Church before they went to that place, of which they had such a dread, but with which they are now well satisfied and would not leave for anything. One of them, Miss Betsy Brady, an old midwife, seventy years old, a bright talker, wanted me to get her a pair of specs, a large print prayer book and some plugs of tobacco, and that was all she cared for in this world. . . .

Confirmation just over; forty-two in St. George's (a congregation of converts) and eighty-nine in St. Nicholas, with a good thirty in the Factory where I hold church in an old store. I will have a balloon raising and a supper at the Factory soon. If you could only see Mrs. Cecil, my great friend, at whose home I always stay. She has a gang that has already made the jubilee twice and they are going to make it twice every month till January, 1882. She gets up novenas and all kinds of devotions in the village, teaches some fifty children on Saturdays and is a kind of religious authority.

St. Inigoes. November 30, 1881. I am in a fidget, about to start on my regular twenty-five mile tramp. As

soon as the rain stops I will be off. Going through the country now is not what it used to be. The people in old times had enough to eat for man and beast and a bed to offer a traveler. You can form no idea of the general run-down, poverty-stricken condition of everything and everybody here. I have been here five years and just beginning to realize it now. Laziness and whiskey are of course at the bottom of it and we will have to wait till the grandchildren of the slave holders are dead before we will have a sensible, practical, hardy set of people. I think the people are a great deal better than they used to be—more religious—and although they have not yet become entirely convinced that priests do not live on air, they support the churches or come nearer to supporting them than they used to do. The man has come for me.

St. Inigoes. September 3, 1882. My plan for serving this country, Virginia and the Eastern shore is to have a floating church. The Catholics are scattered here and there, unable to build churches, and a floating church could minister to the spiritual wants of a hundred neighborhoods at the lowest expense and with the greatest convenience to the priest and the people. I find it a great sport dashing around the country on trips of twenty and thirty miles. It is like a constant picnic. Day before yesterday I started after a woman with heart disease eighteen miles away, took dinner with some splendid people near there, and another sick lady (congestive chills) who had been taken suddenly and did not expect me.

I struck for the Factory village where I have a little girl whom I am trying to get into an asylum. We have given homes in Maryland to 480 orphans from New York City. This little girl is paralyzed. From the Factory, where I looked after my church music and a school for the coming year, appointing a new organist and teacher, my way was to the Forest. The prettiest set of little children in the whole world are in the house where I stopped, and I had great amusement with them. I had to take some of them with me the next morning as guides for some distance. I baptized a baby and attended

the old grandmother, a holy old woman. I was forced to stay with my greatest friend on the road who had some splendid fish for dinner, baptized another baby, visited some very dear children, one of whom serves Mass beautifully, and whom I would like to see educated for the priesthood; saw my little paralytic and gave her a big apple.

Then I struck for home, only twelve miles away, stopping here and there, meeting many. I called in at one of my good converts and had a delightful talk. At the next place I called there was a couple with a two-year old and a little orphan nurse. I gave crosses to the little ones and, as I turned to go, the mother said: "When you come by again I want you to christen me and take me into the Catholic Church." I will go there tomorrow. So I run around. Always more than enough to tend to, but all consoling with very little exception. People here are good.

St. Mary's County

Father Neale's estimate of the people of St. Mary's County seems to have fluctuated according to varying conditions. His project of a floating church merited consideration in those days when much of the travel was by water and the roads were frightful. In the early twenties of this century a "show boat" plied the waters of the Potomac and its tributaries in Maryland and Virginia and drew people for distances of twenty miles. When it was proposed to extend a good road through St. Mary's County at the end of the first World War it met with opposition on the ground that it would cause an increase in taxes.

St. Inigoes. May 31, 1883. It is hard for outsiders to understand the complete prostration of the higher classes of Maryland and Virginia in these tide water districts. One thing they have preserved, thank God, and that is their honest and orderly and peaceful dispositions. Their houses are still open to share their crust with a stranger. We have no robbery or murder amongst us. Everybody is polite and good humored. Bob Freeman tells me that sometimes when he is leaving the state for travel through the South he actually weeps—sheds tears

at the prospect of the hardhearted, selfish, irreligious people among whom he has to go after leaving the gentle, childlike people of St. Mary's.

I have never been much in favor of a railroad through the county for the reason that, while it may bring money and material improvement, it will also bring rascally tramps and other thugs, of whom our people know nothing at the present time. A man said a few years ago, on returning from Arkansas where he had, to the surprise of his friends, sold off a fine estate at a sacrifice: "Why, my dear sir, I would rather live in Maryland than own the whole state of Arkansas." . . .

I had a most delightful time yesterday, and in fact for the past ten days. Father Walker and I have "swapped" pulpits, as the Methodists say, and last Sunday I met my old friends of St. Inigoes, this Sunday, of St. Michael's, which is near Point Lookout and a new church. . . .

I met a Protestant lady on a sick call the day before, who had been raised thirty years ago in the Georgetown Convent. What a style the nuns give their girls! After Mass yesterday when I had talked to everybody, old and young, white and black, in the sacristy, a Baptist woman wanted me to step over to her house and baptize her baby. Her husband was a Catholic, but was not her husband till a few minutes before I left. I often catch them that way and make them marry. . . .

I stopped on the road and took dinner with a lively and intelligent Irish family. Here I got a contribution of five dollars—to help to build the new chapel of the Holy Face that I am trying to get up. . . .

We are having a bake oven, a new range with four places, two new boats and all sorts of improvements for the coming of the Scholastics. Father Walker has kindly invited me to accept an offer made to him to go up to Baltimore and come down with the Scholastics on a chartered steamer. As there will be music, and the trip made in the day time, I'll enjoy it immensely and will take my cornet mouthpiece along, for they make a fool of me by making me play "Araby's Daughter" as a solo and I'll have to brush up a new Negro song and

prepare a new story "of de old sow what had free pigs."

This church of the Holy Face, built by Father Neale, has been replaced by a new building to the west and on higher ground, with a rectory dedicated to St. Francis Regis and a school of the Little Flower.

St. Inigoes. September 12, 1884. The two letters you sent I was glad to see; but took little satisfaction in seeing evidence that the family is destined to lose the faith entirely. It was a sad day for the descendants of the grand old Pye family that came out with flying colors from the terrible Protestant persecution of England, when they went to settle in a land where there was no Mass and no sacraments and no Catholic school.

While Father Mac is rebuilding the old church at Cornwallis Neck where the Pyes lie with their most Catholic coat of arms on their tombs, it is sad to know that the grandchildren of the saintly James Booth Pye are straying from the faith, intermarrying with heretics, and worse than heretics, with women who regard one Church as good as another. I see nothing cheerful in such marriages but a great deal to grieve over.

St. Inigoes. May 7, 1885. I expect to go on a little trip tomorrow. Mr. Edwin Coad comes over the river in a boat and I will take him in my buggy on my regular round; at 4:00 P.M. strike for Langley's, ten miles away, splendid old couple and two fine boys, on the bay shore. Talk about everything until twelve o'clock, for both are very learned men and splendid characters—may meet Col. Vannort and have some war talk. Beads out loud at night and spiritual reading by one of the boys. Mass next morning and all receive Communion—they receive every two weeks. We will feast on rock fish, snapping turtle, and a pudding that the old lady makes, and I declare that it is the finest in the world.

Saturday we start off ten more miles to Lucy's (Coad's daughter) and I drop him. I go back to the church of St. Nicholas, ring the big St. James bell, 1,120 pounds, and have my singing, catechism and confessions. Sunday, big crowd to confession five to ten, then Mass—singing by my darkies, baptisms, etc. Then away we go again, perhaps over the Patuxent to a town in Calvert

County, to let the people there make their Easter. Go over by sail boat and come back by steamer on Monday after Mass. Then Mr. Coad and I start off again and try to find an excuse for not going home any sooner than we can help.

St. Inigoes. July 31, 1885. I have been to Charles County since I wrote to you and you can imagine the emotion that came over me when I caught sight of the old steeple of St. Thomas. I took meals down in the old cellar. Chapel Point is a fine summer resort with two fine hotels. It was hard to realize where I was as I heard the bands of music and saw the crowds of people wandering over the plateau where there was once the old grave yard. The grave yard looks prettier up on the hilltop in front of the church.

Brief Excerpts

August 13. Woke at Glymont. Thought of mother and Father Stonestreet, who were both born there in my grandfather's house. Breakfast at Gonzaga with Fathers McGurk, B. A. Maguire, O'Connell, Brennan. Scholastics from the south on their way to Woodstock, at dinner. B. and O. Railroad by way of Point of Rocks. Arrived at Frederick late. John Eisenhower, Brent Matthews, Peter Howle's son on the train with us. Barry Smith takes his habit tomorrow. Negro whistlers on the street as of yore.

August 14. Struck by Father Pardow's points to the juniors. Toner giving retreat at the convent. Big Father McDonald's litanies very devout; splendid Benediction, Frank Connell at the organ.

August 15. At the convent to see Sister Agatha. Began retreat. Father Jerome Daugherty gone to take his last vows.

August 16. How De Wolf and Sourin come to mind when St. John's begins Mass! How I think of Taney Digges and Nace Saunders when the Frog-eye meeting house crowd begins to howl!

August 20. Mr. Robert Curran called and gave me a pipe and box of tobacco; Brother Ryder a fine pair of

shoes; Bausenwien the skull cap of Father Bapst; Brother Welch wire for springs of cornet.

August 21. Another big batch from West Park, novices.

August 23. Feast of Most Pure Heart of Mary. Ben Carroll, Fabian Gough, Charles Raley, from St. Mary's County, with four others took the Jesuit habit.

August 24. Left Frederick, and changed at Relay for Washington.

August 25. Train to Baltimore. Father McGurk has paid off all the ground rent on Loyola. Took the *Sue* and got off at Jone's wharf.

Jone's wharf, about a mile up St. Inigoes Creek from the villa and residence of St. Inigoes, later became known as Grason's wharf, when Senator Grason occupied the property.

St. Inigoes. October 16, 1888. My little school goes on well enough and the girls do all the singing in the new church of the Holy Face, even the High Mass. I keep everybody else out of the gallery. . . . We are just finishing St. Michael's new church and it is truly beautiful. It stands on a high hill over the Chesapeake, and its gilded cross, fifteen feet high, can be seen on the eastern shore. . . .

I went to give the last sacraments lately to an old man, eighty-six years old, who used to go to confession to Father Francis Neale. He had a likeness of Father Francis Neale, which I took away from him and have before me on my desk.

St. Michael's church at Ridge stands eighty feet above sea level and a fifteen-foot cross on top of the church could probably be seen from the eastern shore of the bay, fifteen miles distant, on a clear morning.

Last Years

Leaving St. Inigoes, Father Neale spent two years on the mission band and then about two years at Conewago. There are two letters written from Missoula, Montana, in 1892; one, dated 1893, from Gethsemani, Kentucky, without "S.J." after his name; and one, dated September 12, 1894, from Elmwood, near Chicago. There is nothing of special interest in these

last letters, nor any mention of leaving the Society. There are two photographs of Father Neale in the Georgetown Archives and Father Francis Barnum, S.J., who knew him personally, wrote the following notes on the back of the photographs.

One of the most lovable of men, full of kindness and beloved by all the Province. Most zealous and full of sacrifice in the County missions, but all the time a little erratic. Around 1892 he started for Alaska, but got only as far as Spokane. His head evidently gave out, for he could not decide on any place. He drifted from the Society and finally died in a public hospital.

All who knew him loved him for his sweet, sunny disposition and admired him for his self-sacrifice and devotion to his work. Some said harsh things afterwards and that he was not well balanced, but God's judgement is not as ours. One thoughtless deed led to another and so his last years were full of misery. His last end was as sad as sad could be. Poor dear old friend, God rest his troubled soul.

F. B., S.J.

The official date of Father Neale's departure from the Society was May 26, 1893 and nothing more was heard of him until he was found in a hospital in Philadelphia. Father Noel was chaplain of the German hospital on Girard Avenue during the period 1901-1906. The late Father Mark Smith learned that one day, while Father Noel was making his rounds, he saw an unconscious, bearded man whose face seemed familiar, but he could not place him. He mentioned this to Father Jerome Daugherty; the latter went to the hospital and recognized Father James Pye Neale, but he died without regaining consciousness. We are left in ignorance of what vicissitudes he experienced after his last letter of 1894. Requiescat in pace!

WILLIAM C. REPETTI, S.J.

OBITUARY

FATHER WILLIAM J. BROSNAN

1864-1951

William Brosnan was born in New York City on November 27, 1864. A handsome young man of wealthy and cultured background, he graduated from St. Francis Xavier College and took a law degree at Columbia University before joining a prominent law firm in 1885. When required in his work as a lawyer to pursue a course of action which he considered to involve deceit and falsehood, young Brosnan refused and shortly after, under the guidance of his spiritual director, Father William Pardow, he entered the Society at Frederick, Maryland, on May 6, 1886. Father Archibald Tisdal, master of novices and rector during William Brosnan's first fifteen months there, spent long periods away from the novitiate because of ill health. In later years Father Brosnan, in one of his flashes of humor, used to say that he had been formed as a Jesuit principally by the public reading of pious books. This impressed him the more since as manuductor he was for a time, charged with arranging the details of noviceship life. At the end of August, 1887 the situation changed and Father Michael O'Kane became rector and master of novices.

William Brosnan's studies in the Society were not prolonged. He had a year of juniorate at Frederick, three years of philosophy and four of theology at Woodstock. Between philosophy and theology he had the five years of regency customary at the time. As a Scholastic Mr. Brosnan taught at Fordham and Xavier with marked success. He was kind, expansive, interested in the boys, their confidant and trusted friend. He never lost his fondness for these early pupils and to the end of his life rejoiced to talk about them and his association with them. Not long before his death, Father Brosnan told one of them that he had remembered him by name in every Mass he had ever said.

At Woodstock during Mr. Brosnan's time Father Pierre Racicot, Father Edward Boursaud, and Father Burchard Viliger were rectors. He had as professors, among others, Father William Brett, Father James L. Smith, Father Anthony Maas,

Father Patrick H. Casey, and Father Timothy Barrett. Mr. Brosnan was beadle of the philosophers. It was at Woodstock that his aptitude for metaphysical reasoning made itself evident. No doubt his legal studies had their share in shaping the development of this special talent.

Father Brosnan was ordained on June 28, 1900 at Woodstock by Cardinal Gibbons, and made his tertianship under Father Henry Moeller at Florissant, Missouri, 1901-1902. Although details are lacking, it is known that Father Brosnan's third year influenced him profoundly. He pronounced his last vows on August 15, 1903.

Father William Brosnan taught philosophy to Ours from 1902 to 1944—more than forty years, a feat unparalleled in the Eastern United States Provinces of the Society except by the even longer career of his brother, Father John Brosnan, as a professor of various sciences at Woodstock. From 1902 to 1906 Father William taught logic and general metaphysics to the first-year philosophers; from 1906 to 1909, cosmology and inferior psychology to second-year philosophers; from 1909 to 1912, rational psychology and natural theology to the third-year men. From 1912 to 1944 he taught natural theology. All these years were spent at Woodstock except for three, 1925-1928, when the philosophical faculty of Woodstock was transferred temporarily to Weston, Massachusetts. Father Brosnan is listed as professor of the history of philosophy during the year 1912-1913. For twelve years (1921-1925, 1930-1938) he was consultor to the rector of Woodstock.

The life of Father Brosnan, once he was appointed to teach Ours, fell into a very definite pattern. He had been given work to do for God and he had no thought but to accomplish his task as perfectly as possible. He was to teach philosophy to young Jesuits, and he made it his object to fulfill this duty perfectly. Eventually, as we have seen, he was assigned the task of teaching natural theology. This became his one absorbing interest. All other concerns were dwarfed by his study of the Divine Being as far as It is knowable by human reason. His life's work was the task of instilling his own knowledge into the minds of his pupils.

No one who did not know Father Brosnan intimately could



FATHER WILLIAM J. BROSANAN



possibly understand how his brilliant mind could have centered itself so exclusively on this single subject. But to one who knew him well, it was inevitable that it should be so. He was a man of profound obedience, and accordingly he obeyed orders. He was completely dedicated to God, and he found the study of God deeply satisfying. Rapidly realizing that atheism and the alarming growth of religious indifferentism were menacing the very existence of God's Kingdom, Father Brosnan devoted the best years of his life to safeguarding its foundations. For over thirty years he studied and taught his beloved specialty, at Woodstock and in summer schools, in Latin and in English. He remodeled, recast, improved his proofs, explanations, and answers to difficulties, until he arrived at the exact phraseology that conveyed his thought. He was now an authority in his field, immersed in it as much as any specialized scientist.

As a teacher Father Brosnan was not so much concerned with provoking and stimulating independent investigation as with imparting exact knowledge. He was convinced that it was far more important to provide his students with the truth than to acquaint them with modern errors. Father Brosnan accomplished his purpose, but it is difficult to imagine the dogged persistence with which for so many years he kept so unrelentingly at his task and the inexorability with which he demanded that the students should give an exact account of what he had taught. This latter trait made him, of course, unacceptable to some. But Father Brosnan's single-mindedness came from conviction. He lived and died with steady deliberation. The things that were pleasing to God he did always.

Father Brosnan's *Institutiones Theologiae Naturalis* were printed by the Woodstock College Press in 1919 and published by the Loyola University Press (Chicago) in 1921. The book was quite generally praised by reviewers as a model textbook, distinguished by brevity and clarity. It was also pointed out that the collateral apparatus of American and English opinion on the subject, which the author had assembled, was unique in works of the kind. Father Brosnan had introduced contemporary Scholasticism to American and English thought on theodicy. Some reviewers found that he

had not taken like advantage of the resources of contemporary Scholasticism and had notably neglected Dominican thinkers. Perhaps this was inevitable in one whose approach was frankly and uncompromisingly molinistic. Father Brosnan preferred in general to omit Scholastic disputes altogether or simply to give his own view.

In the course of time Father Brosnan's *Institutiones* appeared in English in three compact volumes entitled *God and Reason* (1924), *God Infinite and Reason* (1928), and *God Infinite, the World and Reason* (1943). The reactions of reviewers to these works followed the same general lines as in the case of the Latin work. His clarity and brevity and his knowledge of American and English thought were again extolled. Once more it was pointed out that Scholastic controversies had been restrained. All were of the opinion that Father Brosnan was at his best in handling the problem of God's Providence and the problem of evil. On that subject he had said all that could be said from the viewpoint of unaided reason. Father Brosnan's books sold well; so well, indeed, that the author projected a second edition. It was a sorrow for him to find that his publishers, although willing enough, could not fit the new edition into a program which had to be curtailed because of wartime shortages.

Father Brosnan's absorption in the thought of God, as far as He can be known by reason alone, led to and was accompanied by his interest in God as portrayed in revelation. This was inevitable in a Jesuit, especially one on the staff at Woodstock, and in one who was charged with teaching the most important part of the "handmaid of theology." But his interest in revelation seems to have been ascetic rather than dogmatic.

His own appreciation of the majesty of God made him strictly observant of the divine good pleasure. Common life and community interests were his guiding stars. His self-control was rigid. He had promised to keep the rules, and he did so with an inflexibility that knew no respite. It was the same in his order of the day. He attended evening recreation even when he was very old and in pain. Having to retire early, he left the recreation room precisely at twenty-two minutes after seven; he made his preparation for the morning medi-

tation and examination of conscience without fail. Similarly he rose earlier than the community. He always took the same place at table and at recreation. He visited the cemetery and prayed for the dead always at the same time; and the same hour found him each day making the Way of the Cross. Although in later years he could not join the community in the recitation of the Litanies, they were read by him privately and at a fixed time. In everything his life was planned even to details and was never directed by impulse. His service of God was never left to chance. His was an orderly life, carefully arranged and rigidly observed. What he did seemed always the result of a deliberate act of the will. The mortification implied in this is really frightening. He had found the best way for himself personally to serve God and he followed it, no matter what the cost. It was a lonely life, but a life lived courageously for God. The domination of his every act by will power was his most prominent characteristic. At the same time it was quite obvious that this exactitude was not something he imposed on himself, but something that flowered out of his closeness to God.

A great disappointment in Father Brosnan's life was his inability during most of his priestly career to give retreats. He had studied the Spiritual Exercises with close attention and had labored tirelessly at expressing exactly their lofty ideals. He was never satisfied with the results attained but was constantly improving his meditations and conferences. He had learned much about the service of God and, in the early years of his priesthood, found great joy and no little success in imparting to others the secrets which were his. However after some years he contracted an incurable malady which caused a pronounced and continual shaking of his hands. This made it difficult, at times impossible, for him to give Holy Communion to others. He could not therefore conduct a retreat unless he had another priest with him to distribute Communion. In the beginning of his illness he was able to secure this assistance, but eventually it became very difficult to find a priest who was free. In his last days Father Brosnan no longer gave retreats, to his extreme regret. This was one of the greatest sorrows of his life. He did not however cease to strive to make men love God as He deserves to

be loved. He continued to work on his retreat and at the very end of his life was preparing it for publication. This chronic illness also prevented him from saying Mass in public and preaching sermons. But this exclusion from the public work of the ministry led him to concentrate more and more on the interior life and upon close union with God.

His physical disability was further increased by an injury to his knee which made walking very difficult. As a consequence he was excluded from many forms of recreation, employment, and spiritual activity for which he was eminently qualified, and also from companionship with fellow Jesuits. His life necessarily became solitary but as he visited less with men he walked more with God. He was not naturally an aloof sort of a person but rather a companionable man and good conversationalist. Circumstances however modified his way of living.

Towards the end of his life Father Brosnan, growing old in the midst of a relatively young faculty, became very much of a recluse. He was too feeble to teach, he had outlived almost all his old friends, to whom his loyalty had ever been absolute, and he found it hard to make new ones. The sphere of his interests narrowed perceptibly; and although he still tried to keep abreast of what was going on in the world, this concern was perhaps more fictitious than real. As a consequence he withdrew more and more into himself and apart from the community. This isolation, this lack of companionship accentuated the nervous irritability from which he had been a lifelong sufferer, and of which he was painfully and regretfully conscious. Any deviation from regular routine tended to upset him. The weight of the years pressed ever more heavily upon him, and he came to realize with increasingly painful experience that for extreme old age medicines are no tonic whatever. Nevertheless soldier that he was, he would permit himself no relaxation. With minor exceptions he followed the community life to within a few days of his death and if the stern hold he kept on himself gave him a somewhat forbidding exterior, it did not hide from anyone that Father Brosnan was a man of great courage and patience, wholeheartedly dedicated to Jesuit ideals, full of the love of God and of true devotion to Our Lord and Our Lady.

No one doubted that Father Brosnan was a holy man, heroic in devotion to duty, heroic in endurance, heroic in spiritual combat. Being naturally somewhat reticent about his own affairs, he kept the secret of the King. All indeed were conscious of his intense spiritual life, but few, if any, penetrated beyond the outer portals. About him there was an atmosphere of the deeply spiritual priest, totally supernatural in outlook, of one who had seen the truth and at great cost to himself was living it as it was given him to see it. In his last years he seemed to be marching forward, resolutely to keep his rendezvous with death. He was utterly unworldly and was determined that nothing should keep him or deflect him from the path on which he had set his feet. His face was set towards Jerusalem, the heavenly Jerusalem, and he gave the impression of one who found the way long and difficult, but would march on or stumble on with grim determination to the very end.

His end mirrored the rest of his life. He died as he had lived, according to plan. He was not surprised or caught unprepared. He was not afraid. God asked him to die. He acquiesced wholly in the divine will. When after sixty-five years spent in the Society he came to his last illness, he did not depart from his lifelong manner of action. He asked the Brother Infirmarian if he was in danger of death. The answer was in the affirmative. Then he put another question, "Is there any hope of recovery?" This time the Brother answered, "No." Accordingly Father Brosnan set about the business of dying. He submitted graciously to the kindly ministrations of others, he took nourishment and medicine when they were offered to him. But he seemed to have lost interest in all things earthly. After he had received the last sacraments, without visible sign of emotion he made his thanksgiving, and from that time maintained an unbroken silence. He seemed to have said farewell to life and to have begun his final preparation to meet God.

With some few exceptions those who visited him during the three days of his last illness received no sign of recognition. He lay with his eyes closed. This was due in part to the growing congestion in his lungs; yet when the Brother asked him if he knew him, he answered, "Yes." But he said

no unnecessary word. He gave no sign of impatience or of pain. He did not complain or moan, and it was difficult to know whether he was conscious or not. The doctor did not want him to be disturbed and said that complete rest was imperative. And so Father Brosnan lay on his death bed in the midst of self-imposed solitude until he breathed his last. Quietly, without trouble to anyone, in full conformity to the divine will, he went home to the Lord and Master whom he had served so long and so well. It was April 22, 1951. May he rest in peace.

J. HARDING FISHER, S.J.

FATHER WALTER W. MILLS

1898-1952

This age of ours, for which Sorokin's scalding epithet "sensate" seems to be the only adequate adjective, has seen much analysis but little understanding of pain. Literature explores the snake-pit of insanity, the weird world of alcoholism, the subliminal sewers of unmentionable aberration: medicine's lamps are peering feebly through the crepuscular lands of the psychosomatic and science has exhausted its ingenuity in inventing analgesics. But for all this, the sum total of man's real knowledge of pain is scarcely more impressive than the maunderings of Dolly Winthrop, on this involved topic, in *Silas Marner*. The reason would seem to be that the typically modern man has lost the old concept of pain as a sacramental mystery, a participation in the Passion, a means whereby the member can become more like his thorn-crowned Head. In the Christian scheme of things pain was not merely to be anesthetized but canonized; it was not only a cause of misery but a chance for merit; saints prayed for it and received it with resignation and even rejoicing in the dear, ingenuous days before aspirin so largely supplanted aspiration.

These thoughts are evoked by the death of Father Walter Mills who, after more than thirty bed-ridden years in hospi-

tals, sanatoria, and houses of the Society, died on June 27, 1952. There are many people born sickly and weak; suffering hag-rides them all their lives; illness with them is not an interlude but a career, not a distressing parenthesis but the very thesis of their days. They never knew the boisterous vitality of full health, the velvet exhaustion from exertion which so readily melts into rest, the satisfaction of coordinated muscular effort. Theirs is a difficult lot but far more onerous still is the fate of the man who is suddenly reduced from exuberant health to helplessness. To all his other aches such an individual adds that exquisite agony which is the pain of loss. Such was Father Mills.

Born December 4, 1898 in East Boston, of Lawrence and Mary Mills who had come out from Cork, he was the youngest of eight brothers and two sisters. He attended Assumption School, was an enthusiastic swimmer and boater at Jeffries Point, and even then was loved and admired by his young companions because of his athletic prowess and natural leadership. The family moved to Dorchester in 1909 and Walter completed his primary education at Westville School in 1913. He continued his education at Boston Latin High School and finished the traditionally excellent and difficult course there with honors in June, 1916. While he was in high school, he played regular third base on a team which had the future big-leaguer, Fred Maguire, at second. Here, too, his contemporaries testify, he was most popular with his schoolmates; nor was it the easy popularity bought at the price of principle because even then coming events were casting their shadows and Walter was a boy unshakably Catholic, outspokenly contemptuous of anything unclean. After school he would always help his mother with the innumerable chores that devolved on the mother of a large family before going out to Fields Corner for the baseball or football he liked so well.

The next year at Boston College he was strongly influenced by Father de Butler, and at the end of his freshman year he left for the novitiate at Poughkeepsie. Splendidly proportioned, an athlete of superior ability who could stroke a ball with major league authoritativeness or drop-kick forty-five yards, he was also well equipped intellectually for the work of the Society, and as a novice he must have seemed to be the

ideally rounded candidate. His was always a masculine and attractive disposition, illuminated by a ready wit, warm companionableness and the ability to philosophize in that denim, homespun way which, in the New England idiom, has come to be characterized by the phrase "cracker-barrel" wisdom. Not that he was a bloodless, cardboard silhouette of sanctity. He was quick to notice the faults of others and, at first, to comment on them; but as he matured in charitableness he came more and more to reserve his critical acumen for the consideration of his own faults. Well-balanced, generous, spiritually susceptible, he completed the first four years of his course. Life was an exciting prospect to Mister Mills when he went to the newly completed Weston College for his philosophy. Then, in his second year, the dread tuberculosis which was to dog the rest of his days, struck; and for three years he spent his second noviceship of suffering in a sanatorium.

Hope returned however, and for a year Mr. Mills taught at Holy Cross College and entered theology in 1927. One of his classmates tells about the sad day when he knocked and entered Mr. Mills' room to find him staring wide-eyed at a crucifix he held in his hand. To the classmate's inquiry, Mister Mills replied that he had just gotten word that he must return to the sanatorium and, at that point, his vocation within a vocation actually began. Years afterwards another of his classmates asked him how he had been able to endure so patiently the years of inactivity and suffering. Father Mills mentioned the scholastic distinction between God's permissive and directive will. Some physical evils God permits through the simple operation of natural laws, as when a man falls into a hole and breaks his leg. "But," he added, "there is also human suffering which is, so to speak, the result of God's directive will. There are certain souls He elects for suffering and I know that I was so chosen. I cannot tell you how happy I am in this: for me, God's will is right in this sickness, this bed, this room."

