# WOODSTOCK LETTERS

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### INDEX TO VOLUME 92

### ARTICLES

African Easter Retreat	971
	233
Are We Giving The Spiritual Exercises As Exercises?	
Augustin Cardinal Bea, S.J.	
Basic Elements in Jesuit High School Sodalities	27
Blessed Ignace Mangin and His Companions, Martyrs	
Christ Forms The Martyr	
Geographic Distribution of Jesuits: 1961	
A Half-Century With the Queen's Work	
Hotel Champlain—Bellarmine College	
Ignatian Survey: 1962	
An Ignatian Synthesis	
Jesuit Reductions in the Philippines and Paraguay	
	211
A Letter of Very Reverend Father General to all Major Superiors on	
the Study and Use of Latin	3
Nigeria: A New Challenge	13
	253
Psychological Notes on the Spiritual Exercises	349
Scripture Services and the Spiritual Exercises	
The Washington March: August 28, 1963	367
OBITUARIES	
	151
•	139
Father Gerald Ellard	
Brother Michael McHugh	
Father Arthur J. Sheehan	
Father James P. Sweeney	403
CONTRIBUTORS	
AHERN, EUGENE, Jesuit Censorship	383
BANGERT, WILLIAM V., Obituary of Brother McHugh	-63
CAHILL, JOSEPH, Blessed Ignace Mangin and His Companions,	00
Martyrs	115
CUSHNER, NICHOLAS P., Jesuit Reductions in the Philippines and Paraguay	223
DEGNAN, DANIEL, The Washington March: August 28, 1963	367
Duce, Hugh M., Obituary of Father Connolly	
FAHERTY, WILLIAM B., A Half-Century with the Queen's Work	99

GALLEN, JOHN, Scripture Services and the Spiritual Exercises	253 57 271 293 395
MEISSNER, W. W., Psychological Notes on the Spiritual Exercises  MURRAY, J. CLAYTON, Obituary of Father Sweeney  REPETTI, W. C., Jesuits Enter the Philippine Islands  RIFORGIATO, LEONARD R., Hotel Champlain—Bellarmine College  SMYTHE, DONALD, Are We Giving The Spiritual Exercises as  Exercises?  SPONGA, EDWARD J., An Ignatian Synthesis  TIERNEY, FRANCIS J., Obituary of Brother Burke  VAN DORN, CHARLES A., Basic Elements in Jesuit High School  Sodalities.  WHELAN, FRANK H., An Annotated Bibliography in Pastoral Psychology	349 403 211 259 247 333 151 27
WOOD, WILLIAM T., Nigeria: A New Challenge	13
BOOK REVIEWS  AMIOT, FRANCOIS, The Key Concepts of St. Paul (Paul A. Becker)  ARNOLD, MAGDA B., HISPANICUS, PETREOLUS, WEISGERBER, CHARLES A., D'ARCY, PAUL F., and HERR, VINCENT V., Screening Candidates for the Priesthood and Religious Life (Richard P. Vaughan)	78 197
AVALOS, BEATRICE, New Men For New Times (Mario G. Alinea)	86
BAUM, GREGORY, Progress and Perspectives: The Catholic Quest for Christian Unity (Daniel J. O'Hanlon)  BEA, AUGUSTIN CARDINAL, The Unity of Christians, Ed. by Bernard Leeming (O. Begus)	75
Berrigan, Daniel, The World for Wedding Ring (Henry J. Bertels) Bier, William C., ed., The Adolescent: His Search for Understanding (Neil Ver Schneider)	203
CAVANAGH, JOHN R., Fundamental Pastoral Counseling: Technic and Psychology (W. W. Meissner)  CLARK, DENNIS, The Ghetto Game (William P. Pickett)	72 86
COLIN, LOUIS, The Meaning of Prayer (Thomas F. McManus)  COLLINS, JAMES, Three Paths in Philosophy (Walter E. Stokes)  DAVIS, CHARLES, Theology for Today (Gerard F. Waldorf)  DELP, Alfred, The Prison Meditations of Father Delp (James H. Brieninger)	81 304 418
DE VINCK, JOSE, tr., The Works of Bonaventure. Vol. II, The Breviloquium (George J. Schemel)	

Donohue, John W., Jesuit Education. An Essay on the Foundations
of Its Idea (George E. Ganss)
DRURY, RONAN, Preaching (Thomas King)
EVOY, JOHN J., and CHRISTOPH, VAN F., Personality Development in the Religious Life (Juan J. Santiago)
FLOOD, EDMUND, In Memory of Me (Joseph P. Whelan)
GALLAGHER, LOUIS J., Edmund A. Walsh (Henry C. Bischoff)
GERKEN, JOHN D., Toward a Theology of the Layman (Thomas H. O'Gorman)
GILMONT, JEAN-FRANCOIS, Les Ecrits Spirituels Des Primiers Jésuites (Eugene J. Ahern)
GLEASON, ROBERT W., Grace (Denis P. Murphy)
GLEASON, ROBERT W., ed., Problems and Progress (Michael D. Moga)
GRANDE, BROTHER LUKE M., Twelve Virtues of a Good Teacher
(Clement J. Petrick)
HAIGERTY, LEO J., Pius XII and Technology (James T. Dehn)
O'Gorman)
IPARRAGUIRRE, IGNACIO, Répertoire De Spiritualité Ignatienne (1556- 1615) (Eugene J. Ahern)
JUNGMANN, J. A., Pastoral Liturgy (Gerald Ellard)
KARRER, OTTO, Peter and the Church: An Examination of Cullmann's Thesis, Tr. by Ronald Walls (Peter J. McCord)
KÜNG, HANS, That The World May Believe (Avery Dulles)
LEYS, MARY D. R., Catholics in England: 1559-1829, A Social History (Gerald R. Rippon)
MACKEY, JAMES PATRICK, The Modern Theology of Tradition (Martin J. Foley)
McCorry, Vincent P., It Is His Own Blood (Eugene J. Barber) McGrath, John J., ed., Church and State in American Law (Richard
J. Regan) McKenzie, John L., ed., The Bible in Current Catholic Thought
(Joseph J. De Vault)
MERTON, THOMAS, Life and Holiness (William J. Bergen) MOODY, JOSEPH N., and LAWLER, JUSTIN GEORGE, ed., The Challenge
of Mater et Magistra (Francis X. Quinn)
MOUNIER, EMMANUEL, Be Not Afraid (Leo A. Murray)
O'GARA, JAMES, ed., The Layman in the Church (Joseph J. Feeney)
Oralison, Marc, Illusion and Anxiety, Tr. by Bernard Murchland (Gene M. Buckinghan)
PAONE, ANTHONY J., My Life With Christ (Neil L. Doherty)
POHLSCHNEIDER, JOHANNES, Adsum: A Bishop Speaks to His Priests
(Raul J. Bonoan)  QUINN, FRANCIS X., ed., The Ethical Aftermath of Automation  (Thomas A. O'Conner)
(Thomas A. O'Connor)  RAHNER, KARL, The Church and the Sacraments, Tr. by W. J.
O'Hara (Thomas McQ. Rauch)
REGAN, RICHARD, American Pluralism and the Catholic Conscience (Jon O'Brien)

Schoenberg, Wilfred P., A Chronicle of Catholic History of the
Pacific Northwest (James J. Hennesey)
SCHÖKEL, LUIS ALONSO, Understanding Biblical Research, Tr. by
Peter J. McCord (Martin Palmer) 31
SCHUTZ, ROGER, Unity: Man's Tomorrow (Schuyler Brown) 31
SHEED, FRANK J., To Know Christ Jesus (Ralph W. Dengler) 20
SIEBERS P. BERNHARD, Quell des Lebens und der Heiligkeit (Clement
J. Petrik)
SYNAVE, PAUL, and BENOIT, PIERRE, Prophecy and Inspiration (Thomas E. Clarke)
TEILHARD DE CHARDIN, PIERRE, Letters from a Traveller, Ed. by Claude Aragonnès (Charles L. Currie)
THORMAN, DONALD J., The Emerging Layman (Andrew J. Weigert) 20 VAN DER MEER, F., Augustine the Bishop (C. G. Arévalo)
WARD, BARBARA, The Rich Nations (Lucien F. Longtin)
WEBER, GERARD P., and KILLGALLON, JAMES, The God Who Loves Us (William J. Keyes)
WEIGEL, GUSTAVE, Churches in North America (William J. Hendricks)
WHYTE, LANCELOT LAW, ed., Roger Joseph Boscovich (Frederick A. Homann)
WORDEN, THOMAS, The Psalms Are Christian Prayer (Jose V. Aquino) 20
The Layman's Missal (James H. Breininger)

#### GENERAL INDEX

Adolescence 244 Africa 13 ff. 271 African Mission Society 22 f. Agape 327 ff. America~372American Church 297 ff. American Council for Democracy Under God 321 ff. Andlauer, Modeste 130 Apostleship Of Prayer 34 Bea, Augustin Cardinal 317 ff. Bellarmine College 259 Berrigan, Daniel 373 Boston Archdiocese 57 ff. Boston College 317 ff. Boxer Rebellion 115 ff. Burke, Maurice F. 151 ff. California Province 139 ff. Canisius College 404 ff. Catechetics 271 ff. Catholic Interracial Councils 370 ff. Censorship 383 Chang, Beda 395 ff.

Charity 153 ff.

China 115 ff.

Civil Rights 367 ff.

Counseling, Pastoral 233 ff.

Denn. Paul 129 f.

Ecumenism 317 ff.

Ellard, Gerald 293 ff.

Fordham University 372

Garesché, Edward 99 f.

Georgetown University 373

High School Sodalities 27 ff.

Hotel Champlain 259

Hurley, Philip 373

Instruction on the Juniorate 5

Treland 63

Isoré, Remi 129 f.

Janssens, Fr. Gen. John B. 3 ff, 251

Jesuit Educational Association 61

Jesuits 49 ff.

John XXIII, Pope 319

LaFarge, John 372

Lagos (Nig.) 13 ff.

Latin 3 ff.

Ledochowski, Wlodimir 4, 251

Le Moyne College 373

Letter on the Method of Dealing with Superiors 255

Letter on Obedience 253 ff.

Liberty 322

Liturgy 271 ff, 293 ff.

Liturgy and The Society 294

Lord, Daniel A. 99

Loyola University (Calif.) 140 ff.

Mangin, Blessed Ignace 115 ff.

Martyrdom 395 ff.

McGinty, John J. 13

McHugh, Michael 63 ff.

McKinley, President William 264

Mexico 214 ff.

New England Province 60 ff.

Nigeria 13 ff.

Obedience 253

Paraguay 223

Pastoral Psychology 233

Philippine Islands 211, 223

Pizzardo, Cardinal 155

Psychology, and the Spiritual Exercises 349 ff.

Queen's Work 99 ff.

Ratio Studiorum 4 ff.

Reductions, Jesuit 223

Renaud, Rosario 115

Retreat, African Easter 271 Revolutionary War 259 Sacred Heart, Devotion to 396 ff. St. Ignatius of Antioch 396 ff. St. Mary's, Kansas 293 ff. St. Peter's Prep 151 ff. Salvation—History 271 Sanchez, Alonso 214 ff. Scholastics 3 ff. Schuh, Joseph 22, 25 Scripture Services 375 Secretariat for Christian Unity 331 ff. Sedes Sapientiae 5 f. Sheehan, Arthur J. 57 ff. Sodality 27 ff, 99 ff. Spiritual Exercises 241, 341 ff, 349 ff, 375 Spirituality, Jesuit 333 ff. Summer School of Catholic Action 108 ff, 298 UNESCO 17 ff. Vatican Council, Second 330 Vernacular 299

Veterum Sapientia 3 Viola, John Baptist 254 Washington, D. C. 367 ff. Weston 58 Wood, William T 13 ff. Woodstock College 367 ff. Woodstock Letters 367 Worship 297 Xavier High 57

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VOL. XCII, No. 1

FEBRUARY, 1963

### CONTENTS FOR FEBRUARY, 1963

A LETTER OF VERY REVEREND FATHER GENERAL TO ALL MAJOR SUPERIORS ON THE STUDY AND USE OF LATIN	Ş
NIGERIA: A NEW CHALLENGE	13
BASIC ELEMENTS IN JESUIT HIGH SCHOOL SODALITIES Charles A. Van Dorn, S.J.	27
GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF JESUITS: 1961 William J. Mehok, S.J.	49
FATHER ARTHUR J. SHEEHANRobert A. Hewitt, S.J.	57
BROTHER MICHAEL McHUGH	63
BOOK REVIEWS	71

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# A Letter of Very Reverend Father General to All Major Superiors on the Study and Use of Latin

Reverend Father in Christ: Pax Christi.

The Rules of Scholastics prescribe, among other things, that "in accord with the mind of the Church they should acquire as exactly as possible a theoretical knowledge of, and skill in the use" of the Latin language. The mind and will of the Church, seen in the spirit of faith, are our supreme norm of thinking and acting. In a filial and devoted spirit, then, we received the Apostolic Constitution *Veterum Sapientia*, in which the Sovereign Pontiff has again clearly expressed "the sentiments of the Apostolic See on this subject."<sup>2</sup>

Even though all Ours who have even a slight knowledge of our Institute<sup>3</sup> realize that in this matter there is no room for uncertainty, still in this letter I intend to urge the study and use of the Latin language. And please do not think that this is a "mere formality," as they say. In the Society's mode of government or in the Society's obedience there should never be any pretense. Sincere obedience, however, while it strives to be manly and straightforward, sets itself to learn the intentions of those in authority, then to make those intentions its own both in intellect and will, and finally to carry them out wholeheartedly.

<sup>3</sup> Coll. d. 86 §§ 1, 3, 5, 6, 8; 140 § 1. Cf. Const. IV, 6, 4 (366).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Rat. Stud. Sup. (1954) 284 § 2. Nos. 281-288 or P. IV, Sect. IV De Officiis Scholasticorum gives the revised text of the Rules of Scholastics. These, together with the new Rules for Regents and Rules for Special Students, will soon be distributed in one booklet.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> AAS 54 (1962) 129-135. The Ordinations of the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities for the implementation of the Apostolic Constitution, published in AAS 54 (1962) 339-368, are not expressly mentioned here because they have to do with Pontifical or Diocesan Seminaries, both major and minor. In our scholasticates however they apply to the Faculties as such. Our Faculties have received these Ordinations from the Sacred Congregation itself and will make sure that they are exactly observed.

The training given to all Ours who are destined for the priesthood is not intended to give that knowledge of Latin that is expected of the specialist (though many in the Society should have such a knowledge), but it should at least enable them to grasp readily less difficult Latin texts when read or heard, to understand thoroughly a professor lecturing in Latin, and to express their own thoughts on ordinary matters in speech and writing.

Consequently, it would be a mistake to imagine the Society is acting out of respect for ancient traditions, as it were clinging intransigently to an outmoded notion of humanism. Actually, the several points which my sense of responsibility for the office of the priesthood and my concern for future needs compel me to drive home with still greater emphasis have been called to your attention many times, both by my predecessor of happy memory, Very Reverend Father Wlodimir Ledochowski, and by myself in accordance with the mind of the Holv See<sup>4</sup> and of the 28th and 29th General Congregations,<sup>5</sup> both in words addressed to the whole Society and in private responses and admonitions to various Provinces and Houses. To be specific, eight years ago when I promulgated the Ratio Studiorum Superiorum which had been drawn up in accordance with the directives of these same two Congregations, by a special letter of that same day, July 31, 1954, I made clear, among other things, the intention and the spirit we ought to have in observing what the Ratio Studiorum prescribes about the use of Latin, and particularly the means to secure this observance. Anyone who compares the present confirmation with those previous communications, will certainly see that I am doing little more than insisting more earnestly upon. and more precisely assisting the execution of directives already given.

The principal reason for this letter of mine is the failure to implement these directives which has been observed even recently along with a definite threat and an already present detriment to solid study, especially of theology. Various diffi-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Pius XI Officiorum omnium AAS 14 (1922) 452-454; Unigentius Dei Filius AAS 16 (1924) 133-148; Litterarum latinarum AAS 16 (1924) 417-420.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> CG XXVIII d. 41, 2° (167), 6° (171); CG XXIX d. 11; 5, c (209). <sup>6</sup> AR XII (1954) 517-518.

culties are generally advanced to explain rather than to excuse this failure. And indeed I do not deny that difficulties exist, but experience shows that they are not at all insuperable. I hope Ours will not be unduly influenced by preconceived opinions that either exaggerate the difficulties of learning Latin or belittle its usefulness for the clergy as if it were unnecessary, provided one has a knowledge of one or two modern and "international" languages. Anyone who recalls the repeated admonitions of superiors, or reads the recent Instruction on the Juniorate, will realize how highly the Society values a knowledge of modern languages and how much it fosters the art of speaking to the people of today in their own idiom. But Latin is still the official language of the Church and of the Society and "the common instrument of all ecclesiastical teaching."8 And this instrument becomes increasingly necessary as the advance of learning puts greater emphasis upon the investigation and interpretation of sources. A translation can help one understand a Latin text, but cannot replace the direct reading of such a text. Without this instrument, does a philosopher or a theologian fail any less in scientific rigor and honesty than one who would presume to study or teach modern physics without the proper background in mathematics, or the man who would attempt to be a motionpicture critic without a knowledge of the basic principles of this art?

Furthermore, we are not left to our own judgment, nor has the Church ever allowed her ministers to remain ignorant of what she expects of them. In the recent Apostolic Constitution *Veterum Sapientia*, among the many references to earlier documents of the Supreme Hierarchy, several important directives of Pius XI are cited. You remember Pius XII's Apostolic Constitution *Sedes Sapientiae*<sup>9</sup> of May 31, 1956, and the General Statutes of the Sacred Congregation of Religious that accompanied it. It must have been comforting to you to note how often the practices introduced into our Society either through the wisdom of our Holy Father Ignatius or the experience of centuries agreed with the directives and counsels

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> AR XIV (1961) 95-97.

<sup>8</sup> AR VII (1933) 463.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> AAS 48 (1956) 354-365.

given to all the states of perfection. These General Statutes, however, confirm the laws about the study and use of Latin in the teaching of philosophy and theology and likewise prudently recall the reasons behind them and what they are intended to achieve: "In accord with the oft-repeated desire of the Holy See, diligent care must be employed in stressing the study and use of Latin, both because of its power in training minds and also because it is the language of the Latin Church. Students should be versed in classical and Christian Latin literature at least to the extent that they can read scholarly texts with ease and, when the time comes, may be able to use the sources of ecclesiastical tradition fruitfully.<sup>10</sup>

Moreover, our own 30th General Congregation, after special consideration both of this document and of the deficiencies noted above as well as of some timely adjustments in the humanistic training of Ours, entrusted the special care of this subject to Father General. In accordance with the 15th decree<sup>11</sup> of the Congregation, I sent an Instruction to all Major Superiors on December 8, 1961. Though entitled "On the Juniorate," this Instruction could not be limited to Juniorate studies strictly so-called, but briefly reviews the successive steps in the formation of Ours. There is no reason for my going over what is set down in this Instruction about the study and use of Latin, since you can read it again for yourselves. But at least some points that seem to be of greater utility or urgency may be emphasized at this time.

First, however, there are the studies which precede the Noviceship. In those Provinces where candidates generally come from our own colleges where Greek and Latin, or at least Latin, are taught, Prefects of Studies will do a valuable service to these young men—a service that will be no less beneficial to other future clerics and to the rest of the students—if, according to the age-old norms of sound pedagogy and our own pedagogy, they will see to it that a consistent method of instruction is followed in successive classes.<sup>12</sup> No matter how

 $<sup>^{10}\,\</sup>mathrm{S.}$  C. de Relig. Const. Ap. Sedes Sapientiae and the accompanying Statuta Generalia (1956) art. 43  $\S$  3, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> CG XXX d. 15 (303-304).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. B. Edmundi Campiani . . . Opuscula, Barcelona 1888. Orat. IV De iuvene academico p. 109: "in discendo labor, in labore methodus, in methodo constantia."—I. Cassiani Conlat. Abb. Moys. I, IV: "sine via

much merit there may be in the ideas of each individual teacher, the application of the students will suffer and become almost barren of results if new objectives and methods are proposed every year, or if one teacher does not bother about something which a previous teacher demanded. Examples would be: the learning of new words; memorizing passages from an author; and constant practice in translation. As far as state requirements will allow, such premature erudition as theoretical philology and history of literature ought to be set aside. Instead, we should study the Latin writers themselves and become familiar with their language, employing for this purpose every possible active and immediate means.

What I have just said clearly applies to Apostolic Schools. Their courses of study ought to be as good as those offered in the best educational institutions.

There is another situation that is becoming more frequent every year, and is common in some places. What are we to do about the candidate who has little or no Latin but who otherwise has the education and the humanistic and cultural formation which are always required for admission? is special reason for sending such a man to the Juniorate after the Noviceship to complete the training that is requisite for the undertaking of philosophy, unless it seems preferable to have him spend one or two years in equivalent study before his Noviceship. But it is certainly not fitting for him to begin his first probation until he has acquired at least an elementary knowledge of Latin.<sup>13</sup> Such a young man, if he pursues an intensive course, will not require excessive time to be able to be on an almost equal footing from the beginning of the Noviceship with the other novices who had spent several years in the study of Latin. If, however, this preparation is neglected, it is to be feared that he will not profit as he should from the Novitiate studies, or even from the spiritual doctrine which the Master should impart as far as possible to the scholastic novices. For surely the habit of consulting those Latin works which pertain to their religious instruction is important for the excellence and solidity of the first formation of those young men who are already well educated and who

tendentibus labor est itineris, non profectus."  $^{13}\,AR$  XII (1954) 518.

are being prepared for the priestly life and first of all for many years of intense study. I mean such works as the Vulgate version of the New Testament, *The Imitation of Christ*, the *Exercises* and the principal letters of our Holy Father Ignatius, the Rules, Constitutions, and other parts of our Institute, and the main works on the Sacred Liturgy and on spirituality. How many Fathers there are, among those who now have a good command of Latin, who acknowledge that they were gradually attracted to it by Father Master's example and by the ordinary Novitiate practices, in spite of the very limited time allowed then for formal study!<sup>14</sup>

In recent decades the Society has undertaken to regulate the studies of the novices more and more. For these studies constitute a serious test which it would be wrong to go through negligently. They can and should be so conceived and directed that they harmonize with the novitiate spirit and are adapted to previous and subsequent courses of study. As far as Latin is concerned, worthwhile results will be got if the provisions of No. 4 of the *Instruction on the Juniorate* are put into effect. These cover the hours of class and private study (including the time of the minor vacations), the teachers, subject matter and methods, the authors to be read, and practical exercises, among which should be included Latin conversation.

As for the juniorate, which according to circumstances of places and persons follows immediately after the noviceship, the Society's general norms are set down in Nos. 5 and following of the same *Instruction*. These, with the necessary modifications, apply also to those studies of the same general kind which are made after, rather than before philosophy.

But no matter what the course of study is, whether it is one common to the whole Province or one assigned to certain scholastics, let there be no departure from what, in keeping with the norms of the Holy See, <sup>16</sup> is expressly stated in the Institute of the Society and set down again in Nos. 2 and 7 of the above mentioned *Instruction*: "No one . . . is to be sent to philosophy who has not shown sufficient ability in

<sup>14</sup> AR XII (1955) 850; XIV (1961) 112.

<sup>15</sup> AR XIV (1961) 92-93.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Pius XI Officiorum omnium AAS 14 (1922) 452-454; John XXIII Veterum Sapientia AAS 54 (1962) 133.

speaking and writing Latin to understand fully the teaching of the professors and to take part in the scholastic exercises."

"There is no question here of that knowledge of the Latin language which is required to derive a humanistic training from the facile reading of classical Latin authors in the original language... But everyone must have that knowledge of Latin which is necessary to go through the higher studies of philosophy and theology properly, and for the ordinary usage of the Church and of the Society... Consequently, if, after the pre-novitiate and novitiate studies, anyone's knowledge is inadequate, it must be supplemented in the juniorate,"

18 or by some equivalent means.

Is it not true that a less strict observance of this prescription sometimes creates a vicious circle, namely: the scholastics shackled as it were by their ignorance of the Latin language make slow progress and represent themselves to their professors as almost in despair; and the professors in turn increasingly fail in their duty to use the Latin language in class? On the otherhand, if the requisite practical knowledge is gained at the proper time, the very daily use of the language gradually leads the students to greater facility; and even the Common Rule about speaking Latin greatly reduces the difficulty.

To use almost the same words I employed in my letter of July 31, 1954, if Major Superiors shall be resolved to pursue these directives courageously and consistently, "that knowledge of the Latin language, which will never cease to be part of the heritage of Christian learning, will soon revive." And, if it is compared with the intensive efforts which people sometimes expend on an hitherto completely unknown language all on their own, it will not be such a great task to fulfill properly the condition laid down for entrance into philosophy, especially after the work done before and during the noviceship.

During the time of philosophy and theology, however, in addition to the practice in Latin which is supplied in classes, repetitions, circles, and examinations, an effort that is chiefly

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Coll. d. 86 § 3. Rat. Stud. Sup. 120 § 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> AR XIV (1961) 95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> AR XII (1954) 518.

voluntary is even expected of each person: namely, the constant, almost daily, reading of reputable authors. The Rules and Constitutions desire this kind of personal diligence of the scholastics, as of future apostles who are conscious of their personal responsibility.20 The Society in the various revisions of the Ratio Studiorum has sufficiently fostered it, and through the interpretation of the same Ratio aims at promoting it.21 Thus the students' curiosity is not in the least to be limited to the narrow exigencies of examination material not only in the philosophical and theological disciplines, but in very many cases the acquisition of a more complete theoretical knowledge and culture is entrusted to "outside" work, and indeed often to private industry.<sup>22</sup> Experience proves how necessary and fruitful such spontaneous diligence is. Many men, outstanding and influential because of their learning, their publications, or their speaking ability, men whose memories are held in high esteem in the Society, some of whom may even be known to us personally, would never have advanced so far in their science or art, if they had thought that they could dispense with that personal, or rather spontaneous effort. Many striking, not to say heroic, examples can be given of men who, amid the most trying circumstances, in peace and in war, undeterred by the confusion about them, or by the aversion for elementary work, sometimes joining with one or two others for the strength given by a fraternal pact and urging "each other on in a holy rivalry,"23 have avidly speed-read, as they say, sometimes lengthy tomes. With generally less effort, provided it is constantly exerted, we shall reach the point where it would be a pleasure for us to consult the Fathers of the Latin Church, the councils, and the major theologians in their own language, to seek in their pages our spiritual reading and matter for meditation; still less would we shun the examination of original documents because they are in Latin.

And there is no lack of books. Some of them really deserve the name of classics and through familiarity with them one's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Const. IV, 6, M (385), 16 (388); IV, 8 (400-414) passim. Rat. Stud. Sup. 281 § 2; 283-284.

<sup>21</sup> AR XII (1954) 514, 517-519.

<sup>22</sup> AR XIV (1961) 95-97.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Const. IV, 6, 2 (383).

humanistic formation is effected. Others belong to the philosophical tradition. And finally others are the sources of the ecclesiastical magisterium, of Catholic tradition, and scientific theology. Some of these works will be more suitably read during the four years of theology, others prior to this; for example the letters of St. Cyprian and St. Jerome, the *Confessions* and other short works of St. Augustine.<sup>24</sup>

Neither regency nor university studies should interrupt this reading habit. By it, without much difficulty, one grows more cultured and prepares the foundations of one's theological training, provided that the works chosen are not, in the reader's present circumstances, too difficult.

Omitting all other means which, according to circumstances, could be proposed or imposed, it remains for me to encourage the professors of Ours. During the entire course of formation the scholastics' progress in the knowledge and use of the Latin language, just as in other things and expressly in obedience to the laws of the Church and the Society, depends to a very high degree upon their example and help. "Let scholastic philosophy in all its parts be taught . . . according to the scholastic method and in the Latin language with the exception of brief vernacular explanations should they seem pedagogically useful. Whatever . . . has been legislated ... on the use of Latin in lectures, is also to be faithfully observed in the theological curriculum."25 The fact that professors constantly present the students with the example of fidelity, the evidence of facility and the help of practice is found to be far more effective than repeated exhortations.

As you well know, Reverend Fathers and dear Brothers, our Holy Father Ignatius is not the kind of man who would

 $<sup>^{24}</sup>$  In addition to these and others like them whose Latin is excellent, there are others which are just as valuable for their religious and priestly content. Examples would be some of Cassian's *Conlationes*, the Rule of St. Benedict, many things from Saints Anselm, Bernard, Bonaventure, and especially Thomas Aquinas; also the *Monumenta* of the Society, i.e. on its history, Institute, spirituality, and pedagogy. Cf. AR XIV (1961) 94, 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> S. C. de Relig. Const. Ap. Sedes Sapientiae and the accompanying Statuta Generalia (1956) art. 44 § 2, 2; art. 45 § 5. Rat. Stud. Sup. 44 § 6; 95. This prudent moderation of the precepts for the use of the vernacular in Latin lectures will also make it possible to teach the students the terms being used by more recent philosophers and to explain their proper meaning.

make all sorts of lofty demands to gain some trifle from his subjects. Moreover, with confident trust in his sons' generosity he was more conscious of moderation in the framing of the Constitutions "that thus they may be better observed." Few indeed are the demands that are commonly made of all the clerics of the Society on the subject of the study and use of the Latin language. Therefore, a wider scope is allowed the diligence of all concerned; therefore, a more serious and spirited effort is expected of the professors and scholastics under the promotion, stimulation and direction of Superiors and Prefects of Studies. And especially those who have greater facility in Latin because of the derivation of their native tongue, state requirements or other circumstances and who have a greater obligation towards the good of the Church will not be satisfied with a minimal performance.

"He who sows sparingly, will also reap sparingly."<sup>27</sup> But the more assiduous we are, the more abundant the fruit we shall harvest: not only that solid and savory fare of priestly learning and that most precious bonum obedientiae,<sup>28</sup> but also a richer training in the humanities, a more precise ability for expression even in modern languages, and finally clearer communication and harmony among the sons of the Society, who are increasingly more varied in origin and so widely dispersed throughout the world.

I commend myself to your holy Sacrifices and prayers,

Rome, August 7, 1962 The anniversary of the Restoration of the Society.

Your Reverence's servant in Christ,

JOHN B. JANSSENS

General of the Society of Jesus

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Const. X, 10 (822).

<sup>27 2</sup> Cor. 9, 6.

<sup>28</sup> St. Benedict Rule, c. 71.

## Nigeria: A New Challenge

William T. Wood, S.J.

In August, 1961, the Provincial of the New York Province, Very Rev. John J. McGinty, S.J., received a letter from Fr. Vicar General, Very Rev. John L. Swain, S.J., concerning a request of the Apostolic Delegate of Nigeria. The Delegate, Most Rev. Sergio Pignedoli, D.D., asked not for the establishment of a university or college, but for Jesuits to staff a small hostel or educational center to be located near a new university to be opened in October, 1962. Fr. Swain pointed out that the request could not easily be put aside because of the great apostolic potential in an undeveloped continent thrown open to contending ideologies and because of the modest request for personnel and financial responsibility. He further pointed out that it might be possible to place Fathers on the faculty of the university, provided they had the requisite professional preparation. Once on the scene as faculty members, the Fathers could then determine how best to organize a Catholic Center.

After due consultation, Fr. McGinty wrote to Fr. Vicar General accepting the proposed work for the New York Province. Shortly thereafter, letters of gratitude and welcome were received from the Apostolic Delegate of Central West Africa, Msgr. Pignedoli; His Grace, Most Rev. Leo H. Taylor, Archbishop of Lagos; and Most Rev. James Moynagh, Bishop of Calabar and Chairman of the Catholic Welfare Conference of Nigeria. Correspondence aimed at filling in details was begun, but as it progressed, it became evident to Fr. Provincial that the results of planning a beginning by mail would not be satisfactory. Fr. McGinty then determined that someone should go to Nigeria as soon as possible to survey the whole situation and ascertain exactly what would be involved in this new project.

It is interesting to note that Fr. James L. Burke, S.J., of the New England Province had been sent to Nigeria in February 1956 by Very Rev. John B. Janssens, S.J., General of the Society of Jesus, in order to study a proposal that the Society open a university there and that the university be affiliated with an American Jesuit university. After his visit and survey, the project was turned down. It seemed abundantly clear that the financial and educational obstacles were insuperable.

Excellent air service, either via Pan American directly to Africa or from London by BOAC, links New York with Africa's West Coast. Alitalia and Air France also service the major cities along Africa's Atlantic coast. By jet, the trip can be made in about six hours directly from New York. Via Europe, the trip is somewhat longer since connections have to be made for an African flight.

### Geography of Nigeria

Located on the western coast, Nigeria is, by population, the largest of Africa's nations. Latest estimates indicate that the population is between thirty-eight and forty million, overwhelmingly African. The white population is estimated at just over 25,000. In size it is half again the size of the State of Texas.

The country is divided into three regions—Northern, Western and Eastern—and one federal region, Lagos, which is the capital and roughly similar to our District of Columbia. The Northern Region has some 18 million people and the balance of the population is divided between the West and the East. Lagos has a population estimated at 325,000. The largest city, and probably the largest truly African city of the continent, is Ibadan with a population of 460,000.

The most important racial groups are the Hausa of the North, the Yoruba of the West and the Ibo of the East. The latter are called "the Irish of Africa" because of the numerous conversions to the Faith and for their steadfastness in the Faith. Fulanis, non-negroes of obscure Mediterranean origin, are also in the North. There are some three hundred and fifty distinct indigenous languages, but English is the official common language.

Before the early 1900's, Nigeria was little more than an area known principally as a lucrative source for the slave trade. A very great percentage of the slaves carried off to the States were from Nigeria. Trading stations existed, but the outside world knew of Nigeria only through exploration and exploitation. Sir Frederick Lugard was appointed British High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria in 1899 and the country became an administrative unit only in 1914. Lugard's development of a system known as "indirect rule" enabled the British to unite the three disparate regions, allowing their individuality to be adapted to local government.

After World War II, pressure for self-government became overwhelming. In 1954 a Constitution was established, setting up a federal form of government for the East and the West. The North followed suit in 1959. On October 1, 1960, Nigeria became an independent member of the British Commonwealth with a federal form of government comprising the Eastern, Western, Northern Regions and the District of Lagos. Originally in this federation was also the Southern Cameroons, which withdrew to form another new nation with the French Cameroons.

### Church in Nigeria

The activity of the Church in Nigeria dates from the early 1860's. By 1870 the Vicariate Apostolic of the Bight of Benin was established and since that time the Church in Nigeria has grown into the Archdioceses of Lagos, Kaduna and Onitsha; the Dioceses of Jos, Makurdi, Owerri, Calabar, Ogoja, Umuahia, Port Harcourt, Benin, Ibadan and Ondo; and the Prefectures of Sokoto, Yola, Maiduguri, Ilorin, Oyo and Kabba. The Society of African Missions, the Holy Ghost Fathers, and more recently the Society of St. Patrick, the Dominicans, and Augustinians have been doing splendid apostolic work in the country. The African Mission Fathers and the Holy Ghost Fathers have been largely responsible for the development of the Church in Nigeria.

Today, it would seem, the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Pignedoli, is responsible for a marked intensification of Church activity. Trained by Cardinal Montini, he had been in charge of organizing and running the last Holy Year. Subsequently he was Apostolic Delegate to Bolivia and Venezuela. Appointed to be Apostolic Delegate to Central West Africa (Nigeria, Congo Republic, Central African Republic, Cameroons and Gabon) in September 1960, he rapidly surveyed the situation of the Church in these countries and, after considering it against the background of the quickly changing African scene, he concluded that it was a critically dangerous time for the Church in these countries. The rapid transition from colonies to independent nations, the emergence from underdeveloped areas to a world community, the assumption of national and international responsibilities by relatively uneducated and inexperienced peoples, were all creating unbelievable problems. Overnight countries were being formed and governments created. All of the pent-up desires of millions of Africans were being released at one time. No longer "natives," the Africans were becoming citizens of their own nations. Patriotism and strong reactions to former colonial powers and personnel complicated matters further.

Since the Church entered its modern period of activity in Africa less than one hundred years ago, and has been extensively active only during the last thirty-five years or so, one can well understand why there has not been an intensive growth of many facets of its varied apostolic, educational and social activities. The Church in Africa is still basically, with few and notable exceptions, in a simple missionary phase. The thousands of priests, Brothers and nuns in Africa are principally engaged in a massive task of bringing the Faith to the people through preaching and teaching, in consolidating and strengthening the Faith, in building Churches and schools, staffing and administering them, in works of charity in dispensaries, hospitals and leper colonies. Rightly or wrongly, there is a note of paternalism in their activities. To the African today, paternalism in any form is distasteful. Rightly or wrongly, in many areas the work of missionaries was supported by Colonial Powers. Where this existed, the African cannot be blamed for identifying the Church to some extent with colonialism.

Fortunately a large number of the educational institutions in Nigeria, and it would seem in most of Africa, is Catholic. Above all the African desires education. Though Catholic

schools are mostly primary and secondary, there is certainly a good opportunity for the Church to make itself better known through these schools. Yet the limitations are severe. In Nigeria only two million of some forty millions are Catholic. The number who can and will accept even part of their education from the Catholic schools limits the prospect further. One can see, then, the wisdom of the Apostolic Delegate's plan. He is facing the hard fact that the young Nigerian will, generally speaking, never be exposed to Catholicism in school. His contact will be very slight if any. Since those now attending the state universities and universities overseas will undoubtedly be the Nigerian leaders of tomorrow, it is the desire of His Excellency that they be exposed to educated and capable Catholic priests. Where better than at a university in their formative years? For this reason, he approached the Society for Fathers to open a Catholic center at the proposed new federal University of Lagos. Subsequently the suggestion was made that if the Fathers sent could also assume posts on the faculty, it would be even more advantageous and would help support their work at the same time.

A UNESCO Commission began a survey on the state of education in Nigeria in May 1959. In September 1960 they submitted a report: "Investment in Education: The Report of the Commission on Post-School Certificate and Higher Education in Nigeria." This is now called the "Ashby Report" after the Chairman, Sir Eric Ashby, Master of Clare College, Cambridge. This report recommended the establishment of a federal university in Lagos. This in turn prompted the action of the Delegate in regard to the Society.

Lagos, the federal capital of Nigeria, is located on the Atlantic coast on the "Bight of Benin." In the last century it was little more than a center of slaving activity because of its sheltered and protected harbor. Its reputation left much to be desired and, because it was situated on low lying island and marshes, so that many contracted malaria or typhoid there, it was known as part of the "white man's grave." Today Lagos is a modern city, with a skyline of several tall office buildings, modern hospitals and other facilities and slums which probably haven't changed too much over the last thirty years. It is a mixture of modern architecture, British colonial

homes and administrative buildings, and miles of drab, ugly slums in the native quarters. It is noisy, colorful and interesting. A modern department store competes with more fascinating native markets. On the outer edge of the city are well built homes, gracious, open and pleasant. Some areas of the city would resemble a suburban town in Florida. And yet African slums are never very far away from any modern development.

Lagos is a hot and humid city. Its rainy season is long and uncomfortable. Its dry season is somewhat better, but is still hot and humid. During the dry season, the "Harmatan," a hot wind blowing down across the country from the Sahara, carrying fine sand, brings a pall over the city and some protection from the sun. And despite all of this, the city is pleasant, perhaps mainly because of the Africans who are cheerful, curious, friendly and a generous, warm-hearted people. Independence has brought them a sense of freedom, energy and the desire to succeed. To many, but recently arrived from the back country, Lagos is a world of wonders. The traffic, noise, tall buildings, colorful store displays, the dress of foreigners, the activity, the movement of ships in the beautiful harbor, and so many, many other features are part of an unending show. The "Kingsway," a combination supermarket and department store, has an escalator. All day long people just stand and watch this stairway that moves up and down. One can see youngsters trying to get up enough nerve to ride up to the second floor just once and then, having overcome their fears, riding up and down, up and down.

Near to the very heart of the city is Holy Cross Cathedral in a style which someone once described as "prison Gothic." This is the Cathedral of the Archbishop of Lagos, Most Reverend Leo Hale Taylor, S.M.A. His Grace is American born—Montivideo, Minnesota—but was raised and educated in Yorkshire, England. At 73 he is still very active. As a member of the Irish Province of the Society of African Missions, he was consecrated Bishop in 1934, made Bishop of Lagos in 1939 and Archbishop in 1950. In appearance and wit, he is not unlike Barry Fitzgerald, the actor who so often portrays an Irish pastor. Known for his understanding of the Nigerian and his problems, he is highly respected by the people and by the gov-

ernment. Officials seek his advice and respect his opinion in Church matters. The Prime Minister, Abubakar, is a close personal friend to him. It is said that he has wanted to retire for the last several years, but there has been strong opposition to this for his knowledge of the Nigerian and the Church in Nigeria is unequalled and his retirement would be a great loss.

### Jesuits in Nigeria

The Archbishop is personally very happy that the Society is beginning work in Lagos. The problem of the Catholic students attending school in the city has been one which has been neglected simply because of a lack of priestly manpower. The prospect of a Federal University in the city and of students from all over the country attending it offered a further problem to His Grace. The Society will solve for him what would eventually be an acute pastoral problem. He promised that he would extend every help and give full cooperation to our Fathers. He offered, if the Society wished to accept it as a source of income and a center of activity, a parish in the expanding city. His generous and cordial reception left no doubt about the sincerity of his welcome.

Archbishop Taylor was most reassuring when discussing the proposed University of Lagos. As he pointed out, it would be disturbing to be trying to plan a project such as ours and to find that with less than six months remaining until the opening date, that not only were there no buildings for the university, but that no one could as yet say just where it would be located. Such was the fact—the proposed University of Lagos was in January 1962 still in a planning stage. His Grace was firm and clear in reassuring the Society that the university would open and on schedule and, very likely, in new buildings.

Although the development of the plan for the University of Lagos was under the direction of the Nigerian Permanent Secretary for Education, Honorable F. J. Ajumgobia, the plan had been developed, as mentioned above, by a UNESCO Commission and the blueprint for it was contained in the "Ashby Report." The Secretary, with the assistance of UNESCO advisors, was presenting the plan to the Nigerian Cabinet in January of last year, Fortunately for Nigeria, many of the

Irish and English educational administrators, who had held various posts in the English colonial government, had remained in Lagos working in advisory positions. Were it not for the professional help of these men, it would be difficult to see how the plan could be approved and implemented.

The UNESCO Chief of Mission in Nigeria, Mr. T. Wilson, a New Zealander and non-Catholic, outlined the progress of the plan for the University of Lagos. He supplied the Society with a copy of a confidential report of the UNESCO Commission which had been established subsequent to the work of Sir Eric Ashby. This second report detailed the organization of the University, its needs, time schedule, etc. Eventually the University will have faculties of law, medicine, commerce, art, sciences, engineering and an "Institute for African Studies." The single greatest problem envisioned was the recruiting of qualified faculty members. To ease the press of this problem and to make the development of facilities more reasonble, only the commerce and law faculties would begin functioning in October, 1962. The problem of locating the University was taken up in this confidential report and it seemed quite clear that a large tract of land towards the edge of the city and bordering on the water would be taken over and developed as a campus.

Mr. Wilson, quite obviously an experienced educational administrator, was pleased that Jesuits would apply for teaching positions at the University. He made it abundantly clear that the Fathers would be welcomed as qualified and reputed educators. He was more than pleased that the Fathers would be coming under the sponsorship of Fordham University. New York University was already assisting in recruiting of faculty members. Other American universities had sent help to other universities in Nigeria, notably to Ibadan.

In regard to our hope to open a Catholic center at the University, Mr. Wilson assured us that this offered no problem and that anything we would and could do in this regard would be welcomed. The only problem was one of space. However, he further pointed out, in the projected plan of establishing the physical plant on the tract of land mentioned above, he would see no problem in obtaining adequate space for a center. We would have to hold off on this part of our plan until

the overall picture clarified. If necessary, plans had already been provisionally made to open the first classes in temporary quarters in Kings College in the center of the city. Meanwhile, Mr. Wilson promised, he would lend every assistance in placing the Fathers who would be sent under the sponsorship of Fordham University on the faculties, and would personally transfer the applications to the administrative unit of the University when the Nigerian Government established it to take over his work.

Nigeria has been most fortunate in having the assistance of UNESCO. The Commission's study indicated quite clearly the need for the development of university facilities. At the present time and in years past, the country has been largely dependent on an extensive overseas program for students to educate the youth capable of doing advanced studies. The problems and difficulties inherent in this procedure have been greatly intensified since independence. Nigerians fully realize that the progress of their country, their economic, political and social development will be in proportion to the education of its capable youth. Literally thousands on thousands of young Nigerians are hoping to go on for university work. The overseas program could not possibly handle all of them. The need for a qualified new university was abundantly clear and quite obviously it should be located in the federal capital.

### Catholic Church in Nigeria

Up to the present, the Church has been participating directly in overseas programs for Nigerian university students. Most of this work has been done by the very capable Secretary General of the Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria, Fr. Edmund Fitzgibbon, S.P.S. A member of the Society of St. Patrick, popularly called "Kiltegan Fathers," Fr. Fitzgibbon is a veteran of some ten years of missionary work in the Diocese of Calabar. In the last few years, he has organized and directed the Catholic Secretariat, a national office for the hierarchy of Nigeria. He provides innumerable services for the 19 Archbishops, Bishops and Prefects Apostolic and the estimated two million Catholics and half million catechumens. The task is staggering, but Fr. Fitzgibbon has the ability and personality to do it.

The Catholic Secretariat has headquarters or a "compound" in Suru-Lere, a relatively new suburban development of Lagos. Here Fr. Fitzgibbon has two small houses, one of which is fitted out with offices and the other with living quarters. The Secretariat is small and almost unimpressive in appearance, yet it is the center of Catholic activity for the whole country. On any one day, Fr. Fitzgibbon may be discussing a problem with personnel from the government education office, preparing reports for the Bishops on a recent meeting, helping students with papers necessary for processing exit visas, conferring with reporters of one of the newspapers on projected articles, seeing visitors who come in from all parts of the country in a rather steady stream and directing a rather large office staff. In the evening, after "chop" or dinner, the work continues late into the night, saving a marriage, settling a fierce national football dispute and so on.

The Society will always be grateful to Fr. Fitzgibbon for his unusually generous and wise advice and his practical help in organizing the first steps in Lagos. Since the arrival of Fr. Joseph Schuh last summer, his generosity and help has continued. Fr. Schuh was his guest from the time of his arrival until he recently obtained his own quarters near the University.

The United States Ambassador to Nigeria is Joseph Palmer II. This tall, well built and impressive gentleman has expressed his personal pleasure that the Society is undertaking work in Lagos. He himself studied at Georgetown University Law School, although not a Catholic, and had enrolled his own son at our college in Salisbury in Rhodesia. He has assured us that the Society can count on him for any help and cooperation he may be able to extend. The Peace Corps is under his direction in Nigeria and he pointed out that wherever possible they have helped the Catholic schools by providing qualified teachers who were badly needed.

On the outskirts of the Yaba section of Lagos is St. Finbarr's College, the younger of two Catholic Colleges for young men conducted by the African Mission Fathers. In seven years, one priest, Fr. D. Slattery, S.M.A., has built a very fine school which enjoys an excellent scholastic reputation in Nigeria. The buildings, providing classrooms, labs, student

dining area and kitchen, and quarters for married and unmarried lay teachers, are among the finest in Lagos. With the assistance of one of his Irish teachers, Fr. Slattery drew the plans for all buildings and supervised the construction of them. The Nigerian Government provided most of the necessary funds and actually pays the larger share of the teachers' salaries. The best teacher—and Fr. Slattery's right hand for planning and construction of the buildings—is paid £2000 a year (just under \$6000).

St. Finbarr's is a secondary school of the English type. It would roughly cover the upper two years of our high school and the first two years of college. Since it is one of two Catholic schools in Lagos, and since it enjoys a fine scholastic reputation in the country, Nigerians are most anxious to place their sons in the school. For the new term, which was to begin in late January, Fr. Slattery could accept 90 boys. Some 3,000 competed in an entrance exam for the 90 places! Tuition is thirty dollars per term. The costs would be much higher were it not for the fact that the Nigerian Government has continued the liberal British policy towards education in Catholic schools and subsidized buildings, teachers' salaries, book costs, etc.

Fr. Slattery finds that running the school with some twenty Irish and English laymen not too difficult, but rather a lonely job since he is a distance from any other priests. He was delighted to have a Jesuit visitor from New York, for although he is Irish, he had studied for a time at Fordham University. He spoke with warmth of the Society and of his personal enthusiasm when he had heard that Jesuits were to begin work in Lagos. He said he hoped that some day the Society would take over St. Finbarr's—and added that he would be ready to give us the key as soon as he had planned and built a chapel for the students.

The Holy Child Nuns have a college in Lagos for girls—Holy Child College. Everyone speaks very well of the College and it is generally considered to be the finest in Nigeria. The community is mixed—English and American. The nuns were extremely happy about the Society's undertaking a work in Lagos, for they have traditionally had Jesuits for retreats and look forward to Ours in Lagos giving them annual retreats.

A most interesting person in Lagos is the Auxiliary to the Archbishop, a Nigerian, Most Rev. J. K. Aggey. Although an Auxiliary, Bishop Aggey actually does the work of a pastor and missionary at Mushin, another large suburb of the city of Lagos. Without assistants, he conducts a large and busy parish and a growing school. He has no nuns for the school, but does remarkably well with lay teachers. A jovial person, Bishop Aggey exemplified the desperate need for priests and nuns in Nigeria. And acute though the need is, it is more than edifying to see with what vigor and zeal the clergy and hierarchy of Nigeria are striving to care for their people and at the same time cooperate with the Apostolic Delegate and Bishops in developing the full potential of the Church.

Shortly before leaving Nigeria, I made a trip by car with Fr. Desmond Byrne, C.S.Sp., secretary of the Apostolic Delegate, to Ibadan which is one hundred miles from Lagos. The city is of great interest. Some 460,000 Africans live there and it is considered to be the largest all-African city on the Continent. Spread over hills for several miles, it is a collection of huts, hovels, and houses, strange sounds, noise, blaring phonographs and odd, pungent odors. On the highest hill, the old Catholic Mission has been well developed and Bishop Richard Finn, S.M.A., has a seminary, residence, Church and school. Standing on the porch of his residence one can look in all directions and for miles see nothing but the corrigated metal roofs of the homes of Africans.

More interesting than the city itself, is the University of Ibadan, situated just beyond the city. One of several "state" universities, Ibadan is about ten years old. Since a position of greater prominence and title is being given to Lagos—which will be a "federal" university—one can be reassured by visiting Ibadan. It has a very ample and well organized campus. Its buildings and facilities are exceptionally fine. It is quite evident that experts planned the campus and facilities which compare very favorably with any university buildings I have seen in tropical countries. The University Hospital is reputedly the finest in Africa and its medical school is equally well thought of.

Two African Missionary Society Fathers are on the faculty at Ibadan, Fr. Anthony Foley, a chemistry professor, and Fr.

James O'Connell, who teaches linguistics. The latter has quarters with the unmarried faculty members. Fr. Foley lives next to the Catholic Chapel in a small but adequate rectory. There are few facilities for Catholic students in the rectory other than room to gather in a small group with one of the priests. The Chapel, Our Lady of Good Council, is sizeable and is tastefully decorated. The main doors of the Church are exceptionally well done. The panels of the doors were hand carved by a Nigerian and the figures are in the Nigerian style. The main altar features a triptych with an excellent Madonna and Child, unmistakably Nigerian. The Protestant Chapel at the University is in excellent taste and is even more attractive from an artistic viewpoint. A wood-carving of Our Lord coming forth from the tomb is well known in Nigeria as an excellent example of Nigerian modern art.

As mentioned above, Fr. Joseph Schuh, S.J., is already in Lagos and is teaching science as a member of the faculty of the School of Commerce. The project is under way, although progress has been slow. It is hoped that soon the plans for the student center can be formulated and developed. It is hoped that next summer will see the number of Jesuits in Lagos increased—a good beginning of an answer to a "New Challenge."



## Basic Elements in Jesuit High School Sodalities

### Charles A. Van Dorn, S.J.

Though various sodalities differ from one another because of diverse circumstances, still there are basic elements that they always have in common. In general such documents as the Common Rules and *Bis Saeculari* determine these elements.

This similarity is even more striking when the sodalities in question are composed of people of the same sex, age, environment, etc. Such sodalities are not only similar in the absolute essentials that bind all sodalities, but they correspond in many other ways: in their techniques, their apostolates, and the various means they employ to attain their common end.

This is the case with Jesuit high school sodalities. Though each sodality will differ, and actually must differ, from every other, due to its own peculiar circumstances of locality, personnel, school regulations, etc., nevertheless all our high school sodalities have a great deal in common. This paper is an outline and summary of these various common elements, as they will be called, which each Jesuit high school could very profitably find in its own sodality. They are generally applicable elements which will help us give a unified foundation and structure on which to build our high school sodalities. This program was originally proposed for adoption in the California Province. It may be found profitable in other provinces as well.

There are three stages in a high school sodality: two separate years of candidate training and a third stage for those who have made their consecration as sodalists. This paper will treat each stage individually, proposing the common elements for each and explaining their necessity.

There has been no attempt here to point out the possibility and even necessity of organizing special groups to train candidates that have not followed this general training program. For example, if a boy in his junior year decides for the first time that he would like to be a sodalist, there should be a special training program for him. The training given to and adapted for freshmen (beginners in the sodality) would not be suitable. However this paper considers only the general basic program through which most of the sodalists will be trained and which will be a model for any special programs. —..

Candidate Training

In General. The training period should last for two years. It is generally conceded that this is a minimum length of time for a high school candidate to achieve the proper formation when the training is begun in freshman year. During this time all the Common Rules are to be explained (with proper stress given to each rule) and the candidate is to make them part of his life. He must not only develop personal spiritual habits, but he must also acquire a deeply apostolic spirit and be given introductory training in actual apostolic works.

In Particular. I First Year: This year is devoted to introducing the candidate to the spiritual life and in particular to the sodality way of life by instructing him in the most basic and essential rules. In the concrete, this means formation in the rules set down in the pamphlet Regulations for Probationers (The Queen's Work Press), so that the candidates will understand them and put them into practice. The Regulations are taken from the more important and pertinent Common Rules, especially from Rule 34, and are adapted to the abilities and needs of the high school freshman. The emphasis during this year is on personal spiritual formation, though the apostolic aspect of the spiritual life is not neglected. In fact, the apostolate is very necessary in attaining correct personal spiritual formation. Meetings are conducted almost entirely by the moderator.

Common Elements. 1. Gradual formation of the Interior Life of the Candidate. The candidate should be led gradually

to lead the full Sodality interior life by adapting the Common Rules to his abilities and needs, as is proposed in *Regulations* for *Probationers*.

2. Interviewing Each Candidate at least Once a Month. This simply means individual personal direction in the sodality way of life, assistance to aid the candidate in keeping the rules, advice in his spiritual reading and mental prayer, and encouragement in his difficulties. No two people have exactly the same problems in learning to live the spiritual life. Each person brings his own temperament, strengths and weaknesses, circumstances of life with which he must integrate his spiritual program. This personal element demands individual personal direction. If our candidates are not given this direction then we are asking them to attain a goal without giving them the means necessary to do so. The need for these interviews cannot be overstressed.

To interview all the first year candidates at least once every month may seem impossible at first, especially if the moderator has around one hundred candidates to take care of. Of course the first thing to do is to try to get another Jesuit to help, so each will have only about fifty. But regardless of the number of candidates, this frequent interviewing can and must be done. It is suggested that in the beginning, let us say the first five or six months, the moderator enlist the aid of senior sodalists. The freshmen look up to these young men, and if they are chosen prudently and instructed carefully, they will be extremely effective. Each senior who is to help in this way should be assigned ten or twelve candidates, as his responsibility. We presume he is responsible, otherwise he would not be in the sodality, and thus he can be counted on to do his job and to report periodically to the moderator. Of course proper precautions should be taken that these boys avoid all conscience matter. About February or March, when the candidates have diminished considerably in number, perhaps the moderator himself can do all the interviewing; or if not, he will need only a few of the best seniors to help him finish out the school year.

The reason that the seniors can do this type of work is that in the beginning of the training program the spiritual duties, and therefore the difficulties that the candidates have in this regard, are few and relatively easy. A senior sodalist is certainly capable of helping a freshman decide on a definite time and place for his mental prayer, rosary, and examination of conscience, and of giving some basic hints on how to perform these exercises more faithfully and fruitfully. (In passing it might be mentioned that this is a very good training, in more ways than one, for the senior sodalist.)

3. Days of Recollection Four Times Each Year. It is important that these days be held at least four times each year. They may last an entire day, as some prefer; but a half day of formal exercises is sufficient, either beginning in the morning about 8:30 and concluding with a noon Mass, or beginning about 1 P.M. and concluding with Benediction about 4:30 P.M. There should be three talks with time for reflection after each, and some other pious exercise (included for variety), e.g., litany or rosary in a group. The talks should center around the material being presented at that time in the meetings.

Days of recollection have many advantages, not least of which is the periodic opportunity to seriously reflect on the spiritual life and its implications under the stimulation of interesting speakers and in the company of fellow students. The Society's use of the monthly day of recollection exemplifies the value and need of this sort of procedure for those advancing in the spiritual life. These days are also useful opportunities for teaching the various methods of prayer and for giving intensified instruction on more important subjects.

Here again the moderator may think at first that it is too difficult to conduct four such days each school year. But these days will not be too difficult if the proper means are taken. The talks at the first day of recollection can be given by senior sodalists. Select three of the more outstanding sodalists, who at the same time are good speakers, and have each prepare and give one talk. The talks for the second recollection day can be given in like manner by sodalists from the neighboring college (presuming there is one nearby). If carefully prepared, these talks by older students are very

impressive for the younger men, and they can inspire in a way that a priest or religious cannot. The last two recollection days can be given by a scholastic (or scholastics) and/or a priest.

Again from a practical viewpoint there will not be much difficulty with regard to the physical set-up. All one needs is a chapel in which to give the talks and celebrate Mass or Benediction. There are no meals served, no man-power needed other than someone to ring a bell or make some signal for the beginning of each exercise. If any prefecting is desired, again the senior sodalists can do this.

4. Spiritual Reading Program. The rules of our own Society in this regard, along with the stress given to spiritual reading by all spiritual writers, should make its value as well as its necessity in the spiritual life quite clear. What is to be required should be left up to the discretion of the moderator, but continual spiritual reading of some type must be demanded.

Three books that have been found useful for the beginner, especially as aids to his mental prayer, are: *My Ideal*, by Rev. E. Neubert, S.M.; *My Daily Bread*, by Rev. A. Paone, S.J.; and *Christ in the Gospel*, arranged by Rev. J. Frey.

5. Some Apostolic Work. The word "some" is used here purposely. The candidate training program aims at forming a spiritual apostle in the Kingdom of Christ. Thus there are two aspects of the training: the spiritual or prayer aspect, and the apostolic or work aspect. These aspects cannot be achieved independently of one another, but it is more practical to stress first one and then the other aspect. So for purposes of formation the spiritual aspect receives the stress during the first year, and the apostolic aspect is stressed in the second year. Therefore, although there is some apostolic work to be done during this first year of training, it is not the primary aspect of the training at this time.

The aspostolic work demanded in the first year will be a means to test the candidates and to help the moderator judge their character and ability. It will also help the candidates obtain a proper perspective in their spiritual training so that their spiritual formation will be orientated to the apostolate. These are really two faces of the same coin and must be formed together. If possible the candidates should engage in some of their own apostolic endeavors. However, much of their work may be found in assisting the seniors with the works that they have already undertaken and have well established. This will not only help the candidates but will give the seniors an opportunity to further develop themselves by assisting in the training of the younger men.

6. Meetings Begin as Soon as Possible. The training program should begin in September or no later than October. Some of the more important reasons that can be advanced for this procedure are: (1) A fresh fast start is made. It introduces freshmen to this school of sanctity from the very beginning of their high school days, at a time when they are most docile and receptive. There seems no reason to delay this desirable training. (2) It engages the students before they get involved in many other activities. To begin later, let us say in January, would find many of the prospective candidates already committed to other activities and too often unwilling to take on the additional obligations of a sodalist. The sodality is first in importance and should come first also in time. (3) What was mentioned above under (2) concerning the students also applies to the moderator. By January he will often find himself engaged in many other activities and committed to works from which he will not be able to free himself sufficiently to do an adequate job with the candidates. His energy by this time will also be diminished and therefore he will hardly be in good shape to begin a new project such as a candidate training program. (4) Two years seem necessary to complete the instruction and training. If the program begins in September of the first year it can end in April or May of the second year. This leaves two full years of sodality life and activity as juniors and seniors. If the training begins much later, this will not be possible.

A Meeting Each Week for 30 or 45 Minutes. This is an obvious need. Since a certain number of rules must be explained and motivation presented during this first year, an adequate number of meetings must be held to accomplish

this. A meeting each week for 30 to 45 minutes will not be too often, nor too long.

The Moderator Conducts Almost All the Meetings. Since the first year of training stresses the spiritual formation and the explaining of the basic rules, it is most practical that the moderator conduct most, if not all, of these meetings. In the second year, as we shall see, the candidates will have ample opportunity to exert their initiative and leadership abilities by conducting the meetings, since almost all the meetings are conducted by the candidates at that time. The moderator however should guard against monotony and should engender some participation by asking questions or having one of the candidates make a report periodically.

The Pamphlet, Regulations for Probationers, is to be Covered. As was mentioned earlier, the Regulations contain certain rules selected from among the Common Rules that the candidates should understand and put into practice by the end of the first year of training. These are a minimum. More may be covered if the moderator finds he is able to do so. These rules must be more than just explained, but inculcated in such a way and in such a progression that each of them will be reduced to practice. Knowledge of these rules, their implications, their necessity and their habitual practice is the goal of the first year.

Summer Contact with the Moderator. In later years the sodalists will continue during the summer the meetings they conducted during the school year. However at the end of their first year of training this seems impossible and unnecessary: impossible because the moderator is usually unavailable during the summer and the candidates lack the maturity and experience necessary to conduct the meetings themselves (most, if not all, the meetings have been conducted during the year by the moderator); unnecessary, because the summer, which takes the candidates away from school, away from meetings, etc., can itself become a means for training and testing them, and it can give them an opportunity to test themselves. Therefore it is recommended that each candidate keep in contact with the moderator during this time by means

of letters, one every three weeks. This will mean four letters during the summer. These letters should contain a report on his apostolic activities and on the success he is having in remaining faithful to his spiritual duties. Of course, each letter from the candidate must be answered by the moderator. A short note with a personal reference and comment on the candidate's letter will suffice. This takes a little time but is important.

7. Everyone Given a Chance to Join. An objection sometimes proposed against beginning the training program as soon as school begins is that it does not allow the moderator time to choose his candidates. If he waits until about January, the moderator feels that he will have a good chance to pick out the leaders of the freshman class for the sodality. But experience shows that it is very difficult to pick out of a group of freshmen those who will develop into real leaders. Often those who seem to give promise of leadership turn out to be great disappointments, and many others whose qualities of leadership were not immediately evident turn out to be the real leaders. Thus the only effective way of choosing leaders from a freshman group is to give everyone a chance and let the leaders prove themselves. The leaders, those we want in the sodality, are "those who choose, rather than those who are chosen." So the first step in selecting boys for the sodality is to give everyone a chance to join.

Some try to use the Apostleship of Prayer as a general training and screening program for the sodality. But this unnecessarily postpones the beginning of the sodality training and besides is not an effective way of choosing sodalists, since the Apostleship of Prayer and the sodality are two very different programs. There is no conflict between them and they should both be begun at the beginning of the freshman year. This is the best method of insuring the success of both.

It is good also to give everyone a chance to see the sodality from the inside, so that those who drop out profit at least from a certain amount of training and will admire those who remain and keep such demanding rules. This also precludes all complaints from parents who sometimes ask why their son was not give an opportunity to join the sodality. 8. Selection Achieved by Dismissal of Unqualified. After everyone is invited to join the program, the requirements for remaining in the program must be made quite clear. Such things as absence from meetings or days of recollection, misconduct in school, and lack of proper achievement in the academic order (the student need not have high marks but must be working to his reasonable capacity), etc., all should be reasons for dismissal. Of course as the months go by each candidate must be working to acquire habits of the spiritual life in such practices as the Mass, rosary, mental prayer, visits to the Blessed Sacrament, etc. Those who do not show reasonable advancement in this regard should also be dismissed.

*Note:* These common elements just enumerated are absolutely basic for a Jesuit high school first year candidate training program. Some are more important than others but all of them should be found as an integral part of the training. It is not the purpose of this paper to cover the high school sodality program in detail. The items that have been proposed however seem to be the heart of the program and to constitute a minimum that should be found in all our schools.

Additional Suggestions: The following suggestions have been found very helpful where they have been used. They have not been included in the list above because they should be considered as practical helps, not of the same urgency as the common elements. They are however highly recommended.

- 1. Contact with the Parents to Enlist their Help and Support. It is primarily the duty of the parents to see to the spiritual upbringing of their children. We play an auxiliary role in this work, so it is only natural that we seek the parents' support in whatever efforts we make in this regard. The parents may be contacted by letter, asked to participate in a joint day of recollection, given copies of the pamphlet, Regulations for Probationers, so that they will know what is being demanded of their sons. Encouragement and help from the home is a major factor in the development of these candidates.
- 2. Written Spiritual Exercise Reports. This is recommended as a means to help the candidate acquire the habits of the spiritual life. If the candidate knows that someone is

going to check on his performance, this becomes an added incentive to be faithful in his duties. This of course will not be his prime motive but it is a help in acquiring the habits. This type of report also gives the moderator a concrete check on his candidates.

3. The Director of the Whole Sodality Dismisses the Unqualified. Frequently our sodalities are not as selective as they should be because of the inability of the moderator to dismiss the unqualified. Since the moderator directly works with each candidate in the training program, a friendly personal relationship often grows up between the boy and his director. It is difficult to dismiss a boy with whom one has become friendly when he asks for another chance, promises he will try harder from now on, or, on the basis of friendship, wants the moderator to believe his flimsy excuses. This difficulty can be remedied by letting the moderator submit to the director the reason for the boy's dismissal and having the director in turn present the boy with these reasons and officially dismiss him. The director should dismiss the boy with charity and let him know that it is no disgrace to drop out at this stage. Since the requirements for membership have been adequately explained to the candidates and the boy in question has not lived up to them, the case is treated objectively. The boy's sense of justice, which at this age is acute, will readily tell him that he does not belong any longer in the training program.

II Second Year: This year is devoted to bringing the sodalist to a full sodality living. It will consist of some instruction on the Rules not yet presented, but the meetings will be conducted for the most part by the candidates themselves in an attempt to develop their ability for leadership, self-expression, initiative, etc. The stress is on APOSTOLIC FORMATION and thus many tests are required—both active and intellectual.

Common Elements: 1. Formation of Habits in the Essential Spiritual Practices of a Sodalist. A full living of what is proposed in Rule 34 of the Common Rules.

2. Interviewing Each Candidate at Least Every Three Weeks. In the first year a minimum of one personal interview

a month was stipulated. Now the minimum is set at every three weeks. This is found to be necessary because as the boys progress in the program their spiritual duties increase and thus there is more room for difficulties. Unless they are helped on a personal basis at least this often, there is little hope that they will achieve an habitual practice of the spiritual life by the end of their two year training program. If these boys are to arrive at living the full sodality way of life by May of their sophomore year, this personal direction is absolutely necessary.

Again this may seem quite difficult, even impossible, since the moderator may have 40 or 50 boys under his charge. As was recommended in the first year, this duty of personal direction can be delegated to others. Ideally the moderator himself should do this interviewing, but if necessary, others can help him with this work. The senior sodalists who were used in the first year will no longer be effective. Members of the faculty should be asked to help out. Contact two or three scholastics or priests who will be willing and able to do this type of counseling and appoint eight or ten boys to each. Again, each counselor should report regularly to the moderator on the progress of the boys he is helping.

3. Days of Recollection Four Times Each Year. All that was said in this regard for the first year of training is also applicable here, with this one exception. In the first year program senior sodalists were recommended to give the talks at the first day of recollection. They will not usually be effective now. However college sodalists will be, and it is recommended that they give the talks at the first day of recollection, a scholastic or scholastics at the second, and that a priest conduct each of the last two recollection days. It should be observed here that together with the four days of recollection for the first year candidates this makes eight days to be organized each year. However, since the training program each year is repeated with a new group year after year, the talks at a day of recollection this year will be useful again next year and the year after. So once anyone has given talks at one of these days of recollection, he can keep copies of these talks and will be able to give the same ones whenever desired in succeeding years. Once the moderator has found a few priests who are effective in giving these talks he does not have to find new speakers each year.

- 4. Closed Retreat of Three or Four Days. There is no doubt that the Spiritual Exercises are the backbone and motivating force of the sodality. If we were to begin a sodality of adults, no doubt the best method would be to give them the Exercises first and then introduce them to the sodality way of life, because the sodality grows out of the Exercises. However at the age of 14 or 15, the high school boy is not able to make the full Exercises of eight, much less thirty days. So we try to approximate the effect of the full Exercises as much as we can, adapting to the abilities and needs of the exercitants. The closer we can come to giving them the Exercises during these closed retreats, the closer we will come to presenting them with the driving force they need to live the life. This was not mentioned in the first year because the boys at that time are usually not mature enough, nor have they been sufficiently selected to make a closed retreat of this length. Now, however, they are sufficiently selected and mature. Within reason, the longer the retreat is, the more profitable it will be. Since at this stage the boys are able to profitably make a three day closed retreat, it should be at least of this duration.
- 5. Spiritual Reading at Least an Hour a Week. Spiritual reading was proposed as a common element in the first year but no definite amount of reading was stipulated. It seems universally accepted that ideally a person should do some spiritual reading each day, even if it is only for a few minutes. The sodalist should spend at least a minimum of an hour in this activity each week and the time should as much as possible be spread over the entire seven days. But no matter how or when the reading is done, it must be done. Later some definite topics will be mentioned that should form the basis for their reading during this year.
- 6. Apostolic Experiments Stressed. The word "experiments" is used here advisedly. Since the candidates are still in a period of training, they do not engage in an apostolate primarily with a view to accomplishing or completing the

work. Rather they should experiment in many different apostolic works selected with an eye to their apostolic formation. The endeavor of the moderator should be to give them breadth in the apostolic field, and thus during their training many diverse areas of apostolic work should be required. These experiments fall into two general classes, which for lack of better titles let us call active and intellectual.

Active. This refers to a physical engagement in the apostolate. Since the purpose is to give the candidate a breadth of knowledge and experience in this field, a minimum of four or five different projects should be assigned him in such areas as the parish, slums, teaching catechism, hospitals, old folks home, orphanages, St. Vincent de Paul Society, etc. A definite minimum time should be spent in each of these areas, for example, ten hours in each. The areas suggested here, the number to be engaged in and the minimum time to be spent in each are all approximate suggestions. However the principle of an active experiment in many areas is essential.

Intellectual. This simply refers to the reading one is required to do. Again the principle of engaging one's mind and heart in various important areas is essential. Recommended, by way of suggestion, are books in the following fields: the Mass, Our Lady, the sodality, Catholic action and the lay apostolate, the Mystical Body, etc. The books should be short, and even selected chapters of certain books will be found useful. The purpose is not to exhaust each subject, but simply to become acquainted with it. Depth will come later.

7. Meetings Begin When School Begins. During the summer the candidates have been contacting the moderator by letter. Now that they are back together in school the meetings should begin immediately.

A Meeting Each Week for 30 or 45 Minutes.

The Candidates Conduct Most of the Meetings. During the first year of training the moderator conducted nearly all the meetings, as was necessary in that stage of training. Now, during this second year, the emphasis has switched and is placed on apostolic formation. This means greater oppor-

tunity must be given for developing leadership, responsibility, and initiative. This is promoted in part by having the candidates themselves conduct most of the meetings.

The meetings will be discussions on various timely and important topics and areas of the apostolate with a view to action. The candidates must be carefully prepared by the moderator to conduct the discussions, using the techniques that are usually proposed for discussion-type meetings (Cf. Why Not Discuss It, by Rev. R. Rooney, S.J.; The Queen's Work Press).

The Moderator Completes the Instructions on the Rules that were not Covered in the First Year. About once a month the moderator should conduct one of the meetings, giving an instruction on the material that remains to be covered. His purpose in these instructions is to give the candidates a complete picture of the sodality way of life by the end of the school year.

Summer Meetings Held Regularly. From now on there is to be no discontinuing of meetings when the school year ends but they will continue during the summer. The sodality is a way of life and must be lived all year round. Thus when school is discontinued for the summer the sodality should not fold up, even though it may be more difficult to carry on the program during this time. The absence of the moderator during the summer does not preclude the possibility of meetings. The candidates have been conducting the meetings all year and there is no reason why they cannot continue doing so during the summer. (The boys that have just finished their junior year, and perhaps the recent graduates as well, will conduct the meetings with them.)

Before school lets out for the summer a series of topics for the meetings should be drawn up, those who are to conduct the meetings appointed, the place and time of the meetings decided on, etc. Of course some will not be in town every week during the summer, but when they are in town they attend the meetings and participate in the apostolic activity. When they are not in town they report to the moderator concerning their absence.

- 8. Selection by Dismissal. During this training period, those who have not lived up to the standards of the program, and thus who have shown themselves unqualified, must be dismissed. By the time the consecration is made, only those should remain who are actually leading the life. If there is any doubt about a boy's qualifying, he should be made to continue the training program until he is either dismissed or has proven himself worthy.
- 9. Temporary Consecration in Late April or Early May. "Temporary" is an important word here. It is recommended that the consecration be taken for one year, renewed annually until the sodalist is able to make a permanent consecration. Though every case must be handled individually, it seems that only a very rare boy will be able to make a permanent act of consecration before he leaves high school. For the most part in high school all acts of consecration should be temporary.

Additional Suggestions: The following have been found very helpful and are highly recommended. They do not have the urgency of the above nine items and thus are not considered "common elements."

1. Reports Made on Discussion Meetings, Books Read, and Apostolates Engaged in. At each discussion-meeting the candidate hands to the moderator a written report containing two sections, the first concerning the last discussion-meeting and how he has carried out the resolutions taken at that time, the other concerning the current meeting whose topic for discussion was announced at least a week before. The candidate is to list aspects which need to be discussed, resolutions that might be made, and in general, is to show that he has given the topic some serious thought. The value of this type of report for the development of the individual is obvious.

The reports on the other two areas, books read and apostolates engaged in, may also be given in writing or they can be reported orally at the time of the personal interview; but in any case some type of report is strongly recommended.

2. Contact with the Parents to Enlist their Help and Support.

#### Third and Fourth Years

In General. After the candidates have been admitted into the sodality, the spiritual program to which they have been introduced and which they have made part of their lives must be continued, strengthened, and deepened. And the training in the apostolate which they have received must now be channeled into appropriate work. Thus the program will now seek to foster and deepen their interior life, to direct it into apostolic work in keeping with their situation and state in life, and to organize this work.

In Particular: Common Elements: 1. Performance of Spiritual Exercises Prescribed in Common Rule 34.

2. Organization on the Basis of Committees or Unit Groups. This is to distinguish the organization from what is sometimes found in our schools, the division of sodalities according to academic years. Whatever method of organization we choose must be functional. It is true that the first two years of training, as explained above, are divided according to the academic years, but the very idea of progressive training program demands some such division, and therefore it is a functional division. However, once the boys enter the sodality and are consecrated members, the norm for organization is no longer training and instruction, but apostolic work. This is true even though in a non-terminal sodality, such as our high school sodalities, there will always be the aspect of training and instruction. But the major immediate objective of the group is apostolic work.

Once a boy makes his act of consecration he is a member of the school sodality; it is one organization. Therefore it must only be divided for a good reason and according to a functional norm. The division according to academic years is no longer called for, but rather a division into some type of work groups or committees. If a sodality has only ten members there may be little reason to divide it at all, since all ten sodalists will probably be working on the same projects. But if the sodality has fifty members it will probably be best to divide it into smaller work groups for greater efficiency in these various activities.

This division can be made in terms of committees (a rather large group) or unit groups (a smaller group of less than ten). Sometimes committees themselves can be subdivided into unit groups according to the different needs which present themselves. What must be made quite clear is that a school sodality is one organization, and so we should break away from our traditional system of dividing the sodalists according to their academic years and should use a more practical and functional system of organization in accord with the works that the sodalists are doing.

Advantages of the committee and unit group organization. (1) It helps give the correct emphasis that the sodality is one. (2) It helps to eliminate the identification of the sodality with the school and to prevent the attitude that suggests, "when I am a junior I study junior subjects and belong to the junior sodality, when I am a senior I study senior subjects and belong to the senior sodality, when I graduate from school I graduate from the sodality." (3) The mingling of the two years in one group is helpful to both. Anyone who has worked on a yearbook or school paper can testify to this. The younger boys (juniors) learn leadership and techniques from the older boys (seniors). (4) It gives stability to the apostolic works which are undertaken. There are always veterans in the group who did the work last year, etc.

No other school organization divides its members into separate years. This negative approach should make the point quite clear. The sodality is an organization which unites its members together for apostolic action. It has a job to do and it should be organized to do it. The band, the school paper, the varsity athletic teams, etc., do not divide their members according to the academic years. Neither should the sodality.

3. Interviewing at Least Every Three Weeks. Interviewing must be kept up during the remainder of the high school sodality program. The boys must continue to receive personal direction and encouragement if their spiritual life is to grow and mature. This method of counseling has been explained in the section on the second year. The same techniques can

be used now and since the sodalists will be very few there should be little difficulty.

- 4. Days of Recollection Four Times Each Year. Together with the four recollection days for the first and for the second year candidates, these four add up to twelve days of recollection each year. This may seem quite a large number to organize, but these days are very necessary to develop and sustain the spirituality of the boys as sodalists. If we are going to have good sodalities, we must be willing to do the work and to take the means necessary. Again the college sodalists can give the talks at the first day of recollection; seminarians, laymen, parish priests, or fellow faculty members can give the others. Since every two years there will be a completely new group of sodalists, many of the talks can be given by the same men every other year.
- 5. Spiritual Reading at Least an Hour a Week. The man who is doing the personal counseling should be able to direct the sodalists' spiritual reading.
- 6. Annual Closed Retreat of Three to Five Days. The value and necessity of the retreat have been explained at length in the second year section. Five days is suggested here because boys in their junior and šenior year are capable of making such a retreat, and in complete silence. It has been done in many places with great success. Each of our sodalities should provide the opportunity of a five day retreat each year for those who wish to make it. All sodalists must make an annual closed retreat of at least three days. As was mentioned before, within the limits dictated by the exercitant's age and other capacities, the longer the retreat is, the more profitable it will be.
- 7. Apostolic Work. In the second year of training, "apostolic experiments" was the phrase used. Now it is no longer an experiment but the real thing. The purpose of the sodalist is to produce. He must be given an opportunity to sink his teeth into apostolic work of real worth which will challenge his generosity and zeal. What this work will be in each sodality is impossible to say because of the great diversity among

our schools. However in general the various works can be classified in these two areas: works inside the school, and those outside the school.

Inside the School. A fundamental principle of apostolic action is to influence one's own milieu. In many areas students can exercise an influence over other students that no one else can. Some suggested activities might be: promoting daily Mass, selling Catholic Christmas cards, collecting food for the poor, organizing Lenten drives, pamphlet racks, a Catholic college display, a Catholic literature drive, fostering correct attitudes in the activities of the various student organizations, etc.

Outside the School. Since the lives of these boys are not completely spent in school but extended to other places as well, their apostolates should reach wherever they are able to go, especially to places where there are real social injustices and where people are in real need. Some possible outlets would be: working in the slums, hospitals, parishes, promoting the faith among Catholics in public schools, influencing TV and the newspapers, working with youth clubs to give them the proper motivation and direction, etc. These are only a few possible areas of endeavor. Something definite must be determined in each sodality and promoted with full vigor.

- 8. Continued Dismissal of the Unqualified. Nothing so weakens an organization as the harboring of unqualified members. If after their consecration in the sodality some members now show themselves unwilling to continue this way of life, as will usually happen after the proper helps and admonitions have been given and they have not improved, they should be dismissed. Again this should be done with charity and with an exhortation to strive to live up to the ideals they have learned in the sodality.
- 9. Meetings: Continuation of Summer Meetings. During the summer the sodalists conduct meetings even in the absence of the moderator. When school starts again, the meetings are simply continued.