Everything was taken from him. His magnificent physique began to wither, surgery collapsed one side of his chest; his arms—and he once ruefully but humorously confessed to this writer that he had been proud of them in the days of his



FATHER WALTER W. MILLS



youth, the days of his glory—shrivelled. But all this while his heart grew and the soul-sculpture of grace was forming Christ to full stature within him. As François Mauriac wrote of Charles du Bos: "He was aided by illness; or rather he knew how to extract advantage from illness, by dint of courage and renunciation. For illness alone does not help; contrary to what Pascal writes, it is not the natural state of the Christian; it does not predispose us to the Christian life, it inclines us on the contrary to think only of our own body, and makes us prisoner to physiological phenomena . . . When the invalid succeeds in making the illness the auxiliary of grace—then it becomes a short cut to God." It is true that a sick person can become introverted, egocentric, self-pitying; he can make horizons out of his own eye-lids and live within his own mind which to him becomes less a kingdom than a squirrel-cage. Sickness, on the other hand, widened Father Mills' vision; visitors were constantly amazed at his interest in their work, the work of the Province and the whole Society, all of which he so faithfully subsidized with his prayers. On only one subject was he reticent and that was himself. He would prefer to dismiss any discussion of his own condition with a light reference to the nine holes he had played that day or the vigor with which "he was hitting them."

Little did the stalwart, young Mister Mills, making his retreats long ago, realize that someday he would jest about his poor, broken body. Little did he realize how God would specify for him the oblation of the Kingdom, the Two Standards, the Third Mode of love which he spoke so confidently in his first long retreat; how literally Divine Love would take his own profession of human love as he made it in the vow formula. Yet God strengthens the shoulder to which He fits the cross, and as Walter Mills' body grew weaker his soul waxed valiant. Even the doctors, primarily interested in his physical condition, could appreciate the terrific internal and spiritual drama which was the core of his life. One of them who cared for him at Saranac, writing to the Rector of Weston, after Father Mills' death declared: "I have just heard of the death of Father Mills. I want to express to you my sincere sympathy over his going. I had a wonderful letter from him in Feb-

ruary, 1951 in which I learned anew of his sublime resignation to the cross he had to bear for so many years."

In the long hours of introspection and loneliness he codified his ideals and expressed them after years of thought into an offering which he renewed daily. It is such an intimate revelation of a soul that, although the writer had Father Mills' permission to use it, he still feels that it is almost intrusive to eavesdrop on a man's direct conversation with Our Lord. On the other hand, it would be an unwarranted suppression which would deprive Father Mills' survivors of the inspiration and edification they would undoubtedly receive. The offering is rather lengthy since it recounts and reconsecrates all of the activities and reactions of a sick person; but perhaps some excerpts will indicate the scope and spirit of the whole document. After a brief and luminous apostrophe to Our Lady, Father addresses the Divine Master Himself:

Dear Jesus, through the hands of your Blessed Mother, I offer you my desires:

To love You with a consuming love to the point of utter annihilation.

To lead a life of unquestioning Faith, seeing Your holy will in everything that happens in my life.

To lead a life of perfect trust in You.

To surrender myself completely and unconditionally to You. . . .

I offer You my desire to lead a life of severe penance for a thousand years for my own and others' sins and ingratitude. . . . I give You my will, believing it is Your holy and blessed will that I be sick and I offer my heart with its desire to love You, my body and soul for You to dispose of as You see fit, my every thought, word and action today and for the remainder of my life, my sickness and what I will endure as a result of it, in body, mind and soul, everything that is hard, disagreeable, painful and humiliating in body, mind and soul. I offer You the confinement, the duration, the loneliness, the obscurity, the monotony of my sickness, the being taken for granted and being in a state of chronic dependence and all that implies.

In great detail this extraordinary spiritual testament goes on to list all that Father was able to offer to God: his sensitiveness, his self-love and the agony it cost him, his anxieties about the past, his fears of the future. The purpose of the offering was essentially reparative:

I offer You all this, dear Jesus, in reparation and expiation to Your infinitely loving and lovable Heart for the ingratitude, coldness and indifference of all mankind; and for the insults and offenses heaped upon Your tender and loving Heart by mankind in general, especially by those whose lives are consecrated to You.

I offer it for the conversion of the leading Communists of the world, the conversion of the Russian people. . . . for the spiritual and physical well-being of all missionaries, for the fruitfulness of their labors and for temporal blessings on all the missions throughout the world, especially Jesuit missionaries . . . for the temporal and spiritual welfare of Weston and all its members, that they may each be more holy and more learned, the learning to be used entirely for You.

Lastly for the salvation of wayward, fallen and sinful priests. I unite this offering, dear Jesus, with Your sufferings on the Cross as I am privileged to do as a member of the Mystical Body and I place it in the wound of Your Sacred Heart, where I beg You, according to Your promise, to make it fruitful, perfect, and selfless.

When one glimpses, from these fragmentary quotations, a soul that fragrant, it is not surprising that one of Father Mills' classmates should write, telling about a soul-shattering grace which he received shortly after Father Mills' death. Though not a strictly mystical grace he says, "it was so unexpected and so far above anything I could have deserved or won by the merits of my past religious life that I am more or less convinced Father Mills' intercession had a lot to do with it."

In that letter also you have an intimation of the respect and affection with which all who knew him regarded Father Mills. It was a great grace to have known him; his memory will be forever a flame and a flag; his life was a rebuke to all of us who confuse action with achievement, motion with progress; in the long years of his suffering he wrote in deed a gloss on the patristic sentiment that it is not hard to give up what one has but very difficult to give up what one is. May he rest in peace.

WILLIAM A. DONAGHY, S.J.

Books of Interest to Ours

THINKING WITH THE CHURCH

The Catholic Mind Through Fifty Years. Edited by Benjamin L. Masse, S.J. New York, America Press, 1952. Pp. xxii-681. \$5.00.

The Catholic Mind is by no means the least significant of the many farsighted projects launched by the late John J. Wynne, S.J., in the service of the Catholic Church in America. This publication has several times changed its format since its inception in 1903 (the most radical change is that a single issue now contains a dozen or more articles, whereas prior to 1915 it was restricted to one); but the most characteristic of its original intentions, to reprint from other sources articles representing contemporary Catholic thought, has been preserved. This policy, in an age of digests and picture magazines, gives *The Catholic Mind* its distinctive position among Catholic publications today.

It is a policy, moreover, that might lead one to expect that the fifty year anniversary volume edited by Benjamin L. Masse, S.J., would illustrate the unfolding of American Catholic thought on specific topics though the past half century. But such is not the case. Paging through the 104 articles which the editor has judged worthy of preserving in this more permanent form, the reader grows suspicious that the title of the book is a misnomer. A little computation confirms the suspicion: the first decade of publication is represented by no articles; the second by 7; the third and fourth by 12 apiece; and the fifth (coinciding, incidentally, with the editorship of the compiler) by no less than 71.

These statistics are not presented by way of adverse criticism. There is, it would seem, good reason for this disproportionate emphasis on recent times. For if Father Masse has really gleaned the golden grains from the period prior to 1930, then he is to be thanked for having spared the reader more of the same. Their almost invariable effect is to dull an appetite that has been whetted by the more fruitful years.

Why this poverty of material from the early years? Is it that the magazine failed for so long a time to fulfill Father Wynne's announced aim of printing "the best" in Catholic thought? Perhaps. But one suspects a more plausible answer—that in those dim years before the Great Depression "the best" was simply not good enough to meet Father Wynne's correlative aim of printing only what was of "permanent value." If this be the case, then along with the New Deal, the decade of the thirties ushered in a renaissance in American Catholic thought that has been far-reaching indeed. For the existence and richness of such a renaissance, the present volume gives eloquent testimony.

The priest seeking source material for sermons and lectures, the layman hunting out the Catholic outlook on particular problems of our day, and all Catholics incurably addicted to the devouring of magazine articles will be grateful to Father Masse for the work that went into the preparation of this volume. On a few topics the selections are inade-

quate—the Catholic mind on education, for example, is hardly represented by the few entries given under this heading; and Catholic scientists will chafe at the smattering of platitudes assigned to their subject (with one exception: *Some Limitations of Science* by Thomas E. Murray, which should be required reading for all science majors). But these sections are more than compensated for by the treatments given to the liturgy, the Catholic press, human rights, and labor relations. In the midst of such abundant harvest, however, one is hard put to point out the best.

Although poorly bound, the volume is handsomely printed and has an adequate index.

JOSEPH V. LANDY, S.J.

The Church and Modern Science. Evolution of the Human Body. *By Cyril Vollert, S.J.*; **Modern Science and the Existence of God.** *By Pope Pius XII.* New York, America, 1952. Pp. 48. \$.25.

This booklet should be of interest to the natural scientist, philosopher, and theologian. In the first article, a reprint from the Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Convention of the Catholic Theological Society of America, Father Vollert summarizes the fossil evidence that bears on the evolution of the human body: first, the group known as Australopithecus; secondly, the "pre-humans," Pithecanthropus and Sinanthropus; thirdly, Neanderthal man; fourthly, a number of other forms that are harder to classify. Two texts from Genesis (1/27; 2/7) are cited and discussed in relation to an evolutionist interpretation. The mind of the Magisterium is expressed in quotations from the 1941 allocution to the Pontifical Academy of Science, and in the encyclical *Humani generis*. A philosophical discussion follows in a section entitled: *Causality and Human Evolution*. After citing St. Thomas' description of the first man commonly proposed by theology, Father Vollert then summarizes four theories that have been designed to reconcile faith or theology with the probable conclusions of anthropology and paleontology: the regression theory; the *homo faber* theory; the theory of pre-Adamites in a state of pure nature; and a reconsideration of original man's natural perfection. The article concludes with a possible clue to the solution of this complex problem of human origins.

In the second article, the address of the Holy Father to the Pontifical Academy of Science, November 22, 1951, the importance of modern science for the argument for the existence of God based on the mutability of the cosmos and on the teleological order which stands out in every corner of the macrocosm and microcosm, is presented in summary fashion by Pope Pius XII. The discoveries made by astronomers and nuclear physicists within recent years have contributed towards strengthening two of the classical proofs of St. Thomas for the existence of God.

JAMES A. McKEOUGH, S.J.

GREAT AMERICANS

Benjamin Harrison: Hoosier Warrior. *By Harry J. Sievers, S.J.*
Chicago, Henry Regnery Company, 1952. Pp. xxi-331. \$5.00.

The name of President Benjamin Harrison strikes no responsive chord in our memory of the past presidents of the United States. This man whose term came between the two terms of Grover Cleveland, is overshadowed in history by such figures as Cleveland, Garfield, Beveridge, Blaine, and others. Harrison's short, almost accidental, term of office excites little curiosity about the man, mainly because there was so little to arouse curiosity. Lacking a worthy biography, he has remained up to the present the honest, capable yet rather austere and distant man of the textbooks. The first volume of Father Harry Sievers' biography of Harrison erases that picture and in its place portrays for us a sincere, hard-working, deeply Christian man of warm affections and fine qualities of leadership. This biography should rank as the definitive life of a definitely great American.

While completing his doctoral work as a Scholastic at Georgetown, Father Sievers, in search for a dissertation topic, contemplated a monograph on the presidential election of 1892. This led to research in the Harrison Papers in the Library of Congress. The gathering of more materials for the project led to archives in Indiana, Harrison's home state, and especially to the Benjamin Harrison Memorial Home in Indianapolis. It was here that Father Sievers came in contact with the Arthur Jordan Foundation. This philanthropic foundation has taken an interest in the home of the ex-President and has been restoring it, as well as collecting materials of biographic interest.

Since Father Sievers' projected dissertation would necessarily include a review of Harrison's life and administration, he asked the executors of the fund if they would be interested in publishing his monograph. After some correspondence, they responded by requesting him to undertake a biography of this, the twenty-third President. All past attempts to do so had failed, for one reason or another. Father Sievers undertook the work in 1949. Making use of the Library of Congress collection of over forty thousand pieces, the Indiana collections and many other monographs and unpublished manuscripts, Father has produced the first volume of a very scholarly and readable book.

This present volume is concerned with Harrison's rise from frontier boyhood in Ohio to political figure in Indiana and Brigadier-General at the Grand Army review which brought the Civil War to a close. A self-made man in many respects, Harrison graduated from Miami College in Ohio in 1853. One of his classmates was the famous Harmar Denny, who was later converted in England, and, entering the Society, labored as a priest in the Maryland-New York province. Harrison himself was a Presbyterian with rather severe religious convictions, yet also with an inspiring faith and trust in God and prayer, as appears frequently in his personal letters to his wife. Like many a pioneer lad

he took readily to politics. Even in these early years his political capabilities and influence were making themselves felt; and they continued to be felt during the war when he served with the Indiana Volunteers.

Father Sievers has done excellent work in thawing out this hitherto cold, severe "curmudgeon" of the White House. With an understanding pen he has traced the tender heart and sensitive soul that was Benjamin Harrison. It will be interesting to follow the Hoosier Warrior through his years of political prominence in the forthcoming volume of this pre-eminent piece of historical scholarship.

WILLIAM H. OSTERLE, S.J.

The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons. *By John Tracy Ellis.* Milwaukee, Bruce, 1952. 2 vols. Pp. 1442. \$17.50.

A truly remarkable American-Catholic churchman has been given his due. In the more than fourteen hundred pages of these two volumes, Father John Tracy Ellis, professor of American Church History in the Catholic University of America, has illuminated the many facets of the career and character of Cardinal Gibbons. Yet these pages do more than recount a biography; they depict large segments of the Church's American story. For during a major portion of his eighty-six years, James Gibbons played a dominant rôle in the drama surrounding the struggling years of the growth of the Catholic Church in the United States.

Doctor Ellis' painstaking scholarship has produced a work which will be a valued source book and model for many future biographers and historians as more of the life of the Church in America is retold. This is not a popular book, but neither is it one which will appeal only to those professionally concerned about the Cardinal of Baltimore and the Church in America. The author's engaging, unadorned style, coupled with the uncommon achievements of Gibbons' life, should be sufficient to command the attention of any mature reader.

This is not to pronounce the biography flawless; it is not. And the most disturbing blemish is that the spark of life flashes out so seldom in the whole two volumes. Except for a few momentary vital contacts with the charming personality of the Cardinal, the reader might well conclude that he knows all about the man but has not had the pleasure of meeting him personally. That is quite unfortunate, for possibly the most remarkable thing about Cardinal Gibbons was the magnetizing impact of his personality on those who met and dealt with him.

One might regret, too, that Doctor Ellis chose to treat of nationalism, secret societies, the Knights of Labor, and the school controversy in separate chapters, although Gibbons met those issues at approximately the same time. The author's choice does untangle a complex situation; it makes for a clearer understanding of the individual issues; but it does

not bring the reader face to face with the compound problems which confronted the Cardinal during the latter portion of the nineteenth century. In other chapters this same procedure of dealing with units leads the author into inevitable repetitions.

Other strictures might be made, but they are minor and cannot dull the excellence of Father Ellis' work. This is a good biography of the man who, during the most critical era of American Church history, demonstrated to the United States and the world that a Catholic prelate could be both deeply devoted to his Church and intensely enamored of the American way of life. It is a story well worth reading.

JOSEPH D. AYD, S.J.

THE WOODSTOCK LETTERS

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NOVEMBER, 1953

CONTENTS FOR NOVEMBER, 1953

AN INSTRUCTION OF VERY REVEREND FATHER GENERAL ON THE SODALITY OF OUR LADY.....	291
THE CATHOLIC EVIDENCE GUILD OF NEW YORK CITY... Neil P. Hurley	301
DOCTRINE OF FATHER JEROME NADAL ON THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES OF ST. IGNATIUS.....	317
Joseph F. X. Erhart	
HISTORICAL NOTES	
The Huron Sodality of 1653.....	335
Woodstock to Plattsburg.....	360
OBITUARY	
Mr. John F. Walsh.....	364
Father Alberto Hurtado.....	367
BOOKS OF INTEREST TO OURS	
The Two Sovereignities (Lecler).....	374
The Life of Archbishop John Ireland (Moynihan).....	375
The Spirituality of St. Ignatius Loyola (Rahner).....	376
Retreat Notes (Keating).....	378
Obedience.....	378
A Moulder of Men (Nevils).....	379
The Faith and Modern Man (Guardini).....	380
We and the Holy Spirit (De Grandmaison).....	381
A Layman's Way to Perfection (Eiten).....	381
Perfection Is for You (Higgins).....	382
How to Read the Bible (Poelman).....	383
Of Sacraments and Sacrifice (Howell).....	383
The Sacred Heart Encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII and Pope Pius XI (Moell).....	384
PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.....	Inside Back Cover

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Note to Contributors

It would be well when submitting contributions to the WOODSTOCK LETTERS to observe the following: type *triple* space, leaving a one-inch margin on either side of the page, i.e., approximately sixty spaces to a line. This will aid greatly in determining ahead of time the length of articles submitted to us, and leaves sufficient room for the insertion of printing directions. Subheadings should also be used, at least one to every other page, in articles and Historical Notes. Pictures, fairly large and clear, should accompany obituaries and other articles, as far as possible; these will, of course, be returned to the contributor.

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AN INSTRUCTION ON THE SODALITY OF OUR LADY TO THE WHOLE SOCIETY

Reverend Fathers and dear Brothers in Christ:

Pax Christi!

Two years ago, when the Congress of the Promoters of the Sodality of our Lady was held at our Curia, I promised that at the proper time I would send an Instruction in which would be gathered together certain practical conclusions arising from the Congress. What I then promised I am carrying out today.

The purpose of this Instruction is once again to impress upon all of Ours how necessary it is to promote increasingly each day the Sodalities of our Lady and to bring them on to an ever more perfect state. I particularly desire to give to promoters, presidents of secretariates, and directors those practical norms by which they may overcome the principal obstacles that often confront them in the execution of the office entrusted to them.

You should above all keep before your eyes those words which the Supreme Pontiff wrote to us at the beginning of the above-mentioned Congress: "Relying upon the help of God and of His Mother, conscious of the desires and commands of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, putting aside every doubt and hesitation, advance zealously the work of the Sodality of our Lady, as its nature and laws require" (A.R. XI, 810).

In these words and in not a few other documents Pius XII clearly shows what great confidence he places not only in the Sodalities of the Blessed Mother but also in those whose natural responsibility it is to promote them.

Even if the Supreme Pontiff had not spoken so frequently and so lucidly of the importance of the Sodality, this same duty would rest upon us from our very vocation. It is enough to consider how ardently many lay persons aspire to a spiritual and apostolic life according to the norms of the true and genuine Sodality of our Lady. A sane and deep devotion to Mary helps much, especially in our times, as experience testifies, to stimulate their zeal. If we have it at heart "to think with the Church," we will earnestly and perseveringly work to support and foster the Sodalities of Our Lady.

I commend myself most earnestly to your Holy Sacrifices and prayers.

Rome, November 21, 1952, Feast of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

The servant of all in Christ,

JOHN BAPTIST JANSSENS,
General of the Society of Jesus

An Instruction on Promoting and Perfecting the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary

I. Selection

1.—In order that Sodalities of our Lady may not be improperly established and affiliated, a prudent period of probation must precede their canonical erection or at least their affiliation. Before a new Sodality is affiliated, a list of questions, drawn up for this purpose, must be filled out by its director (see Appendix).

2.—That apostolic nucleus which we gather together into Sodalities should be a select one, so that only those are received who give solid promise that they will observe faithfully the Common Rules (and particular rules, if any be added) and will not prove unworthy of the profession which Sodalists make in their consecration to the Blessed Virgin Mary.

3.—A careful selection does not mean that a nucleus, and indeed a select one, exercising its apostolate within its own proper bounds, cannot be gathered together and trained from any group of men, even the most humble, in any state of life. For everywhere may be found those who, with the inspiration and help of God's grace, desire and follow a more perfect Christian life, such as is fostered by the Sodality.

4.—Those who, either because of age or of deficient formation or for other reasons, do not yet seem ready for admission into the body of the Sodality, are not for that reason to be deprived of all the formation offered in the Sodality. For various ways may be devised by which a Sodality, while exercising its own apostolate, may inject its apostolic leaven into a larger group. Thus, to give but one example, a Sodality, by means of one of its sections, will be able to promote a less re-

stricted organization which is open to many and in which the faithful in accordance with their ability, may be trained in some of the practices of a more fervent life and apostolic zeal.

5.—As regards younger and immature boys (or girls), these may be received either as “Aspirants,” to undergo probation in the Sodality properly so called, even though the time of this probation must be extended beyond the customary period, or, rather, as members of a group which in some way imitates the true Sodality and prepares its associates for eventually becoming members of a Sodality properly so called. A temporary consecration to the Blessed Virgin Mary and a promise to observe some rules concerning the reception of the Sacraments and daily prayer are recommended for these groups (thus, in various places, The Junior Sodality, Blau-Ring, Maria-garde, Sodalities of the Holy Angels, of St. Stanislaus, and the like).

6.—Maturity here is not to be taken so much in the sense of years as in the sense of spiritual and moral capacity to grasp thoroughly the essential rules of the Sodality of our Lady, such as those that treat of making the Spiritual Exercises and meditation, and also in the sense of ability to understand and willingness to accept the perpetual consecration and its consequent obligations.

Each country or region may determine its own minimum age of admission.

7.—According to the spirit of the rules, the practice is to be encouraged whereby the time of probation is not limited to the minimum of two months but is extended so as to afford a greater opportunity to the candidates both for solid training and for the necessary preparation for the perpetual consecration.

II. Ascetic and Apostolic Formation

8.—The director must, before all else, take care that the Sodalists are solidly formed in the interior life, more profoundly instructed in the faith, trained in the assiduous use of prayer and the Sacraments, and in that asceticism as is described in the rules. This training should be carried on with such earnestness and over such a period of time as to give hope that the Sodalists, living among pagans of today,

will not fall away from their purpose of a more perfect life. For the assertion of St. Ignatius, namely, "for they are the interior things from which force must flow to the exterior" (*Const. P. X. 2* [813]; *Summ. Const. Reg. 16*), applies in like manner to Sodalists as it does to religious.

9.—All Sodalities should exercise the apostolate, either, preferably, as Sodalities and through their sections, or through individual Sodalists sent into other apostolic organizations, if this should seem to be for the greater glory of God, safeguarding always the personal apostolate of all the Sodalists in their daily lives.

10.—Special training should be extended by the director to those who are suited for a higher vocation, i.e., to the religious or priestly state. In this solicitude he should keep in sight the general principle that vocations develop best in a suitable environment or in the association with persons of the highest character.

11.—It is necessary that the director willingly listen to the council of the Sodality and leave to it a greater freedom of action; indeed the lay assistants of the director should be so trained that left to themselves, as in the time of war or persecution, they would be able by themselves to keep the Sodality alive and active.

12.—Among the works of zeal in our time, it is hoped that social action will by no means occupy the last place. Above all it seems that deliberations and actual works involving mutual aid among the different classes of Sodalists should be fostered.

13.—In the Sodality, devotion to Mary differs in nowise from the common, solid devotion of Catholics to Mary; however, in its ardor it should be unparalleled. It should be promoted as most suitable for all purposes, for men and women, old and young: let them learn never to be ashamed to profess it.

III. Mutual Union and Collaboration

14.—It is very much to be desired that there exist among Sodalities of different nations a closer cooperation not only in sending news regarding Sodality activities, but also, should it be desired, in undertaking works calculated to sustain the world-wide "battle front."

15.—It is necessary that our Sodalities, actuated by the spirit of brotherly harmony and of complete subordination to the counsels, wishes, and commands of the universal Church and of the pastors of the dioceses, collaborate in any work of zeal whatever and with any apostolic group. The independence, it is true, with which the Apostolic Constitution *Bis saeculari* endows the Sodalities and wishes kept, must be maintained; but at the same time the Sodalities should, with humility and abnegation, show in word and deed that they are part of the army of the Church.

Sodalists should always be foremost in undertaking whatever bishops order and recommend for their dioceses.

16.—There is no cause whatever to fear that jealous rivalry with Catholic Action or other works may arise, provided only we proceed with that right intention, by which all should be guided, of acting only for the glory of God. On the part of the Sodalities there should never be wanting that spirit of charity and humility by which disagreements are either prevented or settled, while friendship is fostered between the directors of both associations. They should refrain from all controversy, whether written or oral, but should, when occasion demands, set forth the truth with offense to no one.

IV. Federations

17.—It is conducive to the greater glory of God and honor of our Blessed Mother for the Sodalities of the same kind or of the same territory to set up, where possible, a permanent federation with a common council.

18.—No federation should be formed without the consent of superiors, namely of the bishop or of the provincial, who ought also approve the statutes. If Sodalities directed by Ours are to be united in federation to those directed by externs, then the consent and approval of both superiors are required.

19.—In establishing the council for a federation, a certain analogy should be maintained with the establishing of a council for a Sodality itself so that lay persons would be by no means excluded but would rather be given important positions, due dependence toward directors being always safeguarded.

20.—Present day conditions of society seem to demand that the federations, recommended in Rule sixty-eight, so extend

beyond national borders as to constitute a world-wide league. In this way the Sodalities of our Lady will, from their more widely extended union, gather a more abundant harvest and foster a more efficacious cooperation with other world-wide apostolic associations.

V. Promoters

21.—In each province a suitable Father should be assigned to the office of promoter and so designated in the catalogue. He should be entrusted by the provincial with the special care of everything pertaining to our Sodalities. The same should be done in vice-provinces, even though dependent, and in at least the larger missions.

Where one Father is not enough, two or three should be appointed to whom different parts of the province should be assigned; or what is better, to whom the different types of Sodalities should be assigned.

22.—The promoter should be chosen with great care and appointed early enough to enable him to become well acquainted with the teaching and practice of the Sodality. He should be edifying, a man of mature age, obedient to superiors, one capable of being entrusted with much authority, prudent, energetic in undertaking and in completing projects, able to win the friendship of others, and to promote harmony and unity of action.

In order that he may devote himself seriously to his duties, let him be free, as far as possible, from other cares.

23.—The objectives for which the promoter should strive are these:

a) that excellent directors of Sodalities be thoroughly trained. It should be his care, then, in accordance with the power granted him by the provincial or the superior of the mission, that the statutes of the generals concerning the training of Ours, from the novitiate onward, be observed; that, with the consent of the rector, Marian Academies or similar activities be organized in our scholasticates, especially in the houses of philosophy and theology, and that the tertian Fathers be given instructions in this matter. As far as possible, directors should also receive practical training by working

for some time with a Father who is already experienced in the art of directing Sodalities.

b) that our Sodalities be so closely conformed to the desires of the Supreme Pontiff that they may be an example to other Sodalities. Our Sodalists should be conspicuous for the spirituality, the fruitful apostolate, the spirit of collaboration with all, which are especially insisted upon in the Apostolic Constitution *Bis saeculari*.

c) that, although the care of girls and women is by no means to be neglected, Sodalities of men should be promoted beyond all others, particularly of those men who may some day exert influence in public life; Sodalities of workmen are expressly recommended.

d) that he foresee how the good will of externs, especially of prelates, may be won for the Sodalities.

e) that he give careful attention to the truly catholic and universal meaning of the Sodality, and hence foster communication with the Central Secretariate at Rome, by exchange of letters, by sending news items to be published in the world-wide periodical, etc.

f) that he bring about in a practical way a continuity among the various Sodalities, so that their members pass from one to another and, as far as possible, remain throughout their whole lives in some Sodality. Thus, for example, high school Sodalists, going on to a university, should become members of the university Sodality. Then, when their studies are completed or they have married, they should transfer to a men's Sodality. If there are several men's Sodalities (for example, one for men of the armed services, one for professional men, another for craftsmen), they should transfer to the one which best suits their calling.

24.—The promoter should not restrict himself to these more general measures, but should visit the Sodalities and directors and be ready to receive directors who come to him for discussion and consultation.

25.—Since the work of the Sodality is so apostolic and so suited to the needs of the present time, not only directors of Sodalities, but also superiors, teachers, operarii, and indeed

all of Ours, should give their wholehearted assistance to the promoter.

VI. Secretariates

26.—Because the number of Sodalities under the direction of our Society is in most countries small, secretariates should be set up, either national or provincial or regional, as is already laudably done in many nations.

27.—The secretariate (or its president), since it has no authority, can impose no regulations, but exists to assist all those who have any part in the direction of Sodalities.

28.—The secretariate is, as it were, a laboratory for all Sodalities, both ours and those of externs, to assist them by teaching, advising, answering difficulties, giving practical direction, supplying books and periodicals, organizing conventions, and supplying various items, etc.

29.—Let the president of the secretariate exercise approximately the same duties as those assigned to the promoter in numbers 22, 23, and 24, observing, however, due regard for the difference of authority, as is explained in the following number.

30.—Since one and the same Father is usually entrusted with the duties of promoter and of president of the secretariate, he should avoid confusing these functions, so that on the one hand, the provincial, if he wishes, may really, by means of the promoter, govern the Sodalities under our direction, and on the other hand, the secretariate may provide humble service and help to the Sodalities directed by externs when requested to do so.

31.—Since most Sodalities (95%) are directed by the secular clergy, the president of the secretariate should see to it that priests become acquainted with the Sodality and in this way come to esteem it highly. In order that this end be attained, the following principal means should be employed:

- a) Sodalities of priests should be promoted;
- b) seminarians should understand well the nature of the Sodality and even establish a Sodality among themselves;
- c) there should be a monthly magazine for moderators which would offer them instruction, solve their problems, and

present them with practical means for directing Sodalists;
d) occasional meetings of moderators should be held.

VII. External Matters

32.—The name Congregation or Sodality of our Lady, wherever possible, should be retained or restored. When, however, because of evil circumstances, the good of souls demands otherwise, a different name may be employed for ordinary use, including, if possible, the name of Mary and certainly in every case retaining the canonical title of Blessed Virgin Mary at least in juridical documents.

33.—Other external matters which are not essential but merely secondary should not readily be changed because their effectiveness has been proved, very often by long experience; those, however, may safely be changed which clearly stand in the way of a greater good.