A Meeting Each Week for 30 or 45 Minutes.

Mixture of Apostolic and Spiritual Formation and Orientation. The meetings should be functional. They should be geared to the needs of the group. Whether the group needs an instruction or motivation, or an analysis of a situation,—whatever will help most at any particular time, that is what should be done.

Summer Meetings held Regularly.

10. Continuity with Colleges. Since a boy joins the sodality for life he should belong to a sodality group wherever he goes. Presumably most of our sodalists after they graduate will attend Catholic colleges. Each sodalist should be given a letter of introduction to the director of the sodality at the college of his choice and told to look for the director as soon as he gets to the campus. Especially if a boy is going to one of our own colleges there should be an effort on both the part of the college and of the high school to make sure the boy is duly received into this new unit of sodality life.

Basic Attitudes: In general there are three attitudes of mind or personal convictions that should be imparted to the sodalists during the junior and senior years. These should be kept in mind by the moderator as he continues to train the sodalists and seeks to deepen their love and appreciation for their sodality life.

1. Choosing One's Vocation. The term vocation is used in its broad sense—including both state in life and occupation. For a sodalist, choosing his vocation must mean answering the question, "What does God want of me?" His answer must take into account many different factors: his talents, his interests, his background, his prior obligations, his opportunities, etc. All of these factors will enter into his final choice, but they must be subordinated to a dominating motive which can be expressed in another question, "Where can I do the most good for Christ, for my neighbor, for myself?" A sodalist is not motivated primarily by such considerations as money, prestige, security, etc., in making his choice. If by the completion of his high school training he is not able to

decide on a definite vocation, his attitude should be, "I will try to be as perfect a Catholic as I can in preparation for whatever work God has for me to do."

- 2. An Appreciation of Sacramental Life, both in its Individual and Liturgical Aspects. The sacraments are our main means for obtaining God's grace and for cooperating fully in the redemption. A love for the Mass, a deep devotion to Christ in the Blessed Sacrament, and a real appreciation of the value of the sacrament of penance must especially be imparted to the sodalists. The perfect worship of God is expressed through the liturgy and this should be one of the deep realizations that our sodalists take away with them.
- 3. An Apostolic and Social Mindedness. Love of God is shown primarily in our love for our neighbor, and thus the sodalist must be apostolic in his thoughts and in his actions. There is no need to elaborate on the particular manifestation of this apostolic mindedness, which is often referred to as social-mindedness, because it has been brought home to us so often and so forcefully by our present Father General and the recent popes. The need is obvious and each school should use its own peculiar environment to intensify the desire in the sodalists to do something concrete about the present situation.

### Conclusion

The implementation of these basic common elements will take work and imagination, but it can be done and actually must be done if we are to produce real sodalists. A booklet which will be published by The Queen's Work Press this summer, (1961) entitled *Training Candidates for Youth Sodalities* has endeavored to elaborate a high school sodality training program covering the first two years of high school. It embodies the common elements that have been presented here. Perhaps it will be found useful. The moderators will find that the *St. Mary's Plan* and the *Chicago Province Plan* will also be of great help to them. During the last two years they can use the books of one of these plans alternately, e.g., the junior book one year, the senior book the next, the junior the next, etc. This is possible because there is no intrinsic connection or

buildup between the third and fourth year books in either plan that would prevent this. Whatever adaptations must be made in this regard will be minor.

Another book which will be most helpful in further developing the spiritual life and apostolic mindedness of the juniors and seniors is *On Fire With Christ*, by Frank Holland, S.J. (obtainable through The Queen's Work).

In conclusion and by way of summary this can be said. Our high schools need a high powered program in order to produce sodalists. The sodality way of life is a difficult one and can be followed by very few. In general the programs our schools now have are inadequate and result in producing better boys out of boys that were already very good, but they turn out very few real sodalists. We should either run the organizations we call sodalities as they should be run or cease from calling them sodalities. Since we claim to be running sodalities we must take the means necessary to have real ones. If the suggestions proposed here are put into practice there will be much more hope of turning out in the future a boy we can really call an apostle of Jesus Christ, a real sodalist.

## Geographic Distribution of Jesuits: 1961 William J. Mehok, S.J.

This is the fourth in a series of articles on various aspects of the whereabouts of Jesuits.¹ In the year beginning 1958 one finds a complete list of the different countries in which Jesuits reside. This is repeated for 1959 with a few details regarding certain general characteristics. Last year's account gave detailed information concerning only a few of the larger countries of each continent and lumped the smaller ones together. Two original features were, however, added, namely, migration indices and time trend indices. These proved so informative that the present report will develop them further.

In order that valid conclusions may be drawn from time series, a period considerably longer than four years is necessary. Since that is all we have and since, as we shall see, there is a stability about certain phenomena in the Society, calling attention to these seemingly permanent elements is all we can do in that area for the present.

It should be pointed out at the beginning that the traditional division of the Society into administrative units (provinces, vice-provinces, assistancies, etc.) does not lend itself easily to statistical treatment. The reason is that the correlation between present growth and future size is negative. In other words, it is a fact of recent history that the faster a province grows, the more likely it is to be divided and hence to become smaller

One can find many reasons a priori, and there is limited objective evidence to support the hypothesis, that geography offers a more stable statistical frame. A Jesuit's juridical or administrative alliance can be changed many times without affecting his physical whereabouts. It is precisely this point that a migration index touches.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Woodstock Letters, July 1959, pp. 293-300 for year beginning 1958 (IA [ineunte anno] 1958); April 1960, pp. 157-164 (IA 1959); July 1961, pp. 238-245 (IA 1960). Reference will be to IA 19—.

Table 1 is drawn up in such a way as to provide the raw material for such indices. This table is best introduced by showing some concrete examples from Table 2 along with an interpretation. Africa and North America offer contrasting types.

The total number of Jesuits living in Africa is 1,116 and the total number of Jesuits ascribed to provinces having territory in Africa is 995. The low migration index, 89 (995/1,116), is indicative of an area dependent on outside help.

North America, by contrast, has an index of 103, indicating a greater number of *socii* than inhabitants.

These conventional indices are based on the assumption that non-applicati extra provinciam, for a specific area, are balanced by non-applicati ex aliis provinciis. Very often this assumption is not valid as can be seen from an extreme example, the Roman Province. Whereas it has an uncorrected index of 31 (222/725), its corrected index is 101, or about normal. The latter index is derived by subtracting non-application both sides, extra provinciam and ex aliis provinciis, and considering them as if they did not exist. E.g. for Roman Province: (222-0)/(725-506) = (222/219=101).

It is not always possible to ascertain the exact number of non-applicati extra provinciam, hence the most realistic approach is to assume that they are distributed uniformly according to the proportions given in Table 2.

One ingredient, non-applicati ex aliis provinciis, is not given this year. However, the figures for IA 1959 will give a reasonably close estimate. This assumption is fortified by the fact that differences between uncorrected migration indices IA 1960 and 1961 are slight. Africa scholastics and Asia, Oceania brothers differ by four points; South America scholastics by three points; Africa priests and North America brothers by two points, and all the rest by one or no point differences.

Table 3 is given as a paradigm for province catalogue editors. If they followed this simple self-checking model, most of the errors and inconsistencies for the Society as a whole could be avoided.

Table 4 treats of time trends. It should be studied in conjunction with last year's report which gives details for various

grades. The trend for Jesuits with vows is progressive and even whereas that for novices it is random and irregular. The reason for the difference is, of course, the smoothing effect of long periods of time, twelve years or more against two years. The implications of this table are self-evident and, I think, portentous. It is true that migration explains some disturbing features about total *degentes*, but migration is but a minor factor in the case of novices, and these show some revealing tendencies.

Here are a few generalizations with tentative proofs and explanations. The first broad conclusion is that, if the right questions are asked, the expected answers are predictable within unbelievably accurate limits.

Several years ago<sup>2</sup> a formula was devised for predicting the future number of Jesuit priests from a given number of scholastics, granting all the vicissitudes that befall existing priests as well as scholastics. Since the year 1957 inclusive, discrepancies between predicted and actual number of priests fall below 1% in all but one year. The usual limit of error tolerated in such studies is 5%, so that this formula will be valid for some time hence.

Furthermore, in recent years, continents have shown a basic stability in the proportion of their inhabitants who came from other provinces. Apart from Africa (20%, 16%, 16%) and Asia, Oceania (32%, 28%, 30%), there has been 2% or less fluctuation for the rest in the last three years. As was indicated, this fact helps in computing the corrected migration index.

In an as yet unpublished study of mobility in the Society, comparison was made between the American Assistancy and the rest of the Order regarding the proportions of novices who entered and took vows and the proportions of members of all grades who left or died. Although America has 2% more novices entering, the other proportions differ by less than 1%.

In brief, intuition or incomplete evidence tend to exaggerate differences. Practically, with reference to the present study, it can, if necessary, be supplemented by previous ones without

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Mehok, W. J., S.J., "Predicting Number of Jesuit Priests," Woodstock Letters, Vol. 87, No. 1, (Feb. 1958), pp. 43-48.

too great a loss in precision. In all the instances indicated above, big discrepancies were due not to omission or physical movement of Jesuits but to change in formality (socii, non-socii; applicati, non-applicati) resulting from administrative reorganization. The examples of proportion ex aliis provinciis, cited above, bring this out. The big change in Africa, 20%, 16%, 16%, took place at a time when Central Africa was being made a vice-province. Jesuits living there who did not belong to either Belgian province were being changed from ex aliis provinciis to socii.

In the case of India, the explanation is partly the same but with this confusing element added. Catalogues of these groups were different depending on whether they came out before or after the change was decreed. The same applied for the mother province of areas later to be given autonomy. Now that province boundaries more nearly coincide with countries, there is not the same reason for such big changes.

This series has confined itself to the physical presence of Jesuits. What they do is another story and has been treated more or less in detail elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> Basically, about a third of the Order teaches and/or administers schools, a third studies, and the remaining third is engaged in other work. To date, only those engaged in formal education, either as students or teachers, have been treated geographically.<sup>4</sup> Since the bulk of scholastics are in studies, a reasonably accurate geographic estimate of Jesuits engaged in non-academic work can be made by subtraction.

The condition of the Order, statistically speaking, has not been better in the last five years. If quality keeps up with quantity, the future outlook is very optimistic.

Rome

William J. Mehok, S.J.

Feb. 10, 1962

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Mehok, W. J., S.J., "What Do Jesuits Do?" Social Compass, Vol. VIII, No. 6, (1961), pp. 567-574.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Mehok, W. J., S.J., "Jesuit Schools of the World"; 1959, *Jesuit Educational Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 2, (Oct. 1960), pp. 93-107. This is the most recent of several such articles.

Table 1. Geographic distribution of 35,081 members of the Society of Jesus by grade according to the areas in which they live and according to number ascribed to provinces of these areas.

Year beginning 1961.

		JESUITS LIVING IN TERRITORY				JESUITS ASCRIBED TO TERRITORY			
	Priest	Priests Schol's Broth's To		s Total	Priest	Schol's Broth's		Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Belgian Congo	194	62	80	336	198	37	79	314	
Madagascar	198	32	77	307	189	27	76	292	
Rhodesia-North	56	10	17	83	41	9	12	62	
Rhodesia-South	81	10	26	117	73	. 8	23	104	
Other Countries (11)	206	28	39	273	172	21	30	223	
AFRICA (15)	735	142	239	1,116	673	102	220	995	
Canada	684	319	161	1,164	806	366	180	1,352	
Mexico	256	298	116	670	303	308	120	731	
United States	4,303	2,978	666	7,947	4,237	2,992	658	7,887	
Other Countries (12)	362	91	143	596	373	205	139	717	
AMERICA-NORTH (15)	5,605	3,686	1,086	10,377	5,719	3,871	1,097	10,687	
Argentina	190	161	61	412	193	122	54	369	
Brazil	522	290	336	1,148	499	239	317	1,055	
Colombia	262	280	131	673	255	265	133	653	
Other Countries (8)	580	392	269	1,241	604	431	258	1,293	
AMERICA-SOUTH (11)	1,554	1,123	797	3,474	1,551	1,057	762	3,370	
India	1,179	789	393	2,361	1,114	667	380	2,161	
Japan	210	108	37	355	176	44	28	248	
Philippines	309	154	43	506	305	133	39	477	
Other Countries (19)	789	160	164	1,113	888	131	183	1,202	
ASIA (22)	2,487	1,211	637	4,335	2,483	975	630	4,088	
Belgium	798	385	116	1,299	851	415	123	1,389	
France	1,301	346	149	1,796	1,252	296	141	1,689	
Germany-West	588	338	196	1,122	647	326	211	1,184	
Italy	1,464	331	621	2,416	1,086	321	526	1,933	
Spain	1,623	1,505	1.015	4,143	1,804	1,644	1,132	4,580	
Other C. (18)	2,188	1,071	723	3,982	2,267	1,085	753	4,105	
EUROPE (23)	7,962	3,976	2,820	14,758	7,907	4,087	2,886	14,880	
OCEANIA (3)	203	143	34	380	183	158	27	368	
DISPERSI (4)	155	13	89	257	159	13	89	261	
GROUP I (93)	18,701	10,294	5,702	34,697	18,675	10,263	5,711	34.649	
GROUP II (2)	172	75	137	384	198	106	128	432	
TOTAL (95)	18.873	10,369	5.839	35.081	18,873	10,369		35,081	
Jan. 24, 1962.			•				•		

AFRICA Other (11): Algeria 38 (37), Cameroons 15 (13), Egypt 43 (34), Ethiopia 19 (18), French Equatorial Africa 60 (40), Mauritius 6 (3), Morocco 12 (10), Mozambique 38 (37), Reunion 5 (4), Ruanda-Urundi 20 (10), Union of South Africa 17 (17). TOTAL for 11 countries: 273 living in territory; (223) ascribed to provinces of territory.

AMERICA-NORTH Other (12): British Honduras 37 (25), Costa Rica 4 (4), Cuba 159 (256), Dominican Republic 61 (45), El Salvador 87 (172), Guatemala 23 (21), Haiti 17 (17), Honduras, Rep. 18 (14), Jamaica BWI 83 (80), Nicaragua 49 (42), Panama 24 (21), Puerto Rico 34 (20). TOTAL: 596 (717).

AMERICA-SOUTH Other (8): Bolvia 115 (103), British Guiana 53 (51), Chile 271 (260), Ecuador 288 (257), Paraguay 39 (33), Peru 178 (218), Uruguay 84 (121), Venezuela 213 (250). TOTAL: 1,241, (1,293).

ASIA Other (19): Burma 7 (7), Ceylon 94 (121), China-Mainland 73 (66), Indonesia 254 (231), Iraq 49 (46), Israel 7 (0), Korea-South 16 (15), Lebanon 136 (121), Macau 19 (19), (Malay, Fed. 4 under Singapore), Nepal 14 (9), Portuguese India 35 (30), Portuguese Timor 6 (5), Singapore and Malay, Fed. 9 (8), Syria 14 (13), Thailand 8 (6), Vietnam 32 (26). TOTAL: 1,113 (1,202).

EUROPE Other (18): Austria 459 (326), Denmark 33 (25), Germany-Luxembourg 6 (5), Malta 126 (193), Monaco 6 (5), Netherlands 613 (690), Portugal 353 (412), Poland 615 (680), Switzerland 128 (162), Sweden 16 (13), Turkey-Europe 3 (0), UK-England 690 (656), UK-Scotland 44 (42), UK-Wales 50 (25), Yugoslavia 263 (293). TOTAL: 3,982 (4,105).

OCEANIA (3): Australia 337 (355), New Zealand 4 (4), Pacific Islands 39 (9). TOTAL: 380 (368).

DISPERSI (4): Albania 15 (14), Hungary 194 (194), Lettonia-Esthonia 3 (8), Lithuania 45 (45). TOTAL: 257 (261).

GROUP II (2): Czechoslovakia 350 (410), Romania 19 (22), Correction 15 (0). TOTAL: 384 (432).

Table 2. Migration index by geographic area; index corrected for Jesuits living in an area but not applied to it; proportion of Jesuits living in another province who are applied and who are not applied to it. Year beginning 1961.

	PRIESTS	SCHOLAST:	BROTHERS	TOTAL			
GEOGRAPHIC AREA	1	2	3	4			
MIGRATION INDEX*							
Africa	92	72	92	89			
America-North	102	105	101	103			
America-South	100	94	96	97			
Asia, Oceania	99	84	98	95			
Europe, Rest	100	103	102	101			
TOTAL	100	100	100	100			
CORRECTED INDEX <sup>b</sup>							
Africa	. 88	67	91	87			
America-North	101	105	101	102			
America-South	95	101	95	97			
Asia, Oceania	91	74	99	89			
Europe, Rest	104	105	102	104			
TOTAL	100	100	100	100			
LIVING IN ANOTHER PROVINCE:							
Proportion not applied	.5769	.8572	.5453	.6941			
Proportion applied	(.4231)	(.1428)	(.4547)	(.3059)			

- a. Migration Index: Socii / Degentes. E.g. Africa, Total: 995 1,116 = 89. This is an index of the extent to which an area depends on outside help or to which it contributes to other areas. The lower the index, the more an area is dependent, and vice versa.
- b. Index Corrected for Jesuits from another Province who are not applied to the one in which they live. The assumption here is that non-applicati do not count as degentes and that extra provinciam degentes are applied in the proportion given under (c). E.g. Europe, Priests: (Socii)—(Non-applicati extra provinciam degentes) / (Degentes)—(Non-applicati ex aliis provinciis) = Corrected Index. (8,264—891) / (8,289—1,227) = (7,373) / (7,062) = 104. European provinces contribute more of their priests to outside areas than is immediately apparent.
- c. Proportion of Jesuits living in another province than their own who are not applied to the province in which they live. This is a constant multiplier. E.g. Europe, Priests: There are 1,544 priests, both applied and not, in other provinces. The constant multiplier is .5769. Hence, the number of non-applicati extra provinciam degentes is (1,544) (.5769) = 891, as under (b).

Table 3. Distribution by grade of 35,081 members of the Society of Jesus giving certain general characteristics. Year beginning 1961.

	PRIEST	SCHOL'S	BROTHER	TOTAL
CHARACTERISTIC	1	2	3	3
A) SOCII	18,873	10,369	5,838	35,081
B) EX ALIIS PROVINCIIS	3,642	3,222	662	7,526
C) NUMERANTUR	22,515	13,591	6,501	42,607
D) EXTRA PROVINCIAM				
DEG.	3,642	3,222	662	7,526
E) DEG. IN TERRITORIO	18,873	10,369	5,839	35,081
B-1) Applicati	1,541	460	301	2,302
B-2) Non-Applicati	2,101	2,762	361	5,224
B-3) From Same Country	1,480	1,876	360	3,716
B-4) From Different Country	2,162	1,346	302	3,810
D-1) Province Catalogues	3,619	3,252	640	7,511
D-2) Correction	+23	-30	+22	+15
Percent Increase over 1960				
A-1) Socii Total	1.97%	0.00%	0.67%	1.14%
A-2) Novices Total	_	5.89%	5.05%	5.75%
_		-		

Jan. 24, 1962

Table 4. Relative change in total number of Jesuits living in different parts of the world IA 1957-1961 with detail for Novices. (Base = 100: 1957.) Absolute number of Novices IA 1961 indicating number from another province.

		AMERICA	AMERICA	ASIA	EUROPE	
YEAR	AF	RICA NORTH	SOUTH	OCEANIA	REST	TOTAL
		1 2	3	4	5	6
DEGENTES:	1957	100 100	100	100	100	100
Total	1958 1	106 102	101	103	99	101
	1959 3 1	107 104	103	106	99	102
	1960 1	111 106	105	109	99	103
	1961 1	114 107	106	111	99	104
DEGENTES:	1957* 1	100 100	100	100	100	100
Novices	1958	100 106	112	96	97	102
	1959 1	109 104	118	101	92	101
	1960 1	109 112	104	99	89	100
	1961 1	130 119	98	109	95	105
NOVICES:	Scholastic	89(2)b 871(45	203(21)	248(40)	781(46)	2121(154)°
1961	Brother	25(1) 93(23)	58(5)	76(24)	185(7)	437(61)

- a. Includes both Scholastic and Brother novices.
- b. Number in parentheses ( ) represents number of novices "ex aliis provinciis."
- c. Five countries represent the greatest proportion of this total, namely: USA 45 scholastic novices and 18 brother novices; Brazil, 10-3; India, 37-24; France, 21-0; Italy, 19-5; Total: 131-51 of 154-61.

This brings out the point that novices are trained in their own provinces or at least their own countries.

Jan. 24, 1962

## Father Arthur J. Sheehan Robert A. Hewitt, S.J.

An athletic coach of a Southern university was recently tendered a testimonial in honor of his twenty-nine years of successful service. In his speech of thanks at the end of the evening he summed up his feelings in these words: "Honors are fine for a coach. But what really counts are the friends and the achievements made by the boys he has coached."

On the morning of January 13, 1959, a remarkable testimonial of honor was offered, in death, to Father Arthur J. Sheehan. The scene was the Church of the Immaculate Conception in Boston. The Cardinal Archbishop of Boston presided at the Mass and pronounced the final absolution. The provincial of the New England Province celebrated the low Mass. Two other bishops with several monsignori sat in the sanctuary. One entire aisle of the spacious church was filled with priests, secular and Jesuit, several of the latter from outside the province. Hundreds of mourners, including many nuns, knelt with the family and relatives in the center aisles.

There is one striking point of similarity in these otherwise disparate testimonials. By far the great majority of the clergy and laity attending Father Sheehan's funeral Mass was made up, in the language of sports, of the boys whom he had coached. All his life as a teacher and educational director, Father Sheehan's genius had been to make firm friends of those whom he inspired to achievements, not only in education, but in many walks of life. In the church that morning were some whose friendship went back to 1914, when Father Sheehan taught his first class in St. Francis Xavier High School, New York. Gathered to pay a final tribute to their friend, they were not without a certain feeling of discomfort. For they well knew what Father Sheehan thought of public testimonials. "Too much fuss" was his expression for them. Humble and somewhat shy by nature, he preferred all his life and their achievements did he betray pride, in them, not in the last to the first place. Only when he talked of his friends himself

Neither by geography nor by genealogy was Father Sheehan a "proper Bostonian." He was born in Medford, Massachusetts a suburb some seven miles distant from the self-reputed hub of the universe. Medford is not a part of Boston, but, in his own heart and to the rest of the world, a Medfordite is a Bostonian. So it was with Father Sheehan, a deeply attached and fiercely loyal Bostonian, to the extent that all his life it was difficult to induce him to remain on alien soil one day longer than was necessary. A fellow biennist, who was with him in Rome, recalls that at the end of his two years, with an opportunity to see Europe leisurely on the way home, he booked passage on a ship leaving Italy directly for Boston the day after his doctorate examination.

Graduating from Boston College High School in 1907, Father Sheehan entered the Society that year at St. Andrew-on-Hudson, Poughkeepsie, New York. How he steeled himself to leave his beloved Boston, and for the next nineteen years of novitiate, juniorate, philosophy, regency, theology, biennium and tertianship to live in exile, is a miracle of the grace of vocation. An incident of his first night at St. Andrew's reveals that Boston was not out of mind. In 1907 the present beautiful community chapel at St. Andrew's had not been built. The community used temporarily a room in the basement. The room had one door, and with the altar placed just inside that door, all who entered had to do so in full view of those already in their places. On the night of August 14, a new group of postulants filed into the chapel, and the community broke into laughter to see one of them striding manfully into the chapel in short pants. Father Pettit, the novice master, took action the next morning to remove the distraction by ordering Brother Sheehan fitted with a pair of long pants. We can imagine his surprise when the postulant came straightway to his room with the practical request that the short trousers be sent home to his brother in Boston. Permission was granted.

Following his year of tertianship, again at St. Andrew's, Father Sheehan found a bigger task awaiting him than the expected assignment to teach theology. He was appointed prefect of studies at the new Weston College. In that year, 1926, the big, handsome house at Weston was half completed,

and up to that summer was planned as a common house of philosophy for both the Maryland-New York and New England Provinces. Woodstock would be their common house of theology. Suddenly Rome decided that Weston should be completed as a house of both philosophy and theology, to begin as such the following year, 1927. The decision entailed a busy year for the new prefect of studies. In addition to his class in philosophy, his was the responsibility of having schedules, textbooks and all other equipment for a theologate ready for the coming *Schola Brevis*.

Father Sheehan combined the posts of professor of theology and prefect of studies from 1927 until 1934, when a period of ill health forced superiors to relieve him of the duties of prefect. After a six months' rest, he returned to teach theology until 1939.

As in the case of the preacher, so the teacher has never lived whose manner and style appealed to all his students without exception. Particularly delicate and sensitive is the relationship of professor to student in a Jesuit house of studies, where both live as members of the same family. From the vantage point of time, Father Sheehan's former Jesuit students unite in praising his clear and penetrating mind, the precision of his thought, his sharp definition of terms and simple form of argument. He spoke Latin as fluently as English. Some he annoyed by skipping the easier parts of a thesis with a "Potestis legere," and addressing himself to the more difficult points. And some still ruefully recall the way, in repetitions and examinations, he smiled as he put a dagger in you. One last quality is very much in character. His students testify that he was ready with sympathy and encouragement to all who sought his help.

Father Sheehan never attained the stature of an outstanding theologian, because his interest never turned toward research nor toward writing. He was rather the professional in the field of teaching theology to beginners. For recreation at Weston Father Sheehan liked the game of contract bridge, at which he was an expert amateur. Until his illness in 1934, he was also a golfer, enthusiastic, but something less than an expert.

The year 1939 brought an abrupt change in Father Shee-

han's life and work. For some years the office of province prefect of studies had been taken care of by the socius to the provincial, but the double burden had by now grown too heavy. Much to the regret of Weston College, the provincial appointed Father Sheehan as a full-time province prefect of studies. As the events of the next nineteen years proved, it was for the bonum commune a felicitous appointment.

The early 40's were a period of lusty expansion in New England Jesuit education, as they were elsewhere. Not only were three new schools opened, two high schools and one university, but the older institutions were experiencing a second spring. Boston College High School doubled its enrollment in two years. Boston College was mushrooming into the multi-schooled university which it now is. This phenomenal growth presented not only the local problem of providing faculties and physical equipment, but general problems of educational policies to the provincial and his assistant for province studies. The province had to raise its sights radically in selecting young Jesuits for special studies and university degrees. It had to decide where to anchor Jesuit education in the tide which had already swept away Greek, and now was running swiftly against Latin in secondary schools and colleges. It had to secure the primacy of Catholic philosophy and theology in schools other than arts and sciences, where technical and vocational courses threatened to swallow up all available hours in the schedule.

To help solve these and like problems, provincials, rectors, deans and principals leaned heavily on the new province prefect. Years before when Father Sheehan was defending his doctoral thesis in Rome, Father Maurice de la Taille, S.J., the famed theologian of the Mass, publically commended Father Sheehan's clear-minded, quick way of cutting through accidentals to the heart of the questions proposed. This was the gift which he now put to the service of education in the province. New ideas were not suspect to him because they were new, but were weighed against the essentials of the Ratio. Thus he was among the first to recognize the importance of, and advocate the judicious use of testing procedures for the guidance of scholastics, and of psychological tests for candidates for the Society. Once his judgments were formed,

Father Sheehan could be curt in expressing them. But it was never the sharpness of self-opinion which refuses to listen to the other side, nor the curtness which out of fear of being wrong shuts off discussion.

In addition to the assignment of province prefect, he was appointed in 1945 province director of special studies, and held that position until 1957. As many can testify, a Jesuit assigned to special studies, especially outside the province, finds it a lonesome task. He feels himself an orphan in the sense of belonging to no particular house which readily supplies his temporal wants and a home to which he is welcome during vacations. Because the work is long and arduous, he needs sympathy and encouragement and counsel. Father Sheehan, in the opinion of many, did his most valuable work in the field. With his great capacity for friendliness and zeal, he gave himself unsparingly to this work. It involved many journeys and much letter-writing. It comprised such minutiae as buying clothes, seeing dentists and paying bills. And it included, above all, the art and science of persuading the student to believe in himself and in his ability to complete successfully the work for the degree.

A province prefect is an ex officio member of the executive council of the Jesuit Educational Association. This top-ranking educational body of the Assistancy has memorialized in a resolution the contribution Father Sheehan made to its work. He was particularly active on its subcommittee for diocesan relations. Younger members of the council listened to him as an "elder statesman," while an older confrere expressed his unique value to the council's deliberations in these words: "To Father Sheehan the touchstone of all questions about Jesuit education was its conformity to the teaching and thinking of the Church. This he would concisely and lucidly trace in our discussions, from the revealed word of Holy Scripture down to the latest pronouncement of the Holy See."

As part of his duty, Father Sheehan held active membership in several educational groups, the National Catholic Educational Association, the New England Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, and the National Council of Independent Schools. He was instrumental in obtaining accreditation for several New England Catholic colleges and secondary

schools. Of one of them, the Newton College of the Sacred Heart, he was a trustee, and at his death, the Mother President wrote to Father Provincial: "Father Sheehan was associated with this college from the very beginning. His wisdom, tact and ability to understand the particular spirit of our education made his help invaluable in obtaining membership in the New England Association. His simplicity, spirit of faith and good humor made even a chance encounter with him an encouraging experience." Perhaps the most difficult and delicate assignment he discharged during these years was that of a paid consultant to the Strayer committee which conducted a two year examination of the Boston public school system.

In addition to these official tasks, other institutions and individuals made many demands upon his time and experience. The Reverend Superintendent of the Boston Archdiocesan Schools made no secret of the fact that he consulted Father Sheehan on every major matter. Friends and especially fellow Jesuits sent their problem cases to him, and he spent many hours interviewing individual students, probing for and correcting their difficulties, tutoring them when necessary and personally arranging their reestablishment in school.

On August 15, 1957 Father Sheehan celebrated his golden jubilee. Quite unexpectedly, but with the sure sense of human relations which he possesses, His Eminence Cardinal Cushing of Boston arranged a tribute to him in the form of a Solemn High Mass, at which the Cardinal presided and preached. "He is inflamed," the Cardinal said in his sermon that day, "by love of his work of promoting education, to the point of dedicating himself to it without reservation. He is a man who exacts no personal reward for his contribution to the common good. We salute today an exemplary priest, a loyal Jesuit, a dedicated scholar and a true friend."

It was evident at the time of his jubilee that Father Sheehan's grip on life was tenuous. The marvel had been that his frail body had withstood for decades the ravages of a serious asthmatic condition. In that long period he had never enjoyed an uninterrupted night's sleep, but was obliged, at least once each night, to have recourse to adrenalin injections. On the 1958 status he was relieved of his duties as province prefect and assigned to the new Boston College High School as

spiritual father. A sharp attack of asthma hospitalized him shortly after his arrival, and he then learned that he had an inoperable cancer of the lung. With no trace of self-pity, he returned to B.C. High to live, as he put it himself, on borrowed time. A few weeks later, on January 10, 1958, death came swiftly in the Boston City Hospital, where he had been rushed following a heart collapse. He was buried in the Weston College cemetery.

Jesuits have no epitaphs written upon their tombstones. Perhaps we should not write one here. But of this friendly, humble Jesuit who never holding a post of command in the Society, served his 52 years in the "long black line" obediently and with distinction, St. Paul's words seem very apt. "He was a good soldier of Jesus Christ."

# Brother Michael McHugh William V. Bangert, S.J.

For a little less than a year, from November 8, 1956, when Brother George Sandheinrich died, until his own passing on October 18, 1957, Brother Michael McHugh enjoyed the distinction of being the Patriarch of the brothers of the New York Province. On the latter date the Angel of Death quietly slipped into the infirmary at Saint Andrew, took the patriarchal cloak, slipped it over the shoulders of Brother Harry Fieth, and summoned Brother McHugh to his eternal home. It was sixty years and twenty one days since Brother had entered the Society.

Eighty seven years before, on February 9, 1870, Michael was born in the village of Curralubber, County Leitrim, Ireland. His parents were Charles and Bridget Loughran McHugh. Here in this northern section of the Emerald Isle that peeks out into Donegal Bay, with its hard soil and moist climate, where potatoes grow in plenty and grain hardly at all, Michael grew up into young manhood.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>The Society's records give the date of Brother's birth as February 9, 1870. In his application for citizenship in the United States, however, Brother testified that he was born "on or about the ninth day of February in the year one thousand eight hundred and seventy one."

When he was twenty-two years of age he decided to leave Curralubber and come to the United States. What decided him is not known, but it was a sad, rebellious and angry Ireland he was leaving. The plaintive strains of "It's the most distressful country that I have ever seen" must have been most familiar to him. When he was twelve, Cavendish and Burke, Chief Secretary and Under Secretary of the British administration in Ireland, were assassinated in Phoenix Park, Dublin. They were the days when Michael Davitt and Charles Parnell were moulding the Home Rule movement, when a bitter and impoverished people schemed terrible things against the British, and when American sympathizers collected money for such awesome projects as the burning down of London on a windy night. Resentment over Ireland's sufferings, however, Brother very rarely showed. His memories of Ireland seemed to be filled, not with bitterness, but rather with glowing pictures of smiling lakes, the waters of the Shannon, the Braubine Mountains easing off to Sligo to the West. His grasp of geographical details was both broad and minute. two years Brother kept among his meagre belongings a bit of verse about Ireland which he had copied out on Holy Cross stationery in June of 1905. Some few lines follow:

All praise to St. Patrick who brought to our mountains The gift of God's faith, the sweet light of His love! All praise to the shepherd who showed us the fountains That rise in the heart of the Savior above. Then what shall we do for the heaven sent father? What shall the proof of our loyalty be? By all that is dear to our hearts we should rather Be martyred, sweet Saint, than bring shame upon thee.

#### To America

Michael first went to Liverpool where he stayed but a few days before he boarded a cattle boat for America. On May 2, 1892, his trip came to an end when he looked upon the shore line of Boston Harbor. Michael brought with him to the United States a quick mind, a shrill voice, a heavy tread and a flair for the recitation of lengthy stanzas of verse. These remained with him almost to the end of his days. A short man, he was vibrant with energy. The features of his face were sharply cut. In his clear blue eyes danced a very obvious impishness.

One of Michael's brothers had preceded him across the ocean and had settled at Worcester, Mass. So it was to Worcester that he went. In this bustling and begrimmed industrial town he found work in a brass foundry. Here he stayed for about three years. Losing no time to make application for citizenship he solemnly protested to the "Honorable the Justice of the Central District Court of Worcester" his intention of becoming an American citizen and "to renounce forever all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign Prince, Potentate, State, and Sovereignty, whatsoever, and particularly to Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

In the southern section of Worcester, high on Packachoag Hill, stood the Jesuit College of Holy Cross. Here in twintowered Fenwick Hall and adjacent O'Kane Hall Father Edward McGurk guided the workings of the College with the assistance of 11 priests, 8 scholastics and 15 brothers. The large number of brothers at Holy Cross should not be surprising. In those days an approximately even number of priests and brothers in the Colleges of the Maryland-New York Province was a common thing. In 1895, Xavier, for example, had 28 priests, 10 scholastics and 13 brothers; Fordham had 17 priests, 10 scholastics and 20 brothers; Georgetown had 20 priests, 7 scholastics and 18 brothers. Sometime around 1895 Michael left the brass foundry to work at Holy Cross. Among the Regents whom he must have known were several who later became well known throughout the Province as priests, Mr. Thomas Becker, Mr. Gerald Dillon, Mr. Matthew Fortier, Mr. Henry Judge.

Sometime during the approximately two years that he was at Holy Cross Michael realized that he had a vocation to be a Jesuit brother. Father William Pardow, the provincial, accepted him and instructed him to do his postulancy, at least in part, at Holy Cross. On September 27, 1897, when he was twenty-seven years old, Michael entered the Novitiate at Frederick, Maryland. Maryland's hold on him was not strong and it was not long before he was back in New England. Sometime during the noviceship he was assigned to Boston College on Harrison Avenue. He returned to Frederick to pronounce his first vows on September 29, 1899. Then began over a half century of devoted service in such obscure positions

as refectorian, baker, sacristan, gardener, throughout the area of the present three Eastern Provinces. Within the boundaries of the New England Province he worked at Boston College (1899–1901), Holy Cross (1901–1905) and Keyser Island (1923–1924). Within the territory of the Maryland Province he worked at Woodstock (1905–1909) and Georgetown (1909–1921). Within the area of the New York Province he was at Canisius College (1921–1923), Saint Andrew (1924–1941), Inisfada (1941–1946) and Saint Andrew again (1946–1957).

Brother pronounced his Final Vows at Woodstock on February 2, 1908, along with Father James McDermott, Father Hector Papi and Brother William Coffey. Because of the large number of vow men English permissions were granted the theologians. At dinner that festive day Brother had the pleasure of hearing poems recited by Father Robert Reynolds, fourth year father, and Mr. Joseph Hogan, speeches by Mr. Edmund Walsh and Mr. Hugh Gaynor, and a violin solo by Mr. Michael Jessup.

## The Merry Catalyst

Brother McHugh had the happy faculty of creating an atmosphere of merriment. Those who recall him usually do so in terms of a practical joke, a good natured riposte, a gay gesture. Especially in the midst of a group of scholastics was he a catalyst hurrying along the action of laughter and good humor. One father recalls his regency days at Georgetown when Brother was refectorian there. The scholastics, being prefects, went to early dinner and were served by Brother. Among them all there was a constant and pleasant give and take. One day the scholastics deliberately spilled a disappearing ink over the table cloth. Brother, with smart agility, ran at breakneck speed for a rag, only to find by the time he returned not a trace of a stain.

Father Minister at Georgetown had directed Brother to write in a little book the names of those who talked at second table. One day another brother covertly entered Brother McHugh's name. Great was his consternation when he next reported to Father Minister and found himself charged with violation of silence. But rare indeed were the occasions when he was at a loss for the incisive retort. One day when he was

on the farm at Saint Andrew he was returning to the house with a basket of eggs. Some juniors met him and engaged him in conversation. While one Junior kept him distracted another quietly took an egg from the basket and gently placed it on the ground. Brother finished what he had to say and moved on. He had gone but a short way when the juniors called to him that one of his eggs had fallen out of the basket. Undismayed by the sight of the unbroken egg that had survived a fall, he picked it up with the comment: "Sure, 'tis strong eggs my hens lay."

One day when Brother was eighty-six years old he was seated in the kitchen peeling a basket of onions. Tears poured down his cheeks. Father Walsh, the Rector, happened by and asked Brother why he was crying. "Sure," he replied, "And didn't you hear? My great grandmother died."

A familiar sight during the Juniors' Villa at Monroe was a circle of scholastics out of the center of which resounded, shrill and loud, the lines:

I am the monarch of all I survey; My right there is none to dispute; From the centre all round to the sea I am lord of the fowl and the brute.

Surrounded by the enraptured listeners of a younger generation, the slight, stooped octogenarian with alert eyes, skin taut over his cheek bones, wisps of white hair over his ears, could go on endlessly. The walls of the infirmary at Saint Andrew still seem to reverberate with:

My name is Nicholas McCarthy, from Trim. My relations are dead except for one brother Jim.

# Hard Work and Deep Prayer

But Brother McHugh was not frivolous. Far from it. Men who lived with him look back over the years and are united in their description of him as hard working, earnest, devout, prayerful. The way he approached his work and his religious duties manifested a deep interior seriousness of purpose. His grasp of the fundamentals of the religious life was sure and thorough. In the practice of obedience he was exact and his sense of responsibility in an office was great. At Holy Cross in 1901 Father Minister used to enter into his diary little en-

comiums of the brothers for their work. It is not surprising to see Brother McHugh's name on the honor roll. On August 18, 1901, Father Minister made the entry: "Our flower beds in the cemetery are in full bloom. Bro. McHugh takes well [sic] care of the grave yard."

In a certain sense there was a literalness about Brother's fidelity to duty which made it hard for him to see the possibility of exceptions. A strain of authoritativeness in his character, a certain hardness of temperament, like the soil of his native Leitrim, made for endurance and reliability, but did not allow a full and beautiful flowering of such attractive human qualities as gentleness, mildness and sweetness of manner. One father recalls that Father Minister at Georgetown had directed that no one was to go to early breakfast without permission. That was the rigid and unbending law as far as Brother McHugh in his capacity as refectorian was concerned, and he was determined that it would be infringed on by none. There was no room for such things as presumed permission or epikeia. This authoritativeness was one of his qualities that made Brother a bit unusual. The ship he sailed across the sea of life was not quite always on even keel, freighted as it was with a certain number of oddities. least once in his career manifestations of singularity made a change in mid-year a necessity. On March 25, 1905, Father Minister at Holy Cross made the following entry in his diary: "Word came this morning from Father Provincial sending Br. McHugh to Boston College. The brother has been showing signs of weakness of mind—hence a change seems to be necessary."

Brother was blessed with a strong and durable body. In June of 1903 the weather in Worcester was nasty. One after the other the members of the Holy Cross community became sick. Father Minister could find no better way to high-light the general effect of the dull, chilly days than to indicate the succumbing of vigorous Brother McHugh as an example. He wrote in his diary on June 23: "Certainly trying weather . . . Br. McHugh also knocked out for one meal."

Brother had a passion for neatness and cleanliness. When he acted as refectorian his dining room had the brilliance of a heavenly constellation with glistening plates and saucers shining like so many stars. His fidelity to the order of the house was outstanding. Before he went to live in the infirmary at Saint Andrew and when he had his room on the top floor a familiar and regular sound in the Novitiate was the slow clop-clop-clop of his heavy tread on the stairs as he made his way to and from morning visit, Mass, Litanies. When he moved to the infirmary he insisted, until shortly before the end, that he attend the Community Mass although this meant a slow and arduous walk to the Chapel.

The same tenacity that characterized his obedience stamped his life of prayer. Until about a year before his death, despite his eighty-five years and more, he knelt during his meditations and examens. Not till feebleness took away his facility in writing did he fail to mark his examen book. The small bent figure making his way through the corridors of Saint Andrew was never without rosary in hand. Practically the only things among a handful of papers he left behind were the resolutions he had written out during his annual retreats. These resolutions, simply and candidly composed, are a touching record of his determination to grow through the years in charity, prayerfulness, patience, generosity, obedience. Normally the place to look for Butler's "Lives of the Saints" for the current month was not in the library but in brother's room. It is impossible to calculate how many copies of the small book of devotions entitled "Key to Heaven" he wore out.

In 1950 Superiors felt that the time had come to place the expression "Orat pro Soc." after his name in the Province Catalog. But even then he kept busy, darning socks—"saving soles" he called it. During the last year or so of his life his mind lost its lucidity and it was common to find him in different parts of the house, ever with the same question on his lips, "Sure, where is my room?"

On the occasion of the celebration of his Diamond Jubilee, September 27, 1957, Brother with the help of the Brother Infirmarian was able to get to the refectory for the speeches and songs. These he enjoyed immensely. In the days that followed, his decline was most rapid. Quietly and peacefully on October 18, 1957, brother gave his happy, hardy, headstrong soul to the Lord he served so well. It was only twenty-one days after the Jubilee.

# Books of Interest to Ours

Prophecy and Inspiration. A Commentary on the Summa Theologica II-II, Question 171-178. By Paul Synave, O.P. and Pierre Benoit, O.P. New York: Desclee Company, 1961. Pp. 186. \$3.75.

This brilliant work is as remarkable in its author as in itself. Only rarely in our age of specialization do the skills demanded for the critical study of the Bible co-exist with the habits of mind proper to the dogmatic and speculative theologian. Still more rarely do they co-exist in almost perfect balance and with some profundity. Père Benoit demonstrates by this work that the combination, though rare, is not impossible. It may be that only a Dominican of the Ecole Biblique, heir of both Aquinas and Lagrange, was capable of producing this essay. That the excellent translation was proposed and executed by American Jesuits (Fr. George S. Glanzman, S.J. suggested the translation, which was done by Avery R. Dulles, S.J. and Thomas L. Sheridan, S.J.) is a happy circumstance, indicative both of the widespread enthusiasm which greeted the French original, and of the genuine (though often restrained) affection of modern Jesuits for the Angelic Doctor; it is he, after all, and Suarez or Molina, who is the preferred doctor of the Society's theologians.

The genesis of the French original is well known. Fr. Paul Synave, O.P., had begun the volume La Prophétie for the series of commentaries on the Summa of Les Editions de la Revue des Jeunes. He died before finishing the work, and Père Benoit undertook to complete it. Besides revising the translation slightly and adding several explanatory notes, he appended what is really the substance of the work, an assay on scriptural inspiration, developed as a prolongation of St. Thomas's teaching on the prophetic charism. It was principally this essay which marked the originality of the work when its first appeared in 1945 and which, in revised form, is now presented in English.

The present volume is no mere translation; it contains both less and more than the original. The (Latin and vernacular) text of St. Thomas has been dropped. One might ask whether this was advisable, at least when the explanatory textual notes have been retained. These are, for the most part, highly technical, and will be beyond the reach of most readers. Perhaps it was felt that the few who could master them would have a text of the Summa available anyway.

Père Benoit's essay, on the contrary, is intelligible to the non-specialist, and is written with a limpid clarity and economy of expression reminiscent of St. Thomas himself. The value of the present translation is

greatly enhanced by the fact that the author, besides writing a brief preface, has revised his original work in several significant details, usually as a result of critical reviews of the original.

It is not possible in a brief review to detail all the positions espoused by Père Benoit. The following would appear to be both central to his thought and of great importance for the current effort to relate exegesis and theology: 1) Biblical inspiration is to be distinguished from prophetic inspiration, particularly in that it is primarily directed to the practical, not to the speculative, judgment; 2) The prophet and the human author of Scripture, to the extent to which they understand what they are communicating, are instruments of God only in a broad and improper sense (and may also be spoken of as dependent principal causes); 3) Methodologically, a more fruitful analysis of the biblical charism must begin not with the human notion of author (Franzelin), but with the theological notion of inspiration; 4) Scriptural inspiration must be related to other kinds of inspiration (prophetic, dramatic, etc.), and one must speak of an analogy of inspiration with respect to the multiplicity of human faculties, authors, and parts of the sacred books; 5) The problems regarding inerrancy will best be met by attending to the formal object which the author intends to affirm and teach; 6) The question of the inspiration of the Septuagint is an open one; 7) Besides the primary literal sense, where the human author is instrument only in a broad, improper sense, there are secondary senses in the text, hence truly scriptural (namely typical and fuller senses), where he is instrument in the proper sense, and where the "surplus" of truth present in the text over and beyond what is in his judgment is not a rare phenomenon but quite the rule. (This clear recognition of instrumentality in the proper sense thus serves to integrate the author's theory of inspiration with his theory of the senses of Scripture, expounded by him in "La plénitude de sens des livres saints," Revue Biblique 67 [1960] 161-196.) 8) Without detriment to the rational and critically unimpeded character of scientific exegesis, it will reach adequately the intention of God through the intention of the human authors only with the help of the complete context of revelation (and according to the analogy of faith), which has been entrusted to the Church alone.

The most beautiful pages of this work (130 ff.) are cast in the form of an allegory, comparing the Bible with a great cathedral, each possessing a marvelous variety, proportion, and unity. The highest praise of the book may be to say that Père Benoit's eloquent description of the Bible as God's cathedral applies, mutatis mutandis, to his own expression of what the Bible truly is.

THOMAS E. CLARKE, S.J.

Fundamental Pastoral Counseling: Technic and Psychology. By John R. Cavanagh, M.D. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1962. Pp. xiv-326. \$6.00.

This book is intended as a manual of pastoral counseling which aims at assisting the pastor to deal effectively with the problems often presented

to him. Dr. Cavanagh divides his treatment into five parts: techniques of counseling, the pastor and mental health, the pastor and personality development, the pastor and mental illness, and finally, the pastor and responsibility. There is much material which will undoubtedly prove useful to the pastor of souls.

Several aspects of the treatment, however, may detract from its usefulness. The organization is confusing and the positive teaching is so schematic that it offers the religious counselor little to work with. This is particularly true in regard to the techniques of counseling, where only general recommendations are made. Likewise, the presentation of client-centered counseling is difficult to follow.

The author tries to clarify the distinction between counseling and therapy by referring counseling to the "normal" level and therapy to the "abnormal." This does not seem very helpful since the concepts of normality and abnormality need clarification and since it is questionable that any such clear-cut dichotomy can be established. Moreover, the definition of counseling (p. 13) seems to conceive of the counselor as a high-class efficiency expert.

In general, the treatment suffers from the supposition that the various approaches to the handling of human problems can be resolved in terms of specific functions. The attempt to separate the roles of counselor and therapist on this ground avoids the fact that both counselor and therapist make use of the functions of education, guidance and counseling. To my way of thinking, this approach is misleading since it leads the author to the conclusion that the pastoral counselor ought to deal only with conscious material, leaving the unconscious to the psychiatrist. This seems to me an impossible and unrealistic division of labor. Moreover, the major portion of the book is devoted to an examination of the unconscious, which must have some relevance in the author's mind to the work of pastoral counseling.

A major aspect of the book is an attempt to integrate psychiatric thinking with Catholic philosophy. The effort is marred at points (for example, p. 55) by a misapplication of principles; also the section on responsibility proves to be disappointing in that it merely reformulates the familiar teaching of moral theology. The need for a pastoral psychology stems from the admitted limitations in the traditional teaching and it does not seem very helpful for pastors to merely reformulate this doctrine. In general, the treatment proceeds by juxtaposition of Catholic principles with psychiatric concepts. This approach overlooks some of the most significant dimensions of the problem of integration and makes the unwarranted assumption that scientific psychiatric thought and philosophical formulations are qualitatively continuous and that they can be formulated in terms of the same formal object.

Many pastors will find this treatise useful as a survey of Catholic thinking on many aspects of pastoral counseling. It will also be useful as a general introduction to modern psychiatric concepts and some of the schools of thought.

W. W. Meissner, S.J.

Augustine the Bishop. By F. van der Meer. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961. Pp. xxiii-679. \$17.50.

This monumental work on fifth-century Hippo Regius and Augustine its bishop by the Dutch scholar F. van der Meer was first published in Holland in 1946. It was immediately hailed as one of the most important contributions to Augustiniana written in our century, and translations in the major European languages appeared not long afterwards. Now Sheed and Ward has made the magnum opus available in English in a very readable translation by Brian Battershaw and G. R. Lamb.

Van der Meer's book vividly and lovingly re-creates the little African diocese and gives us a fascinating and well-rounded portrait of a lesserknown Augustine, shepherd of his people. The work has four parts: 1) The Church of Hippo Regius: what the town of Hippo was like, its past, its people, its religious life, its bishop. The portrait of Augustine with which this section ends is a finely-wrought mosaic behind whose every detail stands one or more direct reference to the sources. 2) The liturgical life of Augustine's diocese: Augustine's ideas regarding Christian worship, his own liturgical practice, Christian initiation (catechumenate, Easter), a Sunday at Hippo. 3) Augustine the preacher and interpreter of the Word of God. 4) Various aspects of the popular piety of Augustine's flock: their cult of martyrs and feasts of the dead, their superstitions and beliefs, the mixture of the religious and profane in their lives, Augustine's attitude toward these things. The book concludes with an epilogue which sums up, with a love and admiration tempered by a fine historical sense, Augustine's enduring significance for the life of the Church.

Both publishers and reviewers have insisted that there is much that is new in this work. The non-specialist in matters Augustinian will surely find it easy to agree, and if we are to judge from the consensus peritorum, this claim seems to be more than amply justified. There has been unanimous praise for the impressive quality and range of van der Meer's scholarship; Father Henri Rondet has said that this book is, quite simply, a wholly remarkable achievement. And the book makes interesting, even absorbing reading. Van der Meer's concern was not so much with Augustine's thought (though there is quite a bit here on Augustine's theological work); it was rather to bring the man, the place and the time vividly to life, and in this he has succeeded admirably.

The English translation reads well. Unfortunately, it is not wholly satisfactory. *Theological Studies* (September, 1962, pp. 477-479) has pointed out its shortcomings and some rather serious mistranslations. It would be well worth the publisher's trouble to add a few pages listing at least the more serious *errata* and *corrigenda*.

Every library should have a copy of Augustine the Bishop. The Augustine who emerges from van der Meer's pages is a very human and very lovable "later Augustine," pastor and saint and Father of the Church, whom every educated Christian should get to know. The price is rather high, but, as someone has said, this is "a mountain of a book."

C. G. ARÉVALO

Progress and Perspectives: The Catholic Quest for Christian Unity. By Gregory Baum, O.S.A. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1962. Pp. vi-245. \$3.95.

Father Baum is one of the freshest and most original thinkers in Catholic ecumenical work today, and although this book is not written for scholars, as he himself tells us, it will be a rare person who reads it without learning something. Most of its readers will learn a very great deal indeed.

The central message of the book is eloquently expressed at the end of first chapter: "The Catholic ecumenical movement is not so much a way of influencing others, or of reminding others of what they should do, or of carrying on negotiations with them. Ecumenism is, rather, a movement within the Catholic Church herself, renewing her life and worship according to the pattern of Scripture and the liturgy, discovering the universality of her vocation, and making room in herself for all Christian values and authentic spiritualities, even those found imperfectly outside her borders.

"Through the ecumenical movement the Catholic Church seeks to be transformed according to the image of perfect unity and catholicity, ineradicably imprinted on her substance by the Lord. The ecumenical movement brings to the surface the hidden wealth of the Church's unity."

The second chapter shows from papal pronouncements how this movement has grown in recent years, especially since John XXIII became pope. The next two chapters search the Scriptures, Old Testament and New, for light on the problem of divided Christianity. Why does God allow it, and what does it mean for us? Following chapters show the advantages of an ecumenical approach to theology in contrast to apologetical theology, and the tangible results which ecumenical work has already produced for the renewal of both Protestant and Catholic life: in church architecture, in piety, liturgy, and sacramental life. Chapter seven gives an excellent description of the four main groupings of Protestantism: orthodox Protestants in the tradition of Luther and Calvin; Anglicans; "liberal" Protestants; the sectarian movement. Zealous apostles may discover from the chapter on ecumenism and conversion work that not all of their zeal has been as fully Christian as they would like to believe. The final chapter on Christians and Jews has special value because the author comes from a Jewish family, although his upbringing was agnostic.

The Society of Jesus came into existence at the beginning of a period of bitter controversy and mutual persecution of Catholics and Protestants. Perhaps the burden of this history and the difficulty in distinguishing between what is essential and what is dated in our tradition explains the proportionately weak contribution which Jesuits have made in work for Christian unity. As children of the Counter-Reformation, it is harder for us than for others to adjust to the new era now that the Counter-Reformation is over. There are outstanding exceptions, but

when one looks at all the writing and practical work which has been done in this area in recent years both in America and in other parts of the world, it is clear that much more has been done by others in the Church in proportion to their numbers than by Jesuits. It is difficult for a large organization to maintain its flexibility, but in ecumenical work, as with liturgical renewal, we must be prepared to change, to adapt, to develop, if we are to be really responsive to the lead of the Church.

Father Baum's book is written in a simple and attractive style which makes it eminently suitable for table-reading.

And when you have read it and would like to hear more from Father Baum, write to 180 Varick Street, New York 14, N.Y. and you will receive a free subscription to *The Ecumenist*, an excellent new journal published by the Paulist Fathers and edited by Father Baum.

DANIEL J. O'HANLON, S.J.

Pastoral Liturgy. By J. A. Jungmann, S.J. New York: Herder & Herder, 1962. Pp. 430. \$6.95.

This is the lifetime Summa Liturgica of Father Joseph Jungmann. Fortunately it comes on the market in time to help priests and others understand and assimilate the directives on corporate worship, which are the first fruits of Vatican Council II. What Jungmann wrote at Easter, 1960, is now in the course of verification in ways not then foreseeable: "We may even dare to hope that the concern that underlies all of these essays may come fully into its own through this reciprocal development and illumination and that the work of the kingdom of God today may thereby be advanced."

In this lengthy and profound volume it is not without significance that the late Gregory Dix is a scholar cited often, but without endorsement in the main.

A 'break-through' is indicated by the title itself. Prior to Pope Pius XII Catholic services in the Roman Rite could be pastoral or liturgical, but never simultaneously both. But Pius XII called to Assisi and Rome a congress to which he gave the revolutionary designation, "International Congress of Pastoral Liturgy," by which title he made it clear that the heretofore disguised and invisible pastoral character of the liturgy could become clear and accessible to all and for all, as the Council now also discloses.

It is well known that in giving directions St. Ignatius found difficulty in selecting just the right words to arouse the sluggish without giving free rein to the over-hasty. Toward the very end of *Mediator Dei* Pius XII speaks with Ignatian discretion: "We cherish the hope that Our exhortations will not only arouse the sluggish and recalcitrant to a deeper and more correct study of the liturgy, but also instil in their daily lives its supernatural spirit, according to the words of the Apostle." Jesuits that need to be converted to a deeper and more correct study of

the liturgy are asked to sample this book by starting with Chapter 13: "The Fundamental Idea of Sacred Heart Devotion in the Context of the Church's Prayer."

Part One (The Over-all Historical Picture [1-101]) may be Father Jungmann's greatest contribution to Catholic thought, a multum in parvo survey that ranges very far. From it many will finally understand how a religion true dogmatically can have (in the Roman Rite) offices so little in keeping with man's psychological needs. Part Two (Separate Historical Problems [105-321]) deals chiefly with Breviary matters, alone or in combination. Part Three (Liturgy and Kerygma [325-416]) is a series of studies on kerygma, the aim of which the author expresses at the end: "Our kind of Christianity must once more become Easter Christianity."

Les Ecrits Spirituels Des Premiers Jésuites. By Jean-Francois Gilmont, S.J. Rome: Institutum Historicum S.J., 1961. Pp. 357. \$4.80.

Répertoire De Spiritualité Ignatienne (1556-1615). By Ignacio Iparraguirre, S.J. Rome: Institutum Historicum S.J., 1961. Pp. 286. \$4.00.

These two studies, the third and fourth volumes of the series entitled Subsidia Ad Historiam S.J., are an inventory of the spiritual writings produced in the Society from its foundation until the death of Father General Aquaviva in 1615. These bibliographic aids are directed to those Jesuits who, although they do not have the time to concentrate on historical studies, would like to nourish their interior life by contact with the primitive tradition of the Society.

Neither work is a mere listing of titles. Father Gilmont has limited his study to the printed works of St. Ignatius and his early companions. Each entry is preceded by an ample introduction which sets the work in its historical background and directs the reader to the original document and its translation(s).

The second book lists almost a thousand works, first chronologically, then by author. After each entry in the chronological listing Father Iparraguirre indicates the content, the fundamental ideas, the style of the document and at times, a judgment of the work's value.

These books are extremely interesting guides through the early years of the Society's history. They should be in every Jesuit library and within easy reach of Jesuit retreat masters and those who direct Ours.

EUGENE J. AHERN, S.J.

A Chronicle of Catholic History of the Pacific Northwest. By Wilfred P. Schoenberg, S.J. Spokane: Gonzaga Preparatory School, 1962. Pp. xviii-570. No price given.

Perhaps never before has the seventy-fifth anniversary of one of our schools been commemorated by a handsome volume comparable to the one which Father Schoenberg has produced to honor Gonzaga's third quarter of a century. Its publication is a tribute to him and to the

school. It is also a valuable mine of facts on the history of the Catholic Church in the northwestern corner of the United States. Drawing on the resources of some twenty diocesan and other archives and on various printed sources, the compiler has gathered together and set down in chronological order a record of the events which went into the building of the Church in the states of Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Montana. References are given for each citation to aid further research and there is a large bibliography. Father Schoenberg mentions that the archives of the Oregon Province of the Society provided him with much of his material. He does not mention that he has himself played a large part in the gathering and ordering of those archives into one of the most valuable collections of Catholic Americana in existence. His work in this area should be a model for other provinces, and the present volume is proof of its value.

James J. Hennesey, S.J.

The Key Concepts of St. Paul. By François Amiot. Translated by John Dingle. New York: Herder and Herder, 1962. Pp. 297. \$4.95.

This most recent work of Father Amiot, New Testament professor at the Seminary of Saint Sulpice in France, was originally published in 1959 as a contribution to the Lectio Divina Series and entitled, Les idées maîtresses de saint Paul. After two introductory chapters vividly summarizing the life of St. Paul and his vocation as a missionary preacher and writer, Father Amiot selects as his dominant key concept the notion of salvation. Part I, Salvation through Christ, explains why the author has chosen this approach, outlines Pauline salvation, its gratuity and universality, treats briefly of Paul's view of the Old Testament period of preparation, and gives particular emphasis to the role of Christ as author of salvation. The second and third parts deal with man's participation in salvation, individually through faith and baptism, and corporately through the Church and the Eucharist. The last part treats of the attainment of salvation and covers its final stages-Resurrection and Parousia—and the unity of its earthly initiation with its ultimate completion.

The author appears to rely generally on Cerfaux, especially his Christ in the Theology of St. Paul and The Church in the Theology of St. Paul. Notable exceptions to this are his preference in chapter five for the Lyonnet version of the Romans passage on original sin, and in chapters twelve and fourteen, for Benoit's interpretation of pleroma. Durrwell's study of the redemptive significance of the Resurrection is also much in evidence.

Father Amiot numbers the Pauline epistles as fourteen and often throughout the book cites Hebrews, though he admits early that its author is unknown. He favors the South Galatian theory, dates that epistle to A.D. 49, the earliest of Paul's works. Were there any attempt at tracing chronologically the development of Paul's doctrine, this might help to substantiate the author's view that Christ as Savior jointly with the Father, rather than as intermediary of salvation, is a

truth central and evident throughout the Pauline corpus. As it is, this lack of concern for development is probably the only disappointing feature of the work, detracting somewhat from its considerable worth both as biblical theology for the seminarian and solid and interesting spiritual reading for the layman.

The translation of the author's text and, with very few exceptions, of the New Testament is excellent, and the whole book is attractively turned out. We should be grateful to Father Amiot for this sharing with us of the fruit of his many years of teaching experience.

PAUL A. BECKER, S.J.

It Is His Own Blood. By Vincent P. McCorry, S.J. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1962. Pp. vii-157. \$3.75.

In this little book of practical piety, Father McCorry records his own personal reflections on each of the prayers at Mass. These reflections include historical notes on the origin of some prayers, the relation of one part of the Mass to another, and explanations of the content of the prayers. This, the substantial part of the book, is prefaced with a discussion of the meaning of sacrifice and of the Mass as sacrifice.

The book is reminiscent of *The Mass in Slow Motion* (published by Msgr. Knox in 1948) both in the conversational, spirited style employed by both authors, and in providing an introduction to the Mass for the laity.

The fact that some of these essays appeared in "The Word" column in America may explain some needless repetition of ideas. If the book does not pretend to rival the writings of Bouyer or Dieckmann and seems to pass over some important currents in modern liturgical writing, it is nonetheless a painstaking effort to stimulate the lay reader to a new appreciation for the Mass and its prayers. The price seems notably high.

EUGENE J. BARBER, S.J.

Quell des Lebens und der Heiligkeit. By P. Bernhard Siebers. München: Verlag Ars Sacra, 1962. Pp. 238.

The English version of this book's title, Fountain of Life and Holiness, is an indication of its contents. The title is an invocation from the Litany of the Sacred Heart. This work is not just "another Sacred Heart book," but it is an extremely well done series of meditations on the litany. The author states that the book was occasioned by the Haurietis Aquas of Pius XII in 1956, and in the light of this encyclical he proposes here to make the Litany of the Sacred Heart most useful for meditative prayer and thus render the devotion fruitful for the interior life. He has been very successful in his purpose.

Before the actual meditations, there are thirty pages of necessary, interesting and enlightening introductory matter. There is an explanation of the nature of prayer and how to use the subsequent meditations for personal prayer. The origin and development of the Litany of the

Sacred Heart are briefly recounted, followed by a discussion of the place of the Sacred Heart devotion in the Church.

There are thirty-three meditations corresponding to the thirty-three invocations of the litany. Each meditation is divided into a preparatory reading (Vorbereitende Lesung) and a meditative colloquy (Betrachtende Zwiesprache). The readings present the solid theological basis and/or scriptural theme underlying each invocation. The colloquy gives a "composition of place" followed by an affective and personal prayer. It is amazing how even the most obscure of the invocations, e.g. "desire of the everlasting hills," become meaningful in this treatment.

This book is a treasury of material for any Jesuit to draw upon both for his own personal devotion and for sermons, retreats or Novenas of the Sacred Heart.

CLEMENT J. PETRIK, S.J.

The Layman's Missal. Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1962. Pp. LXX-1344. \$3.95 to \$12.00 (according to binding and color).

When we find something extraordinary where we are used to finding only the ordinary, it is only right that we call attention to it. And in *The Layman's Missal* we do have something extraordinary.

The English version of the Missel quotidien des Fidèles, this is more than just a missal: it is a missal, prayer book, ritual, kyriale and textbook, all bound into one compact volume. For in addition to the Ordinary and Proper of the Mass, as are found in all missals, there are also the rites (and other prayers) for baptism, confirmation, penance, extreme unction and matrimony, extracts from the Divine Office and Vespers and Compline, prayers for various occasions, Eucharistic readings and prayers, and a kyriale which contains nine chant Masses. In the Ordinary of the Mass the Latin and English are printed on opposite pages, while in the Propers the Latin is also given for everything except the Epistles and Gospels. These Epistles and Gospels are from the Knox translation, but other shorter biblical texts have been newly translated. The outstanding feature of the missal, however, is the series of introductions that appear at the beginning of each section and of each Mass. They are all done according to the best in biblical and pastoral studies of today, and would certainly go a long way for those whose only instruction in the meaning of the liturgy takes place at the services themselves. The seventy-page introduction at the very beginning of the book is especially noteworthy as a clear and learned explanation of the liturgy and liturgical symbols, salvation history, the Bible, and biblical terms.

In view of its outstanding qualities, the missal should certainly be on sale at all our college and high school bookstores, and since it contains the Latin and the chants which would be used at Missae recitatee and Missae cantatae, it could easily be adopted as an official missal of any of our schools. Its one drawback, however, is that it does not follow its French original in having the Masses of all the saints of the ecclesiastical calendar. Many are missing, and even the common Propers do not make

up for this omission. For the person who attends Mass daily, then, the missal does lose some of its tremendous appeal.

JAMES H. BREININGER, S.J.

Grace. By Robert W. Gleason, S.J. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1962.
Pp. viii-240. \$3.95.

Father Gleason states that his book has been written "for seminarians, for graduate students, and for the ever increasing number of educated laity whose intellectual interests are more comprehensive both in depth and variety." If most of these people react to the book as did some theologians here at Woodstock, I think they will be mildly disappointed. It may be our hopes were too high. We hoped that the author would treat the problem of grace with the same relevance, freshness and imagination he had shown in his earlier work on eschatology, The World To Come. We hoped, in brief, that he would bring to life the theses studied in class. I don't think he has done this, but this only amounts to saying that it is not a very good book. Yet it is a clear restatement of the Catholic theology of grace; it uses Scripture lavishly and well and makes good use of the Greek Fathers.

The book limits itself to habitual or sanctifying grace, and is divided into two main parts. The first part is an historical survey of the development of grace, from the pagan world, through Scripture and the Fathers, and into the Scholastics. The second part covers the traditional theses on habitual grace.

Father Gleason's treatment of Scripture, especially of the Old Testament, is good, but it seems to lack organization. The chapters on de la Taille's theory of inhabitation are very clear. The author seems to be at his best when discussing Catholic theology vis-à-vis Protestant theology. He does this in different places in the second part of the book and in two appendices, "Luther and Reform" and "The Council of Trent." Another appendix on grace in the Eastern Church is also very good.

DENIS P. MURPHY, S.J.

The Meaning of Prayer. By Louis Colin, C.SS.R. Translated by Francis X. Moan, S.J. Westminster: Newman Press, 1962. Pp. xiii-302. \$4.25.

No better title than *The Meaning of Prayer* could have been chosen for this splendid translation of *Mais . . . Priez Donc*. Although the author explicitly directs his explanations and exhortations to the "Christian layman, religious, and priest," it is especially the Christian layman who will find in this book the rich significance of prayer for him in his active daily life.

After a brief explanation of the prayer of praise and thanksgiving, Father Colin immediately brings the layman to the main subject of his book, the prayer of petition, which he develops in full detail. Beginning with the requisite qualities of the prayer of petition—attention, hu-

mility, confidence, continuity, and perseverance—he exhorts his reader to pray through Jesus, with Jesus, and in Jesus, relying at the same time on the intercession of our Lady, the saints, and the souls in purgatory. Narrowness of vision in prayer is impossible after reading the two chapters, "For What Shall We Pray?" and "For Whom Can We Pray?" A summary, by way of contrast, lists the corresponding defects of prayer, and the closing chapter of this section, "Prayer and Christian Life," provides a forceful peroration. The final five chapters are devoted to particular types of the prayer of petition—liturgical prayer, the Mass, and the Divine Office—with special applications to religious and priests.

Abundant citations throughout the text, with footnotes conveniently placed at the back of the book, reflect the wide reading of the author and provide a wealth of quotations and references from the Fathers of the Church, papal encyclicals, outstanding theologians such as Saint Thomas and Saint Alphonsus de Liguori, as well as from numerous modern authors such as Dom Marmion, Romano Guardini, Raoul Plus, and Karl Adam.

The introductory pages list eleven other books by Father Colin which I am sure readers will wish to obtain after completing this excellent work on prayer.

THOMAS F. McManus, S.J.

Problems and Progress. Edited by Robert W. Gleason, S.J. Westminster: Newman Press, 1962. Pp. 152. \$3.00.

The rapid development of modern civilization and scientific thought poses a constant problem for the Catholic, and it is almost impossible for him to know the implications of his faith in areas of such complexity. These essays are especially valuable in attempting to solve this difficulty. Originally papers of a lecture series given at Fordham University, these considerations of nine prominent Catholic thinkers serve both to inform and to whet one's appetite for more.

A philosophical analysis of various theories of love is presented by Father Gleason. While emphasizing their common aspects he points out the particular insights that each gives. Father George Hagmaier, C.S.P., discusses the contribution that modern psychology offers by fulfilling a need that cannot fully be supplied either by the priest, the lawyer, the doctor or the philosopher. Emilio Dido compares the framework of Freudian psychology with traditional scholastic philosophy. Father J. Franklin Ewing, S.J., gives an historical study of the theory of evolution, shows what is essential to it, and then studies the present Catholic theological attitude toward the evolution of man.

It would be a mistake to think that all these essays are only theoretical studies. At least implicit in all of them is the plea made by Father John LaFarge, S.J., in his paper, where he calls upon the modern Catholic to dedicate himself to a life of individual responsibility in the social and political communities that surround him. This call is heard very clearly in the analysis made by Father Joseph Fitzpatrick, S.J., of social change in the city parish and the problems that arise from it. It is re-echoed by

Father Joseph Costanzo, S.J., in his consideration of the allegiance of the Catholic to the principles and workings of American democracy. The problems presented by the recent developments in the mass communication media are studied by Msgr. Timothy Flynn as he points out the need for Catholic influence in these fields. Father Philip Hurley, S.J., discusses the critical problem of discrimination, pointing out the cost of this practice to the economic welfare of the entire country as well as its effect on the character formation of the citizens.

MICHAEL D. MOGA, S.J.

Catholics in England: 1559-1829, A Social History. By Mary D. R. Leys. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961. Pp. ix-220. \$4.00.

Miss Leys has written a book which can be recommended especially to the readers of *Woodstock Letters*. Every Jesuit is well acquainted with the background of Catholicism's era of crisis in England. In this social history there is opportunity to review the entire matter quickly from the novel viewpoint of the common man's experience.

It is impossible not to be surprised at the brutality and persistence with which papism was attacked for a century and a half. Although the goal of the extinction of the papist was never achieved, protestantism was finally made secure. It is shocking to reconsider how lavishly England spent a wealth of citizens for the questionable crime of being God's good servant before the king's or queen's. Recollection of the blood, sweat, toil and tears which this nation has exacted from countless people through the centuries cannot be suppressed.

With the attention which this book gives to less well-known individuals in addition to the main characters like Elizabeth, Cecil, Topcliffe and Campion, comes some challenge to an easy reading, but the effort will be rewarded.

Miss Leys' accurate treatment of the part the Society of Jesus played in keeping the flame of Catholicism burning in England is complimentary, gratifying, and again challenging.

GERALD R. RIPPON, S.J.

The Ethical Aftermath of Automation. Edited by Francis X. Quinn, S.J. Westminster: Newman Press, 1962. Pp. 270. \$4.25.

These eighteen essays point up the human problems, ethical considerations, and theological perspectives in the field of rapid technological change. Happily the emphasis is on basic attitudes to the problem and not on purely scientific and technical aspects of a widely misunderstood phenomenon. Eight contributors are Jesuits, and the rest are authorities in labor, politics, industry, and education. Among them are Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg, Senators Goldwater and McCarthy, John O'Neil of General Tire and Rubber Co., and Msgr. George Higgins.

Because it is a perceptive guide to a subject often tangled in a morass of conflict and lost in blind alleys, this book commands the attention of anyone who seeks an informed outlook on economic innovation.

The most dangerous and widespread misunderstandings about automation as technological change concern its sometimes relevance to unemployment. Chapters by Abraham Weiss, Seymour Wolfbein, Father William Byron, S.J., James C. O'Brien, and Joseph Keenan deal carefully, if generally, with that relationship. The Goldberg report on "Benefits and Problems Incident to Automation and Other Technological Advances" and the probing dissents by Arthur Burns and Henry Ford illustrate the mare's nest that is automation vis-à-vis unemployment.

Most valuable are the theological and cultural insights of Father Gustave Weigel and Father W. Norris Clarke. Father Weigel exploits some postulates for any ethico-theological assessment of automation, and this orientation from an astute theologian can help avoid the possibility of giving wrong answers to possibly wrong questions. Experts at editor Francis Quinn's Automation Seminar from which this book evolved were impressed with Weigel's contribution. Father Norris Clarke discusses the uses of the two leisures, serious and pastime. His analysis of the individual and social aspects of leisure is helpful speculation on the fate of people caught up in the toils of automated displacement.

Ethical Aftermath deserves a reading. It poses important questions and offers some answers.

THOMAS A. O'CONNOR, S.J.

The Rich Nations and the Poor Nations. By Barbara Ward. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1962. Pp. 159. \$1.00.

This book will be of great use to teachers and students of social and political ethics and to responsible American citizens who are trying to understand what position the countries of the West should take on the question of economic aid to un- and under-developed nations.

Since India and China have seen periods in their histories when they were educationally and scientifically superior to the West, how does one account for the present astounding disparity that distinguishes the North Atlantic countries from these and the other poor nations of the world? Miss Ward's answer to this question, a two-chapter analysis of four telling world trends, prepares the reader for her assessment of the true practical imperatives in economic build-up. It is the basis of an incisive ends-means evaluation of western endeavors to win the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America away from Communistic influences.

In the final chapter of her short book, Miss Ward goes to the heart of the foreign aid question with some outstanding observations on the relevance of Western generosity to its own survival. Because her conclusions rise out of the solid structure of historical fact, they do not deserve to be dismissed as "pious dreams."

To anyone concerned about the crisis in the modern world, The Rich Nations and the Poor Nations will be interesting reading. Some might see it as a case-book commentary on certain passages in Mater et Magistra. However, I think that this characterization would be unfair; commentaries are generally dull.

LUCIEN F. LONGTIN. S.J.

Twelve Virtues of a Good Teacher. By Brother Luke M. Grande, F.S.C. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1962. Pp. 160. \$3.50.

Great teaching tradition is manifested in this book, and in it Brother Luke reveals the spirit which has made the Brothers of the Christian Schools the great Catholic educators that they are.

The twelve virtues of a good teacher which he chooses to develop were originally listed by St. John Baptist de La Salle as an appendix to his *Conduct of the Christian Schools*. They were subsequently expanded and developed by later commentators. Brother Luke's book is the latest version.

The author would be the first to admit that the virtues chosen are arbitrary. He would also admit that this is not a handbook of teaching methods. The book is really a series of meditations for teachers with practical applications to classroom situations. Each meditation is liberally sprinkled with quotations from Scripture, the *Imitation* and the writings of St. La Salle. While individual virtues are not always clearly defined, they are well developed and illustrated by contrasting the true virtue with its two extremes. The treatments of prudence, piety, seriousness and silence are especially well done.

The book makes an excellent examination of conscience for any teacher with a year or more of teaching experience.

CLEMENT J. PETRIK, S.J.

Church and State in American Law. Edited by John J. McGrath. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1962. Pp. ix-414, \$7.00.

Father McGrath, Assistant Professor of Comparative Law at Catholic University, has provided an excellent selection of cases on the American law of church and state. His own modest introductions to the chapters and reference notes after each case are clear, succinct, and to the point. The editor gives the text of forty-seven cases, including the recent Regents' prayer case, and cites some two hundred others. These are distributed in sections which cover the rights of churches as corporations, the rights of church-related schools, government aid to church-related schools, the problem of religious instruction of public school pupils, the freedom of religious groups to proselytize, and the relation of religious practices to public health, welfare and morality. The last chapter reproduces a number of historical documents which the editor considers relevant to the courts' interpretation of the federal Constitution.

The book is admirably suited to serve as the text for an elective course. The editor's selectivity is more sharply focused than the comparable work of Professor Mark A. DeWolfe Howe. This reviewer has only a few rather minor criticisms. The price of the book seems high for its size. The editor could have reduced the forty pages of historical documents in Chapter VI to an expanded set of references. In fact, the selection of documents actually reproduced is not adequate to represent the historical problem. The editor momentarily lapsed from his high

standard of objectivity by implying that some decisions of the Supreme Court would "require the Godless education of children attending public schools" (p. ix). No criticism, however, can detract from the superior work of editing performed by Father McGrath. Both student and scholar will appreciate his contribution.

RICHARD J. REGAN, S.J.

New Men For New Times. By Beatrice Avalos. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1962. Pp. 182. \$3.75.

Existentially penetrating and satisfying is this Catholic evaluation of and solution to the modern educational crisis, depersonalization. The author opens her treatise with a restatement of the common findings of an array of modern philosophers such as Kierkegaard, Marx, Dewey, de Chadin, Jung, Mounier, Marcel, Mouroux, etc., common findings which are summed up in the educational diagnosis that modern man, confronted by supersonic changes and social vogues, surrenders his personality by blindly embracing every fad and institution, in a desperate attempt to stem the tide of fear and insecurity he experiences from such a bewildering confrontation. It is education's sacred trust to restore lost personality to modern man.

The Marxian revolution, seeking to destroy existing society and raise on its ruins a communist utopia where the individual is submerged in the collective, does not educate man in the art of saving his personality, but actually suppresses it for him. Dewey's attempt to convert the dualism between modern man and society into a meaningful reconciliation through education for a democracy does no more than squander man's personality. For Dewey's humanism denies man's power to transcend natural relations, and thus denies the very secret of man's distinctiveness as a person. A Catholic philosophy of education alone really provides the vital solution to such an educational crisis. The Schoenstatt Movement is one such system of education. Recognizing man's incorporation into the Mystical Body, in which, though a part, modern man nevertheless keeps his personality, it offers an orthodox method of training the individual to think and act not by the pressure of inane social conformities and unknown commitments, but in freedom and love, in terms of a transcendent and significant objective for the present and the future, for himself and that Mystical Body of which he is a member. MARIO G. ALINEA, S.J.

The Ghetto Game. By Dennis Clark. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1962. Pp. 245. \$4.00.

The purpose of this book is to enumerate and explain the many factors that govern residential segregation in our urban environment. Underlying all the opposition to residential integration is a false image of the negro. The author describes the slave background of negroes, their abject poverty, their run down housing, their high rate of crime, all of which have created our image of the negro. Although the image

starts with facts, it is false because the popular imagination has attributed these facts to a basic laziness, immorality and inferiority in the negro, rather than to exploitation, discrimination and the long standing denial of human rights.

After describing the background of prejudice, the author outlines the discriminatory practices of builders, real estate brokers and the financiers of housing. Another chapter describes the great hostility shown towards negroes in the Polish, Italian and Puerto Rican enclaves of our large cities. The Jewish community is seen as a great defender of negro civil rights, and at the same time as fearful of integration on educational grounds.