Rome, November 21, 1952.

JOHN BAPTIST JANSSENS,
General of the Society of Jesus

APPENDIX

A Draft for Affiliating Sodalities of Our Lady to the *Prima Primaria* (a certain form for the use of those who in the various nations have charge of affiliation)

To the Moderator of the Sodality
Reverend Father,

Since the Sodality of which your Reverence is the Moderator desires to be affiliated, according to norm II of the Apostolic Constitution *Bis saeculari*, to the *Prima Primaria* Sodality of the Roman College, I ask your Reverence kindly to answer the following questions, that it may be determined whether your Sodality fulfills the essential conditions set down by the Holy See and common to Sodalities of Our Lady everywhere in the world.

Questions:

1.—Has your Sodality already been validly erected, namely, with a decree granted in writing by a competent Ordinary? At what time? (day, month, year)

2.—Did the Ordinary, moreover, give his consent, and this in writing, that affiliation to the *Prima Primaria* be requested? At what time?

3.—Has your Sodality adopted as its own the Common Rules of the Sodality of Our Lady, the observance of which, in substance at least, is

necessary for obtaining affiliation? If your Sodality has other rules, they should be sent to us.

4.—In the enrollment of Sodalists, are only those selected who, by no means content with the ordinary way of life, are sincerely eager to be so formed in the Sodality that they can be set before their contemporaries as models of Christian life and apostolic zeal?

5.—Are only those enrolled as Sodalists who bind themselves to the Blessed Virgin Mary by a complete and perpetual consecration, by which they promise to fight with all their strength in the Sodality for their own Christian perfection and eternal salvation and for that of others? Are only those submitted to this perpetual consecration who, because of sufficiently mature age and fitting preparation, seem able to understand rightly and fulfill faithfully the obligations of the consecration? What is the minimum age for admission?

6.—Does your Sodality, according to Rule 5 of the Common Rules, hold its meetings once a week or, if extraordinary difficulties prevent this, at least twice a month?

7.—Is an all-embracing apostolate, under obedience to the hierarchy, to spread the kingdom of Christ and defend the rights of the Church, considered among the chief ends of your Sodality?

8.—What works of the apostolate does your Sodality carry on, or in what does it collaborate?

9.—Is the Moderator, legitimately appointed, a priest, so that those who are not priests help in the direction of the Sodality only under his authority?

10.—Is your Sodality, in accordance with its rules, completely dependent on the Hierarchy in all things?

(Place)

(Day)

(Month)

(Year)

(Signature of the Moderator)

* * *

O God, Who, to promote the greater glory of Thy Name, didst strengthen the Church militant with a new army by means of blessed Ignatius, grant that with his help and after his example we may courageously do battle here on earth, and thus deserve to be crowned with him in heaven; through Christ our Lord. Amen.

—from the Mass of St. Ignatius, July 31.

THE CATHOLIC EVIDENCE GUILD OF NEW YORK CITY

NEIL P. HURLEY, S.J.

"Faith then cometh by hearing; and hearing by the word of Christ." (Romans 10:17) As many New Yorkers, who have happened upon a meeting of the Catholic Evidence Guild, will testify, these words of St. Paul are still true today. Perhaps it was at Poe Park in the Fordham area of the upper Bronx, or at 86th St. off Lexington Ave., where the casual passer-by was first attracted by a young lady or gentleman addressing a gathering from a portable platform. As he listened, the curious listener heard the speaker unfold some truth of Catholic teaching in a simple, direct, intelligible manner. Afterwards there followed questions from the crowd. The topic discussed might have been purgatory, or the Real Presence, or the Church and Bible, or the Catholic attitude on labor. But whatever the matter treated, the speaker, though nowise different in appearance from the average pedestrian in the audience, seemed to be serious, polite, and well-informed. In turn, the questions asked by the crowd were quite sincere. A rather revolutionary technique, our listener would reflect, even though he were a Catholic. However, by simple enquiry, his suspicions would be allayed when he discovered that the Cardinal Archbishop of New York, His Eminence Cardinal Spellman, has blessed this street-corner apostolate with his approval, and that the Catholic Evidence Guild for twenty-five years has, in one way or another, carried on the apostolate of spreading God's word.

To compete at Columbus Circle and on street-corners with atheists, Communists, radicals, and intellectual incendiaries of every sort would seem to be a distinct compromise of the Church's dignity and reputation. But the Catholic Evidence Guild has not only disproved the mistaken impression that street-corner preaching befits only an impoverished religion, but it has shown, through its success and the respect it commands, that even in the twentieth century in a metropolis of eight million people the evidences of the faith can be presented just as St. Paul presented them to the Athenians on the hill of the Areopagus or St. Francis Xavier in the streets of Yamaguchi. And indeed, in these two instances, with more visible results.

Foundation of the Guild

Catholic Evidence work in the English-speaking world is not very old. It began in the United States in 1917 when two converts from Socialism, Mrs. Martha Moore Avery and Mr. David Goldstein, took to expounding Catholic doctrine from an outdoor public platform, which later was replaced by an "autovan." With the support of Cardinal O'Connell, Archbishop of Boston, the "Catholic Truth Guild" was founded with Mrs. Avery as president and Mr. Goldstein as secretary. In England the formation of the Westminster Guild took place on April 24, 1918. Its pitch (i.e., the regular outdoor meeting place) at Marble Arch in London's Hyde Park soon became distinguished by such notable speakers as Father Vincent McNabb, O.P., Maisie Ward and her husband, Frank Sheed. The next thirty-five years witnessed the spread of Evidence Guilds throughout the United States. During this period Guilds were founded in Boston, Baltimore, Washington, Oklahoma, Detroit, Philadelphia, Buffalo, Texas, New York City, New Orleans, Waterbury, Conn., and Hays, Kansas. It is with the growth of the New York City Evidence Guild that we are here concerned.

The Catholic Evidence Guild of New York owes its organization directly to a retreat given at Manresa, Staten Island, to the St. Thomas Aquinas Sodality of Fordham University School of Law in March, 1928. Father Gerald C. Treacy, S.J., the retreat master, insisted on the great need for lay apostles in the modern world. With this inspiration, Messrs. James V. Hayes, Thomas J. Diviney, and Balthasar J. Funke approached their former Professor of Jurisprudence, Father Francis P. LeBuffe, S.J., to ask advice about forming a Catholic Evidence Guild. Following Father LeBuffe's suggestion, these three succeeded in interesting about ten other fellow graduates of the Fordham Law School in their vision. In March, 1928 the first meeting was held at the offices of Messrs. Hayes and Uihlein on 43rd St., New York City, under the direction of Father LeBuffe. Father had long been entertaining a plan to train a group of intelligent lay Catholics in theology with the hope that they could thus exert a greater influence on their own environment. So, in the Providence of God, the moderator, Father LeBuffe, and several young zealous Catholic law-

yers were brought together to give birth to the New York Catholic Evidence Guild.

Two possible methods of procedure were proposed in the beginning: (1) the English Guild method—with the more immediate and functional purpose of preparing speakers for specific topics; (2) Father LeBuffe's own program which aimed at training, on a broad and slow basis, lay theologians well-versed in dogma. The second alternative was unanimously adopted by the group. Father promised his newly-formed Guild that if they gave him one night a week for ten years, he would do something with them. Despite the understandable desire to do immediate apostolic work, the group had to satisfy itself with three years of training in lay theology before the late Patrick Cardinal J. Hayes allowed the group to be active. The Guild's original purpose of street-corner preaching was not judged to be suitable at this time. Instead, the Cardinal encouraged the Guild to undertake radio broadcasts.

As a result, beginning in 1931 and continuing for seven years, Guildsmen gave seven hundred talks on various Catholic doctrines. The broadcasts were given over many stations. Two in particular were Station WMII in Brooklyn, and a New York City Station, WLWL. Some of the titles of talks given then were: "The Sanctity of Marriage," "If Christ Lived Today," "Greed and the New Deal," "Why Ask for Money?" One amusing incident occurred when a radio listener, deceived into thinking that group broadcasts of a supposed meeting at Columbus Circle were real, showed up there for an expected outdoor meeting.

Guild members during this period, though still not engaged in street-corner preaching, taught by the written word as well. They published articles in both Catholic and non-Catholic magazines; wrote and collaborated on pamphlets and letters to editors, public officials, state and national legislative groups. In addition to this, the Guild participated in and conducted talks and group discussions with non-Catholic and Catholic groups. The more important Catholic groups before which talks and discussions were held, were the Knights of Columbus, Holy Name meetings, Communion breakfasts, Newman Clubs, and Sodality organizations. Besides, permis-

sion was obtained from both the New York and Brooklyn Chanceries to address non-Catholic groups anywhere except in a church of another denomination. During this time the meetings of the Guild were moved from the offices of Messrs. Hayes and Uihlein, where they were first held, to the Catholic Club of New York at 120 Central Park South, and later to the Club's new quarters in the Waldorf-Astoria. Meetings for a time were also held at the offices of the America Press.

When permission was finally obtained for outdoor preaching in 1936, the radio work was continued along with the outdoor activity, but it was soon found to be impossible to develop the two techniques simultaneously with any success, especially with small numbers. However the Guild still possesses most of the broadcasts then given and these have served to help Catholic groups all over the world, and particularly in the Philippine Islands. It was during this period that the Guild also gave weekly talks to retreatants at Manresa, Staten Island.

Outdoor Preaching

The Guild's first outdoor meeting was in 1936 at Columbus Circle. The first night that the group went up to the Circle to hear Mr. James V. Hayes give the Guild's maiden talk, it was most apprehensive. Father LeBuffe nervously fingered his beads all the way up from the office of the America Press where he was assigned at the time. From the very start, however, the conduct of the Guildsmen impressed the audience in contrast with the reactionary techniques of other less orderly speakers at the Circle. It was feared at first that the audience might prove unmanageable by urging excessively aggressive difficulties, by heckling and, all in all, by disregarding the rules of the Guild. These provide that the speaker talk for ten or twelve minutes uninterruptedly with the remaining hour dedicated to questions germane to the topic being discussed. However with very few exceptions the audience has always abided by the Guild's program. Once in the early '40's at a meeting on the corner of 11th St. and 2nd Ave., a Communistic neighborhood at the time, the crowd became antagonistic to Harold W. Abrams, a Guildsman who was denouncing Communism. One Guild member distinctly heard someone utter the threat: "If I had a gun, I'd shoot you."

However, by the grace of God, the difficult situation resolved itself, and the Guild was deprived of its first martyr.

Wherever talks have been given by the Guild, whether in the Bronx, or Manhattan, or Staten Island, the audience has always been respectful. The American sense of fair play undoubtedly is the reason. Once when a speaker was explaining annulment and divorce, an objector posed a difficulty on the existence of God. Despite the speaker's insistence that the question was outside the range of the topic discussed, the questioner was relentless. The crowd then intervened, murmuring: "That's not her subject," to which the undaunted objector replied: "I want to learn something about God." With that, the crowd dispatched the persistent fellow, giving him the well-known "bum's rush." Following this the crowd returned to press home its difficulties against the Church's position on annulment and divorce.

It was in the Fall of 1935 and the early part of 1936, as a result of a series of lectures on religion to the alumnae of the College of New Rochelle, that Father LeBuffe, assisted by Miss Mary T. Shaughnessy (now Mother Mary Celeste, O.S.U.), resolved to form a women's Catholic Evidence Guild. The first members consisted of alumnae of New Rochelle College, about sixty in all. However, at the first meeting of the women's Guild, it was decided to open the group to all women graduates of Catholic colleges. Most of the original members dropped out when preparations for talks were assigned.

Although the women's Guild co-existed for two years with the men's, Father LeBuffe finally judged it best to consolidate both groups into one. To avoid duplication of time and energy, and to preserve Father LeBuffe's health, the men, who had earlier opposed having women in their Guild, consented to this move. At first it was thought that the women would not speak on the street-corners, but later this decision was reversed. The women had helped the men in their work on the radio, and with Miss Mary Shaughnessy's appearance at Columbus Circle in the summer of 1939, they took their part in the street preaching as well. Needless to say, they have provided some excellent speakers, and it is because of them that during the war, when most of the men were in service or out of the city, the Guild still functioned normally.

Because of the Catholic Club's rule excluding women, the Guild now moved to the Woolworth Building and the new quarters provided by the Fordham University School of Education. When Fordham moved from the Woolworth Building the Guild accepted the hospitality of the Fordham School of Social Service on East 39th St., near Lexington Ave. But due to the growth of the School's enrollment the Guild was again obliged to vacate. This time it moved to the Parish House Annex on East 83rd St., next to St. Ignatius' Church at 980 Park Ave. Meetings were held in this Parish House Annex for about three years.

A New Home

It was then that the Guild moved to its present location at 113 East 85th St. in the Convent of the Helpers of the Holy Souls. The story behind this move is as follows. Rev. Mother Mary St. Anne and Mother Mary Loyola (who as Louise Mooney had been a member of the Guild) asked Father LeBuffe if his Guild would help the Sisters in their instruction of converts. Father, who had long dreamed of a Catholic Information Center, proposed this as a counter-plan. As a result, a room in the rear of the Convent on 85th St. was placed at the disposal of the Guild. Yeoman service was rendered by both the men and women Guild members in readying this room for occupancy. The walls were washed and painted; the floors were scrubbed and scraped; the woodwork was stained.

Now the problem was: how could the room be furnished and equipped with a library? Again the arm of the Lord was not shortened. The Young Women's Catholic Club was closing at the time, and through the generous co-operation of Miss Constance Armstrong, a desk, some chairs, and bookcases were provided. Other furniture was donated by friends of the Sisters. An appeal by Father LeBuffe himself to Fordham, St. Andrew-on-Hudson, and other Jesuit houses, as well as to convents and personal friends whom he contacted in his travels as Regional Secretary of Sodalties, brought many necessary books on doctrinal, apologetic, ascetical, and other subjects pertaining to the faith.

On April 1, 1951 the Center was opened, and it has been the meeting place of the Guild since that time. The Center is open

every evening Monday through Saturday from 7:00 P.M. to 9:30 P.M. and on Sunday from 3:30 P.M. to 9:30 P.M. The members of the Guild take turns working each evening at the Center. This group is known as the Catholic Evidence Auxiliary and numbers approximately twelve members.

It is here that, during the winter months from September to May, Father LeBuffe each Monday evening conducts the training meetings in preparation for the summer street-corner meetings. The outdoor program is confined to the period of mid-May to mid-September, since speaking in the chill evening air brings loss of voice. At the indoor training meetings the Guild is given the wherewithal to present the important doctrinal teachings of the Church in a clear and engaging manner for non-Catholic listeners primarily. It is well to remember that none of the members is required to be a trained theologian or an accomplished orator, though some do obtain quite a bit of proficiency—laywise—in both fields.

The usual requirements for membership in the Guild are: (1) a desire to spread God's Kingdom among men by means of the spoken word; (2) an average degree of responsibility and intelligence; (3) some ability and poise in public speaking (though this may be acquired by practice, if the other conditions are satisfied); and (4) fidelity as a Catholic, of course. The meeting, open to both members and those interested in becoming members, is begun by Father LeBuffe with the following prayer, composed by a member of long standing, Mr. John E. McAniff:

St. Paul, help us in our work on the street-corner, to see in every aimless question, a human soul groping in the dark for truth; in every conceited declaration, a human soul desperately grasping for the dignity of which it has been robbed; in every aggressive challenge, a human soul steeped in the conflict between this world and the next; in every angry denial, a human soul shrinking from the Sacrifice of the Cross; in every false statement a human soul misled by false prophets; in every scornful laugh, a human soul deprived of the only Real Joy; and in every listener, the image and likeness of God. Amen.

On his last visit to Rome in 1950, Father LeBuffe arranged to have a framed copy of this beautiful prayer of the Guild hung on the wall of the sacristy of the Basilica of St. Paul's Outside the Walls. This prayer was first presented by Mr.

McAniff, then president of the New York Catholic Evidence Guild, at the Eighth Annual Convention of the National Catholic Evidence Conference held at Cincinnati, Ohio, on November 4, 1939 in his address entitled "The Catholic Evidence Guild on the Street Corner."

In Training

After the reading of the Guild's prayer, the meeting is under way. The first of the two hours is given over to Father LeBuffe, who instructs the Guild in the dogmatic teachings of the faith. Father has a rare gift of crystallizing the abstruse and formal tracts in theology for the benefit of lay minds. Like Monsieur Jourdain in Molière's play, who had been talking prose all his life without realizing it, Father LeBuffe exclaims: "Here I have been teaching kerygmatic theology for twenty-five years without knowing it." Although Father LeBuffe's booklet, *Let's Look at Sanctifying Grace*, might be called the textbook of the course, still Father does not confine himself to any curriculum or definite schedule of instruction. Granting to the Guild the large liberty of the children of God, Father LeBuffe does not restrict questions. Any questions—on the subject or off it—may be and usually are asked. As a result, over the years Father has traversed many diverse fields: angelology; the theology of the sacraments—both of the Old Law and the New; the metaphysics of the Trinity; sanctifying grace; Liturgy; Church history; missiology; Mariology and Christology; eschatology; phases of Canon Law and Moral Theology; as well as other sundry points of dogma and philosophy.

Of course, these points are not treated with the scientific precision that is required in the theological tracts as taught in a seminary. There the more difficult and obscure questions of the faith are stressed (e.g., the problem of grace and free will). Since the Guild has a different objective, Father LeBuffe, in his talks, rather accents the more fundamental points of the Church's dogma, with less emphasis on logical unity. The treatment of the Church's truths, in short, is more Pauline than Thomistic in its form of presentation. Father LeBuffe unfolds the Kingdom of God for his Guild members: incorporation and redemption in Christ; the modes of God's

indwelling in the soul; the sacramental system; the meaning of our baptism; the share that sanctifying grace gives in God's very life.

The consequence of this unique course of instruction has been that over a period of time the Guild begins to perceive the grandiose plan of God, Who in Christ wishes to draw all men to Him. The "Glad Tidings" of Christ's coming, taught with unction by a holy and learned priest to an exemplary group of Catholic laymen, has produced a remarkable effect on the personal sanctity of the lives of the Guild members. As Father LeBuffe himself has remarked: "It is amazing how much the Guild has deepened spiritually under the impact of the dogma." It is this first hour of the meeting that attracts the members and the members-to-be. Any member of the Guild will agree that Father LeBuffe's disquisitions in theology and scholastic philosophy, with questions interspersed by the Guild, are the real soil in which the devotional and the intellectual life of the street-corner apostle takes root and develops.

Apart from the importance of helping the Church to combat anti-Catholic prejudices and explain the reasonableness of the Faith, the Guild's success, with God's help, has been largely due to the invaluable training that most laymen would find difficult to obtain anywhere else. The interior relish and the personal realization that comes from prolonged consideration of the inspiring truths of revelation and of God's redemptive plan are the most tangible rewards that accrue to a Guild member. From the very start, the Guild's program has had a delicate balance between theory and practice as well as between the personal sanctification of each and the correlative obligation to communicate their faith—the pearl of great price—to others. In large measure this balance has been the psychological key to the Guild's success under God.

During the second hour of the meeting, practice talks are given by the members themselves. At this point the Guild turns into a hostile street-corner crowd. Although actual conditions are only simulated, giving the appearance of mock combat, the Guild's objections are naturally more barbed and subtle than those of the average American pedestrian. Needless to say, whoever successfully survives this "baptism under

fire" is quite assured of being prepared to meet the real foe, who is, of course, usually less astute. At least two practice talks must be given: one before the entire Guild itself; the other before a special board of examiners which determines the speaker's competence to represent the Guild and the Church, too, in public. The meetings are brought to a close with the following prayer, also composed by Mr. McAniff:

St. Paul, we dedicate to you the Catholic Evidence Guild of New York. Alone we can do nothing, but through your intercession before the throne of Almighty God may we bring to those who are in darkness a small ray of the blinding light which you saw on the road to Damascus. We humbly ask your patronage and assistance and the grace to follow your example. Amen.

The Guild has always paid its own way by means of the contributions of its members at the end of each meeting. In accordance with Father LeBuffe's desire to keep "red tape" and organization at a minimum, the government of the Guild is purposely simple. The honorary president is Francis Cardinal Spellman, Archbishop of New York. Father LeBuffe has been moderator for twenty-five years. In addition, there is a board of directors, and an executive committee of three who act with the moderator's approval. A secretary takes care of the necessary correspondence, purchases, the drafting of the speaker's schedule each season. There has never been any rivalry for official positions or the least attempt at self-advancement. On the contrary, it was found necessary to make it a Guild rule that no one should refuse an office once proffered. The simplicity of the Guild's structure and the informality that has always prevailed has created strong bonds of personal loyalty between Father LeBuffe and the members, and also among the members themselves. In fact some members have met their spouses through the Guild meetings. The *esprit de corps* is exceptional, and one might truly say that the Guild is more an organism than an organization.

In 1933 a National Catholic Evidence Conference was launched, with Cardinal Hayes' permission, at the old Catholic Club building at 120 Central Park South, New York City. Mr. James V. Hayes was elected its first president.

Co-Workers

Later on, in 1936, Mr. Edwin J. Duffy (now Father Duffy), then a senior at Holy Cross College, joined the Guild. Upon graduation he entered St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie in Yonkers, N. Y., and began to interest his fellow seminarians in the work of the Guild. Consequently in the 1937-38 season, the seminarians joined the lay members in their street-corner program during the summers. The two groups, lay and seminarian, have grown very close together. Each year two meetings are held at the Seminary in Yonkers. Both groups participate. The first meeting, held in the spring, has for its purpose to plan the summer work. The one in the fall reviews the summer program and pools the experiences of all for everyone's mutual benefit.

From time to time, courses of lectures for prospective converts are given at the Information Center by Father James E. Rae from Dunwoodie, and some other priests who, like Father Rae, were Guild members as seminarians. These lectures were begun in the summer of 1950 and though the attendance was small, the earnestness and sincerity of those who came compensated for the absence of numbers. Guild members generously attended in order to be able to greet those who attended the lectures. Father Rae, who is professor of dogmatic theology at Dunwoodie, along with the other diocesan priests has helped the Guild immensely in this work.

Besides the street-corner work and the early radio broadcasts, other fruit has been derived from the Guild's activities. We have already mentioned the group discussions and lectures which the Guild conducted for the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, the Sodalities, the Knights of Columbus, and other Catholic groups. In addition, classes of instruction were conducted at one time for Catholic students at Columbia and New York University. Also, in the early days of the formation of the Jesuit labor schools of the Metropolitan Area, the Guild played a definite role. Guildsmen taught at three labor schools: the one at St. Francis Xavier High School at 16th St. in New York City; the second, at St. Peter's College in Jersey City; the third, at the Crown Heights Labor School in Brooklyn. In fact, when Father William J. Smith, S.J., began the Crown Heights Labor School, he approached Father Le-

Buffe with the problem of forming a faculty. Father called a luncheon meeting at which Messrs. Hayes, Brenner, McAgdon, and Atkinson were present. After the meeting, Father Smith turned to Father LeBuffe and said, "I have three-fourths of my faculty already." One of these men, Mr. O'Brien Atkinson, a retired advertising man, was a vital force, during his twelve years with the Guild, in training its members in the technique of preparing a speech. To this end he wrote a pamphlet entitled *Broadcasting Your Talk* which was published by the Paulist Press. Later, he enlarged this into a book entitled *How to Make Us Want Your Sermon*. This book sold over five thousand copies for its publisher, John F. Wagner, and even now is still quite a favorite with the clergy throughout the United States. With Mr. Atkinson's death, Miss Isabelle Mullen has carried on the all-important task of training the Guild's street-corner apostles.

From its inception, a yearly retreat has been insisted upon for the Guild members. At first these retreats were held at Manresa and then at Morristown, New Jersey. However, when the Guild admitted women, permission was obtained from the late Bishop Griffin of Trenton and from the nuns at Georgian Court College, to give a joint retreat for both men and women at the College. The first retreat of this type was held in 1942 and was very probably the first such group retreat for men and women ever held anywhere in the world. The men lived in one of the residence halls and the women in another. Strict silence is insisted upon and has always been observed to the great edification of the nuns and newcomers. Guild members may bring friends provided that they observe the complete retreat silence enjoined on all.

Another spiritual hypodermic that the Guild avails itself of is an idea which Father LeBuffe hit upon. It is the half-day of recollection. Three or four times a year at the Convent of the Helpers of the Holy Souls, under the usual retreat conditions of strict silence, the Guild observes the following order: at 8:15 A.M. Mass; at 9:00 breakfast with reading; at 10:00 a conference; at 11:00 another conference; at 11:45 benediction; at 12:00 out and home for the family Sunday dinner. This half-day of recollection has had great success and offers great possibilities for other Catholic groups.

Pioneers

The influence of the Guild, through God's grace, has been far reaching, especially as its members have moved to other sectors of the country. The pioneering spirit of the Guild members is ever alive. As Father LeBuffe insists: "Once the smoke of battle gets in your nostrils you can never be the same." For instance, four ex-Guild members, Mr. Louis J. Abrams, his wife—the former Rita Murphy, Harold Abrams, and Lyons T. Carr moved to the Camden diocese, and only last year, with Bishop Eustace's approval, inaugurated a new Catholic Evidence Guild. Their first street-corner work took place in the summer of 1952. The meetings were held on Friday evenings and the New York City group supplied one speaker each week, although the Camden Guild paid all expenses. Despite the competition of the Jehovah's Witnesses from the opposite corner, armed as they were with both an organ and a public address system, the Guild still held its own. All in all the season was quite successful.

Another outgrowth of the New York City Guild's activities has been the founding of a Catholic Evidence Guild in Columbus, Georgia, by Mr. George Gingell and his wife. Mr. Gingell moved south to take charge of radio station WRBL, and his one-man radio crusade against bigotry in Georgia has been inspiring. Another Guildsman, Mr. William Maday, has done remarkable work in Polish over radio station WLIB ever since 1949, while other Guild members have begun discussion groups and Catholic action groups in the neighborhoods to which they have moved.

The seminarians of St. Joseph's in Yonkers render invaluable aid to the Guild. A number of vocations have been fostered among members of the Guild, both to the sisterhood and the priesthood. A rough estimate reveals one Ursuline Sister, one Good Shepherd, one Charity nun, two Cenacle nuns, two Helpers of the Holy Souls, a Missionary Father of Lyons, and two Jesuits. One, the author, belonged to the Guild for two years (1945-47) and participated in the Guild's outdoor preaching program for two seasons. The other Jesuit, Father Myer F. Tobey, was ordained this past June at Woodstock College in Maryland. We have every reason to believe that we have as intercessors before the Heavenly Throne seven members of

the Church Triumphant: Balthasar J. Funke, Thomas Nolan, Daniel Boyle, John Molanphy, Francis Brady, Paul Dearing, and O'Brien Atkinson. Paul Dearing worked for N.C.W.C. War Relief in the Empire State Building. He was killed in the ill-fated airplane crash that happened in the summer of 1945. Only the evening before he had been preaching the word of Christ to a suffering world.

Over the twenty-five year history of the Guild, a number of priests have generously taken over Father LeBuffe's place when he was absent, due to travel or illness. In 1930, when Father LeBuffe was hospitalized for some months, Father Charles I. Doyle, S.J., acted as moderator. Later, in 1945-46, Father Stephen V. Duffy, S.J., carried on the work for a while. And again in 1950 when Father LeBuffe was called to Rome, Father James E. Rae of St. Joseph's Seminary kindly acted as temporary moderator for three months. Father Florence Sullivan, S.J., also filled in for Father LeBuffe.

Two very recent developments indicate the further growth and spread of the Guild's influence. In 1951 Father McTigue, O.P., professor of theology at Albertus Magnus College, New Haven, Conn., consulted Father LeBuffe on his religion course. He wanted to know how he might further the interests of the students therein. As a result of Father LeBuffe's suggestion for a modified Catholic Evidence Guild during the second year, the young ladies of Albertus Magnus are seriously training for work with the New York City Guild in the summertime.

The second noteworthy development is the establishment at Fordham University in the Bronx of a student branch of the Guild by Mr. Philip Nicolaidis, a member of the Guild who is doing graduate studies at the University. With the assistance of Mr. Avery Dulles, S.J., and Father Herbert D'Souza, S.J., who conducts the training there during the year, the young Fordham students are being equipped to participate in the Guild's outdoor program.

We have seen then that the fruit of the New York City Catholic Evidence Guild has been varied and rich. Like all things spiritual there is much that cannot be grasped with ten fingers. Nevertheless the fruit of the Guild's apostolate is evident. Although no satisfactory answer can be given to the inevitable and oft-repeated question: "How many converts do

you make?" still the Guild is confident that it has won much good will for the Church and its teachings. No serious doubt exists that many people, who before entertained preconceived and biased notions of the Church's doctrines, have jettisoned their prejudicial beliefs because of the polite conduct, the sane exposition, and the earnestness of the Guild members.

Many Catholics, too, are deeply impressed that the Church takes such direct means to eliminate ignorance and bigotry, even though many at first are wary of the group's right to represent the Church. One real incident will illustrate the effect that the apostolate of the Guild exercises on Catholics. While on her way home from shopping, one woman, weighted down with groceries, for a long while stood, bundles and all, to hear the Guild, so pleased was she that her Church was not taking a back seat to Communism in zealous presentation of its teachings. The Catholic Evidence Guild serves a definite need, one that was foreseen by our Blessed Lord Himself—"Going forth, teach all nations."

Inner Growth

Actually, the most tangible results from the activities of the Guild are found in the members themselves. Since they are forced by the nature of the work to examine critically Catholic dogma at its deeper and richer levels, it is only natural that an assimilation of the doctrine in this way should lead to a greater awareness and love of God's revealed truths and His teaching Church. The Guild member must ponder and meditate the truths of the Church if he thinks it worth preaching to others. Undoubtedly, the generosity and prayer-life of each Guild member wins from the Holy Spirit a special unction which renders these truths a matter of the heart as well as of the intellect. What more efficacious way is there of deepening one's love and knowledge of the faith and its mysteries than to discover Christianity through the Church's official sources with intention of transmitting this knowledge to others? *Contemplata tradere aliis*—this has been the set purpose of the New York City Evidence Guild: a remarkable group of some fifty-five average American citizens who are spiritually extraordinary. Many are daily communicants. Their ordi-

nary temporal rôles include secretaries, nurses, students, housewives, Wall St. lawyers, and school teachers.

The years of zealous apostolic endeavor, the intense faith in a work with little visible results, the prayerful study of the wonderful message of divine grace, generosity and loyalty and often self-sacrifice—all of these have left their mark, the mark of the “insignes”—on the Guild members. “The Spirit breatheth where He will,” our Blessed Saviour has told us (John 3:8). And in this particular instance it happens to be on the street-corners of the metropolis of the world. With St. Paul the Guild members can say: “For I am not ashamed of the gospel. For it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth . . .” (Romans 1:16). The Guild has well earned the high praise bestowed on it by His Eminence Cardinal Spellman (then Archbishop) when, addressing the Catholic Evidence Conference, held on November 16 and 17 in 1940 at the Hotel Commodore, he said: “You men and women taking part in this work are engaged in a truly apostolic work. You are doing work exemplified by Christ and His Apostles. You are messengers of the gospel, messengers of truth. We are proud of the New York Evidence Guild . . .”

And on April 26, 1953 when the members of the Catholic Evidence Guild of New York, together with their moderator, Father Francis P. LeBuffe, united to celebrate their first quarter of a century of sowing God’s word, they, too, could justifiably be proud.

* * *

O God, Who for the defence of the Catholic faith didst arm Thy blessed confessor Peter with virtue and learning, grant in Thy loving kindness that through his example and counsel, those who have gone astray may return to the way of salvation, and the faithful remain constant in their allegiance to the truth; through Christ our Lord. Amen.

—from the Mass of St. Peter Canisius, April 27.

DOCTRINE OF FATHER JEROME NADAL ON THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES OF ST. IGNATIUS

JOSEPH F. X. ERHART, S.J.

The scope of this paper is to discuss some ideas of Father Jerome Nadal on the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius. In studying the Exercises Father Nadal's authority is of great value. This is evident from the fact that he was officially appointed by St. Ignatius to give the authentic interpretation of them in all the houses of Spain and Portugal.¹

The chief document by Nadal is a controversial one. About 1550 the Archbishop of Toledo obtained a copy of the Exercises and gave it to some Dominican Fathers for examination. Certain passages of the Exercises were severely criticized as allegedly being too much like the teachings of the "Alumbrados." The criticisms were actually written by Father Melchior Cano and Father Thomas de Pedroche, professor of Theology in the College of St. Peter Martyr in Toledo. There is no record of Cano's work, but Pedroche's violent attack is preserved in the *Monumenta Historica*.² It was in answer to Pedroche that Nadal undertook to write an Apology of the Exercises. This Apology lay in manuscript for more than three centuries in the dust of the archives, and was discovered and published (1895, 1905) by the editors of the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*.³ We shall be concerned with this Apology.

In his attack⁴ Pedroche quotes a passage and proceeds to censure it. In his reply⁵ Nadal, having repeated the text and censure, not only gives a direct answer, but often takes occasion to give lengthy explanations of the idea in question.

Before speaking of the Exercises, Pedroche has a few things to say about St. Ignatius. He says that Ignatius was cited by the Inquisition for heresy, that he was a Quietist ("uno de los dejados, y alumbrados"), and that he fled to Rome to escape the Inquisitors.⁶ Referring to the Society's boast that the Exercises were composed by Ignatius not so much with the aid of books, as with the unction of the Holy Spirit, and from his own experience and practice,⁷ Pedroche voices his suspicion of a Spaniard of so little learning that he could write (not in Latin) but only in vernacular Spanish. Besides he sees a

likeness to the "Alumbrados" who exaggerate the importance of private inspiration.⁸ Furthermore the title of the order, "Society of Jesus," is proud, schismatical, and injurious to the whole of Christian society. Reserving this title to Jesuits relegates the rest of men, by implication, to the society of the devil.⁹ Nadal answers¹⁰ these reproaches in handy and sometimes amusing fashion. We shall pass over his reply and proceed to the criticism of the Exercises themselves.

Who Should Make the Exercises?

Text. The Exercises are not to be given to everyone indiscriminately.¹¹

Censure. If they are an excellent short cut to perfection, why are the Exercises restricted? If they are blighted with error and superstition, why are they permitted to endure in hiding?¹²

Reply. The Society does not claim that the Exercises are a short cut to perfection. The Church wants publication restricted, wants the Exercises explained and given by Jesuits, lest they be misunderstood. One making the Exercises needs a guide. They are given to everyone who wants them, and to those whom we think will use them properly. Nadal adds that if Pedroche thinks the Exercises are no good, he should advise that as few as possible see them.¹³

Length of Exercises

Text. The Exercises should be concluded in thirty days more or less.¹⁴

Censure. By what authority does Ignatius say thirty days is enough for spiritual exercises? Does he find it in Scripture, in the lives or writings of the saints? It is a wonder that Christ, the Evangelists, St. Paul and the other Apostles didn't discover these exercises, which in such a short time, so easily, so efficaciously suffice for perfection.¹⁵

*Reply.*¹⁶ Before answering directly, Nadal takes this opportunity to give a general explanation of the purpose of the Exercises. The name of spiritual exercises is applied to any method of preparing and disposing the soul to free itself from inordinate affections, and after it has freed itself from them, to seek the will of God concerning the ordering of life for the

salvation of one's soul.¹⁷ This is obviously the purpose of the meditations, examens, confession, Holy Communion, and election.¹⁸ It is certainly not claimed that one emerges from the Exercises confirmed in perfection.

Here Nadal makes an important fundamental point. To give the Exercises is to preach the Gospel.¹⁹ "Repent for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand."²⁰ This is the message of Christ; this is the message of the Exercises. The first part of the Exercises leads the soul to contrition and penance for sin. The General Confession, which puts off the old man and puts on the new, is followed by Holy Communion, which unites us to the Kingdom of Heaven. In the last three weeks, the meditations on the life of Christ teach the Kingdom of Heaven, the life of the spirit. Likewise the Exercises try to start the exercitant off on the three ways of the spiritual life, the purgative, the illuminative, and the unitive. In this framework, with the help of various rules, and under the retreat master's guidance, the exercitant is prepared for the election.

Then Nadal gives a direct answer to the question of why thirty days.²¹ We don't make an arbitrary time-schedule of spiritual progress. We simply establish a logical order for the consideration of certain divine truths. Experience has taught that thirty days more or less is an apt period of time for these particular considerations. After all, a retreat has to end sometime. It is the formality of a retreat that is limited to thirty days. If the exercitant wishes to continue, he may devote his entire life to prayer. As a further defense²² Nadal appeals to tradition, reminding the reader of how the Church is accustomed to assign certain numbers of days for fasting, prayers, alms, visits to Churches, length of novitiate, etc.

11th Annotation

Text. "It is of advantage to him who is receiving the Exercises of the first week, that he should know nothing of what he has to do in the second week."²³

Censure. It is false and imprudent to say that knowledge of what leads to perfection can impede the acquisition of perfection. It is vain and superstitious to say that ignorance of the means to perfection will help towards perfection.²⁴

*Reply.*²⁵ Nadal points out the wisdom of this annotation.

St. Ignatius wanted the retreatant to concentrate on one thing at a time. Many important truths are proposed for consideration, but the peculiar strength of the Exercises derives from their logical order.

It is against the background of the end of creatures and the end of man that one best sees how reasonable are the principles of indifference and *tantum quantum*. Then he is best able to see the ugliness of sin and is disposed for real sorrow.

In the second week, when inordinate affections have been put aside, the life of Christ is studied as a concrete example of the positive side of perfection. The 11th Annotation stresses the idea that the second week will be more profitable if the proposed fruit of the previous meditations has first been attained.

Pedroche's objection may come from an improper emphasis on knowledge as a fruit of prayer, whereas the Exercises are built on the theory that the chief fruit of prayer is in the operations of the will.²⁶ Nadal adds that even if knowledge were the chief fruit of prayer, the best approach still would be to concentrate on one thing at a time. Suppose the retreatant were given the matter of all the exercises on the first day!²⁷

Length of Each Meditation

Text. The exercitant should occupy himself for at least an hour in each of the five Exercises that will be made each day.²⁸

Censure. It is foolish and superstitious to say that an hour suffices for perfection. One hour's time may be good for some, harmful to others.²⁹

*Reply.*³⁰ Nadal's reply is summed up in one concise sentence, "I have told you a thousand times . . . in the Exercises we seek the beginnings of perfection; they don't necessarily establish a man in the state of perfection."³¹ It has been a practice in the Church, and especially in religious orders to have a definite time prescribed for prayer. The hour is urged as a minimum, but the exercitant is free to go longer. If a man isn't thought fit to make the Exercises, or if he just can't spare the time, then a half-hour or any other amount is allowed. The great value lies in the merit that can be gained from holding out for an hour if the prayer seems to be unsuccessful.

Function of Retreat Master

Text. "He who gives the Exercises must not incline him who receives them more to poverty or to a vow, than to their contraries, nor to one state or manner of life, more than to another: for although outside the Exercises we may lawfully . . . nevertheless, during the time of the Spiritual Exercises, when the soul is seeking the Divine will, it is better and more fitting that its Creator and Lord Himself communicate with the devout soul . . . so that he who gives the Exercises must himself not be influenced or inclined to one side or another, but keeping as it were in equilibrium like a balance, allow the Creator to act immediately with the creature, and the creature with its Creator and Lord."³²

*Censure.*³³ You don't allow preaching or persuasion to elect some particular good, but let the retreatant follow the interior urging of the Holy Spirit. If such counsel is profitable outside retreat, why not during retreat? To urge a man to prescind from all spiritual writing and teaching, and to commit himself to interior inspiration—this is Quietism. It is rash, scandalous, and heretical.

*Reply.*³⁴ Nadal admonishes Pedroche that he misinterprets the Exercises: ". . . must not incline . . ." is explained in the second part of the Annotation, "it is better and more fitting . . ." We have here an exposition of the function of the retreat master.

The Exercises usually are concerned with electing a state of life.³⁵ But they are not given in the same way to everyone. If a person is judged unfit for the religious life, or if he already has a vocation, we don't propose the election to him in the same way, but simply propose some meditations. If he has already decided to enter religion, we try to strengthen that resolution.

But those who are undecided and desire help can greatly profit from the Ignatian election. First of all the soul must be cleansed (Principle and Foundation, Confession, etc.) in order that the exercitant can see the truth clearly. Sinners can see the truth clearly, but only speculatively, not practically, not with the heart and affections. We seek not simply knowledge of the life to be lived, but knowledge joined with a strong

desire to take up that life. This knowledge is best sought in meditations on the life of Christ, which are adapted to making an election. During these meditations one prays for help to make the proper election.

The point of this 15th Annotation is that the director should not interfere with the free workings of grace. It is hoped that the retreatant, properly disposed, submissive to God's will, and humbly praying for divine guidance, will be rewarded with the grace to know God's will. During prayer the retreatant consults God and not the retreat master. All the spiritual wisdom of the Church is employed to launch the exercitant into his meditation. And after the meditation the director examines and judges the experience and advises accordingly; but during the actual meditation the exercitant is on his own with God. It is only *inter exercitia ipsa* that the director stays in the background. At all other times he is available for consultation and advice.

Thus the charge of Quietism is unfounded. In their prayer the Quietists neglect the ordinary natural and supernatural means and presumptuously expect private inspiration, whereas the Exercises bring to bear all the treasures of theology and human learning in disposing the exercitant to beg for grace. Finally Nadal suggests that Pedroche would better appreciate the Exercises if he spent some time in making them instead of attacking them.

Indifference

Text. "Debemus absque differentia nos habere circa res creatas omnes, prout libertati arbitrii nostri subjectae sunt et non prohibitae."³⁶ "Quod in nobis est non quaeramus sanitatem magis quam aegritudinem." "Quod in nobis est honorem contemptui non praeferamus."

Censure. In a lengthy criticism Pedroche undertakes to prove that the notion of indifference is contrary to Scripture, to the natural law, and to the end of irrational creatures.

Regarding riches, poverty, and the necessities of life, Scripture does not teach men to be indifferent, but just the opposite: ". . . and for my state of life, be neither poverty mine nor riches. Grant me only the livelihood I need."³⁷ Having food and sufficient clothing, with these let us be content."³⁸

This principle is against the natural law, which inclines men differently towards different things. The inclination to love one's friends differs from the inclination to love an enemy. Naturally one loves himself and family more than others. And a man simply is not naturally indifferent to his own life, to reputation, fame, and wealth. Since Ignatian indifference runs counter to these natural inclinations, it is against the natural law.

Thirdly, indifference is contrary to the very nature of irrational creatures, which in greatly different ways contribute to man's well-being. Consider for example the utility of the heavens, elements, farm-products, as compared with fleas, mosquitoes, and bats.

The Ignatian doctrine of indifference is based on a false premise, namely: all created things are of equal help to man in attaining his end. From this it would follow correctly but falsely that we should make ourselves indifferent to all created things.

Concerning sickness and health the natural law impels men to stay healthy and avoid sickness. Besides, good health more than sickness helps man to attain his end. Therefore men should do all they can to enjoy good health. Two considerations confirm this position. First, God made man healthy rather than infirm. Secondly, good health *per se* is useful to man; whereas only *per accidens* is sickness of any value. Therefore, contrary to Ignatius, we should wish for health rather than for sickness. Otherwise we would select food and other means calculated to impair health rather than the best means to conserve it. Likewise, against all our instincts, we would prefer the mutilation of our bodies rather than keeping them sound.

In the matter of honor and dishonor, Pedroche claims that indifference would be against the natural law and against those texts of Scripture³⁹ which extol the value of a good name.

*Reply.*⁴⁰ Before answering the objections Nadal proposes to explain and prove the notion of indifference. This he does after the manner of a thesis in Scholastic theology. Here as all through this document, Nadal wishes primarily to demonstrate with the precision of the School the orthodoxy of the proposition that has been censured.⁴¹

In his declaration of the thesis, Nadal notes that the word "*quapropter*" ("*quapropter debemus absque differentia, etc.*") indicates that indifference is a conclusion from what precedes in the Foundation. This is taken up in the proof. "*Debemus*" means *debitum ex consilio*, not *debitum ex praecepto*, because all the Exercises are a matter of counsel, and therefore one who is not indifferent in making his election does not necessarily sin, but it is better to use it. "*Circa res creatas omnes*": we are so to join our wills to God and to the foundation (end of man and of other creatures) that we desire and elect nothing except with regard to God's will. "*Absque differentia . . .*": in electing creatures we should allow no preference for one above another, insofar as it is left to the liberty of our free will to do so and is not forbidden. Besides what is positively prescribed and forbidden, God left a great number of means indifferent, in order that we might choose among them with merit to ourselves. We should not fail to be indifferent towards those things which God left indifferent.

After this exposition of terms Nadal proposes a series of proofs,⁴² from Scripture, Tradition,⁴³ and reason. Of these we will give here only a summary of the section⁴⁴ where he shows how indifference is a conclusion from the first part of the Foundation.

In the Foundation the first principle is that man was created to praise, reverence, and serve God, and by this means to save his soul. The second principle is that the other things on the face of the earth are created for man, and to help him in the prosecution of the end for which he was created. From these principles two conclusions are drawn. The first contains a rule of conduct: whence it follows that man is to make use of creatures insofar as they help him towards his end; and he ought to withdraw from them insofar as they hinder him from it. The second conclusion is a consequence of this rule on the use and avoidance of creatures: wherefore we must make ourselves indifferent to all created things . . . desiring and choosing only that which better leads us to the end for which we were created. In what is left to our free choice we should not desire or elect any means according to our own preference; but we should seek God's will in the matter, and our selection of means should be motivated by a loving desire to

fulfill God's will. We should not be universally (*in universali*) indifferent, because works of supererogation and counsel should always be praised and preferred to their contraries. The doctrine applies in particular cases, in the election of a particular means. The deciding factor in the election of means should not be our own will, but the will of God.

After these positive arguments Nadal takes up⁴⁵ the difficulties proposed by Pedroche. We shall give a summary of the replies. In Proverbs 30:8 Solomon prays God to grant him wealth and not poverty. Nadal replies that this prayer is not worthy of a person who desires to live a life of perfection. The prayer would have been better if it had proceeded from a spirit of indifference. The other text, 1 Tim. 6:8, is the same as praying for one's daily bread. This is consonant with religious poverty and with the notion of indifference.

The objections from the natural law and from the nature of irrational creatures Nadal dismisses briefly. Pedroche is speaking like a natural philosopher and not as a Christian theologian. Besides the natural law, there is the Divine Law which directs man to a supernatural end. One of the means proposed for best attaining this end is indifference. Indifference is beyond nature, it is supernatural, and is in the spirit of the Gospel. The Law of Christ, grace, the counsels, the desire to die for Christ, loving one's neighbor—no more than these is indifference against nature. All of them strengthen the natural law and subject it to God.

Charity as Motive of the Election

Text. "The first rule is that the love, which urges and causes me to choose such or such a thing, descend from on high from the love of God."⁴⁶

Censure. It is rash, scandalous, heretical to say that the election should be made out of divinely infused charity (the theological virtue). How could those without grace make an election? Besides, this is to say that an election cannot be made out of a motive of fear; which doctrine would be contrary to Scripture.⁴⁷

*Reply.*⁴⁸ Nadal has a splendid discussion on the whole idea of the election. It is a paraphrase and commentary on the

treatise on the election at the end of the Second Week. We will be able to note only some significant points.

Usually the Exercises are made with the purpose of electing a state of life. This is clear from the first annotations, from the Principle and Foundation, from the logical order of the meditations, from the rules for the discernment of spirits, and from the careful treatise on the election. Nonetheless they can be and often are given to those who are not concerned with electing a state of life. In electing those things which lead to one's end, we counsel not merely what suffices, but what is better and more useful for attaining that end. We instruct the retreatant not to work backwards, first selecting the means and then adapting them to the end; rather the end is first considered, then election is made of the means most conducive to that end. All this is done with the guidance and assistance of the retreat master.⁴⁹

There are three times in which a sound and good election may be made.⁵⁰ The first is when God so moves and attracts the will that the course of action to be followed is unmistakable. The second is when light and knowledge is obtained by experiencing consolations and desolations, and by experience of the discernment of various spirits. The third is a time of tranquility, when the soul enjoys the use of its natural powers freely and quietly. In this third time the exercitant is not moved by consolation or desolation; he freely exercises his powers of intellect and will. We can presuppose the influence of faith, hope, charity, the other virtues and gifts of the Holy Ghost. Because before the election there are exercises calculated to arouse sorrow for sin, there is confession and Holy Communion. There is a searching examination of conscience and earnest prayer guarded by continual effort to put aside all distractions. Besides, the election is given to those who are disposed for the third degree of humility. Against the background of this preparation the exercitant uses his natural powers of reasoning to make his election, and it is sure that grace is not wanting. Surely this exercise is far removed from the methods of Quietism.

. If the election is not made in the first or second time, there are two methods of making it in the third time.⁵¹ Nadal passes over the first of these two methods and treats of the second,

which is the one attacked by Pedroche. Pedroche asserts that it is heretical to say the election should be made from a motive of charity. Nadal replies that, as far as possible, charity should motivate not only the election but all our actions, and proceeds to review the place of charity in the supernatural life.⁵²

The exercitant should strive to arouse in himself an affection of divine love and make his election accordingly. But this only if it is possible. If it is impossible, he is encouraged to make the election out of any worthy motive, be it salutary fear or simply common sense.

Nadal then gives a method of election for the different classes of people without sanctifying grace. Of course the best approach is to convert them and give them all the Exercises, so that the election is made as envisioned in the book of the Exercises. However the Exercises can be adapted to every class.

*Infidels.*⁵³ If they can be brought to believe in one God and pray to Him, the Foundation can be accommodated to them. They can be given the meditations of the First Week (omitting confession and Communion), and led to the sorrow for sin which was required of infidels even before Christ's coming. There can be added considerations from the natural law and from any Catholic doctrines they may accept. At first nothing should be proposed on the Trinity or Incarnation; but the meditations on the Kingdom and the Two Standards can be given and referred to the One God. If all these exercises have been completed, an election, adapted to the individual, is in order. Our main purpose is to get them to love and beg help from the one true God.

*Heretics.*⁵⁴ They should find the Foundation and the whole of the first week acceptable. If the deadline for making the Easter duty is not near, the first week will be made without confession and Holy Communion. As with infidels, they should have a "negative" attitude towards the truths they deny as heretics, i.e., they should prescind from them for the time being and concentrate on those truths which are acceptable to them. Emphasis should be placed on sorrow for sin in the hope that abandoning the sins, which may be the root of their

errors, they will be better prepared to recognize their intellectual errors and accept the Faith.

If the heretic is not converted after the First Week he should be given meditations on the life of Christ (always prescinding from the doctrines wherein he has erred). Simple contemplations and the application of the senses are to be preferred to subtle intellectual speculations, the main purpose being to exercise the soul in humility.

If after this he still persists in his error, he may be engaged in quiet debate. The heretic will set forth his arguments, and the instructor will propose the Catholic doctrine. Then the instructor will compare the two positions and explain the proper conclusion. If this discussion is of no avail, he is to be helped by prayer.⁵⁵

*Catholics in mortal sin.*⁵⁶ There is no special problem here. They make the Exercises in order, are restored to the state of grace by the sacrament of penance, and then proceed to the election.

There are some further considerations⁵⁷ on the relation between charity and other motives for making the election. Even for these classes of people without grace, Nadal insists that charity should be the motive of the election. Actions motivated by fear, force, emotion, persuasion, are good but imperfect, and should be considered as preparation for the perfect motive of charity. Love of God should be the chief factor of our whole lives, but this does not deny a place for less perfect motives. Nor are these other motives neglected in the Exercises. Consider the second method of making an election, the section we are considering. The first rule proposes the love of God as a motive. If this is not forthcoming, the second rule uses common sense by instructing the retreatant to follow the advice he himself would give to an imaginary stranger. The third and fourth rules use fear as a motive, when the election is supposed to take place on the deathbed or on Judgment Day. By employing these less worthy motives we try to bring the retreatant to the point where love of God is the dominating consideration.

Text. “. . . so that he who chooses, feel first in himself that the love, which he has more or less for the thing he chooses, is solely for the sake of his Creator and Lord.”⁵⁸

Censure. According to Ignatius men can *feel* divine love and the theological virtue of charity. Not only can he, but he should. Furthermore he can and should *feel* that all his affections proceed from infused charity. This is against Catholic doctrine.⁵⁹

*Reply.*⁶⁰ Nadal proposes to write a complete answer to this objection, but never gets to it. The five pages he does write are mainly taken up with dialectical and grammatical arguments. Incidentally he indicates how his answer would have run. He says that the experience in question is spiritual consolation of soul which God in His infinite goodness frequently bestows. We can hope for it and seek it, but it is not necessary. We don't claim to have a sensible knowledge of infused charity; rather, this spiritual sweetness can be a sign that our actions truly spring from the love of God.

God Working in Creatures

Text. "The third point is to consider how God works and labors for me in all created things."⁶¹

Censure. Vain is this contemplation in which we think of God as laboring for us, so that the sight of His efforts and fatigue should move us to love Him. It is true that God works in creatures insofar as He makes them work for us, but this should not lead us to think of God as working Himself.⁶²

*Reply.*⁶³ Scripture speaks of God as working, and attributes to Him anger, sorrow, regret, and so forth. This does not mean that there is passion or imperfection in God. God in His goodness speaks to men in language we can understand. Thus gently but firmly He leads us to contemplate Himself and His operations. He does not wish to say that His operations are marred by imperfection; He wants to teach that certain effects come from Himself, which effects in creatures are the result of passion. Words signifying passion, when attributed to God, indicate His strength of purpose and the decisiveness of His actions. Salutory fear arises in a man when He thinks of infinite power enraged against him unless he repents of his sins.⁶⁴

Another consideration is that, when God is said to be angry, we think of Him as exhibiting a greater exercise of His power. The work of creation and conservation might be thought of as

proceeding from God's ordinary power; whereas the notions of anger, regret, labor, mercy, sorrow, etc., are used to indicate a special exercise of power.⁶⁵

This language of Scripture is also explained by the Humanity of Christ. Labor and suffering were to be experienced by God in Christ. So even in the Old Testament, the experiences of Christ were attributed by way of prophecy to God.⁶⁶

The thought of the work done by Christ should move us to love. And this is work done by God. For in Christ the Word of God suffers thirst, weariness, grief, is scourged, crowned with thorns, and crucified. These are the labors of the Word of God. Though divinity suffers nothing, still those sufferings move men to love, not only because they are the work of the Human Nature, but because through the Hypostatic Union they are the work of God. In the Incarnation, it is God who comes down to earth and becomes subject to the limitations of the flesh.

Even prescindng from the Incarnation, God can be considered as working in creatures. Though in God there cannot be sorrow, repentance, or labor, yet Scripture attributes them to God in order to inspire such emotions in men. This is what Ignatius has in mind: the contemplation of God's working in creatures shows how God loves us. Realization of this love is calculated to move men to repent of their sins, to love and serve God.

In the Foundation it was said that all other creatures on earth were created for man. The Contemplation for Obtaining Love considers (second point) the fact that the power, goodness, and love of God dwell in creatures. The third point considers *how* this divine power dwells in creatures.

Everything that God created is good; each creature has its specific goodness; and the totality of creatures is good. Compared to the goodness of God, this total perfection is insignificant. Compared to the original sum of goodness in the world, the total has been lessened by man's sin. And compared to the degree of goodness destined for man in his final end, all creation is groaning for the glorification of the just.⁶⁷ Before enjoying final beatitude men have not yet reached the degree of goodness destined for them. Life is a struggle to be freed of corruption and imperfection. God is ever present in crea-

tures, graciously assisting man in this struggle: God's power is exercised not only in creation, in the operations of the angels, and in the glorious realm of grace, but He cooperates with the least perfect creatures, with the least noble actions. He cooperates not only with actions that attain perfection, but even with actions that are imperfect, whether this imperfection spring from utility or necessity, or is the result of sin. Thus God preserves in existence and gives His concursus to the evil actions of the devil and of sinful men.

Of course God suffers no change or imperfection from this activity, which is, as it were, humble and abject. And to be moved to love of God, it is not necessary that God actually demean Himself to abject labor. The idea of St. Ignatius is that contemplation of such activity on God's part *ad modum laborantis* should stir men to greater love of their Creator. And as was said above, the Incarnation gives added significance to this consideration. God Incarnate actually did labor, suffer, and die for men.

Apparition to Our Lady

Text. First Christ appeared to the Virgin Mary.⁶⁸

*Censure.*⁶⁹ This flatly contradicts the Gospel of St. Mark, who expressly says that Jesus appeared first to Mary Magdalene.⁷⁰

*Reply.*⁷¹ Briefly here is Nadal's explanation of the apparent contradiction. Our Lord appeared first to His Mother for a special reason, the traditional argument from propriety. All the apparitions recorded in the Gospels were to furnish to the world proof of the Resurrection. The apparition to our Lady was not intended to be used as an apologetic argument. So the apparition to Mary Magdalene is rightly called the first, since it was the first of those intended to bear witness of Christ's victory over death. The editors of the *Monumenta* note that this is the opinion of Knabenbauer, following Suarez, Salmeron, Maldonatus, etc.⁷²

There are several more passages criticized by Pedroche, but they are left unanswered since Nadal didn't finish his projected work. Some of the sections he did write remain without the corrections he obviously intended to make. It is perhaps unfortunate that he didn't discuss the proposition, which ac-

ording to the editors of the *Monumenta* was most strongly censured.⁷³ It is the caution of St. Ignatius on speaking about predestination in the 14th Rule for Thinking with the Church.⁷⁴ The text Pedroche quotes is as follows: "etiam si plane compertum definitumque *esset* salutem nemini contingere, nisi praedestinato."⁷⁵ Pedroche says this implies that it is possible for the non-predestined to be saved.⁷⁶ The editors of the *Monumenta* dismiss the difficulty easily: the authentic meaning is to be had from the Spanish autograph which means, "etiam si compertum definitumque *sit*."⁷⁷

Some of the ideas we have recorded may not seem to be of great value today since many of them have become familiar through subsequent studies of the Exercises. But Nadal's stature in the early history of the Society gives prestige to this document and makes it worthy of careful consideration. It is interesting to compare the esteem in which the Exercises are held today with their former position when such objections could seriously be urged. Many of Nadal's other writings on the spiritual life are preserved in the four volumes of the *Monumenta* devoted to him, and any time given to them will be of value in understanding Ignatian spirituality.

NOTES

¹ *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu, Exercitia Spiritualia*, pp. 649-50. P. Bouvier, S.J., *L'Interprétation authentique de la méditation fondamentale dans les Exercices de saint Ignace*. (Bourges; Tardy, 1922), pp. 15-16 and note 1.

² *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu, Historia Societatis Jesu, Chronicon Polanci*, III, 335-38. This is the *Chronicon* of Polanco, volume III, and is hereafter referred to as Chron. Pol. III. See note 4.