The population growth among negroes and their increased buying power are viewed as key stimulants to residential integration. The impact of fair housing laws, of commissions of human relations, of universities and other educational institutions, and of the churches is described. The record of Catholic institutions is regarded as fair to good. The Friends Suburban Housing organization is given special praise.

Mr. Clark, formerly housing specialist for the Philadelphia Housing Authority and supervisor of the housing division of that city's commission on human relations, is now executive secretary of the Catholic Interracial Council in New York City. His writing reflects a wealth of knowledge and personal experience of his subject. He gives a clear and realistic presentation of the forces at work in our country to maintain segregation, and of those forces at work to secure effective mobility for the minority race. From Clark's analysis of these conflicting forces, it is by no means certain that we will ever have integration. The author prefers to be optimistic about the long range outcome, but he also quotes experts who are not. This is an informative book well worth reading.

WILLIAM P. PICKETT, S.J.

Pius XII and Technology. Edited by Leo J. Haigerty. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1962. Pp. 244. \$4.75.

Widespread interest has been aroused in recent years by authors who have described the wedding of science to productivity. Today this union has brought forth a technological revolution even more profound than the industrial revolution of a century or so ago. C. A. Coulson has remarked that, "If Christians had realized what was happening in the industrial revolution perhaps they could have influenced things for the better." The same could be said about the present situation. Fr. Haigerty, Newman Club chaplain at Purdue University, offers us this book as a means of taking hold of our technological age.

The work consists of 34 complete addresses of Pius XII with a sixty page appendix containing excerpts from 35 other talks. Each is accompanied by descriptions of the original sources and settings as well as references to the translations adapted by the editor. Clear section headings make the documents easy to read. As Father Haigerty explains, he has not included more than one talk on pure science since

these may be found in other compilations. Still the variety of topics treated is remarkable. A random selection from the index reads as follows: pottery, prayer, productivity, quantum mechanics.

The first 29 addresses were given to various industrial and scientific groups. Pius XII endorses technology enthusiastically, provided it is at the service of man in the service of God. The last five addresses are Christmas and Easter messages. These are certainly worth reading in full, but since they have a much broader scope, it would have been more consistent perhaps to include only the pertinent passages among the excerpts in the appendix.

Pope Pius emerges from these addresses as a thinker concerned with the broadest social dimensions of technology, yet not afraid to speak in the most concrete terms. On every level he brings the Church to grips with today's revolution. As Father Walter J. Ong, S.J., remarks about the Church in the forward of this book, "Technology is not her specialty, but like all things human, it is definitely her concern."

JAMES T. DEHN, S.J.

Be Not Afraid. By Emmanuel Mounier. Translated by Cynthia Rowland. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1962. Pp. xxvii-203. \$4.00.

Emmanuel Mounier was a Christian Existentialist, a man of deep faith and, according to the biographical sketch outlined by Leslie Paul in his foreword-to Be Not Afraid, a man of uncompromising commitment to his convictions, religious, political and philosophical, which were to him perhaps only different aspects of the same reality.

The present volume is comprised of two parts, the first of which contains three essays grouped under the heading, "Studies in Personalist Sociology." The individual essays are entitled, "In an Hour of Apocalypse,"—this is a description of Europe at the end of World War II when the dominant feeling was one of anguish, torture and torment—"The Case against the Machine," which turns out to be a case for the machine, and "Christianity and the Idea of Progress," a rather remarkable analysis of the various polarities that have existed within Christianity during the nearly two thousand years of its existence, when it has had to face the notion of progress and make some decision about it. Mounier's challenging conclusion is that technical progress probably furthers an essential aspect of the Incarnation and completes, on a certain level, the Body of Christ.

The three essays in this first part of the book serve as a fine introduction to the style and thought of the author, which is then seen to better advantage in Part II in a more lengthy composition entitled, "What is Personalism?" In a very general sort of way, Personalism is the answer of an optimistic existentialist to the anguish of contemporary man. The book is aptly sub-titled, "A Denunciation of Despair."

More specifically, Personalism is a whole-hearted acceptance of reality, an openness to existence in all of its dimensions, an encounter with being which demands a constant dialogue with the other, whether that

other be God, utterly transcendent but at the same time intimately present, or man, fallen but redeemed, and inexorably engaged in the struggle for his fulfillment, or matter, which enters somehow into the mystery of the Redemption.

Mounier's reflections, though very perceptive and highly provocative, do not strike one as particularly original. Much of what he says is reminiscent of the work of Marcel, of Jaspers and of Berdyaev. Yet what he says is said in his own way, and it must be admitted that his own way is quite attractive. He writes as well as he thinks and reading his book is a rewarding experience.

This reader has had no opportunity to compare the English version with the original French, but Cynthia Rowland's translation reads smoothly and is well composed.

LEO A. MURRAY, S.J.

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- Father Daniel J. O'Hanlon (California Province), who teaches fundamental theology at Alma College, California, is editor of the book, Christianity Divided.



# W O O D S T O C K L E T T E R S

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**APRIL, 1963** 

# **CONTENTS FOR APRIL, 1963**

William B. Faherty, S.J.	99
BLESSED IGNACE MANGIN AND HIS COMPANIONS, MARTYRS Joseph Cahill, S.J.	115
FATHER JOHN F. CONNOLLY Hugh M. Duce, S.J.	139
BROTHER MAURICE F. BURKE Francis J. Tierney, S.J.	151
IGNATIAN SURVEY: 1962	161
BOOK REVIEWS	197

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# A Half-Century with the Queen's Work William B. Faherty, S.J.

The Queen's Work has meant many things to many people, successively or simultaneously, during its fifty years. To some it is an influential publishing house; to others either a sodality service center, a nurturer of vocations, a magazine for youth, a vital center of social action, or a Jesuit community.

To some it is a group of trained personnel, Jesuit and lay, who bring the message of Catholic action to all parts of America. To others it remains the challenging memory of one man, Father Daniel A. Lord, S.J., who dominated its activities for a quarter of a century.

It is in part, all these things—and more. Well might the full picture of *The Queen's Work* be viewed this year, its golden anniversary.

In the autumn of 1913, the Jesuit General, Father Francis Xavier Wernz, directed the Missouri Provincial, Father Alexander J. Burrowes, to arrange for the publishing of an American sodality magazine. Complying with Father General's directive, Father Burrowes chose young Father Edward Garesché as director of the projected publication. The new editor immediately began a two-part survey. He explored the actual condition of the Sodalities of the Blessed Virgin in the United States; and he studied the possibility of a successful magazine to promote the sodalities.

Father Garesché chose the name "The Queen's Work" for the new publication, because "he wanted to do the work of the Queen of Heaven." He obtained the use of three small rooms on the third floor of Saint Louis University. He enlisted three capable associates: scholastic Daniel A. Lord, temporarily out of course because of an attack of typhoid, as assistant editor; Brother Louis of the university staff, as consultant on art work; and John Bright Kennedy, university undergraduate who was to become a nationally known radio and screen commentator, as part-time editorial assistant.

Father Garesché opened the first issue of the magazine with an expression of hope for the sodalities in America. Mr. Lord wrote the story of a sodality-sponsored recreation center in St. Louis. Three already well known writers contributed articles: Fathers Francis Finn, Joseph P. Conroy, popular authors of books for boys, and Charles Plater, founder of Oxford's famous Catholic Labor College.

In one of its early issues, *The Queen's Work* conducted a poetry contest on the subject of our Lady. The authors had to be anonymous. Joyce Kilmer won both first and second prizes—a decision which speaks well both for the judgment of the men who made the selections and for the quality of the entries.

Many writers of distinction contributed to the new magazine in its early years: Cardinal Mercier, the Belgian philosopher; Sister Madeleva, poet and educator; Cardinal Gasquet, the great English historian; C. C. Martindale, outstanding English priest-penman; Martin A. Scott, whose books on religion were to count millions of readers; and James J. Daly, staff member for a time, who published some of his most beautiful prose and poetry in *The Queen's Work*.

Almost from the first, the magazine had a wide range of subject matter. Back in those days when Catholics rarely discussed social questions, for example, Father Henry Spalding published a magnificent defense of the right of the laboring man to organize. Immediately after World War I, pious French generals wrote of their war experiences on the Western Front. Scattered among such memoirs, were Father Elder Mullan's articles on Sodality origins.

The Queen's Work first appeared as a bound journal, slightly larger than book size. Later it assumed a magazine format, about the size of the present day America. Later on, it grew even larger, to the size of Extension. Consistent with each increase in size, the price went up. After ten years the magazine swung full cycle, back to the original size and shape.

#### **Father Lord Comes**

The personnel of the Sodality Center changed rapidly during these early years. In the summer of 1925 the Missouri

Provincial assigned Father Lord to the staff of *The Queen's Work*. As a recuperating scholastic, he had assisted Father Garesché during the magazine's initial year. Now, as a priest, he returned to become editor-in-chief. Three Jesuits welcomed him: Father Aloysius Breen, Father Isaac Bosset, and Father Leo Mullaney.

Under Father Lord's impetus, the staff set about the business of studying the role of the magazine and the status of the sodality in the light of American realities. This survey proved interesting. Sodalities flourished in some areas, lagged in others, just as the religious pattern of the entire country varied. The publishing picture, however, had changed greatly in this same period. When Father Garesché had started *The Queen's Work*, Catholics published relatively few magazines of general interest. On this account, while directing the magazine primarily to sodalists, Father Garesché had striven to make it a journal of national character by publishing articles of interest to all Catholics.

In the intervening twelve years, many new Catholic magazines had entered the field. The editors of *The Queen's Work* decided, therefore, to publish the magazine strictly as a tool of Sodality promotion and instruction.

In a statement of policy in the December 1925 issue of *The Queen's Work*, the editors stated "that the sodalists were leading lives of fine virtue and working energetically in parishes, schools, and hospitals. They had experienced themselves what sodalists can do for the spiritual life of a parish, for the awakening of militant Catholicity in schools and for building up a Catholic spirit of a hospital. *The Queen's Work* could best serve these million and one-half sodalists by presenting material primarily concerned with sodality development."

"The sodalists need a medium through which they can become better acquainted," the new editor wrote. "They need help, practical help, in solving sodality problems. They need inspiration from a knowledge of the larger Catholic activity going on throughout the World." The Queen's Work would attempt to provide this.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Queen's Work, XVII: 12 (Dec., 1925), p. 309. <sup>2</sup> Ibid.

Father Lord invited the Jesuit Sodality Directors to meet at Loyola University in Chicago in August, 1926. Here, with the steady encouragement of Father Reiner, Dean of the College, they drew up a new plan of sodality organization. Implementing the decision of this pivotal meeting, Father Lord published a booklet, "The ABC of Sodality Organization," the following winter.

In line with the promotion of this outline, the new editor began to publish other sodality materials, brochures, pamphlets, study helps, and supplements of various kinds. He conducted spirtual leadership schools in eighteen cities or college towns. Over ten thousand student delegates attended. They represented 291 schools and colleges.

Father Lord next called the first national sodality convention, to be held in Saint Louis. The team working for this convention included Father Gerald Fitzgibbons, then over-all director of the central office, Father Martin Carrabine, who was to serve Sodalities with devotion through long years, and Father William Puetter, whose interest in the Liturgical Movement carried over to Sodalists. Among the scholastics who participated were two men, A. J. Heeg and J. Roger Lyons, who were to be associated with the Sodality Service Center for much of the succeeding quarter of a century.

After this successful national convention, Father Lord conducted leadership schools in twenty cities—with over eleven thousand delegates participating. Following on this success, Father Gerard Donnelly, Father Lord's assistant for a year, held meetings a few months later to reaffirm the resolutions of the leadership schools.

The next important development in sodality promotion was the *Semester Outline*. Father J. Roger Lyons, successor to Father Donnelly, made a thorough study of sodality operations and needs during his first twelve months at the sodality center. The result was a service bulletin pointing out what can be done by a sodality seriously bent on Catholic action.

Extremely popular immediately, the Semester Outline continued to be an instrument of sodality programming for more than twenty years.

Father Lyons also promoted the annual spiritual bouquet for the Holy Father. A commonplace today, this practice had a significant impact in the early Thirties in bringing sodalists closer to their Holy Father.

A third contribution of Father Lyons grew into an accepted Catholic practice throughout the nation. In an effort to help youth decide the perplexing problem of vocation, Father Lyons recommended a week of prayerful deliberation on the choice of a vocation. So favorable was the reaction to this project that the editors admitted that "the idea was immediately accepted in many parts of the country as one of the most worthy, most interesting, most effective projects ever suggested by the Central Office."

Little wonder, it became a national Catholic practice with the selection of March as "Vocation Month."

Gradually Father Lord built a representative staff of Jesuits and dedicated lay people at the service center.

Father Lyons' work in the development of sodalities and the enriching of literature about them has received adequate coverage. He teamed with Father Lord at numerous conventions. He also prepared study club outlines on the communist conspiracy.

The distinguished catechist, Father Aloysius Heeg, had begun catechetical writing before his assignment to the sodality central office. Father Lord gave his full encouragement, even to setting up a cathechetical center. The extent of his work can best be judged by the wide sales of his catechism, Jesus and I. The Loyola University Press was to sell over five million copies by the time of the author's death. Father Heeg promoted sodalities in the grade schools of the country. Familiar with all recent documents on the sodality, he served as unofficial parliamentarian of the movement.

The most colorful personality of the staff, Father Edward Dowling, did conspicuous work through organizations. He gave his name and his time to Alcoholics Anonymous, the Cana Conference Movement, and to the work of Recovery, Inc. for nervous people. He was one of the most deeply revered priests of his generation; and the only priest listed in the book Top Leadership, U.S.A.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The Queen's Work, XXVI: 6 (Mar., 1934), p. 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Floyd Hunter, Top Leadership, U.S.A. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1959, p. 20. The other two Catholic clergymen

Father Herbert Walker devoted most of his time to publications. He assisted and then succeeded Father Lord in the editing of *The Queen's Work*. He was also a popular lecturer and retreat master.

An example of the interest of the sodality center in the social apostolate was evidenced by the encouragement given Father George McDonald in his plans to set up a credit union promotional office. Some of the outstanding parish credit unions in the country and in Jesuit mission fields began as a result of this activity.

Father Leo Wobido assisted Father Lord in play directing. He edited *The Faculty Adviser*, a service bulletin for teachers, and promoted group recreation techniques.

Although not assigned to the sodality service center until many years later, Father Robert Bakewell Morrison of the Department of Religion of St. Louis University, worked closely with it over the years. He served as editorial consultant. He censored manuscripts. He participated in planning meetings and discussions.

All the while the lay staff of the sodality center was expanding. Most of these men and women were engaged in the business office. Several participated in the promotion of sodalities. Among these, mention should be made of Miss Dorothy Willmann, whose work in parish sodality promotion and other Catholic activities was to win for her the *Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice* medal from Pope Pius XII; Miss Marian Prendergast, who served as administrative assistant to Father Lord for many years; Miss Clementine Stahlsmith, business manager; Miss Evelyn Sexton, circulation manager; Miss Alice Schatzman, Managing Editor of *The Junior Sodalist*; and Miss Berniece Wolff, the historian of the sodality in the United States, who as Mother Mary Florence, S.L., is today a top leader in the Sister Formation Program.

A surprising number of members of the central office staff answered the call to the religious life or the priesthood over the years. The list includes Father Harry Linn, S.J., President of Creighton University, one diocesan priest, one Jesuit scholastic, two Trappist brothers and eighteen nuns.

listed are their Eminences, Cardinals McIntyre and Spellman.

Often Father Lord tried to bring a full-time layman into sodality promotional work. At no time, however, was he able to offer a salary commensurate with the talents of men he wanted.

Father Lord thought of his staff as a family. He never tried to mold them into a tightly disciplined team. He let each pursue his own special interest and talents in addition to sodality promotion. He encouraged his co-workers to collaborate with existing associations in a wide variety of fields. He was one of the first business leaders in the community to breach the color bar, an accepted part of local life at the time. He urged the formation of a credit union among the lay staff.

### **Sodality Promotion**

In his efforts to promote Sodalities in the United States, Father Lord urged the Fathers Provincial to appoint regional promoters. Once they were appointed, he worked toward the strengthening of their position. Beginning in 1939 in Chicago he invited the diocesan directors of Sodalities to gather for a three-day interchange. Out of this annual meeting grew the National Diocesan Sodality Directors' Conference. He promoted sodality unions on various levels—school, college, and adult.

As the American high school system grew, Father Lord was most successful in developing youth sodalities. The constant changing of high school officials, teachers, and students naturally hindered the continued advance of high school sodalities as organizations. But the effects on the individual members were deep—as, for one thing, the influence of Sodalities in the development of vocations attests.

Diocesan directors of youth have privately acknowledged Father Lord's part in the initial development of the wider Catholic youth program throughout the United States. But as the youth programs grew, the status of flourishing sodalities varied. In some dioceses the youth office set up a council which embraced various organizations in a truly catholic spirit. In others, all existing groups were disbanded in favor of a single, pre-determined association. In many places such an organization had not yet advanced beyond a blue-print.

A similar experience faced Sodality promoters on the adult

level. Many sodalities of women were able to move easily into the framework of the diocesan councils of women. Some were not.

Many sodalities of men and women were nothing more than pious societies, performing excellent parochial services, but with no commitment to a way of life. Some directors would have urged their discontinuance. Father Lord preferred to bring them to a more intense spiritual and apostolic life. Through the efforts of Miss Dorothy Willmann, some dramatic successes were achieved in women's sodalities in individual parishes.

Little success came with parish men's sodalities. Many which had flourished before World War II never got their second wind after the conflict.

Sodalities and individual sodalists pushed the laymen's retreat movement. In spite of this fact, and their similarity in spiritual outlook, the Laymen's Retreat Movement and the sodality have not yet found a formula for continued cooperation.

Within Jesuit schools and colleges, the sodality was ordinarily looked upon as a pious association—the special province of one man. Administrators gave it about as much consideration as they did sophomore religion classes. Few Jesuits thought of the sodality as an ordinary means of inculcating the Ignatian way of life; or as an extension of their own personalities, much less as a training ground for their students to enter into the apostolic mission of the Church.

# Pamphlet Publication

The publication of sodality literature brought to Father Lord's attention the wider reading needs of sodalists. Gradually he undertook an extensive range of subjects to instruct Catholic people in their religion. His chief format was the pamphlet.

At first, pamphlets appeared spasmodically. In 1931, he put order in their production by starting the "Pamphlet-a-month guild." He wrote most of them himself. But other Jesuits contributed. Outstanding among these was Father LeBuffe, who popularized mental prayer among sodalists of the nation.

Father Lord published two hundred and thirty-three pam-

phlets. Total sales have gone over twenty five million copies already, and no sales let-up of his top-flight titles appears in prospect. He was the greatest religious pamphleteer of his generation.

Some superficial observers have presumed that Father Lord wrote exclusively—or at least predominantly—for youth. To the contrary, his most successful pamphlets are adult in scope and destination.

Other critics have dismissed his pamphlets with the remark: "I never cared for Father Hall's talks with the happy little Bradley twins on the summer porch." Father Lord brought in the Bradley twins and Father Hall frequently. The introduction of this conversation technique was simply to make the message easier for parishioners not accustomed to reading spiritual messages.

The Bradley twins do not appear in Father Lord's outstanding pamphlets, such as Death Isn't Terrible, Has Life Any Meaning?, Prayers are Always Answered, Confession is a Joy, Christ and Women, and The All American Girl. These perennials are as popular today as when they were written.

Some will remark that Father Lord was not a business man. That's quite possible. It is true, however, that he took a small publishing office and turned it into a flourishing business. He assisted mission lands with large amounts of sodality material. He lent a hand to the Church throughout the English-speaking world by allowing many of his writings to be reprinted gratuitously in other countries. Scores have been translated into foreign languages.

Even though he gave so much time to sodality promotion and to writing projects, Father Lord had the energy and talent for a variety of other apostolic works needed by the Church in the Thirties. In all of these he was a great teacher, as His Excellency, Bishop Charles Helmsing, was to remind his listeners in Father Lord's eulogy.

He produced plays and pageants. He engaged in public debates. He lectured. He conducted a successful radio program. He advised movie producers on Catholic attitudes. He served as chief consultant for the encyclical on the movies. He counselled married couples. He wrote books. Throughout this

vast activity, bits of his genius showed intermittently. Without question, he could have produced a play, an operetta, a novel, a piece of non-fiction which would have endured. But the versatile apostle was concerned with the here-and-now needs of souls. He would live in the next generation through the countless young people to whom he was such a stirring inspiration.

In summarizing his life, historians may well remember another achievement. He came into a post-World War I America that was throwing off the last vestiges of puritanism, a spirit it confused with religion. Father Lord taught an entire generation that religion was meant to permeate one's complete life with a true joy in the possession of God. He thus helped to direct the religious spirit of the American people on sound pathways.

#### SSCA

The Summer School of Catholic Action, another instrument of sodality promotion, began in 1931 as a formal academic institute under the co-sponsorship of the sodality central office and the Sociology Department of St. Louis University. The originator of the idea was Miss Willmann. Father Lord carved it out, with the enthusiastic cooperation of Father Joseph Husslein, S.J., head of St. Louis University's Department of Sociology.

A two-week session for late August seemed to fit in best with the purposes of the program and the schedule of the anticipated "one-hundred students." The suburban campuses of Fontbonne and Webster colleges would make an ideal locale. Students wishing credit were to attend a minimum of five class hours a day and take examinations at the end of the twelve days. The goal of the sessions was to train Catholic leaders in the what, why, and how of Sodality action.

Fathers Lord, Lyons, Weisenberg, LeBuffe, Puetter, Heeg, and Gerald Ellard, Sisters Mary Clyde, S.L., and Joseph Aloysius, C.S.J., and Miss Willmann, and Miss Wolff made up the faculty. Miss Marian Prendergast served as managing director. Among the 400 adult participants were 250 priests, brothers, seminarians, and sisters. A few collegians but almost no high school students attended.

The success of this first school might be gauged from this fact: some of the participants still form the backbone of the Sodality movement in their dioceses and schools.

After a second successful year in St. Louis, the staff went on the road in 1933. It held schools in New Orleans, New York, and Milwaukee. The academic and adult aspect of the earlier years gave way gradually to a greater informality and wider participation by high schoolers. By 1938 the schools began to grow both in the number of participants and in the choice of the host cities.

The SSCA planners gradually tried to cover all sections of the country every summer. New York and Chicago became standard sites. In other regions the host city would vary. In the Texas area, for instance, one year San Antonio, the next year Dallas, and the following year Houston would host the sessions. Sometimes the sessions were held at summer camps, sometimes at Catholic or state universities, and sometimes in convention hotels. Gradually a standard formula was adopted; this included classes, discussions, public worship, and a recreation program.

From their very origin, all the SSCAs were racially integrated. In many areas of the nation they were the pioneer, integrated activity on a religious, educational, cultural or social level. In planning his interracial program, incidentally, Father Lord conferred with Father John LaFarge who regularly taught a course in racial justice at the New York session of the SSCA.

The SSCA likewise, first introduced the dialogue Mass and other forms of congregational participation in many of the areas of the country.

The SSCAs helped, further, to promote the greater participation by religious women in formal summer courses at various universities. At the time of the first SSCA, a nun rarely left her convent for a convention or an institute. In promoting participation by religious, Father Lord fostered the wider educational and cultural opportunities enjoyed by nuns today.

The SSCAs soon became a well established part of American Catholic life. They brought together Catholic people and their priest directors and brother and sister moderators from heavily Catholic areas as well as the Bible Belt. They promoted the Sodality movement and inculcated leadership for all youth activity. They taught young people to create their own fun in a healthy, Catholic atmosphere. Many diocesan priests have pointed out that they form the only Jesuit-sponsored activity in many dioceses of the country.

# **Changing Picture**

During World War II, Father Lord was appointed to the post of Director of the Institute of Social Order. He went at this new task with the same exuberance he displayed in producing pageants or debating public issues.

He hoped to use sodality outlets as a means of spreading the social doctrine of the Church. He set up an Office of Social Action in conjunction with the sodality headquarters, in a building purchased for the purpose on South Grand Boulevard, about twenty blocks beyond the St. Louis University Medical Center. The Fathers Provincial assigned a band of priests to this newly created office. Some directors who took a limited view of sodality life had criticized him earlier for having allowed the sodality headquarters to be associated with family life activities, the credit union and cooperative movements, the promotion of inter-racial justice, and various aspects of the anti-Communism crusade. His new appointment seemed to vindicate his decision in this matter.

Criticism now came from a new quarter. Many Jesuits questioned his competence in the social field. While Fr. Lord never claimed competence in any social field, he was, as a matter of obvious fact, competent, though not scholarly trained, in at least the field of family relations, and aware of needs in most areas of social life. He saw his position as that of a map-maker giving directions to many competent individuals.

The greatest opposition to Father Lord, however, did not come from our few social scientists. Instead it came from educationists who saw the entire social apostolate as a withdrawal from our academic commitments, and from community critics who found in the disparagement of the popularizing techniques of Father Lord a cloak for their own professional ineffectiveness.

As part of the total social apostolate, Father Lord had envisioned an office of social research. This would be set up when enough men were trained professionally. In 1948 for a variety of reasons, the wider ISO program was abandoned in favor of this one area. Father Lord was removed from the directorship, and devoted his full time to writing and lecturing.<sup>5</sup>

In spite of the high quality of work of several members of the new ISO, incidentally, some educationists continued to criticize Jesuit activity in the social apostolate, although outstanding ISO scholars still refer approvingly to specific writings of Father Lord.

When the towering figure of Father Lord left the sodality scene, many observers predicted that the sodality promotion, the SSCAs, and the publishing program would lose their vigor. To their surprise, Father Lord had built so well that all three continued without let-up. One main contributing factor was the great personal loyalty of nuns of the United States and Canada.

In 1949 Pope Pius XII gave fresh impetus to the sodality movement with his Apostolic Constitution, *Bis Saeculari*. Father Lyons was then serving as acting National Promoter of Sodalities. At his death in 1950, Father Heeg took his place. The SSCAs no longer headlined one man; instead they relied more heavily on teamwork. They continued strong in tried areas. They advanced to new fields, especially the Southeast and the Pacific Coast.

The pamphlet publishing program had been predominantly, but not exclusively, a Father Lord enterprise. As a matter of fact, he had invited the participation of other Jesuits as well as diocesan priests, men of other religious orders and congregations, sisters and lay people.

Father Aloysius Coomes, S.J., for instance, wrote *Mother's Manual*, a one-hundred page prayer book whose annual sales during the late 1950s were fifty eight thousand. Father Gerald

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> A thorough analysis of the travails of the ISO is beyond the scope of this paper; only those aspects which cast light on the history of the sodality service center will be recounted here. For a more full look at this matter, we refer you to an excellent survey of Father Joseph Fitzpatrick, entitled, "New Direction in the Social Apostolate," in *Woodstock Letters*, Vol. 88, No. 2 (April 1959), pp. 115-130.

Kelly turned over to *The Queen's Work* the publishing of his best-selling *Modern Youth and Chastity*. Since 1947, these two booklets sold 717,854 and 734,875 copies respectively. Father Paul Bruckner wrote *How to Give Sex Instructions*, a book destined for extensive and continued use. Vocational and youth guidance pamphlets have been heavy sellers through the decades. Youth guidance and catechetical materials have had great popularity in other countries, especially Ireland.

Father Wobido carried on this splendid tradition as pamphlet editor. He sought even wider participation from his fellow Jesuits.

Father Francis Filas, internationally recognized authority on St. Joseph, wrote several pamphlets on his favorite saint, and one on the Holy Family. Father John Ford submitted manuscripts on his areas of speciality, alcoholism and psychoanalysis. Father John Thomas wrote on marriage and population questions; Father Joseph McGloin on the interests of youth; Fathers Norman Jorgensen, Paul Stauder, and John Scott on a variety of topics. It was Father Wobido who asked the present writer to prepare his first pamphlet manuscript.

Best known of the non-Jesuit priest writers was Father Winifrid Herbst, S.D.S., who wrote a dozen titles. Father John Maguire of the Archdiocese of St.-Louis published three pamphlets on the sacraments. Nuns contributed their share of top sellers. To instance two, Sister Mary Raphæl wrote vocation pamphlets, and Sister Emily Joseph offered Reflections for a Novena to St. Joseph.

The list of outstanding lay contributors includes the names of Dr. Clement Mihanovich, Ed Mack Miller, Martin Duggan, Tere Rios, Ines Slate and Michael Harrington.

# **A Community**

Until 1951, the priests assigned to the Sodality Central Office had resided either at St. Louis University, St. Louis University High School, or one of the Jesuit parishes in the city. Now the sixth floor of the Queen's Work office building became the new residence. Father Fred Zimmerman was first superior of the community.

Father Richard Rooney of the New England Province, an

active sodality leader and contributor to various sodality publications, became National Promoter of Sodalities in 1953.

Father James McQuade, nationally known TV personality, and Director of the Department of Theology at John Carroll University, succeeded Father Rooney as National Promoter and replaced Father Zimmerman as community superior in September 1956. The latter remained business manager of the publishing activities and director of the SSCAs.

A National Federation of Sodalities of Our Lady was established, with His Eminence Joseph Cardinal Ritter as honorary episcopal moderator, and His Excellency, Bishop Leo Byrne (then Auxiliary of St. Louis and now Coadjutor of Wichita) as executive episcopal moderator. The new federation acted as host organization and the central office assisted in the preparatory work for the World Congress of Sodalities held at Seton Hall University in Newark, New Jersey, in August 1959.

Under Father McQuade's direction, the Sodality family of publications was up-dated and enriched, and the province promoters became more vocal in general Sodality affairs.

In the fall of 1960, plans were discussed to move the sodality service center to Washington. At this juncture, Father General sent a special Visitor, Very Rev. Gordon F. George, S.J., Provincial of the Upper Canadian Province, to inspect the Queen's Work. At his recommendation, Father General ordered the continuation of activities in St. Louis, and placed the entire unified operation under the direction of Father Joseph P. MacFarlane, S.J., of the New England Province, Director of Retreats at Eastern Point Retreat House. Father MacFarlane had previously served as business manager of Jesuit Missions for fourteen years and of America for four.

The continuation of Sodality promotion in St. Louis under a unified command brought a gradual clarification of the promotional picture. The relationship of the province promoters with the central office became clearer. The National Diocesan Sodality Directors' Conference broadened its scope to include all sodality directors. The development of professional sodalities continued. All publications assumed a fresh look. The magazines put greater emphasis on strictly sodality activities, The SSCAs aimed more directly at Sodality purposes,

Father MacFarlane was assisted by a constantly expanding lay staff and four Jesuits. Father James Condon of the Chicago Province continued as director of the Summer Schools of Catholic Action. Father John Campbell of the Missouri Province directed the youth department, served as Dean of the SSCAs and executive editor of the magazines. Father Al Levet of the New Orleans Province promoted adult sodalities and edited sodality publications. The present writer edited non-sodality pamphlets.

Two years, of course, are too short a period to assess with any definitiveness what these changes will mean in the future of the Queen's Work. As it moves into its second half-century, however, the high word is hope. The picture looks more promising than at any time since Father Lord took over almost forty years ago.

# Blessed Ignace Mangin and His Companions, Martyrs<sup>1</sup>

# Rosario Renaud, S.J.

On Low Sunday, April 17, 1955, His Holiness Pius XII beatified four French Jesuits and fifty-two Catholic Chinese martyred by the Boxers in 1900. The group which the Church presents for our veneration blends into a common glory priests and laymen, women, and children of various ages and environments. For the most part they were simple country folk and missionaries not particularly different from their associates until martyrdom.

In his *Apostolic Letter* of that April, Pius said: "The Catholic populace of China brought great praise upon themselves through the flock who bore witness to Christ with their blood, through the shepherds who confirmed the message of truth with their death. And the family of Loyola, which was from its very beginning intensely eager to join these parts of the Orient to the kingdom of God, is therein honored."

#### Part I: The Persecutors

To say "martyr" is to say "persecutor." These are the individuals whose hatred of Catholicism leads them to massacre Catholics. Certainly these men did not at all see the large scale reactions which their campaign slogan summarized: Fou Ts'ing, miè Yang: "Let us uphold (the ruling dynasty) Ts'ing; let us exterminate the foreigners."

Exterminate foreigners! It was the battle-cry that had electrified all enslaved people at one moment or other of their

<sup>2</sup> Apostolic letter of Pius XII, April 17, 1955, in AAS, June 25, 1955,

p. 381.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Editor's note: This article originally appeared in French in Lettres du Bas-Canada, IX (1955) #3 pp. 133-57, printed by the Jesuits of Canada for Jesuit circulation. The article has been translated by Joseph Cahill, S.J., and adapted for use here.

history, and it produced powerful vibrations in the Chinese ear. It is not that the Chinese is by nature afflicted with fear of strangers. His sense of hospitality, his courtesy, his centuries-old habit of living on intimate terms with his parents and neighbors rather inclines him to a tolerance rarely observed elsewhere. But since 1842 China had suffered from a humiliating wound. Not only had she not been able to conceal it, but year by year it grew worse. Following the example of the English, the Americans and the French, the countries of Europe had carved out concessions for themselves. They had imposed degrading treaties. They had monopolized foreign trade. They had entrenched their own customs—customs contrary to everything China loved and venerated.

Bit by bit they dismembered the empire. In 1895 the Japanese cut off Formosa, in July of 1897 the Germans seized the bay of Kiaochow, England, in July of 1898, seized Weihaiwei, meanwhile Russia "borrowed" Port Arthur and France took Changchow.

Hundreds of articles, thousands of placards, for the most part anonymous, denounced these encroachments. They incited the people to hurl themselves on the invaders. Addressing themselves to an unlettered mass far more concerned with daily bread than with international questions, the writers set out only to stimulate public opinion. They exaggerated. They lied. They predicted horrible catastrophes.

"Train soldiers quickly," says one of these writings, "for thirteen foreign kingdoms are going to come to attack China. China will be severely troubled. There will be soldiers massed like a mountain; generals like an ocean. There will be hills of bones; blood will flow like rivers. It is for this reason that all, without distinction of sex or age, give themselves to the divine exercises (the Boxers), to learn the skills of their immortal ancestors, to escape the perils of war, and to avoid this gigantic catastrophe."

Indeed the Europeans are veritable demons. To take over China and its wealth, they have recourse to frightening methods. Their railroads and the mines which they work trouble the spirits of the ground which cries for vengeance. They "put poison in the wells, in the rivers, in the seas, in the foods, in the market-places. Only those well-versed in the

divine cunning are able to avoid the poison. Even native Chinese, seduced by the western devils, spread these poisons; what they do not buy at the market-place is poisoned. Beware of them!"<sup>3</sup>

These defamed Chinese, outcasts of the nation, were the converts of the missionaries. "Christians disturb the world by leaning on the Europeans. They are arrogant. They insult simple folk. They attack the teaching of our holy ones. Their leaders build their high churches on the ruins of our holy pagodas; they deceive the ignorant, pervert the youth; they tear out their hearts and their eyes to make of them a magic potion; they poison the wells, and so on... Countrymen, rise up; set your heart and your soul only on the death of the western devils and the destruction of their religion!"

One should not be fooled by the motives which guided these authors. The patriotic varnish covered a raging jealousy and an unceasing antagonism to anything which threatened their privileged position. Invective and curses did not, perhaps, exercise a great influence on the upright people who formed, in China as elsewhere, the majority. But to men of evil intention, on the lookout for trouble, such threats furnished a handy pretext and an encouragement to crime. How many religious institutions were destroyed or ransacked by local hoodlums stimulated by these placards. More precisely, south of Shantung, a gang of killers, armed-robbers, good-fornothings, and misfits, plotted a vast undertaking of plunder, principally directed against the Catholics.

# "Big-Knife Society"

The "Big-Knife Society" to which they belonged presented itself under an athletic label. Its members devoted themselves to physical exercises and to fencing, and especially to the use of a type of iron saber, whence the name.

So far there was nothing with which to find fault. You could find dozens of similar organizations in China. The "Society of the Big-Knife" was nevertheless distinguished by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See the complete text of this poster in Études, August 5, 1900, p. 390. (The French spelling of geographical names has been retained.) [Tr.]

<sup>4</sup> Études. loc. cit., p. 391.

its revolutionary doctrine and by the possession of a magic secret which conferred invulnerability.

Established no one knows when, the "Big-Knife Society" first defied the Manchus, rulers of China, and in 1809, a decree of the emperor, Kia K'king, dissolved it. The organization did not die so easily. It even continued to grow and to infiltrate the provinces bordering on Kiangsu and Hopeh.

For more than half a century, the Society wisely restrained its activity to local feuds and to the thefts which feuds inspire. The political tendency showed up with the appearance of Catholicism in the part of Shantung which the members of the "Big-Knife Society" almost dominated. The leaders felt an instinctive hatred for the Gospel which condemned their violence. Henceforth, their lawless plunder was to take on the appearance of a crusade against the religion of the west.

For thirty years, the heroic apostles of southern Shantung, the Fathers of the Divine Word, clashed with these savage enemies who destroyed churches as fast as they were built.

In 1896 the "Big-Knife Society" enlarged its field of operations and advanced into Süchow. Howkiachwang and Taitolow blazed up. A large number of Christian communities lost their chapels and schools. Hundreds of Catholic families were ruined. But this adventure turned out badly for the pillagers. The citizens of Süchow threw themselves on the hordes, killing a good number of these self-styled invulnerables, and trailing all the way to the frontier the survivors who had taken to their heels. After the attack, the army intervened and decapitated some of the underlings. The Society, having drawn too much attention, once again went under the ban of the empire.

The humiliating defeat of Süchow did not dishearten the Society. The very next year, under the protection of the Mandarins, it lifted its head. However, it had changed the name. No longer was it called "The Big-Knife Society," but rather, "I Ho Kiuen," "Fighters for Justice and Concord." Significantly, it had found the phrase which would open the gates of Peking and which was to bring on it an inglorious fame: "Fou Ts'ing, miè Yang"; "Let us uphold the ruling dynasty; let us exterminate the foreigner." On November 1, 1897, the "Fighters" or "Boxers," assassinate two German

missionaries of Shantung, Fathers Nies and Henle of the Society of the Divine Word. In reprisal, sixteen days later, Germany seizes Kiaochow. The fuse is lit.

Within hours the Boxers have taken on national importance. To all corners of the country rumor propagates their antiforeigner program and the astonishing power which the Boxers possess. The agitation is extreme in the backward section of northern China where famine so often obliges the people to go into exile or to pilfer to avoid death from famine. And in this year (1898) the harvest was poor. The populace then, listens attentively to the recruiting officers of the Society who promise them the property of others. Certainly it will be necessary to seize it, but without any risk, since bullet, spear, and saber cannot harm a duly initiated Boxer. Incantation has rendered their bodies impenetrable.

Such were the affirmations of the leaders; and the people believed them. Their unenlightened minds, filled with superstition, saw nothing strange in this phenomenon. Folklore swarmed with good and evil genii who revealed to man certain secrets of their power. Obviously the Boxers enjoyed the special favor of another world.

And besides, to dissipate all doubts, the Society everywhere organizes demonstrations. In the evening, in front of the assembled village, a Boxer, escorted by his sponsors, approaches an altar on which burn some red candles. He prostrates himself. He invokes the protecting demon. He recites in a low voice the magic formula which renders him immune from wounds. When he feels the spirit's presence within, he stands erect and presents his naked body to members of the claque who strike and spear him. The weapons break against his chest. Saber blows do not even mark his skin. The eeriness, the incense, the diabolical trickery and the fear which paralyses his assistants—witnesses to the miracle of a flesh which nothing cuts—all these create a perplexing atmosphere, favorable for gaining recruits.

The hope of ill-gotten gain adds its own attraction, for the Boxers cleverly join theory and practice—propaganda-shows and the pillage of Christian communities. The Society was well-practiced on the German missionaries; soon it hurls

its bands toward the northwest into Chihli (modern Hopeh), and it invades the Apostolic Vicariate of the Jesuits of the Champagne province.

# Offensive Begins

It is spring of 1899. In every county small cells arise. Placards are put in even the smallest villages. And the Boxers, like fire in gasoline vapor, spread to the capital. At the start of 1900 there are an estimated 40,000 affiliated and trained at Peking in preparation for the decisive battle against the foreigners. —..

Quite opposite to the Mandarins of Shantung who openly patronize the Boxer Society, the Mandarins of Hopeh feel that this eruption of demons is unfortunate. Unfortunate for the Mandarins indeed, for the scavengers ravage the lands from which the Mandarins draw their income. This is not to mention the fact that the plunder, the fires, the murders expose them to ruinous costs and to an unbearable loss of face, even to disgrace if they do not re-establish the order for which they are responsible.

Against these fanatics who threaten the Chinese Christians who have adopted the religion of the West, the Mandarins should be severe since the end of the law is to protect all the citizens. Many of the Mandarins would unhesitatingly enforce the law, as much out of personal conviction as out of friend-ship for the priests and the apostolic work whose character they appreciate. But they lack the armed force necessary to confirm their good will. The troops which they command are already more than half made up of plunderers; the soldiers themselves refuse to offend the Boxers whose insolence is increasing and who defy authority right up to Yamien. The Boxers Society is, finally, opposed only to foreigners and to Christians; hence the Mandarins, who personally feel no danger, stand aloof.

Still, in general, motives other than justice will guide the Mandarins. They sense, as if provided with antennae, the tremors which agitate the people—the unrest, the tension, the unformulated desires and fears. What does their own interest call for? To set out after these bands or to make use of them? They check the track before starting the race. Instinct keeps

them from committing themselves too quickly. Who knows what the Empress will decide? More especially, who knows how this movement will turn out? Practically all the revolutions in China have had their start in this way.

Tzu Hsi, the Empress, hesitates. Not that she sympathizes with the foreigners, nor that she concerns herself in the least either with the thousands of Chinese Catholics killed in a few months by the Boxers or with the thousands of others threatened by the same fate. A supreme egoist, she thinks only of maintaining her position which she owes to intrigue. At the court as in the provinces, opinion on the subject of the Boxers is divided. Revolutionaries and a few gullible individuals follow them as they would a Messiah. Some others, in particular, prince Toan, advisor of the Empress, plan to profit from the troubles to achieve their ambitions, and they endeavor to convince the sovereign to play this trump card in the maneuvers against the Europeans. Many true patriots are not so foolish, and they recommend smothering a movement they call rebellion while the power to crush it is at hand. This antiforeigner campaign, they say, is only a blind; the throne is what is being sought.

Perhaps the Empress already knew this. At heart the people thoroughly despised the Manchus, conquerors whom they fed with their labor. To the Manchus the people attributed all the evils which the nation then suffered, as well as the humiliations undergone by China for sixty years. For Tzu Hsi the ease with which the Boxers enrolled the malcontents was a strong indication of popular sentiment. At the peak which the movement had attained, repression would surely provoke civil war, a revolution, the fall of the dynasty.

Tzu Hsi weighed all this. More sly than intelligent, skilled at unravelling in her own favor the intrigues of the harem, she thought it wiser to divert the Boxer-movement and to channel its vigor against the Western Barbarians. In the spring of 1900 several imperial decrees commanded the army to ally themselves to the rebels and the viceroys to put their forces at the disposition of the liberators of the land.

The outcome of this tragic decision is known: the expeditionary European force which seized Tientsin and Peking, the flight of the court, the costly indemnifications.

#### Part II: The Persecuted

Modern Hopeh was formerly called Chihli (*Tchély*). It is located in the southeastern part of the province which the Champagne Jesuits received as a mission in 1857. To their charge were committed about eight million inhabitants among whom there were nine thousand Catholics, the descendants of those converted before 1724.

In 1900, the mission of southeast Chihli included fifty thousand baptized, thousands of catechumens who were in the process of being instructed, and fifty-nine missionaries, of whom one was a bishop and forty-seven were priests. The priests did good sound work. The main buildings (residence, seminaries, college, printing shop, and so on) formed a walled-in compound near Sienhsien. Thanks to a closely-knit network of missionary posts served by one or more priests, after the fashion of our own parishes, the divine life was widely diffused.

Catholics and pagans lived together generally on good enough terms. Because the poor and almost illiterate farmers worked twelve to fifteen hours a day they were little inclined to religious fanaticism. Undoubtedly there were frictions: lawsuits, family and village quarrels, personal rights injured. But since the abrogation of the anti-Catholic decrees of 1845, the converts were no longer treated as a group outside the law to be taxed or robbed at will.

Wrong was not always on the side of the pagan. A liking for cavilling sometimes stimulated the baptized to dishonest practices which tarnished the reputation of the Church. There were some who abused the influence of the priest and initiated intrigue or sold their testimony against the innocent. Furthermore, whatever the cause of disputes may have been, the foreign missionaries kept an eye out for the correct settlement of conflicts, and they protested as soon as religion was involved. Because of the treaties, they themselves escaped the jurisdiction of Chinese courts. Through the intervention of their consuls they could take action to a higher authority. Local Mandarins were not unaware of this. Also, to avoid reprimands, the majority of local Mandarins tried to maintain a kind of peace even while punishing the unruly.

In the greater number of Christian communities, as well among the old Catholics as among the new, there was a noticeably strong faith, practised with a great deal of simplicity and fervor. Their dispersion and the long distances required for travel to receive the sacraments deprived the people of many spiritual helps. Yet when it came time to choose death or apostasy, very few made the wrong choice.

For some thirty years the spread of the gospel was peaceful. The Church extended her influence, and little by little, turned public opinion in her favor. There was no fear at the reports, circulating since the beginning of 1898, of approaching riots, the massacre of converts, and the destruction of churches. The threat at its beginning was sufficiently far away. And as it was aimed especially at foreigners, terrible people, the presumption was that the authorities would restore order promptly. In fact, the troubles of Shantung and a serious uprising at Hopeh in the autumn of 1898 caused the dismissal of some of the higher-ups who were involved. This measure taken by the court following the protests of the English consul of Tientsin did not, however, mean anything significant, since no one bothered the leaders of the Boxers and their satellites.

In the spring of 1899, the Boxers again invaded Hopeh and appeared in the county of Hokien, then in the county of Kingchow, the district of Father Mangin. Placards, magic-shows, assassinations and plunder which immediately followed left no doubt as to the intentions of the Boxers. They were poorly armed, undisciplined, and they hardly knew the territory. One single regiment would have scattered them like a flight of birds

# Attempts at Defense

The Catholics and the missionaries had considered the problem of legitimate defense. In several of the villages in which the priests ministered, some of the baptized successfully defended themselves by force. The priests had encouraged them to repel the attacks and even to take the offensive against the enemy of their religion. But before a real civil war started, the missionaries tried to obtain the legal protection to which they had a right.

Ever since the first skirmishes in the spring of 1899, Father

Mangin had sent a list of the principal leaders of the Boxers and a list of their propaganda-centers to the sub-prefect of Oukiao, requesting that he prevent the spread of the sect. In July he sent another request to the nearby sub-prefect of Kingchow, asking amends for a Christian who had been beaten. The priest found out quickly that he was counting in vain on the help of local officers. Those whom he had seen promised to do something, but were content with remonstrances or timid complaints which the guilty had openly scorned. A sub-prefect who had tried to cajole the Boxers, but who feared retaliation, ran to Father Mangin: "I am going to warn the viceroy," he said. "I beg that you inform your consul; all we local Mandarins are without any means of repression." And that was precisely the case.

The superiors of the mission also tried recourse to higher officials. A detailed report presented to the prefect of Hokien and by his intervention transmitted to the viceroy of Hopeh seemed to shake off the apathy.

The viceroy delegated a Mister Tao who met Father Mangin on the eighth of November. It might have been thought that this official was a plenipotentiary. Indeed, his mission was confined to "make amends for a burned chapel and to prevent the Boxers from entering into conflict with the Christians." He made inquiries in many villages. He promised to put into prison the chief Boxer, Wang K'ing-i, but he had to relinquish the idea because the troop refused to execute the mandate of arrest.

The delegate returned to Peking on November 26th, fully informed of the gravity of the situation. His account of his recent inspection and the overtures of the French consul at Tientsin influenced the viceroy of Hopeh to send soldiers.

It was somewhat late. When, at the end of December, 1899, General Mei gained access with three regiments to the counties where the Boxers were on the rampage, forty-five Christian communities had been plundered. Around the main residence of Sienhsien, the Boxers were gathering their forces for the assault.

Orders of General Mei were directed only to the protection

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Études, loc. cit., p. 376.

of foreigners. This energetic officer, a friend of the mission, posted his men in the neighborhood of the important parish houses and fought vigorously against the Boxers who attacked them. Thanks to him, several missionaries escaped the massacre. But in the villages, the Catholics were at the mercy of the marauders, daily more numerous and better armed, who butchered and burned with impunity.

#### The Storm Breaks

June, July, August of 1900. The fury reached a climax. The Empress had chosen the Boxers and had unleashed a hellish pack of hounds. The Catholics were condemned. The efforts of the priests to assure their protection succeeded only in slowing down the outcome. For a year, always on the alert, they had seen hopes of human help, one after the other, disappear: the mandarins of the counties, the army, the diplomatic force of France and of their own government. God alone was able to save them.

Some Catholics, the exceptions, apostasized; others were finally growing weak. But the majority remained staunch. In the Christian communities a redoubling of fervor was apparent: all wished to go to confession lest they be caught unawares by the hangmen. All around them were death and ruin; their turn was next; anguish tortured them. Hundreds of families, too much exposed in the outlying towns which they inhabited, had abandoned their homes and their possessions to take refuge in the enclosure of the missionaries. Many, while on the road, fell into the hands of the Boxers who massacred them on the spot because they preferred death to apostasy.

Thousands of others had reached one of the six Catholic "fortresses," that is, villages or fortified enclosures; and there they prepared, with the assistance of the priests and the sisters, for the fate which Providence had in store for them. The Boxers took only one of these fortresses, Chukiaho—again thanks to the support of the soldiers. But there they killed two Jesuits and one thousand eight hundred baptized Catholics.

These martyrs were in large part timid peasants, accustomed to yield before the demands of riches and power. Only

one word was demanded of them: "Pei kiao," "I renounce my religion." But neither rage nor curses, nor promises were able to extract it from them. In their own way they were heroes, humbly, firmly convinced that their testimony would open heaven to them.

Some of them had not been very fervent. Now they seized the opportunity which God gave them to redeem with one blow the negligences of the past. Furthermore, how many souls were admirably transformed by grace, how many hearts filled with perfect love! What faith, what child-like trust in this gentle people swallowed up in the Chinese prairies! Their actions prolong those of Christ; their words resound as the echo of the first Christians.<sup>6</sup>

Before death the priests manifested the tranguil but unbreakable courage which stamped as true the quality of their interior life. Their attitude does not surprise us. All of them, before leaving their homes, had thought of the prospect of martyrdom, and they accepted it. Each morning they offered their sacrifice with that of Our Lord and, over the years, the scope of their apostolic labor, the isolation, their weakness had given them the habit of confiding their anxieties to Him whom they represented in these out-posts of the Church, of leaning on Him in the smallest temptation to discouragement or fear. The grace of the martyr does not effect a gradual transformation in the soul; it gloriously crowns a way of life, of religious practices—a spirit and a tendency toward perfection within the reach of the average religious. In the community of southeast Chihli at the beginning of this century, the majority of the missionaries were hoping for the grace of martyrdom. To four was it given.

# Father Mangin

Tall and well-built, a man of vigorous appearance, Léon-Ignace Mangin had a martial air about him.<sup>7</sup> Socially he was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Read the interesting parallel of Father Mertens between the Chinese martyrs and the Roman martyrs in *Études*, January, 1930, pp. 57 ff. There you will find characteristics whose beauty yields in no respect to the sublime accounts of western martyrs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Here we give a resumé of the biographical notes published in the special issue of *Chine, Madagascar* of May, 1955, pp. 75 ff. Father Mangin was born at Verny, near Metz, on the night of July 30 or 31, 1857, the eleventh child in the family.

inevitably the life of the party. He was eighteen years old when he went to the novitiate of Saint-Acheul on November 5, 1875. In 1881, he was named professor in the first year of high school at the Collège de Saint-Servais at Liège. "I remember," recounts one of his former students, "his face, always smiling; his kindness and his animation in class. . . . While supervising athletics, he would participate very little in the games; but he used to chat a great deal with the students. Far from being severe, he was very gentle; and it must be said that his sweet disposition was sometimes abused."

He had put in a request for the foreign missions. Because of the absorbing nature of his work with high school boys, he thought no more of it. At the end of his first year teaching his Provincial proposed China to him. It was a shock, but one from which Léon-Ignace quickly recovered. "My request has been granted," he said to a fellow-Jesuit; "only one thing yet remains, the grace of martyrdom."

After his ordination on July 31, 1886, he applied himself entirely to the active apostolate. "He was a man fit to rule—intelligent, capable of decision, calm and firm, gifted with the strength to finish anything he started, and filled with a contagious cheerfulness. Not at all an unrestrained enthusiast, he was ruled by reason. Always precise, he was a man of vision and could put order into everything. He was sufficiently ingenious to avoid becoming mired in the details of Chinese diplomacy and knew how to terminate successfully even the most delicate piece of business.

Such was the man whom superiors placed at the head of the Hokien district as soon as he had finished Tertianship in 1890. It was an important assignment since the area contained 20,000 Catholics spread throughout 240 mission-stations which were served by nine priests. On March 3, 1897, Father Mangin modestly writes: "What a life! I have spent seven years in the courts, either as plaintiff or defendant."

Business transactions with the Mandarins and the details of administration consumed very much time and demanded frequent visits to Yamien. The duties of the "Minister of the Area" or the "Rural Dean" were quite extensive. It was he who directed and united the common efforts of priest and faithful. He encouraged, he strengthened; at times, he repri-

manded. More frequently he was the minister of consolation. At the same time he watched the overall discipline; he saw to it that directives from higher superiors were followed; and he was in charge of the spiritual and temporal administration of each of his mission-stations. His task it was to foresee the future, to provide for new Catholic groups, to buy the land for future Church establishment. Briefly, he was the eye and the arm of the Bishop in the practical execution of the spread of the gospel.

In his daily contact he encountered all types: missionaries, both foreign and Chinese, Catholics and pagans, friends and enemies, natives, officers, Mandarins. It was his problem to solve the thorny cases which the curates quite willingly took to him. The rural Dean not only manifested a variety of talents, but he practiced each of the small and larger virtues which distinguish the apostle from the business executive.

At the end of 1897 Father Mangin left Hokien and went to the Kingchow section, a little farther south. There martyrdom awaited him.

#### Father Paul Denn

Father Paul Denn, born at Lille, April 1, 1847, hardly seemed destined to die in China. When he was two years old his father died and his mother had to do manual labor to support her five small children. Father Denn, at the age of fourteen, contributed his share by working in a bank.

Impetuous, exuberant, and quite pious, he wanted to become a priest and work on the missions. But he did not enter the Apostolic School of Amiens until 1869 when his family no longer needed his help.

Meanwhile, he had discovered the poor and to them he devoted his leisure hours. He became acquainted with them in the various youth organizations or in the St. Vincent de Paul Society. He himself, in 1867, established the Society of St. Augustine for young laborers, clerks, and employees in Lille.

He was received into the Society of Jesus on July 6, 1872. Almost immediately he set out for China. He was then twenty-five years old, but he made up for lost time by skipping several stages of scholastic training. At the end of 1880 he was ordained and his dream of being an apostle was realized. He

was to be successively curate, director of a central school, then director of a normal school training catechists. Finally, he became a curate at Kucheng, in the territory of Father Mangin, in the year 1897. "In all these positions he showed himself to be a thorough religious, quite hard on himself, and a zealous and outstanding teacher." In his letters thoughts of martyrdom recur like a refrain. October 10, 1899 he wrote to his newphew: "I have some good news! Quite soon, perhaps, you will have a martyr in the family." In spite of the danger, he bravely remained at his post of Kucheng, and he left it only at the order of Father Mangin, his superior, to take refuge with him in the fortress of Tchou-kia-ho.

#### Father Remi Isoré

Remi Isoré was the oldest of a large family.<sup>8</sup> His classical studies he began with the help of his parish priest and he finished them at the Institute of St. Francis of Assisi at Hazebrouck. His evident goodness indicated a vocation to the apostolic life. As a matter of fact, at the age of nineteen, he sought entrance to the Major Seminary at Cambrai. After two years of study and three years of teaching he felt the call to the religious life. On November 20, 1875, fifteen days after Father Mangin, Remi Isoré entered Saint-Acheul.

"In 1881, Reverend Father Grandidier, the Provincial, stopped at Jersey on his return from China. When Father Isoré out of a desire for martyrdom asked, when still a theologian, to be sent to Zambezi, the Provincial replied: "You do not know what you are asking. Martyrdom? You will have a much better chance in China. That is the decision. You will go to China."

Nine years later, in 1890, Father Isoré mentioned the subject in a letter: "Confidentially, if I had a choice I would have chosen any mission except China. This land seemed so sterile from every point of view that merely to mention its name almost made me sick. Still, when Father Grandidier suggested China, I fell at his knees in joy. I felt it was the finger of God which was sending me to this country."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> He was born at Bambecque (North) on January 22, 1852, but he spent his boyhood years at Terdeghem, near Cassel, where his father taught.

Undoubtedly Father Isoré inherited his father's teaching talent. Earlier in France he had shown what he could do. In China his apostolate was to be principal of the college of Changkiachwang. There, for nine years, he experienced the consolations which accompany success and the bitterness of failure. In 1897 his work took on new scope when he undertook parish work with the title of Rural Dean of the section of Kwangpingfu, though still doing the ordinary priestly work. The bishop would like to have seen this 40 year old man of initiative as the superior of the mission, but Providence had a still higher fate in store for him.

#### **Father Modeste Andlauer**

His companion in martyrdom, Father Modeste Andlauer,<sup>9</sup> did not resemble him. Father Andlauer was timid; everything about his personality was humble, even his heroism. He had a love of work well-done extending to the most insignificant details which brought no glory and which love alone could inspire. Some of the letters we still have from him reveal the simplicity of this straight-forward and ingenuous soul who was so single-minded in the performance of his apostolic works.

Having taught German in some of the French colleges, he left for China in 1881, four years after his ordination. He performed the works of the apostolate, especially at Oukiao and at Ou-i, without notable distinction. A violent death was necessary to bring this man out of the shadows—this man hidden in his work like an invisible and silent spring, without which men would die of thirst.

# Part III: The Supreme Testimony

During the spring months of 1900, the Boxers of southeast Chihli were quite subdued. They came to life in June, stronger and more vicious, determined to get rid of Christianity. Even up to this point they had done considerable damage. In the northern section of the mission there was no longer one single

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Father Andlauer was born at Rosheim on the lower Rhine, May 22, 1847. He studied first at the minor then at the major Seminary of Strasbourg. On the eve of his priesthood, he decided to become a religious and entered Saint-Acheul, October 8, 1872.

Christian group which had been untouched. The baptized had either fled or were killed. Their homes and churches were burned. The Boxers were encamped around the central residence near Sienhsien, as well as around five other fortified mission-stations, final refuges of the priests and Catholics making their last stand.

For the priests, the last twelve or fifteen months seemed almost unending. Isolated, cut off from outside news, they not only overcame their own suffering, but they calmed the Christians who lived with them, whom they fed and supported, and stimulated to fervor. In his concern about the physical and mental strain, the Reverend Father Superior of the Mission had sent Fathers Isoré and Li to Sienhsien for a rest. They arrived there June 16.

Their arrival coincided with a renewal of the persecution which was spreading in the southern part of the vicariate. The marauders were coming directly toward the section of which Father Isoré was in charge. It was quite obvious that within a few days the assassins would be swarming the roads thus rendering impossible the return of the priests to their districts. Father Isoré knew this and had volunteered to set out again immediately for Chaokiachwang, the center of his section. Meanwhile, the superior of the residence, Reverend Father Seneschal, waited until the following day to communicate to Father Isoré as well as to Father Li his desire that they return to their posts. Both obeyed.

Though they should have travelled together, only one cart could be found so Father Isoré left alone on June 18, at one o'clock in the morning. He had chosen a road a bit more dangerous but shorter, one which would enable him to pass by Ou-i, the little hamlet which was Father Andlauer's parish. He made the trip without incident. At about nine o'clock he knocked on the door of the mission.

"He had barely come into the house," writes Father Seneschal, "when the Boxers from a large town nearby came to Ou-i to reclaim some Boxers who were prisoners. The Mandarin ordered the gates to be closed to stop the intrusion, but it was too late. The Boxers obtained what they were after. Father Isoré wrote me immediately through the messenger who had accompanied him, making me realize that he con-

sidered himself locked up and almost in the hands of the Boxers. The two priests spent Monday, the eighteenth, and Tuesday, the nineteenth, until five o'clock in the late afternoon, filled with an apprehension we can easily understand. The prowlers were all around the house, and from time to time, they threw bricks over the wall. Between five and six o'clock the crowd began to increase. When the Boxers learned that there were two European Fathers within, they were anxious to execute their plans.

"According to the account which seems most accurate, the gate-keeper, about five o'clock in the evening, realized that the Boxers, having come in large numbers, were going to break down the main gate. He repeated this observation to Father Andlauer who was inspecting the situation from a side gate. Father Andlauer returned into the courtvard after closing the side gate which would indeed not provide much protection. Meanwhile, the gate-keeper and the catechists judged that resistance was impossible. They climbed the nearby wall and went to take refuge with a minor official of Ya-i. The Boxers broke down the gate and rushed inside. The two priests had withdrawn to the little chapel. There, on bended knee, they awaited the arrival of their executioners. It was all over in a moment. The priests were found side by side pierced with saber blows. In the evening a coachman made inquiries of two neighboring pagans who were friends of the house. They said they saw the two Fathers in this position, and they claimed that Father Andlauer still gave some signs of life, a thing which is rather doubtful seeing that the saber blows must have been numerous. These, then, are our first two priests to be martyred."10

#### Attack at Chukiaho

On the night of June 20, a catechist brought the news of the martyrdom to Father Mangin and his companions. It was a warning. The Boxers, as a matter of fact, were then encircling their residence of Chukiaho and trying to seize it. The village and the enclosure of the mission sheltered three thousand

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> This quotation was taken from a letter of Father Seneschal, June 21, 1900. The letter was published in *Études*, September 5, 1900 and used in part in the publication, *Chine*, *Madagascar* for May, 1955.

Catholics of the neighborhood whom panic had driven to the church. They were a poor and frightened people relying on their spiritual Father to defend them. First it was necessary to find room for the crowd, then to provide supplies and to prepare the whole place for a resistance movement. With the aid of Father Denn Father Mangin spent two months in these occupations.

"On the fourteenth of July," writes Father Mertens, "the situation was quite satisfactory; ramparts and ditches had been finished. There was sufficient food for a long time and a large stock of gunpowder. Almost a thousand fighters could have been lined up on the ramparts. Certainly they did not have a cannon, and their rifles and pistols, for the most part outmoded, did not exceed one hundred and fifty. But what about the Boxers? Were they any better armed? The prospects were not alien to the fighting disposition of the people. They had plenty of courage."

The final test was not long in coming. At daybreak on July 15, the tom-toms resounded in Chukiaho. The assault was on. The battle, long and violent, ended in a setback for the Boxers. The following day the Boxers renewed the attack. A new battle and a new victory for the Catholics who chased the attackers right back to their main headquarters which they captured. There was a triumphant return to the village with a cannon taken from the fleeing Boxers.

Had the Boxers been left to their own resources, they would probably never have conquered Chukiaho, just as they failed to take the five other fortresses in the northern section of the mission. But on July 17, a division of the imperial army, on its way to Peking, was garrisoned at Kinghsien, four miles east of Chukiaho. The commanding general was a former organizer of the Boxer movement at Shantung. He received the leaders of the Boxers and promised them reinforcements of two thousand men with cannons. Since he was anxious to reach the capital, he entrusted to one of his subordinates, General Ch'en, the task of subduing the Christian village.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> We refer our readers to an article by Father Mertens, S.J., "The Siege and Martyrdom of a Small Christian Community," which appeared in *Etudes* for June 5, 1925. Father Mertens' article is based on first-hand documents. We give the resumé here.

Fathers Mangin and Denn, on the afternoon of July 17, were sitting at table when the presence of soldiers was announced to them. Father Mangin climbed the roof of the church to get a better picture of the situation. Two thousand rifles sparkled in the sun. Swarms of Boxers were running about, howling and brandishing sabers and spears. "It was said that when Father Mangin had come down from his inspection, he was thoroughly depressed. From that time on Father Mangin refrained from giving any order, any military directive in order to confine himself to his priestly work which was soon going to become overwhelming." 12

But the Cathölics maintained their optimistic spirit. All afternoon they repulsed the soldiers and the Boxers. The fort continued to hold out in the evening, but some of the defenders fled during the night. A means of escape was offered to the two priests, but they refused to be separated from their faithful.

There followed two days of heroism. The Christians expected no quarter, and they intended to sell their lives at a high cost. The attack began with renewed vigor. On the eighteenth, the soldiers made use of their cannons, but their aim was so poor that the shells went right over the top of the enclosure and landed in the open fields; some of them fell among the Boxers. On the nineteenth, the firing, this time better directed, destroyed quite a few houses. A cannonball landed in the room of Father Denn. Another one ended up in the Church where the women and children were praying. The defenders, meanwhile, repulsed several assaults and did not yield one inch of their rampart.

# The End Approaches

During the night of the nineteenth, the Boxers raised up on their farm-wagons six towers equal to the height of the rampart. At four o'clock the next morning, amid the firing of artillery and rifles, the Boxers rolled the towers, now filled with soldiers, toward the enclosure. The gunfire, coming from a greater height, scattered the Catholics. Resistance was no longer possible.

<sup>12</sup> Études, loc. cit., p. 556.

At seven o'clock, after a final volley, the last of the defenders left the rampart and rallied to the center of the village to destroy their rifles. At that very minute, the Sisters, disguised as men, shouting and armed with paring-knives and kitchen-knives, rushed towards the Boxers who killed them one after another. Such was the strategem chosen by these consecrated women to preserve their purity.

On the morning of July 20 the two priests, after an exhausting night on the rampart and in the Church, were at the end of their strength. Harassed by incessant scurrying about, they were crushed by emotion and tormented by thirst. They had taken but a few moments of sleep in their tiny sacristy. At daybreak they led morning prayers for the crowd which filled the Church. They heard some confessions; but there was no Mass or Communion. Everyone knew that the fort would have to give up soon. In a few minutes—death . . . deliverance.

"They prepared for the end: the two priests wished to die facing their Chinese flock; and the Chinese Catholics had the same desire. The Catechists brought two arm-chairs which they decorated with little cushions. They arranged the chairs on the top step of the altar and asked the missionaries to sit down side by side facing the people, Father Denn on the gospel side, Father Mangin on the epistle side. Then all the catechists, and they were numerous since they had come here from every section, grouped themselves around the missionaries. Kneeling down and facing the priests and the cross, they filled the sanctuary. In the body of the Church the large crowd of Christians was kneeling. Most of them were women; there were two hundred to three hundred small children—in all, perhaps about a thousand people. They waited and prayed.

"Gun shots nearly provoked a panic. But with a sublime phrase Father Mangin restored calm: 'Remain where you are! In a very short while we will all be in paradise.'

"After an hour of stubborn resistance, almost all of the last defenders were disabled. There was no way to remedy the sad state. Death alone remained. The few survivors broke their rifles, filed wearily into the Church, and fell on their knees with their wives and children to prepare for martyrdom. About nine o'clock the Boxers entered the courtyard and finally reached the door of the Church which was wide open.

Stepping over the corpses, they drew near. They stared! At the far end, the altar and the small gold tabernacle, the glistening crucifix, and the bronze candlesticks! In front of these, the two European priests, their beards adding to their dignity, were quietly seated in their chairs facing the invaders. And finally, on their knees and facing the cross—the entire congregation at prayer! The barbarians were momentarily stunned and surprised—a brief reaction. Then, when it had dawned on them that all resistance was at last ended, they let out a cry of rage and began to fire into the crowd. The victims fell and their death agony began. Then a second panic took place—a dreadful one. Among the youth, the young women, the old women, the instinct of self-preservation awakened. After having accepted death, they no longer wanted to die. They wanted to flee when all flight was impossible. Only the power of God could restore their calm and enable them to die with honor. Father Denn then stood up. In a powerful voice that rose above the tumult, he intoned the Confiteor in Chinese. A marvellous thing, indeed! Following his lead, the Catechists, the fighters of a short time back, even the women and the children-all the Catholics as one-with a full voice and a full heart took up the sublime prayer.

After the *Confiteor*, and amid the confusion and the rattle of guns, Father Mangin stood up and once again imparted general absolution. The Church was already filled with smoke. The invaders, no longer able to take aim, shot and slew at random—a fact which perhaps explains why the missionaries had been left till almost the end. Moreover, the wife of the overseer, Tchou, separated from Father Mangin by the communion rail, stood up to ward off the shots from him. Shortly before ten o'clock a bullet killed her at the communion rail.

"Father Mangin, without this protection, was soon hit. He fell face forward from his chair onto the sanctuary floor. Immediately the Catechists picked him up. At his own request they helped him to kneel down, or rather to prostrate himself on the altar steps facing the cross. A few moments later Father Denn was wounded and fell to the ground. He got up under his own power and went to kneel alongside his superior. It was there, before the altar where they had so often offered the blood of Christ, that these two religious, prostrate, shed-

ding their own blood, awaited the hour determined by Providence to consummate their holocaust. They were to die by fire.

"About eleven o'clock, the reed matting, of which the ceiling was made, burst into flames. Soon the Church was filled with a heavy smoke that was causing the survivors to suffocate. The men preferred death by the saber to death by slow asphyxiation. Knowing quite well what was going to happen, they broke the windows in the small sacristy and, one by one, they jumped out.

"In the courtyard, the fanatics were waiting. For each new arrival, a blow of the saber. This sad exit through the window of death lasted a long time. About eleven o'clock, the Boxers, worn out by their butchery, spared the last ones to come through the window. These fifty or so they killed that afternoon outside the village. . ." Chukiaho had become "the village of death wherein dwelled one thousand eight hundred corpses." 13

#### Conclusion

Fifty years after the Boxer persecution, Satan is recruiting a new group of followers and once again he is trying to exterminate the Church in China. Communism has hoisted the red flag of the Boxers. The Devil has refined the tactics, modernized his weapons. But a glance at the polished paraphernalia suffices to recognize the same old tactics of the Devil's arsenal: lies, terror, slaughter.

Against this array of hate, unsurpassed in magnitude, the Pope sets up the witness of love provided by the fifty-six blessed. This gesture of the Holy Father has mobilized an invincible power which is the support of Christianity. The beatified martyrs of the Boxer rebellion are a reminder to the Chinese Catholics now suffering persecution that death for Christ is victory. They tell the Chinese Catholics: "Have patience. The grace which strengthened us is promised to you. In a very short while you will all be in paradise." They say to the persecutors: "In the areas decimated by our murderers, the number of Catholics has become five times greater, only twenty-five years after our death. Grace has made of our

<sup>13</sup> Études, loc. cit., pp. 560 ff.

blood a seed, just as it made a seed of the blood of millions of martyrs before us. Today we are an example of the work of grace. Tomorrow your victims will be elevated to the honors of the altar. And the Church, indestructible, will advance with a new vitality which you unwittingly will have given to her."

# Simplified Bibliography

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# Father John F. Connolly, S.J. Hugh M. Duce, S.J.

In the presence of death Jesuits are not generally demonstrative. They have the certainty that for the departed, "Life is changed, not taken away." And for those who have loyally and devotedly consecrated their lives to God, this transformation is rather a cause of joy than of sorrow. Though firm in their faith that another valiant soldier in the militia of Christ had gone to share in the spoils of victory with the triumphant King, there was throughout the entire Province of California a spontaneous manifestation of deep sorrow and a sense of loss in the untimely death on November 9, 1962 of the Very Reverend John F. Connolly, Provincial of the Province. Some four hundred priests, scholastics and brothers assembled in St. Ignatius Church in San Francisco on the morning of November 12, 1962 to chant the office of the dead and to assist at the Solemn Requiem Mass presided over by the Most Reverend James J. Sweeney, Bishop of Honolulu. The thought that moved them all to lay aside their day's occupations was that in the passing of Father Connolly they had lost "a rare friend, brother, father and beloved superior." The same filial attachment was manifested on the following Saturday when, for the consolation of his friends and relatives in Southern California, another Solemn Requiem Mass was sung in the Sacred Heart Chapel of Loyola University. All the Jesuits who could do so, from as far north as Santa Barbara and as far south as San Diego, assisted in the body of the Church. Most Reverend Timothy Manning, Auxiliary Bishop of Los Angeles, returned only the day before from attendance at the General Council, presided and gave the last absolution.

Such a universal outpouring of respect was all the more remarkable, as Father Connolly had only held the office of Provincial for a little over two years and had spent twentyfour of the twenty-nine years of his active life in the southern end of the Province and consequently had been little known in the more thickly Jesuit populated part of the state. Yet in those two short years he had won the confidence, respect and esteem of old and young alike. By the force of his strong, manly personality, he had instilled a new spirit into the Province, a spirit of confidence and of courage, a desire to emulate the better things, to improve and develop all the works of the Province.

The life of Father Connolly can be briefly told. He was born in Redondo Beach on January 21, 1899, the second son, fourth child, of Patrick and Nora Connolly, both natives of Ireland. He received his elementary education in the Redondo Beach City Schools, and his secondary education at Loyola High School, which had been founded only two years previous to his enrollment when the Society took over the work previously conducted in Los Angeles by the Vincentian Fathers.

He entered the Sacred Heart novitiate at Los Gatos on October 3, 1917, the year he graduated from high school. Then followed the usual routine training: philosophy at Mt. St. Michael's, Spokane, 1921-1924; regency at Gonzaga High School in Spokane where he taught Latin and was assistant prefect under the redoubtable Father James Kennelly, September 1924 to February 1927, when he was moved to the then Loyola College on Venice Boulevard where he taught philosophy, English and speech and developed a life-long attachment to Father Joseph Sullivan, the Rector and builder of Loyola University at its present site. In 1928 he was sent to Weston College for theology along with such notables of the California Province as Fathers Austin Fagothey, John Ferguson, and William Rice. It was at Weston that he came to esteem the New England Province and to admire the way it had preserved the ideals of the Ratio both at Holy Cross and Boston College, an ideal that he kept alive during his long years of academic administration. He was ordained with his class on June 16, 1931 by the Most Reverend Thomas Emmett, S.J., D.D., Bishop of Jamaica.

On the completion of theology he was appointed Dean of Faculties at Loyola University, a position he held until 1934 when he made his tertianship at Manresa Hall, Port Townsend, under his former and much loved Novice Master, Father Joseph Piet, who had fashioned the rough diamond of a tough, fiery, proud adolescent into an uncompromising champion of Christ the King and a completely dedicated son of the Society.

At the end of tertianship he was appointed to teach theology at the recently opened theologate of the California Province at Alma. Here he pronounced the vows of the solemnly professed on February 2, 1936. At the end of the year he was called back to Loyola University to assume his former position as Dean of Faculties. In a reorganization of the government of the University in 1949 the office of Dean of Faculties was abolished and the office of Academic Vice President substituted. This meant for him the relinquishing of the office of Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, a position he cherished above all his other supervisory duties. In 1953 he was appointed superior of the Retreat House at Azusa. In 1958 he became Rector of the Novitiate and in 1960 Provincial of the Province.

To Loyola University, therefore, Father Connolly devoted nineteen of the best years of his life. And Loyola, its students, its development and its welfare received the complete dedication of his whole being, his deep spirituality, the keenness of his many intellectual gifts, and his apparently inexhaustible physcial stamina. He served under five Rectors, all of them different from one another in temperament and character. Yet each one of them received his complete loyalty and esteem. This does not mean that he could not, as the occasion demanded, disagree with them on a matter of policy and argue his point vigorously, as only he could; but once the decision was made, the question was closed. There was no murmuring, no half-hearted compliance.

His administration exemplified those two characteristics of all good government, to rule *fortiter et suaviter*. He could not tolerate anything that derogated from the orderly running of the University. Professors who came late for class, dismissed their classes before the end of the period, were remiss in handing in their grades at the time prescribed, were called on the carpet and told in no uncertain terms to amend their ways. But once the fault was amended, that was the end of it. Bygones were forgotten and the offender was restored to the

place of honor and respect he held for all his fellow workers and particularly for the instructional staff. Having once experienced his just anger, the offender was not liable to again awaken the quiescent volcano. There was one thing in academic administration that he never quite became reconciled to. Having started his career at a time when the ordinary practice was to teach at last fifteen hours a week, he was not at all sympathetic with the pressure exerted by accrediting associations to reduce the normal load to twelve and even nine hours. The apostolate of education was his life. To it he devoted all his waking hours and could not understand why others did not have the same realization of its vital importance and willingness to consecrate to it unselfishly all their energies.

If he was strict with his instructional staff, he was even more so with his students. He did not accept the doctrine that the Catholic college's only responsibility was to train the intellect. Loyola's objectives as embodied in the statement, The Loyola Man, Citizen of Two Worlds, meant more to him than a few well turned phrases adorning the pages of the annual catalogue. It was something to be realized in each individual student. Breaches of discipline, lack of respect for instructors, failure to live up to one's academic promise or to attend the religious exercises of the University, all called for a never-to-be-forgotten interview with the Dean. From these interviews there arose among the students their own title for the Dean-Black John. Little did they know what it cost the great Irish heart of "Black John" to apply the cauterizing iron necessary to mold an irresponsible adolescent into a mature, responsible, Catholic gentleman. The alumni who graduated during his administration are witness to the success of his endeavors. Perhaps the most loyal to his memory are those whom he treated with the greatest severity.

His tenure of office witnessed many and great changes in the University. When he took office the University was a struggling institution in the throes of the great depression. A classroom building, a faculty building which served as a residence hall for a handful of boarders, and a red brick shower and dressing room, the first unit of a future gymnasium, were all the buildings which graced a hundred-acre campus. The hundred acres stood in lonely grandeur amidst an abandoned real estate development which had gone bankrupt in the early years of the depression. There was hardly a house in sight for miles around. The student body numbered just under three hundred hardy souls who braved the unpaved roads and the lack of adequate facilities for the sake of Catholic higher education. The curriculum of the Liberal Arts College boasted only one major—that of Philosophy. The students of the College of Business Administration were obliged to follow the same course of philosophy, so they devoted what time was left over to such subjects as accounting and general business. It was a challenge to a young man fresh from studies, filled with energy and a lofty ambition, to make his school the equal of the best Jesuit schools in the country. He never wavered; never became discouraged. Loyola was his first love. To it he would give his undying love and devotion.

As the years unfolded, his dreams of a greater and better Loyola began to materialize. The once abandoned real estate subdivision developed into a flourishing suburb. The University was no longer isolated from the mainspring of the city's life. As the depression waned the material position of the University improved greatly under a series of energetic and gifted Presidents. Two dormitories, a chapel, an engineering building were erected, temporary classroom facilities added, and the gymnasium completed. The campus was beautifully landscaped, roads and parking lots were installed. To all these improvements Fr. Connolly lent his encouragement, enthusiasm and unfailing advice. All that concerned the University was of vital importance to him.

When, after nineteen years of service, Father Connolly was removed from the office of Academic Vice President, the student body had already risen to a peak of two thousand and eighty-nine. This growth demanded many administrative adjustments. There was the ever pressing need of recruiting a competent faculty. The laymen on the faculty numbered a scanty five in 1932. By 1953 the number had risen to sixty-five. With the war years and their consequent emptying of the school the lay faculty was again reduced to the barest minimum. This entailed the bringing back of as many of the former faculty members as possible and the hiring of a new

staff to provide for the influx of G.I.'s. Ten majors were added to the offerings of the Liberal Arts College. These were not simply accretions, "to keep up with the Joneses." They were introduced after careful study and planning. The University Catalogue carried a statement before the description of each major of its purpose, underlying philosophy and the objective it aimed at attaining within the framework of a Jesuit education. The Jesuit ideal was the touchstone by which every innovation was gauged.

To insure the orderly running of the University, Statutes had to be drawn up clearly defining the privileges and responsibilities of the staff and officials of the University. Admission policies had to be clarified and made more stringent. During Father Connolly's tenure of office the Regional Accreditation Association became very active, particularly after the Association of American Universities, to which most of the colleges in California belonged, discontinued its policy of approving undergraduate colleges. To meet the standards of the Western College Association meant an exhaustive institutional self-study, a justification of procedures, policies and objectives which might not be understood by secular accrediting teams. The report that he submitted to the Association was praised by the examiners and served as a model for other Catholic colleges applying for accreditation.

During the lull of the war years, when the registration dropped to sixty-five, Father Connolly was active as an Arbitrator for the National War Labor Board. From April 13, 1943 to July 17, 1944 he chaired the lengthy contract negotiations between seventeen corporations and their respective unions. Among these corporations were many vital to the war effort, such as the Aluminum Company of America, Douglas Aircraft, General Petroleum, Richfield Oil, and General Metals Corporation. From December 4, 1944 to August 29, 1944 he acted as arbitrator of disputes between the United Automobile Workers CIO and North American Aviation, Inc. Disputes ranged from accusations of racial discrimination and insubordination to smoking in the washroom and theft of company property. Twenty-nine cases were reported on. His briefs show that somehow or other he had gained a fine grasp both of labor law and the provisions of the various labor contracts

involved. The briefs are clear, concise and logical. A fair, unprejudiced statement is made of the differences of the contending parties and a just decision handed down based on the evidence presented by both sides. As a result, he gained the confidence and friendship both of labor and management. Among his best friends in labor was the tough old seaman, Harry Lundeberg, President of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, the mortal foe of Harry Bridges. When Lundeberg dedicated his new Union Hall in San Francisco no one but Father Connolly could give the Invocation: a privilege that was denied him, so the building was dedicated without an invocation.

In all these activities Father Connolly manifested a great capacity for leadership, which developed and matured with the years. That capacity emanated primarily from the keenness of his God-given intellect, the warmth of his personality and his abiding sense of humor. He did not rule by ukase. He enjoyed making plans and then discussing their pros and cons with all comers. If the discussion revealed that the plans were impractical or deficient in any way, they were either discarded or revised to meet the objections. He had the priceless quality of making his subordinates feel needed. They were not simply cogs in the wheels of administration that could be discarded at will. Whatever their position in the academic hierarchy they were co-workers in all that concerned the welfare of the University. He led also by example. When the University was too poor to hire an adequate group of maintenance men, he was the first to tackle onerous and even menial tasks, and out of loyalty to him, students and staff members would follow suit.

Having been so long at Loyola and having been so closely identified with its progress, its faculty, students and alumni, it was a sad day for Father John when the status of 1953 assigned him to Manresa Retreat House as its superior. But he wasted no time in idle regrets. He accepted his assignment with true Ignatian obedience and threw himself into the manifold duties of his entirely new environment. He was eminently prepared for the office by his proven administrative ability, his knowledge of men and his wide experience in the ministry. He was soon as enthusiastic for the apostolate of lay retreats

as he had been for the apostolate of education. During the five years of his tenure of office the beautiful chapel of the Holy Spirit, planned by his predecessor, Father Edward J. Whelan. was built. To accommodate the growing number of retreatants forty additional, well equipped private rooms were added to the facilities of the Retreat House. The Archdiocese of Los Angeles was already in possession of three other well established retreat houses, two for men and one for married couples. It therefore required a great deal of work and organization to attract a sufficient clientele to make Manresa a selfsupporting enterprise. Of great assistance to him in this undertaking was his knowledge of and acceptance by the Loyola alumni. By the end of his term of office, the Retreat House was not only paying its own way, but had accumulated a surplus of capital with which he was planning to build better kitchen and dining facilities for the retreatants.

Everyone suspected that Father Connolly was being seriously considered for the office of Provincial when he was appointed Rector of the Sacred Heart Novitiate on August 15, 1958. Here he soon endeared himself to the Juniors, the principal objects of his solicitude during his two years' stay at Los Gatos. Having learned by experience the need of well trained men for the ministries of the Society, he took a vital interest in their studies. But most of all he endeavored to inculcate in them something of his own great love for the Society. During his novitiate and juniorate days it had been the custom to sing the Society's anthem at the end of each festive occasion. He reintroduced the custom, and as was his wont at all events that lent themselves to song, led the singing with his own powerful voice. He was a welcome spectator at the Juniorate games, introducing them to the fine points of baseball, a game in which he prided himself on his own prowess. He was their constant companion on the Juniors' villa days, regaling them with vivid recollections of his days as a regent, dean and retreat master.

On the plane of temporal administration, Father Connolly was engaged during most of his two years at Los Gatos in delicate negotiations with the Regents of the University of California. The committee appointed by Governor Brown to study the needs of higher education in the State of California

had come up with the recommendation that two more branches of the University of California be established, one of them in Santa Clara County. Interested parties in San Jose, the fifth largest city in the state, were most anxious that the branch be established in the suburbs of their city. The most desirable piece of property inspected was a portion of the Guadalupe ranch, which supplies the best grapes for the Novitiate winery. As San Jose expanded, this property had risen considerably in value. To refuse to sell it at the University's asking price would have led to condemnation proceedings. This would have meant in turn not only the loss of a fair price, but the necessity of purchasing equivalent acreage in the San Joaquin Valley, a great distance from the Novitiate, and the development of an entirely new vineyard. Besides all this, the establishment of a branch of the University of California in San Jose, would have been detrimental to the University of Santa Clara, located not ten miles away. The day was finally saved when a group of citizens in Santa Cruz offered the Regents of the University of California the gift of an extensive and suitable site near their own city.

On the thirty-first of July 1960, Father Connolly became Provincial of the Province. He was sixty-one years old and apparently in the best of health. He worked at his new position with the same intensity and devotedness that he had brought to each of his assignments. The first indication of anything wrong came when he underwent a series of tests at St. Mary's Hospital for a persistent cough, September 11-17, 1962. He was scheduled to go to Rome on September 20 for the customary conference with Father General. His physician saw no reason as a result of the tests why he should not undertake the journey. In fact, he thought the trip might be beneficial to his patient. Characteristically, Father planned his trip so that he might have the privilege of saying Mass at Manresa, so precious for the spiritual formation of St. Ignatius and the elaboration of the Spiritual Exercises. He arrived wearied from his journey and with his cough more painful and persistent than ever. Nevertheless, he spent a very busy time of it in the Eternal City. There were long and satisfying visits with Father Assistant, Father Vicar and with Reverend Father General. There was the consolation of seeing Pope

John and of receiving his blessing. The five Californians studying at the Gregorian had to be interviewed and brought up to date on the latest news of the Province. Papal blessings had to be thoughtfully obtained for cherished friends back home. It was a busy time and the Roman climate further debilitated his strength.

On his return he had planned to spend five days in the "Ole Sod" for which his nephew had fought in the Republican Army, and in making the acquaintance of the Connolly clan who had remained in Ireland. However, his condition had become so aggravated that he was forced to reduce his stay to one day. He returned to San Francisco on October 13 and applied himself to the business that had accumulated during his absence. Nine days later he started the visitation of St. Ignatius High School. On October 30 he held his last Provincial Consultation.

More tests at St. Mary's Hospital definitely revealed the presence of lung cancer and the necessity of an operation. He entered the hospital on November 6, after bidding farewell to each member of the Provincial Curia and asking their prayers. The operation for the removal of his right lung took place the next morning and lasted from 7:45 a.m. until 6:15 p.m. During the progress of the operation the greatest possible complications developed. The pulmonary artery, which had been tied off, broke its fastenings and a massive hemorrhage occurred, during which most of Father's blood supply poured out. This brought on a stoppage of the heart, which was quickly remedied. Father Socius Andrew Maginnis, who was standing by, was brought into the operating room and administered the last rites. In the meantime everything possible was being done to remedy the grave situation. A transfusion of six pints of blood was made. Adrenalin was injected into the heart and a corps of surgeons and physicians were invited in to assist. Before the end of the operation a tracheotomy was performed so that oxygen could be fed directly into the remaining lung.

Next morning Father Connolly's condition was surprisingly good considering all he had gone through. Though he could not speak, owing to the tracheotomy, he was conscious and able to follow the directions of doctors and nurses. To the

great consolation of his brother and sister, who had flown up from Los Angeles, he was able to recognize them when they were allowed to visit him briefly on Thursday. That night his condition worsened and all efforts of the doctors to assist him failed. The end came peacefully and quietly at 1:45 Friday morning, November 9, 1962.

An examination of his papers afterwards showed that, true to form, Father Connolly had left everything in perfect order, evidently expecting the worst. Minute directions had been left regarding who was to act in case he should recover but be incapacitated; and in case of his death, who was to act until a successor was appointed. Briefs of the directions received and decisions made in Rome had been drawn up for the information and guidance of those whom they might concern. His correspondence had been taken care of up to the time he was admitted to the hospital. Truly he could say in the words of the text Father Zacheus Maher used as the keynote of the eulogy he preached at his funeral, "I have finished the work Thou gavest me to do." God rest his noble and generous soul.



# Brother Maurice Francis Burke, S.J. Francis J. Tierney, S.J.

The preliminary information sent along with the request for an obituary article on Brother Maurice F. Burke, S.J. was most jejune. "C. Burke, Mauritius Franciscus," it read, and the brown slip of Verifax paper went on to state that the father of Brother Burke was named James, that his mother who died so young was called Helen Lyons Burke. Before entering the Society Brother lived at 488 Grove Street in St. Michael's Parish in Jersey City, a site close enough to St. Peter's Church and Preparatory School. Maurice was born on January 17, 1897 in New York City and, despite the harsh season, was baptized ten days later in St. Veronica's Church Maurice Francis Burke began his noviceship as a Coadjutor Brother at St. Andrew-on-Hudson on July 28, 1927, and he pronounced his yows of perpetual poverty, chastity and obedience on the feast of St. Ignatius two years later. He made his last vows on the 15th of August, 1937, at St. Peter's College on Grand Street. His assignments as a Jesuit Brother were those of custodian of the wine-cellar and ad dom. at St. Andrew from 1929 to 1930, and buyer there throughout the following year. From 1931 until 1944 he worked at St. Peter's College as buyer and supervisor of employees, and from 1944 until his death he performed the same tasks at St. Peter's Preparatory School. At the time of his death Brother was also in charge of the refectory. St. Peter's College might move off to its new location on the hill in 1944 and set up its new Community, but Brother had stayed behind at the parish and high school. Brother was an excellent religious, as we know from other sources, and no superior would ever want to let such a man go. He was in fact even known as "Brother St. Peter's." He was a Grand Street

institution long before 1944, and it was fitting that he stay on at Jersey City's own old St. Peter's until his death. Brother Maurice F. Burke, S.J. died of cancer at Holy Name Hospital, Teaneck, N. J., and he was buried in the precious little cemetery at St. Andrew, corporal resting place of so many of God's chosen priests and brothers and scholastics. Apart from this, the only other fact the basic record lists is that before his entrance into the Society Brother did "office work, filing, etc." Thus simply is the selflessly generous life of a rich, thoughtful, hidden soul portrayed in the brief categories of records, largely because he gave out about himself only the sparsest of information.

Brother Burke was a selfless man, a courteous man, a steady man, a versatile man, a holy man, a man of whom very many fine adjectives can rightly be used. Father Joseph S. Dinneen, S.J., Brother's Father Minister at St. Andrew and his rector from 1931 to 1937 jots down these lines about him:

Innate gentility and Christian courtesy are something far above mere worldly politeness. In Brother's dealings with priests and scholastics and other brothers, with the Sisters of Charity in the Parochial School, with the men and women and children of the parish, with the tradesmen, workmen and others with whom he came in contact, Brother Burke brought with him "the good odor of Christ"; he worthily represented the Society; he was a great credit to the mother who bore him and his sister Ann who idolized him.

Other letters were sought for and received and people were interviewed. It was still, however, Ann Burke, Brother's only close relative, who three and a half years after Brother's death, from her recollections and from the letters and articles she had saved, first began to surround the bare statistics of Brother's life with the flesh of living detail.

## Early Recollections

Even Ann knows little about Brother's early days. Their mother died of a heart attack at the age of twenty-three, when Ann was three years old and Maurice only about eight months. Sister and brother, each went to a different maternal aunt to live, Maurice being taken in by a family named O'Keefe that later moved to St. Michael's Parish in Jersey City. Each side of the Burke family was religious and the members were well

able to rear and inspire two such youngsters. The O'Keefes are remembered by their pastor as excellent people; and on the paternal side two of the aunts were nuns, one a Sister of Charity and the other a Dominican. Maurice attended St. Anthony's School in New York and later did clerical work in business, as the record states, but he also acted as chauffeur with his firm, Claffin & Co. of New York. He served in the Army for about a year, entering on duty in 1919 and never leaving the States.

Maurice Burke was a kind man long before he entered religion. As a young layman he would buy turkeys before Thanksgiving or Christmas at Manhattan's Washington Market, build up complete food baskets around them and take them to the poor, all on his own initiative. For about six years before he entered, he helped to educate the six children of his cousin, the daughter of the aunt with whom he stayed. In his younger days Brother belonged to a boxing club and he always loved boxing, but Ann has little to tell about this aspect of Brother's life because, in the manner of women, she disapproved of this activity. For this reason Maurice, in the manner of men, told her little about it. Monsignor Leroy McWilliams was his pastor in Jersey City, and his confessor and friend. Monsignor is a kind, approachable priest with a phenomenal memory for the parishioners of his forty years at St. Michael's. He recalls the young Maurice Burke as a daily Communicant, active in the Knights of Columbus, a stable, dependable, serious young man.

In all, Maurice Burke when he entered the Society in 1927 was a fine Catholic man of thirty, generous, strong, active, religious, and ready to accept and follow completely the great gift of the call to perfection, the call to the religious life in the unique and perfect vocation of the Brothers. He brought all his generosity and holiness with him and he made all his qualities more spiritual still in the complete dedication of his life to the service of God.

## Happiness in Charity

He was happy to be a Brother. He knew that the *manner* of his service did not matter provided only that he found and did God's will in his own regard, and that his life was made over

into an act of constant praise. God had given him the difficult and perfect vocation to the Brother's way of life within the Jesuit family, and he would work like St. Joseph to take care of that family. He was a most generous man in the manner of Joseph in following his vocation, laboring for twenty-six years at St. Peter's as buyer and also acting as superintendent of the buildings on Grand Street and at the reborn college on the hill, as chauffeur, relief operator at the switchboard, helping out in the refectory and Church, in the parish, parochial school, preparatory school and college. Brother Michael Walsh, S.J., his co-worker at St. Peter's, proudly said of him that "he is the greatest man I have ever known." Truly there was nothing good that Brother Burke left undone. His life is an ideal of most generous service for the love of Christ his Lord.

Within the Society Brother was always a charitable man. He loved all people and was kind to them, treating all with respect and consideration and utter patience. He called the priestly members of his Jesuit family "his priests," and he could never do too much for them. He was the friend and inspiration of the scholastics and the brothers. Outside the Community he took care of the needy in every way that his office permitted. He was not only respected by the workers in the buildings, he was loved. One of the Brothers writes that he was most kind in helping students at St. Peter's find parttime jobs in order to help them with their tuition. Two of the Fathers write of a man in the parish, "a dear friend of Brother Burke." This man, who worked for Brother, could not hold onto money, and Brother alone knew how to handle him. Brother gave him \$3.00 a week for spending money after his expenses had been paid; the rest Brother put into bonds for him. As soon as he was given the \$3.00 the man would take off for the saloons on York Street where he could do little damage to himself on so small a purse. When he was finally taken sick, the thousands of dollars that Brother had saved for him were put to use and the man well taken care of until his death. The St. Peter's priest who gave him Communion the day before he died says of this man that he was an "idolizer" of Brother Burke.

Brother's charity ranged far beyond the bounds of Jersey City. Ann Burke, in her own way, continued one of Brother's charities in Italy. Because of this, one instance of Brother's kindness is made known through seven letters from Guiseppe Cardinal Pizzardo to Miss Burke, as well as through the reprint of another letter to Father John Morris, S.J., Rector of St. Peter's, in the St. Peter's Prep paper, and from a telegram sent by the Cardinal to Brother on December 27, 1956, after he had been taken to the hospital. How many more letters Brother himself might have saved for us, nobody can know. The story behind the letters and the telegram is that Brother had made contact with the poor of the Diocese of Albano and with Cardinal Pizzardo, its Bishop, through Mario Violini, an old seaman. Along with Brother Walsh, Brother Burke gathered enough old clothing in the parish to fill St. Peter's station wagon six or seven times a year for some twelve years, and he sent it off to the people of Albano. Cardinal Pizzardo is a very busy man. He is Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities and a member of many Congregations and Commissions. We can appreciate his great esteem for Brother Burke's charity, then, through the number of letters and the telegram listed above. In them, among other things, the Cardinal calls Brother "benefactor of my diocese of Albano and of the Pontifical Regional Seminaries." He writes of "the poor of my diocese of Albano . . . who owe so much to Brother Maurice's indefatigable charity." From these as well as from many other letters about him, one can see that Brother did indeed leave "the good odor of Christ" around him and that the melody that he placed in the hearts of the people he dealt with sings out once again in their happy thoughts concerning him.

It is striking how often prosaic trucks and autos enter into the examples of Brother's holiness and constant charity. Despite all his other activities and his readiness to help out everywhere else, he was also always ready to act as chauffeur for all Jesuits in need. During World War II he was often truck-driver, appearing at nearby Jesuit Houses to share some scarce commodity there. While he was still at St. Andrew he drove the laundry truck from Poughkeepsie to the Convent of the Good Shepherd in Albany each week, always making the task an opportunity for kindness. Brother John Doyle, S.J., who entered the novitiate a week after Brother Burke, writes from the Philippines to tell that Brother always stopped in the nearest church on these trips to make his examination of conscience. On one occasion he asked a young Brother from New York's "Northern Frontier" to come along with him but at St. Andrew's gate Brother quietly turned right instead of left and drove in the direction of the great city of New York. He was on his way to Fordham that day to pick up books, and he set out with his young companion, intent on surprising him with a first, unexpected view of the great metropolis. Brother liked to do pleasant things for people! His companion of that day's ride writes that Brother Burke "often recalled my looks of wonderment at my first sight of New York City and I think he was more pleased at my reaction than I was with the trip."

Father Joseph S. Dinneen, S.J., who was Brother's rector for six hard Depression years, actually sums up a great part of Brother's holiness in the manner in which he drove a car. In this particular letter Father has already told of Brother's great willingness to pitch in at all kinds of work. Father then goes on to add that Brother always did this work in the following wonderful way:

All this, mind you, not in fits and starts, but steadily through the years. Just as he drove a car: no mad dashes only to have to jam on the brakes and come to a screaming halt, but calmly, steadily. That proves moral courage, the perseverance of the blessed, poise, centrality of character and seriousness of purpose. It revealed his patience when things were more trying than usual, as well as his self-conquest and self-control. You may know that as a young man before entering the Society he was a member of the same boxing club to which Gene Tunney belonged. Yet, such was Brother's self-mastery that never, under any provocation, have I known him to threaten to resort to "muscular Christianity." That's meekness of no mean order.

This same steady serenity in Brother Burke causes another of his rectors to write that "he had enormous patience: I can remember in my more than six years of association with him, his being slightly disturbed by only one incident."

### "The Best Jesuit I Ever Knew"

Only one of the rectors in Brother's life has died. All of the others say edifying things about him, as do others also who were close to him. Extracts from the comments of his rectors read in the following forthright way. One Father writes: "Many a time I have made the flat statement: 'Brother Burke is the best Jesuit I know.' I mean it too. . . . He was my right arm." Another Father, writing to his successor to accept the invitation to come down for Brother's twenty-fifth anniversary at St. Peter's, states: "He is one of the truly great Jesuits I have met, incomparable in his service, extraordinary in his sense of duty and cooperation, with a disposition that is saintly." Later, after Brother's death, this same Father writes: "I have said a hundred times to Jesuits that I have met a dozen extraordinary Jesuits in my life, and your brother was one of them, a truly great follower of St. Ignatius in every respect."

Another former rector writes that "I think of Brother often and his solid spiritual influence on me and all at St. Peter's." And another: "His outstanding virtue was his willingness to do anything for anybody, anytime." Still another sums up Brother by writing: "To me he exemplified the 'magis' of St. Ignatius in the Spiritual Exercises. What is there that I have not done that I could do for my King and the spread of His Kingdom? No time-serving, no clock-watching, no clamor for fringe benefits, no comparison with others, whether they appeared to be doing less or more. It is a characteristic of our Saints, canonized and uncanonized."

Brother was a fine administrator, deftly taking care of the hiring of workers, of greater and lesser repairs everywhere and of major renovations of the old lower church and the parochial school, all the while supervising the Community kitchen and managing the students' cafeteria. He also watched over the weekly bingo games, and he managed to bring in hundreds of thousands of dollars for the parish and the high school. When need be, he would gladly also cook the meals, wash the pots and dishes, sweep the floors and empty out the garbage. Brother Walsh found him working at the switchboard the night before he was taken to the hospital never to

return. Still a good Joseph to his Community, despite the pains of abdominal cancer, he would try to get out of the hospital to go home and take care of his "forty Jesuits."

A Brother, Brother Burke's co-worker, says of him, understandably enough, that he "was the first one up at St. Peter's every morning and the last to go to bed at night."

## A Holy Influence

Was Brother holy? All the above mentioned traits indicate that he was. Over and above all the qualities mentioned, however. Brother was also most exact in all his spiritual duties, trying to keep them on a normal schedule and always making them up when the schedule had to be changed. He made many visits to the Blessed Sacrament each day, and he closed off each day by going over to the darkened St. Peter's Church and saying his rosary there, alone at last with God and Our Lady. He was obedient. He was humble, not complaining at all when one or two misunderstood the inevitable results of all his able service and found fault with the fact that he had "too much power." He kept nothing superfluous for his own use and he asked express leave for the items he acquired. He never visited lay-people in their homes, not even relatives unless some very urgent reason of charity required him to do so, and, with the exception of his sister; his only immediate relative, he entertained no visitors. One of the priests of St. Peter's puts the obvious conclusion to all this, that this impressive and happy Brother "was looked on as a saint by the people." Indeed the Parish Bulletin, on the occasion of his twenty-fifth anniversary at St. Peter's in 1956, with all proper respect for the rules of Holy Church, changes Brother's nickname from "Brother St. Peter's" to "St. Alphonsus '56."

Everything about Brother breathed a spirituality which was, of course, appreciated. A report on the St. Peter's altar boys printed in the *Advocate*, the Newark Archdiocesan paper, mentioned in passing that Brother Burke had been taken ill. As a result, a man in a far-off portion of the Archdiocese sat down to type a letter to Brother on December 28, 1956. This thoughtful man tells Brother that he is sure that Brother does not know or remember him. He goes on to offer to do anything for him that he can do. He adds that "it may cheer

and comfort you a little to know that for me your years-long gentleness of bearing made real a life truly lived close to Our Lord, so that from seeing you, even though only on rare occasions and in passing, my own too often assaulted Faith received badly needed support of which you could have had no inkling but which you must in general have prayed for and lived toward."

How many other men felt the holy influence of Brother's life no man can say until eternity.

Such was Brother Maurice F. Burke, S.J., who died on June 19, 1957. On that day a group of Brothers from Shrub Oak had come down to visit him, and that evening three of the St. Peter's Fathers were with him in the hospital, as was also his devoted sister, Ann. When Brother began to fail Father Raymond I. Purcell, S.J. anointed him and Ann, whom Brother had thanked for her many deeds of kindness only ten minutes before, says that Brother turned his eyes to the Crucifix for a long, searching look, closed his eyes, and it took her some few minutes to realize that it was so peacefully that he had died.

Miss Burke, in talking about Brother as she does so happily, says that often people ask her if her brother was a priest and that she answers no, that he was a Brother. Because of the lack of understanding and of appreciation that so many people show for this sublime vocation that has given the Society four of its saints and twenty-three of its blesseds, Miss Burke goes on to say that often these people say, "Oh, only a Brother!" and that she goes on a little sadly to agree with them by saying, "Yes, only a little Jesuit Brother." And Brother Burke was indeed somewhat short in physique. It may well be, then, that Brother Burke was in stature "just a little Jesuit Brother" but, from the looks of his life, he may just be one of the greatest Jesuits of us all.

## **IGNATIAN SURVEY: 1962**

In this age of abstracts and digests the editors of Woodstock Letters feel that there is need for another specialized digest. We have called it the Ignatian Survey. We are attempting here to highlight articles written on the subject of Ignatian spirituality in the past year. In this effort we have canvassed over one hundred periodicals.

The hope is to present yearly a profile of the significant articles on Jesuit spirituality and the Exercises which would not be readily available to our readers. Such articles are expected to be of use to our retreat work, preaching and in our own personal spirituality, and the section as a whole will form a supplement to articles on Ignatian spirituality regularly printed by this magazine.

The following then is an experiment, and, as all experiments, imperfect. For this reason we are anxious for any comments and suggestions from our readers to improve such a section in the future.

Finally, we wish to take this opportunity to thank the theologians here at Woodstock for their valuable cooperation.

GERARD F. WALDORF, S.J.

#### CONTENTS

Ignatian Spirituality and Modern Theology (C. F. Mooney)
Grace and the Spiritual Exercises (J. M. Fondevila)
Confirmation of the Name of the Society (T. Baumann)
The Personal Obedience of St. Ignatius (C. Palmés)
The Election according to St. Ignatius (J. Roi)
The Christology of the Exercises (H. Rahner)

IGNATIAN SPIRITUALITY AND MODERN THEOLOGY, by C. F. Mooney, S.J.

Ignatius had a vision and a technique in his spirituality. Father Mooney shows how this permanent element of vision in its interior and exterior aspects is applicable to "the three revolutions" of modern society: the Darwinian, the Marxian and the Freudian.

Ignatian Spirituality and Modern Theology, Downside Review, 80 (Oct., 1962) pp. 333-354.

Modern spirituality and modern theology are drawing closer and mutually enriching one another. Various spiritualities are re-examining their origins and theological depth. Here then is a summary of the distinctive structure of Ignatian spirituality.

Christian spirituality in its wide sense is the way to holiness and hence there is only one spirituality and one Way, Christ. But in the concrete, different men and different groups adopt a specific style of approach. Each individual must live the entire gospel message but within his own limitations and his own specific graces. (Only the Church, in her many-splendored variety of holiness gives witness to the whole Christian counsel.) But spiritualities also differ because they mirror the different challenges and responses of each age and its extraordinary personalities. So penetrating is their vision that different schools of spirituality form about them, such as the Benedictine or Carmelite. Each school has a vision and a technique; the first permanent, the latter flexible to social changes. (We shall deal only with the permanent element—the vision—here.) More strictly defined then, spirituality is the form or style of a person's response to the grace of Christ in confronting his contemporary world.

Ignatius' vision, its exterior and interior aspect. Ignatius met the challenge of the Renaissance with a vision and technique. It was an age which was individualistic, emotional, in revolt against authority; an age which exulted in a cult of humanism. It was also an age whose geograpic horizons were being pushed back, and so an age of expanding missionary vision. But blocking the way was lethargy within the Church in conflict with an anxiety for reform. Ignatius responded with a vision which had an interior and exterior aspect. The interior was the emphasis on choice in the spiritual life and on discernment of spirits. Growing out of his conversion experiences it was systematized in the Exercises, which foster a grace-ful choice. He takes the individualistic stress of his age and makes man center himself in God's will, not in the subjectivity of personal desires. To an age of the glory of kingship he stresses Christ as king, the source of true detachment from one's own will, and union with Christ in service of the Father.

But no one was more convinced that these choices come with the grace of God and not from natural energy or self-centered asceticism. The need for humility is basic and at the heart of the *magis*: a search for the ever greater glory of God.

In the battle against the Church's external enemy Ignatius stresses that the beginning of the struggle is within. The real foe is spiritual and must be met within man's heart. The Crucified is witness of the destructive power of sin, a symbol of love, and a pledge of participation in the triumph of the Resurrection to the one fighting this interior battle.

Within this context of Christ's victory and discernment, Ignatian devotion to Mary finds its place. At all critical choices in the *Exercises* the exercitant, in a triple ascent, prays first to Mary. For the Divine economy works from the Father to Christ to Mary to the apostle. All spiritual growth is an imitation of her *fiat*, by which she allowed God to operate so freely in her life.

Exterior aspect of Ignatius' vision. This interior aspect (sensitivity of soul to the actions of the spirit) finds exterior expression in a loving service of the Church. In this service the apostle becomes progressively more detached from self, centered on Christ and through Him on the Trinity. Thus service becomes an exercise of prayer and contemplation. Ignatius' characteristic devotion to the Church and "contemplation in action" are linked. Against Luther's denial of the visible element in the Church, Ignatius stresses a union with Christ which can only be fostered by a closer identification with the Church. "Church militant" was not a military and polemic idea but the expression of an attitude of disciplined service.

To the objection that he deemphasized prayer Ignatius answered that both prayer and work were two aspects of the same thing: love. This love drives the apostle to seek God in all things, a type of prayer which is better than hours of formal prayer and demanding of more selfabnegation. Apostolic prayer then is not an end, as in the contemplative life, but a means disposing the apostle to God's will. This is exemplified in the examen of conscience, which is not an exercise in petty listing of faults or in introspection, but primarily a turning to Christ to examine with Him the decisions made and to be made for God's greater glory. It lets God's light shine on all the selfishness and frailty of mixed motives by which the movement of one's action toward God has been deflected into ambiguity. It is a prayer which makes us aware of God's will concerning the needs of our neighbor. This is contemplation in action, to give God's plan primacy over selfish interests and thus to possess in the midst of action an awareness of the presence of God, the essence of contemplation.

II. Contemporary Significance. The Ignatian vision in its interior and exterior aspects originated in the challenges of the sixteenth century, but it finds deeper meaning today in the light of modern theology. For theology, as all modern thought, has been influenced by three "revolutions" of thought: Darwin's cosmic and organic evolution pointing to the unity of the human species; Marx's economic and dynamic interpretation of history; and Freud's discovery of the subconscious dimension of personality. Theological thought has felt the reverberations of these ideas. It has rediscovered the organic developing reality of the Body of Christ growing toward maturity. And this ecclesiology has been

intensified by a liturgical renaissance, which points to the Eucharist as both symbol and reality of the Church uniting God's people with themselves and in Christ. The scientific study of Scripture has been indebted to the dynamic notion of history and sees this dynamism as God's intervention working out his plan for salvation. This biblical outlook has had its counterpart in the social order where questions of the theology of work, and the role of the layman are being raised. Finally the new focus on person has led theologians to explore the "psychology of grace," and the Christian's personal relationship to each Person of the Trinity.

Each of these modern emphases highlights the Ignatian vision and deepens it. In the interior aspect of vision, the biblical story of the conflict of Christ vs. Satan on a cosmic scale finds individual application in in the heart of every Christian who must fight this battle anew. Modern theology points out how this interior struggle as structured in the Exercises is biblical in outlook.

The theology of the relationship of grace and freedom also has influenced this interior aspect of vision. Man must learn to integrate his infra-conscious energies in his decisions. Ignatian discretion and docility to Holy Spirit give us a tool for integration; for self-examination becomes less a preoccupation with self and more a movement into reality, an acquiescence to the action of grace on every level. The modern theology of grace with its stress on divinization of man underlines Ignatius' mystical, almost uninterrupted, consciousness of the presence of the Trinity. His essentially Trinitarian spirituality now rediscovered casts a fresh new light on all his key concepts e.g.: even the sinner of the First Week sees himself as unworthy temple of indwelling Trinity.

The exterior aspect of vision (loving service to the Church) is deepened by theology's stress on the ecclesiology of the Mystical Body and on liturgy. While his loyalty was more focused on the institutional aspects of the Church, the modern stress is on the worshiping community. Although his liturgical sense was limited by his times, he still saw the Mass as pivotal in his Church-centered spirituality; his eucharistic orientation was an outgrowth of a vision of Christ the Mediator, who brings to concrete focus in the Eucharist the whole of reality, God, man and the material universe. The Exercises are not opposed to the liturgy, since they both draw their substance from salvation history; the liturgy presents these events leisurely over a year, while Ignatius telescopes them into a month. Both are alive to the reality of these events as living and present, not merely past history.

The second enrichment of this exterior aspect of vision comes from the modern layman's awareness of his apostolate. The layman sees his role, not as directly salvific as a priest, but directly concerned with the temporal and its reconstruction. In this he shares in Christ's redemptive work. This has led to a whole new dimension of Ignatian "mysticism of service." The layman faces the same apostolic problem of formal prayer mentioned before. And the idea of "contemplation in action" is a keystone in solving the tensions of prayer-work relationship.

Conclusion. Thus we have tried to situate the Ignatian vision, in its

interior-exterior aspect, in relation to modern theology. Remember that the origins of this vision were in interior solitude and detachment; so it was always a theology of the cross for Ignatius. But this detachment and freedom of heart made sense to him only in the larger context of service in the Church. Thus the apostle too will have his "dark night" of the contemplative, but in and through apostolic activity itself, its frustration and failure. Mortification must be continual, not in the sense of flight from the sensible, but it must enable the apostle to find God in all things, to love all creation, as God does himself, through activity. Remaining always Trinitarian and Eucharistic in orientation, Ignatian spirituality is a mystique of service through love (rather than loving union) in which the Person of Christ is the great Mediator between God, man and the material world. Modern theology has therefore helped to bring out the depth of the Ignatian vision.

Note: In a postscript, the Editor of Downside Review makes some observations on the idea of contemplation, and Father Mooney replies with a stress on prayer as a modality of service. Lest we miss the nuances of this dialogue we do not attempt to summarize it here.

(GERARD F. WALDORF, S.J.)

GRACE AND THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES, by Jose M. Fondevila, S.J., Manresa, Vol. 34, #131, 1962, pp. 163-78.

Today everyone recognizes the strictly supernatural character of the Spiritual Exercises, in which the accent falls not upon voluntarism but upon the grace of God in a special way. Because they aim to instruct us in the way in which God sanctifies men, this essay concentrates on the dynamic function of grace rather than its ontological aspect.

Even the man in grace comes to the Exercises feeling the effects of the three concupiscences, so that the whole raison d'etre of the Exercises is to diminish concupiscence and establish once again the equilibrium of man's spirit; in this way, he may dispose of himself completely, without interior resistance; and all that he is may become an expression of what he freely desires to be in the depths of his being. Grace tends to restore the equilibrium lost in Paradise, the gift of integrity.

While the ascetical and mystical life may be considered as a return to the original state of Adam, we should realize that the entrance of sorrow into the world and the struggle into which the history of salvation has been converted demand a spiritual force much stronger that the gift of integrity, if we would attain absolute freedom. Moreover, within the context of Christianity, we may be asked to exercise evangelical virtues—often to an heroic extent—which suppose physico-spiritual forces much stronger than those demanded for complete freedom in Paradise. In the life of the man who is perfectly indifferent, everything sings the divine glory; in the absence of all disordered affections, the will and the affections can fly to God with all the thrust provided by love.

Man stands in continual need of God's abundant graces if he desires to live that life which in many respects is superior to that of Adam in Paradise. The absolute necessity of grace explains how all the good acts of our life will have to be attributed wholly to God's generosity, although I can in truth call them my own. If all progress toward perfection is a gift of God, it is not difficult to establish the absolute importance of the prayer of petition in the *Exercises*, for theology teaches that grace is absolutely conditioned on prayer—and indeed that graces can be won infallibly through humble prayer. Thus we can understand the central position of prayer within the supernatural technique of the *Exercises*.

Response to Grace. Certainly it is the action of God, exterior and above all interior, that transforms us into a new creature; this action, however, supposes that man is not passive or inert. The initiative of God is an invitation made to a man possessed of authentic liberty; his response must take the form of personal, painful effort. If meditation and contemplation saturate the soul with a supernatural outlook and place it under the action of grace, the work of asceticism in general is to make the soul responsive to the least manifestation of God's will. If we had to establish a primacy between prayer and asceticism, we would have to say that prayer is primary, for grace alone, which is conditioned by prayer, can insure our good will.

The Scriptures and the Church's Magisterium teach us that the ascetical effort is demanded of man by the Lord. The following dictum of St. Ignatius illustrates the same point: "There are few men—perhaps no one in this life—who realizes the obstacles they set up to the work that God would accomplish in them, if there were no such obstacles."

The Augustinian teaching on external graces indicates a very positive relation between grace and Ignatian method. Ordinarily God does not enlighten the mind or move the will apart from some external thing like a sermon or one's reading, conversation or good example. Supposing that God desires to save men, using men as His instruments, we may conclude that the better are the means they employ the more likely is God to use these means as external graces. Thus, method, the counsels of the director, the effort of the exercitant, the presentation of the various meditations—all have a direct relation to the grace of God. Obviously we can do no more than suggest the ordinary ways of God, while acknowledging His absolute freedom.

Other elements in the *Exercises*, less intellectual, more of a sensible nature, can also bear a relation, more distant and mediate, to the grace of God. The sense appetites can certainly be a disposition for grace. Is every biological structure equally accessible to grace? A priori it seems clear that biological conditions should in some way determine the reception of grace, for body and soul share a common life. A posteriori experience teaches us that Christian charity cannot develop with complete facility in a person whose instincts of sympathy have not matured since childhood. Charity then and the other virtues need instinctive dispositions to support them and to serve as material causes within the total economy of grace. In our apostolic work, in Christian education

and in the use of the *Exercises*, we reach only this area of the lower dispositions; grace itself then comes directly from God, and man's task is to receive it.

The sense appetite, moreover, is the partial cause of what Suarez calls accidental devotion, which accompanies the acts of understanding and will and is more helpful in every state. This sensible devotion reaches the heights of delicateness and intensity in mystical contemplation; in fact the sense appetite can be actuated in all mental prayer, in such a way that this actuation, the sensible devotion, brings facility, perfection and constancy to the prayer, and helps to overcome the impediments that may arise from the sense appetite.

Grace of Exercises. Is there a grace proper to the Spiritual Exercises? St. Ignatius distinguishes between a grace he calls ordinary and a special and intensive grace. This last is more proper to the Exercises; he tries to explain it to the exercitant from the very beginning, in order that he may recognize it and use all possible means to obtain it. The soul experiencing this consolation is penetrated through and through with God's grace, and is able to love creatures only in their Creator. For St. Ignatius this grace is the aim of all his Exercises; if this grace is obtained, the end of the Exercises is obtained. It is presupposed that if the exercitant is faithful, he will continually receive all the help he needs to advance along the road to sanctity. The director is to supplement the basic indications of this grace found in the book of the Exercises with elements drawn from his own experience. The action of God in this case includes the generous and free response of man; grace never absolves us of co-operation; it enkindles our co-operation. The discernment of spirits, openness to the director, the prayer at the beginning of each meditation, the concentration in each meditation on what is most fruitful, the length of the various weeks, the instructions on meditation given by the director, and so on-everything is directed to the one aim of obtaining this grace. Finally, only in the light of what we are saying can we understand the teaching of St. Ignatius on the application of the senses; to smell and to taste the infinite sweetness of the Divinity is possible only by the special action of God.

The activity of the individual demanded by the Ignatian method, from recollection and external penances to agere contra and the third degree, is aimed at destroying every obstacle to grace. This single finality of the Exercises, along with the relationship established by God between grace and its reception in the soul, is essential for an understanding of the Exercises. The faithful exercitant can be so sure of God's grace, that St. Ignatius speaks of this consolation as the ordinary grace.

Even in the third method of the election, it seems that Ignatius hoped for a confirmation given by God through his special consolation. He is firmly convinced that God will not deny this grace to the generous soul, indeed that God continually provides the soul with all the graces he needs, through divine visitations carried on with limitless generosity. The basic reason for this conviction is given us by the theological teaching on grace. The initiative always lies with God, so that every petition

rising from the heart of man is really an effect of God and contains within itself, as in a seed, the divine response filled with the purest love. When a man decides to approach God, it is not he that first goes out to meet God; but rather this very decision is already a sign that God has gone out to meet him with a love that is completely gratuitous.

Frequently, God grants these graces with the co-operation of men; but in the second rule for discerning spirits given in the second week, St. Ignatius speaks of another way of bestowing grace—the consolation that comes from God without preceding cause. There is no problem in admitting that intellectual knowledge and even imagination play a part in this consolation; in addition, we can admit the influence of the unconscious and the subconscious. None of these elements, however, can be the adequate cause of this consolation. In what form does God act in the production of this grace? Certainly He does not act in a way that is purely extrinsic. In the very depths of man's consciousness, God resides, calling and working unceasingly; patient fidelity to these invitations will bring us to some type of awareness of this intimate action of God. This experience, moreover,-call it mystical in some form, if you wish—is encountered in a way more or less perceptible in every authentically Christian life. And this action of God, in becoming conscious, can come to be in fact the supreme motive that gives consistency to our most human acts. The problem is to know under what psychological form the action of God in the soul becomes conscious. The formal effect of this action of God in the very roots of our being seems to be concretized in a love that is gratuitous and disinterested—a real physical echo of the pure love that constitutes the very being of God.

Although nuances may vary, the gratuitous and disinterested character of this love is a constant; it will cause us to desire the abnegation proposed in the Gospels, to understand and embrace the Cross as the most perfect fulfillment of our nature as sons of God. This inner experience of the folly of the Cross gives birth immediately to an overwhelming joy, the best of all consolations, which originates in the immediate action of God, pure Love, who touches the soul and enkindles there a love which brings about this consolation.

Only in the very experience of spiritual joy can we perceive concretely the gratuity and disinterestedness of this love, both God's love for us and our love for God; it is not a process of reasoning that begins with my experience of God's disinterested love and moves to make a return of love, in order that spiritual joy may result. In these experiences of true joy, the soul feels herself experientially drawn by God, but we should not look for a reflex consciousness of this whole situation. In the final analysis this experience is no more than the complete fruition and development of faith and charity; it has much in common with faith, sharing its essential qualities in an extraordinary way. Like the certainty of faith, it cannot be produced by any merely human force; once possessed, its abiding presence cannot be guaranteed by any natural force; it remains the gratuitous and loving work of God.

When the soul first enters upon the road of spiritual progress, this

consolation without preceding cause is something which breaks in upon her spirit and interrupts in a miraculous way the normal course of her psychological life. At first, it is not easy to recognize the action of God with complete certainty; it becomes increasingly easy as man progresses in a spiritual life dominated more and more by gratuitous and disinterested love; this consolation in turn becomes a continuous experience, informing all the events of one's psychological life.

The soul, docile to the action of God, lives now on His level, having arrived at a state similar to that which resulted from the gift of integrity. There will always be some danger of illusion; for apart from a rare gift of God, the soul will never be completely purified of all egoism as long as this earthly exile lasts.

St. Ignatius thinks that the exercitant must reach this state (at least temporarily) in the second week, at the summit of the *Exercises*; for it is the best preparation for the Election, in which he desires to see the will of God. After the Election no additional rules for discernment are given—they are no longer necessary.

St. Ignatius supposes that after the Exercises there will be a progressive action of the Spirit in those souls that submit to His direction. Thus, the gift of these graces and their subsequent discernment, infrequent in the beginning, end up as something frequent and ordinary in souls that continue to progress until this gift constitutes their normal state. This is the idea of the Saint, when he tells of the interior law of charity and love which the Holy Spirit writes on men's hearts.

In passing we may point out that St. Ignatius considers the first time of making the Election the most perfect; for the entire soul, drawn by love of His majesty, is absolutely certain that she is fulfilling the demands of St. Ignatius, that the eye of her intention is simple prior to the Election, that she is motivated only by the service and praise of God and the salvation of her soul.

Without denying that frequently these graces are given as light for the understanding, we are inclined to believe that more frequently they are received in the will. This is especially true in the *Exercises*, for it is disordered affections that most hamper our efforts to discover the will of God.

The special grace of God now communicates to the will a new strength to integrate all that could have served to impede the attainment of our end; now man is able to attain that qualified liberty that permits a complete and total disposition of himself, with not the slightest resistance to his self-determination.

There is no contradiction in saying that this grace acts in some cases upon the will alone; what happens is that the grace in question increases for the will the attraction of the goal already proposed.

It is clear that once the will is strengthened with this divine force and inflamed with charity, once the disordered affections have been consumed in this fire, our love continues to be purified; the perfect transformation

of the heart moves toward realization in such a way that God shines forth as the reason why we love all things.

(EUGENE J. BARBER, S.J.)

#### THE ELECTION ACCORDING TO ST. IGNATIUS, by Jacques Roi, S.J.

Which is the correct theory of the preferred method of election? Is the second method or the third of greater value? A discussion of Father Rahner's theory and a study of the question in the Directories.

L'Election D'Apres Saint Ignace, Jacques Roi, S.J., RAM, #151, (1962) pp. 305-23.

Everyone admits that the heart of the *Exercises* is the election, but there is wide disagreement concerning the best way to make an election. St. Ignatius proposed three different methods. In the first, God draws the retreatant's will so forcefully that the supernatural origin of the call is self-evident. In the second method, God manifests Himself by lights and consolations which incline the soul to whatever God desires, even though the retreatant experiences a profound distaste. In the third method of election, the retreatant relies on both reason and faith, without experiencing any special help from God.

What is the relationship between these three methods of election? Is one method of greater spiritual value than another? For example, a person is about to choose his state of life. How is he going to find out the will of God in this matter? If God attracts him by certain inclinations of soul, should he see in these inclinations real supernatural signs, or should he reason out his life? If God speaks to men, does He prefer to use spiritual gifts, or even mystical ones, rather than the ways of reason supported by positive theology?

The Problem. The dispute between writers is particularly centered around the second and third methods of election—which is the preferred method? Karl Rahner has said that according to St. Ignatius the election made under the special impulse of God's grace is of greater value than the election made with the help of moral theology. The latter type of election is a last resort, reserved for times when the divine impulse fails, or when the soul does not perceive this impulse clearly enough. An election of this type should not be considered the normal way to make an election. Expressing a contrary view, L. Sempé has written: "To find out your vocation, sometimes interior inspirations of grace, controlled by the discernment of spirits, are sufficient. But there are few cases of this type. And since they do not readily lend themselves to direct control, in practice we will always submit them, for greater certitude, to the lights of supernatural reason, that is to say, to the third method of election. This will be the only method employed in the generality of cases. The search for vocation in Ignatian teaching, therefore, is not founded on the experienced attractions of grace, but on Christian

deliberation. Certainly these attractions are neither unknown nor disregarded. They are very significant. But only by way of exception should you see in them a decisive sign of divine call."

Which of these interpretations is correct? The solution lies in a closer study of the writings of St. Ignatius and his associates. We have at our disposal four important documents: St. Ignatius' Directory for the time of election, the Directories of John Polanco and Gonzalez Davila, and finally the 1599 Directory of the Exercises, prepared at the request of two General Congregations (1558 and 1565).<sup>1</sup>

In his Directory for the time of election, St. Ignatius states that the essential role of the Spiritual Exercises is to help the retreatant choose his state of life. The third part of this same Directory says: "Concerning the three possible methods of election, if God does not move the retreatant by the first method, the retreatant should stress the second. Consolations and desolations experienced in this method will reveal his vocation." The second method is the only one to be emphasized. Ignatius says the retreatant should take his resolution, the decision of his state of life, after movements of his soul, and if these are lacking or do not give sufficient supernatural light, then the retreatant should pass on to the third method of election. Ignatius placed special emphasis on God's grace as a source of enlightenment to the retreatant.

In his Directory, Father John Polanco, who received his spiritual formation directly from St. Ignatius, commented on and made a thorough study of Ignatius' directives. Polanco's Directory is valuable because it is one of the best sources we have for understanding the Spiritual Exercises.

Polanco emphasizes the second method of election: "... the retreatant should observe the movements of his soul, without reasoning, prepared to receive the inspiration of the Holy Spirit." If the retreatant seems to be making progress, the retreat master will propose another meditation to see if the retreatant's state of soul changes. If it does not, the retreatant may then make his decision. There is no need for passing on to the third method of election. But Ignatius has told us that the evil spirit can disguise himself as an angel of light, so there is need for prudence. If the retreatant or the master are doubtful about the supernatural value of the consolations the retreatant has experienced, they can apply the third method of election. You may do this, but Polanco says there is no obligation. It's solely a matter of greater security.

Polanco proposes the following case. A retreatant makes an election according to the second method. Because of some doubt about his choice he then uses the third method. But the conclusion of the third method differs from that of the second. What should the retreatant do? If he has solid reasons against his second method election, he should discount his choice. But if his reasons against his election are rather weak, and the movements of soul he experienced during the second method elec-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> All of these documents can be found in the Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu, vol. 76.

tion appear more enlightening than the new reasons against his election, then the retreatant should stick by the conclusion of his second method election.

If a person does make an election according to the third method, he must offer his choice to God, not as a formality, but because the election is not yet completed. The retreatant must await a response from God. Consider the following cases:

- The retreatant experiences heavenly consolations and lights. First certified by the Rules for the Discernment of Spirits, these interior enlightenments indicate God approves the election.
- 2. After making a third method election, movements of soul contradict the election already made. But after testing them, these new thoughts are of doubtful origin, so no change is necessary.
- 3. Movements of soul from the good spirit contradict the election. This proves the reasoning was faulty, and it is necessary to make the election again.
- 4. After a third method election, no special movements of the soul in one direction or another are experienced. This means that God wishes His will be discovered by reason alone.

Polanco, following Ignatius, places greater emphasis on motions from the spirit than on reasoning alone.

Fr. González Davila also stresses the high spiritual value of movements of the soul in order to know the will of God. He says the second method of election is the ordinary type of election. Because the election is a difficult thing, Fr. Davila, more than his predecessors, insists on the need of prudence in the retreat director. He must be able to recognize the good and evil spirits moving the soul of the retreatant.

In 1599, 41 years after the First General Congregation requested it, Fr. Aquaviva published the Directory of the Exercises. The editor of the 1599 Directory relied heavily on the Directories of Polanco and Davila. Davila in turn had studied and annotated Polanco's Directory. With regard to the election, these two fathers agreed on the following points:

- 1. The second method of election is the ordinary method.
- 2. Theologically speaking, the spiritual value of the second method is superior to the third, because the experiences of consolation come directly from God and the Holy Spirit.
- 3. After making an election according to the second method, the retreatant is not obliged to use the third method as a check.
- 4. Since retreatants differ so much, prudence will at times counsel the third method, despite consolations experienced in a second method election. There may be danger, because Satan can disguise himself as an angel of light.
- 5. Occasionally it will be necessary to return to the second method, since the third method is not always convincing.

The 1599 Directory, however, makes a remark that cannot be found in the Directories of Davila and Polanco. It says the third method should be used not only when the second method has proved inconclusive, but also as a means of checking on an election made according to the second method. It also affirms the primacy of reason in making an election. At the same time the 1599 Directory contradicts itself and says the second method of election is preferable to the third: you may also try the third method, but ordinarily there is no obligation to do so. In another place it states that the reasons introduced by the intellect are of little value, and the clarity obtained from the movement of the soul inspired by God is superior to the third method.

The contradiction in the 1599 Directory is due to Fr. Aquaviva, who seems to follow Fr. Mercurian in insisting on the third method of election. Later writers follow these changes (favoring the third method) introduced in the 1599 Directory. This, however, was not the thought of St. Ignatius.

(EDMUND F. CLYNE, S.J.)

#### THE NAME OF THE SOCIETY, by Th. Baumann, S.J.

A historical survey of the name of "Company of Jesus" and the mystical experience which gave it birth.

Compagnie de Jesus, La confirmation de ce nom dans la vision de la Storta, by Th. Baumann, S.J., Revue D'Ascetique et de Mystique, #149, (1962) pp. 52-63.

The explanation of the "Company of Jesus" is closely linked with the vision of La Storta; this relationship was confirmed by St. Ignatius himself. When asked to explain this unusual expression or when frequently requested to modify it slightly, he would often refer to revelations of a superior order as the basis for the claim that God Himself had imposed this name and not himself. This revelation was a vision in which Ignatius saw Our Lord carrying the cross, and Ignatius, by a gesture of Christ Himself or of the Eternal Father, was invited to be a helper. Ignatius gives the essence of the vision with the words: "God the Father placed me with Christ, His Son."

Nadal, addressing the scholastics at Coimbra, interpreted the vision thus: the Father having placed Ignatius with His Son bearing the cross implies that the *militia* into which we are called is entitled "Company of Jesus." This explanation, like that of Lainez and others, seems to overlook the fact that the name was not instituted at the vision but confirmed. In other words, Ignatius long knew from the spirit of his group what it should be called; he only needed confirmation of it.

Several months before La Storta, when St. Ignatius had not as yet any idea of going to Rome, his companions were returning from there (Spring, 1537) and not only did they report the favorable impressions which they had made upon the Pope, but they also related that their

voyage to the Holy Land seemed highly improbable even during the following year. From that moment, perhaps, Ignatius began to foresee the eventuality of having not Jerusalem or some foreign shore, but the Eternal City as his theatre of operations. Granting his state of mind, this prospect filled him with repugnance.

The sources have thus revealed St. Ignatius' fundamental attitude as he traveled to Rome: a firm resolve not to give up his intended, but unlikely pilgrimage to Jerusalem; a certain repugnance toward the moral climate of the large city and apprehension of the circumstances into which he would soon be immersed. In this psychological frame of mind, was it not normal that at the approach to Rome he placed all his hope in God and Our Lady and ceaselessly prayed, against all probability, for the favor of going to the Holy Land with his companions?

La Storta. It was with these thoughts that he entered the chapel of La Storta to pray, and it was there that he had the mystical experience which he had hoped to have at Jerusalem: the accomplishment of his fondest wish, namely to feel, along with his companions, definitely accepted by the Eternal Father as helpers of Christ carrying His cross. That which he had desired to obtain at Jerusalem, God granted to him at the gates of Rome. Ignatius now understood the meaning of God's words: "Ego vobiscum ero"; for he realized, by virtue of this superior illumination, that he would not leave Rome. Once the evolution of events had confirmed the mystical experience, he said Mass in the chapel crypt of Sancta Maria Maggiore, Christmas night, 1538.

Thus with the name of his company confirmed, St. Ignatius set about his tasks with renewed vigor; for as Nadal was to comment some years later (1554): "Dixit: Ego vobiscum ero, quo manifeste significabat Deum nos in socios Jesu elegisse." (ARTHUR J. ARRIERI, S.J.)

## OBEDIENCE OF JUDGMENT AND BLIND OBEDIENCE, by Carlos Palmes, S.J.

A study of these key concepts in which he shows obedience of judgment and blind obedience are sometimes synonymous and sometimes not. A general analysis of both types follows.

Obedience of the Judgment and Blind Obedience, from Manresa, Vol. 34 #131 (1962) pp. 139-62.

There is obedience of the judgment, blind obedience, and obedience of the understanding. Are they the same or distinct? In perfect obedience does one prescind from the faculty of understanding or only from formulating a judgment? Is it a practical or speculative judgment? Is the inferior to change his norms each time the superior has a change of mind? Does "to subject the judgment" mean to believe that what the superior commands is objectively more conformed to truth, more prudent, more effective or the only means that God wants of the subject on that occasion?

Ignatius uses the terms obedience of the judgment and of the understanding indiscriminately. The judgment should be conformed as much as the will can incline it. "Obedience of the judgment" and "blind obedience" sometimes mean the same thing and sometimes they do not.

There are two ways of obeying according to Ignatius. One is common and consists in obedience of the will and reserving one's judgment. The second way is perfect and consists in not only obedience of the will but also of the understanding which he calls blind obedience. There is a negative aspect to blind obedience: abnegation of the will; and there is a positive aspect: trying to see eye to eye with the superior. One should look for reasons in his favor. Therefore all blind obedience is obedience of the judgment but not all obedience of the judgment is blind.

Blind Obedience. The general view of blind obedience is as an act or habitual attitude which only rejects reasons that weaken perfect obedience. It should be kept in mind that God cannot order the subject to offend Him. Sometimes there are reasons that can disturb obedience to which the subject should close his eyes. One should not reflect on the human weakness of the superior. One should be careful if what is commanded is contrary to one's inclinations, for it is then natural to look for reasons for not doing it. The rule which should be followed is to have a general attitude or disposition to prescind from all reasons that can destroy the perfection of obedience. But it is good to use both natural and supernatural reasons if they help. The tantum quantum rule with creatures also applies to reasons. If one finds any reasons against the thing commanded, he should examine them, pray over it, and then propose them indifferently to the superior. The subject should be ready to do what the superior decides. In the letter of Ignatius to Father Viola two ways of obeying blindly are mentioned where there is no question of sin. The first is to make the understanding captive and to obey; the second is after the command, to present any reasons against it without inducing the superior to one side or another, in a spirit of humility.

Even though the presentation should be a radical immolation and total death to oneself with only the desire to do God's will in all things, this does not mean passivity or skepticism on the part of the subject. The criterion here is the same for the subject as for the superior: the service of God. The *Constitutions* presuppose this norm. If any obstacle appears in any job assigned one should see the superior. This is necessary for the greater glory of God.

When presenting the matter to the superior simplicity is the key spirit. If the superior is unaware of the situation one may remind him with due humility. No pressure should be used on the superior. Ignatius found most annoying a certain spirit of "decreeing" which uses words like "this is the truth," "there is no other way," "it's necessary to do this." The subject should be content with just presenting the matter.

Selfless Indifference. There is need of constant abnegation for God to invade the depths of the human soul. A transformation is needed. There

are three degrees of indifference: (1) the subject obeys but says to himself that he wouldn't have done it if he hadn't been commanded; (2) the subject feels inclined not to obey but conquers himself using the means available; (3) the subject is only interested in the greater glory of God and completely indifferent to sickness or health, to life or death. These texts do not mean insensibility or lack of initiative. They only say we have to fight bravely against all that impedes the completion of God's will. This requires a wealth of energy.

Finally, in obedience of the judgment, there is the threefold oblation of thinking the same as the superior, subjecting one's proper judgment as much as the will can incline the understanding. There is no difficulty here when dealing with the two extreme positions of complete discord or complete harmony with the superior. The first case is legitimate for the subject if the superior commands a sin and there is a psychological impossibility to conform the judgment. But it is not easy to know whether it is certainly a sin or evidently false. In the case of complete harmony with the superior, this might be due to a mere coincidence which still requires the will, the same temperament, or the fact that the subject is very adaptable by nature. The subject should accept this coincidence as an aid in doing God's will. The ideal occurs when at first there is no coincidence but through grace and prayer, the subject and the superior see eye to eye. The real problem occurs when dealing with intermediaries, when there is no complete harmony or discord. The order is not clear, not certain. The rule for probabilism might hold here.

The aim of Ignatius is to obey spontaneously with joy and no trouble. Supernatural reasons to look for are: (1) the subject should remember that he is obeying Christ, not the superior; (2) that there is one connection in Christ and the superior, in that the superior is His vicar; (3) that since Christ is Wisdom, Goodness, and Charity, there is a sure guarantee that His commands will be true, moral, and for the spiritual good of the subject. This is explicitly stated in the Letter on Obedience.

If the superior agrees with us, all well and good. It helps. It is not sufficient to look for natural reasons such as these: is what the superior commands the objective truth? more probable than my view? more prudent, right and just? The subjective norm should be the greater glory of God.

Love is the basis of the most perfect obedience possible. The relationship between the superior and subject should be that of father and son. Ignatius wants us to obey with love and this implies or presupposes an affective current of cordiality and sympathy. There is a close union. The superior will desire his subjects to help him in his deficiencies and will desire to please them.

(George A. Restrepo, S.J.)

SOME INSTANCES OF THE PERSONAL OBEDIENCE OF ST. IGNATIUS, by Carlos Palmes, S.J.

Does Ignatius himself exemplify in his own life the total submission of obedience he teaches? Father Palmes approaches this question in a second article on Ignatian obedience, giving many examples and his conclusions to this problem.

Some Instances of the Personal Obedience of St. Ignatius, from *Manresa*, Vol. 34, #132 (1962) pp. 263-80.

Did Ignatius himself act in accordance with the obedience he taught? In the *Constitutions* he affirms the virtue of obedience, primarily to the Supreme Pontiff and then to the superiors of the Society. Yet he resisted by positive steps when the Pope wished to make bishops of Jay and Cansius and a cardinal of Borgia.

He says that a sign of the will of a superior, even without express command, is to be obeyed. The Pope not only insinuated, but clearly manifested his will to make Jay a bishop. In spite of this, Ignatius used every possible means to prevent it. He says that the subject must present reasons without prejudicing the superior toward that which the subject wishes, yet he himself uses every effort to win the Pope and the whole Roman Curia over to his view. He says that the will and the judgment must be made to conform to the will and the judgment of the superior, but he commands a thorough investigation to see if an order of the Pope can be diverted, or at least deferred, in case the latter were to oblige Canisius to accept the episcopacy under holy obedience.

Ignatius reiterates that the subject may disobey only when commanded to do what is certainly sinful, though he himself does not obey the Pope unless he is commanded under pain of sin. He wants the will of God to be recognized in the command of any superior. When the trial at Alcalá, although it declares his innocence, silences him until he studied more, instead of taking this as the will of God, he departs from that jurisdiction in order to follow his own will. And he leaves Salamanca for Paris when he is forbidden by local authorities to speak of the distinction between mortal and venial sin. Ignatius takes Laínez severely to task for manifesting a difference of opinion with a superior about the change of a subject. He, however, merely permits, with express disapproval, the change of a subject as commanded by a monitum from a commission of cardinals, appointed by the Pope.

It may be concluded from these examples that Ignatius followed this doctrine very well when he commanded, but that he did not do so when he had to obey.

Principles of solution. In answering the difficulty we must consider respectively the principles involved and the cases to which they were applied. The principles are the limits on obedience: sin, contrary evidence, and the *Institute*. These will now be applied to the concrete examples of Ignatius' "disobedience" to the Pope.

One of the limits of obedience is the Institute. A subject would be obliged not to obey if commanded contrary to the Constitutions by a superior. But since the Pope is above the Institute, he may command something against the Constitutions and he is to be obeyed. There are examples of this in the history of the Society. However, the command of the Pope that is in conflict with the prescriptions of the Institute must have the same force as that expression of his will, or the will of a predecessor, by which the Institute was approved. When this is not clear, there is ample scope for representation. Supposing these principles, let us examine the facts.

1) The Trials at Alcalá and Salamanca. Ignatius and the companions whom he had gathered together to practice works of mercy and speak of the things of God to the neighbor were examined by ecclesiastical authorities in Alcalá. They were told to avoid the appearance of wearing a religious garb by dying their habits different colors. Ignatius was forbidden to go barefoot and spent 42 days in jail on account of the two pious women who went on a pilgrimage against his advice. Upon his release he was told not to speak about matters concerning the faith. He obeyed in everything except the order not to preach. After an interview with the Archbishop of Toledo, he decided to go to Salamanca.

In Salamanca he was examined by four judges, put in prison, and released on condition that he would not express his opinion about what constitutes a mortal sin and what a venial sin; otherwise he was found innocent and permitted to continue as before. He answered that he would do all that he was told, but that he would not accept the sentence because he was not found in error. He felt that it would limit his effectiveness in the apostolate toward his neighbor, so he left the jurisdiction of Salamanca and went to Paris. About these instances we may conclude that Ignatius paid due respect and obedience to the authorities, but since he felt a divine vocation to help his neighbor, he departed for other places where he could do so without impediment.

It is currently admitted that St. Ignatius received the apostolic vocation during his vision by the Cardoner. He had to follow this vocation until it became entirely impossible. Divine Providence had shown itself very clearly when he wished to stay in the Holy Land; he was forced to leave under a threat of excommunication. Ignatius was not a rebel against the authorities, but a "pilgrim," seeking a place where he could realize his divine vocation.

2) Ecclesiastical Dignities. The serious attempts to bestow on Jay, Canisius, and Borgia ecclesiastical dignities against the decided opposition of St. Ignatius are outstanding, though not unique.

In 1546, the King of the Romans wished to give the vacant See of Trieste to Claude Jay, who refused the honor on condition that such a refusal would not be clearly against the divine will as manifested by the command of one who could oblige him in God's name. The matter went to Pope Paul III; a Brief was to be drawn up, obliging Jay to

accept the dignity. Before this happened, Ignatius went to the Ambassador of the King, to the Pope, who wanted to please the King, and to the cardinals who could intervene. On the eve of the Consistory he visited the niece of the Pope, who gained a postponement until the King himself could be reached. Then Ignatius wrote to the King with the desired effect.

Six years later the same monarch, Ferdinand I, wished to see Canisius in the See of Vienna. Pope Julius III would have liked to please Ferdinand, but he did not want to displease the Society or Ignatius. Nothing came of it.

The same Pope had also wanted to confer the cardinalate on St. Francis Borgia and the eternal City was rife with rumors about this. Then on the night of February 4, 1551, Borgia fled secretly to Spain, a means devised by Ignatius and himself for avoiding this trial for the Society.

Solution: It must be admitted that Ignatius did everything in his power to prevent the nomination of members of the Society to ecclesiastical dignities. In this he consistently followed a principle. The letter of Father Bartholomew Ferrón to Dr. Miguel de Torres, authorized by Ignatius, shows in detail the course followed by Ignatius in the case of Jay, clearly revealing that he was aware of what he was doing and convinced of the correctness of his action. Ignatius writes to Canisius with detailed suggestions concerning the strategy to be followed until submission becomes inevitable as the Pope commands acceptance.

Although it cannot be doubted that Ignatius opposed ecclesiastical dignities by every conceivable means, this resistance was not against the obedience owed to the Pope. And not merely in conformity with the minimal demands of obedience of execution, but according to the perfect obedience that he taught. This is documental in the following:

- a) The Pope had solemnly approved the Society in such a way that ecclesiastical dignities were excluded: Abuses connected with the episcopal office prompted St. Ignatius to affirm as the true spirit of the Society one diametrically opposed to that of the worldly bishops and priests of his day. This was solemnly approved in Papal Bulls. And these ideas were very much alive in the first members of the Society and in Ignatius, who expressed them in a letter to Ferdinand concerning the case of Claude Jay.
- b) Accepting them would be equivalent to destroying the Society: This is a point of the greatest significance. For although a Jesuit might do some good as the bishop of one diocese, great harm would be done to the whole Church with the practical disappearance of the Society. Neither the Pope, nor the cardinals, nor the king could see that this was not for the greater service of God, but for Ignatius it was a matter of conscience to use every means to prevent ecclesiastical dignities for the Society. In certain circles the Society was looked upon as though it were a seminary from which bishops and cardinals could be taken. The letter of Polanco to Araoz testifies to this. But with such

a reputation, the simplicity and humility of the Society would be finished. This was the opinion of Ignatius and of the other members of the Society. Obviously, with only a few professed in the whole Society, establishing a precedent of taking them would be ruinous. The effectiveness of the Society would also be impaired with respect to the free access of its members to ecclesiastical dignitaries, for it would be said that they went to get office and favors. The most serious effect would be on the young men in training, who might conceive ambitions to high office, or who might be scandalized and leave.

Ignatius presents all these reasons forcefully in his correspondence, such as the letter to Ferdinand. Destroying the spirit of humility of the Society would be destroying the Society. The spiritual fruit reaped by the Society was in..no small part due to this spirit. In 1546, when Ignatius resisted very strongly, there were only nine professed in the Society, and they had to give the example of the true spirit. A final argument was the scandal which the accepting of dignities might cause.

- c) The pope, having the authority to command, never definitely manifested his will: From what has gone before we can derive two principles which are to be applied to the final solution: 1. After approving the Society with this essential spirit of humility, the Pope can be presumed to continue feeling this way as long as he does not clearly manifest his will to the contrary. 2. From the firm conviction of Ignatius that accepting dignities would be equivalent to destroying the Society it can be deduced that he had an obligation to prevent this. He was not defending his private opinion and interest against the universal good of the Church, but rather following the will of God as manifested in the original approbation of the Society.
- 1) There is no doubt that the Pope could end all opposition by a simple order under obedience. Ignatius and his companions were aware of this. The ambassadors in Rome used this knowledge as a lever to get their missions accomplished. The King and the Nuncio Martinengo asked the Pope to oblige Jay under holy obedience. This shows that Ignatius' motive was only the will of God, and that his difficulty was knowing the will of God. He wanted clear evidence of it in this contradictory situation.
- 2) In the case of Jay, the Pope did not express his will definitely, and Ignatius continued his efforts while considerations were going on. Ferdinand thought that it was merely personal humility on the part of Jay which made him refuse. Ignatius made it clear that this was a matter of greater service of God. In the case of Canisius the Pope approved the position of the Society, even though he would have liked to please Ferdinand. In the case of Borgia, Ignatius personally convinced the Pope that it would be better not to elevate him to the cardinalate.

It will be sufficient to present some documents in this well-known case of Octaviano Cesari to show why Ignatius took a purely permissive attitude before the intimation of the cardinals.

Octaviano's mother was a noble of Naples, who had opposed his en-

trance into the Society, and who now wished him in Naples in order to see him more frequently. Ignatius felt that this would endanger the vocation of Octaviano, but promised that he would be sent later. The lady's appeal to cardinals and to the Pope produced a commission of three cardinals, who wrote a monitum to the effect that Octaviano should be transferred to Naples. Ignatius then granted permission for this and ordered the local superiors not to prevent it. Polanco explained that this was against the judgment of Ignatius and that Octaviano was not obliged to go.

This was not a case of disobedience to the Pope for two reasons: 1. The decision was not made by the commission, but by a single one of the cardinals, and therefore invalid. 2. St. Ignatius considered it illicit to cooperate in the probable loss of vocation of Octaviano, which was put in grave danger by this move. Cited documents give evidence for all of this, and Octaviano de facto left the Society afterwards.

It may therefore be concluded that Ignatius always acted in accordance with his own principles of obedience, as is shown clearly in his way of acting in these, and in many uncontroverted, instances.

(FRANCIS R. KASTEEL, S.J.)

THE CHRISTOLOGY OF THE EXERCISES, by Hugo Rahner, S.J. Geist und Leben. (1962) #1-2.

It is decisive for a proper understanding of the Exercises that we understand the theology of St. Ignatius as influenced both by his mysticism as well as by his theological studies in Venice and Paris. The first companions of Ign were convinced that the basic essentials of the E were directly related to his vision on the Cardoner which was fulfilled, clarified and brought to expression through Ign's personal, theological efforts. It is now certain that the nucleus of Ign's theology and mysticism is shaped by a concise Christology. Christ is the "Sun of Ignatius' life" (FN I, 504). This is true also for the ultimate configuration of the E. The climax of Ign's Christological formation and of his spiritual experiences was the vision at La Storta, where Xt spoke to him; "I wish that you serve us" (FN II, 133). It is this grace which he teaches us to beg for at the climax of the E (147): "to be received under the banner of Xt, Our Lord." Thus, if we wish to have a deeper understanding of the E, we must comprehend Ign's Christology; for the fundamental principle, the climax and goal of the E is the vision of the Two Standards in response to the call of Xt, the King.

A Christology of the E is important for two further reasons. First in order to trace the theology of the E and therefore the dogmatic convictions behind the words and statements as they lived vitally in the spirit of Ign, particularly since we cannot grasp the historical existence and apostolic effectiveness of the E without a precise knowledge of its

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For brevity the following abbreviations are used: Exercises (E); Ignatius (Ign); Christ (Xt).

Christo-centricity. Secondly, the E are a reflective involvement with the life of Jesus; and for this reason, it is necessary that the meditations on the life of Xt (which form the nucleus of the E) be fully appreciated. We can only grasp the total nature of the E in the light of the Second Week, since the Election alone reveals the meaning and goal of the E. And the content and motivation for this Election is derived from the "Mysteries of the Life of Jesus," all of which find their decisive grounding in the "Call of the King." The "First Week" with its theological and psychological realization of one's own sinfulness yields to the vision of the Crucified and the consequent exclamation of the exercitant: "What shall I do now for Xt?"

### I. CHRISTOLOGY OF THE FIRST WEEK

The goal and high-point of the First Week can be seen where Ign (53) says: "I imagine Xt, Our Lord, present before me on the cross and begin to speak with him." The unexpected but self-evident manner with which the mention of the cross is brought in after the apparently cold, almost philosophical considerations on the Foundation (and after the psychological precision of the meditations on sin and the examination of conscience) is already an indication of how much painstaking effort must be given to a theology of our final goal and sinfulness: a theology which is ever directed to the cross. Thus the Crucified "appears" to the prayerful sinner of the First Week, as the mid-point in the total history of salvation in which one's own sinfulness appears. The entire work of the E from beginning to end is "to remove inordinate tendencies and to seek and find God's will"; just as the climax of the Election illuminated by the life of Jesus is "to find God our Lord in peace and to shake off every obstacle." This "peace" consists in the cross which is only gradually developed in the E. Just as Ign wishes the elements of the First Week to be separate from those of the Second Week, so too the basic structure of the entire process of the E should be kept in mind from the very beginning; i.e., the contest between the King and the Enemy which begins to take shape in the very depths of the exercitant.

Foundation. It may seem surprising if we try to unfold a Christology of the E here since there is no express mention of Xt, but only of reverence to God, of our attitude to the things of this world and, in the last sentence, of yearning for the things which are more conducive to our end. Most recent exegesis has concluded that the text of the Foundation can only be correctly understood in terms of the entire structure of the E, therefore, in terms of its real focus, which both historically and theologically can be found only in the contemplation on the Kingdom and Two Standards and in the very process of the Election. The text of the Foundation (23) can only be understood in the light of the text of the Election (169, 179). What is said in the Foundation concerning the salvation of the soul and indifference to all created things is a necessary disposition for one's election of a state of life. This consists in a triple gradation. 1) Salvation of one's soul. 2) Indifference to all

created goods. 3) Desire for imitation of the Crucified Lord and Creator which leads "more" to the final goal. The Foundation, therefore, is a highly compact theology of the entire process of the E, only understandable from the aspect of the Call of the King. If then the Foundation (as the old Directories counsel - MI, II, 2, 100f.) is presented in the form of a meditation, any significant development of its content must necessarily be Christological. Only in this manner will the exercitant understand the total significance of the E as "an ordering of one's life" and only later, when he has accepted the summons of God through Xt, the Incarnate Word, can he return once again to the Foundation with its exact, almost verbatim repetition in the Election: to see now that he had already in the "more" of the Foundation given assent to the Crucified, since the Incarnate Word alone is the perfect Man in and through Whom reverence, praise and service can be given to the Creator and Lord. For He alone has fulfilled the demands of the "more" in His victory over Satan and gained salvation for mankind through His death on the Cross.

It is also significant for understanding the basic structure of Ignatius' theology rooted in the graces of Manresa, that for him, Xt the Man is always "Our Creator and Lord." The latest studies on the E clearly indicate this. From the aspect of the Contemplation on the Sin of our First Parents we might venture to characterize the Christology of Ign as Scotist, which sees in Creation the beginning of salvation; the Incarnate Word, as the "Beginning of God's creation" (Acts 3, 14). Xt, the Son of Man is in this theology, even before the foreseen fall of the angels and our first parents, the Beginning and End of all being created in grace. The salvific death on the cross is the return to this beginning from which all things are created; i.e., the praise and reverent service of the Eternal Father through imitation of the God-Man's earthly existence. All things on the face of the earth are created for this purpose: to return again to the Father through Xt Crucified. All earthly things lead to the Father, because the Word by becoming man makes use of all things created by Him to overcome the entire world, to lay it at the feet of the Father. This is the end for which we were created (MI, I, 1).

Ign's theology in the Foundation oscillates between the world and the Heavenly Throne, between renunciation and embrace, between indifference to all things and finding God in all things. Ign himself says "We must contemplate all creatures, not as beautiful and lovely in themselves but as bathed in the blood of Xt" (MI, I, 12, 252). This is the Xtological meaning of the words at the end of the Constitutions. Every thing is created and has meaning only in relation to Xt.

The triple structure of the text of the Foundation (Salvation, indifference, the "more") corresponds precisely to that of the Three Degrees of Humility (165-67). The conviction behind the Foundation is a proving ground for the exercitant's capacity for the decisive election and for indifference towards all created things comprehended in Xt, and it is also essential for an Election which is definitely to shape one's life.

At the same time it is a preliminary exercise for the possible reformation of one's life pointed out in the "more" of the Foundation and only fully grasped in the meditations on the mysteries of Xt's life. Behind each sentence of the Foundation stands the God-Man. He is, in the fullest sense, the Man who was created to give praise, reverence and service to the Father. Only in Xt and His Death on the cross do we so understand indifference to created things that we are made worthy to share in the design by which Xt brings back all creation to the great "ordering of life," in renunciation and the cross. If we understand the Foundation Christologically, then we understand why the mysteries of Sin and Hell also end at the cross of the Eternal Word.

Contemplation on Sin: There are three divisions here: "The History of Sin" (45-54), "The Psychology of Sin" (55-63), and "The Eschatology of Sin" (65-71). To point out the Xtological content of these considerations is to lay the "foundation of fact" (2) without which there is no genuine relish and fruit. Sin is from the very beginning essentially a Xtological event.

Ign speaks of this Xto-centricity in his remarks on the Considerations on Sin (48). He speaks of "anguish with Xt in anguish" and "shame and confusion." This "shame" of the sinner is not without an object, but it is shame before the face of Xt the Lord. It is characterized somewhat later as "shame and confusion before his King and the whole court" (74). In the service of this repentance before Xt the Lord, all the penance which the exercitant takes upon himself in the First Week has this goal "that one wants deep sorrow for sin, or tears either because of his sins or because of the pains and sufferings of Xt our Lord" (87).

Meditation on The Three Sins or the "History of Sin." First—and what is fundamental for a complete understanding of the E up to the Two Standards—the vision of the Sin of the Angels (56). Ign uses curt, bland theological language following the teaching of Augustine and Thomas, and continues on somewhat in the language of the Foundation (50). The most important task for a more exact theological understanding of the Sin of the Angels is to illustrate its relationship to the Incarnate Word.

In what did the pride of the angels consist? In the denial of the God-Man whom they foresaw was to become man and who was to die on the cross for sins. Our justification for this interpretation rests upon the obvious term at which Ign concludes all the considerations on sin: the Cross (53, 71). This demonstrates why in the Second Week the battle with Satan is ultimately decided by love for the cross and why the "enemy of human nature" leads such a passionate campaign against the Church in the attempt to overthrow the Crucified. Note also the connection here with the point in the Second Week where the contemplation on Xt's temptation in the desert is concluded with the vision of the Two Standards. The first rejection of the principles of the Foundation in salvation-history took place through the angels; the perfect fulfillment of the Foundation in salvation-history was realized

in the Crucified God-Man. Therefore, this is precisely the sin of the devil in whom all the sins of man are rooted: (I Jn. 3, 8) that he denied Xt; and "for this has the God-Man come, to overthrow the work of the devil." As Scheeben says, the devil has a hatred of man, because he is a member of the body of Xt, because he is an heir to the glory which he himself lost and because men have joined Xt's standard. If this is so, then the basic, profound meaning behind the divine plan of salvation through the cross becomes clearer: that this destruction of man from the very beginning was avoided precisely by the "successful" destruction of the God-Man (2 Cor. 5. 21). Even Xt himself said concerning His exaltation on the cross: "The judgment of this world is now in progress. Now will the prince of this world be brought down" (Jn. 12, 31, 32).

Sin of Our First-Parents (51). Well-founded theological opinion on the nature of the sin of the first angels as the rejection of the God-Man also involves another theological problem. Was the Incarnation decided upon by God because the Divine Goodness was moved by reason of the sins it foresaw were going to take place (Thomistic), or was the Incarnation decided upon and desired beyond all other divine decrees primarily for the glorification of creation and only secondarily because of sin (Scotist)? Both are genuine theological opinions. In the text of the E we have no clear leaning to either school. But both really are intimately connected. It is interesting to note however, that the theology of "glory" and the "Divine Majesty" present in the E seems to be nearer to the Scotist position. For this reason it is interesting to read those theologians who follow this opinion such as Rupert von Deutz, Albert the Great, Suarez, Francis de Sales and Scheeben. agree for this reason with Pohle-Gierens (II8 p. 176ff) who holds that the Scotist theory recommends itself because of the central position given to the God-Man in the world-plan of the Trinity. He is the Alpha and the Omega.

It is from this latter point of view that we will interpret the Sin of The First-Parents. The text (51) is limited to the most essential lines of the biblical and theological sense of Original Sin; i.e., disobedience and its consequences, loss of grace, and a life of toil and penance. If we now, however, follow out Ign's exhortation to reason out "each particular," then we are also justified here in inquiring into the Christological significance of Original Sin. Only in this way do we find clarified the close relationship of all sin to the "Father of Sin" (Jn. 8, 44) and to the Cross as the vanquishing of the "sins of the world" (Jn. 1, 29). Thomas speaks (II, 2, 7c) of the necessity for an express belief in the Incarnation and this was even demanded before the fall. deepest essence of Original Sin would be the ultimate rejection of the divine plan of having the glorified Head of mankind proceed from the descendants of the first parents. Thus Original Sin would tend in the same Christocentric "direction" as the Sin of the Angels. It evolved in the same way, through the "envy of Satan" and through the incomprehensible Wisdom of God's desire for our salvation; and thus it stands in immediate relationship to the death of God on the cross. Qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit.