³ Bouvier, *op. cit.* p. 16. M. Nicolau, S.J., *Jeronimo Nadal, S.J., Sus obras y doctrinas espirituales* (Madrid, 1949), pp. 79-80.

⁴ *Censura Exercitiorum S. Ignatii a P. Thoma de Pedroche, O.S. Dom., Confecta et Archiepiscopo Toletano Oblata anno 1553*. Chron. Pol. III, 501-24.

⁵ *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu, Epistolae P. Hieronymi Nadal*, IV, 820-73 (hereafter referred to as Epist. Nadal IV); and Chron. Pol. III, 525-73. The Apology of Nadal is incomplete (see Epist. Nadal IV, 820), and is published in two parts in the *Monumenta*. Anyone wishing to read the Apology in its logical order should read as follows:

Epist. Nadal IV, 820-23.

Epist. Nadal IV, 823-26.

Chron. Pol. III, 527-73.

Epist. Nadal IV, 826-73.

⁶ Chron. Pol. III, 503.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 504; *Directorium in Exercitia Spiritualia S.P.N. Ignatii*, Prooemium, ¶2.

⁸ Chron. Pol. III, 504.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 506, 533.

¹⁰ Epist. Nadal IV, 823-24; Chron. Pol. III, 528-30, 533-39.

¹¹ Chron. Pol. III, 505.

¹² *Loc. cit.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, 531.

¹⁴ Chron. Pol. III, 507. This is from the 4th Annotation, Exercises ¶4.

¹⁵ Chron. Pol. III, 507.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 539-49.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 540. This is from the 1st Annotation, Exercises ¶1.

¹⁸ Chron. Pol. III, 540. "Quid igitur quaerimus per has meditationes nisi ut ne statum vitae temere suscipiamus? Investigamus . . . qua via nobis ingrediendum sit ut ad perfectionem contendamus, ac semper quoad vita haec sit superstes, contendamus . . ."

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 543-44.

²⁰ Matt. 4:17.

²¹ Chron. Pol. III, 544.

²² *Ibid.*, 547-48.

²³ *Ibid.*, 507. This is from the 11th Annotation, Exercises ¶11.

²⁴ Chron. Pol. III, 507.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 550-58.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 555. "At nos qui fructum orationis, meditationis, contemplationis, in voluntate ejusdemque operationibus constituimus, neque qui plura intelligit eum magis profecisse ex meditatione censemus, sed qui sensum maiorem spiritus ac cordis retulit, eum sapienter versatum in oratione intelligimus."

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 555-56.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 508. This is from the 12th Annotation, Exercises ¶12.

²⁹ Chron. Pol. III, 508.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 559-62.

³¹ *Loc. cit.*

³² *Ibid.*, 509. This is Annotation 15, Exercises ¶15.

³³ Chron. Pol. III, 509.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 563-69.

³⁵ "Attinent exercitia fere ad statum vitae eligendum." *Ibid.*, 564.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 510. This and the two following sentences are from the Principle and Foundation. They are treated separately by Pedroche on pages 510, 513, 514.

³⁷ Prov. 30:8.

³⁸ 1 Tim. 6:8.

³⁹ Ecclesiasticus 41:15; Prov. 22:1; Ecclesiastes 7:2.

⁴⁰ Chron. Pol. III, 572-73; Epist. Nadal IV, 826-40. On indifference and the whole of the Foundation one might profitably consult Bouvier, *op. cit.*

⁴¹ Nicolau, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

⁴² Epist. Nadal IV, 827-37.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 833. Actually Nadal never wrote the argument "ex sacris doctoribus" in the folio pages he left blank for this purpose.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 827-28.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 837-40.

⁴⁶ Chron. Pol. III, 515. This is the first rule in the Second Method of Making a good and sound election. Exercises ¶184.

⁴⁷ Chron. Pol. III, 515.

⁴⁸ Epist. Nadal IV, 840-59.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 840-842.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 844. See the Second Week, The Election, ¶175-78.

⁵¹ Epist. Nadal IV, 846. Exercises ¶178.

⁵² Epist. Nadal IV, 846-47.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 849.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 850.

⁵⁵ "Oratione juvandus est." I suppose Nadal means prayer by the retreatant and by the retreat master.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 850-51.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 851-53.

⁵⁸ Chron. Pol. III, 516. Exercises ¶184.

⁵⁹ Chron. Pol. III, 516. Also pp. 522-23.

⁶⁰ Epist. Nadal IV, 855-59.

⁶¹ Chron. Pol. III, 518. Exercises ¶236. This is from the third point of the Contemplation for obtaining love.

⁶² Chron. Pol. III, 518-19.

⁶³ Epist. Nadal IV, 859-70.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 860-61.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 861.

⁶⁶ *Loc. cit.*

⁶⁷ Rom. 8:22.

⁶⁸ Chron. Pol. III, 519. Exercises ¶299.

⁶⁹ Chron. Pol. III, 519-20.

⁷⁰ Mark 16:9.

⁷¹ Epist. Nadal IV, 870-73.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 872, note 2.

⁷³ Chron. Pol. III, 336.

⁷⁴ Exercises ¶367.

⁷⁵ This wording is found in some older editions of the Exercises. Chron. Pol. III, 336, note 2.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 523.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 336.

HISTORICAL NOTES

THE HURON SODALITY OF 1653

The first Sodality of the Blessed Virgin, in what is now Canada and the United States, was that established three hundred years ago among the Huron Indians on the Island of Orleans, near Quebec. This *Congrégation* was understood to be, and was fully described as an authentic Sodality by its founder, P. Pierre Chaumonot, by the Superior of the Mission of New France, P. Francois Le Mercier, and by the other missionaries at Quebec who had been Sodalists in Old France. Affiliation with the *Prima Primaria* was impossible under the circumstances and conditions. But this Huron Sodality incorporated in its aims and procedure the Rules of the Sodality as then organized in France.¹

This Huron "Congregation of Our Lady," in its inception and in its short history, is fully described by P. Chaumonot and P. Le Mercier in the *Relations* of 1653-54 under the chapter heading: "De la Première Congrégation de Nostre Dame parmi les Sauvages." Frequent references to it and the Sodalists are made in the subsequent *Relations*. In like manner P. Du Creux, who often supplements the *Relations* with information gleaned from the returned missionaries, speaks of this Congregation as "the Sodality of Holy Mother which was established for the first time, this year, in the Island of Orleans." These statements would negative the assertion, sometimes made, that there existed a Sodality of some sort during the latter 1640's in the Huron homeland.²

When one considers the strength and the popularity of the Sodality in the Jesuit colleges, churches, and Professed Houses in France, it seems rather strange that the Jesuits at Quebec had not organized the pious habitants and officials in a Sodality prior to 1653. Yet the first reference to such a Congregation is that contained in the *Jesuit Journal* for 1657: "On February 14, Ash Wednesday, P. Poncet held, in his room, the first meeting of the Congregation of Our Lady. Twelve were present." This would confirm the statement made above, that the first and pioneer Sodality in North America was that of the Huron Indians.³

The founder of the Sodality among the Hurons was P. Pierre Joseph-Marie Chaumonot, S.J., who, as will be told later, came down to Quebec with the Huron refugees in 1650 and established them on the Island of Orleans the following year. He had as his assistant, P. Leonard Garreau, who also accompanied the Huron Christians in their flight from their native country. It was their hope, as it was that of P. Le Jeune, as far back as 1632, that a Christian community of natives could be modelled on the famed Reductions of Paraguay. The conditions for such an experiment seemed to be ideal in 1651 on the Island of Orleans.⁴

The members of the Sodality were the Hurons who had survived the ruin of their nation and had migrated to Quebec with the certainty that there among the French they would find sustenance against famine, escape from the epidemics, and security and protection against their Iroquois conquerors. Most of them belonged to the prominent and most devout Huron families. They were, likewise, the most loyal and faithful to the Blackrobe missionaries. For more than ten years they had been stricken down by blow after blow and had suffered everything except death. They had embraced the Faith sincerely and were not only docile in their spirit, but avid to gain heaven after the imminent death that threatened them. Within the next five years death would claim many of them, through disease and through torture in the Iroquois fires. Almost all of those who escaped death, would be merged in the cabins of their Iroquois masters.

I. The Hurons Come To Quebec

The earthly doom of the Huron race, under the Providence of God, seems to have begun with the advent of the missionaries among them and seems to have been completed with their full acceptance of the Faith. The progressive deterioration of this once dominant and proud people was caused by a succession of epidemics and a weakening of morale in war-pursuits. Through all of these years of disaster the converts to Catholicism grew in number and influence. By 1649 the missionaries could claim that the Hurons were a Catholic people, even though a segment remained pagan.

In March of that year after the martyrdoms of Jean de

Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant, and through the following summer, the Huron homeland was so completely devastated that not a Huron village remained and not a Huron dared to tread the ancestral trails. The population had been dwindling through a decade, so that, in this fateful year, it may be conjectured that there were only about ten thousand who had escaped death and remained in their own country.⁵

By the Autumn of 1649 the survivors had dispersed in all directions. Some took refuge with the Neutrals, Petuns, and Eries, only to find death and ruin when these nations were massacred by the Iroquois. Other large family groups took canoe to the north of Lake Huron and attempted settlements about Michilimackinac. Many sought safety in the long journey to the south and joined themselves with the Andastes, or Susquehannocks, in what is now Pennsylvania. Still others penetrated to the west and, uniting with the fugitives of their own racial stock, came to be known as the Wyandots.⁶

In utter desolation and profound despair P. Paul Ragueneau decided to abandon the mission center of Sainte-Marie in June, 1649 and to build a new Sainte-Marie on the Island of St. Joseph, separated from the mainland by a narrow channel. Here, frenetically, he hoped to salvage the Christian Hurons and to establish a rallying place for those who had fled to the four points of the compass. Before the winter the French had erected a stone fort on the island and named it Sainte-Marie II. About three hundred families, from the three major Huron nations and from the adopted clans and villages, joined the Blackrobes and built their longhouses near the French fort.⁷

The twelve months that followed were filled with incredible horror. The French and the Hurons lived in perpetual dread of further Iroquois incursions. Famine gripped them, and they lived on acorns and roots, though the Blackrobes shared what little food they had. Influenza and other diseases spread rapidly, especially among the women and children who had been starving for months. It may be surmised that the deaths numbered well over six or seven hundred. Through this winter of hopelessness, desolation, and death, however, these Huron Catholics held tenaciously to their Faith in God and put their full trust in the Blackrobes and their French aides.⁸

In the late Spring of 1650 P. Ragueneau realized, with a

heart that was breaking, that Sainte-Marie II on St. Joseph's Island could not be maintained and that the Huron Mission must be abandoned. Some Huron elders and chiefs petitioned him to lead the remnants of their people down to the protection of the French at Quebec. The exodus from the Island of Saint Joseph was executed in dread and danger on June 10, 1650. Sixty Frenchman, including thirteen priests, four laybrothers, the *donnés* and workmen, bade farewell forever to the land sanctified by the blood of the martyrs and shrouded the glorious hopes of planting the Cross of Christ in the countless villages of the unknown nations of the West.⁹

The six to seven hundred Hurons, "starved skeletons," according to P. Ragueneau, who had survived the winter, were of divided opinion. About three hundred, in family groups, were determined to undertake the nine hundred mile water journey down the Ottawa and St. Lawrence to seek a haven in Quebec rather than to face the hazards of the blood-thirsty Iroquois. About the same number resolved to remain on the Island of St. Joseph and, as long as possible, defy the Iroquois in the French fort. If they found this impossible, they promised, under the leadership of Stephen Annaotaha, the protector of P. De Brébeuf, to migrate to Quebec.¹⁰

After fifty days of labor and fear down the rapids of the Ottawa, the Huron flotilla beached the canoes at Quebec on July 28, 1650. The three hundred and more Hurons, though received with Christ-like charity, created a severe economic as well as sociological problem. Quebec at that time counted a permanent population of not more than four hundred *habitants* and officials, struggling to support themselves by arduous labor in their cleared fields, receiving insufficient aid from France, and impoverished by the loss of the fur trade, due to the Iroquois scourge.¹¹

The Hurons set up their camp on the hillside below the Hôtel-Dieu. The Hospital Sisters, the Ursulines and those of the colonists who were able, gave daily rations of food to about one hundred Hurons. The Jesuits, whose resources that year were comparatively slender, had to find means for feeding the other two hundred during the entire winter. The mouths increased during the autumn and winter by new groups who wandered down to Quebec.

To end this intolerable situation for the Hurons as well as for the French, P. Ragueneau, as the acting superior, and P. Chaumonot, as the Huron pastor, believed that they had found a perfect solution. They contracted for the sale, or more properly, a permanent lease of a tract of land on the Island of Orleans. Here they planned to establish a self-supporting Huron colony. The site, still called *l'anse du Fort*, was on the south-western tip of the Island, five or six miles below Quebec and in clear vision from the Rock. Part of the land was already cleared and ready for sowing corn. The cove opened into the St. Lawrence where there was fishing; and the back country, as well as the neighboring river bank, offered a great expanse of forests for hunting. The place, it was thought, could be easily defended by the French from Iroquois ravages.

The contract was signed on March 19, 1651, and on March 29 P. Chaumonot with two *donnés*, Eustache Lambert and Le Pierre, took possession. By April 18 they had staked out thirty holdings of the cleared fields, the largest being only half an arpent, the remainder ranging from twenty to forty perches. By May the squaws and girls were busily planting their corn and the men were erecting their longhouses according to the traditional style. The French *donnés* and workmen were engaged in building a French house for the priests and their helpers.¹²

Wrote P. Chaumonot:

When we arrived in Quebec, these poor strangers were entrusted to my care, and I was responsible for them all one winter. In the Spring (1651) I took them over to the Island of Orleans, a league and a half below Quebec, to some land which we had. There we made them fell trees and till the fields, and the maize that they sowed flourished marvellously. Apart from the French, whom we employed and paid for this work, we engaged also these savages, that they might help themselves in the following way.

They had no means of maintenance and every day we used to give them, as charity, bread and sagamite, as they call it, which is soup made with peas, rice, or maize, and seasoned with meat or fish. They received these rations according to the amount of work they did. At first some of them grumbled, thinking that we were taking advantage of their toil. But when they saw that, after having fed and clothed them at our expense ever since their arrival in Quebec, we did not reserve to ourselves one inch of the land newly cleared at our expense, but that, on the contrary, we apportioned it

equally among all their families, they heaped blessings on our heads.¹³

In his *Relation*, dated September 21, 1654, P. Le Mercier relates:

When we left the Hurons in the year 1650, after the country had been laid waste by the cruelty of the Iroquois, our design was to take away with us the Christian families that could accompany us, and thus to save at least some remnants of a people that God had called to the Faith and who, one day, should serve as seed for restoring Christianity to all these regions . . . Those who followed us found with us salvation of soul and body. In order to give them a fixed abode—since the Hurons are not a nomadic nation—they were assigned a section of the Island of Orleans, separated from the French and in sight of Quebec, about two leagues below it. We had to feed them, both adults and children, for the first two years, and to build them a church and a fort to protect them against the invasion of the Iroquois, the fear of whom followed them everywhere. It was necessary to furnish them with kettles and hatchets, and even to provide clothing for the greater number of the families; and we have been obliged to continue this expenditure for a great many poor, sick and disabled persons. In short, we are their fathers, mothers, and all.¹⁴

During 1651 other bands of Hurons who had been wandering from place to place came down to the St. Lawrence and settled, some at Three Rivers and the majority on the Island of Orleans. The largest of these caravans was that which had remained on St. Joseph's Island, had removed up the Bay to Manitoulin Island, and finally, under Annaotaha, resolved to put themselves under French protection. It may be estimated that these additional souls numbered about six hundred. All of these, also, had to be fed, clothed, equipped and settled on Orleans.

In his *Relation*, dated October 4, 1652, P. Ragueneau records:

We have had a redoubt, or kind of fort, built to defend them against the Iroquois; it is about the same size as the one that was among the Hurons at the place called Ahouendae. We have also had a very neat chapel erected, and a little house for our own lodging. Our good neophytes' cabins are very near us, under the shelter of the Fort.¹⁵

During the next few years the Huron Colony was prosperous, well-behaved, and as happy as it could be under the Iroquois threat. These implacable demons had pursued the Huron

fugitives through all the western areas in which they sought haven. They were now inflexibly determined, by war, deceit, and every form of perfidy, to subdue the Hurons who clustered about Montreal and Three Rivers, and who settled on Orleans. Their ultimate aim was to force the Hurons to unite with them as "one people of a single cabin," or to exterminate them. Another enemy that had plagued the Hurons ever since the arrival of the French among them was that of disease and pestilence. During the first few years on Orleans influenza, or pleurisy, as it was called, was widespread, and caused many to die, despite the sacrificial care of the Nuns at the Hôtel-Dieu.¹⁶

The Faith of the Hurons deepened and their piety expanded marvellously under the fatherly care and tutelage of P. Chau-monot and P. Garreau. According to P. Le Mercier: "Devotion and faith reign in that little redoubt. In addition to the public prayers and daily Mass in the chapel, with the reception of Communion on Sundays and Feast Days, prayers were recited in the cabins, morning and evening."¹⁷

It cannot be assumed, as the *Relations* seem to imply, that this was a colony of saints. For the most part it is true the ancient superstitions were not practiced openly, and dreams were no longer the ruling destiny of their existence. But the transplanted savages brought with them not only the filthy mode of life to which they were accustomed in their former villages, but also their savage natures, which were still prone to sexual promiscuity, and were ingrained with deceit, thievery, and the spirit of vengeance. However, it must be understood that these people had been in close contact with the French culture for only a little more than twenty years, and that the renunciation of paganism and the conversion to Catholicism, of even the oldest few, did not date back more than a decade and a half.

II. The Establishment of The Sodality

In his *Relation* of 1653-54 P. Le Mercier describes the Sodality:

What has most promoted the spirit of fervor in this Huron Colony is the devotion they have adopted during the past year to honor the Virgin. Our Fathers, who have charge of the Colony, in order

to inspire its members with greater zeal, have formed a Congregation, to which they admit only those men and women who lead exemplary lives and who, by their virtue, render themselves worthy of this grace.

At first the Congregation consisted of only ten or twelve persons, whose fervor was redoubled when they were chosen in preference to the others, and were expected to support the dignity of the exalted title, "Servant of the Virgin!"¹⁸

The prefect and his assistants were chosen by the members, "wisely chosen," adds P. Le Mercier, for they were men of rare and exceptional virtue, filled with holy zeal. The membership was rigorously selective and limited, for the founder, P. Chaumonot, knew and adhered to the Rules of the Sodality, as followed in France. This selectivity, of course, had its immediate repercussions. Many otherwise pious souls complained that they were not admitted, and demanded of P. Chaumonot the reason for their exclusion. He told them the reasons very frankly. To one he pointed out that he was negligent in attending the public prayers. To another he stated that he did not take sufficient care in nourishing the spirit of God in his family. To a woman he said that she was too quick-tempered; and to another, that she was a scandal-monger. They accepted the strictures humbly and endeavored to remedy their defects and make themselves worthy of being "Servants of the Virgin." According to the *Relation*, "from month to month, our Fathers are obliged to receive many of those who deserve it. They [the Hurons] accept their membership with inconceivable delight, since they fondly hope that, being worthy children of the Virgin, they will be sure of salvation."¹⁹

The regular meetings of the Sodality were held on Sunday and Feast Days. At break of day the chapel bell was sounded to call the members of the Sodality, "the elite of the Faithful," to their early morning devotions. At this assembly, which lasted about an hour, P. Chaumonot relates: "Instead of the Office of the Blessed Virgin, which they do not know how to recite, they chant their Beads in two choruses—the men on one side and the women on the other, the latter being the more numerous." Before beginning the recitation of the Rosary, either P. Chaumonot, or the Prefect, Chiakha Oachonk, or the Assistant Prefects, Louis Athàratou and Chaose Sondeaskon, reminded the Sodalists that they were under eyes of Marie

(Warie). They then sang the prayers of the first decade in a Huron rhythm, lustily. Following the recitation the leader delivered an exhortation, which was followed by a period of silence. Then they began the second decade, followed by another sermon and silence. And thus through the five decades.

A few examples of the nature of these discourses are given by P. Chaumonot. The leader would declare that the true worship of the Virgin consisted in hating sin, and that this must be the distinguishing mark of a child of Mary. At another time he would orate:

My brothers, it is when we are tempted that the Blessed Virgin discovers those who really love her and pay her respect. When tempted, let us say to Warie: "Holy Virgin, I love your Son Jesus more than this pleasure which is tempting me." If you continue to be tempted repeat the same words, and remember this: "Whoever loves Jesus cannot love sin."

Before the end the Huron preacher would counsel them as to how pleased the Virgin would be if she saw that they did not forget her when they left the chapel. He exhorted the Sodalists that, when they went out they were "to say repeatedly from the bottom of your hearts: 'Holy Virgin, I wish to serve you.'"²⁰

At a later hour on Sunday morning the Sodalists attended the public Mass for all the adults at which many of them received Communion. At this Mass the women, who had very beautiful voices, as the missionaries affirmed, chanted in Huron the *Gloria*, the Creed, the *Pater Noster*, etc. A Mass for the children was celebrated later in the morning and was followed by instructions and catechism lessons, with small presents for those who excelled.

About noon the Sodalists once more assembled in the chapel to hear a sermon and to recite the Rosary, after each decade chanting a Huron hymn. The Sodalist's Sunday closed about dusk when all the members gathered again for the recitation of the Litany of Jesus or Our Lady, for the singing of hymns, and for Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament.²¹

After describing the meeting of the Sodality, P. Du Creux, in his *History of Canada*, comments:

All this is very artless, but it has a greater effect upon the hearts of the faithful than the stately eloquence so much sought by

the Sodalities in Europe. In their simplicity the Hurons are close to Him whose conversation is with the simple. All they desire is to be holy and without spot. In this they are so favored by the Lord that as soon as they become enrolled in the Sodality, whether they be maids or matrons, evil men abandon all hope of leading them astray.²²

Several instances of the strength and purity of the women Sodalists are instanced by P. Chaumonot and included in the *Relation* written by P. Le Mercier. When a dissolute man, attracted by a girl, was told, "She is a Daughter of Mary," he knew he could not gain her. When improper advances were made, a girl would say: "I am a Daughter of the Blessed Virgin." A Sodalist, roused to anger very justly, was calmed when they reminded her: "A Daughter of Mary does not take revenge." The favor most frequently asked by the Sodalists who, with all the Hurons, lived under the unmoving cloud of death, was that the Blessed Virgin would ensure them the grace of a blessed death and an eternity in Heaven.²³

The first Sodalist to die, from the so-called pleurisy, was a woman about thirty years of age, Madeleine Anderosa. Her only delight was in reciting the Rosary and meditating about God. If P. Chaumonot or P. Garreau inquired as to how she felt, she would say: "My brother, do not trouble yourself about this feeble body which will decay. Speak to me about God; that alone gives me comfort." Shortly before her death, she cried out, as if in ecstasy: "My good Jesus! Oh, how beautiful You are. You have pity on me! You take me to Heaven, for I am going to die."²⁴

Another Sodalist to die of the deadly influenza was the famous Armand Jean Andehoua. He was one of the pioneer seminarists who attended the school for Huron boys conducted by the Martyr, P. Antoine Daniel. At the age of eighteen he was baptized at Quebec in 1638. He became influential in the councils, even though a young man, and with his wife, Felicité, and his children, migrated to Quebec and settled on the Island of Orleans. Of him, P. Chaumonot wrote:

For seventeen years he had never been untrue to his baptismal promises. After the establishment of the Congregation, he had even redoubled his fervor. Every day he heard two Masses, however severe the midwinter cold might be. He heard them with his hands clasped, kneeling on his bare knees, with a respectful devotion that had nothing of the savage in it.

When taken sick, he asked to be received in the Hôtel-Dieu, "in order to be with the 'Holy Maidens'—for thus the Hurons designate the Nuns." Shortly before his death at the age of thirty-six, he exclaimed: "I have no regret in departing from this life. I have no fear of death, because Jesus will have pity upon me."²⁵

When the "violent fevers" attacked the villagers on Orleans, "the leading members of the Sodality visited and consoled the sick," P. Chaumonot related, "and their visits were more agreeable to them [the sick] than were my own visits. Our members of the Congregation, in their own sickness, manifested the same piety that they recommended in others." In the pagan days the medicine-man and his followers ranted and roared about the sick. In this Catholic Colony the choir of women chanted the sacred hymns for the comfort of the afflicted.

One of the Sodalists named Andrew was wounded in the leg by a musket-ball at the time of the Iroquois attack in May. He contracted tuberculosis and, "ripe for Paradise," died on December 31, 1656. "Great was the honor accorded him by the whole village and especially by the Congregation," records the *Relation*. Groups of eight Sodalists kept constant vigils of prayer by his body, and "the leading members of the Congregation brought to his cabin a gift of a moose-skin, beautifully painted, as a burial robe; they also supplied the food for a burial feast to all who were invited."²⁶

The pioneer missionary, P. Le Jeune, then in France, includes in the *Relation* of 1656-57, a letter he received from one of the missionaries, probably P. Chaumonot.

Our savages are doing well [the letter states]. It seems to me that they manifest much more Faith and piety than usual, especially those who belong to the Congregation, who number eighty—*probati omnes testimonio fidei et pietatis*. They observed the time of Advent with special fervor; each one endeavored to make more solid progress in virtue. Many, who considered one Mass too short to satisfy their devotion, heard two Masses every day. Some came to pay homage to the Blessed Sacrament in the morning, before the hour of prayer; others came regularly at noon. Neither the cold nor the bad weather could dampen their fervor.²⁷

III. The Huron Sodalists Address the Paris Sodalists

For many years the Sodality of Our Lady attached to the Professed House of the Society of Jesus in Paris had, as one of its charitable objectives, the support of the Huron Mission. This help the Sodalists intensified when they learned of the catastrophe which had fallen upon the Hurons in 1649-50. At this time P. Charles Lalemant, the founder and first superior of the Mission of New France and later its procurator, was the superior of the Paris Professed House and, undoubtedly, the director of the Sodality. This included in its membership some of the highest nobles of France and personages most prominent in Paris, many of them graduates of the renowned Clermont College of Paris, and that of La Flèche, where reposed the heart of Henri IV. Their contribution of funds and goods must have been extraordinarily generous in 1652-53 and must have stirred the deepest gratitude in the hearts of P. Chaumonot and P. Le Mercier, who still had the problem of supporting the Hurons.²⁸

The Hurons themselves, well aware of the generous charity of their benefactors, wished to express their gratitude and to fulfill their immemorial protocol of exchanging present for present. The Sodality leaders, who were also the civil chiefs, held Council during the summer of 1654 as to the nature and the form of the acknowledgement to the Paris Sodalists. They voted to send a "wampum" collar, such as they employed in their ritual of treaty-making and in their messages of goodwill to other nations. The beads for the collar, or broad belt, were to be taken from the treasury of the Sodality. The design for the collar and its size were determined by the Prefect and his Assistants, the execution of it was left to the women.²⁹

The treasury of the Sodality was composed of the porcelain beads contributed by the Sodalists who had the custom of setting aside one bead for each Rosary they recited during the week. Each Sunday the beads were applied to the relief of the poor and needy. It would appear, from a statement by P. Le Mercier, that that summer the treasury was rich. He relates:

Some Huron women joined in a contest as to who paid the greatest honor to the Blessed Virgin, both by exemplary living and by addressing prayers to her, especially by reciting the Rosary . . . In

order that the frequency with which they recited it might be to their good Mother's honor, they put aside each time one of their pearls or diamonds—these are their porcelain beads . . . The Father [Chaumonot] has noted down on paper that these pearls amounted to five thousand, counting from the day of the Assumption to the fifteenth of October. I am sure that not all those who are enrolled in the Confraternity of the Rosary [in France] recite their chaplets as often as do these good neophytes.³⁰

An ordinary collar or belt usually consisted of twelve hundred beads. For very special purposes it might be double that number. In this case, with the fruits of the contest, the collar may have been an enormous one of five thousand beads. The background, or field, was white. Instead of the customary geometrical pattern of dark beads, this collar carried the words *Ave Maria Gratia Plena*. According to the intention of the Huron Sodalists, it was to be a votive offering that the Paris Sodalists would lay before the statue of Our Lady, their patroness.

With their votive collar they sent a dedicatory prayer to the Virgin, composed by themselves and written in Huron by P. Chaumonot on a sheet of birch bark. In Huron the prayer begins:

Tsendaon de Aronhiaie esendagerati annonhias koui essan-nontenk . . . Translated into English, it supplicates the Blessed Virgin as follows:

Accept, Lady of Heaven, this gift offered to you by the chosen ones of your Huron servants. It is a collar full of mysteries, composed of our most precious gems. It has a heart and a voice, and brings you a greeting like unto the greeting of the Angel Gouriell [Gabriel] in the days of old. We have nothing of greater value, nothing dearer to our hearts to offer you so that, by your help, we may gain heaven.³¹

In order to explain the votive offering and prayer, and to express their personal compliments to their benefactors of the Paris Sodality, they asked Echon (P. Chaumonot) to "paint" their words. Their letter is, in reality, a speech or address made by the prefect, Oachonk, or the eloquent Taieron. P. Chaumonot, who was a genius in Indian languages, transcribed the letter, quite fittingly, on the Indian paper, thin lamina of birch bark. In the *Relation* he translates into French what he calls the "tenor" of the letter.