Labor and suffering (51) as the consequences of Original Sin thus retain their theological place and can be later understood as the basic demands of the Call of the King (95) and as the basic-law in Jesus' life, who from His birth was pointed to the cross in LABOR (116) because only in this way was the GLORY of His Father possible. Thus we see here in our Christological interpretation of Original Sin the polarity between "labor and glory" which will run through the whole of the E.

The Mortal Sin Of "Any Person" (52). "Many have been damned eternally because of one sin." This would seem theologically and humanly inconceivable if the innermost nature of one mortal sin were not understood in the light of our Lord's words "You have the devil for your father" (Jn. 8, 44). We must realize what it is to sin against the "Divine Goodness." "Divine Goodness" is only capable of theological comprehension if we realize that the total mystery of the Incarnation took place because of the sins of the angels, original sin, and the share which each mortal sin has in the grim history of Satan's fall. Thus resulted the sweet vision of the still unvanquished Goodness of God whose death on the cross is the consequence of my own sins (Heb. 6, 6), and Who, at the same time as it were, by a single divine breath can produce the destruction of my sins only to the degree that I penitently commit myself to this "In-finite Goodness."

Now both theologically and spiritually we can see why Ign places the exercitant before Xt crucified and has him ask: "How is it that you as Creator have stooped to become man and passed from eternal life to death here in time and thus died for my sins?" (53) The intensity of this shattering question and its response is ruled-by a theology of the cross. For Xt alone is the center of the entire history of sin, from the angels even to the very center of my heart: "Xt present and hanging on the cross." What shall I do for Xt? (53)

Consideration of One's Own Sins (Psychology of Sin). To what extent is this mystery of sin a reality in my own life? We are concerned here with the implicit Christology of this exercise in which an almost cosmic sense of sinfulness is expressed; and we think that the exercitant can only imitate this outcry of sinful creation, "Quid agam pro Xto?" if he is filled with the Christocentrism of a theology of sin. This is mainly important because in the text of the E there is no mention of Xt. Now the exercitant compares himself to creation in all its aspects. He finds himself placed in an unbearable loneliness of spirit vis-a-vis His Creator and Lord. The abyss between God and himself gapes and there is no other bridge but the bloody cross on which his Creator and Lord has died to make him a new and vital creation (2 Cor. 5.21).

But now the exercitant takes even a further step into the darkness of the mystery of the Crucified (59). He compares himself with the great God. This is not a mere theology of speculation on the limits of our contingent being; rather we must allow the bitter-sweet source

of one, single notion to pour into our thoughts. This God hangs on a cross, present before us, condemned by his own creatures.

Now we are ready to understand the exclamatio admirativa of the sinful soul. Now Ign becomes poetic if one can use these terms. This cry, breaking forth from his innermost depths is a singular vision of his mysticism in which all creation is seen against the background of the incomprehensible fact: that creation has sinned against its Creator. But this vision becomes an unheard of Commedia Divina: two camps are divided, based on their attitudes toward the Crucified (note the related idea in the Two Standards). All creation is on God's side, and the sinner stands alone in the presence of the abyss of Hell which must open unless a mysterious power seize this shattered cosmos. The force is not mentioned by name. It is only stated that the sword of God's justice tolerates me, that the saints prayed for me and all the elements have been at my service. How did this happen? It cannot be expressed in words but only in the "Colloquy of mercy" (61).

But we already know that this power is the love of God on the Cross; the Cross, by means of the fallen angels, produced those angels who are the guardians of redeemed man; it made saints from sinners. No longer new hells but a "new heaven and a new earth" (2 Pt. 3, 13). All creatures are "bathed in the blood of Xt." All creation is renewed on the cross for now is the age of mercy; and for this the exercitant stands in prayer and thanksgiving before the cross. Thus this consideration ends where the history of sin ended: at the incomprehensibility of the cross which can only in some small way be comprehended in prayerful colloquy with one's God.

This consideration on one's sins is now continued in the Third Exercise in an attempt at a deepening of the insights gained thus far. This repetition (63) takes a three-fold direction: a) begging for the grace for a "deeper knowledge of my sins," b) for the realization of my sins as being basically disorder; c) and to know the world. Now this deepening of the realization of sin brings out the antithesis between Satan, the Anti-Xt in the world in the Pauline and Johannine senses, (Jn. 12, 31; Eph. 6, 12), the Prince of "fire and smoke" (140), and the King-Xt "modest, beautiful and worthy of all love" (144). In a sense we are in the middle of the second Week, in the midst of the battleground within salvation-history and yet really in the midst of something which was met for the first time on the very first page of the E: to remove all inordinate tendencies and to seek and find God's Will in the regulation of one's life (1). In the Second Week this battle is treated more in detail. In the First Week there is a greater concern for the ultimate recognition of and "instinct" for what is contrary to the Divine plan in the form of basic sinfulness in myself and in the world.

At this point it is evident that Ign ascribes the attaining of this "instinct" to the intimate colloquy. Discourse is no longer possible here. The sublime grace for an intimate knowledge of sin and the world is connected with the colloquy to the "most holy intercessors" just as later in the climax of the Second Week, i.e., the *Two Standards* (147). Just

as formerly (58) we viewed the structure of the world of grace in its vertical line of ascent: earth—paradise—God; so now this line is repeated through the personnel of salvation-history: Mary—Xt—Father. And it is significant how Ign first introduces Mary within the context of a "deeper" knowledge of sin and a necessary discernment of spirits.

We are now situated at the heart of the First Week and we are in contact with the real nerve-center of the Exercises and the conversion from sin; i.e., the two rules for discernment of spirits (314, 315). They are directly related to a profounder knowledge and sense for the "disorder" of sin. "Ordering of one's life" in the E (1) always means the opposite of "inordinate tendency" (16, 169, 172, 179). Order and disorder are, consequently, only two other designations for Xt and Satan; and it is for this reason that the request for a knowledge of disorder is directed to Mary, for she stands opposed to any element of sin in creation. In Mary the divine order of things was never disrupted. She is the great mediator for the rebuilding of order in the world through her Son. Thus the exercitant turns to her for this interior knowledge of order in Xt and the disorder of Satan, for "knowledge of the world" whose sinful vanity stands in opposition to the humble, chaste reality of the God-Man and his cross.

Then the exercitant turns to the Divine Son "in order to obtain the same from the Father." Xt here is "the one Mediator between God and man, the Man, Xt Jesus" (I Tim. 2.5). Therefore we turn to the Crucified to know in Him and through Him the disorder of the world in its most profound anti-Christian roots. "Deformitas Christi te format" says Augustine and now for the first time in the E Ign introduces the Anima Christi. It sketches out the development of the Xtological climax of the First Week, "Guard me should the enemy assail me" to the initial aspect of the Second Week "Bid me come to Thee." Thus in this prayer to Xt for a discernment of spirits is fulfilled the idea contained at the beginning of the E (15): the Creator and Lord will inflame the soul with love of Himself and dispose it for His greater service.

Now there is yet one thing left for the exercitant to do—to turn to the Father of our Lord Jesus Xt for this grace. All words cease "and then the Our Father." Even this prayer can be interpreted Xtologically. In place of disorder "Your Will be done"; in place of the world, "Your kingdom come"; to battle Satan, "deliver us from evil." But Ign does not allow the exercitant to remain untested in his resolves. He demands a summary meditation (64), an encounter with Xt in colloquy through Mary to the Father in order to obtain the conversion from sin presupposed by the Second Week and also by the shuddering demands of the First and Second Degrees of Humility (165-166); for without these two degrees the ascent to the sublime heights of the Third Degree of Humility in imitation of Xt Crucified would be "tinkling cymbals."

Meditation on Hell (65-71) (Eschatology of Sin). Hell can only be understood through faith and in terms of the Person Crucified whose very Heart was pierced and whose Cross was a judgment-seat. Thus

souls are to be judged in terms of their reaction to the Word Who came into the world as Man. Heaven and Hell divide themselves relative to belief in "He Who has come" (I Jn. 4, 2-3). After the exercitant passes through "the length, breadth and depth" of Hell (65) he engages Xt in colloquy for the last time (71) and he is brought to see how this eternal destiny involving separation from God was determined by a denial of belief in the coming of the God-Man. Now we can look back to the contemplation on the History of Sin and realize that the innermost essence of the sin of the angels and of Original sin was nothing but a "no" to the foreseen coming of the God-Man. If, therefore, the exercitant falls on his knees before Xt at the end of the First Week and "thanks Him for not permitting me to fall into any of these three classes, so putting an end to my life" (71), then he gathers, so to speak, by means of an existential consideration, all the eternal decisions of past and future together with his own, into "the hour" when he must respond to the Call of The King. For in Xt there is still one more "today" (Heb. 3, 12-14). Thus we have outlined a Xtology of the First Week and only now do we know what was meant in the Foundation by "choosing what is more conducive to the goal for which we were created" (23). This "more" looks to the royal Word on the cross and to the corresponding words, "What shall I do for Xt?"

#### II. CHRISTOLOGY OF THE SECOND WEEK

It is well to realize that everything that is meant by ordinatio vitae (in the sense of a choice of a state of life) as used in the First Week is fulfilled by and subservient to the purposes of the Election in the Second Week. The relationship of the First to the Second Week (also Third and Fourth) can be characterized by the three levels of the Foundation (23) corresponding to the Three Degrees of Humility (165, 168). The foundation for these degrees is always the eternal salvation and this is built on the choice of life which culminates in the desire to do the better thing. The function of the First Week is, therefore, the concretization in terms of salvation-history of possible eternal salvation or damnation, and this concretization can only be comprehended relative to the "Creator and Lord" (57) coming as God-Man and dying on the cross. Between the Incarnation and Death on the cross the eternal fate of every creature is decided; and therefore the importance to us of Xt's earthly life.

Now the Second Week opens up before us. The attainment of the goal for which we were created consists in a renewed imitation of the earthly life of God, and this renewal is the concrete realization of the magis of the Foundation. The aim of the Second Week, an ordinatio status vitae, is to imitate Xt more by finding in the meditations on Xt's life grace for the choice of a state of life. The Second Week gives an answer to the question, "What shall I do for Xt?". The First Week is really only fulfilled in the Second. Imitation of Xt is impossible without indifference. The Election is supported by the Foundation; the knowledge of the vanity and disorder of the world is important for the Two

Standards. In the Second Week we must show in terms of Heilsgeschichte to what extent the life of Xt is the norm for a decisive election. But first, before we present the Xtology of several aspects of the Second Week, a few remarks on the theology of the Imitatio Christi.

Theology of the Life of Jesus. It is well to realize that the Contemplation on the Earthly King at the beginning of the Second Week is, as it were, the foundation for all the following meditations on the Life of Jesus. To posit a Xtology of the E in its historical context, a history of the Imitatio Christi would have to be sketched, beginning from the devotio moderna of Ludolph of Saxony and going back to the Church Fathers and finally to Paul (I Cor. 4.16; 11, 1, etc.). The basic structure on which the imitation of the Life of the God-Man is perfected is the contrast between "labor" and "gloria" or, in theological terms, between the God-Man's earthly existence and the glory of the Creator and Lord. It is, therefore, the task of the exercitant to find a deeper understanding of the Lord in continual contemplation of His visible life so that loving Him more and more he will imitate Him (104). And the battle between Xt and Satan is reflected by the conflict in each man's heart as a vital continuation of Heilsgeschichte. Thus the life of Jesus is for Ign not only exemplary in the edifying sense of the Devotio Moderna, but is the basic theological principle of every Christian's spiritual life which in its depths is always an ontological assimilation through grace to the dead and risen Lord of glory. Here would be the place for a theological consideration of the "syn" compounds in the Pauline Epistles. Biblically this Xtology of the E is supported by Ign's constant visualization of the Life of Jesus in terms of the cross (53, 109, 114, 116, 206). This notion constantly penetrates Ign's consideration of Jesus' life, always, of course, subservient to the Election which in turn constantly rests on the fundamental principle of labor et gloria (93, 95).

The discretio spirituum, in which the consideration of God's earthly life is completed, is a growing insight into the Chalcedonic polarity between poor human nature (labor) and the hidden glory of the Divinity (gloria) together with a desire to fashion one's own life in accordance with this insight. This assimilation is only possible (in the sense of a formation of one's life) through consideration of Jesus' life. Ign insisted again and again that the Election and the necessary Discretio Spirituum should always take place in the context of the mysteries of Xt's life. In any case we must look to the real end of the E in developing the considerations on Xt's life; the life of Jesus is conceived by Ign as the great paradigm involving the choice of the cross. The process of the Election is consequently an "existentialization" of Jesus' life toward the shaping (ordinatio) of one's own existence or life-goal. The Election proceeds from a practical, vital, effective understanding of the mysteries.

Thus Ign in the Second Week (as also for the Third and Fourth weeks) constructs the life of Jesus into a true drama between Xt and Satan, which ought to find repercussions in the personal center of one who wills to make real the call of Xt the King by a stronger assimilation to Him. Thus it would be useful, perhaps, to sketch a "dramatization" of the

Mysteries which are totally intelligible only in the light of the Election's aims and purposes. In this manner we will derive from these Mysteries the inner dynamism of the E. This will also indicate how decisive a role the succession of Mysteries plays in the Election.

First Day: Incarnation (101-109) and Birth (110-117): these two are directly conceived and related to the fundamental law of labor et gloria promulgated in the Kingdom.

Second Day: Presentation in the Temple (132) and Flight Into Egypt (132): an intensification of the God-Man's life as directed to renunciation and the cross.

Third Day: Obedience of Child Jesus (134, 271) is presented before the Finding in the Temple (134, 272). Now it becomes clearer in what sense this section of Xt's life is a paradigm for the Election: Nazareth as the embodiment of the life of the commandments; the Finding in the Temple as the first proclamation of the life of the counsels or total dedication to the service of the Eternal Father (135). This choice between command and counsel is the real object of the Election of which Ign speaks in his Directory (MI, II, 2, 76ff).

Fourth Day: On this day given over to a consideration of the *Two Standards* and the *Three Classes of Men* the exercitant enters into the real period of Election. The guiding principle in Xt's life, the pure service of His Eternal Father, is now seen in its function within salvation-history as a contest with the enemy of human nature.

Fifth Day: The Journey of Xt from Nazareth to the Jordan (158, 163, 273) is of great importance in the total scheme of the *Election* and is seen as the conclusive "turning" of Jesus to the pure service of His Father. At this point the *Third Degree of Humility* is encountered.

Sixth Day: This day, decisive for the formation of the *Election*, is filled with the confrontation between Xt and Satan in the desert. This is the visible, biblical aspect of the whole mystery of salvation and damnation. The divergent views between Xt and Satan are of such a critical nature that the exercitant is committeed to sincerely answering the question, "What shall I do for Xt?"

Seventh Day: From this point on in the body of the Second Week Ign merely points out further mysteries (161, 162). This means that basically at this point the *Election* can be made and that further consideration only serves to confirm the decisions made in the *Election*.

Xtology of the Kingdom. The Christology here forms the foundation for the Second Week and, standing outside the real structure of this week, indicates that the program of the entire E is being treated. This meditation is both the sum and substance of the life and work of the Lord with reference to the work His Father has given him to do. The call and the Election are very closely related, for to speak of a call is ultimately to speak of a vocation, therefore the grace of voluntary imitation. The Xtology of the "calling Lord" is supported by the biblical, theological significance of our calling in Xt (Eph. 1, 18; 4, 1; I Cor. 7,

20; 2 Thess. 1, 14). The indissoluble connection between call and response points up the basic insight involved here, that the Kingdom of the Eternal Lord today is based on a conflict with the enemy of human nature. The mystery of evil (2 Thess. 2, 7) is still a force, and the arrival of the Word made flesh commences the destruction of Satan's works: a destruction made possible and prepared for by a life of greater poverty, labor and suffering (116). The grace of response to the King consists in the insight that it is "still" possible to help Xt in the building-up of the Kingdom through imitation of Him first in labor then in glory under the banner of the cross (14), in sharp conflict with the program of Satan, the essence of evil. Thus Ign in this consideration gives us a basic insight into the theology of the cross as a decision (initiated and completed in the death of Xt) between the Eternal Father and the Father of lies. "What is really involved here is the basic matter of the Election, i.e., what is more perfect and therefore propels us to share the cross in the battle against the world, the flesh and the devil. It is of the greatest significance to indicate the biblical and salvationhistorical foundation for the picture of Xt as King; for over and beyond all the spatio-temporal conditions of the Parable there is the question of the basic-notions of New Testament revelation (Mt. 25, 21; Jn. 18, 37; Lk. 1, 32). It is important also to reflect on the answer of the exercitant in terms of his readiness to war against his own sinfulness and love of the world by imitating the King in poverty, humility and obedience, and then to see its relation to the Third Degree of Humility.

Regarding the meaning of the "Oblation" (98) it is decisive to grasp the Xtology of this prayer. Xt is here the "Eternal Lord of all things," the Creator and Lord and source of infinite Goodness. The Oblation uses almost the very words of the Foundation (23). Now we see in what the "more" of the last sentence of the Foundation consists. To this petition corresponds the grace of Xt, here characteristically addressed as "Thy Most Holy Majesty," a grace which consists in Xt "choosing and admitting" the exercitant. This corresponds precisely to the profound two-fold theology of grace in the concluding Oblation (234), "take and receive."

Xtology of the Two Standards. Now we must try to determine how Ign realizes the basic law of the Kingdom in the mysteries of the Second Week. We have indicated above how the mysteries of the Incarnation and Birth of Our Lord were the great means by which Ign illustrated the principles of the Kingdom regarding a final election. At the same time they are the essence of the Xtological realization in the practical order of the here and now in our closer imitation of the Lord (109, 114). The Meditation on the Two Standards forms in its Xtology an indispensable unity with the Kingdom. It is the complete unfolding of the drama of salvation. Now the question arises, in what does the essence of the messianic victory consist and this not only in terms of salvation but also in terms of what most approximates the goal for which we were created? The Two Standards, as an old Directory states (MI, II, 2, 247), indicates what the perfect path is. The intentions of the enemy of human nature

are seen as destructive of perfection and the Kingdom. Biblical references to Babylon as the essence of evil (Gn. 11, 9; Is. 14, 12; Apoc. 17, 18) and Jerusalem as the appearance of peace (Gal. 4, 21-31; Apoc. 21) are well documented by Lyonnet in his work in *Christus* (1956), 435-456. Xt's victory over Satan and the establishment of the Kingdom take place through the crucifixion (Col. 2.15, Heb. 2, 14). The part played by the good and bad angels in the course of Jesus' life is a miniature portrait of the mighty struggle between light and darkness, pressing to the crucifixion as the "hour of darkness" (Lk. 22, 53) and ending with the final parousia of the King who will conquer Satan with his breath (2 Thess. 2, 8). The intervening battle, from the cross to the final victory, is decided ever anew by the men who with God's grace are called to share in the basic law of *labor et gloria* in imitation of Xt victorious on the cross.

Now to juxtapose Christologically the triple aim of Satan and Xt (142, 146): Riches, honor, pride—Poverty, insults, humility. This three-pronged program of Satan is portrayed in biblical terms in the Temptation of Xt in the desert. Poverty, as the decisive point of departure for greater perfection in the battle against Satan, rests on the Ign insight into this virtue which Xt practiced from birth to death. (Note also the role of poverty in Ign's mystical theology as seen from his Spiritual Journal.) But beyond this it is the peculiar Ign vision of the conflicting triadic strategies of Satan and Xt which is most significant. Babylon is love of one's self to the hatred of God; Jerusalem begins with the love of God and ends with the commitment of one's self totally. Note also the triad with which the whole Election ends (189), to be free of self-love, self-will and self-seeking. See Ign's superb commentary on this entire section (in MI, II, 1, 101, 186).

The supreme grace of "being placed" with Xt which Ign experienced at La Storta and which had such an influence on his life was gained through the intercession of Mary. This idea is reflected now in the colloquy (147) "asking her to obtain for me from her Son and Lord to be received under His standard." When the triple colloquy finally is directed to the Eternal Father, it is the dogmatically accurate conclusion permeating the whole Xtology of the E, the prayerful approach to the "royal throne of the Divine Majesty" (106). The inseparable polarity between Jesus as Meditator and Jesus as Creator and Lord belongs among the essential characteristics of Ignatian mysticism.

The Sixth Day of the Second Week is taken up with the meditation on The Temptation in the Desert. Ign desires that this day be devoted to the mysterious confrontation between Xt and Satan. For the Xtological understanding of the E it is important to see in this mystery the biblical "concretization" of what was indicated in the Two Standards. The basic structure of the Kingdom is portrayed now more emphatically; the Kingdom of glory presupposes Labor. The Temptation consists in an anticipation of this glory which can be won only through humiliation. Ign adds at the end of this meditation; "the angels came and ministered to him," i.e., the fasting, mortified Xt. Contrast this with the conclusive

words to the devil, "You are to serve God alone." This service of the Divine Majesty through service of the God-Man is the central ideal in the choosing of a state in life. The whole theology of Ign has been called a "mysticism of service."

The first temptation translated into ascetical terms is the temptation to the things of this world, to the desire to have. The second temptation is to the vanity of a successful life devoid of the cross (honor). The third temptation is to the opposite of that which Xt summons us: i.e., "pure service of the eternal Father"—the quintessence of that which is proposed as the final end of the E. This is a humble service in imitation of the God-Man. Here we are involved in the question: "Where and how does the mysterious realization of the Kingdom of God and the Kingdom of Satan begin?" "How and through whom is the true Kingdom built up on earth?" "The answer is to be deduced from Xt's existential reaction to the temptations. We stand now in the shadow of the cross and at the climax of the E, at a point where we inquire of Xt Who is leaving the desert for the cross; "Why is it that You have become man and descended from eternal life to a temporal death?" (53)

Christology of the Election. The spiritual drama of the Election is portrayed in the light of the God-Man's earthly existence. It can not be sufficiently emphasized that the second time for making an election (176) is the real method of finding God's will and, to be sure, through the consolation and desolation experienced in continual meditation on the Mysteries of Xt's life. The finding of the "Divine Will in peace" (150) can be attained the first time the *Election* is made (175) and is logically compared to the call of Paul and Matthew. Election is consequently always "The Call of Xt the King." Since the second time for making an election is through the experience of the discernment of diverse spirits and is ultimately a call from Xt or the perception of the "address" of the evil enemy (142), we are justified in giving the Rules for the Discernment of Spirits (316-336) a central position in a Christological interpretation of the E. This is above all true regarding the classical Ign definition of consolation (316): love for Our "Creator and Lord" is love for Xt, and allows us to love no created thing in itself but only in Xt, the Eternal Lord of all things (95). Regarding consolation Ign himself says in one of his letters, that we must consider all creatures as "bathed in the blood of Xt" (MI, I, 12, 252). On the other hand the essence of desolation is the dejection experienced by the soul when "it feels itself separated from its Creator and Lord" (317). Likewise, grace, which the soul finds in its Creator and Lord, is described by Ign as the power to withstand the enemy.

The experience of the divine will in this delicate discernment of spirits not only takes place through the contemplation of the life of Jesus but above all in the colloquies with Xt and Mary. Once more, it is evident how closely connected the discernment of spirits is with the Christological structure of the E. Concerning the Christological structure of the actual "making a good choice of a way of life" (169, 179-89), it is interesting to note that the texts of 169 and 179 are really a prototype

of the Foundation (23). When Ign speaks of God, Our Lord, salvation, the end for which we were created, and of inordinate tendencies which can lead us astray, it is only understandable in terms of what we have hitherto seen, that the whole work of the E is a tendency, assisted by Xt's example, to choose the Third Degree of Humility. Praise of God, Salvation, Service, Goal, World, Flesh are understandable only per Xtum Dominum nostrum. In the Election we are concerned with an understanding of the manner and degree in which the Divine Majesty desires to call a man to the service of the Crucified Son. It is ultimately the grace which Ign himself experienced when the Crucified said to him in the presence of the Eternal Father: "I wish that you serve us." The whole work of the E derives its meaning from the fact that the Eternal Word died on the cross for His Father's glory. Only that man will succeed in his Election who is ready to leap into the abyss of Xt of whom it is written, "Even Xt did not please himself" (Rom. 15, 3). The Christological significance of the Election (as also for the Three Classes of Men) can be seen from Ignatian commentaries themselves (MI II, 2, 75ff and 100ff).

#### III. THE CHRISTOLOGY OF THE THIRD AND FOURTH WEEKS

The essence of the E consists therefore in an "ordinatio vitae" seen as an imitation of the crucified Lord either in the choice of a state of life or in perfection within a state. Since the cross of the Incarnate Creator and Lord of all things stands at the focal-point of salvation history, the Third Week is not merely a continuation of considerations on Xt's life, but is vitally connected with the Election. We see now that the question "What shall I do for Xt?" (53) of the First Week is answered in 197 with the realization that our highest activity for Xt consists in suffering with Xt. Polanco expressly states that the Third Week serves the Election if a clear commitment to the Third Degree of Humility was not attained in the Second Week (MI, II, 2, 310). Note Ignatius' continual use of the phrase that Xt suffers "for me" (53, 104, 116, 197, 203) which is the growing realization of the process of salvation in the "here" and the "now" of the exercitant.

That Ign is still concerned with the confirmation and final configuration of the *Election* is shown by his desire to have the exercitant repeat the triple colloquy employed in the *Three Classes of Men* (199). In the words of P. Davila (MI, II, 2, 527) the highest aim in the Third Week is "to find the heart of the Lord in the midst of His Holy Passion and to awaken us to a community of feeling with the crucified Xt so that we can say 'amor meus crucifixus est.'" There is another expression in the E (203) which reveals the innermost meaning of the Third Week and some aspects of Ign Christology. The man who from the Foundation on desires what is more conducive to the end for which he was created and who recognizes this "more" as likeness to the humiliated Lord on the cross, now prays for "anguish with Xt in anguish" (203) and for "sorrow for Xt in sorrow" (203). The "afflicted" Xt is the Xt of the Pauline exinanitio (Ph. 2, 7), the Xt whom Augustine calls "Xtus deformis,"

For the Christological significance of the Fourth Week, it is theologically revealing that Ign calls the manifestation of the transfigured Lord "apparitions" (299 and 311), doubtless to indicate to us that after the Resurrection Xt appears in the glory spoken of in the Call of the King as the "Glory of My Father," of the "divinity appearing and manifesting itself so miraculously in the humanity" (223). Consequently, the contemplation of these appearances serves to strengthen the Election.

Most early commentators emphasized that the Contemplatio ad Amorem was not really in the Fourth Week (just as the Foundation stood outside the First Week) and that it could be placed concomitantly with the Resurrection-or even in the First or Second Weeks according to the needs of the exercitant (MI, II, 2, 322f; 416, 459, 560). In any case the Contemplation must be adapted to the totality of the E because there is no mention of Xt (as in the Foundation) and the whole meditation abounds in scholastic terminology, so to speak. That nevertheless each word must be interpreted in the light of the Christology of the whole process in the E has been shown very recently by A. Haas in his commentary on Ignatius' mystical diary. The "Creator and Lord" is, in accordance with Ignatian theology, the Incarnate Word who through His power and essence "labors for me" in all creatures (236). It is the calling together of all things on the face of the earth bathed in Xt's blood. The finding of all creatures in God is to find all creatures in Xt. Even the Suscipe (23) is directed to Xt, the Lord. He is the Creator and Lord to Whom one gives his entire freedom. He is love and grace. The Lord to whom we finally and only now definitively commit ourselves in our Election is the same Lord whom we addressed at the beginning as the "Eternal Lord of all things." (G. RICHARD DIMLER, S.J.)

Ed. Note: A full translation of this important contribution to Ignatian spirituality has been undertaken by Fr. Dimler, and will be published by the Institute of Jesuit Studies, in conjunction with Loyola University Press.

## Books of Interest to Ours

Screening Candidates for the Priesthood and Religious Life. By Magda B. Arnold, Petreolus Hispanicus, Charles A. Weisgerber, S.J., Paul F. D'Arcy and Vincent V. Herr, S.J. Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1962. Pp. vii-203. \$2.80.

During the past decade, a number of seminaries and religious communities have made use of psychological testing as one means of determining the suitability of candidates for the priesthood and the religious life. For the most part, the tests that have been administered are those in common use among psychologists. Few tests have been adapted for the specific purpose of religious groups. There have been few attempts to appraise in a scientific way the effectiveness of these tests in screening out the unfit. Research studies of the accuracy of these tests are rare. The present work is an attempt to make up for this deficiency. It contains evaluations of four programs aimed at the selection of apt candidates for the priesthood and the religious life.

Through Sequence Analysis of Thematic Apperception stories, Dr. Arnold presents a new and promising technique for determining suitability for the religious life. Instead of using the more usual method of analysis devised by Henry Murray, she has found that culling the essence or core from each story along with its nuance (which she calls the "import") gives valuable information about the attitudes and motivation of the candidate. The ultimate evaluation is based not only on the import but on the sequence of imports from ten or more pictures. Through the skilled use of actual cases, Dr. Arnold clearly demonstrates the effectiveness of her method.

The second study is an attempt to determine the usefulness of a specific personality test by comparing test results with ratings given seminarians by their own professors. Dr. Hispanicus breaks down the various scales of the MMPI into personality characteristics that are especially applicable to seminary candidates.

In the third project, Father Weisgerber offers a detailed analysis of a five year screening program for seminary candidates. Although the results of this study are not as encouraging as one might desire, there is much to be learned from it. Father Weisgerber points out the need for further research. Caution and prudence in the use of psychological methods of screening is implied.

The final study undertaken by Father D'Arcy deals with the application of interest tests to a group of candidates for a missionary congregation of men.

This small volume represents a large step in the right direction. Per-

haps its greatest value will be the stimulus that it should give to further research. For the non-professional reader, it offers a realistic, if limited, picture of the present status of psychological screening techniques as applied to candidates for the priesthood and the religious life.

RICHARD P. VAUGHAN, S.J.

Letters from a Traveller. By Pierre Teilhard de Chardin. Edited by Claude Aragonnès. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1962. Pp. 380. \$4.00.

To Maurice Blondel in 1919 Teilhard de Chardin wrote: "As for our speculations, they will remain sterile for ourselves as well as for others unless we conform to them, and turn them into an example for other men to follow." The present collection of letters shows how well Teilhard satisfied his own criterion. Covering the most active period of his scientific career, 1923-55, these letters illustrate his conformity to the program familiar to readers of *The Divine Milicu* and *The Phenomenon of Man*. For himself at least, Teilhard's provocative synthesis of Christian detachment and deep commitment to the world, of the "Christic" (supernatural) and the "cosmic" (natural), was an effective one, and one which structured his whole life.

Teilhard considered himself more as an exemplar than as a teacher, and for all the questions and problems raised by his thought, one cannot but admire the deeply religious priest, the intensely dedicated research scientist, the warmly personal correspondent revealed in these letters. Mlle. Teillard-Chambon (Claude Aragonnès), to whom most of these letters are addressed, has provided a brief introduction to the volume as well as short annotations for the individual letters. Also included is a translation of the short work, Teilhard de Chardin tel que je l'ai connu, by Father Pierre Leroy, S.J., his collaborator and close friend. Father Leroy cites a very interesting letter to Very Reverend Father General of the Society of Jesus, expressing intense devotion to a personal mission joined with patient submission to the demands of obedience to the Church and the Society.

This portion of Teilhard's correspondence provides an excellent background for his numerous writings (conveniently indexed with appropriate references to the letters). It is not strange that one who spent more than thirty years travelling through China, India, Burma, Java, South Africa, North America, and Europe would have the great breadth of vision characteristic of Teilhard's thought. Teilhard viewed his whole life as a witness to the Christian's task of participating as fully as possible in the "Christification" of the world, and toward the end of his life his constant prayer was that he might end well, i.e., "distinctly and worthily set the seal upon my witness." One can profitably reread *The Divine Milieu* after the *Letters* to see how Teilhard's life was both the source and exemplar of all he stood for.

Readers may be surprised at numerous passages such as: "... as you know I only came to China in the hope of being better able to speak about the 'great Christ' in Paris." This might appear to be precisely the

ambiguous position of many Christians which the author of *The Divine Milieu* criticized. However, it should be noted that such lines were written in the midst of intense, highly competent research, and by a man who twice between his seventieth birthday and his death made scientific expeditions to South Africa. For one who so respected and effectively used the means, an expression of their ultimate finality should not be looked upon with suspicion. Just as these letters show how well Teilhard fulfilled his definition of the Christian as the "most attached and detached of men," they show how he was able to subordinate means without subverting them.

CHARLES L. CURRIE, S.J.

My Life With Christ. By Anthony J. Paone, S.J. Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1962, Pp. 310. \$4.50.

Many a modern reader, interested in religion and mental health, is ready to applaud a successful attempt to integrate findings of psychology and psychiatry with Christian counseling and spirituality. One such effort was Counselling the Catholic by Fathers Hagmaier and Gleason. Another, intended more for the counselee, is Father Paone's new book, the fruit of considerable experience in pastoral counseling. Because "a balanced religious outlook depends not only on an adequate knowledge of revealed truth, but also on a proper understanding of human nature," the author aims at helping the reader toward this double goal, so that through grace and effort he may gradually achieve "a fuller emotional development and spiritual formation" (p. 13).

Each of the 183 meditations is presented in a 4-R format: Read, Reflect, Review, Respond. A passage from the Gospels is followed by a brief reflection on the incident. This observation is then expanded; the doctrinal, moral and, especially, psychological truths suggested by the reading are interrelated and applied to daily life. The repetition of key ideas in different forms and contexts is not a defect of the book but an indication of the way to use it: it is not meant for continuous reading, but for slow, prayerful assimilation over a period of time. The final R is a summary colloquy with Christ.

One line discernible in Father Paone's approach mirrors, on the level of operative awareness, the three elements in St. Augustine's formula for the double movement, descending and ascending, of grace: "Because You loved me, You made me lovable and capable of love." (1) Salvation begins with the fact of God's love, the compassionate love of a Father who "knows our frame," and of Jesus who "has been tempted in every way as we have." (2) The consequence (not the motive) of this love is our own goodness, and a realization of this essential worth promotes a proper and necessary self-respect. By alleviating a root anxiety, this conviction makes self-acceptance possible in spite of one's limitations, imperfections and sinfulness. This is not an attitude of complacency, but of genuine humility; not an end, but a beginning of true growth. (3) For coupled with some understanding of the emotional forces at work in him, it helps a person to liberate himself from his own fears, from unrealistic demands on himself and others, from slavery to feel-

ings which hamper his love (both affective and effective) for God and neighbor.

Father Paone writes in a simple style with insight, wisdom and pastoral "compassion on the multitude." My Life With Christ is a valuable contribution for counselee and counselor alike. Since every man is both, at least in his own case, one hopes that this regular-size book will prove no less popular than the author's pocket-size My Daily Bread.

NEIL L. DOHERTY, S.J.

Churches in North America. By Gustave Weigel, S.J. Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1962, Pp. 152. \$3.95.

In this year of vibrant ecumenical interest, Father Weigel has made a concise and well-defined contribution for those interested in learning more about the non-Catholic sects of the United States and Canada.

Churches in North America is a book which can be read rather rapidly, and yet on each page the information to be gleaned is invaluable. The twenty-five sects selected are the chief religious groups in the United States today, and the short history and statement of doctrine of each group will leave the reader with an outline whereby he can delve more deeply into the field if he so desires. But even without such intensive study, the reader can feel secure in the knowledge gained.

The sections pertaining to the Eastern Rite Churches will be of particular interest. Chapters one and two deal with the historical data of the early Church and then proceed to clarify the issues which caused the early schisms. Also explained in the following chapter, chapter three, are those matters in which the Eastern Churches now differ from the Roman Church. For a quick review of early Church history, these three chapters will be difficult to surpass.

This book would be an excellent supplement to a college or study group consideration of the present state of the non-Catholic Churches in the United States and Canada. Further, it is a handy guide to those who wish to review rapidly the tenets of these sects.

WILLIAM J. HENDRICKS, S.J.

The God Who Loves Us. By Rev. Gerard P. Weber and Rev. James Kill-gallon. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1962. Pp. 121. \$1.00.

The God Who Loves Us is a modestly priced paper-bound booklet containing the current sermon outlines originally prepared for the clergy of the Archdiocese of Chicago. Those familiar with earlier Sunday Sermon Outlines from Chicago will welcome the attempt by the Liturgical Press to bring this year's material to a wider audience.

These outlines suggest a program of instructions which departs radically from the usual rigid adherence to instructions based on the Commandments, Sacraments and Creed. The overall objective of these sermons is a greater knowledge and appreciation of the Sacred Scriptures. But, in addition to this objective, emphasis is also given to the liturgical cycle. These two themes, Scripture and the Liturgical Year, are interwoven. On the great feasts of the year, the suggested sermon

is appropriate to the feast, but the sermon for a Sunday not of great liturgical importance would be on the Scriptures. During the long post-Pentecostal season, for instance, individual books of the New Testament are studied and explained.

Each Sunday's entry follows the same format: point of sermon, suggested beginning, development and application. The outlines are clear, thorough and practical. They provide sufficient material for sermons appropriate to the recently reenkindled interest in Scripture.

WILLIAM J. KEYES, S.J.

To Know Christ Jesus. By Frank J. Sheed. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1962. Pp. xx-377. \$5.00.

The author describes this as neither a biography nor a gospel commentary, but an introduction to Christ as a person. Drawing on a wealth of traditional Scripture commentaries, he follows Christ through the gospel events and explains them. To order this sequence within the three parts, "The First Thirty Years," "The Public Life," and "Redemption," he follows the chronology of Père Lagrange. Alternate theories of interpretation, digressions into secular history or the more erudite exegesis are excluded by the preoccupation: to know Christ as one would by having met Him during His public ministry.

By remaining on this level Sheed is able to take the four Gospels together as a source and, with the overview of years of prayerful study of the Old Testament and the New, select from both the Synoptics and John the incidents and insights that capture a fresh understanding of the life of Christ and the "whole spiritual revolution" inherent in His preaching. He bunches Gospel events into topical unities, e.g., he interrelates the temptation in the desert to Satan's role in the betrayal, and compares the two episodes in which our Lady speaks to her Son and He replies (the finding in the temple and the marriage feast at Cana). He identifies unnamed persons in the gospel story and points out things we may have skipped, e.g., that John's mother was there at the foot of the cross when Christ gave Mary into his keeping. To suggest further speculation, Sheed asks, for example, what Judas would have preached about on the occasion of Christ's sending of the twelve. Of course Sheed's language is always refreshing; in discussing the Virgin Birth he avoids the tired biblical phrases and uses wholesome, everyday words.

For this triumph of integrality the author has paid a price. He has ignored many large problems which threaten the body of his work and betray its high color. To Know Christ Jesus is biographical; hence it relies too heavily on chronology in order to draw meaning into events. Disregarding the complexities of the gospel passages and their varieties of sense, he uses all as one homogeneous source. He thereby reaches hasty and overdrawn conclusions, as when he marvels at the Magnificat, "spoken by a girl in her teens."

In the July, 1962, issue of *Woodstock Letters* Father Joseph A. Fitzmyer explained how the Spiritual Exercises are challenged and enriched by the "new approach" to Scripture. Sheed's introduction to Christ as a

person must face the same challenge because it adopts one of the goals of the Exercises, the intimate knowledge of Our Lord which is asked for in the Second Week. It seems impossible to reach this high goal today in one step and independent of recent gospel studies.

RALPH W. DENGLER, S.J.

Adsum: A Bishop Speaks to His Priests. By Most Rev. Johannes Pohlschneider. Translated and adapted by Most Rev. Henry J. Grimmelsman. St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1962. Pp. 172. \$3.25.

Written by a bishop, translated by another bishop and expressly addressed to priests, this book presents spiritually nourishing insights and practical reflections on the priestly life in our modern world. It is a collection of a German bishop's annual letters to the priests of his diocese. Bishop Grimmelsman, the translator, with the author's permission inserts two additional chapters of his own and makes other minor changes and adaptations to the apostolate on the American scene.

In the opening chapter the author states the reasons for his letters, namely, the supernatural father-son relationship between the bishop and his priests and the unity of the Christian Church which manifests itself in large measure in the harmony of the ordinary and his priest-helpers. The readiness to sacrifice and service, given expression to in the priest's Adsum of the ordination rite, should be the ever-present animating principle that brings about the fulfillment of the priesthood; and this fulfillment consists in the perfectly balanced rhythm of contemplation and action. In twenty chapters this ideal is brought to bear on the various duties of the priest in his interior and apostolic life. The author gives short, practical advice on daily mental prayer, keeping up with the intellectual currents of the day, handling the problems of the young, etc. Brief (some chapters are only two pages long) and enhanced with apt scriptural and patristic references, pastoral in tone and devoid of empty speculation, yet profound in theological meaning, this book answers the need of priests for profitable spiritual reading in times of leisure or retreat. Those who give retreats to priests or seminarians will do well to recommend this book to their retreatants.

RAUL J. BONOAN, S.J.

The World for Wedding Ring. By Daniel Berrigan, S.J. New York: Macmillan, 1962. Pp. 77. \$2.95.

Father Berrigan's latest book of poetry, The World for Wedding Ring, contains more than sixty poems divided into two groups: one part entitled, The World; the other, For Wedding Ring. As in Berrigan's previous poems, the fundamental insight which dominates is his vision of the Incarnation and its implications for the things of this world. The very title of this collection gives the key to this controlling insight. Tree imagery predominates here as in his past works, and it symbolizes one of his main themes, life, especially the Christ-life in created things. It is because of Christ that the poet can be a poet of creation. Without rejecting his background of discursive training as a priest and a Jesuit,

"seas tamed by the ordering governing glance," Berrigan shows great concern for the problem of intuitive knowledge and poetic vision. The way of poetry is, "But to light on and finger the world, bit by bit/an old woman in the flea market—." The frequent image of the eye symbolizes the vision of man in its various aspects, not only the poetic but also the natural, spiritual and intuitive.

This poet's profound vision is interwoven with a strong elegiac strand, represented by a number of poems on dead friends. His vivid, multi-level images of eyes, trees, heart, death, youth and old age are arranged in intricate patterns with craftsmanlike economy of diction. Condensation is carried to such an extent that readers will find many poems difficult and demanding. Perhaps a few times the difficulty of syntax leads to unnecessary ambiguity, as happens in the final poem, a revised version of "The Spirits That Speak in Us," which originally appeared in Thought for Summer, 1960. But this is infrequent and the austere control gives the poems a tough fiber. There is a maturity of style commensurate with his undoubted maturity of insight, and each reading reveals further depths and richness. A poet's third book is crucial and and Father Berrigan's The World for Wedding Ring establishes him as an American poet whose creative vitality continues undiminished.

HENRY J. BERTELS, S.J.

The Psalms Are Christian Prayer. By Thomas Worden. New York: Sheed & Ward, 1961. Pp. x-219. \$3.95.

The title of the book is, in a way, paradoxical for our times. There is no denying that the Psalms are what Father Worden says they are. One need only to open the breviary or a missal to prove the point. But one must also admit that the ordinary Christian layman in his prayerlife rarely, if ever, worships God in the psalmist's words. The psalms praise or cry to God in accents so foreign to the modern mind that they don't ring true to an ear attuned to the hymns of present-day hymnals. But are the psalms really that far removed from a Christian milieu? The answer obviously is no.

Father Worden goes about his task of proving his thesis in a systematic way. The key to a Christian appreciation of and frequent recourse to the Psalms involves some basic knowledge of the roots and background of Christianity and an understanding of the notion of "Corporate Personality." An introduction to this idea in biblical terms helps to an understanding of the praying-subject of the Psalms. "In using the psalms as our prayers we must never lose sight of the truth that we are part of the whole Church, the Israel of God, which simultaneously suffers with the suffering Christ, and triumphs joyfully with Christ risen from the dead and victorious over evil."

A reading of the Psalms cannot but reveal some sort of uniform patterns of composition. The second chapter of the book identifies the patterns: lamentation and praise, blessing and proclamation. Needless to say, quotations and references to the Psalms themselves abound, bringing out the Hebraic and early Christian notions of praise of God,

lamentation over Israel's woes, and proclamation of the magnalia Dei. In the last two chapters of the book, the exegete and the theologian in Father Worden combine in a theological examination of the Redemption of Israel and of the Hebraic concept of Yahweh, the conqueror of Israel's enemies, as imaged in many of the Psalms. The author takes seven Psalms whose common material "consists in the recital of the wonders which God has wrought on behalf of Israel when the latter was established as God's own possession." Father Worden does a similar competent work on ten Psalms of lamentation by bringing out the fact that Israel's history was a preparation for the coming of the new covenant.

The author actually uses only about twenty Psalms fully, but this modest beginning forms a clear outline for the other one hundred and thirty. The work is possibly too technical for the average layman, but if he makes an effort in understanding it, the rewards will be great. For the priest who has been away from his theological studies for many years, it is a great help in praying the breviary and a handy tool in preaching the Word.

JOSE V. AQUINO. S.J.

The Emerging Layman. By Donald J. Thorman. Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1962. Pp. 234. \$3.95.

"Silence can be golden. It can also be just plain yellow." In this color play, Donald J. Thorman, director of the Spiritual Life Institute of America, reflects his eagerness to exhort the maturing Catholic community to fulfill its baptismal mission, the Christianizing of society. This mission is irreducibly a social one: no one may consider himself a Catholic who looks merely to Jesus and himself!

The layman's task is the consecratio mundi, for he alone is a full member of both secular and sacred society. Armed with a spirituality at once personal, familial and worldly, and with attitudes and principles derived from the social teaching of the Church, he must reform the patterns and institutions of society. Reform is here to be understood as moral reform, not as the imposition of social blueprints. For too long the clergy have been without the layman's help for one historical reason or another. Now is the opportune time for an efficient division of labor to fructify the sanctifying work of the Church.

The largest portion of the book might be considered as a layman's examination of conscience in confrontation with the diverse problems dominating the American scene: will the Church officially approve the American concept of separation of Church and state? What can a layman accomplish in the areas of race relations, social planning, ecumenism, international relations, education, censorship and civil liberties, and communism? How can a Catholic avoid the ghetto and yet live his moral judgments in a hostile or indifferent society? On each of these questions, a Catholic position must not be hypostatized as the Catholic position.

As the American Church comes of age, laymen must freely exercise their creative responsibility. A strengthened liturgy must engender a vibrant spirit, and the spirit must overflow into Catholic action. The entire movement must be nurtured within an incarnational humanism which recognizes the intermediate goodness of material creation.

The book presents balanced, sanguine and documented views on a range of familiar topics. It would serve as stimulating and basic reading matter for laymen's study groups.

And Weigert, S.J.

The Layman in the Church. Edited by James O'Gara. New York: Herder and Herder, 1962. Pp. 91. \$3.50 (cloth); \$1.75 (paper).

In preparation for the Second Vatican Council, Commonweal magazine published a series of essays on the layman's role in the Church. This stimulating book reprints these essays, together with a portrait of today's Catholic layman in America by John Tracy Ellis. The scope is large; the book touches on the parish, the liturgy, the Catholic intellectual, the bishops, past mistakes of laymen and clerics, and on the historical forces at work in this whole question. Especially notable are the chapters of Philip Scharper on "Renewal of the Church" and of Daniel Callahan on "Problems and Possibilities." The book's point of view is limited to the view of the intellectuals, but since these men should be the leaders among the laymen, this "limited" viewpoint is a most significant one. The book, then, is honest, frank and healthy; it shows the layman's love of the Church and his frustration with the senseless traditional restrictions by which he is repressed. The layman has been offered a strong challenge by pope and theologian, yet bishop and pastor have given him little work of consequence to implement this challenge. This book is a respectful but stirring reminder of this dissonance and of the layman's longing to live his full life in the Church.

JOSEPH J. FEENEY, S.J.

#### AMONG OUR REVIEWERS

Father Richard P. Vaughan (California Province), professor of psychology at the University of San Francisco, is the author of the recent book, Mental Illness and the Religious Life.



# W O O D S T O C K L E T T E R S

VOL. XCII, No. 3

JULY, 1963

CONTENTS FOR JULY, 1963	
JESUITS ENTER THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS W. C. Repetti, S.J.	211
JESUIT REDUCTIONS IN THE PHILIPPINES AND PARAGUAY Nicholas P. Cushner, S.J.	223
AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY IN PASTORAL PSYCHOLOGY Frank H. Whelan, S.J.	233
ARE WE GIVING THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES AS EXERCISES? Donald Smythe, S.J.	
THE PRACTICE OF IGNATIAN REPRESENTATION Robert E. Griffin, S.J.	253
HOTEL CHAMPLAIN—BELLARMINE COLLEGE Leonard R. Riforgiato, S.J.	259
AFRICAN EASTER RETREAT David Knight, S.J.	271
FATHER GERALD ELLARD William J. Leonard, S.J.	293
BOOKS OF INTEREST TO OURS	301

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- Mr. Donald Smythe (Detroit Province) is a Theologian at Woodstock.
- Fr. W. C. Repetti (Maryland Province) is archivist of Georgetown University.
- Fr. Nicholas Cushner (New York Province) had his Regency in the Philippines, and is to be ordained this month in Barcelona, Spain.
- Mr. Frank W. Whelan (Upper Canadian Province) is a Theologian at Willowdale.
- Fr. William J. Leonard (New England Province) is Secretary of the Liturgical Conference, and professor of theology at Boston College.

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## Jesuits Enter the Philippine Islands W. C. Repetti, S.J.

The Philippine archipelago, lying about 550 miles from the southeastern Asiatic coast, is comprised between the latitudes  $4^{\circ}$  40' and  $20^{\circ}$  40' north and longitudes  $116^{\circ}$  and  $127^{\circ}$  east. It is bounded on the east by the Pacific Ocean, on the west by the South China Sea, on the north by the Bashi Channel and on the south by the Celebes Sea. The northernmost island of the Batan group is only sixty-two miles from the nearest island off the coast of Formosa, and Balut Island, south of Mindanao, is only forty-three miles from the nearest Dutch island. The islands of the archipelago number 7,083, but only 463 have an area of more than one square mile, and only 11 have an area of more than 1,000 square miles. Luzon, the largest, has an area of 40,814 square miles, and Mindanao, the second in size, 36,806 square miles. For the most part, the islands are mountainous or hilly. Mt. Apo having the maximum altitude, 9,960 feet. The bulk of the population lives on the coastal plains and in the low-lying valleys. The climate is tropical, but the temperature moderates with altitude until, at elevations of four thousand feet or more, one finds temperate zone conditions.

The people at the present time, prescinding from ethnological differences, fall into three main classes; the Christians, mostly low-landers; the non-Christian tribes, mostly pagan mountain folk; and the Moros, in the southern parts of the archipelago. This classification suffices for our history. The last group professes Mohammedanism which entered the archipelago by way of Borneo, and by the close of the fifteenth century it had passed northward through Palawan, western Mindoro and into southwest Luzon as far as Manila Bay. Another wave passed up through the Sulu archipelago to southwest Mindanao and into the present provinces of Lanao and Cotabato. The Spaniards introduced Christianity and pushed Mohammedanism back as far as the south end of Palawan and stopped its progress in Mindanao.

The Philippine Islands first came to the knowledge of Europeans with the arrival of Magellan's expedition, seeking a

western route to the Moluccas, or Spice Islands, which would not infringe on Portuguese rights. He discovered the Philippines on March 6, 1521, and was killed on the island of Mactan, near Cebu, April 27, 1521. Only one vessel, the *Victoria*, got to Spain with the electrifying news that the globe had been encircled.

The Spaniards assumed that the Spice Islands were on their side of the Line of Demarcation and, during the next quarter of a century, six expeditions were projected or set out for the Indies. Following the route of Magellan three of them actually reached the Philippines, but were then forced by weather or food shortages to throw themselves into the hands of the Portuguese in the Moluccas. One was commanded by García Jofre de Loaysa, a Commander of the Order of St. John, another by Alvaro de Cerón Saavedra, sailing from Mexico. The third sailed from Spain under the leadership of Ruy López de Villalobos and, in 1543, he gave the name Filipinas to the archipelago in honor of the crown prince, the future Philip II.

After a lapse of twenty years, the first permanent European settlement in the Philippines was effected at Cebu in 1565 by the Adelantado Miguel López de Legazpi. Among the instructions given to him was an injunction to get in touch with the Jesuits who were laboring in the Portuguese trading centers of the Far East. He was to ascertain where they were engaged in the conversion of natives, give any needed assistance, inquire into their methods of evangelization, the number of people, cities and provinces converted, and learn everything possible. Moreover, he was to see that the religious who accompanied him contacted the Jesuits in neighboring lands and learned all the details of their work, methods, interpreters and languages. He was, also, to send back a minute and clear report of everything.

Conditions in Cebu proved unsatisfactory. There was a scarcity of food and the Portuguese in Molucca were a constant threat to the tenure of the Spaniards, as was made evident in 1568 when Gonzalo Pereira appeared at Cebu with two galleons and endeavored to intimidate Legazpi. Consequently, the bulk of the party was moved to the island of Panay in 1569, leaving Cebu in the hands of a small garrison. After a reconnaissance by Martín de Goiti, master-of-camp, in 1570, the

Spanish force with its Visayan allies moved north in 1571 and took Manila, then an important Tagalog town.

Manila Bay is, roughly, a quadrilateral. It is some thirty by twenty-five miles in size. Manila is situated near the south end of the east side, and the entrance of the bay, divided into two channels by Corregidor Island (formerly known as Mariveles), is at the south end of the west side.

On June 24, 1571, Manila was formally organized as a Spanish city. The earliest mention of the Jesuits in connection with the Philippines is probably that made by Legazpi in his letter of June 2, 1572, to the king in which he requests that Jesuits be sent to the islands.

Legazpi died on August 20, 1572 and was buried in the church of the Augustinians. He was succeeded by Guido de Lavezaris (1572-1575). Writing to the king on June 29, 1573, de Lavezaris said:

"These natives are being baptized every day and are receiving our holy faith and religion; I hope in our Lord that the spiritual and temporal good will daily increase here, to the glory of our Lord and the honor of your Majesty. It will greatly help the conversion of these natives if some religious of the Name of Jesus and friars of the Order of St. Francis should come, because it is something of great edification to offset the avarice of these barbarians to see that these fathers do not receive or handle money, which will be a great example to them.

"Will your Majesty provide what you see fit, for it will certainly give satisfaction to all at seeing those holy men here."

Writing to the king about a year later, July 17, 1574, he again called attention to the great need of missionaries:

"There is a great need here for religious, Franciscans, Dominicans and Theatines and some clerics, for the conversion of these natives. The Theatines are especially needed, as I have seen the great fruit which they have achieved in India, and because, with the coming of settlers, it will be necessary to form some towns of Spaniards, not only in Luzon, because it is very large, but also in others.

"These natives are now being baptized daily and receiving our holy faith and religion and are very quiet and peaceful, which will continue to increase if there are many religious of the Orders which I have mentioned; because there are only ten religious of the Order of St. Augustine here and these are very few for the amount that is to be accomplished."

These requests were referred to the Viceroy of Mexico who

made them known to the Jesuit provincial there. Discussion of the matter followed in the first congregation of that province, composed of four fathers, which convened on October 5, 1577. Father Pedro Díaz was chosen as procurator and, for the information of the general of the Society, Everard Mercurian, he took a report on the Philippines which had been written some years previously by an Augustinian. It was August, 1579 when Díaz returned to Mexico and brought a letter to the viceroy, dated January 31, 1579, in which the general of the Society said:

"Most Excellent Sir: From the report of Father Pedro Sánchez, which we have, and from the very recent one given by Father Pedro Díaz I am aware of the continual protection which your Excellency bestows on the Society... Father Pedro Díaz is escorting a goodly number of religious, as requested by his Catholic Majesty, and some may be assigned to the Philippines, in accordance with the desire expressed by your Excellency."

Meanwhile, in June, 1579, Domingo de Salazar, O.P., the first bishop of the Philippines, complained to the king that he did not have any religious companion and that the House of Trade was not advancing money for the journey to the Philippines, and he asked permission to take some members of the Society of Jesus, to which the king agreed.

Father General cautioned the provincial of Mexico to select men of known virtue and learning to inaugurate the Philippine Mission, and in his instructions to the Visitor, Juan de la Plaza, the latter was told to see that the Jesuits devoted themselves, principally, to the lowly and needy, to the *Morenos* and natives, and that they learn the language of the country as a most important means of exercising their ministry.

Father Antonio Sedeño was appointed superior of the Jesuit pioneers and with him were to go Father Alonso Sánchez, Gaspar Suárez, theological student, and Nicolás Gallardo, temporal coadjutor. The small number in this first group may have been due to a doubt on the part of Father Plaza that a permanent establishment of the Society in Manila was possible.

Antonio Sedeño had the distinction of pioneering in two hemispheres, for he was among the Jesuits who endeavored so laboriously, but unsuccessfully, to establish the Florida Mission. He was left as Superior of the Mission by Father Juan Bautista Segura when the latter and seven companions went north to Virginia all of whom met death at the hands of the Indians in 1571 between the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers, only some fifty miles south of the site of the city of Washington. Later, with the abandonment of the Florida Mission, Sedeño went to Mexico with the first Jesuits sent to that country.

Father Alonso Sánchez was such a unique character that it is necessary to give a survey of his earlier life. He was a native of Mondéjar in Spain and studied philosophy at Alcalá where he obtained his bachelor's degree, and was admitted to the Society at the age of twenty. He was ordained and pronounced his solemn vows on March 3, 1571. Sánchez, as a student, was given to physical exercises and poetry, and his admission to the Society was said to have been deferred for two years on the ground that he was unable to walk much. To disprove this he made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Nuestra Señora del Pilar at Zaragoza and another to Montserrat. Alegre states that the pilgrimages were made to Peña de Francia, Guadalupe and Montserrat with the intention of becoming a hermit. Turselini quotes Sánchez as saying that he had been to Guadalupe, Montserrat, and other shrines dedicated to Our Lady in Spain, but the dates of the visits are not mentioned. According to Alegre all the severity and other eccentricities of Sánchez became manifest on these pilgrimages, and he also relates that after pronouncing his first vows Sánchez was sent off in a brown cassock to teach grammar in the lowest class in Plasencia, where he was pestered with questions and arguments from a precocious youngster in the class. This was done by superiors to test the strong spirit of Sánchez, which they recognized. Assuming the truth of this statement, it is odd that superiors would defer such a test until after the novitiate, the proper time for such trials. Pastells, an ardent admirer of Sánchez, manifests some doubt as to the veracity of Alegre in passages critical of Sánchez.

The first office of Father Sánchez in the Society was that of vice-rector of the college of Navalcarnero in the diocese of Toledo. While holding that office he united the Jesuit community with the parochial church by virtue of an apostolic indult. This so irritated the archbishop that, to placate him,

the provincial sent Sánchez to Caravaca, where he taught grammar for about five years. Alegre expresses it by saying that the rigid inflexibility of Sánchez brought down on the Society and himself the indignation of the authorities.

On August 7, 1579, Sánchez arrived in Mexico with Fathers Raymundo del Prado and Francisco Almerici who were to follow him later to the Philippines. Other prominent members of the party were Father Antonio Torres, a talented preacher, Father Bernardino de Acosta, with talent for governing, Father Martín Fernández, for many years a master of novices, and Father Juan. Díaz, experienced in the universities of Córdova and Seville. Sánchez surpassed all in talent, but his natural characteristics began to crop out and he became a source of disturbance. He advocated long prayer, seclusion, and excessive penances, and to some extent influenced even the Provincial. Some idea of conditions may be gathered from a letter which Father General Acquaviva sent in April, 1581, to Father Juan de la Plaza, who was appointed provincial on November 11, 1580, in succession to Father Pedro Sánchez:

"I believe your Reverence has knowledge of the new manner of prayer, recollection and extraordinary penance which some say is followed by Father Alonso Sánchez, and what is worse, that he has influenced some of Ours, among them Father Pedro Sánchez; and not content with that he has taught and preached it publicly, which has caused great worry, as something which can do great harm to the Institute of the Society.

"I believe your Reverence will have taken notice of this, and if not, do so; and order him for me that he is not to treat with anyone on such a manner of prayer, and that his penances and mortifications be accompanied by the virtue of obedience, as they should be; and that without an order or permission of superiors he is not to do as he pleases with his person, for it is not his own.

"I declare that damage can be done to our Institute by any method of prayer which does not incline the soul to the acts and ministries of our vocation in divine service, salvation and perfection of our neighbors, and anything which is strange or foreign to the grace and direction given to the Society by our Lord God is to be deemed an illusion."

Following the reception of this letter the Provincial seems to have acted to put an end to the incipient disorder, a task which was facilitated by the departure of Sánchez for the Philippines in 1581. In connection with this incident Pastells

becomes somewhat perturbed over the statement of Alegre of the very things which were reprehended by the general. Then Alegre remarked that the appointment of Sánchez to the Philippines might appear to have been one of expediency and human prudence, but subsequent events showed it to be a divine election. This seems to please Pastells and raises his esteem of Alegre. The choice may have been divine, at least indirectly, but one cannot help thinking that it was a relief to the Provincial to have a source of potential trouble removed to a safe distance of eight thousand miles.

In his characterization of Sánchez, Alegre states that he was

"A great servant of God, but of vehement and austere spirit, which had to be moderated at times by superiors; magnanimous in undertaking great things which seemed to be for the glory of God; constant and tenacious in carrying them out in spite of persecution and difficulty. . . ."

Astrain says the whole life of Sánchez can be reduced to three points; prayer in seculsion, long disputes about the spirit of the Society, and particularly in public affairs, both civil and ecclesiastical. He comments that there has been no one like him in the Society, either before or since. In another passage he calls him an undecipherable religious enigma.

This last statement seems to throw more of an aura of mystery about Sánchez than is warranted. His career may be divided into two phases; the first covering his life up to his arrival in Rome in 1589; the second, the remainder of his life. A perusal of his letters, as this first phase transpires, provides us with a sufficient basis to characterzie him as a religious enthusiast, leaning to excess in prayer and penance, and rather intolerant where similar sentiments were not found in others. He manifested more of the spirit of a Carthusian than a Jesuit and might have been better placed as such, at least during this first phase of his life; and, as will be seen in his letter of June 16, 1583, to the General, he himself mentioned that he "resembled a Carthusian." Astrain comments that mingled with his inclination to prayer and rigid penance were other qualities befitting an Egyptian monk. The second phase of his life will be seen later.

The Provincial's instructions to the Philippine missionaries

were, naturally, along the lines of those of the General, emphasizing the acquisition of the language of the country.

"... in order to assist the natives to save their souls, insofar as it can be done in conformity with our mode of life, not taking charge of parishes, and help the Spaniards with our ministry, for there will be place for all. .."

The pioneers were now ready to start their long journey, and in a record book of the province of Mexico it was noted that:

"Brother Nicolás Gallardo, a native of Valladolid, arrived in the province of Mexico in September, 1580, with the procurator Father M. P. Díaz, Fathers Francisco Majano and Cristóbal Angel, and Brothers Gaspar Gómez and Andrés González, an Italian.

"In the year 1581, January, in the provincialate of Father Dr. Juan de la Plaza, he set out to found the mission of the Philippines with Fathers Antonio Sedeño, professed of four vows, and Alonso Sánchez, professed of three vows, and Brother Francisco de Toledo, theologian."

This entry means that the Jesuits assigned to the Philippines left Mexico City in January and went down to Acapulco on the coast, a distance of 180 miles, south-by-west, from the capital. We do not know how long this journey lasted; we merely know that they were in the port more than a month before sailing. Father Bobadilla, who travelled this road twice, said that the distance was eighty leagues:

"A desert filled with mountains where one suffers extreme heat and the annoyance of mosquitoes. . . . Acapulco is a great harbor, protected from all winds and defended by a famous castle."

It is safe to assume that the accommodations were not as good in 1581 as they were in 1648 when Fray Domingo Navarrete, O.P., passed through and recorded that:

"All the houses are low, without any upper floor, the better ones built of adobe and all roofed with straw. . . . The climate is infernal, conformably to the name it bears. During the rainy season, all, except the negroes, some poor persons and the soldiers, retire to the back country for a change of air and location."

The galleon in which the travellers of 1581 took passage was the *San Martín*, under the command of General D. Luis de Saragosa with 96 officers and seamen. The passenger list included Bishop Domingo Salazar and one Dominican with twenty-four servants, clerics and lay assistants, the prior of

the Augustinians with seventeen friars, the Commissary of the Franciscans with three friars, Sedeño and three Jesuits, Canon Vásquez de Mercado, five married men with their wives and three daughters and thirty-one single passengers. The vessel also carried 153,356 pesos.

On March 29, 1581, they weighed anchor and stood out to For the Jesuits this departure was saddened almost immediately by the illness and death nine days later of Gaspar Suárez. He was a younger brother of Francisco Suárez, the theologian, and was born in Granada in 1554 to Gaspar Suárez, a lawyer, and his wife Doña Antonia. The mother died October, 1567, and the father on March 5, 1570, whereupon Gaspar was sent to the College of Salamanca by Francisco, who acted as administrator of the family estate. After a year at Salamanca Francisco was sent to Segovia to teach philosphy. Gaspar went with him and may have attended his lectures. He remained in Segovia for Francisco's ordination and first mass, and then returned to Salamanca where he was admitted to the Society on September 27, 1573, by Father Baltasar Alvarez, Vice-provincial of Castile. After completing the course of Arts and one year of theology he volunteered for the missions. With a group of fourteen priests and scholastics, he sailed for Mexico on May 29, 1579. He was an exemplary religious and gave great promise of future usefulness, closely resembling, it is said, his famous brother.

The following is Sedeño's report of the first Jesuit trans-Pacific voyage:

"Last year, 1581, Father Doctor Plaza, by order of Father Everard sent four of us of the Society to these Philippine Islands; Father Alonso Sánchez, Brother Gaspar de Toledo, theological student, Brother Nicolás Gallardo, temporal coadjutor, and me.

"We left the port of Acapulco, the point of departure for these islands, on March 29 of the same year, and almost as soon as we sailed Brother Toledo fell ill with a burning fever which ended his life after nine days, in spite of all the remedies which could be tried under the circumstances. His illness was aggravated by the very great heat which causes ten or twelve days of calms, and is the ordinary thing in leaving that port until the latitude of twelve degrees is reached. A Franciscan, an Augustinian, a secular priest and two lay persons also died, all of whom the Lord desired to take.

"Brother Toledo died on Saturday, the day of Our Lady, to whom he was very devout, and we hope in the Lord that he was taken to His glory, for besides the great virtue and religious spirit for which he was always known, it appeared that during the whole time that we were in port, almost a month, that he gave himself greatly to prayer, sometimes spending two hours on his knees without interruption. He showed the greatest conformity to the will of God in his illness and bore the suffering with great patience and joy; and although it was very severe we never heard him complain or show any sign of impatience; leaving us greatly edified, but deeply distressed at losing such a subject. God plucked the ripe fruit.

"The voyage to these Philippines is the longest and least turbulent, I believe, of all the discoveries. After ten or twelve days of calms, during which the people suffer a little from the heat, although the ship always progresses, the latitude of twelve or thirteen degrees is reached and there the wind is very cool and the heat is forgotten. The wind is always astern and the closer one approaches the equinoctial the stronger and cooler they are. Thus the pilots, who are very skillful, navigate along ten or eleven degrees and the winds are so favorable and steady that the sails are scarcely changed. The sea is so moderate, although this is a gulf of two thousand leagues, that it is not felt any more than sailing on a river.

"At the head of this gulf are some islands, fifteen or sixteen in number, extending north and south at a distance of ten or twelve leagues apart. They are called Ladrones, where the ships make port and take on necessary supplies to continue the voyage. The people of these islands, at least on the one on which we stopped, which is some forty leagues in circumference, are well-disposed and of good appearance, joyful, affable, and show intelligence and capacity of receiving our holy faith, more-so than those here. It tore our hearts and grieved us to see their loss and feel the impossibility of preaching the gospel to them, although it may some day please God to send us back to them so that they may not be left helpless.1

"They came out to sea more than three or four leagues to meet us, in some small little canoes shaped like shuttles, with sails woven of palm leaves, which are not more efficient than cloth. They sail with extraordinary velocity and so dexterous in maneuvering them that in the time of a Credo they can change the bow to stern and stern to bow, and go against the wind in a remarkable manner.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> These boats aroused the admiration of all Europeans who touched at the Marianas Islands. Because of the relative positions of the islands—Saipan, Tinian, Rota, Guam—and the prevailing northeast trade wind,

<sup>1</sup> Sedeño's sympathy for the Chamorros of the Ladrones (now the Marianas) was shared by other missionaries who touched at the islands. A year after Sedeño's visit, a group of Franciscans touched there and in writing from Manila to the king on June 14, 1582, Fray Gerónimo de Burgos said: "The people have no gold, silver, or anything to trade which the Christians seek and hence no one goes there and that is why they have remained so long in their infidelity."

"There is a great scarcity of iron and when they sight a ship they come out to barter for wine barrel hoops, which the sailors and passengers break into small pieces, and with this trade the ship is flooded with a thousand kinds of refreshments, such as cocoanuts, bananas, sweet potatoes, rice, fish, and other products of the land. I believe there were more than three hundred canoes clustered around the ship, bartering for pieces of iron, some leaving, some coming, so that nothing else could be seen on the water. The arrival of ships from New Spain is their market day.

"From there to this island is about three hundred leagues; that your Paternity may know where there are peopled islands; and that they are on the route and stretched out in the middle of this enormous gulf. There are other islands, full of people in the middle of this ocean, two hundred leagues further away and called barbados, because the inhabitants allow their beards to grow.

"From these Ladrones we set out to continue our voyage with brisk winds, which brought us, and always prevail, and are always favorable except four months of the year, June, July, August and September; for during this period the southwest winds set in. Hence the best time to sail from New Spain for this region is the middle of February or, at the latest, the beginning of March, and this makes it possible to cross the entire gulf in less than two months. Owing to the fact that we started late it took us about six months, although a part of it was spent in a port of this island awaiting good weather."

It is said that, in crossing the Pacific, the little group of Jesuits lived on the ordinary fare of the seamen, except during times of sickness when they accepted gifts from the passengers. This statement is made by a later writer and may very reasonably be doubted. The group which crossed to the Philippines in 1584 had an abundance of good food, as we learn from the letter of Father Francisco Almerici of June 15, 1585, and there is little reason to think that the Jesuits of 1581 fared otherwise. The passengers had to provide their

the sailing from one island to another was either directly before the wind or beating into it. As a result, the natives had developed an unusual shape for their canoes; one side was straight, from stem to stern, while the other side had the ordinary curved shape. An outrigger prevented capsizing. The mast was stepped in the middle of the boat and the sail was carried on a gaff of such a length that an end would touch either the bow or stern when drawn down. To go from one tack to another it was necessary only to release the forward end of the gaff, draw down the free end to the end of the boat, which automatically swung the free end of the sail and its sheet to the other end, and change the direction of the boat to fill the sail on the new tack. It was unnecessary to turn the boat as in ordinary fore-and-aft rigging, and it would sail closer to the wind."

own food for those voyages and it is improbable that the religious superiors or the officials of the galleon would have allowed the Jesuits to embark without food. If, nevertheless, the statement is true we may look for an explanation in the domineering spirit of Sánchez imposing his ideas on the entire party.

To save time, all, or some, of the passengers disembarked in southeast Luzon, in what is now the province of Sorsogon. These made their way overland to Manila and the Franciscans insisted that all should accept the hospitality of the houses of their Order of the province of Camarines, which was under their care and through which the travellers passed. A letter written by Bishop Salazar to the king from Manila on June 10, 1582, reported:

"We left Acapulco, the port of New Spain, on March 29, 1581. At the beginning of July we sighted this island and landed in a port of it which is called Ibalon, some ninety leagues from this city, where we remained eighteen or twenty days waiting for favorable winds to leave that port. As the southwest winds continued to prevail I decided to come by land, because by sea was rendered impossible by the unfavorable wind.

I entered this city of Manila on September 17, where I was well received by all, and by virtue of the Apostolic Bulls, orders and cédulas of your Majesty they rendered me the obedience due to their prelate and bishop."

In the absence of specific information we may assume that our Jesuits arrived in Manila with Bishop Salazar or approximately the same time. In 1582, Governor Ronquillo de Peñalosa reported the arrival in the following passage of his letter:

"Last year three Theatines came from New Spain, two priests, the Fathers Antonio Sedeño and Alonso Sánchez, great servants of God, learned men, and they accomplish great good. I deem them very good persons for this place and it would help if more were sent."

On arriving in Manila the Jesuits were offered accommodations in the Franciscan monastery, where, for three months, they followed the community life of that house in all of its details until a house of their own could be constructed in the suburb, Laguio.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The Franciscans had arrived in the Philippines in 1578 where they established the Custodia of San Gregoria, and by the Bull of Sixtus V. Dum ad uberes fructus, November 15, 1586, it became a province.

# Jesuit Reductions in the Philippines and Paraguay

Nicholas P. Cushner, S.J.

One of the foremost obstacles encountered by the early Jesuit missionaries in the Philippine Islands was the wide dispersion of population. In various islands where the missionaries worked small groups of natives were, in many cases, isolated from their fellow islanders by mountain ridges or nearly impassable natural barriers. It was therefore impossible for the handful of missionaries to accomplish their spiritual and corporal ministrations if their flocks remained in these inaccessable regions or scattered over a wide area. The solution adapted, and one which was encouraged by royal decrees, was that of "reducing" or gathering the people into a place where a sizable number could be visited by the missionary with relative facility. Such a place or pueblo was known as a reducción.

Consequently, when Jesuit Fathers returned to Mindanao in 1862 and began the difficult task of forming a Christian community in the thoroughly Mohammedan region of Cotabato, it is not at all strange that they should eventually strike upon the idea of organizing a reduction. However, the circumstances under which these latter Jesuits labored were entirely different from those of three centuries previous. For they were in a pagan environment which was, at times, violently hostile. And this hostility, they reasoned, was to be broken by implanting in its midst a ready-made Christian community, and shielding it, by force if necessary, from extinction. This they did, and if the Jesuit Fathers looked for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The financial value of centralizing the Indians was not entirely lost sight of by the crown since it facilitated tax-gathering. There is no Philippine equivalent for Lesley Byrd Simpson's study of the actual gathering together of the Indians and placing them in newly founded towns, Studies in the Administration of the Indians in New Spain. I. The Laws of Burgos of 1512. II. The Civil Congregation, Ibero-Americana: 7 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1934); see, however, John Leddy Phelan, The Hispanization of the Philippines (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959), pp. 44-49.

a model for their newly-risen community, they might easily have found it, and in all probability did, in the Jesuit Reductions of Paraguay. It is our purpose, therefore, to throw some light upon the similarities and differences between the little-known Philippine reduction of Tamontaka and its earlier prototype.<sup>2</sup>

## Reduction Beginnings

The itinerant Jesuit missions of South America were judged in 1602, to be inadequate for the complete Christianization of the Indians.<sup>3</sup> Instead, permanent settlements, remote from the corruptable influence of the white man, were ordered established by Father General Acquaviva. So began the Jesuit Reductions of Paraguay. The "Christian Republic" which actually began in 1610 with the opening of St. Ignatius Reduction, was eventually to hold as many as 150,000 Indians at one time.<sup>4</sup>

In general, peaceful means were used to induce Indians to begin life anew in the reduction. However, there were times when the missionaries would "kidnap" several Indians from an obstinate tribe and after they had been well treated, instructed in the Faith and loaded with gifts, were sent back to their tribesmen, in the hope that others would come peaceably. More often than not, however, the method was not so drastic, for the Indians were eager to be assured a degree of protection from the slave-hunting mameluks.

"Typically, one or two missionaries, followed by a small group of Indians, travelled to a tribe and there won friends by giving the natives presents of iron tools and miscellaneous goods. For this reason the missionaries usually were granted the hospitality that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The data on Tamontaka given in this article was gathered on a research project of the Xavier University Social Science Research Institute. The report of the project can be found in an article by Francis C. Madigan, S.J. and Nicholas P. Cushner, S.J., "Tamontaka, a Sociological Experiment," The American Catholic Sociological Review, XIX, 4 (December, 1958), 322-336. I wish here to express my thanks to Xavier University for permission to consult this data and particularly to Fr. Francis C. Madigan, S.J., for supplying me with additional information.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Joseph Schmidlin, Catholic Mission History, translation edited by Matthias Braun, S.V.D. (Techny: Mission Press, S.V.D., 1933), pp. 390-391.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 392. Our discussion here is concerned primarily with the Spanish Reductions, and not the Portuguese *Aldeias*.

traders enjoyed in many regions. Later, after gaining the confidence of the Indians, the Fathers endeavored to persuade them to settle in a new village where they would be under the care of a missionary and would be amply provided with iron tools. So great was the desire of the Indians for axes and knives that in many cases they were willing enough to relinquish their liberty for a constant supply of tools. The Indians also were drawn into missions by the hope that, under the protection of the Fathers, they would enjoy a bountiful existence free from want. Another major reason for the Jesuits' success was the Indians' fear of enslavement by Spanish raiders. Indians who had suffered from such raids believed that only the missionaries could save them from total extermination."

The Paraguay reduction was to make the white man remote, the very opposite of the conception behind the Tamontaka settlement. The Tamontaka Christian was to be close to the Spanish soldiery and officials for protection, and both spacially and culturally distant from the Moros. The Philippine reduction was to admit only children, for a complete break with the surrounding Moslem culture was aimed at. The young boys and girls were to be raised in the folkways and *mores* of Christianity. Slave children could easily be purchased in the slave markets of the southern Philippines. Once such an institution were developed, it could profoundly influence the surrounding Moro environment. Such was the idea conceived in 1861 by Fr. José Cuevas. It was put into effect eleven years later, when the reduction of Tamontaka was inaugurated

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Alfred Metraux, "Jesuit Missions in South America," Handbook of South American Indians (6 vols., Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 1946-50), V, 646. On the other hand, it is also claimed that the Spanish colonists made no great effort to prevent Portuguese slave-hunters from attacking the reductions since they themselves wanted the valuable Guaraní for their own encomiendas. On this whole question see the enlightening discussions in C. R. Boxer, Salvador de Sa and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola, 1602-1686 (London: The Athlone Press, 1952), pp. 71-72; 121-139.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Moros are Filipino Mohammedans whose religious ancestors were proselytized and converted to Islam in the late fifteenth century. The Mohammedan evangelists came from Borneo and Malacca, hence, their first areas of concentration were in the southern Philippines. By the time the Spaniards arrived in 1565 to found a permanent settlement, a Moslem Rajah ruled Manila, so far north had they penetrated. But by 1861 the Moslems no longer entertained hopes of incorporating the whole Philippines into the Mohammedan pale, for their power of extension had been successfully checked by Spanish gunboats. Nevertheless, southern Mindanao remained very much under their lawless sway.

on an ideal site about two and one-half miles south of the present town of Cotabato in southwestern Mindanao.

Therefore, the method of recruitment at Tamontaka was quite different from that of Paraguay. Slave children were bought and then brought to the institution. On September 9, 1872, four boys were brought to Tamontaka, the first inmates. By 1875, sixty boys and thirty girls (then taken care of by nuns) were in the reduction and by 1879, with money obtained from pious foundations, 160 children had been ransomed. The beginnings showed excellent promise.

## **Political Organization**

Spanish colonial policy, and law, prescribed that all newly founded municipalities were to be organizationally modelled upon peninsular Spanish towns.<sup>7</sup> The missions of Paraguay fell under this category. Therefore, a cabildo (town council) was the center of government, which was ordinarily composed of one or two alcaldes ordinarios (magistrates) and from four to twleve regidores (councillors).<sup>8</sup> In addition to the council was a constable, a secretary and a procurator. Over the cabildo presided a corregidor who was usually selected by the missionaries and approved by the governor. In the corregidor, who held his position for life, resided the local civil authority.

In practice, however, it was the missionaries who held the real power in the Paraguay reduction and it was rare that their authority was questioned. Events which took place in the mission were to be reported to the Fathers by the cabildo and so the Jesuits were kept well informed on daily doings. It is reported that children were sometimes recruited to let the missionaries know of any observed irregularities. Thus, the Guaraní were kept well in hand.

The Jesuit Reduction of Tamontaka was not as well knit as its Paraguayan ancestor. This is partially due to the nature

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Metraux, op. cit., 647.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries these offices, and others, were usually purchased. It is improbable, however, that such was the case in the reductions. See J. H. Parry, *The Sale of Public Office in the Spanish Indies under the Hapsburgs*, Ibero-Americana: 37 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1953), pp. 33-35.

<sup>9</sup> Metraux, op. cit., 648-649.

of its development. Further, the children of the community were legally dependent on the Fathers until they reached the age of marriage (24 for boys, 20 for girls), and although there were the usual village offices, these tended to be even more under the direct supervision of the priest than those in the Paraguay mission. Both married "libertos" and "orphans" of the Tamontaka community relied heavily on the advice of the Fathers in personal and community affairs. In such a situation, the power ascendance of the priest was inevitable. Yet few complaints were registered, which seems to indicate a moderate rule. In general, we can say that the political structure of the two types of communities was almost the same, but Tamontaka tended more towards the absolute.

Practically all Jesuit Missions were constructed along the lines of the Spanish plaza complex. In the center was a large square plaza around which there was a church, convento or college, schools, hospital and guest house. The Indians' dwellings, long and with adobe walls, were in parallel lines along streets running at right angles to one another. Communal dwellings were later partitioned into individual family apartments. A porch surrounded each house.<sup>10</sup>

Tamontaka was constructed along the same lines. A large chapel faced westward. A residence for the Fathers and for the boys was to the left of the chapel and was connected to it by a second storey covered walk which entered upon the chapel balcony. To the right of the chapel was the Colegio, which served as both the home of the sisters, and the girls dormitory. Southwest of the convento were the house stables, rice mill and storage halls. On the opposite side of the plaza, facing the Church, was the Tribunal, or Court. To the south and west were the homes of married "orphans" who received, upon marriage, two hectares of land and a carabao, a sufficient inducement to keep the Christians within the community. The area of the land under cultivation, therefore, depended upon the number of families in the reduction. There was also communal land, as there was in Paraguay, which was worked once or twice a week for the benefit of the community. The produce was to be used when the need arose. 11

10 Metraux, loc. cit.

<sup>11 &</sup>quot;The tupambae, or God's acre, was always one of the best pieces of

## Agriculture and Industry

Agriculture, livestock and limited industry formed the backbone of the Paraguay reduction. Land was distributed to the caciques (chiefs) who in turn divided it among the families in his clan. A newlywed couple received a plot for themselves. Even those who engaged in industrial work, brickmakers, carpenters, stonecutters, bakers, cooks, butchers, tanners, potters, joiners, goldsmiths, sculptors, painters and musicians, had a piece of land which was tilled for them, thereby injecting a note of stability into the Indians' lives. They always had some source of support to which they could turn. Common fields were worked on Mondays and Saturdays.

Products of the mission industries were usually taken to Santa Fe or Buenos Aires and there sold or traded. Hides from the mission cattle were likewise sold. Some missions were estimated to have possessed 400,000 head of cattle. The herds dwindled, however, when the reductions were abandoned.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> A recent study of the Spanish colonial system under the Bourbons mentions that after the expulsion of the Jesuits "... the new system afforded the Indians no economic guidance or protection. They were ruthlessly robbed of their cattle by savage Indians and by gangs of Portuguese and Spanish rustlers: the decline in livestock after the expulson of the Jesuits was recorded by Intendant Alos in 1788:

6	Number of Cattle		
•	1768	1769	1788
Department of Santiago:			
Santa Maria de Fe	60,287	33,492	15,338
San Ignacio Guazu	16,037	10,121	15,511
Santa Rosa	80,044	78,797	26,313
Santiago	36,432	32,422	32,290
San Cosme	42,914	39,983	18,705

(continued next page)

land in the community. Communally tilled and exploited, the existence of these plots is the prime evidence of Jesuit collectivism. In some cases the tupambae was cultivated by the whole community on Saturdays and Mondays as a social service and a work of charity. In other cases it was cared for by a group of expert gardeners who were then paid out of the community chest, for which the tupambae itself was the main provision. The yield of the field was used to pay officials and messengers, and to support cripples, orphans, and other indigents. As a last resort, the communal harvest was distributed when famine afflicted the mission; sometimes part of the crops were sent to other distressed communities in the area." Metraux, op. cit., 650.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> For a complete list of the industries developed in the reductions, see Metraux, op. cit., 651.

The emphasis at Tamontaka was on agriculture, although those boys who showed manual skills were tutored by the Jesuit Brother, and in some cases sent to Manila for further instruction. Some of their iron-work is still to be seen in the Tamontaka church. Special training, however, was more the exception than the rule. The land was very fertile and so given to rice raising. Some vegetables and sugar cane were also grown. In view of the fact that the average farm was two or more hectares we must conclude that the farming was on a subsistence level. This would seem to have been deliberate since any excess produce was usually stolen by marauding Moros. The Tamontakans were content to raise a varied crop, sufficient for their needs, supplemented by fish caught in the nearby Pulangi river, and some hunting.

From this brief view of the Jesuit land policy in the reductions it is easily seen that it was by no means communistic. Quite the contrary:

"The Jesuits had no desire to create a communistic state; on the contrary, they did their best to develop a sense of individual property among the Indians by encouraging them to plant a surplus to trade in the Spanish towns and by giving them cattle to build up herds of their own." <sup>14</sup>

The only "communist" feature was the common land which experience taught to be a necessity. In Paraguay, however, the missionaries did control production and consumers' goods, which action was called for, the missionaries argued, in view of the alleged improvidence of their charges.

Each Jesuit Reduction maintained a school for girls and another for boys. Reading, writing, arithmetic, and in some places a little Latin was taught. Workshops were also main-

Department of Candelaria:		•	•
Ytapua	32.500	32,500	31,755
Candelaria	25,809	15,823	18,288
Santa Ana	50,751	35,313	23,559
Poreto	34,975	40,660	12,916
San Ignacio Mini	37,695	33,630	12,145
Corpus	20,423	10,331	23,362
Trinidad	25,567	6,286	3,525
Jesus	52,937	42,811	10,099
	516 371	412.169	243.906"

John Lynch, Spanish Colonial Administration, 1782-1810 (London: The Athlone Press, 1958), p. 188.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Metraux, op. cit., 652.

tained where the trades mentioned above were taught by the missionaries. Church music was also learned and "visitors to the missions declared that the songs heard at mass compared favorably with those sung in European cathedrals." <sup>15</sup>

Tamontaka put considerable stress on schooling, which began soon after arrival at the "orphanage." The curriculum included catechism, grammar, speech, composition and reading; music and musical instrument playing was also taught, which resulted in a large brass band. Spanish was the quasiofficial language used in the classrooms. Outside, however, the children usually spoke the local Magindanao dialect. The schooling period usually lasted five years and then, if they did not go to Manila for either further vocational or academic subjects, they learned the rudiments of plowing, sowing and The girls, since they helped at seeding livestock handling. time and harvest, also took part in agricultural classes. For the most part, however, they learned weaving, basket-making and embroidery. The course was along practical lines for the students were being prepared for a very definite future whose possibilities were not too many.

## Dispersion

The story of the suppression of the Society and the subsequent decadence of the reductions of Paraguay is too well known to warrant retelling.<sup>16</sup> The American war with Spain caused the dispersion of the Tamontaka reduction.

In 1898 the Spanish-American war broke out, the effects of which were also felt in far-off Tamontaka. The Spanish garrison there decided to vacate Cotabato and it was thought best that the Fathers of the reduction leave also. The exact date of departure, however, seems uncertain. The Jesuit Fathers possibly left in 1901 and returned the next year. There are other strong indications, however, that they left with the Spanish soldiers in January of 1898. Both dates though are possibly correct. For when the Fathers departed in 1899, two remained at the settlement until they were finally taken into custody by Filipino revolutionaries.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 649.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> See, e.g., Lynch, op. cit., pp. 185-195.

When most of the Fathers left Tamontaka in 1899, they went with the Spanish soldiers to Zamboanga. With them they took almost 60 of the younger children. In all probability a shortage of food would result from the coming hostilities and the Fathers considered themselves to be in a better position to care for the young ones' needs. The remaining older children were left in Cotabato with any Christian relatives they might have.

With the American occupation of Cotabato in 1902, some priests returned to Cotabato town, and each Sunday one journeyed to Tamontaka to say Mass. The school was also reopened, probably run by an American soldier, but it was eventually abandoned in 1910. The reduction, however, never again functioned as an orphanage and agricultural colony.

At the present date, all that remains of the once flourishing reduction is the church and a few bricks which mark the site of the former convento and *colegio*. Mass is said in the church on alternate Sundays by an Oblate Father from Cotabato City. Plans are now underway to turn the church into a shrine and place of pilgrimage, a fitting tribute to the heroic men who labored there.

## Conclusion

The communal organization of Tamontaka bears a marked similarity to the Paraguay reductions. Their very *raisons d'etre* bear no little semblance, for both grew out of the long cherished desire to obviate oppression and religious disintegration. In conclusion, certain general points of comparison are worth summarizing.

Both institutions were regulated and governed by a hierarchial system which was essentially theocratic. But while the Paraguayan reductions benefited by a native administration which followed the organizational pattern proposed by the Leyes de Indias, Tamontaka tended more towards absolutism, the absolute being the priest in charge. In Tamontaka, however, the major judicial decisions of the priest required the further approval of the Spanish Administrator at nearby Cotabato town. This, in turn, provides another point of divergence, in that Tamontaka was near jurisdictional authority, which was certainly not the case in Paraguay. For although

Spaniards were excluded, with rare exceptions, from the Paraguay reductions, and royal officials enthusiastically welcomed; the remoteness of the reductions rendered frequent visitation prohibitive.

In the economic sphere, especially with regard to property, there were also similarities. Most interesting is the fact that in both Tamontaka and Paraguay newlyweds received a plot of land which they cultivated for their own needs. Likewise, education of the natives was similar. Reading, writing, arithmetic and crafts were stressed. In Paraguay, however, the teaching of Spanish was not encouraged, while at Tamontaka Castilian was the quasi-official language which was used as the medium of instruction in all classes. Music was also taught, as in all Spanish colonies, for it facilitated memorizing the doctrina and solemnizing religious celebrations. Needless to say, in both educational systems, which was mainly for the boys in Paraguay, and at all other functions, strict segregation of the sexes was rigidly enforced.

The plan or appearance of both types of reduction was likewise similar, since both were apparently modelled on Spanish towns. In the center was the church, convento, schools, plaza and storehouses. In front of these were the neatly arranged homes of the natives, and surrounding all were fields under cultivation. The material used in construction depended upon the resources, natural or otherwise, at hand.

The Jesuit Reductions of Tamontaka and Paraguay, although separated by almost a century, seem to partake of the same spirit and essence. They were experiments in religious sociology—attempts to organize a Christian "island" in pagan and hostile environments. And if their success or failure depends upon a successful projection of the culture, values and religion of the Spanish Fathers who directed them, then the reductions of Tamontaka and Paraguay certainly did not fail.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> A number of non-Spanish Fathers likewise worked in the reductions. For an account of their labors there and in the Spanish colonies in general, see Lázaro de Aspurz, O.F.M. Cap., La aportación extranjera a las misiones españolas del patronato regio (Madrid: Consejo de Hispanidad, 1946), pp. 168-184.

# An Annotated Bibliography in Pastoral Psychology

## Frank H. Whelan, S.J.\*

## I. Pastoral Psychology in General

Arnold, M. & Gasson, J., S.J. The Human Person: An Approach to an Integral Theory of Personality. New York: Ronald, 1954. 593 pp. Written by the above two authors in collaboration with eight other Catholic psychologists, this book attempts to formulate an integrated theory of personality based on a Christian conception of human nature. This book provides a good Catholic background for counseling.

Bier, W. C., S.J., Psychological Aspects of Pastoral Work. Proceedings of the Archdiocesan Institute of Ecclesiastical Studies. Dunwoodie, N.Y.: St. Joseph's Seminary, 1957. 122 pp.

A summary of five lectures on pastoral psychology.

Biot, R., & Galimard, P. Medical Guide to Vocations. Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1955. 303 pp.

Psychophysiological aspects of vocations to the priesthood and to the religious life are discussed.

Cavanagh, J. R. Fundamental Pastoral Counseling. Milwaukee: Bruce, 1962, 352 pp.

Gives the pastor of souls an awareness of what mental problems are, and professional advice on the techniques available to him to help those with mental problems.

Curran, C. A. Personality Factors in Counseling. New York: Grune & Stratton, 1945. 287 pp.

This is a book by a Catholic priest employing the client-centered counseling of Rogers.

Curran, C. A. Counseling in Catholic Life and Education. New York: Macmillan, 1952. 462 pp.

A further development by Father Curran of the client-centered counseling approach with a development of the distinction between guidance and counseling.

<sup>\*</sup>Note: In making these annotations the complier is indebted to Wm. C. Bier, S.J. and W. W. Meissner, S.J.

- Demal, W., O.S.B. Pastoral Psychology in Practice. New York: Kenedy, 1955. 249 pp.
- One of the few texts in Pastoral Psychology, translated from the German.
- Frankl, Viktor. The Doctor and the Soul. New York: Knopf, 1957. A discussion of psychotherapy utilizing man's spiritual power.
- Fordham Clergy Institute of 1955. Proceedings of the 1955 Institute for the Clergy on Problems in Pastoral Psychology. New York: Fordham Univ. 1965. 156 pp.
- Problems of guilt, sex deviations, scrupulosity, anxiety, and the psychopathic personality.
- Fordham Clergy Institute of 1957. Proceeding of the 1957 Institute in Pastoral Psychology. New York: Fordham Univ. 1958. 253 pp.
- Problems of marriage and family living, sex development and pathology, and childhood and adolescence were discussed.
  - NOTE: The above two Clergy Institutes will be bound in one volume soon by the Fordham University Press.
- Fordham Clergy Institute of 1959. Bier, W. C., S.J. (Ed.) Problems in Addiction: Alcohol and Drug Addiction. New York: Fordham Univ. 1962. 248 pp.
- Fordham Clergy Institute of 1961. Bier, W. C., S.J. (Ed.) The Adolescent: His Search for Understanding. New York: Fordham Univ., 1963. 246 pp.
- Goldbrunner, J. Cure of Mind and Cure of Soul. New York: Pantheon, 1958. 127 pp.
- The author leans heavily on Jungian individuation which he characterizes by courage, suffering, endurance, self-control, and intellectual effort.
- Hagmaier, G., C.S.P. & Gleason, R., S.J. Counseling the Catholic. New York: Sheed & Ward, 1959. 301 pp.
- Fr. Hagmaier discusses the psychological perspective and Fr. Gleason the moral perspectives of counseling.
- Hiltner, S. Pastoral Counseling. New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1949. 291 pp.
- Written by a Protestant minister, this book is a combination of psychological theory and practical applications on how every clergyman can help people to help themselves.
- Laycock, S. R. Pastoral Counseling for Mental Health. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1958.
  - A brief, well-written book containing useful references.
- Loyola University Project. Religion and Mental Health: A Catholic Viewpoint. New York: Academy of Religion and Mental Health, 1960.

This report discusses the role of the Catholic priest in the field of mental health and the way in which his training and special knowledge can be used to contribute to the control of mental illness.

Meissner, W. W., S.J. Annotated Bibliography in Religion & Psychology. New York: Academy of Religion & Mental Health, 1961. 235 pp.

A significant and comprehensive reference source of a great many articles and books on subjects relevant to the field of religion and psychology.

Rogers, C. R. Counseling and Psychotherapy. New York: Houghton-Mifflin, 1942. 450 pp.

This is the first and in a sense the easiest appreciated of Rogers' books on client-centered counseling.

Rogers, C. R. Client-Centered Therapy. New York: Houghton-Mifflin, 1951. 560 pp.

This is a development of Rogers' earlier work.

Snoeck, A., S.J. Confession and Pastoral Psychology. Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1961. 183 pp.

A greater awareness of psychological sicknesses will help the priest administer the Sacrament of Penance more aptly.

Tyler, L. E. The Work of the Counselor. New York: Appleton, Century, Crofts, 1953. 323 pp.

A good introductory text in counseling.

Van Steenberghen, F. (Ed.) Psychology, Morality and Education. London; Burns & Oates, 1958. 128 pp.

A series of essays on Psychology.

Vaughan, R. P., S.J. Mental Illness and the Religious Life. Milwaukee: Bruce, 1962. 212 pp.

The book indicates how mental illness can impede the living of a full religious life.

## II. Marriage Counseling

Cavanagh, J. R. Fundamental Marriage Counseling—A Catholic Viewpoint. Milwaukee: Bruce, 1957. 598 pp.

The biological, sexual, fertility, social and religious factors in Marriage are dealt with in this encyclopedic work.

Clemens, A. H. Marriage and the Family: An Integrated Approach. N.Y.: Prentice-Hall, 1957. 368 pp.

A comprehensive treatment of the family and its problems.

Clemens, A. H. (Ed.) Marriage Education and Counseling. Washington, D.C.: Catholic Univ. Press, 1951. 153 pp.

A series of lectures by prominent counselors on various topics.

Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists Bulletin of Catholic Psychiatrists. Oct. 1959, Vol. 6, No. 4.

This issue contains a Symposium and Annotated Bibliography on Marriage Counseling.

Johnson, J. Marriage Counseling According to the Principles of St. Thomas. Rome: Gregorian Univ., 1958.

A unique study on the subject.

Selected Papers 1957-1958-1959 of the American Catholic Psychological Association, N.Y.: Fordham Univ. 1960. 168 pp.

The 1959 meeting was a Symposium on Marriage Counseling.

Thomas, J. L., S.J. The Family Clinic: A Book of Questions and Answers. Westminster, Md: Newman, 1958. 336 pp.

A wealth of information on marriage and home life.

Von Gagern, Baron Difficulties in Married Life. Cork: Mercier Press, 1957. 77 pp.

A book written by a Catholic psychiatrist to help spiritual advisers as well as married people who are experiencing difficulties.

Zimmerman, C. & Cervantes, L., S.J. Marriage and the Family. Chicago: Regnery, 1956. 590 pp.

Problems of family disorganization are discussed.

#### III. Varieties of Mental Disorders

Cavanagh, J. R. & McGoldrick, J. B., S.J. Fundamental Psychiatry. Milwaukee: Bruce, 1953. 582 pp.

Provides a general knowledge of mental maladjustments for professional and semi-professional people.

Dobbelstein, H. Psychiatry for Priests. New York: Kenedy, 1954. 148 pp.

In mental illness the priest's role is predominantly one of recognition.

Horney, Karen Neurosis and Human Growth. New York: Norton, 1950. 391 pp.

A psychologist's approach to neurosis, its origin and treatment.

Moore, T. V., O.S.B. *Heroic Sanctity and Insanity*. New York: Grune & Stratton, 1959. 243 pp.

Reform of the moral and spiritual life can sometimes be an important factor in therapy.

Schneiders, A. A. Personal Adjustment and Mental Health. New York: Rinehart, 1955. 587 pp.

A treatment of the entire process of psychological adjustment. It provides an understanding of man's relation to himself and to reality, as expressed in his day-to-day adjustments.

Terruwe, A. A. A. Psychopathic Personality and Neurosis. New York: Kenedy, 1958. 172 pp.

Pastoral guidance for these disturbed types.

VanderVeldt, J. H. & Odenwald, R. P. Psychiatry and Catholicism. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1957. 474 pp.

A somewhat encyclopedic approach to the various types of personality disorders by a priest and a psychiatrist has many valuable pastoral implications.

White, R. W. The Abnormal Personality. New York: Ronald, 1956. 644 pp.

A comprehensive reference work on all non-religious aspects of adjustment and mental illness, by a capable non-Catholic author.

## IV. Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious

Bier, W. C., S.J. Sigmund Freud and Catholics. New York: America Press, 1956.

A brief statement of the over-all Catholic position toward psychoanalysis.

Flood, Dom. P., O.S.B. (Ed.) New Problems in Medical Ethics. Vol. III. Cork: Mercier Press, 1956. 299 pp.

The third Study in this volume entitled "Psychoanalysis and Moral Conscience" contains articles by E. Tesson, S.J., Ch. Modet, M.D., F. Pasche, M.D., L. Beirnaert, S.J. and I. Caruso, M.D.

Ford, J. C., S.J. Depth Psychology, Morality and Alcoholism. Weston, Mass: Weston College Press, 1951. 88 pp.

The first part of this book is an essay on psychoanalysis and unconscious motivation with good bibliographies.

Gemelli, A., O.F.M. Psychoanalysis Today. New York: Kenedy, 1955. 153 pp.

A discussion of Freud and Jung. The last section is a discussion on Pius XII's address on Psychotherapy and Clinical Psychology.

Nuttin, J. Psychoanalysis and Personality: A dynamic Theory of Normal Personality. New York: Sheed & Ward, 1953. 310 pp.

This book by a Belgian priest proposes a positive explanation of personality integration, employing many psychoanalytic concepts, and including an examination of unconscious motivation and moral responsibility.

Ringel, E. & van Lun, W. The Priest and the Unconscious. Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1954. 118 pp.

A psychiatrist and a priest collaborate to write a general introduction to the findings of depth psychology and how they relate to the pastoral work of the priest.

White, V., O.P. God and the Unconscious. Chicago: Regnery, 1953. 277 pp.

The series of unrelated chapters which make up the book are of unequal value, but the chapter on the Analyst and the Confessor is particularly good.

Zilboorg, G. Freud and Religion. Woodstock Papers No. 3. Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1958. 65 pp.

Until his death, Freud struggled against his own religious and spiritual impulses.

## V. Psychological Disorder and Moral Responsibility

Beirnaert, L., S.J. "Does Sanctification Depend on Psychic Structure." In Cross Currents. 1951, No. 2. pp. 39-43.

Braceland, F. J. (Ed.) Faith, Reason and Modern Psychiatry. New York: Kenedy, 1955. 310 pp.

The nature of man is considered from many points of view—doctor, historian, philosopher, theologian, etc.

Cammack, J. S., S.J. Moral Problems of Mental Defect. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1938. 200 pp.

Types of mental defect are discussed in relation to determining the moral and legal responsibility of the mentally difficient.

Duhamel, Jos. S., S.J. "Theological and Psychiatric Aspects of Habitual Sin: 1. Theological Aspects." Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Convention. New York: Catholic Theological Society of America, 1956. 294 pp.

A moral theologian gives careful appraisal of the effect of habitual sin and psychological disorder on moral responsibility.

Ford, John C., S.J. & Kelly, Gerald, S.J. Contemporary Moral Theology. Vol. I. Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1958. 368 pp.

This work contains a series of chapters on psychological problems related to moral theology.

Goldbrunner, J. Holiness is Wholeness. London: Burns & Oates, 1955. 63 pp.

The problem of the relation of health to asceticism is considered. Suggestions are made for the use of depth psychology in the development of spiritual health and religious life.

Pickett, R. C. Mental Affliction and Church Law. Ottawa: Univ. of Ottawa Press, 1952. 220 pp.

This is a doctoral dissertation in canon law which consequently emphasizes the canonical more than the moral effects of psychological disorder. There are few treatises on this subject, and hence the present work is a valuable one.

Von Gagern, Baron Difficulties in Life. Cork: Mercier Press, 1953. 92 pp.

Contains a discussion on the origin of mental and spiritual disorders.

Zilboorg, G. Mind, Medicine & Man. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1943. 344 pp.

Discusses certain misconceptions concerning mental illnesses.

### VI. Anxiety

Devlin, Wm., S.J. "Anxiety and abnormal fears in relation to Pastoral Psychology." Proceedings of the 1955 Institute for the Clergy on Problems in Pastoral Psychology. New York: Fordham Univ., 1956 pp. 86-107.

Psychiatric aspects of anxiety and the types of abnormal fear are described in detail and some simple rules are given for the help of the untrained priest in recognizing and dealing with persons afflicted by such anxieties.

May, Rolo The Meaning of Anxiety. New York: Ronald, 1950. 376 pp. This book, by a non-Catholic author, is an excellent over-all treatment of anxiety, considering it from its historical no less than from its psychological aspects.

Oliver, J. R. Fear: The Autobiography of James Edwards. New York: Macmillan, 1927. 366 pp.

This book written by a Protestant minister who was also a psychiatrist, contains a remarkably clear exposition of the development of fear and of the role played by religion in counteracting fear.

Schwartz, Charleen. Neurotic Anxiety. New York: Sheed & Ward, 1954. 120 pp.

This is a Catholic treatment of anxiety in which the author attempts to relate neurotic anxiety to the teaching of St. Thomas. This is a significant, though not entirely successful, attempt.

#### VII. Guilt

Bruno de Jesus-Marie, Pere, O.C.D. (Ed.) Conflict and Light: Studies in Psychological Distrubance and Readjustment. New York: Sheed & Ward, 1952. 192 pp.

Thirteen essays on guilt, guilt feelings and spirituality.

Houselander, Caryll *Guilt*. New York: Sheed & Ward, 1951, 279 pp.

This is more of a religious than a psychological book, but some of the references are valuable.

Samson, Henre, S.J. "Guilt—Real and Unreal." Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists. April, 1953.

A brief article with some pertinent observations on guilt.

Stern, Karl The Third Revolution. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1954. 306 pp.

This book is concerned in general with the applicability of the psychoanalytic method with the framework of the Christian religion. There is a good section on guilt and anxiety.

THREE JOINT SYMPOSIA, OF THE ACPA—APA MEETINGS OF 1957, 1958 & 1959. New York: Fordham Univ. Press, 1960. 207 pp.

The 1957 Symposium of the American Catholic Psychological Association dealt with Guilt and Guilt Feelings.

White, Victor, O.P. "Guilt: Theological and Psychological" pp. 155-76.

In Mairet, P. (Ed.) Christian Essays in Psychiatry. London: SCM Press, 1956.

This is one paper in a symposium including 7 psychiatrists, 3 theologians and one educator.

Zilboorg, Gregory. "The Sense of Guilt" Proceedings of the 1955 Institute for the Clergy on Problems in Pastoral Psychology. New York: Fordham Univ. Press, 1956. pp. 5-22.

Unconscious guilt is discussed and related to the problems regarding guilt feeling with which the pastor must deal.

## VIII. Scrupulosity

- Allers, R. The Psychology of Character. (Trans. by E. B. Strauss) New York: Sheed & Ward, 1939. 383 pp.
- Casey, Dermot, S. J. Nature and Treatment of Scruples. Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1948. 66 pp.

This book has many excellent observations on scrupulosity. The soundness of the method of treatment may be questioned from a theoretical point of view, but in practice this method has helped many.

Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists. Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists. Dec. 1957, Vol. 5. No. 2.

This issue contains three articles on scrupulosity by J. McCall, S.J., V. P. Mahoney, & J. D. Sullivan.

Mailloux, Noel, O.P. "The Problem of Scrupulosity in Pastoral Work."

Proceedings of the 1955 Institute for the Clergy on Problems in
Pastoral Psychology. New York: Fordham Univ. 1956. pp. 53-65.

The psychological dynamics of scruples are discussed in relation to

pastoral concerns and pastoral treatment.

Mora, G. "The Psychotherapeutic Treatment of Scrupulous Patients." Cross Currents. 1957, 7 pp. 29-40.

The super-ego and conscience are entirely distinct, but there seems to be an undeniable connection between them, especially in the scrupulous.

- Moore, T. V., O.S.B. Personal Mental Hygiene. New York: Grune & Stratton, 1952. 331 pp.
- Mullen, J. J. Psychological Factors in the Pastoral Treatment of Scruples. Studies in Psychology and Psychiatry. 1927, 1 (3). Washington, D.C.: Catholic Univ. Press.

Psychopathology of scrupulosity is discussed and some examples of scrupulosity in the lives of Therese of the Infant Jesus and others are examined.

- Riffel, P. A., S.J. The Detection of Scrupulosity and its Relation to Age and Sex. Unpublished Master's dissertation. New York: Fordham University, 1958.
- Weisner, W. M. & Riffel, P. A. "Religion and Obsessive Compulsive Behavior in Children." Current Psychiatric Therapies. 1961 Vol. I. (Ed.) Jules H. Masserman, New York: Grune & Stratton, 1961. pp. 39-42.

#### IX. Masturbation

Flood, Dom P., O.S.B. (Ed.) New Problems in Medical Ethics Vol. I. Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1952. 259 pp.

The first section of this book is a symposium of French priests and doctors who discuss the psychological, medical, and moral aspects of masturbation—emphasizing a positive approach to sex.

Ford, John C., S.J. "Problems in Autosexuality: Moral Aspects."

Proceedings of the 1957 Institute for the Clergy on Problems in
Pastoral Psychology. New York: Fordham Univ. 1858. pp. 199-214.

Fr. Ford provides some theological and psychological guideposts for judging the degree of freedom and consequent responsibility in masturbation. A list of criteria to help the confessor in judging moral guilt is included.

Hagmaier, Geo., C.S.P. & Gleason, Rbt., S.J. Counseling the Catholic. New York: Sheed & Ward, 1959. 301 pp.

On pages 73-93 and pages 215-227 the problem of masturbation is discussed from a psychological and moral point of view.

Hayden, Jerome, O.S.B. "Theological and Psychiatric Aspects of Habitual Sin: II. Psychiatric Aspects." Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Convention. New York: The Catholic Theological Society of America, 1956. 294 pp.

A priest-psychiatrist discusses the problem of habitual and particularly compulsive masturbation.

McCormick, Richard, S.J. "Adolescent Masturbation: A Pastoral Problem." The Homiletic and Pastoral Review. March 1960. V. 60 pp. 527-40.

Psychological aspects of the habit of masturbation are discussed for

the benefit of confessors. Remedies are suggested and deficiences in previously suggested remedies discussed. The importance of extra-confessional counseling is emphasized.

Von Gagern, Baron The Problem of Onanism. Cork: Mercier Press, 1955. 135 pp.

A discussion of the prevalent practice of self-abuse, its causes, its consequences in physical, psychological and spiritual terms; and its prevention and correction; together with illuminating notes on the morality of the practice.

## X. Homosexuality

Anomaly *The Invert*. London, Bailliere, Tindall & Cox, 1948. 290 pp. An anonymous Catholic with homosexual tendencies discusses this little understood problem and its psychology, with some practical advice on how to live with it.

Buckley, M. J. Morality and the Homosexual: A Catholic Approach to a Moral Problem. Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1959. 214 pp.

A discussion of current concepts and theories regarding the nature and causes of homosexuality.

Flood, Dom. P., O.S.B. (Ed.) New Problems in Medical Ethics. Vol I. Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1952. 259 pp.

The book contains a section on homosexuality and its treatment.

Gleason, Rbt., S.J. "Panel on Homosexuality: Moral Aspects." Proceedings of the 1957 Institute for the Clergy on Problems in Pastoral Psychology. New York: Fordham Univ. 1958. pp. 183-191.

The homosexual's subjective responsibility is discussed and the point is made that this sexual deviation is only secondarily a moral problem.

Hagmaier, Geo., C.S.P. "Panel on Homosexuality: Pastoral Counseling." Proceedings of the 1957 Institute for the Clergy on Problems in Pastoral Psychology. New York: Fordham Univ., 1958. pp. 166-82.

Hagmaier, Geo., C.S.P. & Gleason, Rbt., S.J. Counseling the Catholic. New York: Sheed & Ward, 1959. 301 pp.

On pages 94-112 and pages 228-238 the problem of homosexuality is discussed from a psychological and moral point of view.

#### XI. Alcohol Addiction

Bier, Wm. C., S.J. (Ed.) Problems in Addiction: Alcohol & Drug Addiction. New York: Fordham Univ. Press, 1962. 248 pp.

The first part of this excellent book is on Alcohol Addiction and contains articles by Y. Gardner, R. J. Kennedy, S.J., T. J. Boyle, John C. Ford, S.J., J. M. Murtagh, R. J. Campbell, R. Fox, C. Sower, J. Hirsh, F. Lawrence, M.S.SS.T., A. Streeseman and J. Pasciutti covering the

- areas of 1. General Problem of Alcoholism, 2. Background and Special Problems of Alcoholism and 3. Treatment and Prevention.
- Clinebell, H. J. Understanding and Counseling the Alcoholic. New York: Abingdon Press, 1956. 252 pp.

This book is written as an aid to the person who wishes to apply religious resources more effectively to the problem of alcoholism.

- Duchene, H. Modern Possibilities of Treating Alcoholism, New Problems in Medical Ethics. Vol. IV. Dom P. Flood, O.S.B. (Ed.) Cork: Mercier Press, 1960. pp. 65-135.
- Ford, John C., S.J. Depth Psychology, Morality and Alcoholism. Weston Mass.: Weston College Press, 1951. 88 pp.

The second part of this book is an essay on the moral responsibility of the alcoholic.

Ford, John C., S.J. What About Your Drinking. New York: Paulist Press, 1961. 128 pp.

This book is a discussion of the facts and principles of drinking.

Ford, John C., S.J. "Clerical Attitudes on Alcohol." The Priest. April, 1955. Vol. XI. pp. 838-43.

This article examines the many incorrect attitudes towards alcohol.

Ford, John C., S.J. & Kelly, Gerald. Contemporary Moral Theology. Vol. I. Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1958. 368 pp.

This book contains a chapter on Alcoholism and Subjective Imputability.

Hagmaier, Geo. & Gleason, Rbt., S.J. Counseling the Catholic. New York: Sheed & Ward, 1959. 301 pp.

On pages 113-144 and on pages 239-246 the psychological and moral aspects of drinking are discussed.

Mann, Marty. New Primer on Alcoholism. New York: Rinehart, 1958.

A basic book on the subject.

National Clergy Conference on Alcoholism. P.O. Box 1194, Indianapolis 6, Indiana.

This organization specializes in helping priests deal professionally with drinking problems that come to their attention. The results of their annual meetings are published in THE BLUE BOOK available only to priests.

The Alcoholic Foundation. P.O. Box 459, Grand Central Annex, New York 17, N.Y.

This is the headquarters for Alcoholics Anonymous books and pamphlets and is the clearing house for their world-wide activities. One of the items obtainable from them is The Pastoral Counseling of the alcoholic: a kit for the busy priest.

Thomas, John L., S.J. "Factors in Marital Discord: Alcoholism and other factors." Proceedings of the 1957 Institute for Clergy on Problems in Pastoral Psychology. New York: Fordham Univ. Press, 1958. pp. 45-51.

## XII. Drug Addiction

Bier, Wm. C., S.J. (Ed.) Problems in Addiction: Alcohol & Drug Addiction. New York: Fordham Univ. Press, 1962. 248 pp.

The second part of this excellent book is on Drug Addiction and contains articles by K. W. Chapman, R. J. Campbell, Eva Rosenfeld, A. M. Grennan, Rev. N. C. Eddy, H. Berger, R. Ganso, L. Brill, and J. M. Murtagh covering the areas of 1. Aspects of Drug Addiction, 2. Approaches to the Problem of Drug Addiction and 3. Treatment of Drug Addiction.

New York City Youth Board. Reaching the Teen-age Addict. 1961. 53 pp. Available from the Youth Board, 79 Madison Ave., New York 16, N.Y.

A Study of Street Club Work with a Group of Adolescent Users.

The Alcoholic and Drug Addiction Research Foundation of Ontario. 24 Harbord St., Toronto 5, Ontario.

This Foundation publishes a quarterly entitled Addictions and supplies materials and films.

## XIII. Adolescent Development

Ausubel, David. Theory and Problems of Adolescent Development. New York: Grune & Stratton, 1954.

The emotional life of the child is traced from infancy.

\*Bier, Wm. C., S.J. (Ed.) The Adolescent: His Search for Understanding. New York: Fordham Univ. Press, 1963. 246 pp.

Sexual adjustment, Juvenile delinquency, Emotional maturation and the Vocational choice of the adolescent are some of the topics handled by a group of experts. The results of their discussions in this excellent book highlight the all-important fact that adolescence is a time that cries for understanding.

\*Burns, Charles. Mental Health in Childhood. Notre Dame, Indiana: Fides Publishers, 1956. 94 pp.

This book is written for those who deal with deprived, delinquent and maladjusted children, in schools and institutions of all kinds.

Fleege, U. H. The Self-Revelation of the Adolescent Boy. Milwaukee: Bruce, 1945. 384 pp.

A book about boys and their problems.

Godin, A., S.J. "Faith and the Psychological Development of Children and Adolescents." Lumen Vitae. 1958. 13, pp. 297-311.

Affective disorders formed in the first years of life can inhibit the plenitude of faith.

Lewis, Eve. Children and Their Religion. New York: Sheed & Ward, 1962. 316 pp.

By means of a study of the successive phases of childhood from babyhood to adolescence, the author is able to indicate just how healthy psychological development offers a prefabricated foundation for religious teaching and how disastrous the results if the natural pattern of the individual child's development is disregarded.

McCarthy, Raphael, S.J. Training the Adolescent. Milwaukee: Bruce, 1937. 298 pp.

This book discusses the physical and sensory changes in the adolescent, his mental and physical growth and how to train him to become happy, useful and religiously successful.

Oraison, Marc. Love or Constraint? New York: Paulist Press, 1961. 160 pp.

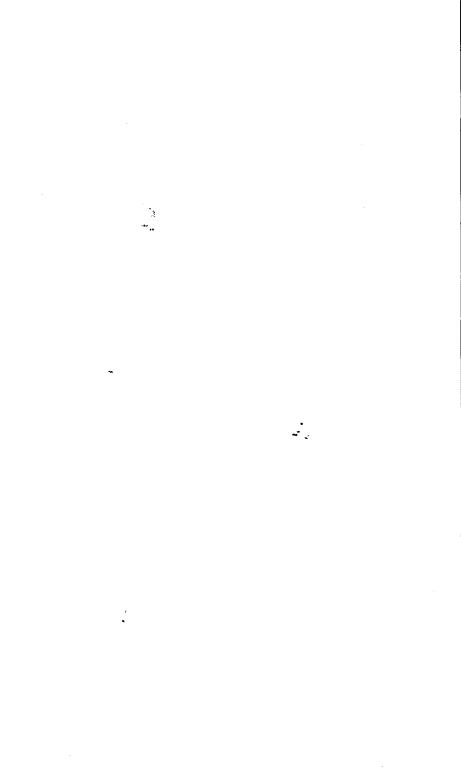
This book discusses some psychological aspects of religious education.

Schneiders, A. A. Personality Development and Adjustment in Adolescence. Milwaukee: Bruce, 1960. 473 pp.

This book covers all areas of adolescent personality and development and contains an extensive list of references.

Trese, Leo J. Parent and Child. New York: Sheed & Ward, 1961. 186 pp.

The many problems of bringing up children are discussed in this little book.



## Are We Giving the Spiritual Exercises as Exercises?

## Donald Smythe, S.J.

In the first annotation of his famous book St. Ignatius explains that by "Spiritual Exercises" he means various "spiritual activities" and that these are analogous to such physical activities as "taking a walk, journeying on foot, and running."

He also states (in the second annotation) that the director should keep his points "short" and should not explain the meaning "at great length." The reason is that the retreatant must have time to reflect "for himself"; this will produce "greater spiritual relish and fruit" than if the director discoursed at length. "For it is not much knowledge that fills and satisfies the soul, but the intimate understanding and relish of the truth."

It is significant that St. Ignatius in explaining the Spiritual Exercises compares them to physical exercises. For what is most apparent in these latter is that, if they are to be of value, they must be actively engaged in. The person must *exercise*. Nothing else does any good.

Let a coach describe the rewards of exercise as he will, let him talk glowingly of the benefits to be derived from exercise in more attractive appearance, increased efficiency, better health, let him illustrate his talk with photographs and diagrams showing just what to do—until a person actually *does* it, it doesn't mean a thing.

This being true, what is the situation today regarding retreat work, regarding the Spiritual Exercises? Are they being given as exercises? Are the points short, as Ignatius directed? Are retreatants left time to reflect for themselves—or are they subjected to lengthy discourses? Are the points such that they are truly "directions for exercise"—or are they lectures, conferences, disquisitions on the spiritual life?

Each must answer for himself and from his own experience. But I suggest that a frank examination will reveal that points are often not what they ought to be, not what Ignatius had in mind when he directed that they be "short or summary."

What is one to think when a retreat master more or less consistently goes over the thirty minutes allotted for points? Or when the points are so long that the retreatants have comparatively little time to meditate? Or when the "directions of exercise" (which is what we mean, or ought to, by points) actually run longer than the time left for the exercise itself?

These are not hypothetical questions. I can recall points on the Passion once which ran about an hour; only about fifteen minutes was left for the actual meditation, for the actual exercise.

An extreme case? Yes. But the reader can undoubtedly recall similar isolated examples of such extremes. And, more important, he can substantiate the fact from his own experience that points often do go very long, that thirty minutes, far from being a maximum (as it was intended to be) has become a minimum. The director usually goes at least that; he often goes much more.

Coupled with long points is a false idea of the Spiritual Exercises as a series of conferences, sermons, pious reflections on the spiritual life, rather than a core of exercises designed to take off "flab" in much the same way as physical exercises do with the body. Significant is the remark with which a retreat master began his points once: "The theme of my talk is going to be this."

The upshot, I submit, is that, far more than is necessary, our retreatants are sitting passively listening to someone talk when they should be actively engaged (as Ignatius intended) reflecting on matters for themselves. In terms of the analogy of physical exercises, our retreatants are looking too much at a picture book on fitness and not doing enough running around the track.

And the fault is not theirs. They are being talked to excessively by directors who do not seem sufficiently to realize that the Spiritual Exercises are exercises. Not talks, not conferences, not homilies—exercises. The retreatants must have time to do them for themselves.

In 1955 a survey was taken of over 700 sisters in the United States, representing all ages, types of congregation (between thirty and fifty were polled), and kinds of work. Asked the question "What time length do you ordinarily prefer for a

meditation expose?", a considerable majority (67%) voted for thirty minutes or under. In a blank space for comments, some of the respondents wrote as follows:

"It should give the sisters sufficient time to develop the ideas or points exposed. It is not up to the retreat master to make the retreat for the sisters."

"If the expose is longer, it usually is due to poor organization or needless repetition."

"No matter how good the speaker, a long expose tends to make listeners restless, especially in summer."

"Retreat masters seem to lack faith in sisters' power to meditate and weary them with too much talk. No energy left for meditation."

"There is a limit as to the amount one can take at one time."

"Our retreat meditations average  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hours. Were less time provided, I would want less than 30 minute expose."

"I think usually some of the meditation lectures [!] are too long, thereby not providing enough time for reflection."

These reactions were confirmed by responses I myself received from an informal query on the matter. "Twenty-five minutes seem the maximum for me," one nun wrote. "The forty-five minute lecture doesn't accomplish any more—just re-chews what I should be working out for myself."

A layman, veteran of a number of eight-day retreats, stated that "points are often not 'directions for exercise' but a lecture or conference on some point in the spiritual life." His letter ended with the remark: "I am looking forward to the day when a large number of laymen will make the Exercises on their own (with, of course, the help of their spiritual director). Perhaps retreat masters could aid in initiating such a trend by giving the Exercises in such a way as to leave the 'exercising' to the individual retreatant."

Another layman, a devout sodalist who has made three eight-day retreats, commented sadly on the non-Ignatian mentality of retreat masters. "It seems to be accepted procedure," he lamented, "that the retreat should be conducted as a platform for the ideas and ideals of the retreat master. Certainly every retreat master turns blue in the face telling, exhorting,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Thomas Dubay, S.M., "Sisters' Retreats—III," Review for Religious, XV (May, 1956), 128-29.

and even admonishing the retreatant to make the retreat himself and that the retreat will be useless if he doesn't. Then this same retreat master will, too often quite badly, ram the exercise down your throat for as long as one hour. Yes, one hour is not at all uncommon. In fact it is a rare retreat master who will stay consistently within the desired (for him) thirty minutes time limit."

Of the three eight-day retreats this sodalist made, only one retreat master "stayed within the time limit and offered points for meditation." In the other two "the points for meditation were not points at all but laborious lectures on an admittedly gratifying phase of the spiritual life." Granted they may have been good, "the point is that they were lectures where the thinking and much of the pondering was done for the retreatant by the retreat master."

In contrast, the one retreat master who conducted the Spiritual Exercises as exercises told his retreatants that his points were optional. If they didn't want to come to them, they needn't. If they preferred to meditate on a different subject than he suggested, that was their privilege. If they felt tired and needed an hour's sleep, they could take it and skip the points.

What impression did this make on the retreatants? It was "excellent." "The effect was that we realized that we were making the retreat and it was up to us to do the really hard work. The results, at least for me, were most gratifying and the retreat has had a lasting impact upon me."

As for the other two retreats, they "were a waste of time, energy, and money. You see, the result of getting a pious lecture is that you do little more than rehash the points the retreat master gave. Of course the results of this type of retreat are quite obviously negligible at best."

One of our Jesuit college graduates commented bitterly on extended points. Said he: "The eight-day retreat which is the best source, next to the Mass, of growth in the spiritual life, is being assassinated with pious platitudes and equally pious sermons. If somehow retreat masters could only realize that they are not necessary for the retreat but are there to help us fledglings along then maybe they would change their approach."

What could be done to remedy the situation? One writer

offered these suggestions for directors:

- "1) Impress upon those who are making the retreat that they and not you are making the retreat and then practice what you preach.
- "2) Never speak longer than 30 minutes and if possible cut it short.
- "3) Challenge a retreatant's intellect as well as his emotions."

If retreat masters would practice these rules, he stated, "the retreat would be a spiritual exercise and not a mission. . . . I feel that . . . one hour for meditation is absolutely essential and I resent having this time cut to forty-five or thirty minutes by some pious lecture."

These remarks certainly reflect the mind of our Fathers General. "Points for Ours should not last more than half an hour . . . ," said Father Ledochowski in 1921. "This is so essential to the Spiritual Exercises that if it is neglected it is no longer the Ignatian Exercises which are given."2 Writing again on the subject in 1935, he called for "an end of long discourses by which some tend more to destroy the Exercises of Ignatius than set them forth."3

Father Janssens in his letter on the Exercises in 1948 recommended "shorter points and . . . longer meditations." 4 "The Exercises are not given nor are they preached," he said; "they are made. It is essential that he who makes the Exercises should exert himself." He decried "excessively long conferences" which are little more than "a series of sermons."6 Therefore, "let the points, if they be explained or proposed, be brief. . . . Certainly, they should never take the place of the exercitant's own consideration nor abbreviate the time of intimate communication with God. . . . "7

This "time of intimate communication" meant for Ignatius sixty minutes. His directions for the exercitant in the twelfth annotation state: "He is to spend an hour in each of the five exercises or contemplations which are made every day. . . . Let him rather exceed an hour than not use the full time." Simi-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Selected Writings of Father Ledochowski (Chicago, 1945), p. 846. <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 759.

<sup>4</sup> On the Fourth Centenary of the Spiritual Exercises (Woodstock, Md., 1949), p. 9.

5 Ibid., p. 11.

6 Ibid., p. 9.

7 Ibid., p. 7.

larly in numbers 253 and 254: "He should continue for an hour," "through the whole hour," "when the hour is over..."

This, of course, is the ideal and, like all ideals, it cannot always be realized in every case. Father Ledochowski, when limiting points to a half hour for Ours, admitted that "this limit may be extended somewhat for seculars..."

In 1960 at John Carroll University the Leunnis Professional Sodality made an eight-day retreat in which instructions did not go beyond half an hour and for the big meditations were only fifteen minutes. "Mostly no points at all," was the way one person described the retreat, i.e., no formal orally delivered points. But the retreatants received continuous personal direction and also mimeographed sheets of directions for each exercise telling them what to do. These supplemented, or took the place of, formal points.

The reaction: For those who had made two or more eight-day retreats—excellent; for beginners, poor.9

The previous experience of retreatants, therefore, will determine the amount of time that points can be shortened. If they are beginners, with little or no backlog of material on which to feed their thoughts and affections, the retreat master must talk more to give them fuel for their prayer.

But certain retreatants are not beginners. These are the people who make eight-day retreats year after year: religious men and women, and certain laymen. It is they I have especially in mind, people who deserve shorter points so they might have more time for their own thoughts, more time to discover things "for themselves," as St. Ignatius says. With them I should think that points of fifteen minutes, rather than thirty (and certainly never longer than that!), would be the optimum.

One of the laymen who wrote me said: "People who have already made a number of retreats according to the Ignatian method can often ride pretty much on their own with merely a brief review of the points." If that is true of laymen, a fortiori it is true of religious, with years of prayer and reading behind them.

It now remains for retreat masters to recognize that fact.

<sup>8</sup> Selected Writings of Father Ledochowski, p. 846.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Letter of James J. McQuade, S.J., to the author, Sept. 22, 1961.

# The Practice of Ignatian Representation Robert E. Griffin, S.J.

In his Letter on Obedience St. Ignatius says a number of things about the perfection of obedience, not the least of which is the following:

"One may obey for some time perhaps, under the common misunderstanding that obey we must even if commanded amiss. But such obedience cannot last, with the resulting failure in perseverance, or at least in the perfection of obedience, which consists in obeying cheerfully and lovingly. And there can be no love or cheerfulness as long as such a conflict exists between action and judgment." (n. 12, Italics added.)

The "beloved brethren" must have wished to know how they could acquire that obedience of the judgment wherein they could "stand by their promises not only cheerfully but even lovingly." St. Ignatius presents three means to this end.

The first is to see Christ in the person of the superior. Listen to the words of the superior when he commands you, as though they were the words of Christ himself. The second means is always to make a serious effort to defend in your own mind the mind and will of the superior. The third and last means of bringing the judgment into subjection is to accept whatever the superior commands as the command and will of God himself. (nn. 16, 17, 18.)

But having said this, St. Ignatius immediately adds:

"But for all that, you are not forbidden to lay before your superior something that occurs to you and which seems to be at variance with his mind, and which you think ought to be called to his attention." (n. 19.)

Ignatius then inserts a caution against self-love vitiating the representation and admonishes the one who would represent to pray to the Lord first and to remain indifferent throughout the representation, so as not to seek to twist the superior to his own will, and to be able to accept as best whatever decision the superior will finally make.

When you think about it, is it not a remarkable thing that Ignatius has brought up the subject of representation at all? He has just said clearly enough that the third and last means of arriving at obedience of the judgment is to accept the command of the superior blindly, promptly, unquestioningly, as from God himself. At first glance this would seem to preclude the legitimacy of allowing anything to occur to you which would even seem to be at variance with the superior's mind. How does representation fit into Ignatius' scheme of perfect obedience, when Ignatius has just said that the third is the last means? Or is it something only tolerated in the second-rate Jesuit who cannot measure up to the three means just presented? It is not easy to solve these apparent difficulties from the Letter on Obedience alone.

A glance at another letter which St. Ignatius wrote to a certain John Baptist Viola might shed some light on the matter. In this letter St. Ignatius says:

"Obedience seeks to be blind in two ways; in the first it belongs to the inferior to submit his understanding when there is no question of sin and do what is commanded him; in the second it is also the inferior's duty, once the superior commands, or has commanded anything, to represent to the superior whatever considerations or disadvantages may occur to him, and do so humbly and simply, without any attempt to draw the superior to either side, with the result that afterwards he will be able with peace of mind to follow the way that shall be pointed out to him or commanded." (Italics added.) 1

Here, as in the Letter on Obedience, Ignatius first insists on obedience of the judgment. But here, Ignatius provides only a single means for obtaining it, representation; and does not include those three other means which he had spoken of in the Letter on Obedience, and which were in addition to representation. If representation did not stand out clearly in the Letter on Obedience as a means for obtaining perfect obedience, it does here in the letter to Viola. It is even given as a quasinecessary means since Ignatius speaks of the inferior's duty to represent when obedience of the judgment is not present.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Letters of St. Ignatius of Loyola, Selected and translated by William J. Young, S.J., Loyola University Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1959, p. 60.

At least this seems to be the most natural interpretation, given the context.

And notice too, the reason our holy Father gives for this representation: "with the result that afterwards he (the inferior) will be able with peace of mind to follow the way that shall be pointed out to him or commanded." This peace of mind is very close to, if not the same as, that cheerfulness and love in which the Letter on Obedience says the perfection of obedience consists.

If it is true then, that in the mind of Ignatius representation is a genuine means for acquiring perfect obedience, why was he so jejune and circumspect in his treatment of it in the Letter on Obedience? Perhaps this can be explained from the historical circumstances surrounding that letter. It was written to the Jesuits of Portugal, who, under the difficult Simon Rodriguez, were having real problems with obedience and showed a liberty of action which Ignatius considered foreign to the spirit of the Society. What the Portuguese Jesuits needed in these circumstances was a forthright statement from Ignatius on the perfection of obedience and the real supernatural character and outlook needed for its practice. This is what Ignatius gave them, emphasizing the necessity of striving for submission of mind and heart to the mind and heart of the superior, the one who represents for them Christ Himself. The Letter on Obedience stresses what Ignatius thought needed stressing. Quite naturally, the topic of representation did not require the same elaboration as other points, given the situation in Portugal. St. Ignatius did not, however, pass over in silence the notion of representation. He did not deprive even the Portuguese Jesuits of this doctrine. He simply did not give it much emphasis.

In Ignatius' letter to John Baptist Viola we have seen that he speaks of representation as a means for arriving at obedience of the judgment. Is there any more evidence in Ignatius' writings which might further indicate the importance he attached to representation? Very definitely there is.

A letter written by our holy founder on *The Method of Dealing with Superiors* deserves some attention. Apparently little is known about its historical circumstances, other than that it was written approximately two years after the *Letter on Obe-*

dience and was sent to the colleges and houses of Spain and Sicily. Could it be that the purpose of this letter was to correct a too rigorous interpretation of the Letter on Obedience given two years earlier? We do not know. But we do know that The Method of Dealing with Superiors is a much fuller treatment of representation than that given in the Letter on Obedience and stresses the actual practice of representing. Practically the whole letter is devoted to the topic of representation.

## The Method of Dealing with Superiors

- "1. He who has business with a superior should have the matter well in hand, arranged in order and thought out by himself or others, in keeping with the greater or lesser importance of the matter. In smaller matters, however, or when there is need of hurry and no time is available for study or conferring, it is left to his own judgment as to whether he should represent the matter to the superior or not, if he has not been able to confer with others or study the matter himself.
- "2. After he has examined and studied his proposals, he should place them before the superior, and tell him that this point has been examined by himself or with others as the case may be. He should give the superior the results of his examination and study, but he should never say to a superior in discussing a point with him, 'this or that is right, or this or that will be,' but he should speak conditionally and with a certain amount of reserve.
- "3. Once he has proposed the matter to the superior, it will be the superior's duty to make a decision, or wait for further study, or refer the proposals back to those who submitted them, or name others to examine them, or make the decision then and there, according to the nature of the difficulty involved.
- "4. If I point out some drawback in the decision of the superior, or the superior reaffirms his decision, there should be no answer or discussion for the time being.
- "5. But if, after the decision of the superior, he who is dealing with him sees that something else would be better, let him call the superior's attention to it, adding his reason. And even if the superior had withheld judgment, this may be done after three or four hours, or a day. He could then represent to the superior what he thinks would be good, preserving, however, a manner of speaking and using such words that there would neither be nor appear to be any dissension or altercation. He should then accept in silence what is then and there decided.

"6. But even supposing that a decisive answer was given the first time, or even the second, he might a month or more later, represent his view in the manner already indicated. For time and experience uncover many things, and the superior himself may change his mind.

"7. He who deals with a superior should accommodate himself to the character and abilities of the superior. He should speak distinctly and so that he can be heard, clearly, and whenever possible at an hour that is suited to the superior's convenience . . "2"

We have now seen three approaches to the topic of representation. In all three Ignatius follows the same pattern, but gives a different tone to each. In the Letter on Obedience, Ignatius first explains blind obedience and then states his doctrine on representation, with the condition about using it correctly. The emphasis is all on the supernatural outlook involved. Representation is not excluded, but is exposed very conservatively. In the Letter to John Baptist Viola we have the same general context, but with less explicit reference to the necessity of supernatural outlook. There is the statement on representation, and the caution about its proper use following it. With regard to representation the tone is more liberal than in the former letter. In the Letter on the Method of Dealing with Superiors we have again the same general context, but rather presupposed than stated explicitly. There is a very detailed account of the procedure for representing, and the caution about using it with indifference is inserted within the body of the exposition. The emphasis here is clearly on the actual practice of representation. The tone is one of freedom, liberality, and expansiveness. If we take all three of these letters together, we find that they nicely complement one another.

Representation must surely have been valued by St. Ignatius or he would not have treated of it in the way he did. He surely did not intend representation to be the solution to every problem with obedience; it is only a means to the perfection of obedience, and not the only means, at that. St. Ignatius knew as well as we do that representation can be a dangerous thing, not because it is evil in itself, but because, like a delicately poised work of art, it can be damaged by rough handling. It

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> M.H.S.I., Ignatius, IX, Letter 5400a. Translation taken from Young, op. cit., pp. 390-391.

can be misunderstood and misapplied, making a caricature of true obedience. But on the other hand, it can just as well be rightly used for the greater honor and glory of God. If this were not so, our holy Father would not have brought the subject up, especially to the Jesuits of Portugal with their propensity to self-determination.

In the light of St. Ignatius' letters to John Baptist Viola and on *The Method of Dealing with Superiors*, we might ask if representation has been given its due worth in our thinking and acting? Cheerful, loving obedience, with peace of mind, is a worthy goal. Representation is a genuine Ignatian means to this end. If we stop short with its presentation in the *Letter on Obedience*, we might come to look upon it as something to be feared as too fraught with dangers. Ignatius' letter to John Baptist Viola and the letter on *The Method of Dealing with Superiors* seem to indicate otherwise.

## Hotel Champlain-Bellarmine College

## Leonard R. Riforgiato, S.J.

On wooded Bluff Point overlooking beautiful Lake Champlain stands Bellarmine College, the novitiate and juniorate for the Buffalo Province of the Society of Jesus. Its site is steeped in history. Isaac Jogues sailed past these same shores on his way to eventual martyrdom in service to the Five Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy. In 1776 one of the most important battles of the Revolutionary War was fought off Valcour Island, directly in front of Bellarmine's beach. The British had devised a plan to capture the vital Hudson River Valley, thus splitting New England from the rest of the colonies and, almost certainly, dooming the American cause to In the Fall of 1776, therefore, a British fleet under "Gentleman Johnny" Burgoyne began to move down Lake Champlain. After securing the Lake, Burgovne was to disembark his troops and march down to Albany where he would join forces with another army under General Howe who would march upstate from New York City. The two commanders would then subdue Fort Ticonderoga and thus gain complete control of the Hudson Valley. Benedict Arnold, realizing the great danger posed by the British plan, hastily built a small "Mosquito Fleet" on Lake Champlain, composed of anything that could float. On October 11 and October 13, 1776 Arnold's little fleet engaged the British off Valcour Island. he was soundly defeated. Arnold succeeded in delaying the British advance. With winter coming on, Burgovne retired to Canada. The British plan had failed.1

Sometime between 1952 and 1955, when Bellarmine was a Philosophate, the Scholastics discovered the ruins of a small Revolutionary War cabin on a small beach below the jetty of Bluff Point. The settlement, as dated by coins, English pottery, shot, and Indian arrowheads, probably comes from the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> John Richard Alden, *The American Revolution 1775-1783* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954), p. 104; see also Thomas A. Bailey, *The American Pagent* (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1956), pp. 112-113.

period 1775/6, around the time of the Battle of Valcour Island. The site seems to have been in use down to about 1850. A Roman coin dating from the year 345 A.D. was also found in the cabin. It was probably used as a talisman or good luck charm by one of the soldiers who were stationed there. The excavations suggest that the place was used as a look-out post to report on the water traffic between Valcour Island and the shore.<sup>2</sup>

In 1814 American and British once more clashed on the blue Champlain waters off Bellarmine beach as Commodore Thomas Macdonough, commander of the United States fleet, defeated a superior foe at the Battle of Plattsburgh, one of the most important engagements in the War of 1812.<sup>3</sup>

The novitiate building itself also has fascinating history. The Delaware and Hudson Railroad Company had long been active in northern New York State. Its main line ran through the heart of the North Country, along Champlain's shores. Moreover, in 1871, the Delaware and Hudson acquired the Champlain Transportation Company, the oldest steamboat company in America, which operated between New York and Vermont.<sup>4</sup> Now the railroad possessed extensive, almost exclusive control of transportation in the North Country. The problem it then had to face was getting people to transport to that area. The company solved this difficulty by conducting a tourist campaign, booming the North Country as a Summer Paradise. Given the majestic beauty of its mountains, lakes and forests, the task did not prove hard.

 $<sup>^2\,\</sup>mathrm{Information}$  on the excavation supplied by Fr. Herbert Musurillo, S.J., personal interview.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Confer New York State Commission: Plattsburgh Centenary, The Battle of Plattsburgh: What Historians Say About It (Albany: J. B. Lyon Co., 1914).

Lyon Co., 1914).

<sup>4</sup> The steamboat was first successfully tested in 1807 when Robert Fulton ran the *Claremont* from New York to Albany. Six years later the Lake Champlain Steamboat Company was chartered by the New York State Legislature to run ferries from New York to Vermont. It thus became the nation's first steamboat company. On October 26, 1826 the Champlain Transportation Company was founded. In 1830 the Lake Champlain Steamboat Company was sold to the Champlain Transportation Company. In 1868 the Champlain Transportation Company acquired the Lake George Steamboat Company. In 1871 the Delaware and Hudson Railroad Company bought the Champlain Transportation Company. Confer the Delaware and Hudson Railroad Company, A Century of Progress: History of the Delaware and Hudson Company 1823-1923 (Albany, J. B. Lyon Co., 1935), pp. 703-723.

In October, 1888, the Delaware and Hudson acquired the Bluff Point property and began construction on the Hotel Champlain. Owned by the "Bluff Point Land Improvement Company," a subsidiary of the Delaware and Hudson, the Hotel was designed to lure tourists to Northern New York lands serviced by the railroad. The Hotel property covered some 1,000 acres, including a tree nursery operated by another Delaware and Hudson subsidiary, "The Northern New York Development Company." Trees from this nursery were transplanted to railroad woodlands property in the Adirondacks.

### Formal Opening

On June 17, 1890, the Hotel Champlain was formally opened for the first time. The Hotel building was a large, rambling, white and grey wooden affair built in the grand Victorian style. Built directly on a solid rock shelf which underlies the entire property, the building had no need of a foundation. It was 400 feet long, 75 feet wide, with three towers, the center one rising 125 feet from the ground. The main section of the building, exclusive of the towers, was five stories high. The two smaller towers rose an additional two stories, the center tower five more.<sup>5</sup> Surrounded on three sides by a wide, second-story veranda, the 500-room Hotel stood atop a high bluff overlooking the Lake.

The grounds were as sumptuous as the Hotel itself. Ten miles of beautiful wooded drives rambled over the property, including the "Green Drive," a picturesque bridlepath which encircled the grounds. Riding horses were provided by the Hotel's own livery stables which were added in 1895. They were situated across Route 6, next to the old Bluff Point Railroad Station.<sup>6</sup> The ruins of both buildings may still be seen.

Bluff Point Promontory was exceedingly beautiful, rising 200 feet above sea level. Below it lay the "Beach of the Singing Sands," a natural white sand beach which was, and still is, replenished every year. A beach house and boat house

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Troy Times Printing-House, The Past and Present of Plattsburgh (Troy: Troy Times Printing House, 1891), p. 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The Bluff Point Railroad Station, abandoned by the Delaware and Hudson, was converted into the Philosopher's villa house. Just after work of conversion had been completed, the day, indeed, before the grand opening, the villa burned to the ground in October 1953.

provided adequate aquatic facilities. At the edge of the beach lay a large steamboat dock topped by a terminal building. From this pier the steamers "Vermont," "Ticonderoga," and "Chateaugay" of the Champlain Transportation Company carried guests to and from the Hotel. Each steamer was equipped with staterooms and was renowned for its dining service. The Hotel sponsored a very popular trip at that time. ple would sail from New York City to Albany by steamboat during the night. Next morning they would transfer to a special Delaware and Hudson boat train which brought them to Lake George. There the passengers boarded the steamers of the Lake George Steamboat Company, still another Delaware and Hudson subsidiary, for the trip down Lake George to Baldwin, New York. At Baldwin another Delaware and Hudson train brought them to Montcalm Landing or Fort Ticonderoga, both on Lake Champlain, where they boarded Lake steamers for the Hotel. Stops included Crown Point, Port Henry, Westport, Port Kent (now the summer villa of the Buffalo and New York Provinces), and Plattsburgh. The trip could also be made in reverse.7

By far the most noteworthy feature of the Hotel was its 18 hole golf course, the third to be constructed in America and the very first Hotel or public course. First built in 1870, it was later reconstructed several times by America's leading golf architects, including Tillinghast, Walter Travis, and George Low.<sup>8</sup> Nestled on the shores of Champlain, between the Green Mountains and the Adirondacks, the course was regarded as one of America's best. Difficult, (par 72), and well laid out, it was, and still is, one of the most beautiful in the country. It had many distinguished pros including George Low, Pat Doyle, Chris Shay, and Gene McCarthy, and hosted many tournaments including the National Golf Tournament in 1911.9 Since the entire property is situated on rock, all the top soil on the course had to be trucked in, a difficult matter in those days. The course still exists in excellent condition today along with a sprawling clubhouse, "the Nineteenth Hole,"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Letter from Mr. Bertrand T. Fay, Public Relations Consultant for the Delaware and Hudson Railroad Company, June 13, 1961.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Plattsburgh Daily Press, June 30, 1911.

and Caddy House. Bellarmine now uses only nine holes, allowing the Plattsburgh Country Club to use the other nine as a private golf course.

Golfing enthusiasts among the Hotel's guests were able to warm up before tackling the large course by playing a nine hole pitch and putt or "Court Golf Course" which was situated on the main grounds near the Hotel building. Built at the same time as the main golf course, it preceded by many years the miniature courses so popular today and may be called the granddaddy of them all.<sup>10</sup>

Besides the 500-room main building the Hotel property contained eleven cottages, nine of which were leased out to families for the summer season. Seven of these were built at the time of the main building in 1890: Champlain, Bluffs (since destroyed—its ruins may still be seen behind Our Lady's statue at Bellarmine), Pines, McKinley, Grandview, and two cottages for the help, Bowling Alley (now called Ticonderoga) and a second whose original name is unknown. It was called Skunk Hollow until torn down in the Winter of 1961-1962. Four others, Twin Gables (also destroyed in Winter 1961-1962), West Cottage, the Bungalow (now called the Round House), and Woodlawn were constructed later. Many famous personages occupied these cottages. The Bungalow, an octagonal shaped house, was rented by the wife and family of a President of Cuba for several seasons. 11 Repairs were made on the cottages in 1960 and 1961 and they are still in good shape. The Bungalow now serves as the Novices' Villa House. Ticonderoga and West Cottage are used for storage. Woodlawn, Champlain, Pines, McKinley, and Grandview house priests making retreats at Bellarmine in the summer and serve as Summer villa houses for the Juniors.

Recognized as a first rate hostelry by, among others, Karl Baedeker himself, the Hotel was an immediate success.<sup>12</sup> The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Fay to Riforgiato, June 13, 1961.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Karl Baedeker, The United States: With Excursions to Mexico, Cuba, Porto Rico, and Alaska (Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, Publisher, 1909), p. 126. "On (79M.) Bluff Point (1.), 3M. beyond Valcour, stands the luxurious and magnificently situated \*HOTEL CHAMPLAIN (200 ft.; from \$5), commanding views of the Adirondacks, Lake Champlain, and the Green Mts. Its grounds, 450 acres in extent, include a golf-course." NOTE: Mr. Baedeker was mistaken on the amount of land belonging

social elite flocked to it for summer sports and social life. It was even mentioned in *Gone With The Wind*, Margaret Mitchell's best selling novel about the Civil War. Sometime after 1890 and before 1897, an annex was added to the east side of the main building to accommodate the ever growing number of patrons.

#### President McKinley

Many famous people frequented the Hotel. Perhaps its most famous guest was William McKinley, the President of the United States, who made the Hotel his summer White House from July 29-August 20, 1897, and from July 27-August 25, 1899. The clear summer air and sunshine would, it was hoped, be beneficial to Mrs. McKinley who suffered from epilepsy.<sup>13</sup>

Both summers were spent by the President in a seven room suite on the second floor in the southwest corner of the Hotel annex, commanding a view of the southern sweep of the Lake and the Adirondacks to the west. McKinley, a retiring man by nature, took great pleasure in strolling around the Hotel grounds. Though she made occasional carriage trips to Plattsburgh and environs with her husband, for the most part the First Lady remained in her rooms. The President made a great impression on the guests by his folksy, hometown attitude. He signed the register as simply "William McKinley and wife, Canton, Ohio" and ordered the management to dismantle a special partition that had been erected for him on the Hotel yeranda. The president in a seven property of the Hotel yeranda.

On both visits McKinley and his party toured the neighboring Summer School of Catholic Action at Cliff Haven. The first time he was escorted by Archbishop Michael A. Corrigan of New York, Bishop Henry Gabriels of Ogdensburg, and Vicar-General Thomas E. Walsh, also of Ogdensburg. The second time he was greeted by Rev. Michael J. Lavelle, the President of the Summer School which had been founded in

to the Hotel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Margaret Leech, In the Days of McKinley (New York: Harper and Co., 1959), pp. 460-461.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Plattsburgh Daily Press, July 30, 1897.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

1892.<sup>16</sup> During the early part of August, 1899, Archbishop Sebastian Martinelli, Apostolic Delegate to the United States (1896-1902) and later Cardinal resided at the Summer School. There is no evidence, however, that the Apostolic Delegate ever met the President. McKinley also became the first President to visit the grave of the Abolitionist, John Brown, at Lake Placid.<sup>17</sup>

Though most of the Cabinet and Vice-President Garret A. Hobart arrived at the Hotel at some time or another, the President's two stays were primarily ones of rest. He enjoyed his visits immensely. A favorite resting place of his was under the "McKinley Pine Tree" located on the Green Drive near the golf clubhouse. Here the President would sit and read for hours. Many pictures exist showing McKinley seated there, though I have been unable to obtain one. Legend has it that the pine tree was struck by lightning the same year McKinley was assassinated. The Hotel erected a plaque near the remaining tree trunk. The trunk still exists today though the bronze plaque has long since been pried loose from its concrete base.

President McKinley had many contacts with houses later to belong to the Society of Jesus. The Hotel Champlain, his summer White House, became Bellarmine College. He and his wife stayed at the Lenox estate of Mr. and Mrs. John Sloane, an estate which would one day become Cranwell Preparatory School, a boy's school conducted by the Jesuit Fathers of the New England Province.<sup>19</sup> The head butler, Auguste

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Ibid., August 11, 189 and August 16, 1899.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Ibid., August 12, 1897.

<sup>18</sup> Fay to Riforgiato, June 13, 1961.

<sup>19</sup> The property on which Cranwell Prep now stands once belonged to Henry Ward Beecher. He built a summer house on it in 1853 and there wrote his famous Star Papers. General John F. Rathbone later acquired the estate and named it "Wyndhurst." After a brief occupancy by the gressman and rug manufacturer from New York, bought the manor noted newspaper publisher Joseph Pulitzer, Mr. John Sloane, ex-conhouse in the early 1890's. The estate was purchased by Mr. Howard Cole in 1926 and converted into the Wyndhurst Club. In 1939, Mr. Edward Cranwell foreclosed the mortgage which he held on the club and, after an unsuccessful attempt at operating the establishment, deeded to the Fathers of the New England Province of the Society of Jesus one half of the property, with all furnishings and equipment, for a preparatory school for boys. The property was deeded to the Society on May 27, 1939 and later became Cranwell Prep. A tree planted by President McKinley when the estate belonged to John Sloane, still stands

Chollet, decided to surprise the distinguished guests.

Asked to prepare a suitable patriotic display, he had secretly completed an ingenious arrangement, which involved boring a hole through the Sloane's dining-room floor and threading it with a piece of string attached to the mechanism of a large clock in the cellar. When the President and Mrs. McKinley led the way into the dining room, followed by the Sloanes and thirty or forty other guests, they saw a huge mound, covered by a silken flag, in the center of the long, resplendent table. The suspense was prolonged while the ladies and gentlemen found their places, and a bishop said grace. Then Auguste flipped off the flag, and disclosed a stuffed American eagle, which at once began to move, bobbing its head and flapping its wings in a jerky but lifelike fashion. Much to the amusement of Jim"Barnes, the son of Auguste's regular employer, the bird seemed to be nodding and winking at Mrs. McKinley, whose chair it directly faced. She stumbled in terror to her feet, without her husband's arm to grasp, for the Sloanes knew so little of her habits that she had not been seated beside the President. He hurried to her side, and supported her from the room, while Auguste's masterpiece was snatched from the table and deposited on the lawn in disgrace.20

In 1901 a crazed assassin, Leon Czolgosz, shot the President while attending a reception at the Pan American Exposition in Buffalo. McKinley was rushed to the house of John G. Milburn, the President of the Exposition, where he died several days later. The Milburn Mansion was eventually bought by the Society and served as the faculty residence Canisius High School until demolished in 1958.

Suddenly, on May 26, 1910, the Hotel burned to the ground. The fire was discovered by Miss Mary Gill, the housekeeper, at 1:00 A.M. Since the Hotel had not yet opened for the summer season there were only sixty employees in the building at the time. All escaped uninjured. The loss to the Delaware and Hudson was estimated at \$300,000—quite a sum in those days. The Hotel had been insured for \$233,000. The cause of the fire was never discovered although it is most commonly thought that a stray bolt of lightning struck the building.<sup>21</sup>

The Fort William Henry Hotel in Lake George, also owned by the Delaware and Hudson, had burned down the previous

on the property. Confer James A. Walsh, S.J., "Cranwell Preparatory School," Woodstock Letters, Lxix (1940), pp. 187-195.

<sup>Leech, p. 440.
Plattsburgh Daily Press, May 26, 1910.</sup> 

year on June 24, 1909. Wishing to rebuild the Champlain with the least possible delay, the company took the nearly completed plans for the new Fort William Henry and used them for the new Champlain. The building was much smaller than the one it replaced and the management found it difficult to make the Hotel pay a profit with its reduced size. The Fort William Henry was eventually rebuilt on an even smaller scale than the new Champlain.22

Construction on the new Hotel Champlain began immediately. Meanwhile a summer colony opened for the 1910 season in the cottages which had not been damaged by the fire. The Bungalow served as a central dining hall. The cottage colony was a great success.23

#### The New Hotel

On July 1, 1911, the new Hotel Champlain, built at a cost of \$300,000, opened to the public. The building was five stories high, lacked towers, and covered the original site of the old Hotel except for the area where the Annex had stood. The walls of the new building above the ground floor were of hollow tile as was the roof. The framework was structural steel. As little wood as possible was used in construction making the Hotel practically fireproof.24

On the ground floor was a large foyer, a ladies reception room, a lakeside grotto along the east front, officers' dining room, barber shop, storekeeper's office, help's dining room, grill, cocktail lounge, children's dining room, and forty other rooms for storage and apartments.

Wide verandas extended along both the east and west front of the second floor. Here were located the main dining room, ball room (now the House Chapel), parlors, foyer, offices, and kitchen, together with twenty-five other rooms.

The third floor contained about fifty large private rooms; the fourth and fifth floors were also devoted to private rooms of slightly smaller dimensions.

Furnished in the style of Louis XVI, the building measured 324 x 47 feet and contained about 200 living rooms, all richly decorated with furniture of solid mahogany upholstered in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Fay to Riforgiato, June 13, 1961. <sup>23</sup> Plattsburgh Daily Press, May 31, 1910. <sup>24</sup> Ibid., August 22, 1910.

velvet. As its predecessor, the Hotel had its own water pumping station. A fifty car garage erected near the Railroad Station gave testimony to the increasingly important role played by the automobile in American life.25

One particularly novel innovation of the new Hotel was the addition of private baths. Unfortunately the management did not go far enough in this direction. The usual arrangement was a bath between every two rooms making it a major headache to assign a private room and bath.26

The new Hotel attracted as many famous visitors as had the old. Among them were: William Howard Taft, Warren G. Harding, Theodore Roosevelt, Al Smith (a regular visitor), Cardinal William O'Connell of Boston, Lord Beaverbrook, and Babe Ruth.<sup>27</sup> There is a legend that when the Babe was at the Hotel during the twenties he knocked a golf ball from the first tee, over the green into the Lake beyond, a mighty 600 yard blast.

Marion Davies, the sweetheart of William Randolph Hearst, also resided at the Hotel. In the 1920's she starred in a major feature motion picture, "Janice Meredith" which was filmed on the Hotel grounds. The picture involved a Revolutionary War story and the troops of the 26th Infantry, then stationed at Plattsburgh Barracks, garbed in the uniform of the Revolutionary period, participated in the battle scenes. Washington "crossed the Delaware" on the Saranac River, just west of Plattsburgh, and endured his Valley Forge suffering on the Court Golf Course. A propeller driven by an airplane motor was used to create blizzards of paper snow.28

Hotel Champlain even made the comic strips. Bud Fisher was stationed at the Plattsburgh Barracks for a time as a civilian volunteer, and while there had Mutt and Jeff attend the camp as trainees. Naturally they spend most of their time goldbricking in the Hotel Champlain Bar Room.29

In 1915 General Leonard Wood opened the first of the "Plattsburgh Schools" at Plattsburgh Barracks. This was a business man's camp where civilian volunteers could receive

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, April 4, 1911.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Fay to Riforgiato, June 13, 1961. <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* 

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

basic military training and thus do their part for America's Preparedness campaign. The roster of the Plattsburgh camp sounded like a combination of "Who's Who" and "The Social Register." Among the more famous names were, the sons of Theodore Roosevelt, Richard Harding Davis, novelist and playwright: Robert Bacon, former Secretary of State (Jan. 27-March 6, 1909) and Ambassador to France (1909-1912); John Purroy Mitchel, the young reform Mayor of New York and Arthur Woods, his Police Commissioner; George Wharton Pepper, future Senator from Pennsylvania; Dudley Field Malone, the liberal New York lawyer who assisted Clarence Darrow at the Scopes Trial; Raynal Cawthorne, General Counsel of U.S. Steel: along with the Chanlers of Dutchess County, the Fishes and the Milburns.<sup>30</sup> Quite a few of these Socialites would rent rooms for the season at the Hotel just to occupy them on Saturday night. Needless to say, night life was quite gay at the Hotel at that time. Uniforms were everywhere and the crack bands of the 15th, 30th and 26th Infantry, then stationed at Plattsburgh Barracks, used to give romantic moonlight concerts on the Hotel lawn.31

The days of the railroad hotels, however, were now passing. America was a mobile land on wheels. No longer was it the custom to spend a whole summer stationary at a hotel. Travel was all the vogue. Moreover, new vacationlands like Florida, California, the Caribbean, and even Europe were drawing more and more customers away from the Champlain. Faced with steadily dwindling profits, the Delaware and Hudson sold the Hotel to Mr. Mailman of Montreal in 1939. Mailman owned the Pal Razor Blade factory in Plattsburgh along with other extensive interests. He spent a great deal of money redecorating the Hotel, acquiring much of the furniture from the ill-starred S.S. Normandie. The beautiful Cabana Club on the Beach of the Singing Sands was constructed at this time. Unfortunately, the cabanas were actually built on sand and most of them have since collapsed or have been torn down.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Confer Cyril Falls, The Great War 1914-1918 (New York: Capricorn Books, 1959), p. 357.; Walter Millis, Road To War (London: Faber & Faber, ltd., 1935), p. 210.; Mark Sullivan Our Times: The United States 1900-1925: Vol. V; Over Here 1914-1918 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933), pp. 215-218.

<sup>31</sup> Fay to Riforgiato, June 13, 1961.

Each Cabana room was equipped with a shower. A refreshment stand and bar graced the Cabana boardwalk. For a time the Hotel Champlain prospered again.

Time was running out, however, for the Champlain. On July 2, 1951, the New York Province of the Society of Jesus purchased the Hotel. Rechristened Bellarmine College, the Champlain served as a temporary Philosophate until Loyola Seminary was opened in Shrub Oak, N.Y. in 1955. Bellarmine then became the second novitiate of the New York Province. When the Buffalo Province was erected in 1960, Bellarmine became its novitiate.