The Huron original begins:

Ennnhieik ourochen ata atiaou endeontera aawenhon aiawa-chienda

The conclusion, with the signatures of the officers, is as follows:

Awatakhen te etsinnonronk wannionek awa Chiakha Oachonk warue harihwa sennik Louis Atharatou annen Chaose Sondeaskon.

The English translation reads:

My brothers, we offer you our respect honestly and without artifice. It was only a year ago that our hearts were opened. Then, for the first time, it occurred to us to venerate Mary, the Mother of Jesus. At that very time we learned that there were bands of pious men everywhere in the world ready to say in their hearts to her: "Mother of Jesus, thou seest my heart, thou seest I do not lie when I say, Mary, I desire to honor you."

We have been told that Paris is a very fine village, and that you, who are very much honored among men, in turn, take special glory in the veneration of Mary. You have gone before us; we wish to follow you. The Mother of Jesus who often turns her eyes on the poor, has impelled you not to neglect the needy; and so, for many years you have sent us costly gifts.

We have met together and we have said: "What shall we, in turn, send to these mighty Servants of the Virgin? They do not need our trifles; they are rich. We shall send them a collar of wampum, in which are written the first three [*sic*] words of the greeting sent from Heaven by the angels to the Virgin." The number of beads in the collar show how many times we have recited the Rosary in the space of two moons. Moreover, each black bead has the value of two white beads.

Present this belt to her and say that we have resolved to venerate her. We should like to honor her as much as you do. But we are not clever enough to serve her in the same way. We shall honor her more when the Mother prays to her Son to give us the hearts and minds to worship her. If this comes to pass, we know that it will please you as much as it pleases us, because you venerate her more than we could.

A laborer rejoices when he sees all the ears of corn ripening in his field. In time of harvest he is sad if some ears do not ripen. The Virgin Mother of God regards you as grain growing ripe in her fields for the joys of heaven. She looks upon us as ears not yet ripe; as yet, we do not have sense, and we have only begun to venerate her; for this she is sad. You who love her, beg Jesus to make all the grain in the Virgin's field to grow ripe soon, and to ripen as she wishes.

When you recite the Rosary, remember us. We, in turn, will remember you. We are brothers, since the Mother of Jesus is our Mother as well as your Mother. She loves us, and we wish to love her.

We have asked Echon to write to you in our name. For, though we can speak, we do not know how to put down on paper what we think.

James Oachonk, Prefect of the Sodality, Louis Taieron and Joseph Sondouskon, Assistants, present their respects and sincere greetings.

The thin sheet of birch bark was folded in the form of an envelope, and on the reverse side was addressed:

To Messieurs, the Members of the Congregation of Our Lady in the Professed House of the Society of Jesus in Paris.

From the Christian Hurons of the Congregation of Sainte-Marie, on the Island of Orleans, near Quebec, in New France.³²

The porcelain collar and the documents were included in the bundle of mail sent by P. Le Mercier in the ships that sailed for France in October. It was, presumably, received by P. Charles Lalemant and, though no record is extant, it may be deduced from other evidence that the Paris Sodalists were deeply touched by the Huron gift and duly presented the votive offering to Our Lady. The prayer and the letter were published in Huron and French by the famous printer of the day, Sebastien Cramoisy, in the *Relation* of 1653-54, about February, 1655 and, according to an unfriendly critic, "were circulated through all France and drew tears of devotion from all."

To complete the record, it seems well, but with regrets, to quote the bitter strictures by the Recollect, P. Christian Le Clercq, on the *Jesuit Relations* as a whole and, in particular, on the Huron Sodality of Our Lady. Le Clercq's history, published in 1691, had, as its express purpose, to exalt the labors of the Recollects, the first missionaries to New France, and to destroy the credit and the prestige of their Jesuit successors.

In a sardonic attack on the *Relations*, with special reference to that of 1646, which the English translator, John Gilmary Shea, characterizes as a "burlesque," Pere Christian rants:

It is wonderful to learn of . . . the faith of the Hurons, so ardent that it could not be contained in one village; they pass to neighboring nations. We see among them a kind of martyrdom, evangelical preachers, fanciful prophets who announced divine vengeance,

fathers who resist children, husbands converted at the entreaties of their wives. We hear of some who roll in the snow and of others who make a bed of live coals and firebrands in order to extinguish concupiscence. They receive extraordinary impressions of the spirit of God, in view of His intimate presence, in prayer, communion, and the fervent exercise of virtue. They believe without difficulty the most sublime mysteries of religion. They support the truth in dogmatical disputes with their still heathen countrymen. So many favors of a visible, miraculous Providence, of tangible blessings, we find expressed in all these *Relations!* Visions, revelations, prodigies are not exempted.

Continuing this diatribe, P. Christian ridicules the Huron Sodality on the Island of Orleans:

All France has admired and accepted with singular edification the wonderful operations of grace on the Huron Church in the Island of Orleans; the fervor, regularity, uniform assiduity of the Indians; how the Sodality of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers was in such great favor among them that, in 1654, they had already eighty Sodalists. The Letter of Association of this Indian Sodality, written to the Sodality of the Professed House at Paris, was circulated through all France and drew tears of devotion from all.³³

A very restrained answer to P. Christian was given by P. Francis X. Charlevoix, S.J., who first arrived in New France about fourteen years after the publication of Le Clercq's book, and who later wrote a most comprehensive history of New France. Writing of the Huron Christians on the Island of Orleans, he attests:

As they were the flower of the Christians of that nation, as they had not abandoned the Lord in the miseries wherewith He had permitted them to be afflicted, and as they had borne the scandal of the Cross with patience and resignation, in a way especially admirable in neophytes, it is easy to conceive their fervor at a time when everything led them to gratitude toward Him who giveth death and who quickeneth—always for the good of His elect. Besides, they lacked no assistance which could serve to nourish their piety.

The most fervent were formed into two Sodalities, one for men and the other for women. These Congregations produced among those fervent Indians the same fruits of holiness that were then admired in all the parts of the world in which such Congregations were established.

This we say, notwithstanding what is written by an author [Le Clercq] who had every reason to distrust his information, and whose profession should have rendered him more reserved in speaking of things about which he could not possibly be informed.³⁴

IV. The Dispersion of The Huron Sodalists

The five nations of the Iroquois Confederacy that had decreed doom upon their blood relations, the Hurons, during the 1640's resolved anew in their councils in the early 1650's to pursue the Huron refugees no matter where they might find asylum. They were determined either to exterminate the Hurons or to compel them to unite with themselves in Iroquois villages and thus form, as they said, "one cabin." The most numerous and cohesive group of Hurons was that on the Island of Orleans, together with a smaller colony near Three Rivers. These became the bloody objectives of all the Five Nations, and for the French, as well as for the Hurons and Algonquins, the St. Lawrence became a river of blood.

Nevertheless, the Iroquois, with cunning sagacity and hiding their persistent unity of purpose, held councils with the French and protested by oratory and pledges that they desired peace. Foremost in these councils were the Mohawks and the Onondagas, with the western Senecas also making their bids. While holding public council with the French and their Indian allies and inviting them to send Blackrobes to their villages, the Iroquois were secretly negotiating with the Hurons to separate themselves from the French and to migrate as a body to the Iroquois country. Fearing with good reason the destruction of the French colonies in New France and desiring nothing more ardently than peace with these implacable enemies, the French agreed to release the Hurons, if they should so wish, and sent P. Le Moyne on an embassy to the Mohawks, and P. Chaumonot, with other missionaries and a large party of Frenchmen, to inaugurate a French settlement among the Onondagas.

During all these specious peace-talks the Mohawks especially were committing sneak-attacks on the French, Algonquins, and Hurons, to such an extent that no one, whether near his home or along the river and trails, felt secure from captivity or death. Thus, on April 25, 1656 more than three hundred Mohawks talked peace at Three Rivers but concealed their purpose of attacking the Hurons on Orleans. Though diverted at this time from their objective by P. Le Moyne, they did not abandon it.

On May 19, during the night, forty canoes of Mohawk braves

slid silently past Quebec, and the warriors secreted themselves in the woods about the Huron colony on Orleans. On the next morning, Saturday, the Hurons, after attending Mass at dawn as usual, were walking leisurely toward their corn-fields. They were frozen by the Iroquois war-screech and were attacked by their war-painted enemies on all sides. Some were killed, many were huddled together as prisoners, and some few gained safety within the palisaded fort.³⁵

Our loss [reported P. Le Mercier] consisted of seventy-one persons, including a large number of young women who were the flower of that Colony . . . Among the captive Hurons were eleven members (men) of the Congregation who, in the extremity of their misery, did not lose the spirit of piety. One of them was James Oachonk, then the prefect of the Sodality, and the most fervent of all our Christians. When that good Christian found himself a prisoner, instead of singing of his warlike achievements, he took for the theme of his song what he had most at heart.³⁶

The victorious band of Iroquois, with their prisoners, arrogantly paddled past Quebec, without any effort of the French to attack it. They camped on the south shore of the St. Lawrence, opposite Three Rivers. There they began the preliminary tortures on Oachonk and some of the other men. During these Oachonk chanted:

Do not pity me! Do not look upon me as unfortunate! I do not fear the fires which my blood can extinguish. I fear only the fire of hell which never dies out. This life means nothing to me, for my thoughts carry me to heaven.

According to P. Le Mercier: "He sang this chant in so powerful a voice that he made himself heard at a distance of nearly a league and a half [*sic*], and the water and wind brought his words to our ears."³⁷

P. Chaumonot, who had left his Orleans Hurons on May 12 in order to go on the Iroquois-Onondaga Mission, was at Three Rivers. He wrote to P. Le Mercier:

I have seen the flower of the Huron Sodality carried away into captivity by the pagans, together with many others whose devotion would appear extraordinary even in a cloister. Praise be to Him forever, since *bene omnia fecit*. I had the happiness of visiting them three times in the Iroquois camp, about half a league from Three Rivers. I confessed them all, after making them pray to God . . . Among them was a young woman, eighteen years of age, named Agnes Aoendoens, who was baptized by the late P. Jean

de Brébeuf. I heard her confession and, truly, I have never seen any one more innocent. A person shut up in a cloister could not better preserve her piety. In short, I cannot find words to express to you all that passed on that occasion.³⁸

The Hurons were conducted to the Mohawk country. All were spared and given to Mohawk families except six of the leaders, who were condemned to torture and death. One of these was James Oachonk, the prefect of the Sodality and the civil chief. Another was the war chief, Joachim Ondakont. This latter was "a great warrior, whose life had been but a series of combats and victories." He was already burned up to his waist, his fingers had been cut and mashed, and he was covered with blood. He was to be killed the next day. But during the night, though guarded in a cabin by fifty Mohawk braves, he escaped, and naked, burned and wounded as he was, without food, he wandered through the forest for fifteen days, until, fortunately, on the shores of Lake Ontario he met P. Chaumonot and the French party on its way to the Onondagas. He related the story of the heroism, the zeal, the spiritual defiance of Oachonk during the fiery and bloody tortures. "Previous to his misfortune," added P. Le Mercier, "this man's fervor had relaxed and he seemed to be only half a Christian." After witnessing the saintly example of Oachonk, "he was so happily changed that he cannot sufficiently bless God, or sufficiently praise the Christians, in whom he observed examples of a virtue beyond reproach."³⁹

One of the torturers told a similar story of Oachonk to P. Le Moyne when he came on an embassy to the Mohawk village.

That Iroquois, who had helped to burn him [Oachonk], said to Ondessonk [P. Le Moyne]: "We have never seen anyone who loved the prayer like that man. He prayed to God continually on the scaffold and exhorted his fellow sufferers to think of heaven and of God who awaited them there. He called out aloud to the Huron Christians: 'My brothers, remember that all the Frenchmen assemble today in the Church to offer the sacrifice to God. They pray to God for us; let us do the same, on our part. If our enemies do not permit us to say our prayers aloud in our usual way, as we did on the Island of Orleans, let us all pray secretly in our hearts. As for me, I fear neither their torches nor their hatchets, heated red hot. They shall never prevent me from speaking to God, to beg Him to have pity on a poor man who has so grievously and so frequently offended Him.'" The Iroquois added: "There was something more than human in that man. We tortured him, to

force a cry out of his lips. But he only continued to sigh gently and he always kept his eyes fixed on the sky as if he were speaking to someone. We could not hear distinctly what he said, but he often repeated these words: 'My brothers, I am going to Heaven where I will pray to Him-Who-Made-All for your salvation.' Up to the last sigh that we forced from him by the violence of the tortures, he spoke of nothing but Heaven."⁴⁰

After this Mohawk raid of 1656, the Hurons realized that they had no choice but a complete surrender; and the French concluded that they were powerless to protect their Huron wards. The Hurons had planned to play off the Mohawk against the Onondaga. As they should have known, they were outwitted and as a result exasperated both these nations the more.

Though living together as one people in one village, the Hurons on Orleans retained their clan independence and were governed by their own chiefs. These clans or nations were: the Bear Nation, whose capital town had been Ossossané; the Rock Nation, which had formerly lived at Cahiagué and who had joined the people of St. Ignace, where P. Brébeuf and P. Lalemant were martyred; the Cord Nation, in whose village of Teanaustayé, Antoine Daniel was martyred and cremated. During the Winter of 1656 in clan councils and in general assemblies, the chiefs debated as to what must be done in their grave plight. Negotiations, meanwhile, were being carried on with the Mohawks and Onondagas and to a lesser extent with the Oneidas and Senecas.

By the Spring of 1657 each of the Huron nations had reached its own decision. The Bears elected to trust themselves to the Mohawks and, under the pledge of safe conduct, migrate to their country in a body. The Rock people had exchanged presents with the Onondagas and pledged themselves to go to their country. The Cord Nation declared that it would remain with the French and rejected all the advances of the Iroquois. Their spokesman gave their verdict: "I see the whole river bristling with long and great teeth. I would be in danger of being bitten if I were to embark at present. There will come another time."⁴¹

The end of the sojourn of the homeless Hurons in their "second homeland" on the Island of Orleans was inevitable. P. Jean de Quen inscribed a melancholy, heart-rending entry

in the *Jesuit Journal* for 1657: "June 2. 14 Huron women, with several little children, embarked in 7 Agnieronon (Mohawk) canoes, in order to go and live at Agnie. *Here begins the destruction of the Hurons.*" (Italics inserted)⁴²

During that same June the Onondagas, in whose country P. Chaumonot, P. Le Mercier, and other missionaries had begun a most pretentious mission-center, came to claim the Huron Nation of the Rock. The French, knowing that P. Chaumonot and the Blackrobes would welcome their children, cooperated and carried the refugees up the St. Lawrence to Montreal in three shallops. There, after a short delay, the Onondagas took their part of the prey in their canoes. On the way the Onondagas butchered some few of the Hurons. The rest they brought to their villages and shared with them their fires and cabins.⁴³

In August the Mohawks peaceably beached their canoes in the almost deserted cove on Orleans. In utter resignation the last of the Bear Nation was trundled into the little boats and began their journey into a Mohawk oblivion. Their only consolation was Ondessonk, who had lived with them in their freedom at their village of Ossossané, and who now was the Blackrobe apostle of the Iroquois.⁴⁴

The Cord Nation, that had been the most resistant to the Faith and the most cruel to the Blackrobes in Teanaustayé, proved to be the most loyal to the French, in whom they put their entire faith and hope for survival. Since they could have no security and no peace on the Island of Orleans, they were accorded land for a fixed habitation below the French Fort of Quebec. It may be conjectured that, at this time, they numbered about one hundred and fifty souls. In 1668 they moved from Quebec to the neighboring settlement of Nôtre-Dame de Foy, and in 1673 they established themselves at Nôtre-Dame de Lorette, which later was known as l'Ancienne-Lorette. Toward the end of the century they built themselves a new habitation called la Jeune-Lorette.⁴⁵

After his return from the abortive Onondaga Mission, P. Chaumonot once more assumed the pastorate of the Hurons, whom he fathered for the next thirty-five years. He was forced to surrender his care of them in 1692, and shortly afterwards, on February 21, 1693, he died at Quebec, aged eighty-

two years, fifty-four of which he had lived with his beloved "savages."⁴⁶

In these later migrations of the Hurons, P. Chaumonot preserved his Sodality as it had existed on the Island of Orleans. After his death, it is believed that his Jesuit successors perpetuated it for a century, until the Suppression of the Society of Jesus and the death of the last Huron missionary, P. Thomas Girault, in 1794. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Hurons were merged with the French in the parish of St. Ambrose, la Jeune-Lorette; but in 1904 they regained their identity and had their own pastor in the new church of Nôtre-Dame de Lorette.⁴⁷

According to l'Abbé Lindsay, the Huron language is forgotten, and "save for some rare chants of which the meaning is not known, save for some glossaries preserved jealously in archives, save for some names of war chiefs long departed, all else is gone." But not all is gone, for the Faith taught the Hurons at Teanaustayé by St. Jean de Brébeuf, and the piety nurtured among them by P. Chaumonot on Orleans have survived all their tribulations during more than three centuries.

FRANCIS X. TALBOT, S.J.

NOTES

¹The basic material for this article is derived from the three chief, contemporaneous sources:

a) *The Jesuit Relations*. Edited in French and English by Reuben Gold Thwaites. Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers, 1899. (This edition will be referred to, hereafter, as *J.R.* with volume and page number added.)

b) *La Vie du P.J.M. Chaumonot*. Cramoisy. Paris. 1688. *Autobiographie du P. Pierre Chaumonot et son Complement*. Edited and annotated by P. Felix Martin, S.J. Paris, 1885. (To be referred to as *Chaumonot*.)

c) *Historiae Canadensis Libri Decem*. Franciscus Creuxius, S.J. Paris, 1664. Translated into English by Percy J. Robinson under the title: *The History of Canada*. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1951. (Hereafter noted as *Du Creux*.)

²*J.R.* 41-147. *Du Creux*. 2-676.

³It may be assumed that P. Poncet was inspired by his close friend, P. Chaumonot, to inaugurate the first French Sodality.

J.R. 37-265. Note. Charles de Lauson, Seigneur de Charny, son of the

then Governor of New France, was appointed the first prefect of the Sodality. Later he returned to France and was ordained a priest.

⁴Pierre J-M. Chaumonot was born in France in 1611 and entered the Society of Jesus in Rome, 1632. In 1639, on his arrival at Quebec, he was shipped to the Huron Mission and accompanied P. De Brébeuf to the Neutrals in 1640. He returned to Quebec in 1650 and settled the Hurons on the Island of Orleans. In 1655 he helped to establish the Onondaga Mission among the Iroquois. When that collapsed in 1658, he resumed his pastorate among the Quebec Hurons and remained with them till 1692. He died the following year at the age of 82.

Leonard Garreau, born 1609, came to New France in 1643 and was assigned to labors among the Algonquins, Hurons, and Petuns. In 1649 he was with P. Charles Garnier, whose body he recovered and buried, and whose bones he carried to St. Joseph's Island. He died September 2, 1656 from wounds received in an Iroquois attack near Montreal.

⁵The Huron country was a small peninsula jutting out into Georgian Bay, off Lake Huron. Sainte-Marie I, the home of the missionaries, is at the site of the Shrine of the American Martyrs.

J.R. 36-250. Note. P. Ragueneau states: "War and pestilence have destroyed more than ten thousand Hurons." Before 1649 the total Huron population was estimated at a little more than twenty thousand.

⁶*Old Huronia*. Arthur E. Jones, S.J. Toronto: Bureau of Archives, 1909, p. 447. "Migration of the Hurons after their Dispersion."

Relation Abrégée. F. J. Bressany, S.J. Edited by P. Felix Martin, S.J. Montreal, 1852, p. 399. Appendix 10.

⁷The Huron name for the Island of St. Joseph was Ahoendoe. It is now known as Christian Island.

⁸*J.R.* 35-75, ff. This graphic *Relation* of 1649-50 was written by the superior, P. Paul Ragueneau.

⁹*J.R.* 35-183, ff. 41-137.

¹⁰*The Jesuits in North America*. Francis Parkman. Boston, 1867, p. 426. Parkman wrongly states that "the greater part of the Hurons chose to remain" on the Island of St. Joseph.

¹¹*Histoire des Canadiens-Français*. Benjamin Sulte. Montreal, 1882, III-51. Sulte gives the following population figures for 1653: Quebec, 400; Three Rivers, 175; Montreal, 100.

Marie de l'Incarnation: Écrits Spirituels et Historiques. Réédités par Dom Albert Jamet. Quebec, 1936, IV-286. Jamet notes that the population given by Mère Marie, of 2,000 French in New France, is an exaggeration.

¹²*J.R.* 36-117.

¹³*Chaumonot*. 109.

¹⁴*J.R.* 41-137.

¹⁵*J.R.* 37-181. The Fort, being about the same dimensions as that of Sainte-Marie II, was 100 feet square, with palisades some 14 feet high. Since it undoubtedly followed the same pattern, within the palisades

were the chapel, the rectory, and a courtyard, for the gathering of the Faithful in peace times and for protection in an enemy attack. The first chapel was built, in the Huron style, of bark. This was the first chapel on the Island of Orleans. A more substantial edifice of wood was built by the *donnés* and workmen. According to the *Jesuit Journal* of 1653: "July 2. The Chapel on the Island of Orleans was blessed *sub titulo Visitationis Beatae Virginis* by P. Jerome Lalemant." (*J.R.* 38-179) The first chapel for the French was erected in 1652, and adjoined the house of Gabriel Gosselin. (*L'Île d'Orleans*. Pierre G. Roy. Quebec, 1928, p. 54, 57.) The corn-fields during 1652-53 were enlarged by another 300 arpents. (*J.R.* 40-223)

¹⁶*J.R.* 40-229.

¹⁷*J.R.* 41-141. *Du Creux*. 2-675.

¹⁸*J.R.* 41-147. *Du Creux*. 2-676. A Sodality of Women in the seventeenth century, it must be admitted, was an innovation.

¹⁹*J.R.* 41-149.

²⁰*J.R.* 41-149. *Du Creux*. 2-677.

²¹*Ibid.*

²²*Du Creux*. 2-677.

²³*J.R.* 41-151.

Les Annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu. 95. *J.R.* 36-209; 43-67; 44-261. The first Indian native to become a Nun was the daughter of Huron Sodalists. Geneviève Agnès Skannudharoi attended the Ursuline school and lived with the Hospital Nuns. After a lingering illness, and having manifested heroic sanctity, at the age of fifteen, she pronounced her vows shortly before her death in 1657 and was given the name of Sister Geneviève Agnès de Tous les Saints.-

²⁴*J.R.* 41-157.

²⁵*J.R.* 41-161. Confer: *J.R.* 12-93, 105; 23-175; 24-107.

²⁶*J.R.* 43-237.

²⁷*J.R.* *Ibid.*

²⁸*J.R.* 36-71.

Histoire de la Compagnie de Jesus en France. P. Henri Fouqueray, S.J. Paris, 1925, V-256. *Passim*, vols. I, II, III, IV. The Professed House in Paris was one of the first establishments erected by Henri IV at the time of the restoration of the Society in France. Henri IV and Louis XIII frequently attended Mass and Vespers in the Church of St. Louis, to which Louis consigned his heart. The influence and prestige of the Sodality was paramount.

²⁹In pre-French times, the wampum beads, or circles, were sculptured from the white and purple of oyster shells, the dark-colored portions being held in higher esteem and value. When the French introduced porcelain and glass beads, these were substituted for the shell beads, and became the small currency of trade. The violet, purple and black beads were priced double those of white and other pale colors.

³⁰*J.R.* 41-165. 40-233. *Du Creux*. 2-680.

³¹*Du Creux*. 1-139. *J.R.* 41-173. The text used for the Huron original and the English translation is that of *Du Creux*. The Huron text of *Du Creux* differs from that carried in the *Relation* in the spelling and the division of the words. The term "mysteries" is used in the same sense that we speak of the mysteries of the Rosary.

³²*Du Creux*. 2-681. *J.R.* 41-171. The English translation used is that from *Du Creux*, with some verbal changes. This seems to have a more authentic flavor than the translation offered by Thwaites. *Du Creux* does not publish the Huron original.

There is a variation in the spelling of the names in the Huron and the French texts, as published in the *Relation*. *Atharatou* becomes *Taieron*, and *Sondeaskin* is spelled *Sondouskon*. *Chiakha* is Jacques (James) and *Chaöse* is Joseph.

J.R. 43-119. Oachonk died an heroic, saintly death after being horribly tortured by the Iroquois two years later in 1656.

J.R. 36-215. *Atharatou*, or *Taieron*, was the orator who made an impassioned plea, accompanied by wampum collars, to the Ursulines to remain in Quebec after the fire in their monastery in 1650.

Chaumonot was first called Aroniatiri by the Hurons. He was named Oronhiaguehre in the Neutral dialect. After the death of De Brébeuf, he was "resurrected" with De Brébeuf's name, Echon.

P. Le Mercier, the author of the *Relation* of 1653-54, uses the first person: "which I wrote in their name." He was, undoubtedly, copying from a report sent him by Chaumonot. His Huron name was Chaüose.

³³*Établissement de la Foi*. P. Christian Le Clercq. Paris, 1691. Translated into English, under the title: *First Establishment of the Faith in New France*, by John Gilmary Shea. New York, 1881, I-395.

³⁴*Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*. P. François X. de Charlevoix. Paris, 1744. Translated into English by John Gilmary Shea under the title: *History of New France*. New York, 1866, II-259.

³⁵*J.R.* 43-117.

³⁶*J.R.* 43-119.

Lettres de Mère Marie de l'Incarnation. Edited by l'Abbé Richaudeau. Paris, 1876, II-108. Mère Marie states that six were killed and eighty-five taken captive. This is also the number given in *Les Annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu*, p. 91.

³⁷*J.R.* 43-119.

³⁸*J.R.* 43-123.

³⁹*J.R.* 43-123.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*

⁴¹*J.R.* 43-193.

J.R. 36-141. The people of the villages of St. Michael and St. John the Baptist had already surrendered to the Senecas and were with them.

⁴²*J.R.* 43-49.

⁴³*J.R.* 43-51, 199.

⁴⁴*J.R.* 43-187. After the death of P. Jogues, P. Le Moyne was "resurrected" to the name of Jogues, Ondessonk. He was formerly known as Wané.

⁴⁵Notre-Dame de la Jeune-Lorette. l'Abbé Lionel Lindsay. Montreal, 1900.

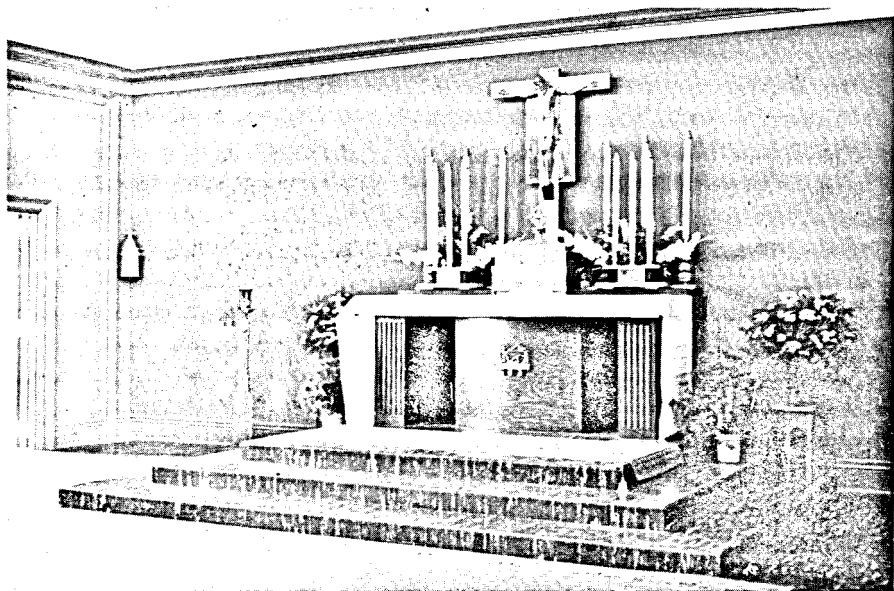
⁴⁶About the countryside the French people still refer to la Jeune-Lorette as "The Village of the Savages."

⁴⁷Notre-Dame de la Jeune-Lorette. *Passim*. Letter of P. Georges Gagnon, Village-Huron, Province of Quebec.

WOODSTOCK TO PLATTSBURG

It dawned bright and warm this seventh day of July, 1952, at Bellarmine Hall. Regular Villa order was had till ten in the morning, with the *Itinerarium* added after the Community Mass. At ten we boarded three large buses that were grandly advertised as being air-conditioned, but which failed to conquer the heat of that day. At eleven-fifty the buses arrived at Woodstock. The theologians had eaten at eleven-thirty to make way for us, so after examen we had the rare privilege of having lunch, our last meal at Woodstock, in our shirt-sleeves, at twelve-thirty. A crew of philosophers served the meal. The theologians left for villa at one o'clock and were seen off by the philosophers. Then *quies* prevailed, and those who wished could rest for two hours before the long trek began.