Mr. Bertrand T. Fay, the Advertising Agent for the Delaware and Hudson, who was closely associated with the Hotel from 1916-1939 wrote about this transformation of the Champlain from a hotel to a Seminary:

I have been telling my friends that the Jesuits are not only the most famous teaching order in the Church, but that I am sure they are also destined to become the Church's greatest golfers if your young seminarians take advantage of the Bluff Point golf course. Who can deny that there is plenty of room to save souls even on a golf course?

I have always been deeply attached to Bluff Point and Lake Champlain and have considered it one of the most beautiful spots in America.

I can't think of a more inspiring location for a Seminary surrounded as it is with God's beautiful handiwork. I have been delighted that this beautiful place is now being used in the service of  ${\rm God.}^{32}$ 

Over seventy years have passed since the first Hotel Champlain opened its doors to the public. Now, still standing, the doors remain open in service of God.

reading and the type of reflection we call "intellectual." But the Tchadians have a talent for skits—in a few moments they can put on a pantomime or a dramatization, and haven't the slightest timidity about acting. So we decided to make our meditations "in the round" as well as in private.

Sunday morning (as every morning) we rose at 5:30 with the sun, and Maurice gathered them all together in silence to reconsider creation with the rising of the sun. Then each went into the bush alone to meditate, while I prepared the Palm Sunday Mass and heard confessions. The Palm Sunday gospel was a good introduction to the Retreat: Christ is not received with joy into the heart at Baptism to be crucified anew by sin a week later. And we received Christ into the village with joy, waving branches, singing, and walking in procession into the church as the liturgy directs. (On Good Friday we would follow the same path for the stations of the cross.)

After Mass the retreatants gathered in a shady spot behind the church—the Garden of Eden—and the mission served them all mangos, as God provided food and fruit in the Garden. We described man's happy condition in the Garden before the Fall, and put on a skit of the Sin of the Angels: all the catechists resplendent in white albs, Lucifer rebelling against God, a heated discourse in Ngama by St. Michael the Archangel, culminating in the phrase which gave Michael his name: "Nan ke titi Ala wa?"—"Who is like unto God?", and the rebel angels were all stripped of their white robes and driven into Hell—a circle of fire prepared the evening before with the dried grass that littered the church grounds. From Hell, Satan came out to tempt Eve—a girl from the retreatants—and one by one we followed her and Adam to the forbidden tree and sinned against God.

Upon sin follows the judgment of God: expulsion from the Garden, sickness, misery, death. We would cultivate our fields in the sweat of our brows and struggle against temptation all our days. Our women would give birth in pain. And as a sign of our bondage to sin, Satan and his band came and bound a cord around each one's wrist and ankle, which they would bear until the promised Saviour came. We were not, like the angels, punished irrevocably for our first sin; but the

exile of our punishment was also the time of mercy and repentance. In couples, like Adam and Eve, we were driven from the Garden after Michael had announced the sentence of God upon us. The retreatants picked up their belongings, mats and food and cooking things, put them on their heads, and we marched off into the bush with Satan and the rebel angels driving us on, and enforcing the silence of the retreat. Behind us in the Garden stood the cross God had promised, and during our exile it would stand in the background of our camp, symbol of hope.

Our first camp was about two miles away from the mission. The retreatants arrived before Maurice and I could pack the pick-up and follow (over a road the catechumens had hacked out, more or less, a few days before). We decided to cross the "marigot," a swamp-like creek that flows (?) all the year round, and make camp on the other side. The water came up to the waist, and the whole camp crossed over, baggage on heads, to clear out a spot in sweat and silence on the other side. We kept reminding the retreatants that they were exiled from the Garden of God, slaves of the devil under the yoke of sin. I had hit a stump with the pick-up truck, and knocked the arm of the starter out of place; but even when we got under the truck and manipulated it by hand, the motor wouldn't do more than start and die. So we just left the truck where it was; it would have had to stay on the other side of the creek anyway, and the difference was only a hundred yards or so. . . . The camp was well chosen: gnats tormented us in swarms until nightfall, and the contrast was marked between the Garden of our Father and the land of exile under the devil.

We presented Cain and Abel as a dramatization, and for meditation explained the sense: the world abandoned to sin, going from evil to worse; Cain driven from the race of men as Adam and Eve from the face of God. Thank God for Pere Vournier: he repeated the catechism questions that dealt with what we had seen so far while I finished the breviary (an accomplishment which I was able to repeat every day of the Retreat!). We tried to repeat all the catechism questions during the retreat; not so much for instruction as to get across the idea that what they had learned was something to enter

into their lives. We made a meditation as well on sin and the results of sin: death. Around 8:30 or 9:00 each night we went to bed, rarely later.

As it happened, I picked for the beginning of the Retreat the first night since December that it rained. The dry season begins to finish during April, and soon it was finishing on us. The retreatants made huts of their mats, four or five together: and Maurice and I experimented with the impermeability of mosquito netting. Fortunately it didn't rain much, but I had gone to bed already with a headache, and the disturbance didn't help things much. But the rain did keep the mosquitoes off the retreatants, and so was probably worth it. The next morning we sent all into the bush to meditate on what we had seen the day before and, when they returned, presented the story of Noah and the ark. The rain of the night before was no disadvantage here either, and we acted out the entire affair: the sins of man multiplied, God's "repentance for having made man," the decision to destroy all, the one just man, the ark—twelve mats put together by the retreatants (all the family of Noah with the right to enter the ark) to symbolize the twelve Apostles. And we explained the symbolism of the ark: as all who were with Noah in the ark were saved from the deluge, so all with Christ in the Church are saved from destruction. The water of the Flood destroyed all that was evil and left a New Earth; the water of Baptism eradicates all that is evil and leaves a "new creature." a new man, "created by God in justice and holiness of truth." During this explanation all the retreatants gathered together on the mats that constituted the ark, and afterwards, the devil and his crew claimed for their own and carried into hell the wicked (catechists) who had perished in the Flood. We gave the fires of Hell their due, as Christ did in the Gospels, but tried to get across the idea that the real suffering of Hell is to be separated from God. Hell is not an arbitrary punishment tacked on to sin; hell is the result of sin. Hell is the state of a man separated from God; sin is a free act of separation from God. He who separates himself from God by sin, in this life still has the creatures of God to distract and sustain him; but after death, he has nothing at all that partakes of the goodness of God. This is the real abandonment and despair

of Hell. On top of that, the pain of fire can only be a welcome distraction.

We meditated, as last night and earlier in the morning, on sin—each on his own sins, which would have kept him out of the ark, had he been alive in the time of Noah, etc. We also meditated on the goodness of God, the means of salvation, the meaning of Baptism, etc.—And Maurice explained the catechism again up to this point. Then he left on foot for the mission to fetch the 2CV ("deux chevoux" citroën). While he was gone we made the meditation on Abraham. God called us to quit our country, to go into a land he would show us. So we all hiked off through the bush to a spot out of sight of the camp. There I explained that a Christian is called to leave behind the sinful customs of the pagans; he is no longer a slave to his tribal ways, no longer merely Ngama, Dai, Manja, Gor, Kaba, etc., but a new race, a holy people, the people of God. This is important, because here one is really a slave to the customs of the race: marriage customs, initiation custom, etc. What we call "customs" in our culture are nothing in comparison: anyone who wants to buck public opinion can do it with relatively few reprisals. Here, the boy who refuses to partake in the pagan initiation, the girl who refuses to marry the man her parents want her to marry (ordinarily, the girl's choice is respected, but money can play a role . . .) risks death for the stand. I explained that it was not to adopt the customs of the white, either, that one becomes a Christian—too many so-called "evolues" (educated) believe that it is part of civilization to be as pagan as the white fortune-seekers they find out here. . . . So we meditated on Abraham, who left his country, who believed in the promise of God up to the point of sacrificing his only son, and who was granted alliance with God for his faith. We didn't just meditate, but we acted out the sacrifice of Isaac as we did the leaving of our country. The part of Abraham was played by a high-school boy, Jean Baptiste Radjitan, an extraordinary character and deep Christian, who every vacation helps with the mission. He was our right-hand man during the retreat, and we had him play consistently the part of all the "figures" or previews of Christ: (St. Michael the Archangel) Noah, Abraham, Joseph, Moses, and then Christ Himself. This was to get across,

or suggest at least, the continuity of the Old and New Testament lessons: all leading to, preparing for, Christ. In the New Testament skits he did the part of St. Peter also.

Abraham begot Isaac; Isaac begot Jacob; and Jacob begot 12 sons—from whom descended the 12 tribes of Israel, But all 12 partook in the "Original Sin" of Israel: they sold their brother Joseph into slavery. So we went out into the fields to guard our flocks, Joseph came to bring us our dinner, and we sold him to a group of passing Arabs (catechists), who loaded their baggage on Joseph's head, tied a rope around his neck, and led him off to Egypt (the camp). By the time we ourselves arrived in camp (Egypt) to buy wheat-after listening to the account of Joseph's resisted seduction, his imprisonment, Pharao's dream, and Joseph's installment as chief steward of Egypt to bring the people through the seven fat and lean years—Joseph was installed on a throne with two sword-wielding guards and a Green Pastures Pharoah by his side. I had planned to cut things short and give only one trip to Egypt; but Jean Baptiste and the other high-school boy with him (Robert Bitinant) knew the story too well, and we went through the money in the sack, the cup, the retention of Benjamin, etc., until the whole family was installed in Egypt. Then we ate lunch like the favored relatives of the top man of Pharaoh's realm.

In the afternoon, Maurice taught the catechism again, and explained the relation of the Paschal Lamb with the Crucifixion, Mass, etc. He had brought a young goat back with him from the village, and we were all set to be enslaved and delivered. We put on the story of Moses killing the Egyptian, his flight into the desert, the burning bush, and (in accelerated form) the ten plagues of Egypt. This was after explaining that our fall into slavery was in punishment for the "Original Sin" of our race: selling Joseph into slavery. Same theme: sin is enslavement to the powers of evil; Christ delivers us. By four o'clock we were ready to finish with Egypt, and before the eyes of all we slaughtered the paschal lamb-first explaining and reading the directions God gave to Moses. The goat was a legitimate substitute, since the Bible itself left the choice to each family. We didn't sacrifice the goat, for it doesn't seem that the first Pasch was a sacrifice (?), and I

was a little hesitant about anything that might resemble a pagan sacrifice, but we let the blood of the goat speak and explained the significance of the Blood of Christ. We filled a gourd with the blood, and Moses marked a cross with it on the forehead of each retreatant (there were no doors to mark, and this was to prepare the part in the Baptismal rite in which the priest signs each on the forehead with the sign of the cross), before we went to bed. The Paschal Lamb was an immediate salvation for me, as I had taken an antibiotic for a swelling in my throat, and by supper-time I could hardly stand up. We said Mass after killing the goat (Maurice explained again the connection), and then ate; the catechists served me a pot of the best pieces of the goat, in which I fished with my fingers in the dark while they ate the "boule" of rice or millet or manioc (we ate all 3 during the Retreat) with the portion of the goat that came to them. One thing the dramatization taught me: when in the Bible the Jews are told to eat the whole lamb, intestines, head, feet, and all, this is no impossible command. The only thing that our group didn't eat of the goat was the skin, (and the eveballs, I think) and that only because I claimed it to make a water sack. Otherwise they'd have singed off the hair and eaten the skin as well. The intestines they cleaned out and rolled around somebody's finger, then laced into a design and cooked with the rest. I don't think Moses himself could have criticized the thoroughness of our paschal supper. Before going to bed we marked all with the blood of the goat, as I said, and explained that the Angel of death would pass through the camp during the night, and that in the morning we must be ready to leave in haste; that Pharaoh would be ready to let us go.—At 5:30 I jumped out of bed (feeling fine), blew the whistle, and we broke camp in a rush; in very little time indeed, we loaded all our baggage on the heads of the retreatants and catechists, and waded into the creek. It made a good Red Sea: ten or fifteen yards up to the waist, and had time and the spirit of the retreat permitted, I'd love to have taken a picture of the column. Once on the other side, we put everything down on the bank and I explained that Pharaoh's army was entering the Red Sea. We watched them drown, gave thanks to God. and set off for the Promised Land.

When I was feeling bad the night before I had arranged with Maurice to let me go back in the 2CV while he came with the 403 ("peugeot 403," a pick up truck), pushed by the catechists and retreatants. I rushed back to the mission and to breakfast, and before I could return to the group, a couple of catechists came to tell me they had already arrived at a new site—just a few hundred yards from the mission, and not at all the site I had in mind, but a much better one as it turned out. I felt this was a providential delay on my part, as I wasn't there to mess things up with bad directions; and as I rejoiced over the news, Maurice arrived in the 403, under his own power! He had tried to start it some twenty times on a fairly good road, and at last it kicked off. Maurice stayed at the mission to fix lunch, and I rejoined the retreatants in our new camp—a clump of trees not more than twenty minutes walk from the mission, but far enough from everything to be isolated for prayer. We meditated on our situation: in the desert with Moses. We had, like Abraham. left everything to follow God into the desert. Now we were there to be formed as His people, with the customs and laws He would give us. We must be prepared to leave everything behind and trust in God completely if we were to be Christians -and in return, we would be the People of God.

We put on the story of the manna in the desert here—murmuring against Moses, God's message, and then we gave each a handful of hardtack—closest we could find to manna—and explained "not on bread alone," and Communion.

I've forgotten now the exact position of the private meditations we made during all this, but during the whole Retreat I'm afraid it was a question of playing by ear. Usually I didn't know a day ahead of time, sometimes not an hour ahead of time, what the next exercise would be. But we tried to do as much private meditating as possible. When we saw they were too tired, we put on a skit, or taught the catechism, or found some other occupation. But I suppose we averaged a good four or five half hour private meditations a day—rarely, if ever, longer, as I doubted they could manage more.

In the desert I taught the first two commandments until noon, and then left for lunch with Jean Baptiste and Maurice—first instructing the remaining catechists how to put on the

apostasy of Israel in our absence. We explained to the Retreatants that Moses was leaving for the top of Mt. Sinai to get the Ten Commandments, read the description in the Bible of the thunder, clouds, etc. and the fire that covered the mountain of God, and admonished them to remain faithful to the spirit of the Retreat while they ate. Then we left.

Maurice, Jean Baptiste and I ate at the house, and when we returned to camp, the catechists had followed instructions perfectly for the apostasy of the Golden Calf. When we came in sight, or rather, when Moses came in sight, for I stayed a few yards behind, they began to clap and dance before the Golden Calf-a magnificent construction of wood and leaves, with a golden (copper) face I'd bought from some Arab a month before, and bedecked with all the jewelry of the women and girls that were present. Moses entered the camp, stopped the dancing, threw down the Golden Calf, and launched into a condemnation of the whole people for their desertion of God. Then I came into the camp (more or less representing God), and we knelt down and made a meditation. Here, as always, I insisted that what we had seen was not just a play—it was the reality of our history and of our lives. We reflected on the sinfulness and fickleness of man, the gravity of deserting God, the nature of sin as a desertion of God, etc. And then we went into the bush to meditate alone. Afterwards, we spent the afternoon on the ten commandments—as Moses explained the law of Sinai to the people before the Alliance. I had meant to dramatize the Alliance as well, but it was already past five, and dark comes just after six; so we returned to the mission in silence, meditating on our attachment to God through the commandments

In the church, before Mass (Mass was always in the evening during the Retreat), I called each retreatant by name to the altar. He knelt down and promised to observe the Commandments of God that had been explained during the day. After this I announced that now all were bound to God by an alliance, and that if they remained faithful, they would receive the Baptism that would constitute them truly, and not just juridically, the People of God—by a new birth and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, making them children of

the Father. We explained the difference between the Old Alliance and the New, the blood of the Old, and the Blood of the New. Then after the Mass all returned to the camp to sleep.

We began Wednesday morning with a meditation on the Incarnation; the three ideas of the Angelus: Mary invited to be Mother of God, the submission of the "handmaid of the Lord." the Word made Flesh. We had loosed the cords from the retreatants' wrists and ankles last night, in symbol of the deliverance of Christ. Last night as well, mail had arrived, brought by Fr. Rozee-Belle-Isle from Ft. Archambault (where he had been to pick up Fr. Caloyeras, a Greek Jesuit, to help with Holy Week at Maro) and this was one of the most providential timings of the Retreat. The mail was two catechetical picture-charts sent by Jinkie and Sister Lucy from the U.S., (Fr. Heeg's charts) and 100 copies of selections of the Gospel, donated by La Presse Missionaire in France. Nothing could have been more opportune for the beginning of the meditations on the Life of Christ, and we used the pictures to pick up interest as the days of talk began to wear the retreatants down. To some extent I even chose my topics in function of what pictures were on the charts, but fortunately the charts had everything I needed, and I wasn't forced to omit anything for want of visual aids. After the meditation on the Incarnation, Maurice taught the catechism: Part II, Life of Christ, and then we meditated on the obedience and humility of Christ working at Nazareth. For a Christian, the whole of life is to do the will of God, whether this comes from the mouth of an angel as for Mary, or from the mouth of an illiterate carpenter as it did for Jesus. I stressed the fact that Mary and Joseph were both illiterate (this is a safe assumption. isn't it, given the culture of their day?), because here those who have been to school (rudimentary as it is) quickly despise those who haven't, even refusing to listen to their parents' advice. After this we left time for the school boys to read "La Bonne Nouvelle" (selections from the Gospels), and the women and boys who couldn't read worked. The discrimination was deliberate: I tried to teach them during the retreat that there is nothing humiliating about the discrimination between literate and illiterate, manual and office workers-each does

the work God wills for him, and no one is better than another for that. Then we considered Christ's temptations in the desert. The chart was a godsend by now, for the fatigue was showing. The lesson of the meditation was, in a phrase, "why we become Christians":--for the same reason Christ came to earth: because of the word of God and the spiritual regeneration Christ gives. The devil's effort during the Temptation was to change the nature of Christ's mission by proposing the advantages of a "rice Christianity"—the facile success of the prophet who gives bread in the desert, of the wonder-worker floating down from the pinnacle of the Temple in sight of all. But a Church in apparent possession of "all the kingdoms of the earth and the glory of them" would not be the Church of God. Christ came for the poor and the sinners, to give a spiritual prosperity, and the danger of complacency is so great when all goes smoothly that a well-running church full of comfortable parishioners is always liable to a certain amount of suspicion. Fortunately, there is a question in the Ngama catechism that asks, "Do we become Christians . . . to eat well? . . . to be important people? . . . to be rich?"—and I was able to tell them this was the same lesson as that of the Gospel of the Temptation. Here, as everywhere, there are plenty of people who are Christian because it is chic.

Once in the neighborhood of the mission, Maurice and I adopted the practice of eating at least one meal at home. The diet of the people here is always the same: a "boule" or paste-like mush of millet or manioc (which each digs into with his fingers, dips in a sauce of smoked fish or (rarely) meat, well peppered, and conveys in handfuls to his mouth. You are expected to lick your fingers clean before dipping into the common pot again, and the catechists all kidded me for "not knowing how to eat." I told them my mother always told me the same thing, so their criticism was nothing new but afterwards I licked my fingers. Still, you can't very well work on this alone, so Maurice and I managed a supplement. This also gave us the opportunity to invite one of two catechists to lunch each day with us, and we pumped them for information on the spirit of the retreatants, the customs of the Ngamas, etc.

In the afternoon I selected the meditations with an idea of

teaching the sacraments at the same time: Nicodemus (Baptism), the Prodigal Son (Confession), the daughter of Jairus (Extreme Unction). In part this was for the sake of instruction, but I also felt that the meditations most likely to bear fruit in their lives would be those they would live in their religious existence from day to day. But perhaps the real reason was that for me the aspect of Christianity that preoccupies me more and more is the nature of the Church as the "place of encounter," the lieu de recontre with Christ. God bridged the gap between Himself and men when He took flesh in the Incarnation. He gave us the possibility of human contact with God: in words, by sight, through human gestures and acts. And when Christ ascended into Heaven, it was not the end of human contact with God, for this continues in the Church through the sacraments. In the "visible signs," the human words, gestures, and symbolism of the sacraments, Christ continues to act visibly on earth. Through the sacraments we communicate humanly with Christ as did the men of His own day. Faith must complement vision, but this was already true in the Gospels; those who saw only the man and the cures missed the communication with God. For the moment this seems to me the biggest difference between Catholicism and Protestantism: the difference between the communication of a doctrine through the Bible, and the continued living contact with Christ through the sacraments. (Thank God for the Fogles, the Protestant missionaries at Ft. Archambault: after the Mass Wednesday night I was so shot I didn't know what to do. I found a can of spaghetti and meat balls Mrs. Fogle had given us, and ate the whole can while Maurice accompanied the retreatants back to camp.)

Wednesday evening we gave the first of the Baptismal ceremonies. The Liturgy now permits us to divide the ceremonies, extending them over a period of time as in the early Church. Some missionaries here spread them over the whole of Lent, but this year, at least, I put them all in the Retreat. I tried as much as possible to prepare the ceremonies through the meditations, and on the whole our timing was very good. The first step consists of a profession of faith (corresponding to the acceptance of the Commandments in the Old Alliance), a renouncing of Satan, and the symbolic expulsion of Satan

from the catechumen, who is signed on his ears, eyes, mouth, etc. with the sign of the cross. I hoped that after the reenactment of the Paschal Lamb, and the explanations of the new birth, new creation at Baptism, these ceremonies would have more meaning. As we are signed all over with the cross of Christ at our new birth, so we should live as followers of Christ. And at the moment of our death we are signed anew all over in the sacrament of Extreme Unction, in pardon for the faults we have committed against our new life, with our new members. I was going to include the ceremony of salt with the first step, but at the last moment changed my mind. It was better to wait until we considered the Sermon on the Mount and Christ's designation of His disciples as the "salt of the earth."

No sooner had I rejoined the others at the camp Wednesday night than a storm blew up. The rainy season had not begun, but it was announcing itself. So we packed everything together and headed for the mission, where we found place for everyone in the outbuildings. God having sent us there, we stayed there for the rest of the retreat, hiking back to the camp in the morning to make our meditations in peace. I was just as happy with this arrangement, as the idea of the retreat was a progressive return from exile, through the desert, to the Promised Land, to the Church, the new Garden of God. Also, after leaving the creek, we had hauled water in the pickup truck (c. two drums a day) Tuesday and Wednesday from the mission to the new camp, and this could have become a chore. For two days it was a welcome break.

We began Thursday morning with a meditation on the Sermon on the Mount. I gathered them all in the church before six A.M. for the points and explained the Beatitudes. Then all separated to pray.

We gathered again in the church after half an hour or so (during which Maurice and I had breakfast) for a meditation on the Christian attitude towards work. This was to prepare them for a work period that morning (cleaning the grounds, etc. for Easter—which was more necessary as a relaxation than as a clean-up, but necessary for both), and the work-period was an exercise of what they were to hear. We insisted that a Christian works; he is not like the Arabs, who find

the earth a desert and leave it a desert. The Christian considers the earth something God is interested in; He came down to work there Himself. The earth is the Garden of God that has been converted into bushland by sin. But now that Christ has come, the work of reconversion has begun. The Christian's aim is to change the bush into a garden again materially as well as spiritually. On the material side, this means that a Christian can't abide the sight of men who are children of God, or potential children of God, living in squalor and misery like slaves. A Christian has no desire to be rich, but he does demand for himself and his children, and for all mankind, a decency corresponding to the dignity of his soul. The motto of Tchad's (only) political party is perfectly Christian in this: "Unity, Work, Progress." Thus, materially, the Christian demands that the externals of life portray the internal condition of children of God, not of slaves of the devil. Spiritually, we work to establish the "kingdom of God" on earth: the conditions of life, customs, example, etc. that permit man to live with as little temptation, as little difficulty in keeping the commandments and progressing in knowledge and love of God as possible.

After the work period, we considered Christ's designation of His disciples as the Salt of the earth, the Light of the world. We are this because we are new creatures in Christ by the regeneration of Baptism. But this supposes that we have received the light of Christ by faith, that we live by the New Law of Christ, and that we give an example of men animated by the Holy Spirit, living as Christians whose standards excel those of the pagans as Christ's moral teaching excels the Ten Commandments. And we explained the morality of the Sermon on the Mount. ("La Bonne Nouvelle" became my handbook for this part of the Retreat.)

Since the girls had prepared the "boule" during the work period, we made our meditation en route to the camp site, carrying the meal with us. There we sat down and reenacted the preliminaries of the Multiplication of the Loaves. Christ (Jean Baptiste Radjitan) had his Apostles make the crowd sit down, asked what there was to eat, etc., and told the apostles to distribute the loaves and fishes. The apostles distributed the "boule." There weren't twelve baskets left

over afterwards (there weren't twelve spoonfuls left over . . .), but the point got across all the same, I think. When all had finished, I read and explained the discourse on the Eucharist in St. John, chapter six, and told them all to lie down and meditate until they fell asleep. At four o'clock they were still sleeping—but I got them up anyway, because the time was short. We put on the choosing of the Apostles, Christ gave them their instructions for their first mission, the "rich young man" refused his vocation because "he had great possessions," and we finished with the picture of, and meditation on, the Good Shepherd. In this meditation I tried to give them an understanding of the missionaries they knew—of our life, etc.—and a sense of what a vocation is. Then we returned to the mission for the second step in the Baptismal ceremonies and the Holy Thursday Mass.

We gave the salt, the exorcisms whose prayers recalled what they had seen during the first days, in the Old Testament; but unfortunately not all the prayers are translated into Ngama. Here, as in all the Baptismal ceremonies, I read the prayers in French, and Radjitan repeated them in Ngama, reading from the Ngama ritual. When the formula was short and repeated, I gave it in Ngama myself. Immediately after the ceremonies, I gave them a talk on the Last Supper: Christ's humility in the washing of feet, the Eucharist, the "ordination" of the Apostles with the power to say Mass, Judas, His promise to return, to send the Holy Spirit. We put on the Washing of the Feet during the Mass according to the liturgy, and everything else according to the liturgy as well, as nearly as we could; and after the Mass they ate their 'boule" and Maurice and I ate ours. I am always exhausted around 7:30 -8 P.M., and more so after the Holy Week Services (what the French call a "coupe de pompe"), and I asked Maurice to give them points on the Agony in the Garden after supper, while I went to bed.

By Friday their food was almost running out, and some were coming to us for help. But by and large we kept to our intention and gave nothing. This was a situation that had been premeditated as well: Good Friday in hunger and fasting; a day to try the soul and prepare them to endure with Christ. We laid a lot of stress during the Retreat (particularly in the

meditations on Abraham and while with Moses in the desert) on the need to be ready to suffer in order to remain faithful to Christ. Many of the retreatants risk a great deal of pressure around the time of their marriage, for the customs here make it almost impossible to marry without previous intercourse. And for the girls the problem is even more serious if their parents choose to give them to a pagan. Friday was even slower than the preceding days, due to the all-night vigil before the Blessed Sacrament in the church. We divided the retreatants into seven groups, and each group, with a catechist, made two half hour vigils, during which they chanted the Rosary with a hymn between each decade. All night long as I woke up during the night I could hear them in the church fifty yards away.

So Friday we cut down the meditations guite a bit. At 5:30 we gathered in the church for points on the arrest of Christ, with stress mainly on the desertion of the Apostles. Satan, Adam and Eve, had been separated from God by their sin. Many of the Jews had been tempted to desert the people of God in the desert to return to the fleshpots of Egypt. And now, after these sins of malice and weakness of desire, comes desertion through fear. The result is the same: separation from Christ, the essence of sin. We prayed, as constantly through the Retreat, for the grace not to abandon, not to separate ourselves from God, from Christ, from His Body the Church. For the meditation we hiked back into the bush. to the camp, behind Radjitan and the catechists. Radjitan in alb, was the symbol of Christ, and the catechists were his captors. We followed far behind meditating on our cowardice. After the meditation (about an hour), Maurice taught the parables of the Sower, the Cockle, and the Sterile Fig tree. emphasizing the incumbency on every Christian to give fruit. Baptism is the beginning, not the goal. When we finished, I gave points again on the Christian life as a life of suffering behind Christ: "Unless you take up your cross and follow me, you cannot be my disciples." As I had explained in Tuesday's meditation on Moses and the people of God in the desert, Baptism is the crossing of the Red Sea; the water destroys what is evil as in the time of Noah and Moses, and leaves a new earth, a new people. But the new man is left

in the desert with God; he is not in the Promised Land. And he won't be in the Promised Land until he has suffered with Christ in the desert of this world, and remained faithful. God gives him bread in the desert, the Eucharist that is the food of the soul, strengthening him to walk with Christ. But unless he is prepared to endure and to suffer, he cannot be a Christian.

We meditated on this, and then—a little late in the Retreat, I admit.—I gave an instruction on how to meditate; the work of the eyes (seeing the event with the imagination), the work of the head (asking questions and trying to answer them; if we are praying well, God will give us the answers); the work of the heart (telling Christ what we desire to do, asking his help). And then we put on in succession, without meditation, but with explanation and brief "meditations aloud" which I led, the parable of the wedding feast and the man without the wedding robe (the white robe of innocence which the angels, Adam and Eve, had lost by their sin; that we receive anew at Baptism; its name: Grace) and of the ten virgins, 5 wise and 5 foolish. For the ten virgins we used the eight girls making the retreat who were not yet married, four and four, and the whole group came singing to escort them to the marriage feast. The skits caused a certain amount of laughter this time, which I encouraged, feeling the retreatants needed a break. But after each we tried to emphasize the gravity of the lesson contained: union with Christ in Heaven for all eternity or eternal abandonment in Hell, depending on whether we keep our robe white, our lamps lit. These parables too were to prepare the Baptismal ceremonies of the white robe and the lighted candle.

When we finished, it was ten in the morning. We returned to the mission meditating, each one on the parable of his choice according to the method I had explained, closed with a prayer in the church, and all were free until three P.M. to work, read their copies of "La Bonne Nouvelle," and prepare what food was left. Somehow it seems that Good Friday turns out the same the world over: a long day that drags, especially from noon to three.

At three o'clock we made the Stations of the Cross, outdoors, following a large crucifix along the route of Palm Sunday and

stopping periodically for a station. Three catechists in albs helped me: one with the crucifix, one on his left with pictures of each station (taken from the "Images-Bernadette" which we use in teaching), and the third (Jean Baptiste) to translate. (I should have mentioned that the retreat was all given in French with Ngama translation.) For the stations we followed no book, but I made the meditations aloud, recapitulating many of the ideas previously seen: the weakness of Pilate, the need for perseverance (fall of Christ) the cross in Christian life, (Simon of Cyrene), the courage of Veronica bucking public opinion and the crowd, Christ the innocent stripped of his robe to regain ours for us, the Church born of the wounded side of the Christ sleeping on the cross as Eve from the rib of Adam, and finally, the laying in the tomb, which we made at the Baptismal font in the church. I explained that at Baptism we die and descend with Christ into the tomb to rise again with Him as new men. The stations took over an hour, and afterwards Maurice taught the catechism again —on the nature of the Church, I think,—and at 5:30 we began the third step of the Baptismal ceremonies: introduction into the church and into the Church, the family and house of God, "Ephtheta," and the anointing with oil-to make us strong to fight against the devil and temptation, to endure our "agony" with Christ in the Greek sense of athletic combat. We performed the Good Friday service, and afterwards, for a few minutes in the church, I spoke of the Church, the Mystical Body, and the nature of Christian marriage as a "two in one flesh" based on the unity of all Christ's members with Him in the flesh of the one Mystical Body of Christ. The setting for this instruction was the Last Supper discourse. as I had told them Thursday that Our Lord said many other things at the Supper which I couldn't explain to them then.

Saturday, as usual, they were up before 5:30, so I rose with them, and after prayers in the church we gathered in the same shady spot that had served as the Garden of Eden the first day. There we meditated on the Resurrection of Christ and its fruits for us: we now truly constitute the People of God, not by blood as with Abraham, nor by a juridical alliance as with Moses, but by a rebirth. We are truly born of God, made one with each other and with Christ by the indwelling

of the one Spirit, principle of unity, soul of the Mystical Body. Whom Christ won for us by His death on the cross. With this, we are re-introduced into the Garden of God from which our sin had banished us. True, the earth is still a place of work and suffering; but since the Redemption it is again, for the saved, the Garden of God, for Christ is there. Where God is, is a garden; where He is not, is the wilderness. We made the meditation afterwards in the bush, and Maurice then taught the catechism until 7:30. Then we dramatized the appearance of Christ to the Apostles and the bestowal of power to forgive sins. Unjustifiably, perhaps, we telescoped the story of St. Thomas into this, but we had neither time nor energy to make another meditation of it, and Christ's words to Thomas, "Blessed are those who have not seen but have believed." brought out the lesson we wanted to give: Christ still working on earth through the sacraments, invisibly in one sense, but visibly for those who believe. We have not seen the Holy Spirit descending in the form of a dove, and heard the voice of the Father calling us His children at Baptism; but we believe. We do not see the Spirit entering our souls again at confession after sin, but we hear the words of absolution and believe. A sacrament has a visible and an invisible component, and faith makes the unity: Christ acting still on earth through His human instruments for those who believe. We meditated briefly on this, and assembled again at 8:45 for a presentation (in a skit and by the catechetical charts of Fr. Heeg, Loyola Univ. Press) of St. Peter's triple protestation of love for Christ after the Resurrection. After his triple denial, Christ gives him the chance to make reparation; and establishes him over all the Church, and all grades: "Feed my lambs . . . yearling . . . sheep." With the theme of feeding the sheep, I brought out a whole series of Fr. Heeg's pictures, feeling that now all the visual aids possible were needed, and we spoke again of the priesthood and the Eucharist, the Good Shepherd -but this time in a context of the one fold and the one Shepherd, Christ's flock follows Him in the person of His vicar on earth, who feeds them through the sacraments and the word of God "taught with authority." We included in the meditation a prayer for the Protestants, who are also the sheep of Christ, but not vet of the one fold.

I had planned to make one meditation on the Ascension and another on Pentecost, but time and natural forces being limited as they were, I gave the two together, with abundant use of Fr. Heeg's catechetical charts. The theme was the same as for the whole day: the Church: Christ ascending into Heaven, but remaining behind in His Church, through the Spirit whom He sends, acting in the person of His apostles and of the priesthood till the end of time. For Pentecost we considered both the gift of the Spirit to the Church as a whole, and especially to the hierarchy to feed the flock of Christ, and also to each Christian in the sacrament of Confirmation, when the Spirit comes to render him strong, a soldier of Christ, capable of enduring suffering with joy for the name of Christ, as did the Apostles in the Acts. We closed with the constant prayer of the Retreat: to be new men, born again in Christ, and to remain faithful to Him, not to separate ourselves from Him again by sin, but to walk in the newness of the life He died to give.

The retreatants didn't know it, but this was the last meditation of the retreat. We gave a "free time" in which they prepared their meal (we instructed all to give what remained to the women, the catechists to give theirs too, and all to eat in common; we added a little to the catechists' ration to help out the others without establishing any precedent of aid), washed their clothes, etc. And Maurice and I prepared for the Holy Saturday vigil and the final ceremony of Baptism, preparing the Baptismal registers, etc.

The Saturday Vigil began at ten P.M. The Christians came in from the surrounding villages, and the group from Benduma brought the balafon (a sort of xylophone with wooden tubes under the keys—very pretty sound), a tom-tom four feet high, and another two and a half feet or so long (which lay flat on the ground while the player squatted over it), and gourds with pebbles in them. We have special permission to use these instruments in the liturgy, and when we came to the part in the Mass where they opened up, you knew the world had risen with Christ! The balafon begins, then after a minute the tom-toms throb in, then everything together. Another minute, and the people begin to clap with the song. From this point on distraction is impossible: the whole man is engaged! By

one A.M. the Mass was over, and around two Maurice and I got to bed. I slept on a cot outdoors behind the mission (I sleep outdoors every night now, because it is cooler)—a magnificent night: cool, filled with stars, and filled with the peace of God. At five A.M. my monkey woke me up, but I was still so full of contentment I just lay in bed and watched him spring from my bed to a bench to a mango tree in the yard, and I thanked God for the gift of the world. At the 8 o'clock Mass I preached on the coming rains, the sowing, and the beginning of the catechetical cycle anew in preparation for Easter, 1964.

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# Father Gerald Ellard, S.J. William J. Leonard, S.J.

Note: Father Gerald Ellard, S.J., after thirty years of labor for the perfection of the liturgy and the promotion of The Liturgical Movement, died on April 1, 1963 at Boston College and was buried at Saint Mary's (Kansas) on April 4th. In the previous November Father Ellard's golden jubilee in the Society had been celebrated at Saint Mary's College by a symposium of distinguished liturgists. As a tribute to Father Ellard's life and work, The Woodstock Letters here publishes the keynote address of this symposium, which was delivered by the Secretary of The Liturgical Conference, Father William J. Leonard, S.J.

"Homo creatus est ut laudet Dominum Deum suum." sentence, which stands at the head of the Spiritual Exercises. might be used to justify the interest of any Jesuit in the worship, public or private, of God. For a long time it seems to have been considered chiefly, if not exclusively, in terms of private worship, and perhaps this was owing in large measure to the fact that from 1570, or thirty years after the approbation of the Society, public worship was so carefully codified and regulated as to be virtually immutable. It would go on; Jesuits felt that objectively God was being worshipped publicly so long as the Mass was being offered, the sacraments conferred, the Divine Office recited. Their attention would be best given to private worship-meditation, examination of conscience, thanksgiving after Holy Communion, retreats, devotions-all very good exercises whose performance was always susceptible of improvement. How much this attitude was formed or hardened by the emphasis on ex opere operato that was common in an age of anti-Protestant polemics, how much it can be traced to an earlier anti-Arian reaction (described by Father Jungmann in his Pastoral Liturgy), I must leave to more competent historians to decide. The fact is that although a surprising number of Jesuits can be counted in the ranks of those who have labored for improvement of public worship (Kramp, Hanssens, Martindale, Doncoeur, Schmidt, Howell, Daniélou, Meersch, Jungmann, Hofinger, Feder, Gélineau are some of the names that come at once to mind, not to speak as yet of the Jubilarian we are assembled to honor), the Society as a whole was thought of as not especially concerned with the liturgy. It requires some honesty and humility now to look about us and appraise the quality of public worship in America—to look no further afield—and to speculate on what it might be if we had given it more of our attention.

But we must not oversimplify the historical problem or too easily indulge the current vogue of breast-beating. If Jesuits in the past did not see the need of improving public worship, The time was simply not ripe; there no one else did, either. were dozens of vexing problems to be dealt with-Jansenism, for instance, or the Enlightenment, or Modernism; there was the enormous missionary expansion that followed on 16th century geographical discoveries; there were the preoccupations (to put it very mildly) we associate with the names of Garibaldi, and Michael Baius, and Fénelon, and Voltaire, and Bismarck, and Taikosama, not to mention, so far as we ourselves were most intimately concerned, Pombal, de Choiseul, and Clement XIV. An epoch which saw the rise of nationalism was not likely to understand or give hospitality to the idea of the Christian community. The guns which would roar at Verdun had not been cast yet. The hob-nailed legions of the Führer which would trample Czechoslovakia and Poland and the Low Countries under the Luftwaffe's murderous umbrella had not been born. Auschwitz and Dachau were pleasant little hamlets, I suspect, that never dreamed of the horror and infamy their names would one day connote. The fearful mushroom over Hiroshima, betokening an end to all human activity and to life itself, still lay in the very bottom of the witches' caldrons. There was superb personal charity and high personal sanctity, but the institutions by which men live, the society which is the context and often the matrix of their habits, was not Christian, and in it the seed of corporate life and prayer could never thrive. Are things so different today? Perhaps not; society seems less Christian than before. out of the agonies of our century, the blood baths and the

terror, the gas chambers and the fallout shelters, perhaps with no loftier motives than fear or sheer repugnance at what man has done to man, a desperate hope has come into being, that men may learn at last to live together in peace. Every current of our time sets toward this ideal: Martin Buber talks of "I am Thou;" Gabriel Marcel fights against the extinction of the human person; Viktor Frankl tells how love sustained him in a concentration camp, and Erich Fromm gives lessons in the art of loving. The United Nations, the European Common Market, the World Council of Churches, the very Ecumenical Council now sitting in Rome—are these not so many clear indications of the time-spirit? How providential was God our Lord in preparing the modern Church for this development as long as a hundred years ago, bringing back into the foreground of Catholic thought the doctrine of the Mystical Body (Moeller, Scheeben, Guéranger, Marmion). How earnestly has dogmatic and ascetical writing striven to explore its riches (de Lubac, Daniélou, Guardini, Leen, Boylan, Masure, Meersch, Bouyer, Ryan, Parsch, Braso, Davis, Jungmann, Plus, Schillebeeckx, Ellard). Pius XII could say in 1958, "If it is true that there is a time for every truth, this is the hour of the Church considered as the Mystical Body of Christ."

But ideas have consequences, or, to express it more accurately, and, I am sure, more familiarly, agere sequitur esse. The corporate Church must act corporately, and its first corporate act must be its adoring, grateful acknowledgment of Him who gave it life. "Homo creatus est ut laudet." perfunctory, nothing shabby or second-rate will do here. There must be what the French are calling engagement; the act must be limpid and lucid, so that all may understand, and it must be truly a corporate act in which all may participate according to their degree. No less than private prayer, the liturgy demands that we stir up that grace that is in us, that fides et devotio which the Canon of the Mass ascribes to the sons of God gathered about the altar. Not less but more than private prayer, the liturgy is a going into the Presence, an encounter with the living God, where men should be all tingling awareness. Anything that blocks that vision must be shorn away: anything that sharpens it must be kept.

And we are beginning to understand this need at last, are we not: that God must be worshipped in spirit and in truth, that the Father seeks such worshippers, and that the net result of all our preaching and teaching, of our universities and parishes and missions and retreat-houses will be to provide them? We labor for the reintegration of modern splintered life in Christ, the Head of his body, in order that Christ may present that body to his Father holy and without stain or wrinkle in one sublime and comprehensive gesture of worship, an everlasting liturgy of which we were recently again reminded by the Epistle in the Mass of All Saints, but which is prefigured and prepared for by the sincerity and generosity of our liturgy in this world.

Yes, I think we are beginning to understand all this. And if we are, it becomes us to be grateful to those who gave us understanding. I am a little hesitant about quoting the following observation, because of its author, but the observation remains true: "There is nothing more difficult to take in hand, more perilous to conduct, or more uncertain in its success, than to take the lead in the introduction of a new order of things." (The author's name is Nicolo Macchiavelli.) Father General, not long ago, praised St. Ignatius because he was an audax innovator, a man who boldly took the lead in the introduction of a new order of things.~ And the General said that if St. Ignatius were alive today he would support the liturgical movement with all his strength. "Quanto zelo et amore arriperet audax ille innovator hunc modum inveniendi Deum et salvandi animas!" The number of audaces innovatores in any generation is never large, and if someone should exclaim that this is a good thing, I would ask him to consider how many of them are now canonized and daily honored at our altars.

Father Ellard, in spite of his scholarly training and tastes, elected long ago to work in the field of popular liturgy, and his influence has been most powerfully felt in that field. Few men in America, at the time when he began his work, were equipped as he was to interpret the liturgy to modern Catholics and make it attractive to them. As he said in the Foreword to *The Mass of the Future* (1948), "In the Catholic Church nothing can be said to have a future save in so far as

it has a past and is deeply rooted in tradition," and he had read widely in that past, that tradition. By temperament and grace he was sympathetic with men's aspirations and problems in general and keenly sensitive to the winds of change blowing in his age. Lastly, he was endowed with courage to present unfamiliar ideas and patience to wait until they had been assimilated.

This is the thirtieth year of his uninterrupted service to St. Mary's College. A full generation of Jesuit seminarians has passed through his classes on their way to the altar, their minds shaped by his teaching to sympathy with liturgical renewal. These men are now pastors, university presidents, missionaries, professors, journalists, retreat directors, sponsors and supervisors of a thousand projects for the glory of God, so it is not difficult to imagine the enormous scope of his influence.

Even before his ordination Father Ellard had written, in April of 1925, a letter to the editor of America calling for the "opening up of the liturgy" in this country by means of classroom instruction, articles and books, lectures and sermons. The letter evoked similar letters on the same theme from other interested people, like the far-sighted and vigorous pioneer, Monsignor William Busch of St. Paul. It put the author in touch with Monsignor Martin Hellriegel of St. Louis, whose writing, lecturing, and pastoral example have made him the venerated father of liturgical achievement in the United States; and it brought him an invitation, a year later, to collaborate as Associate Editor of the new magazine, Orate Fratres (now Worship). This periodical, with the learning and zeal of its two editors-in-chief, Father Virgil Michel and Father Godfrey Diekmann, remains the authoritative organ of the liturgical movement in America and the most substantial of the many contributions of the Collegeville Benedictines to the cause of corporate worship. In 1951 the magazine awarded to Father Ellard its "Blessed Pius X Medal" in grateful recognition of twenty-five years of generous collaboration —the only medal he has ever worn in public.

Meanwhile there began to flow from the little room at St. Mary's a constant stream of books, articles, reviews, pamphlets, letters-to-the-editor, program materials, suggestions

and encouragement to questioners and beginners, correspondence with colleagues in Europe, Africa, Asia. *Christian Life and Worship* became in 1933 and still remains a standard text in Catholic colleges all over America. Later works were carried beyond the seas by missionaries and war-time chaplains; *The Mass in Transition* appeared in Italian and French translations and earned approval from the Holy See itself. A leaflet version of dialogue Mass, first published in 1938, is still (1962) being revised and republished after selling hundreds of thousands of copies.

However, Father Ellard has been no recluse. He has taught summer courses at Boston College, Marquette University, the University of San Francisco, and many other institutions. He has lectured at "institutes," liturgical "days" and "weeks" in almost every state in the union. He has conducted retreats for priests, religious, seminarians and laypeople. From the time of its organization in 1940 he was a member of the Board of Directors of the The Liturgical Conference, and for many years, as chairman of the program committee, he suggested the theme and the program of the annual national "Week." Perhaps his supreme achievement, so far as popular education was concerned, was the twelve years he spent on the faculty of "The Summer School of Catholic Action," a peripatetic institution that moves from city to city during the twelve weeks of summer. More than a hundred thousand persons attended the sessions during those years, to take part in the "six days you'll never forget" and to bring home with them the SSCA Blue Book which was conned by thousands of others. A staff member of the central office of the Sodality of Our Lady, which sponsored the Summer Schools, wrote (Orate Fratres, January, 1951): "I would cite Father Gerald Ellard's work as most important. He worked with the office here both through his writings and his classes in the Summer School of Catholic Action. It was his influence which initiated the dialogue Mass at these schools. The practice was carried back to many schools and colleges throughout the land, and to not a few parishes as well. Whatever success this type of Mass participation has had on a large scale can be attributed to him and to his work with us. In addition, he contributed informational and inspirational material for social worship

through this school and parish programming services sent out to thousands of schools and parishes in the United States."

Father Ellard has described his decision to champion the cause of the vernacular in the liturgy as a conversion, slow and painful but in the end utterly convinced. A fluent Latinist himself, he loves the sonorous rhythms of the language in which the Christians of the West have prayed for so long, but, just as he chose at the outset of his career to dedicate his time and energies to popular liturgy rather than to scholarly research, so now, putting his own preferences aside, he began to work for what seemed to him an indispensable requisite for a living liturgy—a living language. The first version of the American Ritual was largely his work, done under extreme pressure because of the exigencies of the moment. Many articles, many chapters in his books witness to the zeal with which he studied the progress of the vernacular languages as instruments of worship and cleared the way for the use of English.

If service be the criterion by which we evaluate the good Christian, the good priest, then Father Ellard has deserved well of the Church in America. If the public worship of God now corresponds more nearly to the ideal held up by St. Pius X fifty years ago, if the vitality of modern Christian groups and individuals is derived more abundantly from its "primary and indispensable source," if the community is more vividly aware that its vocation summons it both to adore God and to serve men, then very much of the credit belongs to Father Ellard. Let the presence here of so many of his colleagues stand as their acknowledgment of his merits and of their profound affection for him personally. Audax innovator, te salutamus.

### Gerald Ellard, S.J.

Born—October 8, 1894, at Commonwealth, Wisconsin Education—Regis High School, Denver Entered Society—Los Gatos, California, 27 July 1912. (Member of the old "Denver Mission.")
Studies—Mount St. Michael's, Spokane (Philosophy)

St. Louis (Theology)

Regency-Regis High School, Denver

Ordination-St. Louis, 1926

Tertianship-St. Andrä, Austria, 1927-28

Doctoral studies—Ludwig-Maximilian University, Munich, 1928-31

St. Louis University, professor of history 1931-32

St. Mary's College, Kansas, professor of ecclesiastical history and liturgy 1932-1963

Death—1 April 1963, at Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Mass. Funeral—4 April 1963, at St. Mary's, Kansas

Principal publications:

Christian Life and Worship, Milwaukee: Bruce, 1933. (7 ed.) Ordination Anointings in the Western Church before 1000 A.D., Cambridge: Medieval Academy, 1933.

The Mystical Body and the American Bishops, St. Louis: Queen's Work, 1939

Men at Work at Worship, New York: Longmans, 1940

The Dialog Mass, New York: Longmans, 1942

Lest They Assist Passively, St. Louis: Queen's Work, 1943 Community Mass: Missa Recitata, St. Louis: Queen's Work, 1944

The Mass of the Future, Milwaukee, Bruce, 1948

Mediator Dei, with introduction and notes, New York: America Press, 1948

Power: the Supernatural Powers and Helps Conferred on Man (with J. R. Gleason), Chicago: Loyola U. Press, 1948

Loyalty (with W. Farrell), Chicago: Loyola U. Press, 1949

Service (with Sister Anne Burns, O.S.B.), Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1951

Follow the Mass, St. Paul: Catechetical Guild, 1953

Evening Mass: Our Latest Gift, Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1954

The Mass in Transition, Milwaukee: Bruce, 1956

Master Alcuin, Liturgist, Chicago: Loyola Univ. Press, 1956

La S. Messa in Transformazione, Rome: Mame, 1960

A Litany of Heroes and Saints, Milwaukee: Bruce, 1961

La liturgie en marche, Tours: Mame, 1961

Also: 192 articles, booklets, manuals, missals, contributions to encyclopedias, sermon outlines, published lectures, etc., etc., from 1923 to 1963. (Book reviews excluded.)

# Books of Interest to Ours

Jesuit Education. An Essay on the Foundations of Its Idea. By John W. Donohue, S.J. New York: Fordham University Press, 1963. Pp. xviii-221. \$5.00.

In 1959 the Jesuit Educational Association, moving since 1941 toward formularizing the objectives and procedures of Jesuit education, requested Father Donohue to write a book. To help him, the Association assembled some twenty specialists in a workshop in Chicago. Not to bind him but to provide opinions and suggestions from which he could cull, throughout a full week they discussed with him three main topics: 1) the essential features of Jesuit education, 2) the main problems confronting it, and 3) possible guiding policies. Then they recommended that he should write a brief book on topic 1 above; and further, that monographs should be published later about the remaining topics. Hence Father Donohue composed this book which aims to "draw out the implications of the educational principles" in the Jesuit educational documents, the Spiritual Exercises, Constitutions, Ratio, and others.

Successive chapters bring out these characteristics of Jesuit education. Ignatius adopted the educational procedures of the Renaissance as an instrument toward the goal of the Society, to bring men to know and love God. The chief principles and procedures of Jesuit education are found mainly in the documents listed above and in traditional practice. Thus there has been a constant Jesuit educational tradition, flexible for adaptation to Jesuit schools of the past and the ever changing present. It functions with the same presuppositions and goals as Christian education in general; yet it has a flavor of its own which is hard to define. It educates to produce intelligence, character, and effective participation in society. This extensive material is treated with incisive and apt but scattered references to Jesuit education on its three levels (upper elementary, secondary, and higher) and in its main eras (its primitive period of formation until 1599, its period of institutionalization represented by Jouvancy in 1703, and its modern period of unprecedented expansion).

This material is handled with admirable perspective, accuracy, and ability; and thus the book carries forward a healthy tendency which is becoming more apparent in each successive treatise on Jesuit education. Earlier in our century the statements or statutes in the *Ratio* or allied documents were often expounded as if they were truths of educational philosophy which were valid for all time. Little attention was paid to the ages of the students for whom they had been written or were yet to be applied; and frequently Jesuit education and Jesuit pedagogical methodology were not distinguished. Something else is now becoming

constantly clearer. Some of those statements do indeed present or imply principles perennially valid; but with many others their chief value lies in the fact that they were ingenious practical means and procedures for their own eras. They equipped the students of the ages in which they were formulated to take a capable and zealous part in their contemporary cultural, social, and religious life.

The author also aptly relates the Jesuit principles and procedures to the tenets of other educational philosophies, Catholic and non-Catholic. Yet his assigned task of treating all this material within 200 pages entailed inherent limitation, within which he acquitted himself extraordinarily well. Finding it impossible to give an orderly and comprehensive treatment of many important topics or persons, he often uses the following procedure. By one deft, accurate stroke he states something true or valuable about the matter; by another stroke he recognizes a limitation or an opposite viewpoint; and then he passes on to another topic. This will please most readers and minimize the danger of controversy. The present reviewer, for one, found no statement with which he felt disagreement of any moment; and he received many new and valuable insights. Yet he also found many statements where much more ought to be said if the treatment is to be well-rounded enough to furnish intellectually solid motivation for confident and vigorous procedure. At present the reader does not get sufficient information to inspire him to proceed with conviction—especially if he fears that he will encounter on opposing view.

Therefore, in this excellent book the author has, as a capable guide, accurately surveyed the field and erected in it clear, up-to-date guideposts. By doing this he has also made more clearly evident the need of a series of monographs which treat many of the topics, only touched on here, with the depth, breadth, and documented completeness which a scholar or an administrator often needs. Such a series is what the Chicago workshop recommended.

GEORGE E. GANSS, S.J.

The Bible in Current Catholic Thought. Edited by John L. McKenzie, S.J. New York: Herder and Herder, 1962. Pp. xiii-247. \$6.50.

The late Michael J. Gruenthaner, S.J., was born in Buffalo, N.Y., on Oct. 1, 1887. The volume which was to have been a Festschrift honoring his 75th birthday has been transformed by his death on Sept. 14, 1962, seventeen days before the scheduled presentation, into a Memorial. Little else has been affected by the planned recipient's definitive change of status, even the tenses of the verbs in the "Editor's Preface" manifesting that it was set in type before Father's death and modified only by the insertion of a short paragraph in italics on p. ix.

Fr. Gruenthaner would have much appreciated the pieces composed in his honor by American Catholic biblical scholars, some scarcely half his age, all devoted to furthering the work on which he spent himself. If one misses a few names among the contributors, the *poena damni* is not, for once, unassuageable.

After the "Editor's Preface," a Curriculum Vitae composed by Francis A. Petru, S.J., and a bibliography of the writings of Fr. Gruenthaner, the articles are grouped as Old Testament, Intertestamental, and New Testament. They are, in the order of presentation: William L. Moran, S.J., "A Kingdom of Priests"; Ignatius Hunt, O.S.B., "Recent Melkizedek Study"; Frederick Moriarty, S.J., "Gerhard von Rad's Genesis"; Roland E. Murphy, O.Carm., "The Concept of Wisdom Literature"; Mitchell J. Dahood, S.J., "Northwest Semitic Philology and Job"; Louis F. Hartman, C.SS.R., "The Great Tree and Nabuchodonosor's Madness"; Bruce Vawter, C.M., "Levitical Messianism and the New Testament"; Robert North, S.J., "The Qumran Reservoirs"; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J., "The Bar Cochba Period" [i.e., the Second Jewish Revolt, A.D. 132-135]; David Michael Stanley, S.J., "New Understanding of the Gospels"; Raymond E. Brown, S.S., "The Gospel Miracles"; Thomas Aquinas Collins, O.P., "Changing Styles in Johannine Studies"; and Francis McCool, S.J., "Living Water in John." A list of abbreviations together with general and scriptural indices complete the volume, printed in a typeface, small and unattractive, which is undoubtedly a major factor in the cramped appearance of the whole.

It would be a mistake for the non-technical reader to begin with the first contribution, that of Fr. Moran of the Biblical Institute, for while his article is on the highest level of scholarly competence, its meat is digestible only by professionals. The same should be said, mutatis mutandis, of the articles by Frs. Dahood of the Biblical, Hartman of Catholic University, Vawter of Kenrick Seminary, North of Marquette University, and Fitzmyer of Woodstock College. On the other hand, it is precisely these articles which present, in the main, excellent examples of the scholarly level of American Catholic biblical work.

Non-technical readers and, in fact, all who should know what is going on in Catholic exegesis will profit from careful attention to the New Testament contributions. While these are addressed to differing levels of competence in the field (Fr. Stanley, for example, once more and doubtless by request presents "the facts of life" in Gospel study today; Fr. Collins offers a largely bibliographical article; Frs. Brown and Mc-Cool delve more deeply), there is something here for just about everyone. Equally informative, in their way, are the survey articles in Old Testament matters by Frs. Hunt, Moriarty, and Murphy.

One serious printing mistake should be pointed out. On p. 98, the last sentence of the first paragraph should read:

The Levitical speculation understood a renewed covenant whose priesthood preserved its ancient privileges and was restored to a pristine purity; the priesthood of Christ is incomprehensible apart from a new covenant with an entirely new priesthood.

JOSEPH J. DeVAULT, S.J.

Three Paths in Philosophy. By James Collins. Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1963. Pp. 442. \$7.50.

This book records James Collins' search for unity and truth in the swirling currents of present-day philosophy. In so doing, he explores the significance and values of three diverse paths: the existentialism of Sartre, Heidegger and Marcel; the naturalism of Darwin, Dewey and Marx; the theistic realism of Blondel, Maritain and Gilson. In each case, Collins probes the meaning of the philosopher with great sympathy and perception from the point of view of his own theistic realism. The critical viewpoint which unifies these studies that have appeared in the journals over the past decade makes this volume far more valuable than the usual collection of essays.

In his study of the existentialists, Collins considers their attitude toward religion and their positions concerning modern science. In Marcel he sees a man who was philosophizing as a Christian thinker when others were arguing about the possibility of Christian philosophy. In Edith Stein he finds a balanced approach to metaphysics not found in other attempts to reconstitute metaphysics on a phenomenological basis. Maintaining a balanced position, she does not set down a doctrinaire opposition between material things and human experience. She requires only that metaphysics account for the human aspects of experience without concluding that act and potency, substance and causality, have no place in a metaphysics of human meaning. In another effort at phenomenological reconstruction, Max Scheler transformed the analysis of moral attitudes into a metaphysics of God and man. As a result he burdened phenomenological reduction with metaphysical functions it is not designed to perform.

By-passing the analytic school, Collins considers its roots in naturalism. In John Dewey's naturalism, he distinguishes between the realistic element that Dewey shares with realists over against idealists, and his exclusion of God from the scope of human knowledge. And he judges that this element in Dewey's thought can be traced to his Hegelian heritage with its postulate of a single basic method of knowing and defining reality. Collins concludes this study of these two paths in philosophy with the judgment that: "Any constructive work done by realistic theism in the coming years on the meaning of man will have to rest upon a close understanding and patient evaluation of both the existentialist and the naturalist aspects of our integral reality" (p. 251). This work he has begun in this volume and gives a model for a positive yet critical approach to philosophy.

In his study of theistic realism, Collins is chiefly concerned with the method and order that is proper to philosophy because certain approaches to Christian philosophy fail to respect the intrinsic requirements of philosophy itself and also fail to take into account the problems, methods, and evidences of contemporary philosophy. Over against these notions of Christian philosophy, Collins judges that theistic philosophy must have a profound grasp of its own nature as a philosophy that is respon-

sible for developing itself according to the order and context of human evidence.

Throughout this technical discussion Collins remains aware of the practical question of the teaching of philosophy in Catholic colleges. This involves the question as to the proper way of becoming truly contemporary in matters philosophical. One way is to get on the bandwagon of some currently popular philosophical movement. This assures quick and ready acceptance but neither understanding nor respect. Frequently, this lack of balance is caused by trying to match junior-year Thomism with post-graduate analytic philosophy or phenomenology. But this approach falls short of the right and the obligation of the philosopher to critical assimilation and evaluation of doctrines. In the recent past, criticism was too glib and too negative. Now it seems the pendulum has swung to the opposite extreme so that the critical powers of many Catholic philosophers seem to be paralyzed. Though sympathetic understanding is the first step in philosophy, to stop there is to become a connoisseur of new modes of thought. Finally, a philosopher must direct his whole study to a philosophical judgement on the truth of the matter.

I recommend this thoroughly competent volume to philosophers and all involved in the work of the colleges. To philosophers for its challenging probing of the meaning of contemporary philosophy and the problem of achieving a Christian philosophy that is both Christian and philosophical. To those interested in the colleges for it's intelligent discussion of the very real problems related to teaching theistic realism in a way that is truly contemporary, since it is just as easy to lose one's philosophical identity and responsibility by uncritically accepting a twentieth century view as by blindly holding on to a thirteenth century position.

WALTER E. STOKES, S.J.

That The World May Believe. By Hans Küng. Translated by Cecily Hastings. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1963. Pp. 150. \$3.00.

Nearly everyone these days is anxious to read something by Hans Küng, the talented young Swiss theologian who has recently risen to worldwide renown. The present book will surprise many readers by its modesty and directness. Küng the theologian and reformer steps into the background (without ever really disappearing); it is primarily the pastor who writes. Using the literary form of ten letters to a university student, the author takes up questions of the kind most troublesome to educated laymen in our time. For instance: how favorably can we judge the Christianity of Protestants? Why can't the churches put an end to their squabbles? Must we Catholics always defend our Church? What about the condemnation of Galileo? Can we swallow the creation account in Genesis? Is it necessary to become a Catholic to save one's soul? Why is the Mass so strange and complicated? Should we try to suppress doubts about faith when they spring up in our minds? Should we confess them as sins?

These and like questions are handled with the aplomb of a trained theologian who knows how to speak the language that young men today will understand. Father Küng is perfectly candid; he never sweeps ugly facts under the carpet or seeks to evade the real issue. He is liberal in admitting defects in the Catholic community and virtues in persons outside her fold. He castigates the superstitions and intolerance of many priests and faithful. Advanced as some of Küng's positions may seem, I do not think he is ever temerarious, even in his handling of such delicate points as "extra Ecclesiam nulla salus." At worst he can be accused of oversimplifying. By and large, his views are not untypical of the younger generation in continental Catholic thinking.

These wide-ranging essays will hold no revelations for professional theologians or students who have kept abreast of new tendencies. But many Catholic laymen, especially readers of college age, will find this book palatable and enlightening. Without trying to set forth a full apologetic of the faith, Küng deals skillfully with a number of sensitive points, and his observations will serve to allay many unnecessary worries and resentments among both Catholics and Protestants. The style is as straightforward as the thought-content. Cecily Hastings, whose translation of Küng's previous work was so well received, has scored another triumph.

If there is one defect to be noted, it is perhaps the author's tendency to overpaint the dark side of the picture. On page 111, for example, we are told: "It has been estimated that with very few exceptions there is no major town in the western world (including North and South America) in which more than 30% of the Catholics are practising." So far as England and the United States are concerned, the statistics given by Joseph B. Schuyler, S.J. in his Northern Parish are far more encouraging.

AVERY DULLES, S.J.

Toward a Theology of the Layman. By John D. Gerken, S.J. New York: Herder and Herder, 1963, Pp. 152. \$3.95.

A stimulating book on a topic that needs no apology, Toward a Theology of the Layman deserves much more discussion and reflection than this review allows.

In the Introduction Fr. Gerken stresses that he is not presenting a definitive doctrine, but contributing to the current discussion. The book claims to be only "a step toward what will one day be a complete theology of the layman" (p. 3). Thus the publishers' implication on the book's jacket that it is to be lauded for resolving major issues is unfortunate. The author makes no such claim. It is with this realization that the book must be read and discussed.

Part One deals with the question of the better state of life. Theories of Congar, Philips, and Thalhammer are found wanting as explanations of the teaching that the religious state is a better state, for they imply that the lay state involves an inferior living of the Christian life. The scriptural passages usually cited in this conext (Mt. 19:16-22 and 1 Cor.

7:25-40) are discussed, and the conclusion is that these passages do not prove that the life of virginity (synonymous with the religious life) is a better way to love God. A treatment of recent writings of Fr. Karl Rahner leads to a general acceptance of Rahner's views with the admission that he fails to explain adequately the betterness of the religious life, a fact taught by Trent and Sacra Virginitas of Pius XII but explained by neither. Fr. Gerken's own suggested solution lies in the ability of the life of virginity "to manifest the supernatural characteristics of Christian love." (p. 91)

Part Two of the book deals with the question of determining one's obligation to follow a vocation to a state of life. The doctrine presented is that of Fr. Rahner, employing as a norm the "consolation without any previous cause" of St. Ignatius' Rules for the Discernment of Spirits. It is held that this consolation, in Rahnerian terms a "thematic consciousness of the experience of transcendence," indicates a true obligation to answer a call to a state of life.

The book is a brave book and is extremely worth-while. Many will reject the scriptural interpretation used and thus be distracted from the main theme of the book. A fuller explanation of some key Rahnerian terms should have been included to avoid misunderstanding by a non-Rahnerian audience. But with the purpose of the book in mind, such flaws should not be exaggerated.

Jesuits should be especially happy with two by-products: an insight into the often neglected sign aspect of religious life, and a vital interpretation of St. Ignatius' Rules for the Discernment of Spirits seen as a thread through the whole Spiritual Exercises.

THOMAS H. O'GORMAN, S.J.

The Challenge of Mater et Magistra. Edited by Joseph N. Moody and Justus George Lawler. New York: Herder and Herder, 1963, Pp. 280.

In this heartening volume, The Challenge of Mater et Magistra, the reader will find several essays which provide insight into the tension and struggle of the social question, their authors' respective reactions to the encyclical, and the practical recommendations which Pope John XXIII makes.

Editor Lawler's introductory lament over modern apathy in the age of Overkill points out that *Mater et Magistra* is the first encyclical to regard the world no longer as a heterogeneous assemblage of separate and self-sufficient nations, but as a single entity moving more and more, save for one great obstacle, towards a deeper sense of cooperation and community. The first two essays, *The Church and the Social Question*, by Franz H. Mueller, and *The World-Wide Response*, by Donald R. Campion, S.J., offer the student 496 documentary references for further scientific study.

Dr. Mueller's essay tracing the social question as it evolves from medieval to modern times should be required reading for every seminarian. Father Campion's monumental periodical analysis of reactions to

the encyclical clearly demonstrates the left and right of insight and the problem of truth. The themes of the essay are unfolded in Joseph Moody's reaffirmation of *Mater et Magistra*'s international perspective, in Thomas K. Burch's search for a demographic perspective and in Edward O'Rourke's classification of the encyclical as the agricultural encyclical. John C. Cort offers a problematic insight into profit sharing—the section outside of "socialization" which has caused the most interest. This American response to *Mater et Magistra* is urgently welcome.

FRANCIS X. QUINN, S.J.

Life and Holiness. By Thomas Merton. New York: Herder and Herder, 1963. Pp. 162. \$3.50.

In the preface to his newest book, Thomas Merton writes that "this is intended to be a very simple book, an elementary treatment of a few basic ideas in Christian spirituality. Hence it should be useful to any Christian, and indeed to anyone who wants to acquaint himself with some principles of the interior life as it is understood in the Catholic Church." I believe that Merton has achieved his modest objective and then some. In a style that is beautifully direct and unpretentious, he has created a masterpiece of spiritual reading.

Conceived, I suspect, from his meditations on Mater et Magistra, the book's main issue is that no Christian today can fully live the life of the commandments, much less strive for high perfection through observing the counsels, unless he makes a real, personal contribution to the settlement of the practical social problems of our time. Merton surely realizes that this is a hard saying and would scarcely be understood by his readers if he were to place it at the beginning of his book. He climactically prepares for it by short conferences, of four or five pages each, on the meaning and implications of the Christian life.

Beginning with the call to perfection that comes with Baptism, Father Merton goes on to dispel common erroneous concepts that would base holiness on an absorption in the externals of law and respectability, or on escape into the world of the ideal—the world of the plastic saint, or on preoccupation with method, or on a restricted sense of what it means to be truly human.

Relying continually on Scripture and the testimony of the Fathers of the Church, Merton corrects and adjusts these impressions so as to root the Christian life in intimacy with God in Christ. He gives special stress to faith, obedience to the will of the Father, grace and the sacraments, and to the social perspectives of charity.

Though primarily intended for the serious-minded layman, this book may be read with profit by priests and religious.

WILLIAM J. BERGEN, S.J.

The Modern Theology of Tradition. By James Patrick Mackey. New York: Herder and Herder, 1963. Pp. xi-219. \$4.75.

Father Mackey, a young Irish priest, undertakes to examine theological speculation concerning the nature of Tradition from the time of

Cardinal Franzelin. Focusing mainly on the active aspect of Tradition, i.e., on the bearers of the deposit of Revelation, the author begins with Cardinal Franzelin since it was he who set the structure of modern theological opinion (in the author's view) on the question, particularly by relating "the concept of Tradition so closely to the infallible teaching of the Magisterium as to derive his definition of Tradition from that relationship."

In the course of his first chapter, which concerns the spectrum of the Tradition-magisterium line of thought, Father Mackey also relates to Tradition the allied subjects of the rule of faith and the development of doctrine. Father Mackey finds this school of thought deficient in providing a thoroughly realistic view of Tradition by failing to do justice to the activity of other members of the Church apart from the Magisterium in transmitting tradition. The two subsequent chapters therefore are concerned with vindicating for the Fathers and Theologians and the faithful a proper role as bearers of tradition. The fourth chapter surveys proposed definitions of Tradition which will do justice principally to the fact that all the members of the Church take part in Tradition and finds Scheeben's view of the matter the most satisfactory. This view expresses the vitality, complexity and unity of Tradition in terms of the two themes of an organic Church and a perennial Magisterium. The fifth chapter views Tradition in its relation to Scripture, and the final chapter treats Tradition in non-Catholic theology.

The author's close reasoning and spare expression do not permit more than this sketchy indication of the contents of his book. His work requires and repays careful attention. While by design not speculative but positive in nature, the book is no mere catalogue of discrete opinions. Rather it is an intelligently developed and articulated synthesis of positions. The author has made a noteworthy and illuminating contribution to a question of central theological and ecumenical import. The publishers, too, are to be commended for continuing to make available Catholic theological literature of high merit.

MARTIN J. FOLEY, S.J.

Religious Liberty and the American Presidency. By Patricia Barrett. New York: Herder and Herder, 1963. Pp. ix-166. \$4.50.

The religious issue in the 1960 presidential campaign resurrected many forgotten ghosts from their resting places in the pages of history. Doctor Barrett's penetrating and serenely objective analysis of this resurrection is certainly a major contribution to the study of this embarrassing aspect of American pluralism. The author's observations fill only sixty pages of the book; the rest is given over to relevant documents and bibliographical data. The only flaw in the essay is that it is too short. What was said in the sixty double-spaced pages was said so well that the reader cannot escape the feeling that he has not reaped the full measure of Doctor Barrett's exhaustive research.

Avoiding the labyrinth of detail involved in isolating the Catholic vote, the author focuses on the more fundamental question of the nature

of anti-Catholic feeling which found expression in the campaign. Her first chapter traces the growth of the issue from the celebrated article in Look (March 3, 1959) up until the election itself. She then presents the substantive issues of the campaign—union of Church and State, dual allegiance, the Catholic School system, etc. The final chapter is a three page suggestion on how American democracy can profit from the 1960 experience. The author counsels dialogue on the personal level, open debate of social and political questions, and the forming of public policy in the give-and-take of the power struggle properly assigned to the legislative forum.

The documentary section of the book will be of great value to students of the church-state question. The sources are from the files of the National Conference of Christians and Jews and the Fair Campaign Practices Committee." Also included are major policy statements of interested groups and the text of Mr. Kennedy's Houston address.

JOHN A. ROHR. S.J.

Understanding Biblical Research. By Luis Alonso Schökel, S.J. Translated by Peter J. McCord, S.J., with a Foreword by Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J. New York: Herder and Herder, 1963. Pp. xii-130. \$3.50.

Those who have felt that Catholic Bible scholars have recently been moving too far too fast without taking enough account of their obligations to a general public brought up in the older tradition will find in Father Alonso Schökel's little book just what they are looking for. In three lectures he sketches for the educated layman or priest the interplay of historical forces which brought on, at the same time as they delayed, the advances Catholic Scripture studies have seen in the last two decades, thus giving the false appearance of a sudden revolution.

No one can help being fascinated by his lively history of exegesis in the Christian community; in his account of the last four hundred years he takes care to insert the course of Bible studies into the overall intellectual and religious history of the period. It is a story of opportunities lost to the Church at the beginning of the modern era, of centuries of Protestant scholarship which was vigorous but at the mercy of contemporary intellectual vagaries, of typically "post-Tridentine" Catholic reaction, and of a new period of peaceful stabilization introduced by twentieth-century advances in philology and archeology. Today, exercis has a far firmer scientific foundation than ever before, and is becoming less and less a field for philosophical theological disputes.

This method of presenting the modern state of exegesis has the advantage of casting much light on the (to many Catholics mystifying) outburst of ecumenism in our times. Things are moving fast everywhere in the Church, but behind them are forces that have been building up for centuries. Historical understanding is the indispensable key to an intelligent response to these forces. Father Alonso Schökel's book provides such a key.

The book is excellently translated, and a Foreword by the professor of New Testament at Woodstock College gives its immediate background and introduces it to English-speaking readers.

MARTIN PALMER, S.J.

Unity: Man's Tomorrow. By Roger Schutz. New York: Herder and Herder, 1963. Pp. 94. \$2.95.

If one were to approach this book expecting to find a theological study of ecumenism, he would be disappointed. Although the author is the Prior of Taizé, the famed Protestant religious community and ecumenical center, the problem of Christian unity is, in a way, tangential to the central theme of this book. The author is principally concerned with the challenge of the new unbelieving world which is coming to be, and the response of the Christian conscience to this world. It is in relation to this more ultimate question that the unity of Christianity is treated in this collection of short meditations. The first part of the book discusses the nature of the new civilization and its two characteristics, technology and "the crowd." There follows a description of the state of Christianity in the world today, with particular emphasis given to the problems of the churches in South America. The concluding section gives some basic principles of ecumenical spirituality.

The author does not reveal his own conception of Christian unity, except for his insistence that this unity must be visible and not merely spiritual. Nor does he outline the steps by which unity might be obtained. However, he does urge us to follow that vocation to holiness and that renunciation of sectarian spirit without which the reunion of the Christian churches is impossible. No doubt, he thus expresses the spirit of his community, which seeks to further unity through interior renovation rather than through ecclesiastical maneuvering.

The translation is at times cumbersome and even unintelligible, and the book is not free of typographical errors.

SCHUYLER BROWN, S.J.

Preaching. Edited by Ronan Drury. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1962. Pp. 149. \$3.50.

This book is a collection of nine essays primarily directed towards integrating the work of the preacher into the life of the Church; several of the essays give practical suggestions for the preacher. The authors all live and write in Ireland giving the collection a slightly different tone and approach than similar American works.

The first article treats the theology of preaching. Beginning with a consideration of language as the means by which God initially revealed Himself to man, it sees the saving word entrusted to the Church by whom it is to be rendered actual through the work of the preacher. Out of this fundamental role of preaching in the life of the Church, the author formulates its theology. Preaching is called a direct cause of grace, the grace it gives is the grace of faith, the grace presumed by the

sacraments. The article ends with a bibliography of recent writing on the theology of preaching. Two of the other essays relate preaching to the liturgy; they quote papal statements establishing the connection and trace the relationship in the history of the early Church. Another essay relates preaching to the scriptures while another traces the history of mission preaching in the life of the Church. Practical essays are on dogmatic instruction, the moral sermon, preaching to adolescents and delivery. All of the essays are competent and interesting, particularly those which show the preacher how his work lies at the heart of the Church's mission.

THOMAS KING, S.J.

The Works of Bonaventure, Vol. II, The Breviloquium. Translated by Jose de Vinck. Patterson: Saint Anthony Guild Press, distributed by Desclee Co., New York, 1963. Pp. xviii-326. \$6.75 Illustrated.

The Breviloquium is a compendium of Saint Bonaventure's theological teaching in seven parts. The translator adds a rather detailed synopsis of the seven parts, since the work lacks the schema (and tedium) of a summa.

Although Bonaventure's thought encompassed heaven and earth, he could still become personally involved in it. Speaking of the Incarnation with one eye on the Sermons of Augustine he says: "Virginal was her conceiving of the Son of God, virginal her birth-giving, and virginal her state after deliverance. She conceived not only a body, but a body with a soul, a body united to the Word and free from the stain of sin, a body all-holy and immaculate. That is why she is called the Mother of God, and is yet also the most sweet Virgin Mary." His translator says of him; "... the particular glory of Bonaventure is to have reconciled the vision of the mystic with the logic of the theologian, and to have shown that, in matters theological, reason supplemented by infused mystical knowledge is superior to reason alone." We quite agree.

The book is well made and the format excellent.

If you are looking for a machine to think with, you can do no better than the Breviloquium of the Cardinal, Seraphic Doctor and Saint.

GEORGE J. SCHEMEL, S.J.

Edmund A. Walsh, S.J. By Louis J. Gallagher, S.J. New York: Benziger Brothers, Inc., 1962. Pp. 250. \$4.95.

Father Edmund Walsh, S.J. will be remembered as one of the outstanding pioneers of the American Assistancy in the twentieth century. The first full length account of his life is presented by his friend and long-time associate, Father Louis Gallagher. The author has given greatest attention to Father Walsh's efforts as director of the Papal Relief Mission to Russia, 1922-1923; his work at the Nuremberg Trials, 1945-1946; and his founding and direction of the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University from 1919 to his death in 1956.

Also treated are Father Walsh's diplomatic work for the Vatican in Mexico in 1929, his helping to establish Baghdad College in 1931, his

relations with Franklin Roosevelt concerning America's recognition of Russia in 1933, his work with the Catholic Near East Welfare Association over many years and with the Finnish Relief Fund in 1940, his visit to Japan in 1946 and his extensive lecturing and writing.

While Father Gallagher presents much valuable information on his subject, the treatment is too external. Father Walsh never quite comes alive in the pages of this biography. And there is much more detail which remains yet to be recorded. This work, then, is a beginning in what we hope will be a growing body of knowledge on a truly impressive Jesuit.

HENRY C. BISCHOFF, S.J.

Roger Joseph Boscovich. Edited by Lancelot Law Whyte. London: Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1961. Pp. 230.

The twentieth century has paid scant attention to Roger Joseph Boscovich (1711-1787), Dalmatian born priest of the Society of Jesus and Fellow of the British Royal Society. Among Jesuits he is vaguely remembered as an adversary "refuted" in a cosmology course; among scientists he is dismissed as an eighteenth century atomist. The present collection of essays then marks a welcome change of attitude towards a man who was a leading mathematician, physicist, diplomat, latinist, and social figure of his era, possessed of a striking combination of soaring imagination and strict logic, devoted to simplicity in scientific hypothesis and care for deductive clarity. A bicentenary celebration in 1958 of his most famous work, Theoria Philosophiae Naturalis, was sponsored by the Yugoslav government, and moved English speaking scientists and historians to prepare these papers to mark the 250th anniversary of his birth. They restore the reputation of a genius whose influence can be seen in Priestley, Faraday, Kelvin, J. J. Thomson, Laplace, Cauchy, and H. A. Lorentz, and whose insights into physical and statistical theory are still suggestive.

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# W O O D S T O C K L E T T E R S

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NOVEMBER, 1963

# CONTENTS FOR NOVEMBER, 1963

AUGUSTIN CARDINAL BEA, S.J.  Address at Boston College Convocation  Address for the IX Agape, New York City  Press Conference in New York	317
AN IGNATIAN SYNTHESISEdward J. Sponga, S.J.	333
PSYCHOLOGICAL NOTES ON THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES	349
THE WASHINGTON MARCH: AUGUST 28, 1963 Daniel Degnan, S.J.	367
SCRIPTURE SERVICES AND THE  SPIRITUAL EXERCISES  John Gallen, S.J.	375
THE SOCIETY'S RULES OF CENSORSHIPEugene J. Ahern, S.J.	383
CHRIST FORMS THE MARTYR	395
FATHER JAMES P. SWEENEY  J. Clayton Murray, S.J.	403
BOOKS OF INTEREST	415

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# Augustin Cardinal Bea, S.J.