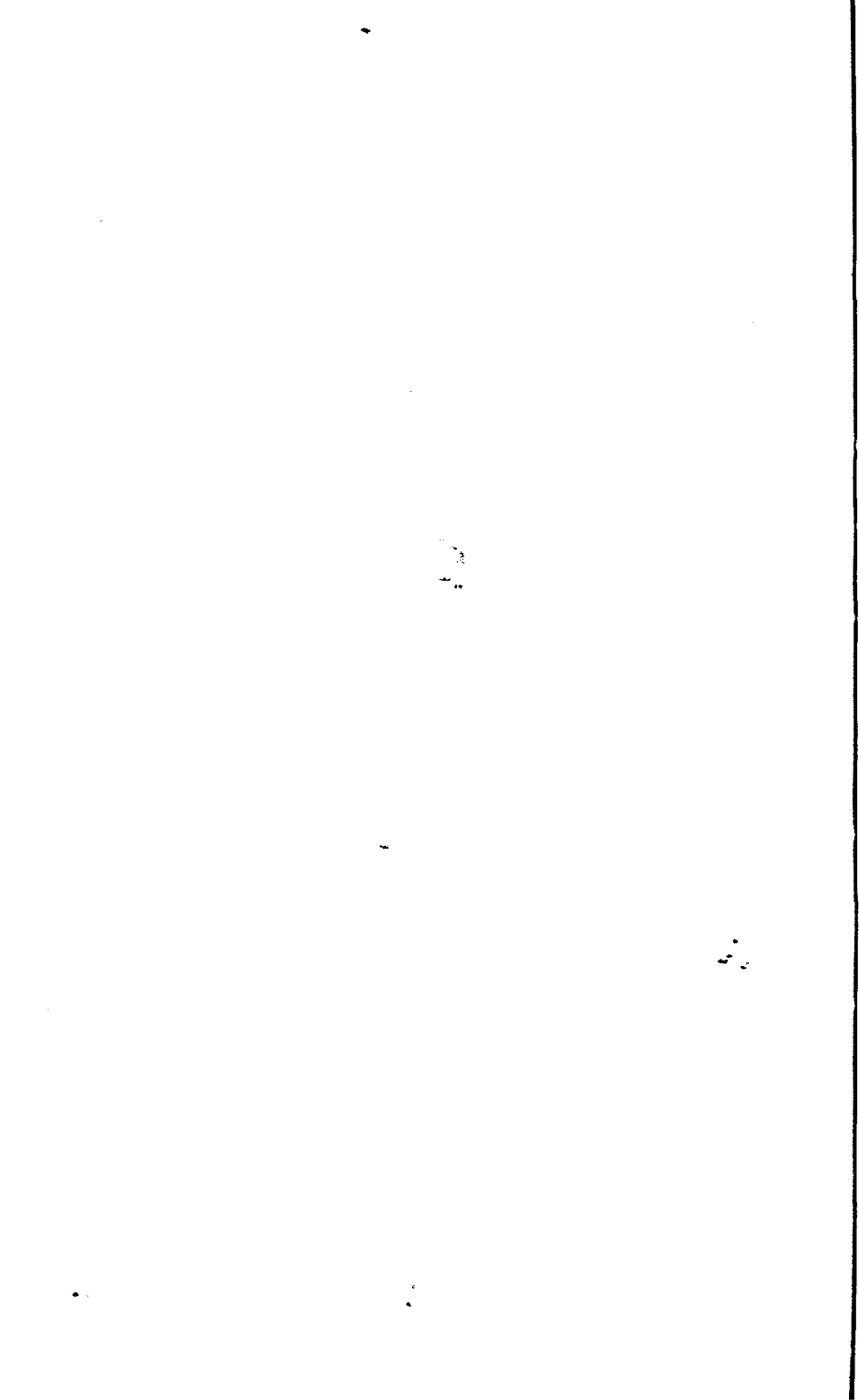
After coffee we boarded the B & O buses, bid goodbye to Father Rector and those of the faculty who were home, and had our last look at Woodstock. There were pictures taken of our departure, which took place at three-ten. At three-fifty-five the three buses arrived at Mt. Royal Station, and we streamed out of the buses to be met by the gaping eye of a motion picture camera. Father Farren had arranged this to help publicize the fund-raising campaign for Shrub Oak. Rev. Father Nugent (Provincial of Maryland) was there to mark the historic event and witness our departure. After a few more photographs for the *Baltimore Sun*, we wandered out to the platform to wait for our train.



Domestic Chapel at Bellarmine College



Science classroom of Philosophers
at Bellarmine College



The *Royal Blue* arrived on schedule, so we departed from Baltimore at four-thirty, in the three foremost cars which were reserved for us (two coaches and a diner). The traveling was delightful in the large, comfortable, air-conditioned coaches. Most took immediate advantage of the reclining seats and remained engaged in quiet conversation and viewing the scenery. A few began to sing, and some started a traveling bridge-game which lasted from Baltimore to Albany. Dinner was served in two shifts beginning at five-fifteen. The food was so good that the one serving, which practicality permitted, was scarcely enough. At seven-forty-five we arrived in Jersey City and were promptly herded into waiting buses, which left almost immediately by ferry for Manhattan. On the ferry all left the buses to catch a glimpse of the famous skyline—some few for the first time. We were fortunate to arrive when we did, for the sun was just setting on the Jersey side of the river, and the city was resplendent in reddish gold colors. After a few minutes, back to the buses we went and off the ferry to Grand Central Station, where we arrived at eight-twenty, in four waves. There were a few curious eyes as the first bus unloaded. But by the time the fourth bus disgorged the last wave, the passers-by were agape. One man in the terminal insisted he saw well over two hundred priests passing through. Another person, seeing one of the Scholastics limping from an infection on his foot, noted that these were chaplains home from Korea.

After leaving our bags on the train, we were free to do what we wanted for a half-hour. When we boarded the train we met with the first of the only two hitches in the entire trip, both of which were completely beyond our control. For when we got on the train, we discovered that on one of the two cars, the air-conditioning system was out of order. The engineers gave it a quick repair job, and said that when we started moving the car would quickly cool down. We "started moving" at nine o'clock and sat patiently waiting for the car to cool down, but it was not to be so. After a while many started wandering back to the second car to cool off and then return. The trainman promised that the system would be repaired at Harmon (but it wasn't) and at Albany (again we were disillusioned). Finally, as the night air grew cool, the car became more comfortable. A few minutes after stopping at Pough-

keepsie we roared past the darkened St. Andrew's Novitiate. About all that was seen here were the boats tied up in the Hudson.

At 12:04 A.M. we arrived in Albany, but the soft-drinks and sandwiches did not—and this brings us to the second and last hitch. For after the sandwiches had been sent for, we were apparently pushed onto a siding someplace and forgotten. Finally they brought us to the proper track, and there was the food. Only it was one-ten by this time, so we went hungry till eight that morning when we had breakfast. At one-twenty-five, we left Albany, some forty-five minutes late. But during the night all but seven minutes were made up. By the time we left Albany, most were asleep. The car that didn't have air-conditioning did have two advantages over the other. First of all, due to the popularity of the cool car, there were enough empty seats so that almost everyone was able to turn the seat in front around and enjoy a makeshift bed for himself. Between this, the reclining seats, and the pillows, a fairly comfortable night was had by most. The second advantage of the warm car was that, being older, it had the light-bulbs within convenient reach. These were promptly loosened, and so the night was spent in darkness, disturbed only by the glare of the other car, that found its way through the doors. When we awoke around four-thirty, we were dazzled by the light of the sun, reflected off water. This was our first view of Lake Champlain, and we were duly impressed. At six we arrived at Port Kent, where we were met by some regents who took our luggage in the truck, while we walked the short distance to their Villa. We were able to go to Mass immediately, though breakfast was had as usual at eight. When we arrived at Loyola Villa, we were placed under Father McGinty, superior, and Father Walter, minister. Father Devlin, our superior at Bellarmine Hall, who had made all the arrangements for the Grand Move, and who made the weary trip with us, and to whom a great debt of gratitude was owed, rested for the morning, and then started on the long trip back to Woodstock to look after further details.

Considering the trip of the night before, relatively few went to bed. Most spent the day rowing and swimming, or sitting in the parlors talking to regents. From Tuesday till Friday

we had regular villa order, i.e., the same as we had at Bellarmine Hall. Two groups of twelve "volunteers" spent two days apiece at our new home, cleaning and washing. They brought back magnificent descriptions that whetted our appetites to see our new home. Saturday was spent in cleaning up, and after this a softball game was played with the regents. That night the retreat began. The present second and third year philosophers made a separate retreat under Father T. H. Moore, while the regents were directed by Father H. C. Avery.

Monday morning, the morning the retreat ended, we went back to the buses, this time for a very short, and final, trip to our new home. We left Port Kent around nine-thirty and arrived at Bellarmine College at ten-fifteen, where we were met by our new Rector (the first at Bellarmine College), Father T. E. Henneberry, and our Minister (whom we had had previously at Woodstock), Father J. J. Sheridan. Our new home lived up to all our expectations, with its magnificent building and the golf course, chip-and-putt course, and beach. The front of the building was covered with scaffolding, as the work of renovation went on, but it was clearly evident that a sturdy, substantial, and pleasant building had been provided for us. After greeting the new first-year men who had arrived about four days previously, we went to our rooms to set about unpacking. Our delight with the rooms was not less than our delight with the grounds. The view consisted of a grand panorama of valley and mountain to the front, and of the lake and the distant shore of Vermont with its mountains to the rear. The domestic chapel was a work of art—fitted out under the careful eye of Brother Mahlmeister, who constructed the substantial pews and altar himself, and under the loving direction of Father Kenna, who had directed the entire work of renovation so successfully.

So we were here at last. After all the months of planning and working, the operation was completed. As Father Moore said in his retreat, "The Society has provided us with a wonderful house; now it is up to us to make it a home." And this last, but essential, ingredient is being added by the wonderful spirit of generosity and cooperation manifested by all.

DANIEL F. X. MEENAN, S.J.

OBITUARY

MR. JOHN F. WALSH, S.J.

1921-1952

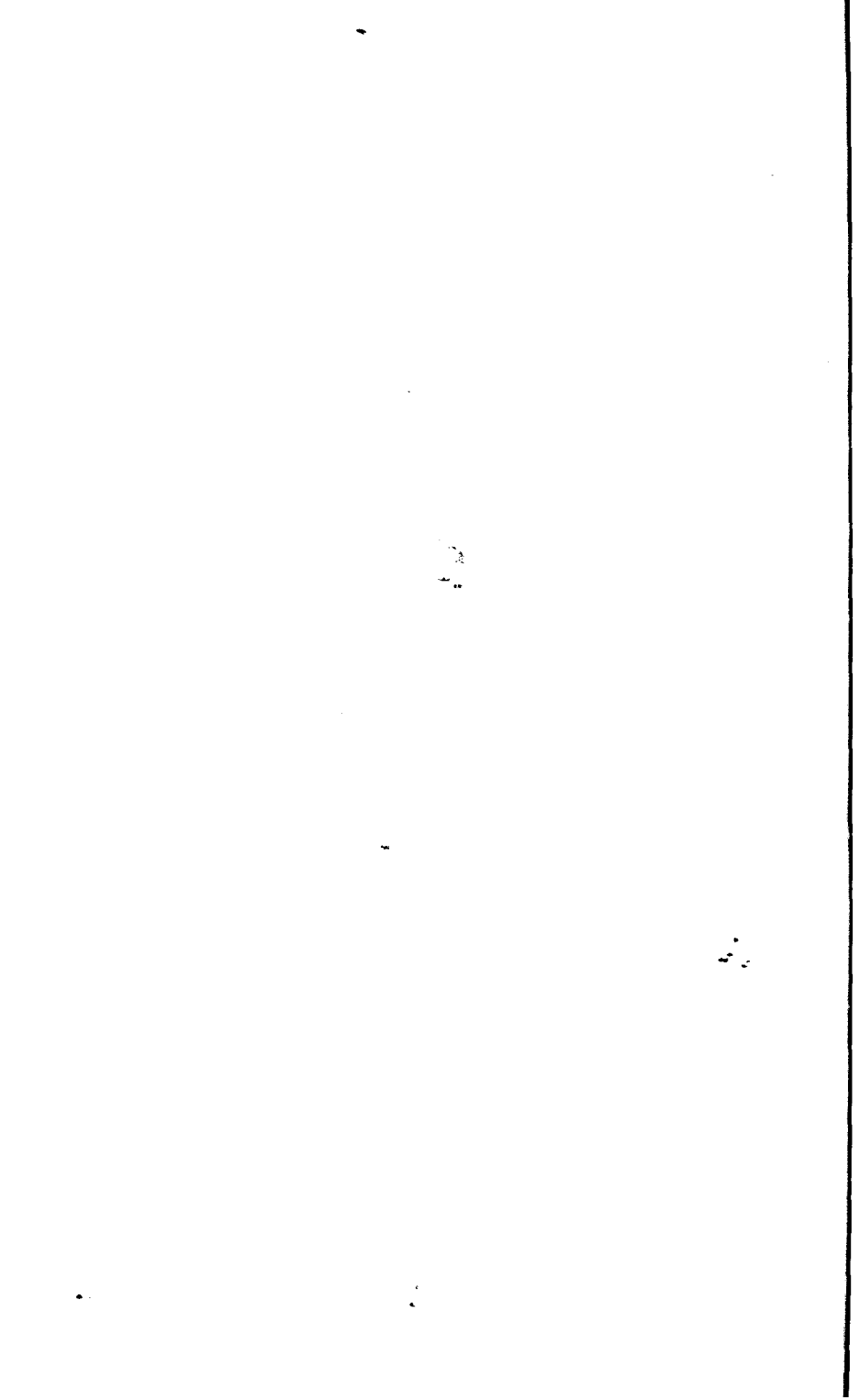
Father Broderick in his life of St. Francis Xavier notes that practically all the people who gave testimony at Goa about Francis' activity on the trip to India have something to say about his unflinching cheerfulness and good humor. That is a great tribute to a saint, for unflinching good humor is a virtue of noble proportions. We find a similar tribute in all the letters sent to WOODSTOCK LETTERS about Mr. Walsh. Everyone has at least a paragraph on his wonderful sense of humor and his unceasing spirit of happiness. They say a lot more, of course, but that one point is impressive. All of us who knew Jack are going to remember him as a supremely happy man. He was considered thoroughly dependable by superiors, he was respected by his extern friends, and to his fellow Scholastics he was a model Jesuit and a delightful person.

John and David Walsh were born on May 14, 1921 in Washington, D.C. Jack always remained deeply attached to his twin brother and used to delight his fellow Jesuits with tales of their boyhood in Northwest Washington. At St. Gabriel's parish school Jack received his early training. For several years he served the Mass of His Excellency the Most Rev. John M. McNamara, Auxiliary Bishop of Washington. Though Jack's head was as full of football and baseball as any American boy's, yet he did rather well at school.

In his days at Gonzaga High School a boy could easily have fallen into one of several student circles. Jack Walsh seemed to span them all. His honor cards testify that he worked hard at his studies. On the football field he was one of the best ball-carriers in the city. The Walsh brothers more than held their own on one of Gonzaga's most rugged teams. Those brief flashes of temper that we saw occasionally during games at Wernersville were reflections from the Gonzaga days, when he was used to fighting and winning. With more academic extracurricular activities added to his busy high school days,



MR. JOHN F. WALSH



he was the obvious choice for the Civitan Award at the end of his senior year, marking him as Gonzaga's finest of the class of 1940.

Many thought that Jack would begin studies for the priesthood after high school, but he was undecided. During his one year in the pre-medical course at Georgetown he came under the influence of the saintly Father Aloysius Hogan, S.J. Perhaps this helped him to his final decision to apply for entrance into the Society. Brother Walsh was admitted to the Novitiate at Wernersville on July 30, 1941. He was immediately at home in the quiet life of the noviceship. During his four years at Wernersville he was appointed to many of those little positions of trust, so much a part of the life in our houses of study.

Mr. Walsh was sent to Spring Hill, Alabama, for his philosophical studies. Immediately he won the esteem of superiors and Scholastics alike, and had the somewhat unusual honor of being appointed beadle in a scholasticate of another Province. Those who were with him at Spring Hill were deeply impressed by his faithfulness to the Sandtown Mission, a catechism class for Negro children. For three years he never missed the weekly walk there. Mr. Walsh's superior at Spring Hill writes:

Jack had that beautiful personality which is proper to wholesome American youth matured in a thoroughly Catholic home. He mingled easily with his companions and adjusted himself, apparently without effort, to changing environments . . . In religion these fine qualities of personality and character placed Jack with those who merit the highest praise . . . As a religious, I believe Jack is worthy of the high esteem expressed by Leo XIII on the occasion of the canonization of St. John Berchmans.

Mr. Walsh's three years at Scranton Preparatory School have been described by superiors, students, and fellow teachers. In recent years we have developed a tendency to be sceptical of the perfect success story. Yet the record and our fresh memories allow no other story. This young Jesuit spent his Regency period in the way that we have come to consider the ideal. He was a successful teacher, loved and respected by his students. His hard work as a basketball and baseball coach, moderator of the school paper and assistant Sodality moderator, served only to make him more faithful to his

spiritual duties. All the Scholastics who were at Scranton with him can quote long lists of famous "Walsh Sayings" that helped to make their recreation room a pleasant place. He was always most willing to take on extra work, even though it was not asked, such as running an extra Sodality meeting for the athletes who had to miss the regular one. A pious Scranton lady, seeing Mr. Walsh out with his boys filling a truck with old rags to help some school drive, was moved to say, "Glory be to God! Picking rags, and him a Jesuit!" Our missionaries in India will always remember those regular gifts from Mr. Walsh's class of 2A. By all this extra work done with and for the boys, he endeared himself to them, so that a recreation room saying of his became literally true when news of his death reached Scranton. He used to say, "The boys wept when I descended the rostrum."

Jack had always enjoyed good health, and was noted for his seemingly inexhaustible energy. At Scranton he once asked a fellow Scholastic to go with him to a wake. This man readily agreed, thinking of some such means of locomotion as a street-car. He was amazed to find out that Jack intended to walk all twenty-five blocks. Thus no one was alarmed when he became ill in the spring of his first year of theology at Woodstock. However it soon became apparent that something more than pneumonia was causing his high fevers. A serious heart condition was discovered, and it was determined that he should receive the last sacraments. During the anointing at Mercy Hospital in Baltimore Jack noticed that one of the Sisters was crying. "Don't cry," he said. "This happens all the time." To the amazement of the doctors, even on his last day he was able to recognize visitors and speak in a strong voice. They would hardly have expected him to be able to speak at all in his condition. Mr. Walsh's constant concern was to cheer and comfort his loved ones. During the afternoon of April 16 the doctors drew off fluid from behind the heart. During this painful procedure Mr. Walsh was conscious and joked with the chest surgeon. About eight o'clock in the evening he could breathe only with difficulty. His eyes were on the crucifix on the wall. To Father Rector he said, "If I keep my eyes on Him, I can stand it." Father Rector gave him a crucifix to kiss and imparted absolution and the

Apostolic Blessing just before he slipped quietly to his reward.

To sum up in one sentence a man's life, even a young man's life, is a difficult thing to do. If it is to be done in Mr. Walsh's case, perhaps the Jesuits who lived with him would put it this way: "He combined a deep personal holiness with a spirit of warm camaraderie to produce one of the finest personalities among our contemporaries and an ideal model for present day American Scholastics." At the Solemn Pontifical Requiem Mass offered at St. Gabriel's Church, Bishop McNamara gave this moving summary:

John Francis Walsh died with the heart of a priest. We think he died before his time, but it was God's will that he should in this way complete the sacrifice begun on the day he entered the Society of Jesus. In life he found peace in doing the will of God; in accepting death as God's will he enjoys peace in its fulness. "In His will is our peace"—and only there.

STEPHEN F. LATCHFORD, S.J.

FATHER ALBERTO HURTADO

1901-1952

On August 18, 1952 Father Alberto Hurtado, S.J. died in Santiago, Chile, at the age of fifty-one. The Chilean press and radio commented on his death; in Santiago's city hall men of various political parties praised his life and work; the Congress of Chile voted to erect a statue to his memory. In the words of one Chilean senator, Father Hurtado "was the most eminent man produced by the nation in our day."

A crowd of more than five thousand persons from the lowest to the highest ranks of society walked behind Father Hurtado's cortege for forty blocks to the church where he was buried. So ended in this world a life that was truly outstanding.

Before his entrance into the Society of Jesus, Father Hurtado's life was moulded to apostolicity by his work among the poor as a member of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, as a Sodalist among his companions in the University. In August, 1924 he took a law degree for which he wrote a thesis on "Domestic Work in Chile." That year he entered the Society of

Jesus. After his noviceship in Chile, he studied philosophy at Barcelona and theology at Louvain. The Very Reverend John Janssens, S.J., present general of the Society of Jesus, was Father Hurtado's rector in theology so that Father Janssens could testify years later to a South American Bishop: "In all my long years as superior, I never saw a more zealous soul than Father Hurtado." After earning a doctorate in education at Louvain, Father Hurtado returned to Chile to spread generously the message of God in the most varied apostolic work.

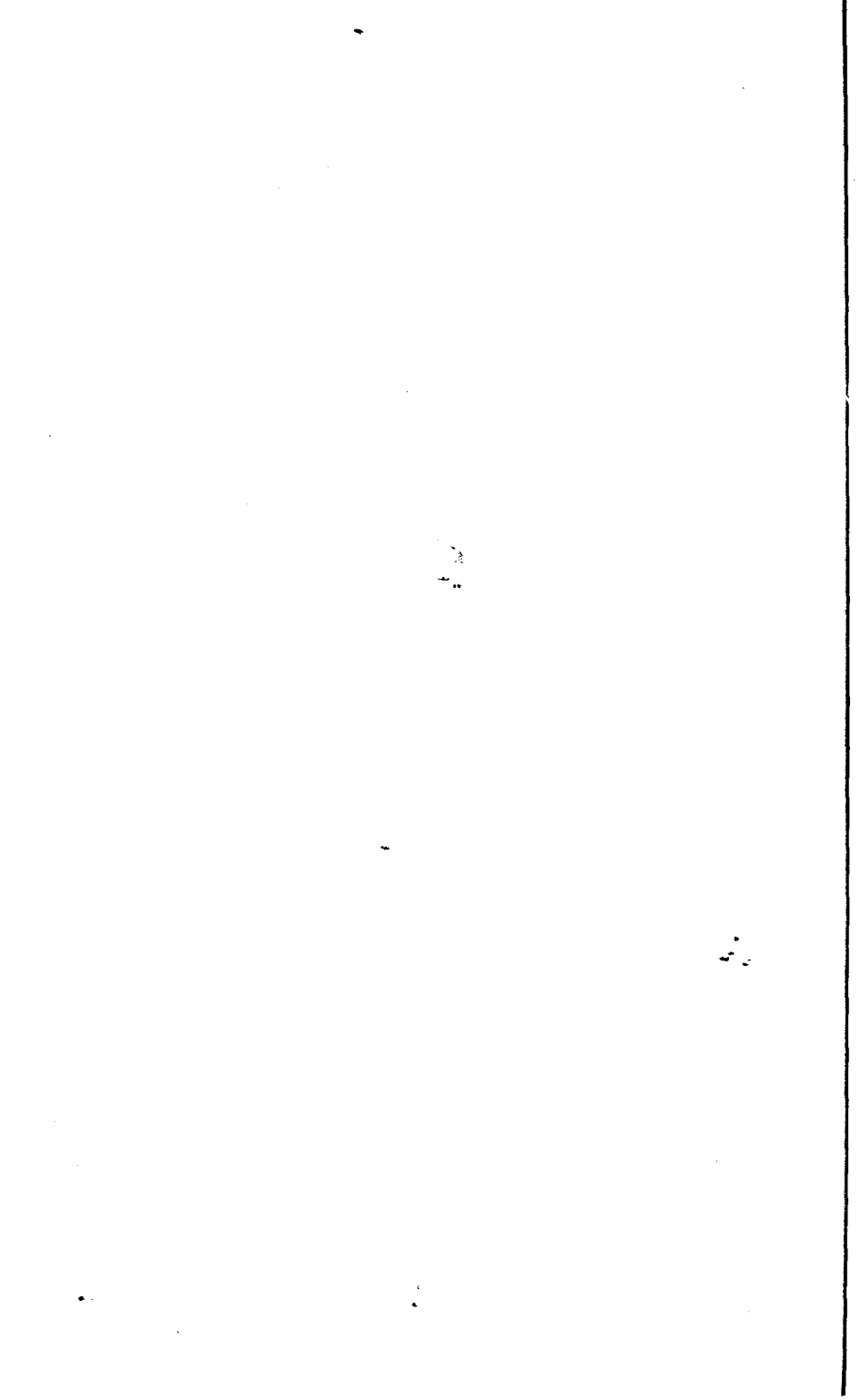
The most typical note of his apostolate was his realistic view of the problems of his milieu. He was the bearer of an eternal message that he had to impart in time, and the dispenser of a life to be shared with men, but he had to reckon with both time and men. He desired that his labor should be as realistic as his ideals were spiritual. The first of these realistic approaches to the apostolate was his analysis of religious sociology in his book, *Is Chile a Catholic Country?* The title and the thesis of the book were startling. It is so sweet to sleep, lulled by illusory statistics. It is easy to dream that a country is Catholic because the census and the number of baptized so declare; it is easy to regard exterior manifestations of piety as superior to those vital works of the Church which demand constant sacrifice. Other statistics based upon the number assisting at Mass, the number of Christian marriages, the number of those fulfilling their Easter duty, as well as personal observations, convinced Father Hurtado that the ideal was very remote. Ten or fifteen percent of the Chilean population attended Mass. Fifty percent were married in the Church.

Father Hurtado's book provoked a storm. It lashed consciences towards profounder action. It was an orientation for Catholic Action as well as a call to youth to whom it presented a vast field of endeavor.

Father Hurtado's realistic insight made him aware of a vital need of the Church: vocations to the priesthood. Where the Church lacks the necessary number of priestly vocations, she is radically sick. The advance of the Church is continuous, but if she lacks the vital human channels of her supernatural life, she is doomed to decline. To help supply this need, he published some pamphlets and the book, *The Choice of a Way*



FATHER ALBERTO HURTADO



of Life. Parents, fearful perhaps that God would call one of their children to His service, accused Father Hurtado of "fishing for vocations." They did not understand that such vocations were born of a contact with the fiery soul of an apostle. His interest in vocations bore much fruit in many hours dedicated to spiritual direction. Because of this direction, more than one hundred boys entered upon studies for the priesthood. Father's interest in vocations was also manifested in the construction of a Jesuit Novitiate. The former Novitiate in Chillan was totally destroyed in 1939 by an earthquake. He raised funds for a new Novitiate by literally begging from door to door. Adjacent to the Novitiate, he built a three storey retreat house, modern in every respect.

In 1940 Father Hurtado was appointed national director of Catholic Action for Youth. This position gave him the opportunity to travel through the entire country, organizing and strengthening various Catholic Action groups. In this work he fashioned youth into true men who were at the same time deeply Christian, tireless before the urgencies of the present, and selfless in their cooperation in the apostolate of the Church. At this time he published the book, *Points of Education*, on the formation of the man, the Christian, the leader. Conferences, retreats, personal direction were to be the basis of the spiritual formation of the new generation.

It is in connection with Father Hurtado's work as a retreat master that one glimpses something of his deep spirituality. He gave many retreats each year. The most noteworthy of these was the one given annually during Holy Week to some two hundred young men, university students and the elite of the Catholic Action movement. Observers have noted the effect which Father Hurtado's conviction, faith, and devotion to Christ had on these young men. His conferences and points for meditation left them deeply stirred and recollected; it seemed that they received a share in his own highly spiritual inner resources. The reason for this might be found in a remark of Father Hurtado that during the retreats he gave, he, too, made the exercises with the exercitants. Otherwise, he felt that his own spirit of prayer and recollection would not be attuned to the spirit of the retreat. It was an example of the Ignatian spirit which recommends that force flow to the

exterior action only by reason of the purity, depth, and richness of the inner life. Father Hurtado also wrote two other books for young men, *Affective Life During Adolescence*, and *Crisis of Puberty and Education for Chastity*. These few observations help to show the entire bent and direction of Father Hurtado's life, a life dedicated to the formation of youth in Christ. His single pedagogical doctrine and technique, his whole secret was: "Love and serve."

In 1945 Father Hurtado was engaged in the social apostolate. He recognized that the Church of Christ could not exclude the working class without denying her mission. He published the book, *Social Humanism*, notes on social education for parents and teachers. After a year of study in the United States, he published another book, *Christian Social Order*, a documentary study of the social doctrine of the Church according to the writings of Popes and Bishops.

Yet Father Hurtado was not born to be a mere intellectual. His personality impelled him to action. It seemed that his temperament would not permit him a life free from intense activity. As soon as he foresaw the possibility of a period of idleness, immediately he laid plans for new projects. Above all, the needs of his environment urged him to action. He had seen thousands of abandoned men without a place to spend the night, whole families wandering from place to place without homes. The Salvation Army alone maintained lodgings for these people. In the city of Santiago, five thousand abandoned boys slept beneath the bridges of the city or crouched in the streets, covering themselves with newspapers or huddled together with their mongrel dogs for warmth. Often the newspapers casually noted that five or six persons had been found dead of cold. These realities moved Father Hurtado to undertake his famous work, the Home of Christ. His object was not only to provide food and shelter for those who had none but also to offer to these men new possibilities in life. Within a year he had converted three large houses into dwelling places for destitute men, women, and boys and was assisted by a group of trained social workers in the rehabilitation of the poor. During the year 1951 Father Hurtado's Home of Christ provided shelter for 164,467 people. Between the years 1945-51, the total of those helped was 846,038.

For the young men, the Home of Christ was not merely a place where they were transient guests. It was a home. After a period in which they acclimated themselves, they entered upon the work of readaptation to a new way of life. They received primary instruction at the Home of Christ and then attended various technical schools according to their abilities. They were trained as plumbers, carpenters, electricians, and on a farm outside the city, farmers were trained.

Each night Father Hurtado would drive his small truck to the bridges and slum areas of the city to find these homeless waifs and bring them home. It was difficult to win their confidence to the point where they would come of their own accord to the Home of Christ. Father Hurtado often found the boys filled with resentment, suspicion, and distrust. After they arrived at the Home of Christ, the boys proved unused to discipline. They were conditioned to the all but subhuman behavior of the streets. Many of them would run away from the Home of Christ. Father Hurtado would patiently seek after them to bring them back. Even the dogs provided a difficulty. The boys would not be separated from their mongrels. Father Hurtado met this problem by fitting up a special kennel in the Home of Christ.

In 1949 Father Hurtado formed a society devoted to the relief of the housing shortage. This society was a cooperative for the construction of low-cost housing for workers. Three hundred houses out of a projected thousand are already built. The need for such housing is evident from the rapid growth of the population which increased from 400,000 to 1,200,000 in the past 30 years. Inadequate housing conditions which saw 400,000 persons at least, living in circumstances unfit for human beings, resulted in serious detriment to morality. A hut of one room, on the average, served six people. Promiscuity, therefore, and malnutrition prevailed. Education, religion, the very sense of morality were all but non-existent. Father Hurtado insisted that it was futile to preach morality to these people until some improvement in their economic situation had been made.

Almsgiving, no matter on how large a scale, was not enough, Father Hurtado realized. Charity given out of the fear of justice was not charity. The working class had to be defended

and protected in their just demands. It was necessary to work at the level of justice. Consequently, ASICH, the Association of Chilean Trade Unions, was born. The object of ASICH was the education of union leaders. Through the efforts of ASICH in cooperation with many technical consultants, laws were formulated and proposed to the Congress of Chile for the improvement of the economic condition of the working class. ASICH established a legal bureau which intervened on behalf of workingmen in disputes with employers. This Association also published a newspaper called *Union Tribune* to acquaint workers with the Christian social mind. Further, ASICH is a member of the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions.

The movement which formed the ASICH, however, remains in a nascent stage and by no means indicates that the labor movement has been penetrated deeply by Catholic social thought. The Chilean labor movement remains under Communist and Socialist domination. In the national council of the Chilean confederation of workers, among the twenty highest leaders, three men from ASICH are to be found.

To guide Christian labor leaders, Father Hurtado wrote the book, *Syndicalism*. When doctor's orders forbade external activity, he wrote his last book, *Professional Morality*.

Beyond these material achievements, Father Hurtado's main contribution stands in the creation of a social conscience among the Catholics of Chile and in gaining understanding and respect for the social teaching of the Church among non-Catholics. This was accomplished by constant preaching, lectures, conferences, and chiefly by his obvious sincerity.

It must not be thought that Father Hurtado neglected the intellectual class. One year before his death he founded the monthly magazine, *Mensaje*, to bring the Christian vision of life to bear on contemporary problems.

An enumeration of the works of a man will not depict his personality. An attempt to describe Father Hurtado might make use of the words of his lifelong friend, His Excellency Msgr. Manuel Laraine, a Chilean Bishop, who said:

The works that he founded can die with the passing of years as perish all human things. But a monument more lasting than bronze will project into time the great call to our social duty which Father

Hurtado has given to us. His attempt to implant his social doctrine did not lack the cross of criticism and the gall of misunderstanding. No dreamer's Utopia, no romantic exaltation, no bitter hatred inspired his firm position and his straightforward teaching. To be witness to a doctrine, not yielding before fear nor flattery, not faltering though one's position is often misunderstood, not deviating from the true path which one's doctrine should follow, this is no easy task but it requires fortitude born of profound conviction, serenity which knows that God will in time have justice, a vision of eternity which bestows true value upon men and their problems. This is the legacy which Father Hurtado has bequeathed to us.

Father Hurtado was an attractive personality and possessed a happy and optimistic spirit which he could communicate. He greeted everyone with a smile and the question: "What can I do for you, *patroncito* (my little patron)?" The same happiness which he shared with the laity, he gave more generously to his fellow Jesuits. Impulsive of character, when once he saw a work to be done, he was a man of action, yet he was not deaf to the advice or contrary opinions of others, although no advice could dissuade him from a work prompted by his conscience. He never lost heart. In circumstances which would discourage others, he would say: "For every door that is closed to us, God will open ninety-nine." It was his mission to open new horizons, to begin works, but he was criticised because he appeared to force others to tend the seeds which he had planted. The whole dynamism of his many enterprises finds adequate explanation only in his profound love for Christ and his fellow men. His spirit of religious obedience was remarkable.

Of the many tributes paid to the memory of Father Hurtado, the most touching perhaps was a newspaper editorial written by a man who had lost the Faith. After expressing deep admiration for Father Hurtado, the editor wrote: "Those who believe can pray for him and be consoled. I cannot find such consolation. Therefore, for me his death is bitter, without remedy, final."

RENATO POBLETE, S.J.

Books of Interest to Ours

CHURCH AND STATE

The Two Sovereignties. By Joseph Lecler, S.J. New York, Philosophical Library, 1952. Pp. x-186. \$3.75.

In a most enlightening way for our time, Don Luigi Sturzo has portrayed systematically the expansion of consciousness through human process by which man has penetrated the world around him with ever richer and deeper levels of rationality. Good and evil, peace and calamity, truth and falsity, coupled with every type of human reaction to apprehended values, have all by their dialectic tension jogged on this processive infusion of rationality into man's total experience. Great books are obviously helpful toward an appreciation of human experience and tradition, and this little volume of Father Lecler is an outstanding contribution toward clarification of a problem that has vexed mankind ever since the distinction between the sacred and the temporal was injected into the human process by Christ. For as our understanding of human realities, individual and especially social, develops, so too does our sense for the nuances and tonalities of unchanging dogma in its application to the concrete grow more confident.

Father Lecler, S.J., an editor of *Etudes* and a professor at the Institut Catholique in Paris, published *L'Eglise et la Souveraineté de L'Etat* in 1946, of which *The Two Sovereignties* is a translation. The book attempts a clarification of a most complex social problem—social on the level of the sacred as well as on the level of the temporal and political. It offers a doctrinal treatment of the basic Catholic principles governing the Church's attitude toward the question of State sovereignty. This is then complemented by an historical survey of the various incarnations of these principles.

Father Lecler does not say the final word. That will come in its proper time from the *magisterium*. Meanwhile Catholic scholars are working towards a solution. However, the book is very valuable in its insistence on the fact of a true progress in Catholic dogma, even in relation to the State. Nor has the dogma involved here been enunciated with anything like the clarity of, say, a Trinitarian formula. The Church has so long been involved in the business of defending her rights against the persecutions which revelation indicated would always be with her, that there have been few periods when a truly dispassionate investigation of dogmatic ultimates could be undertaken. Hence Father Lecler trumpets the absolute necessity of turning to history as a help in discerning between "solidly-founded tradition and merely provisional orientations." History as a discipline makes caution a habit, and in this dogmatic field few intellectual qualities are as necessary as caution. There is possibly no sphere of action and theory in modern society where an uncautious zeal, however well intended, can so readily quench the smoking flax. Nor is this caution a pusillanimity in defending Catholic truth, since there is much puzzlement in competent Catholic quarters

about the validity of many statements put forth by various private Catholic sources as true Catholic doctrine.

Certainly the claim of the publishers that this book is likely to remain a standard authority on the relationship of Church and State is not completely without foundation. It is an important book, and that not the least in its observations on the modern phenomenon of the lay state.

FRANCIS J. GROGAN, S.J.

The Life of Archbishop John Ireland. By James H. Moynihan. New York, Harper, 1953. Pp. xii-441. \$5.00.

The years between 1875 and the end of World War I were turbulent ones for the Church in the United States. In the center of the turmoil stood John Ireland whose Irish heart would not permit him to turn away from a good fight. Moved by zeal for the Church and love of America, he plunged into the controversies concerning nationalism in the Church, the school question, and the so-called heresy of Americanism. Although the outcome was not all that Archbishop Ireland had wished, he never surrendered, however much he wearied of the struggle as the years passed by. Impatient with those who hesitated or delayed, sometimes imprudent, he hurt tender feelings with his bluntness. Adversaries struck back, of course. He expected that, and he complained only when he thought an unfair blow had been landed. The Church owes this apostolic warrior a debt of gratitude.

By becoming the first worthwhile biographer the Archbishop has had, Monsignor Moynihan has attempted to pay some part of that debt. He has indicated, as he set out to do, "the vision, the courage and the myriad activities of 'the Apostle of the West,' as well as the contribution which during half a century he made to Church and State." Readers will be impressed by the tireless efforts Ireland made, the good he accomplished, the range of his interests, and the liberalness of his views. All are included, with numerous quotations from the Archbishop's own works, in this story of his life.

Little fault can be found with what is included in the book; a certain amount of repetition is the inevitable result of bypassing the ordinary chronological approach to biography in favor of separate essays. When, for instance, the author writes of "The Educator" in chapter ten, he cannot avoid repeating some of the things he already put down in his chapter on "The School Question."

The chief objection to the work is that Monsignor Moynihan has not allowed enough of Archbishop Ireland to come through to the reader. His imprudence is mentioned but carefully concealed; so, too, is his impatience. His wit and humor are nowhere to be found in these pages, while the force and color of his personality are apparent only in some of the quotations from his own works.

Although one might wish for a more intimate personal acquaintance

with the dynamic Archbishop, he will find here a readable and interesting record of his multitudinous labors and lofty aspirations.

JOSEPH D. AYD, S.J.

IGNATIAN SPIRITUALITY

The Spirituality of St. Ignatius Loyola, An Account of Its Historical Development. *By Hugo Rahner, S.J.* Translated by Francis J. Smith, S.J. Westminster, Newman, 1953. Pp. xv-142.

It is not enough to know only the final form of a thing, but also its genesis and development. This truism, as old as Aristotle, has served as a *point de depart* for Father Hugo Rahner, S.J., in his scholarly study of the apostolic spirituality of St. Ignatius. First written at Innsbruck in 1947, and shortly after translated into French, this important study of Ignatian spirituality is now made available in English by Father Francis J. Smith, S.J., of the Chicago Province.

After a first reading of this unusually useful and truly inspiring commentary, the first thought that comes to mind is: "How has the author managed to say so very much that is so worth-while in the compass of so few pages?" And a rereading of the slender volume only underlines the query. In less than 125 pages of text, Father Rahner has given us as deep an insight into "the nature of the ideal of perfection" of the Spiritual Exercises and the Society of Jesus as is, we think, humanly possible. There is a conscious spareness and economy of words in the author's style that only makes for a clearer presentation of the "genesis and development" of our spirituality. He has given us that combination "of unction of the spirit and tradition" without which it is impossible to gain a complete understanding either of the Spiritual Exercises or of our Society.

The genuine stamp of devoted and painstaking scholarship is here—make no mistake of that. But the author has succeeded in "breaking through the surface of texts in the sources," and has uncovered to us "those depths which lie beyond the pale of pure history, where the countenance of St. Ignatius in his contemplation of God takes on those unforgettable lineaments which he has handed down in the books of his spiritual experiences and in the books of the foundation of his Order." (p. xi) Not content with this, Father Rahner has very tellingly and beautifully placed the ideal of Ignatius and his Order into the general stream of the history of the development of perfection from Apostolic times until the Saint's own day and beyond. This he has achieved by contrasting, while at the same time indicating the essentially similar features of, St. Ignatius and that other Ignatius of Antioch, Basil, Benedict, and Augustine, and lastly Catherine and Bernardine of Siena. In each of these little gems of comparison we see the pre-eminence of mystical contact with God, the Pauline "solicitude for all the churches," and the constant submission to the Church of Christ. "Every grace

must be measured by the law of the Church; every love, by the spirit of obedience; every spirit, by the Mystical Body of Christ, our Lord." (p. xiii) St. Ignatius is unquestionably a man of the Church.

Naturally, certain facets of this mystico-apostolic spirituality are highlighted as a result of our study. First there is the ideal of service that Ignatius meant himself and his sons to render to Christ's Body, the Church—a service that must be characterized by the *magis* and the *caritas discreta* that so mark the actualization of Ignatius' ideal. Speaking of this "discreet love" Father Rahner remarks: "No one can have a right understanding or make an unflinching correct use of this discretion, except one who has from prayerful experience learned to know the source from which it springs; that is, from knowledge, enlightened by grace, of the discernment of spirits, or, to speak theologically, from knowledge of the relation existing between nature and grace, between Christ and the world." (p. 42) The mark of service to be rendered to the Mystical Body of Christ is found in the Society's "illimitability"—to be measured only by Christ and the daily battle for the salvation of His Church—and in the Society's "readiness to dare and do all, never allowing itself to be wholly confined within the limits of peaceful forms and tasks." (p. 109)

As we make our way through this incomparable study of Ignatian spirituality, we are forcefully reminded of those words of Father Lindworsky's: "Each one must to a certain degree himself become the founder of the Order, grasp the ideal of the founder, animate himself therewith, and apply it to himself in his particular conditions." (*Psychology of Asceticism*, p. 22) One might truly say that this book was written in order to implement these words, and to fit them for use by the Jesuit of today. For it perfectly fulfils the need of each of us to grasp the ideal of our holy founder and to animate ourselves with that boundless love which burned within his saintly heart. Nor must the mystical origin of the Society deter us from laying hold of this ideal of perfection. "An intensive study of theology must compensate for our deficiency of Ignatius' gift of sudden insight 'into the connection between the mysteries of our Faith and of the Church.'" And Father Rahner points to three tracts of theology of the utmost importance for a right understanding of the Spiritual Exercises and the ideal of our Society. These are: the theology of sin; the theology of the Kingdom of Christ as a war waged against Satan; and the theology of the discernment of spirits. (pp. 94-6)

"Therefore, we may sum up the results of this historical survey on the ideal of perfection, as it should be lived in the Spiritual Exercises and in the Society of Jesus, in the following words: Service in the Church, under the banner of the Cross, for the glory of the Father." (p. 111) And the spirit in which such service is to be rendered? A triple love—a love of discipline, reverence and self-forgetfulness.

Here, then, is a study that *all* of Ours must read, and reread—and make its message the subject both of meditation and fervent prayer.

JOHN F. X. BURTON, S.J.

Retreat Notes. By *Joseph Keating, S.J.* Edited by Philip Caraman, S.J. Westminster, Newman, 1953. Pp. xi-129. \$1.75.

Father Joseph Keating, S.J., is best known for his work with *The Month*. For thirty-two years, from 1907 until his death in 1939, he served on its staff; for all but the first five years he was its editor. His literary work consequently needs little introduction to English and American readers. Now his posthumous *Retreat Notes* come as a worthy supplement to his many other published works. Father Philip Caraman, S.J., has edited the spiritual diaries which Father Keating kept of his yearly retreats from his long retreat in the noviceship in 1883 until his death. From these, beginning with the year 1910, when his retreat reflections become more direct and original, Father Caraman has selected his insights into the retreat meditations. They make a worthwhile contribution to the literature on the Exercises.

The book is planned on the lines of the Exercises with its weeks and meditations. For each meditation the editor has assembled in brief paragraphs the more striking inspirations which Father Keating received in prayer. Each paragraph represents a distinct meditation and although very compressed, the observations which Father Keating makes are generally very stimulating. It is a humble book, only 129 small pages, but for its compression of thought on the one hand and the power of its message on the other, it is most admirable. It is a book which has to be read very slowly but it well repays the reader by its discerning knowledge of the Exercises and the spiritual life, the depth and maturity of its spirituality, and the glimpses it gives us of the inner man. It will prove useful both for those who give retreats and for those who make them.

JOHN J. MCCONNELL, S.J.

Obedience. By *various Authors.* Westminster, Newman, 1953. Pp. 289.

It is the purpose of this present volume of essays to dispel many of the clouds of ill will and misunderstanding that shroud this "Christifying" virtue. High-lighted throughout are the difficulties that confront the youthful aspirant or candidate of today, so immersed in a milieu that seeks personal salvation in a spirit of unbounded independence. His (or more properly her) particular problems *vis-à-vis* obedience are given a thorough airing; and appeal is made to reason and Revelation in arriving at methods of training and other "adaptations" necessary in modern religious life.

Obedience is the fourth in a series of studies undertaken by the Editors of the French Dominican review, *La Vie Spirituelle*, and translated into English by an anonymous "C. P." The essays are divided into those dealing with: History, Doctrine, Psychological Maturity, Experimental. The concluding chapter is on the total surrender that perfect obedience demands, and is easily one of the best of the collection.

Although the essays were intended for women religious (and some are

written by women—religious and lay), it is surprising how much in common we have with the distaff side of the cloister—in this matter of obedience. Human nature is the common lot of us all, irrespective of sex, and it is human nature with which obedience must grapple. The accidental differences which one must expect are, of course, given special treatment. But this in no way detracts from the value of the book for the Jesuit, whose ideal of perfection is so identified with this virtue of obedience. Three of the chapters are written by Ours, and one of them comments on St. Ignatius' contribution to the literature (and practice) of obedience.

The problem of the lack of initiative that threatens the obedient religious; the necessity of love in the will if obedience is to be a "human act" and so productive of a "human" personality; the inter-relation of intelligence and faith, and its consequences on the ticklish subject of "blind obedience"; and finally the function of the virtue as it is animated by love in the formation of Christ within us, are some of the more valuable items of interest. The need for self-donation, and self-surrender over self-realization are stressed throughout. There is scarcely a page that will not yield inspiration and further understanding of this so important virtue that thereby we may be led to a more complete practice of obedience.

JOHN F. X. BURTON, S.J.

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MOULDER OF MEN

A Moulder of Men, John H. O'Rourke, S.J. *By W. Coleman Nevils, S.J.*
New York, Apostleship of Prayer, 1953. Pp. xv + 284.

In compiling this memoir, the author has permitted Father O'Rourke to write his own life and to speak for himself as master of novices, as editor of the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, as preacher and retreat master. Out of the immense amount of matter at his disposal, Father Nevils has chosen typical examples of Father O'Rourke's writings, sermons, conferences, and meditations. From them all and from the writer's skillfully interwoven commentary, there emerges the picture of a Jesuit after the heart of St. Ignatius. In the memoir Father O'Rourke stands out as pre-eminently *contemplativus in actione*, a man who practised what he preached, who drank the chalice of humiliation and was not unacquainted with sorrow, who refused, in spite of much pain, both physical and mental, to mitigate his labors but went on day after day with a smile on his lips. And his death was even more heroic than his life.

Father Nevils was well fitted to write this memoir. He spent the first four years of his religious life under Father O'Rourke's care. He lived with him at Poughkeepsie, when Father O'Rourke was instructor of tertians. He made two Long Retreats under Father O'Rourke's direction and was frequently in touch with him during Father O'Rourke's literary and apostolic life. He himself was deeply influenced by Father

O'Rourke's teaching and example and was well aware of the extent of the influence which Father O'Rourke exerted on others, both within and without the Society. He had a profound and lasting admiration for Father O'Rourke's tireless zeal, his apostolic energy, his spirit of poverty, his ardent love of Jesus Christ, and his personal holiness.

Father Nevils might easily, therefore, have been led into writing a panegyric. He has not done so. His memoir is marked throughout by an admirable restraint and is a sober presentation of facts. The style, as in his other books, is facile, simple, unaffected, with a gracious undertone of humor. Himself no mean moulder of men, he has given us an inspiring portrait of a great moulder of men. Those who read the book will be grateful for it. It is good to know that we have had, and still have, men like Father O'Rourke.

J. HARDING FISHER, S.J.

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LAY APOSTOLATE

The Faith and Modern Man. By Romano Guardini. New York, Pantheon Books, 1952. Pp. vii-166. \$2.50.

In the preface to the twelve essays that form the book under review, Monsignor Guardini reminds the reader of their special history. Written during the late war, they were prompted by a desire of the author to inform and strengthen the minds of a confused people in Germany. Originally twelve lectures delivered in a Berlin church, these essays were distributed as letter enclosures until their suppression by a hostile government. Each grew spontaneously from the questionings and doubts of Christians in a period of severe spiritual threat.

Guardini re-examines and clarifies for modern man various fundamental truths of the Catholic faith, and he selects those that are especially challenged in the world today. In order, his subjects are adoration, God's patience, God's dominion and man's freedom, the Lordship of Christ, providence, revelation as history, faith, doubt in the stages of life, dogma, the saints, the devil, and purgatory. The author writes from personal experience with the contemporary problems of man, and undoubtedly he is in close contact with the modern mind. He is a theologian who restates fundamental truths with a warmth and persuasiveness. Without being polemical, his apologetic writing is eminently clear and instructive for priest and layman. This is indeed an appealing and rewarding book by one of the foremost theologians in Europe today. His reflection on the distinctive character of a Christian is particularly appropriate today when Christian life is threatened: "To stand firm, the Christian will have to gain a deeper and purer understanding of his own nature. He must know the sacred history which stretches from the beginning of the world down through all the mighty acts of God to Christ, and from Christ to himself. He must believe in a much more actual way in providence in his personal life—not in the sense of a wise, universal order, but in the sense that his own destiny is being guided by his Father

in heaven, and that the salvation of what appears to him a casual, but what to God is a precious existence, is linked with the coming about of God's kingdom. Through this understanding every happening will take on meaning, every hour be significant in its demands."

MARSHALL B. WINKLER, S.J.

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We and the Holy Spirit. By Léonce de Grandmaison, S.J. Translated by Angeline Bouchard. Chicago, Fides, 1953. Pp. xix-223. \$3.75.

The notes used by Father de Grandmaison in his conferences to a group of schoolteachers are here assembled into a program for lay apostles. His is a plain hard diet—docility, labor, prayer, purification. The apostle's sanctity is rooted in a desire to spread the Kingdom of God. Its atmosphere is habitual prayer and docility to God's inspirations; its reward, besides a harvest of souls, is apostolic joy.

In teaching mental prayer he makes excellent use of citations from Sts. Bernard and Augustine to show how a text from scripture can be savoured and how thought merges into affective prayer. Yet his chief contribution in this field is his concept of "virtual prayer," a conscious preference of apostolic interests over selfish concerns, God's plans over human plans, the Spirit of Christ over the spirit of the world. "It is truly prayer because it unites us to God, makes us docile to His inspirations and attunes us to His will. . . . It is called 'virtual' because it continues long after the few positive acts from which it flows, and it has an impact on our life that is far out of proportion to the time devoted to these positive acts."

Style is the book's main defect. Often the notes are too brief and abstract to be meaningful; and the translation, though generally well done, is a bit too literal. The result is phrases like "martyrizing zeal" or words whose English meaning is different from what the author intends. Then, too, Father de Grandmaison would doubtless have been the first to delete many fleshless mediocre chapters whose only recommendation is his name.

The book is more suited to occasional meditation than a continuous reading. On the whole it offers to the educated lay apostle suggestions that are practical as well as inspiring, and to friends of Father de Grandmaison a rewarding view of his spirit and ideals.

JOSEPH E. KERNS, S.J.

A Layman's Way to Perfection. By Robert B. Eiten, S.J. St. Meinrad, Grail, 1953. Pp. 117. \$1.75.

"The matter treated here should provide enough material for a two-hour course on the Spiritual Theology of Perfection for the Laity." In the light of this, the author's purpose, the book should be judged a

success. It is concise, moves clearly and systematically through the call to perfection, the concept of perfection, sin and the counsels—all in terms which a layman would readily understand.

Practicality is its outstanding virtue. It does not merely praise spiritual reading but suggests a few titles; and after advising the reader to draw up a way of life with definite ideals, it offers a sample program and describes some of the organizations in the United States today for laymen aiming at perfection. Awareness of the layman's special problems is apparent in its suggestions for making the Catholic home an attractive place to live, or in its treatment of devotion to the saints, a section especially useful in this age of novenas.

The style is suited to a textbook, plain, clear, with bare outlines often preferred to a more literary treatment of topics such as meditation and the general examen. Though technical Latin terms are remarkably well translated, the examples are often weak and dilute a book that is otherwise rich in content.

The treatment is rapid, sketchy, and designed to be supplemented by a teacher. However, directors in search of a brief clear guide for laymen aspiring to perfection might do well to consult this book.

JOSEPH E. KERNS, S.J.

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Perfection Is for You. By *Thomas J. Higgins, S.J.* Milwaukee, Bruce, 1953. Pp. x-271. \$4.25.

This series of twelve conferences on phases of the ascetical life, originally intended for Religious but here adapted to laymen, is obviously the product of many years' work. The author's contention, very well expressed in the preface, is that "Inspiration, to be genuine, must be grounded upon faith and reason, and that groundwork should be manifest." The book that results is notable for a theological depth that is rare in works of this type.

Scripture, the Summa, and a host of authorities are marshalled to support or illustrate ideas. Almost every page is fortified with appropriate quotations from the Fathers. The author's own observations, such as those on the relations of subjects and superiors, are often penetrating and always marked by common sense. If there is a defect here, it is the failure to deal more concretely with the particular problems of laymen. The book still tends to discuss asceticism in general, and too many of the examples have meaning only for Religious.

The style is always clear, tends to be abstract, and requires slow, thoughtful reading. An unhappy choice of words makes it uneven at times. Colloquialisms like "smithereens" do not sit well amid the theological terms and such heavy phrases as "making us like unto God."

The first two chapters with their description of perfection and the soul's progress toward it, are the book's outstanding contribution. On the whole it is a happy blend of doctrine and inspiration and should

arouse in educated laymen with a reflective turn of mind a desire for the life which it describes.

JOSEPH E. KERNS, S.J.

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How to Read the Bible. By *Abbé Roger Poelman*. Translated by a Nun of Regina Laudis, O.S.B. New York, Kenedy, 1953. Pp. 113. \$1.50.

This self-teaching guide to the inspired word, translated from the popular French edition *Ouvrons la Bible*, deserves a place on the shelves of the Catholic laity. Though little more than a set of program notes to help the uninitiate follow the score, the book is accurately gauged to encourage the ordinary person who knows not where to start nor how to proceed through the ponderous Scriptures.

The author actually makes the Old Testament look less awesome by his method of simply highlighting salient aspects, persons, and events in the chronicle and by suggesting for reading brief snatches of more memorable passages. In this way the thread of continuity is easily followed and the reader is more apt to be impressed by the historical consistency of God's dealing with our race. Frequent and appropriate cross reference, especially to the New Testament, brings out the Messianic design very fittingly.

Since this is a "how-to" book and not a commentary, one ought not to argue with the author for according more space to the Pauline writings than to Gospels and Acts together. For like a useful set of Ignatian points, the notes offer a minimum prelection for profitable reading without taking away the reader's joy of discovery. In our age of religious illiteracy when men run more than they read, this kind of aid serves a blessed purpose.

NICHOLAS J. CARROLL, S.J.

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Of Sacraments and Sacrifice. By *Clifford Howell, S.J.* Collegeville, The Liturgical Press, 1952. Pp. xi-171. \$2.50.

Seeking to attract new readers, the editors of *Worship* (formerly *Orate Fratres*) requested Father Clifford Howell, S.J., to do a series of articles which would help "the beginner," new to the liturgical point of view. The popularity of the series warranted their reappearance under one cover. *Of Sacraments and Sacrifice* is the result.

The title indicates the general division of the book, yet hardly indicates the scope of the material covered. Opening with an explanation of the purpose of the liturgical apostolate as "mature Catholicism" or the active participation of the laity in the liturgy, Father Howell deftly guides the reader through the fundamentals. The notion of the supernatural and the life of grace, the doctrine of the Mystical Body, the sacramental order, and what is involved in the terms "liturgy" and "worship" all receive clear explanation. With his sight set on the uninitiated,

criticism of the sketchy treatment given such profound doctrines would hardly be fair. The reader may be disappointed, however, that the treatment of the sacraments individually is so brief. The historical picture of the sacrament of penance as practised about the sixth century will evoke lay-folk interest.

With the conviction that Catholics do not understand the Mass, precisely because they do not understand the meaning of sacrifice, a detailed exposition of its nature and meaning is given. There follows a brief explanation of the theology of the redemption in the perfect sacrifice of Christ. The notion of the lay priesthood plus a chapter on completing the sacrifice by accepting God's return gift in Holy Communion receive due treatment. The Dialogue Mass is promoted, while Father Howell scores heavily against private prayers during the Mass—a public act.

The two final chapters differ widely from the general theme. The vitality of our liturgy having been lost (not in substance but in outward form), a liturgical reform is advocated. The Mass in the time of Pope St. Gregory is envisioned as having attained particular excellence with the social nature of the sacrifice made apparent by differentiation of function by the participants. The priest doing all in today's Mass performs a "one-man sacrifice." The key problem of public worship today is posed as, "extrinsic difficulties of the esoteric liturgy we have had for centuries have produced an intrinsic difficulty of mental maladjustment." It is a question of private devotions versus public worship. The solution is seen in a reorientation of the public mind from, "the hyper-sentimental, individualistic, self-centered type of piety, to the dogma-filled, communal and Christocentric type enshrined (or should one say buried) in the liturgy."

Father Howell is no radical, nor does he advocate any revolutionary readjustment, yet he is progressive. He is convinced that the reform will come. Meanwhile he gives himself to preparing the faithful with partial solutions.

JOHN E. BENNETT, S.J.

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The Sacred Heart Encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII and Pope Pius XI.
Edited by Carl J. Moell, S.J. New York, America, 1953. Pp. 72.
 \$.25.

On the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of *Miserentissimus Redemptor*, Father Moell has edited this commemorative pamphlet which contains four encyclical letters on devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. It is dedicated to Leo XIII, the Pope of Consecration, and to Pius XI, the Pope of Reparation. Each letter is followed by a brief outline. The collection closes with an excerpt from Pius XII, on the Unity of Human Society.

JAMES A. MCKEOUGH, S.J.