The following documents represent three of the Cardinal's public statements during his visit to the U.S. this year

## Address at Boston College Convocation March 26, 1963

IT IS A DEEP AND SINCERE JOY for me to be able to address a few words to you. First of all, I want to express my joyful gratitude. For many years, I have followed the work of the Catholic universities and colleges in the United States, a magnificent system that started humbly in the foundation of Georgetown University, with Father John Carroll, later Bishop of Baltimore, as its loyal promoter and first chancellor. Despite my interest, I never had thought I would ever know personally, and have such direct contact with one or the other of these Catholic institutes of learning. And certainly I never imagined that I would treasure any of them as my "Alma Mater," which now is somewhat the case with Boston College, as it has been for three years with Fordham University.

I am especially happy about the doctor's degree of Boston College as it somehow represents the many others that have or would have been offered to me by other Catholic universities but which—with much regret—I could not accept because of the necessary shortness of my visit to the United States. Let me herewith, publicly and solemnly, assure all those whose gracious invitations I had to refuse, and in general all the Catholic universities throughout the United States—especially those directed by my confreres in the Society of Jesus—that I profoundly appreciate their often difficult and always very

dedicated and self-sacrificing work. I promise to remember them all in my prayers and in the offering of the Holy Sacrifice.

Allow me to refer again to this doctor's degree which I have just received. I would like to regard this conferral as a symbolic act; this degree has been granted to me in my capacity as President of the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity and that means a recognition of the work of the Secretariat itself. Therefore, I would like, by this conferral and its acceptance, to include somehow all my collaborators—not only those whose names are frequently mentioned, but also those more than forty members and consultors of the Secretariat, who have placed their knowledge and judgment, their experience and their concern for Christian Unity at the service of the Secretariat in its ecumenical role at the Second Vatican Council.

No doubt you would like to have from me at least a few words on the work of the Secretariat and on the ecumenical aspects of the first period of the Council. In the first place, I am deeply grateful to the Lord for the great things that He has done to the Church through its Council. I am thinking here, above all, of the deepening consciousness of belonging together by all those who believe in Christ and who are baptized in Him. In connection with the Vatican Council, this solidarity in Christ was expressed in every part of the world and with unexpected intensity. Let us think, for example, of the declarations of so many leading personalities from the large Christian confessions who, again, and in many different ways, asserted that the Second Vatican Council concerns all Christians, and that no Christian could be indifferent to its progress. Another sign of fraternal concern for the Council and the problem of Christian Unity is the fact that several venerable Churches of the East and nearly all Protestant world federations or alliances delegated over forty observers. These Delegated-Observers followed the work of the Council with careful interest and prudent diligence. There also has been fraternal interchange of ideas and problems between the Observers and the Fathers of the Council, inside and outside the Council's hall. This was very profitable for both sides. But still, I would like to stress a fact that from the religious-supernatural point of view is still far more important: that is, the joint prayer which Christians of nearly all denominations in all countries and continents offered to the Father of all blessings, that His Spirit may guide the Council according to the will of the Son.

These events are, at the same time, also an appeal to us to listen to God's voice, for God speaks to us in these events and asks us to adapt our life and our actions according to His message. We are all sent by the Lord of the vineyard into His vineyard. We are God's and Christ's helpers in the work of His mercy for the Church and for the whole of humanity. In order to collaborate in the promotion of Christian unity, everyone who believes in Christ and is baptized in His Name must be conscious of his serious duty and privilege to be concerned with everyone else who believes and is baptized in Him. For all are organically bound to Christ, all are children of God and brothers in Christ. This Christian concern implies an understanding of the meaning and aims of the ecumenical movement and, especially, what means are at the disposal of all Christians to promote Unity: prayer and sacrifice, the example of an authentic Christian life, above all that humility and love which are the true signs of Christ's disciples and indispensable for fraternal relations between the different Christian confessions.

But you, dear students, who eventually will more or less be engaged in prominent tasks of Christian leadership, must be well equipped with an even more solid and profound knowledge of the means at our disposal for ecumenical work. Among these means I would like to stress, especially for you, the possibility of common collaboration with non-Catholic Christians in areas that are not directly doctrinal. I mean working together in instilling the principles from that common heritage of natural and especially Christian truths into education, into the family, civic and political life. I mean a more widespread and serious collaboration in realistic action against the plight of the suffering, homeless and hungry. Of course, the Catholic will be aware of the difficulties arising from such collaboration and conscious of the wisdom and prudence it demands, as well as the need of the proper guidance of ecclesiatical authority. Our Holy Father Pope John XXIII gives us a suitable norm to shape this attitude of mutual understanding and fraternal collaboration: "Emphasize what tends to unite men, and accompany every man as far along his way as is possible

without betraying the demands of justice and truth." These encouraging facts may not obscure for us the *difficulties and obstacles*. Certainly, we have begun well and with promise, but it is just the beginning of a long and painstaking way, that will demand much patient love and perservering work. This should not discourage us. All that the Lord has already done for Unity, especially in these past few years, should inspire us with confidence, the confidence that can move mountains. The unity of all Christians is God's will and God's action.

You know that, three weeks ago, the international Balzan-Foundation, with its residence in Switzerland, unanimously awarded to the Höly Father the 1962 prize for the promotion of peace and brotherliness among men, and included in its reasons, the invitation His Holiness extended to non-Catholic Christian Observers to attend the Council. Through this invitation, the Balzan Statement said, the Holy Father has extended and promoted a spirit of mutual understanding and fraternity far beyond the circle of the Christian world.

This fact shows us how much the world is looking to us Christians. It points also to the great significance of Christian Unity for humanity in general. This significance does not end in the mere promotion of an attitude of appreciation and brotherliness. It goes much further. For the perfect Unity of those who already believe in Christ is the very sign by which men will recognize Christ and His divine mission, according to the prayer of the Divine Saviour for His disciples, a few hours before His Passion: "That they all may be one, even as thou, Father, in me and I in thee, that they also may be one in us. that the world may believe that thou hast sent me" (John 17:21). This means that the work for Unity is very urgent, as urgent as today's humanity has need of Christ, because there is no other name in whom it can find its salvation. Therefore, the work for Christian Unity is as urgent as men's salvation and the glorification of God and Christ in humanity.

# Address for the IX Agape, New York City April 1, 1963

I AM TRULY GRATEFUL to be able to address a few words to this gathering, organized by the American Council for Democracy Under God. And I want to express my deep joy in seeing here such a large number of distinguished personalities from the civic, cultural, social, economic and religious world. It is a very promising sign of our times that such people are able to gather in serene and fraternal conversation for the theme: "Civic Unity in Freedom under God." Whoever has been following for years international and national life will admit without hesitation that such a gathering for such a theme would hardly have been possible but twenty or thirty years ago. It is a sign that the men of our time are more deeply reflecting on the very spiritual basis of human existence, in order to build up upon this foundation a future strong enough to resist the serious dangers that threaten that future.

The theme, "Civic Unity in Freedom under God," is wellchosen. From the title one almost instinctively realizes that here the two most profound tendencies and anxieties of modern man are touched upon: the anxious striving for unity and for liberty. There is a polarity for these two concepts, but also an enormous tension between them. In a certain sense, a large part of the problems of mankind today can be reduced to the very difficulty of harmonizing in practice these tendencies towards unity and towards liberty, without doing harm to the one or sacrificing the other. The difficulty is simply the practical conciliation of the innate dignity of the human person with his social nature, for according to the biblical expression, "It is not good for man to be alone." In fact, nature itself inserts the human person, from the first moment of his existence, not only into the family or into the various religious or civic forms of society, but also into the great Family of Nations, into the whole of humanity.

1) Today the inclination or the drive towards unity is particularly strong, and seems based on the very direction and built-in logic of the modern world. The quick and easy travel possibilities that bring us daily into contact with so many peo-

ple; mass communications that keep us informed of events which take place in every part of the world; the repercussions of these events in one country on the rest of the world, because of the increasing interdependence of political necessity, of cultural, economic and scientific developments—all this is drawing the world together into a consc ous One World. Our large cities best illustrate this drive towards unity and the tensions of this thrust, when, in the rush hours, all are pushing and colliding against each other in airports, streets and subways—each running after his own job and each pursuing his own interests.

This last image best illustrates also that the mere increasing of physical contacts between men does not suffice to create a deep and authentic unity. The experience of the murderous and devastating effects of wars (and the more or less persistent threat of another one) is a clear proof that the means that are *physically* bringing people and nations closer to one another can certainly be instruments for those who want to create unity, but these means cannot create unity by themselves; in fact, they can become the instruments of our own destruction.

Why is this? Because here is not meant the unity of many well-oiled wheels and parts of a machine. The Unity in question is essentially and preeminently a human work. It is the conscious, free decision of responsible persons to unite with other responsible persons, in order to live together in peaceful harmony. It is the conscious encounter of free men, the mutual exchange in giving and receiving what each one has, not merely of material goods but also, and above all, of spiritual riches. This exchange is at the same time a symbol of the mutual giving of the persons themselves—the act and symbol of self-giving as is witnessed in every authentic friendship, especially in the true love of man and wife.

- 2) In order consciously to build up this Unity, we cannot be lalled by the mere repetition of the words "unity" and "liberty." We must penetrate into their profound meanings.
- a) First of all, *liberty*. Liberty is the human right to be oneself and freely to decide one's destiny according to one's own conscience, without the interferences of others. Conscience, of course, excludes anarchy, and confirms the existence

of a whole world of moral obligations and thus also of man's duties regarding his fellow-men. Man carries out these obligations in order to obey his own conscience. Since there is question of fulfilling his obligations in a conscious and free way, it is clear that man has the duty to seek the truth in order to know his obligations, and to form his conscience correctly. Only in this way will liberty of conscience not lead to discord but rather to true and profound unity. This liberty requires that every person, and society as a whole, respect the free decisions of others. Let me add at once an obvious point: the destiny of a person, who is so autonomous, cannot be merely earthly, momentary and transitory.

- b) On the other hand, just as man appreciates more and more his innate gift of freedom, no less is he becoming aware of his innate desire for unity. Man, inserted into society since his birth, can only develop in society; that is, in a reciprocal giving and receiving with other persons who are as free and autonomous as himself, as individuals or as united in society. In this receiving from other persons and from society, and in making his own contribution, man enriches himself, develops his own personality, and contributes to the complete development and full manifestation of the immense potentialities latent in himself and in humanity. In this development and manifestation, all nations and races, with their specific characteristics, their varied creations of human intelligence, and their distinct cultures have a place. All are working together, as if to insert, thread after thread, their own share in that magnificent carpet which is the human family, on the way towards its proper development and its proper destinies.
- 3) What is the law that governs these mutual exchanges, the law of the promotion of Unity? Pope John XXIII once said that in his own life, he always tried to emphasize what tends to unite men, to accompany every man as far along his way as possible without betraying the demands of justice and truth. The law for creating unity is truth, justice—and we can add—charity; or more generally, that law which is written in man's heart, prompting him to do what is good and to avoid what is evil. Each of us, in fact, experiences daily that internal law of tension mentioned by the ancient poet, Ovid: Video meliora proboque: deteriora sequor—I see what

is good and approve it, yet often I follow what is wrong. By this we confess our awareness that some things, from the specifically human point of view of the conscience, are good and other things are evil; and that the obligation lies with us to opt for the good things and to perform them, and, on the other hand, to avoid what is evil. A liberty that does not conform to this law is no liberty, it undermines unity and creates anarchy. This is the very cause of mutual destruction. A Unity that does not respect this law may eventually create a certain form of unity, but it is a unity not of free and responsible men, but of slaves.

4) What I have said so far has not yet exhausted the rich reality of the relations that are possible to man with other free men. When man retains and develops the salutary, original freshness of his existence, when he keeps a spontaneous and profound vision of the whole dimension of life, not distorted by blunders or by alleged philosophical or scientific results, then he has the sense and the awareness that his personal relations reach beyond and above the level of human society.

You bear witness to this fact, Gentlemen, you who represent in a way the whole world, also the most ancient cultures and religions. The sciences, especially history and ethnology, also bear witness with you. All testify that man is aware of his deepest relations—relations that cannot be disregarded—to a Supreme Being who is personal, paternally grave but still benevolent, infinitely more wise and good than all human fathers.

This Being stands at the origin and at the end of temporal human existence. To him man appeals in his most solemn moments, in hours most compelling and desperate; and he appeals to him as the almighty guide of human events and destinies. This Supreme Personal Being is at the same time the ever present witness to man's actions, a witness who approves, praises, and rewards the good actions, who reproves and condemns the evil ones. Moreover, according to the well-known phrase of the non-Christian poet quoted by St. Paul in the Areopagus of Athens, "for we are his (God's) offspring" (Acts 17:28), man feels himself somehow related to this mysterious personal Supreme Being, for man is made unto the likeness of God. Therefore, man knows that between himself and God there exist those mutual exchanges in giving and receiving,

somewhat similar to those reciprocal exchanges he has with his fellow-man. When man is aware that he stands under the paternal and grave authority of this Supreme, personal Being, and respects his own liberty to decide his own destinies under this authority and according to it, then man is also aware that all his actions, be they right or wrong, have good or bad repercussions on his relations to God, his Supreme Authority. It is by this faithful awareness that man's definitive destiny in the hereafter is shaped and decided.

Seen in this light the law of unity and the reciprocal exchange of material and spiritual riches with his fellow-men—this law of truth, justice and charity—is not an abstract law, suspended in the air. No, this law rests on the paternal and grave authority of a Personal God.

In conclusion, there is no need to insist on the urgency of working toward the realizing of the tasks outlined by the Civic Unity in Freedom under God. The urgency is clear enough. If ever and in any place there be a very deep anxiety for the peaceful living together of men in the family of nations, it is here in the city that graces the United Nations.

In order to emphasize how much I appreciate the difficult work of this organization, it suffices to make my own the words from the radio-message of Pope John XXIII with reference to the Cuban crisis: "To promote, favour and accept negotiations, at every level and at any time, is the norm of wisdom and prudence that draws forth heavenly and earthly blessings." Surely you, who are, so to say, continually engaged in the gigantic struggle to free humanity from the grip of the exhausting and terrorizing armaments race; surely you will understand how important and necessary it is that your work be supported by a strong and efficacious will for peace, a desire widely spread throughout the nations represented here.

The American Council for Democracy under God, which arranged this gathering, constitutes, I believe, an important initiative. By many means, among them the international "Pro Deo" University in Rome, this organization makes its own contribution to support the movement for peace, to promote the meeting of all men of good-will, of every nation and religious conviction, who accept the platform: Civic Unity in Freedom under God.

I have tried to sketch what can be the basis of such an encounter. I leave it to the speakers who follow me to develop its various aspects. I conclude by expressing the wish that the idea of such fraternal encounters—whatever may be their concrete forms—may spread rapidly in the world. It is a question here of an extremely important and urgent work. In fact, not only the material peace of the world is involved, but also an orderly and harmonious development of humanity with its natural and supernatural destiny.

### Press Conference in New York April 1, 1963

Question 1: Can Catholics accept freedom of conscience for each and every man to choose his own religion or to choose to have no religion at all?

Answer: I have already answered this question during the Agape meeting in Rome last January. I said then that the liberty of man means that man has the right to decide his own destiny freely according to the dictates of his own conscience. From this conscience is born the duty and the right of man to follow his conscience, to which duty and right correspond the duty both of individuals and of society to respect that liberty of personal decision. When we say conscience we exclude of course moral anarchy and we implicitly affirm the existence in every man of the moral obligations which result from the very nature of man since he is endowed with reason. To these moral obligations belong also the duties of a man to his fellow men. In the ultimate analysis man fulfills these obligations in obeying his own conscience.

Please note that all I am saying about liberty of conscience is not merely my own personal opinion, but the teaching which the Church has held for centuries. It is true that in certain places some of the members of the Church have not respected this right of freedom of conscience—as we see happening in other fields of human activity. The Church cannot accept that man be exempted from every moral and religious obligation whatsoever. But she does affirm that nobody can be forced to

fulfill that obligation. Naturally when a man, in consequence of an erroneous conscience, makes attempts on the rights of other men or of society, these last have the right to make provision to protect their rights and those of society. But they cannot correct the erroneous conscience of another man by force or by violence.

Besides, both individuals and society should leave each one free to accept and to fulfill his obligations and duties exclusively by the use of his own free will.

# QUESTIONS DIRECTLY RELATED TO THE SUBJECT OF THE AGAPE

Question 2: Is the ancient tradition of the Agape banquets not a purely religious one which excludes civic subjects?

Answer: 'Agape,' as you know, is a Greek word which means brotherly love, charity. In early Christianity the word was used to signify the brotherly meetings which the first Christians held and which centered around the celebration of the Sacrament. But the Agape in itself was a separate and distinct thing from the Sacrament celebration. In the Agape they gave witness to mutual fraternal love. The New Testament teaches that those who participated in the Eucharistic Sacrament acquired a 'oneness.' Now this 'oneness' was given its concrete expression in the Agape. You can see, therefore, that fraternal love which was precisely the center of the Agape, was always the love of a man for his fellow-man, even though the Agape had a specifically religious root. This mutual love implies mutual recognition of the dignity of the human person and therefore in this sense recognition of the equality of all men united in their love for each other and, according to circumstances, a basis for an exchange of each other's goods. This exchange is of course the symbol of the mutual gift of each person to the other of himself just as we see in the case of true love between man and woman and in any genuine human friendship.

The Agape, then, was originally a typically Christian custom. But at its root lay recognition of the fraternity and the reciprocal gift of themselves made freely by men. At least on a purely human and social plane it lent itself therefore to a wider application to all men of good will. Now this is the purpose aimed at by those meetings called Agape meetings and

fostered by the International University of Social Studies "Pro Deo" and the American Council for the International Promotion of Democracy under God.

Question 3: Is the inter-religious good-will and cooperation which flows out of the Agape of the Pro Deo movement directly if not exclusively directed towards Christianity?

Answer: As you can see clearly the answer to this question is contained in my preceding remarks. The Agape centers around, not exactly the union of Christians, but around the union of all men as men whatever be their religion or faith. Today we have become more conscious than ever of the equality of all men without distinction of race or of faith, and of the necessary truth that they form a family of brothers united by mutual love.

Christians of course can contribute enormously in virtue of their spiritual values and common heritage, even though they themselves still lack complete unity. You understand however that the unity among Christians does not proceed along merely human lines but has a religious basis, the basis of God's revelation as made through the message of Christ. For this reason I would like to underline that these Agape meetings are not directly my interest as President of the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, but simply and directly as one who has the good of humanity as such at heart. While on the one hand humanity goes on to a greater differentiation and, unfortunately, division in itself, all men who love their fellowbeings should make every effort to promote unity wherever and to whatever extent it is possible.

Question 4: How do you explain that the International University of Social Studies Pro Deo was chosen to be the platform for the civic meetings called Pro Deo Agape meetings?

Answer: You all know that both Pius XII and His Holiness John XXIII have repeatedly made appeals to all men of good will to unite as far as possible for the good of humanity and in a special way for peace. The present Holy Father—to give one example—declared to a pilgrimage of Pax Romana, that he himself was seeking with all men those things which unite rather than those which divide men and that he applied himself to seek that road which was open to him without doing injury

to the rights of truth and justice. Now as to the International University Pro Deo: the latter is unique in its education and research, in that it is specifically oriented towards mutual understanding, and its national councils (especially of the Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox and Jewish friends of the American Council) are also very close to the heart of the Pope for the work they are doing for the peace and the harmonious cooperation of all peoples. This is manifested in this city of New York where the United Nations has its seat.

This work of the International University Pro Deo has received repeated encouragements from his Holiness Pope John XXIII. He has done this in a very fine letter sent on the occasion of the presentation of the Acts of the seventh Agape meeting held in Rome in 1962 and then in a telegram sent to the eighth Agape meeting held in Rome last January. And now I have the great happiness of announcing that I am bearer of a magnificent message from the same Holy Father for this, the first Agape meeting held on the territory of the United States. In this he encourages this fruitful and providential initiative which is so important for the good of humanity, to create a will for peace, efficaciously and widely diffused among all peoples. This should be a solid support for the gigantic effort being made here in the United Nations center. The platform most adapted for this action is Civic Unity in Freedom under God which actually is the theme of our meeting this evening.

The different elements constituting the common civic denominator of freedom under God, and the motivations and methods of religious and other inter-group cooperation, are being studied in different institutes and centers of the international Pro Deo University. These are, mainly, through the Cardinal Cushing Chair of Social Methodology, the AJC Chair of Religious and Racial inter-group relations, the Bata Chair of Management, fruit of the sponsorship of the American Council of Pro Deo, now incorporated in Rome as well as New York, and through the Institutes of North American, of Latin American and of European Studies, of the International University.

Question 5: Is the Civic Unity movement merely a question of

sentiments, or is it also directed to practical action on behalf of underprivileged individuals and nations?

Answer: The fraternal love of which we have spoken is not a mere thing of the affections, but, like life itself, like true love between man and woman, it consists in the reciprocal giving and receiving with other persons who are themselves autonomous and free, be they single individuals or united in a society. Receiving from other men and from society and contributing to them his own, a man enriches himself and develops his own personality and contributes to the full development, to the full manifestation of the immense potentiality latent in individual men and in humanity as a whole. In this development, in this manifestation, all nations and races with their specific character, with their own creations and their own culture have their proper place. Each one receives and gives, according to his own possibilities and situation. And he who gives most is not necessarily he who gives the biggest amount of material goods but he who gives himself sincerely with all his person. Let me recall a saying of Christ's: "It is more blessed to give than to receive."

#### QUESTIONS REGARDING THE COUNCIL

*Question 6:* Do you expect the power and the authority of the bishop to be strengthened?

Answer: The Council itself is already a sort of concentration of the bishops. It has been correctly noted as one of the great fruits of the first session of the Council that the bishops realized their collegiality, realized their responsibility for the good of the universal Church and that they corresponded with joy and promptness to that realization. In a similar fashion the conferences of Bishops had an important role to play during the first session of the Council. Besides, in that part of the liturgy decree which has been already voted and approved it is provided that local authorities be given power in matters of liturgy and many other things which up to this time were reserved to the Roman Curia. Therefore whether we are talking of the authority of individual bishops or of their collegiate authority, it is obvious that this development will continue.

Question 7: Is the Vatican Council expected to stimulate lay responsibility and lay activity?

Answer: Naturally. It is for this very reason that a special Conciliar Commission has been established in order to study all the problems connected with the apostolate of the layman. The question asked just now underlines very correctly and appositely the all-important point that there is question not only of the activity but also of the sense of responsibility of lay people. Just think what would be the situation of the Church and in this context of the state and of the world—if each lay person at his place of work possessed a full conscience of the responsibilities which are his in virtue of his baptism, responsibility for the world and for other men, all of whom are his brothers! There is no question of going out to preach and teach, but simply and solely of rendering testimony to Christ by one's own authentically Christian life and activity in full conformity with the Gospel. What would the influence of Christianity in the world be if such were the case! That was why Pius XII coined a famous phrase when he said that it is above all lay people who are called to consecrate the world, that is to say who are called to penetrate professional and social life with the leavening influence of Christ's Gospel.

Question 8: Do you expect some opening to be made for a married diaconate?

Answer: You know that the subject has been discussed already in the Central Preparatory Commission of the Council. We can therefore suppose that it will also be discussed at the Council itself. What will be the result of that discussion? Nobody can really say now; the Council is sovereign and decides freely. On the other hand, if the need for lay deacons is felt in many quarters, the considerable difficulties in its way are also seen—those precise difficulties which in past centuries resulted in the diaconate as an ecclesiastical grade in itself being dropped. Situations and conditions differ from country to country. Unless one is a prophet, one cannot foresee what will be the final decision on this matter!

# QUESTIONS REGARDING THE SECRETARIAT FOR CHRISTIAN UNITY

Question 9: Is the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity expected to become a permanent organ?

Answer: Yes, of course! In fact, it was announced towards the end of the first session of the Council that the Secretariat would have two sections: one for those Christians who in one way or another trace their origin to the Reformation of the sixteenth century, and the other for Oriental Christians.

Question 10: Does the Secretariat handle relations with non-Christians and specifically with non-Christian organized religions?

Answer: The Secretariat as such does not engage in this. It would tend to create dangerous and harmful confusion. But because the representatives of religions diverse from Christians have demonstrated great interest in the Council, and because relations with these other religions is bound up with the question of the unity of all men of good will for the good of humanity, of which I have spoken previously, we must hope and desire that the Secretariat will find concrete formulas to foster such contacts. I myself formulated this desire in a press-conference a year ago. The favorable reaction which this declaration produced at that time makes one think that here also we find ourselves in front of an already mature situation, in front of spirits which are open to wider visions and prepared for effective action in order to make of humanity a family of brothers united in fraternal love and in efficacious co-operation under the vigilant eye of, and in union with, their common Heavenly Father, the Father of all men who have been created in His image and in His likeness.

## An Ignatian Synthesis

A phenomenological evaluation of the contemporary Jesuit in search of his own identity

EDWARD J. SPONGA, S.J.

IN THESE DAYS of almost universal individual and collective continual self-evaluation we are witnessing a widespread and urgent effort on the part of many Jesuits to try to identify themselves as Jesuits in this mid-twentieth century. We feel more than ever that we must understand ourselves today, for we find more and more people and institutions who do not. Purposes and goals and ways and means have changed so much that the need for a re-defined image of ourselves is imperative, if we are to abide in the peace of Christ and be instruments of this peace for others. I wish to offer some thoughts towards this re-aligning of the Jesuit ideal-image in this day in this country. I hope what I write will contribute a little to an increased appreciation of the truly vital heritage which we have

There are two ways in which such a work might be approached. One might construct this Jesuit ideal, as it were, with scissors and paste. He would collect and collate all the distinguishing marks as stated or implied in the writings of St. Ignatius. To this would be added the commentaries and elaborations of all those who might be judged as qualified interpreters of the Jesuit-image, from the days of Nadal and the early Jesuit writers to the Rahner brothers, Joseph Conwell, Christopher Mooney and the latest article on the subject. Such a task must always be done and re-done if we are to maintain our line of contact with the Jesuit fountain-head and living stream.

I, myself, will not proceed in this way for various reasons. Above all, being a Jesuit given more to the active than the "contemplative" contact with Jesuits, I am at once less qualified to do the collecting type of work and more in a position, perhaps, to relate what the present-day Jesuit looks like as he tries to define himself in his daily decisions and actions and as he himself anxiously seeks for that Jesuit ideal.

In truth, neither of the above two methods is totally valid without reference to the other. I choose the emphasis that I do because I think it is the best approach now for coming to grips with that complex reality that is the existential Jesuit today. My approach can have the advantage, I believe, of doing more justice to the concrete and the variables, though obviously it is more open to a certain risk of subjectivism. Whether it succumbs to that risk or not each one will judge for himself accordingly as I strike or fail to strike a chord resonant with each one's own subjective-objective personal image of the ideal Jesuit.

In other words, then, I propose to construct the image of the true Jesuit somewhat phenomenologically, attempting to uncover the implications underlying the tensions experienced by more and more Jesuits as they try to live what they have come to judge, rightly or wrongly, is the Jesuit way of life. This may be a presumptuous effort but somehow I have the feeling that no other approach taken alone is pedagogically realistic today. If increasingly the Jesuit today does not know who he is, then, perhaps, we can construct something Jesuit out of his very efforts to experience his own Jesuit identity. The Society of Jesus is not like the Church. It is not indispensible for man's salvation and sanctification. But every sincere Jesuit preserves a conviction that there is something perennially valid and distinctive in the Jesuit way of life. We are witnessing the efforts of the universal Church today to allow the breath of the Holy Spirit to blow afresh through nooks and corners where the circulation had retarded, in order that She might move forward with a renewed sense of direction towards those eternally unchangeable goals. It is not at all amiss, I believe, to see an analogy in the mounting concern of the modern Jesuit to get a clear sense of Jesuit direction in this era of civilization. could be that the Holy Spirit is speaking to us, too, as Jesuits.

If He is, then we had better be willing to be shaken to the core of our set ways of thinking and acting, if we are not going to run the risk of failing to be able to interpret the sounds of His presence in the aspirations and fears of the present-day Jesuit in the midst of the precise historical context set by God *now*.

My task, then, as I have defined it for myself seems to comprise three roughly distinguishable stages. The first will be an attempt to read the phenomena or data, in this case, the hopes and fears, achievements and failures that make up, for the most part, the life of the present-day Jesuit. Secondly, I will generalize the data into a de facto Jesuit image by interpreting the implications of the data. Thirdly, I will evaluate this de facto image in the light, mainly, of its own inherent Jesuit spiritual and psychological consistency. The outcome of this evaluation will be, hopefully, what St. Ignatius and the Holy Spirit, speaking in and through these Jesuit aspirations and fears, would set before us as the Jesuit ideal. We proceed on, I think, the valid assumption that the Holy Spirit tells us what He wants us to be, if we can only discern His word.

#### The Present-Day Jesuit Phenomenon

Certainly the tensions which I will now describe are not confined to Jesuits. They spring from forces at work, under Divine Providence, at the core of men in history in the universe. They are shared, as already noted, by the Universal Church and in some way by mankind at large. However, as the Jesuit experiences these tensions they have their special nuances of intensity and urgency. This is why ultimately they can tell us something Jesuit.

The Jesuit as we witness him today has his own unique set of problems, needs, potentialities and equipment. He experiences these himself in terms of his special kinds of aspirations and their corresponding fears. In seeking to isolate the Jesuit hopes and fears, we are, of course, speaking of a generality. Even present-day Jesuits will vary. What I have to describe bears for the most part most validly in the direction of the younger Jesuit just finished or close to finishing his course of studies. In him, I believe, the tensions of Jesuit life are, for fairly obvious reasons, most acute. He is most squarely in the

cross-road; although he, too, is becoming with every moment, to some degree, an anachronism.

What, then, are the hopes and fears of our Jesuit? They are, of course, fundamentally sound and Christian, even though they may be couched in expressions that manifest the peculiar angle of approach to God that belongs to the man of this age of the engulfment of the individual. We find our Jesuit, therefore, along with his non-Jesuit contemporaries, speaking much of the desire to meet or encounter Christ, to experience a meaningful personal confrontation with Him. How do we meet Christ, he asks, in poverty, in chastity and obedience, in prayer, in teaching, in research, even in administration.

On the other hand he fears the loss of personal identity which, at best, he holds on to shakily. He fears that religious life can readily become a form, a blind, put-your-head-downand-push sort of impersonal, automatic process. With these fears he emotionally blocks himself off in the face of too much generalization, abstraction, uniform rules of acting for the group. He rebels instinctively against over-facile, simplified, one-sided statements. Phrases like "blind obedience," "total abnegation," "unceasing prayer," "crucifixation to nature and to the world" either frighten him or make him resentful that effort was not made to add the necessary qualifications, even when the qualifications are evidently implied. He will not so much deny truth to these phrases as he will simply tune them out automatically. He is no longer reached by them and it is pedagogically self-defeating to try to force them upon him. Where there is question of phrases taken from Christ's words in Scripture, such as "take up your cross daily," or "unless a man die to himself . . . ," he will, of course, respect these but he will automatically bracket them, that is, put them aside as not pertinent to the matter immediately at hand. This, of course, makes them never really pertinent.

What is specifically Jesuit in the coloration of these hopes and fears lies in the fact that they are set in and arise out of the kinds of meeting with Christ afforded by the kinds of activities peculiar to Jesuits. So his problem refines itself to such questions as: how can I meet Christ when the work I do more often than not drains off my energy and interest in another direction? How can I pray when I must precisely fill my day

with works that demand full attention, or with other people who cannot be disregarded? He hopes that somehow it will be that, in reality, he *is* meeting Christ in all these works and that he *is* praying, despite appearances even to himself to the contrary. He also, from time to time, seeks to prove to himself, frequently with the aid of others in the same predicament, that, in fact, his action is contemplation. He seeks out with interest theological writings which deal with such questions as the theology of work, of art and literature, the role of the layman, the sacred and the secular.

Yet despite his efforts to reassure himself, he is never quite free from misgivings. The meeting with Christ he hoped for gets harder to recognize and the amount of apparently irrelevant work increases. He becomes more worried at the number of Jesuits he sees who apparently also lost their way and settled finally for something less than a full religious life. He is truly afraid that this will be his destiny too and that (and this is the important nuance) he will not be able to do anything about it.

This last fear of being caught in an inevitable grind ties directly to another set of fears and expectations of the Jesuit today. He hopes, in his earlier years, that the Society of Jesus will give him all the help, care, opportunities and guidance that will guarantee his success and personal fulfillment. For he tends to look at all things that way. If he is a success and personally fulfilled, then, of course, the Society of Jesus will also thereby be successful. He needs the group so fully to provide him with the proper kind of working-conditions that he implicitly expects that the group will so provide and is obliged to provide.

Two things he fears in his relationship to the Community. First: to be left too much to his own resources, be it for his education, or religious development, or even for his recreation. Second: to be supervised too much, to be given no opportunity for his personal initiative and responsibility. In prayer, on the one hand, he does not like to be bothered with forms and mechanics and specific resolutions, yet he is continually looking for the quick, sure-fire way to experience real prayer.

In general, disliking black and white solutions for any of his felt problems, he tends, on the other hand, to formulate those problems in the starkest black and white fashion, making contradictions out of all the polarities inherent in human and Jesuit life. And thus with much zeal and anxiety he corners himself in a state of frustration and stalemate. For how, indeed, can anyone be totally contemplative and totally active at once, or how can one read the divine office and engage in formal prayer and still teach, do research, or even preach and administer the sacraments? How can anyone be crucified to the world and yet lovers of the world and all of God's creation? How can one measure the service he will give and still be totally committed to service? How, indeed?

So, in summary, we find our Jesuit, precisely because of his spiritual zeal and his concern to be all things required by his kind of vocation, often on the edge of frustration and confusion. His picture, then, is of one who in haste to resolve all conflicts has stirred the fires to white-heat so that the outcome has to be *either* a new, more effective and holier Jesuit, *or* the decline, if not the dissolution of the Society of Jesus. Only the Holy Spirit knows for sure what will be the outcome.

Thus, I have tried to paint the Jesuit scene as I see it. Of necessity, it is most sketchy. I feel it is a substantially valid description of the tensions in our midst—not new tension, to be sure, but tensions fanned up so that more people will either be warmed by God's grace or burnt by their own self-deception. At any rate, I think it brings out the peculiar Jesuit way to face a problem, that is, to be "in actione."

### Interpretation

It is evident that I have already done some interpreting of the Jesuit tensions. It is impossible to formulate them without committing yourself to some interpretation. Now, however, I wish to try to make more explicit the image of the Jesuit that a pears behind the tensions.

The Jesuit is definitely a man caught between two worlds. Every Christian, of course, is, but the Jesuit more acutely because of his strong commitment to do something about both worlds. As a Christian, a religious and a priest, he is committed, to be exact, to fight for a goal that, in fact, he cannot attain by his own unsupplemented human powers, no matter how much he gives himself in ceaseless labor and service. He

cannot seize upon God for himself or for others by force of his own action alone, be it by physical labor, mental acumen or emotional fire. The daily increasing magnitude of the task, even humanly speaking, increases his sensitivity to his inadequacy. In desperation he turns to his group, his Society or community, and he does find supplementation, but only up to a point, never as far as he feels the need. So the group rather than assuaging his sense of inadequacy magnifies it by the reflected inadequacies of all.

Yet, and this is the Jesuit polarity, he is committed to action. He lives with the ingrained realization that "the kingdom of heaven suffers violence and the violent bear it away." In this day of expanding education, science and skills, a second-rate instrument can do more harm than good. Since the task is too big even for big individuals he knows the importance of social cooperation. He wants his group to be the best possible; for if it is not, he fears for himself.

I do not, however, agree with the judgment that sees him as some kind of advanced selfish individualist. He is concerned with the individual and so with himself, but this is a necessary defense against the ever-expanding group with its increasing controls over his life. He is not an individualist in the sense applicable in the past. He could not be if he tried. In fact, he is more group-oriented than the past ever was. True, this is in large measure of inherent necessity but nonetheless he is in the group in a much more organic fashion. He is not an individual atom in a loose constellation of atoms. He may tend to be selfish. I doubt with any new kind of intensity; only with different manifestations of it. But then he has new opportunities if he raises his compulsive need to the level of free choice based on the awareness of the true organic nature of the group in Christ. With this kind of group-orientation, true awareness of the Mystical Body can grow and has grown. He will not be moved by rational arguments proving his obligation to the common good. He is already emotionally compelled to the group. But he can be led by motives of love of Christ Whom, indeed, he has a need to find in his neighbor. He can no longer be blithely indifferent to the sufferings of others. He is too much involved in them himself. He does not have the selfassurance of less complex and more "rational" days.

This, then, is the Jesuit anguish: to be committed to action which is inevitably doomed in some sense always to be inadequate. In some periods of history the anguish is stronger, for the needs are greater and by that very fact the obstacles are bigger. The Jesuit, nevertheless, goes on acting. This, in turn, results in a keener sensitivity to his inadequacies. This forces repeated retreats to nurse his wounds and to wonder if, indeed, he is committed to the unattainable or whether somewhere along the line the Ignatian secret was lost and he is left caught in the middle, for he is no contemplative and his action seems to be ineffectual.

When a Jesuit gets to the point of feeling this anguish deeply, I believe there is real hope. It is true that it is possible in individual cases that the impasse is mainly the result of a particular individual's own lack of true religious commitment. But for the ordinary Jesuit this anguish of impasse can be the key to new realization and new life with a new and truly effective power of action. I would like to borrow the statement of a contemplative at this point, Thomas Merton: "Divine strength is not given to us until we are fully aware of our own weakness and know that the strength we receive is indeed His gift and not the reward of our own excellence." This is echoing Paul's "when I am weak then I am strong." This is a hard saying for a man who lives by his action for it seems to write him off as basically useless, if not a positive menace. But the words in Merton's statement which must be fathomed are "fully aware," ("until we are fully aware of our weakness"). How does one become so aware? Does one reason to it? This would hardly be full awareness. Does one just wait until God floods us with it? But then would we be aware of it as our weakness? The Jesuit spends his life of action and service as an implicit petition that God give him the grace of full awareness of the true strength of his weakness. And in this process of petition both the action and the weakness are indispensible for the receiving of the strength that alone is effective to the goal to which a Jesuit has given himself.

This, I think, is the meaning behind the Jesuit anguish of the day. God is calling him to labor and serve in many more complex and demanding fields and situations against greater odds and stronger competitors, so that, as a true Jesuit, he may come to acknowledge and embrace with all his active soul the true strength.

#### Evaluation

I have described the Jesuit anguish and sought to define its real meaning. Now by evaluating this Jesuit image I hope to indicate what it is that I believe the Holy Spirit is telling us—the answer to all our anguishes: how we can be contemplative and active, crucified lovers of the world, community-minded individualists.

Again, I have already implied some evaluation in my efforts above to interpret. Now I wish to extend and make explicit my judgments. My ideas are, of course, not new. They are simply deeply Ignatian ideas stated in a context that I hope is meaningful to the present-day Jesuit emotional-rational complex. There has been a lag in communications for reasons often beyond anyone's control. Let us attribute it simply to unprecedented fast-moving, far-reaching changes. Ignatius too lived in a changing world, not by our standards, perhaps, but relative to that stage in the development of man. That he was aware of this is clear, though he did not have the help of the social sciences to document the changes for him. We know he was aware of it because his whole conception of man's relation to God is cast in the framework of a battle, a life-and-death struggle on every level. In its most fundamental form, the struggle is between Christ and Satan; on the human level it is between the individual human person and his drives as these are maneuvered by Satan; on the social level it is between the Church and the forces of division, heresy and schism, again husbanded by the father of hate and lies.

What I am saying, in effect, is simply that the answer to our Jesuit dilemmas is in the *Spiritual Exercises*. But, only if we understand the *Spiritual Exercises* as the guidelines for men of action and not as a prolonged, ascending reasoning process or a psychological matrix, hopefully aimed to provide a springboard for the Holy Spirit to start working in us. As the commentators are starting to tell us now, the *Exercises* are totally Christological. They move back and forth interrelating the struggle between Christ and the enemy now in the historical life of Christ, now in the exercitant himself, now in the Mysti-

cal Christ. Its total aim is action—the supreme action of choice, election made with the maximum of freedom possible. Its guide-arms are the jejune but profoundly wise "Rules for Discernment of Spirits" and "Times for Election." Prayer, contemplation, is ordered towards the election and the latter towards service—loving service of Christ Who out of love of us was poor, humble, in suffering; Christ Who is now, in His members, poor, humble, in suffering. And this election, if lived out, will in its turn lead to contemplation on ever deeper levels. according to the gift of God. For such loving service, which is possible only to the selfless man, will perforce uncover to the core our weakness, our subtle self-seeking, and will allow us to meet Christ, as He is; and this is contemplation. That is to say, such a servant will constantly hover on the edges of formal prayer, that is, of conscious confrontation with the One he is lovingly serving. This confrontation will, again, continually be leading and enabling the servant to choose even further service. It will also be continually purifying him, for no one can truly meet God without the bitter-sweet experience of incisive self-knowledge resulting.

In this total experience, Ignatian contemplation in action, I believe, meets all true contemplation. What is specific is the emphasis on the action, the battles of the whole man (body, senses, imagination, emotions, soul and its powers) as that which affords the avenue of approach to the Master Who first loved His servant and battled with all His powers, human and divine, for His beloved servant. I see an important difference of approach but I do not really see such a radical difference of nature in the prayer of the Jesuit and of other religious Institutes. There cannot be an essential difference and still be authentic contemplation, that is, awareness of God Who turns to me. I think we confuse ourselves, at times, by trying to make contemplation in action some kind of automatic, vague absorption into God, which is present even if we have no awareness of it. Contemplation in any valid sense means conscious encounter with, union with, listening to, gazing at God. It always involves the passivity of our receiving in some form; but it also always involves in some degrees the activity, at least incipient, of a response on the part of the whole man, body and soul. One can lean towards seeing this encounter as the primary fulfillment of man even in this life. Or, and this is the Jesuit emphasis (and it is only an emphasis), one can be more concerned with the fact that such encounter with God revitalizes my powers, sensitizes my vision and thus enables me to "see God" in all things. But this latter kind of vision or seeing is by analogy with the first. This latter kind of seeing refers to the fact that the Jesuit's viewpoint in all his actions is Godsensitive, that is, spontaneously concerned with seeing God manifest his love in all reality and, in turn, invite him in all things to use, to abstain, to enjoy, to suffer, to give, to receive, to love, to hate, only according as here and now, his conscience reveals to him God's desires. The more I so act and so serve. the more delicate my conscience becomes in infallibly and readily detecting God's desire. Action is at once the means whereby I respond to God's desire and, at the same time, put myself out on the limb, as it were, making myself need so badly His turning to me. In fact, the modalities of contemplation are infinite, specific to each human person, specific to the emphasis of each way of religious life, specific, too, to each age of history.

We know full well that there was no tending on the part of Ignatius to glorify action because of some kind of materialistic or deterministic, or on the other hand, voluntaristic axe to grind. On the contrary, we are quite aware that Ignatius was not prone to overestimate the capabilities of unsupplemented human powers. Original sin is central in the whole power-struggle of the *Spiritual Exercises*. I think we confuse ourselves again by a certain contemporary obtuseness in reference to the reality of original sin as an active force in the world now, so that we miss much, if not all, of the import and impact of the *Spiritual Exercises*. Original sin marks the foothold Satan gained in his struggle against Christ. Our loving service of Christ can be loving only to the extent that Satan's foothold in us is not effectively making us serve the enemy.

Let us not increase our anxiety needlessly with artificial, abstract problems, created by freezing the polarities of Christian and Jesuit life-struggle into contradictories. No one is ever going to make a contradiction anything but a non-reality. Contradiction is the opposition between abstracted positions of contingent reality considered as such, as abstract. But existential reality itself is a process, a history, a life-struggle; and in

process antinomies not only exist together but they can mutually supplement each other. For an age that is impatient with overly simplified and abstract solutions, we do a good job of posing our problems in such wise that only black and white answers are possible. This is the risk the man of action encounters. He is impatient with what he calls theory; yet in seeking clear lines for action he forces over-simplification of issues.

There is really no existential problem about the Jesuit being "non-contemplative" (if we use "contemplative" clearly to mean cloistered religious and not as an ambiguous term behind which to hide) and his being engaged in multiple action. If his action is *loving* service of Christ, he will be praying ceaselessly in the sense of implicit prayer and he will move readily into moments (and they will probably be brief) of explicit prayer. For how could the Jesuit study, teach, administer all day for Christ and not turn to Him with some spontaneity when the going gets rough or the goals get confused or other people become especially annoying. This, in fact, is precisely how the Jesuit is in actione contemplativus. The anguish caused by his own weakness, his selfishness, the enemy at work in him, the pettiness of others, the enemy at work in them, the recalcitrance of material creation: such anguish provides for the man who loves Christ a 24-hour a day springboard for meeting Christ in acts of faith, adoration, petition, self-oblation. If we are really self-oriented, then we think meeting Christ means only moments of pleasure to our senses and feelings wherein we are reassured, as it were, and we can go back to doing what we wanted. Moments of reassurance may come but ordinarily there is a lot of realization of one's own impurity in the sight of God and of our total weakness, before such moments of serenity become the regular order of the day. I am sure that members of contemplative Institutes would also agree with that. What is specific to the Jesuit is that his life tends to be more active in the sense of involving so many matters remote from direct bearing on God. This gives him a special problem and a special opportunity. I am sure no one wants to take it from us and I am sure we do not really want things less hectic. Then we would be at a loss.

As to prescribed formal prayer in the Jesuit life such as

meditation, examen, the Divine Office, it is overplaying things to see this as constituting us sort of monks out of water. Why should it be inconceivable that a token or symbolic use of something that constitutes the major emphasis of another way of religious life might, in fact, enrich our own lives? We do not consider others less monks if they do some teaching or preaching or having. Also is not this problem about prescribed prayer for the Jesuit predicated on a high abstraction? The existential, flesh and blood Jesuit, just is not that infallibly a loving, selfless servant of Christ. Hopefully he approaches this ideal with the years, as accumulated experiences of his own inadequacies finally begin to make him catch an inkling that his strength is, in fact, in that weakness. And then, perhaps, he will be loving enough to see where his strength really comes from. I am not taking any stand for amount here but some prescribed time for prayer which, of course, readily gives place to the honest needs of one's neighbor, is not only spiritually but psychologically realistic with the Jesuit as he is. If this makes me a little like the monks, then as a Jesuit I will be thankful that I can understand them from the inside a little more and, perhaps, be of better service to souls I may meet who are radically monkish in their approach to God. I believe it is painfully un-Jesuit to define limitations on one's preparation for total service of Christ. True, we have to specialize and use our particular strong points, but when this comes to mean a refusal to try to widen one's horizons of possible service. I think we have a strong mark of selfishness that is really un-Jesuit.

I believe something analogous can be said about our having to be at once men crucified to the world (even though we are not a penitential order) and that we must love the world to make it Christ's. Loving service can be neither service nor loving without that continual, painful self-subjection necessary to accept the commands of others, their thoughtlessness, ingratitude and at times their malice. Let us face it, people seen without reference to Christ are most restricted in their loveableness. Ignatius has a pertinent statement in one of his letters. "We must contemplate all creatures, not as beautiful or lovely in themselves, but as bathed in the blood of Christ."

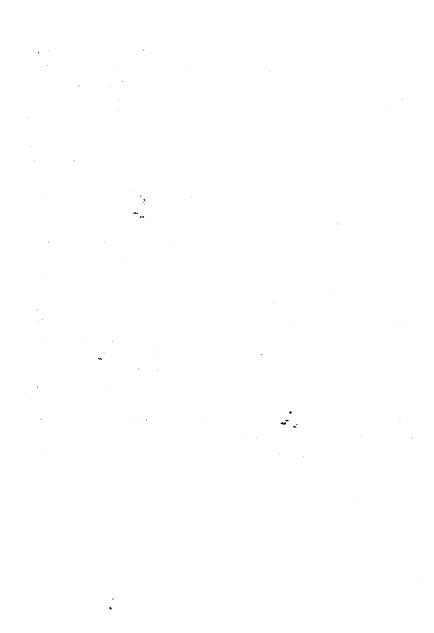
Finally, has the contemporary Jesuit become a middle-ofthe-roader? If we have, I am sure that it is not because this has been legislated or maneuvered from above. No matter how clever they may be, superiors cannot prevent anyone from serving Christ with that particular totality of love we know as the third-degree of humility. The superior is doomed to failure if he tries, for his very effort would afford a fine means to attain it. However, though this answer is fundamentally valid, I know it sidesteps the import of the question. Taking the contemporary Jesuit as he is with his strongly compulsive need of the right group atmosphere in order for him to be able to function effectively, we can rightfully ask: have those who mould the community environment by their decision-making made of it something realistic with the needs of the present-day Jesuit and with the apostolic demands mushrooming around us? To this I can only answer that such an ideal state of affairs can only be the eventual outcome of action and interaction and loving co-service of Christ in the Society by all its members. It is only in such action and loving reaction that the proper means are discovered. This takes time. It takes more time because not everyone is equally given to the third degree of humility. Categorizing our fellow religious according to stereotypes destroys this possibility of loving interaction at its roots. So, if individually we have to savor our weakness as a hopeful predisposition for understanding our true source of strength, I think it is legitimate to judge that collectively we have to go through the same painful ascesis. The only dangerous man is the one who refuses to let his hands get soiled in the interaction.

So neither incarnationalism nor eschatologism nor actionism nor contemplationism or any other "ism" is the way to the ideal Jesuit, for all "isms" are abstractions; and every human being, Jesuits included, is a battleground wherein reside the most "contradictory" needs, desires and powers: a battleground which would be, without Christ, a hopeless mess but which with *His* love becomes an ordered, effective instrument for the service of His love in others, others in the Society as well as outside it.

The complicating dimension in our day is that now the world is a fuller place, in all kinds of ways: more people, more things, more knowledge, more powers. And hence, the world becomes more challenging and more attractive to our nature.

This means that the Jesuit has a lot more to serve and he has to equip himself with much more skill in order even to qualify to serve. But the meaning of his service has not shifted a bit. Loving service still means meeting Christ in fears, hopes, in endless labor in class, in the laboratory, in meeting people. Sometimes it is naturally congenial, sometimes it is not. The ideal Jesuit is still the one who has a predilection for the work when it is not naturally congenial, when it makes demands I am not prepared to meet, because Christ chose it for Himself that way. Maybe we have a lot more of pleasant and unpleasant things to choose from, but the principle of Jesuit choice has not changed and truly loving (selfless) service of Christ in others is still inherently prayer-related and it is still crucifying to self-centered love. Sometimes I get the feeling that some Jesuits are judging that the extensive quantitative changes in Christian and religious and Jesuit life have reached that dialectical point of qualitative change as though, in application, the third degree of humility, the reality of the force of original sin, the necessity of the cross are no longer valid. They do not mean this, but they confuse us and themselves when they pay only nodding service to these truths and insist on the rightfulness of constructing their lives without reference to these truths. Confusion of this sort is a sign and an effect of selfishness. The world will be Christified in and through us. We will be Christified by struggle with the enemy unto death even as Christ did.

I suggest that St. Ignatius and the Holy Spirit are saying these things today louder and clearer than ever.



## Psychological Notes on the Spiritual Exercises

An analysis of the interaction of nature and grace using recent developments in psychoanalytic ego-psychology

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THE FOLLOWING PAGES consist in a series of notes or comments on the text of the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius. The notes follow the translation of Father Morris [*The Text of the Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius*, 4th Edit. rev. (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1949.] and paragraph numbers of the official Latin text are indicated in brackets []. The notes are meant as a commentary on the text and should be read in conjunction with it.

Before moving on to the *Exercises* themselves, several qualifying remarks should be made in order that unnecessary confusion or misunderstanding be avoided. First of all, the comments offered here are intended to be specifically psychological. Consequently, the rich spiritual treasury of the *Exercises* is being considered from only one aspect—an important aspect, but not necessarily the most important or most meaningful for the purposes of retreat masters or students of Ignatian spirituality. One should not look for more than has been attempted. The fact that the comments offered here are specifically psychological introduces other limitations. It would be possible to approach such an analysis from a number of more or less meaningful psychological orientations, each of

<sup>\*</sup> Note: Due to their length, Fr. Meissner's Notes will be presented in three parts. Reprints of the entire set will be available after publication of the concluding part. Please order early.

which would emphasize different dimensions or aspects of the complex psychological reality. I have chosen to base this analysis on some of the more recent developments in psychoanalytic ego-psychology, simply because I have found these formulations most useful and most readily adaptable. One should not therefore conclude that such an analysis is more precise than some other or that it is necessarily the best foundation upon which to build. Even in using this system, I have found it necessary to reserve my opinion at certain points and at other points to introduce presumptions which might not prove acceptable-to analytic theorists, but which seem to me to be direct inferences from suppositions of the nature of the ago employed here. My central concern, however, has not been with the details of analysis or with the problem of accurately reinterpreting Ignatius' insights into a consistent psychological schema; I have tried to center on implementing certain basic principles which are operative in the articulation of grace and nature.

My basic supposition in dealing with the interaction of grace and nature has been that grace has an effect on man's psychic processes. A psychological analysis must work with a phenomenological base of evidence, precisely because it is a scientific undertaking. It can only deal with the reality of grace in so far as the effects of grace manifest-themselves in and through psychic phenomena. Consequently, a psychological analysis has nothing to say about the elevating effect of grace, but must limit its consideration to the sanating effects of grace. From this point of view, it is my presumption that grace always exercises a sanating effect, whether or not it has a properly elevating effect. The problem from the psychological point of view, of course, is where to locate the sanating effect of grace. In the following analysis, I have chosen to regard the operation of grace as an energizing influence on the ego itself, whether conscious or unconscious, by which the ego is enabled to mobilize its own resources and functions. In these terms, the sanating effects of grace can be spelled out in relation to specific ego-functions and the ego remains a free and more or less autonomous agent in the response to grace. From this psychological point of view, the operation of grace depends upon the free responsivity of the ego-any other conception would imply an opposition or contradictory influence within grace itself.

The second important qualification has more to do with the mechanics of the Exercises themselves. The interpretation I am following here would view the Exercises as a long-term program of asceticism and spirituality. Although the Exercises as composed by Ignatius were intended as a relatively intense endeavor extending over a rather brief period of time. his presumption included several other important factors: one retreatant, one director, complete solitude, excellent dispositions, etc. For this ideal situation, the psychological analysis offered here is perfectly applicable, and I would venture to say that in certain extraordinary cases it achieved remarkable effects. At the same time, however, it seems to me perfectly valid to project the Ignatian schema to a broader range and regard it as a program of Christian spirituality. This is in fact very much what Ignatius himself did in his own spiritual life and it represents the development in the tradition of an Ignatian spirituality.

As the Exercises are employed in our own time, their effect is very much diluted. They are rarely, if ever, given under ideal conditions. The most intense presentation of them is given in the Society of Jesus in the tertian year, but even this is usually administered in groups. Even though the time alloted is a full month, the intimate contact between director and retreatant is impossible to maintain. More frequently, the exercises are given at periodic intervals in a more dilute form. From a psychological perspective, each new engagement in the Exercises finds the exercitant at one or other stage in the progress to spiritual perfection outlined in the Exercises. No matter where he is in the process of spiritual development, his reengagement in the Exercises should be calculated to tighten his hold on the ground already won and to enable him to move forward another step on the long hard road to Christian perfection. The process of psychological and spiritual development sketched here would be applicable in this situation also.

I have made no attempt in these notes to spell out psychological implications or elaborate on certain relationships. These are only fragmentary notes rather than a developed treatise.

Consequently, a certain amount of psychological information would be desirable as well as an understanding of the theology of grace. The gaps can be readily filled by consulting readily available psychological works. I would hope at least that I have not obscured a basic insight—that the life of grace is not wholly divorced from human psychological functioning, and that the Ignatian conception provides a workable, if not definitive, schema of orientation.

Annotation I: The Spiritual Exercises have a twofold purpose: (1) preparing and disposing the soul to free itself from all inordinate affections, and (2) seeking and finding the will of God concerning the ordering of life for the salvation of one's soul. The second depends on the first. The first represents the establishment of ego-control over emotionality and ipso facto the security of psychological identity. The personality, which has achieved a mature psychological identity, has presumably resolved the conflict characteristic of the stages of psychosexual and psychosocial development. The Exercises set to work on the presumption that the contemporary situation of the ego in terms of its level of development and its degree of effective functioning is neither fixed nor static. The contemporaneous identity of the ego is a terminal product of an ongoing process which constantly modifies the status of the ego in such a way that the residues of prior stages of development, whether successfully or unsuccessfully resolved, are effectively functioning components of the personality. Unsatisfactory resolutions of infantile conflicts may thus leave a subtile influence on the functioning of the contemporary ego, but the defect is not totally irreparable. From the Ignatian point of view, some part of the lost ground can be recovered by the self-modifying effort of the contemporaneous ego. The rectification of basic defects in psychosexual or psychosocial development is difficult to achieve in any degree and may defy any definitive solution.

The general rubric, under which Ignatius develops the notion of securing psychological identity, is that of freedom from inordinate affections. Psychologically speaking, an inordinate affection is an emotional attachment, an emotional responsiveness (Iparraguire, 24) which has escaped the effective control

of ego-systems. To the extent to which such ego-control has failed, the effective functioning of the ego is impeded. A large component of such areas of uncontrolled emotionality can be unconscious in origin; the more deeply imbedded such factors are, the more difficult it will be to establish ego-control over the particular disordered affection related to it. The *Exercises* are not concerned with such conditions of emotional dysfunction as would be considered pathological. Consequently, the status for considering psychological aspects of these *Exercises* is not psychiatric. Nonetheless, the same psychological dynamisms are operative in normally developed personalities, and it is with these dynamisms that we have to deal. In so far as the inordinate affections, from which the exercitant seeks to free himself, are motivated by unconscious dynamisms, such dynamisms cannot be excluded from the work of the *Exercises*.

The second purpose of the *Exercises*, seeking and finding the will of God concerning the ordering of one's life, represents in psychological terms what I shall call the development of spiritual identity. Just as the natural order is ordered to the more excellent perfection of the supernatural and provides the substructure for its erection, just as the powers of nature are required as operative potencies, in and through which grace exercises its effects, so psychological identity is the foundation which is perfected and complemented in the growth of spiritual identity. The one is a work of nature; the other is a work of grace.

In the course of development of psychological identity, man achieves a conscious sense of his own individual and unique identity, as well as the continuity of his personality and the satisfactory integration of structural subsystems which compose his body and mind. There is also a sense of solidarity with a certain set of realistic values as embodied in a certain social and cultural context. The governing influences, in terms of which integration is achieved and maintained, flow from the ultimate source of unity in the personality, the self-conscious ego. Integration is a product of the synthetic and executive functions of the ego. The entire ego-system is reality-oriented, that is to say, the response of the individual, who is secure in the possession of his own identity, to his life situation and the complex of stimulus-factors deriving from both external

and internal sources, is appropriate and proportioned to the intensity and quality of the stimulus as well as to the total context of realized values in terms of which he must adjust. For the Christian, the total framework of response includes not only the reality of sensible existents, not only the reality of interpersonal relations and consequent social obligations, not only the value systems which are inherent in and dependent on the ontological structure of the created order, but also the reality of divine influence and providence and the divinely revealed means for the finding of God's will and the consequent process to salvation.

Spiritual identity is a matter of growth through grace. Consequently, the *Spiritual Exercises* are primarily directed to disposing the soul to accept and respond to the influence of divine grace. Spiritual identity, however, is best effected where it builds upon the firm foundation of mature psychological identity. But the arm of the Lord is not shortened. There is no reason to limit the effects of His grace and of His divine influence to the strictly supernatural. The impact of grace on the soul is not only to nourish the growth of spiritual identity, but may also bring out profound growth in psychological identity as well. God touches the soul in all its parts, even to its innermost depths. He influences not only man's rational conscious self, but also the inner recesses of his unconscious.

Annotation II: Stress is placed on the fact that insight obtained by the exercitant is considerably more effective in fostering the growth of spiritual identity than the passive acceptance of the points provided by the director. The activity of the ego is a paramount requirement for development. This annotation touches on the Ignatian psychology of spiritual development. This psychology is central to the entire structure of the Spiritual Exercises since it provides the basis upon which many of the practical suggestions embodied in the Exercises are founded. The basic principle would seem to be that the ego actively progresses through the stages of development by the exercise of its own synthetic functions, particularly through the combined application of its functions of understanding, incorporation and identification. By engaging his

own powers in an intrapersonal dialectic, by coming to grips with the fundamental truths and realities of the spiritual life and by moving these realities from the level of observant understanding to that of participant understanding, the ego begins to mature in spiritual identity. By a progressively deepened understanding, the ego is able to embrace the realities which form the substance of the spiritual life and gradually and more effectively bring to bear its own executive functions to achieve greater stability of affective functioning. As Ignatius puts it so well, "It is to understand and savour the matter interiorly, that fills and satisfies the soul." The operation of grace at this level is found in the assistance and support it provides the ego by enlightenment of the understanding and by the support of the executive and synthetic functions by which the ego integrates the various elements into an harmoniously developing identity and regulates the affective dispositions which can interfere with the effectiveness of these operations.

The necessity for mobilization of the resources of the ego is underlined by the recommendations of the *Directory*, where it is observed that "it is a lesson of experience that all men are more delighted and more moved by what they find out for themselves. Hence it will suffice just to point, as with the finger, to the vein in the mine, and let each one dig for himself." (Dir. VIII, 1.) These are wise words for any form of therapy.

The *Directory* adds some clarifying notes. (Dir. VIII. 3.) The exercitant, who is presumed to be a novice in the spiritual life, is to avoid excessive tension and the exhaustion of excessive effort. Rather than forcing himself, he is to be taught the means and principles of thinking calmly on things divine. The functions of the ego which must be called into play are exercised best in the moderation and tranquillity which avoids the emotional extremes. The reasons presented are: (1) excessive effort cannot last and therefore the continuous application and activity which is required in meditation cannot be maintained; (2) solid fruit is found in knowledge of those truths and in will-movement, both of which proceed from inward light. The inward light is essentially a profound insight and realization of spiritual truths. The insight is the foundation upon which change can be effected, but mere insight alone is not enough. The insight must be "worked through." that is, the realization

of its impact upon the exercitant's life must be grasped to the fullest possible extent. By gradually realizing in what way each truth has meaning and significance for all the facets of its life and activity, the ego grows in participant understanding. At each phase of the working-through, incorporation and integration are advanced by the ego's effective acceptance of each new partial and personalized insight. (3) The final reason stresses the necessary role of grace upon which growth in spiritual identity must ultimately depend. It is of greater importance for the ego to dispose itself in tranquillity and humbly to receive the movement of God within it, than by trusting in its own autonomous functioning to achieve the desired result.

Annotation IV: The principle of personal adaptation requires that certain modifications be made in the manner of presentation of the Exercises. The course should be followed which leads to the greatest growth in the exercitant. Ideally the Exercises are given to only one exercitant at a time, so that the director is able to adapt the program for the needs of this particular person. This requires that the director possess a thorough and intimate knowledge of the workings of the exercitant's personality. (Dir. V, 6.) In ideal circumstances, the director would want to spend a considerable amount of time gaining such an intimate knowledge of the exercitant, even before beginning the Exercises themselves. The travails of modern psychology and particularly psychotherapy bear eloquent testimony to the complexities and difficulties involved. But analogously, the effectiveness of the Exercises would seem to hinge on the degree of accurate knowledge of the exercitant's personality possessed by the director, and also on the degree of rapprochement between them. The many factors in the practical order, which tend to mitigate these factors, can only have the effect of watering-down the effectiveness of the Spiritual Exercises. Even so, grace is still capable of extraordinary effects.

Annotation V: The question of motivation is basic in such an undertaking as the *Exercises*. The exercitant must enter the *Exercises* already motivated to follow them fully and generously and thereby dispose himself to God's will. The *Exercises*, however, do not rest on this initial motivation but pro-

gress to the arousal of further considerations and realizations whereby additional sources of motivation are brought to bear. However, it remains true that, just as in therapy there can be no effective change in the patient without the basic motivation to change, so here the effectiveness of the undertaking depends upon the generosity with which the exercitant follows the prescribed exercises. The *Directory* suggests therefore that he "resolve to behave manfully, to remove all obstacles to grace, and to bend all the powers of his soul to co-operation with grace; and let him dispose himself, as best he can, to receive it." (Dir. II, 1.)

The dispositions are specified in some detail. The objective is to bring to bear with greatest efficacy the capacities of the ego. Consequently, the ego should have organized and directed its energies toward the positive engagement in the work it is undertaking. (Dir. II, 3.) Through hope, the exercitant is encouraged to adopt a prospective attitude which places the egofunctions in a condition of readiness to respond and of expectancy of fulfillment. Hope consequently implies a preliminary mobilization of ego-resources as well as an already realized reality-orientation. It is a preliminary disposition of the ego preparatory to the execution of the working-through of the retreat process.

The purpose which is to be set before the exercitant is "not so much to taste spiritual delight, as to understand God's will concerning himself." (Dir. II, 4.) This is to be accomplished by a countercathectic control over emotional attachments, but more centrally and more positively, a resignation in God's hands in all matters where he is still free to determine the course of his life.

The annotation speaks of "liberality and a large heart" in describing the disposition of the ego on entering the *Exercises*, which the *Directory* expands in terms of generosity. It is required that the ego organize and dispose its various functions in such a way that they be ready to respond without restriction or limitation to the impulses of grace. This is possible, of course, only in the measure to which libidinal impulses and attachments have been sufficiently subjected to the controlling functions of the ego. Since this is in part the work of the retreat, the initial disposition of generosity can be expected

to grow through the various stages of the retreat in the measure to which inordinate attachments have been successfully eliminated. The *Directory* thus remarks: "Rather should he dilate his heart, and crave, with all his might, to unite himself with God, and receive of those heavenly treasures, to his utmost capacity, rich and bountiful largess. These are the exercitant's duties towards God." (Dir. II, 5.)

The exercitant is likewise encouraged to entrust himself completely to the director, in whom he is to see God's instrument to guide him along the path of God's will. (Dir. II, 6.) He is therefore to conceal nothing from the director, but is to open his heart to him in all sincerity. (Dir. II, 7.) We are reminded here of the suspension of censoring activities required in psychoanalytic free-association. The situation is analogous, but not identical. What is in question is a more controlled association in which the progress of the meditation, lights, consolations, desolations, desires, etc. are to be reported to the director without the interference of the ego's censorship function.

What is basically required, then, of the exercitant is the basic trust, which Erikson describes as one of the basic components of the healthy personality. It implies, therefore, the capacity of the ego to open itself receptively to the influence of another and to dispose itself in a kind of trusting dependence on that other. The defensiveness and basic lack of security in the sense of one's own trustworthiness would constitute a severe block to progress in the growth of spiritual identity. (See below)

Annotation VI: The recommendation of this annotation has deep psychological significance. As the ego enters upon the Exercises, it engages upon a powerful effort of reconstruction and synthesis. This entails often strenuous efforts to redistribute and rechannel energy, to modify and control object-cathexes, to effectively reorganize and direct countercathectic energies available to the ego, and above all, to diminish and redirect appropriately the energies that have been absorbed in narcissistic tendencies. Every psychotherapist knows how difficult such reconstructions are and what tremendous resistances are often put in the way. The ego is pitted, in a sense,

against the id and the superego, and even against itself. Where the reconstruction succeeds, consolation should follow; where it fails or proves excessively difficult, some form of desolation might be expected. Consolation and desolation are not to be conceived in terms of the pleasure-principle, but rather in terms of the reality-principle which governs the ego-functions of reality-orientation, organization and synthesis. (See remarks on discernment below)

The director is to keep a close watch on all of this. He is to visit the exercitant daily and inquire into the exercitant's progress. (Dir. VII. 1.) The exercitant is expected to inform the director of the details without concealing anything. If the exercitant is experiencing consolation, he is to be encouraged, but at the same time he is to be taught how to use this consolation so that it's effectiveness will be more permanent. As the Directory observes, if no action were to follow upon the feeling (which does not last very long), there would be little profit from the exercise. (Dir. VII, 2.) It is necessary, then, that the ego progress from the stage of understanding and incipient reorganization to a more effective stage of execution and synthesis. The danger is, of course, that temporary gains may be lost, particularly when the forces involved in the interplay of ego, id and superego never lose their power. If it is a question of desolation, the director is to inquire into the method of meditation and particularly the keeping of the Additions (see below). (Dir. VII, 4.) In so far as the work of the Exercises is concerned, the presumption is that the exercitant is not following the program properly. The failure may rest merely in a question of method, or it may indicate a lack of the basic disposition of generosity, upon which the initial mobilization of ego-resources depends on the natural level. Or it may reflect a more serious personality disorder stemming from defective ego-strength. The director, especially when the symptoms seem severe, should not press the retreatant on the details of method, since this may have the effect of intensifying the problem. This would be especially true of obsessive types. This difficulty is minimized where the *Exercises* are given in diluted form, but there is still danger that inexperienced or naive directors might mistake compulsivity for generosity. In such cases, the director can afford to be supportive and encouraging; there is little he can do if motivation is lacking, and ultimately grace cannot be forced. It should be remembered, however, that the *Exercises* are intended for normal personalities and there are no provisions in them for meeting and dealing with the pathological.

Annotation VII: It is especially important in the early stages of the work of the Exercises that desolation stemming from the failure of the ego to achieve its objective be properly handled. The situation is somewhat similar to the patient in psychotherapy who is suffering from depression. In so far as desolation represents the resistance of libidinal attachments to the efforts of the ego to gain control, the director should ally himself with the ego in its struggle. (Dir. VII, 6.) He is to support, encourage, reinforce the desires and good intentions of the exercitant, explaining the nature of the forces he is experiencing. The more he can support the exercitant's basic generosity and encourage his trust and hope, the better.

The *Directory* observes that the best means of obtaining devotion is that of self-humiliation together with subjection and resignation to God's will. "Indeed, this displeasure and bitterness proceeds often enough, not so much from fervour, as from a certain latent pride, whereby reliance is placed on one's own industry, whether because this too is a point of excellence to which one would aspire, or because of self-love which hankers after consolation." (Dir. VIII, 7.) This is the control problem of narcissism which lies at the root not only of the neurotic process, but also of sin. Narcissism interferes with the capacity of the ego to establish the proper reality-oriented object relations. The primary object-relation in the spiritual order concerns man's relation to God. The acceptance of this basic element in the spiritual reality of our existence undercuts such narcissistic tendencies, and provides the substance of the first crisis of spiritual development, the successful resolution of which enables the ego to advance along the path of the development of spirtual identity.

Annotation VIII: The interpretative norms contained in the rules for discernment of spirits can be given to the exercitant in so far as they offer a resource to the understanding of the ego for more effectively dealing with and recognizing the psy-

chological reaction he is passing through. (See below on Rules for Discernment) The importance of these rules should not be underestimated, since they "are most useful and hold up a light, so to speak, on the whole of this spiritual pilgrimage." (Dir. VIII, 4.)

Annotation IX: A certain discretion is called for in proposing the rules for discerning spirits. Persons who are not capable of refined discernment should not be given the rules of the second week since they would be more confusing than helpful. The limitation may be one of understanding or it may be one of limited introspective capacity. In any case, the ego is assisted in its work by the principles it is capable of grasping clearly and utilizing. Here again an intimate knowledge of the exercitant's capacities by the director is essential. Moreover, there is operative here a principle of progressive growth in spiritual identity. Only in so far as the ego has successfully passed through and resolved certain critical phases of growth. do the rules of the second week become pertinent. The ego must grow in a familiarity with the spiritual life and must exercise its functions of introspective discernment in a progressively more sensitive and refined process of reality-testing. The testing has to do with the responsivity to the influences of grace which constitute the framework of orientation and the reality structure within which spiritual identity is to develop.

Annotation X: The essential element in the work of the Exercises is a disengagement of libidinal attachments which might influence the ego in its effort to follow the will of God. From a structural point of view, whether the object of such cathexes involve morally good or evil elements is not of much importance since what is in question in either case is a certain libidinal gratification. When such gratifications escape egocontrol, they impede the capacity of the ego to grow in both psychological and spiritual identity. However, from the point of view of ego-dynamics, an attachment to a morally good object is a much more subtle matter in that such a channelling of libido, even though it escapes the regulating function of the ego, is in conformity with the value-orientation of the ego—at least in the early stages of growth in spiritual identity. Thus, the rules of the second week can provide a set of norms by

which the ego can recognize such attractions to the good as not in conformity with the value-system of a more mature level of spiritual functioning. The rules thus provide a set of norms for ego-functioning and at the same time introduce the ego into the value orientation of a more advanced stage of spiritual development. (See below)

St. Ignatius asserts a correspondence between the first week and the purgative way and between the second week and the illuminative way. The correspondence is traditional and has been supported by the Directories; the fourth week corresponds to the unitive way. (Dir. XI, 3; XVIII, 3.) There has always been difficulty, however, in placing the third week in this scheme; some have placed it in the illuminative, some in the unitive way. (Fessard, 28-36) The question will have pertinence in trying to bring to focus the obvious progression of the *Exercises* on the psychological level. It is well to recognize here that there is a developmental principle at work.

Annotation XI: The force of the developmental principle is felt here with special intensity. Concentration on the work of the moment is, of course, sought for, but there would seem to be more at stake. Since we are dealing with a process of psycho-spiritual growth, success in succeeding stages of development will depend on the degree to which the work of preceding stages has been effectively carried out. The entire process is subject to a law of organic growth. That is not to say that what is achieved or not achieved at each given stage is irrevocably lost, or that developmental recapitulation in later stages is not possible. Even where psychological laws are operating, grace is not bound by them. (cf. infra)

Annotation XII: The locus of work in the Exercises is the meditation, for it is here that the resources of the ego are brought to bear. A most likely form of resistance will take the form of abbreviating the periods of meditation, or of diluting the intensity of effort by other means. The personal activity of the exercitant is at stake, without which nothing is to be accomplished.

Annotation XIII: A refinement of the previous annotation. Where the resistances are sufficiently strong to bring on deso-

lation or depression, the danger of the ego's capitulation to these libidinal forces is all the greater. This is the basic Ignatian "agere contra." The most effective means to establish egocontrol over a particular channelling of libidinal energy is to direct the energies available to the ego in a directly countercathectic opposition. It is interesting to note that Ignatius does not leave the matter at the intrapsychic level of opposing the desire to shorten the time of meditation, but progresses to the level of concrete externalized action in which the executive functions of the ego are brought into play. The emphasis on action is a recurrent theme in the Exercises.

Annotation XVI: "Agere contra" is spelled out in greater detail. The objective here as always is to strengthen the position of the ego by assisting it to gain control of the energies at work in the psyche. Understanding and insight are essential to the effectiveness of ego-functioning, but they do not constitute the total realm of effective ego-function. Mobilization of egoenergies must follow if the gains achieved through insight are to be consolidated and made effective. Two things are in question here: (1) the effective mobilization of counter-cathectic energies, and (2) progressive insight and reality-orientation in terms of the value-system which governs authentically spiritual growth, namely, "the service, honor, and glory of His Divine Majesty."

In classical analytic theory, countercathexis implied a situation of conflict between the forces of the ego and those of the id. The restraining function of the countercathexis could only hold the libido in check at the cost of exhausting the energy resources of the ego. The conflict could be successfully resolved, however, by a sublimation of libidinal energies in which the libido energy was channeled to a more acceptable substitute object. The resolution of intrapsychic conflict, which is in question in the Ignatian "agere contra," is more a question of a progressive establishment of ego-control. Ego-control implies neither a repression of libidinal impulses nor a resolution through sublimation, but it implies the continued operation of libidinal energies with a direction and intensity determined by the reality-oriented ego. There is a radical difference between repression of the sex drive and the adequate control of the sex

drive in chastity. Likewise, there is a radical difference between religious behavior as a sublimation of sexual impulses and religious behavior as a response of an autonomous ego to a spiritual reality. Consequently, the term "counter-cathexis" is used in these notes in a more flexible sense as referring to the controlling activity of the ego.

Annotation XVII: The necessity of intimate knowledge of the exercitant by the director, and consequently complete suspension of censorship in the exercitant. (See above, Annotation IV and V.)

Annotation XVIII: Principle of personal adaptation. Ignatius is careful to note that not all have the capacity to advance to higher levels of spiritual development. Besides the assistance of grace, there is necessary a certain degree of egostrength and a certain maturity of psychological identity required in those who can profitably enter upon exercises directed toward growth in spiritual identity. While all can profit to some extent from the consideration of the first week, discretion is called for in going beyond.

Annotation XX: It should be obvious that the Exercises call for a rigorous introspective effort on the part of the exercitant. He is called, on even purely natural terms, to summon up his best resources of self-control, understanding and execution and to engage in an effort of self-analysis, reorganization and synthesis. Such an effort requires serious and concentrated effort which demands that the best energies of the ego be brought to bear. Distractions, therefore, and the continuing preoccupation with other affairs would hinder the effectiveness of these efforts. But perhaps more significantly, growth in spiritual identity depends upon responsiveness to grace. Additional effort must be thrown into the prayerful petitioning for God's grace. On both counts, silence and solitude are advisable. The director should remember, however, that the effective work of the ego consumes energy and that it may often promote the effectiveness of the retreat to allow some periods of relaxation. (Dir. VI. 3.)

First Principle and Foundation: From a psychological viewpoint, which is the focus of our concern, Ignatius here enunciates the fundamental principle of orientation, which serves as a reality-criterion and a value-criterion for the activity of the ego. (Dir., XII, 1.) It is of fundamental importance that the principle be properly conceptualized and that it become effective as an operative principle for the ego's efforts at organization and execution. (Dir., XII, 7.) As a principle of ego-orientation, it is operative at all stages of the Exercises (Rahner, Notes, 309-310) and it is normative for all degrees of spiritual growth. Consequently, it does not represent or express a stage or degree of development in spiritual identity. Rather, the Foundation formulates the fundamental rule by which the ego disposes itself, under grace, to progress in spiritual growth at every stage in the process of development. Its importance, consequently, cannot be overestimated. (Dir., XII, 3.) In giving the Exercises, the Foundation should be continually referred to and built on. The exercitant should repeatedly return to it and reflect on it so that its effective influence at successive stages should not be diminished.

In a certain sense, the Foundation encapsulates the entire program of spiritual development. The objective is stated in terms of the functions proper to spiritual identity—the praise, reverence and service of God. (Dir., XII, 2.) The means are set down in general terms as indifference, according to the norm of the "tantum quantum" and finally the disposition to choose only those things which lead most to the objective of man's existence. (Dir., XII, 3.) In general, then, Ignatian indifference and the "magis" sketch in broad lines the pattern for growth in spiritual identity. The first week of the Exercises will concern itself primarily with indifference, the following weeks, with increasing intensity, will be concerned with the "magis."

Particular Examen: The method proposed here serves to concentrate the energies of the ego at one point (Dir., XIII, 2.) so that the work of countercathexis and control can proceed more effectively. The Ignatian propensity for mobilizing as many of the functions of the ego as possible is noteworthy. Memory, imagination, critical judgment, affection, desire, resolution, and finally execution are all brought to bear in this brief exercise.

The effectiveness of this technique depends on the capacity of the ego to direct its attack in the right direction. This requires the working-through of resistances and the cognitional recognition of points of defective ego-control. It should be clear that the technique of the particular examen has no effectiveness in itself, but only in so far as it provides a useful schema within which the ego can take resolute action.

It should also be noted that the particular examen is regarded as an exercise which can be fruitfully continued beyond the *Exercises* through the rest of life. (Dir., XIII, 4.) Implicit in this observation is the realization that the efforts of the ego in control and organization never really reach a point of achievement, but require continual effort and application. This should be understood in the light of the *Spiritual Exercises* as a program of life-long spiritual growth. The *Directory* likewise suggests that the practice be inculcated as an effective means for the right-ordering of the exercitant's life. (Dir., XIII, 5.)

It is common practice and frequently recommended by commentaries on the *Exercises* that the particular examen be employed in developing positive practices of virtue. (Rickaby, 56) This is not mentioned in the *Exercises*, but seems to be thoroughly Ignatian in spirit and psychologically sound.

General Confession: Ignatius suggests that the exercitant make a voluntary general confession at the end of the first week. One reason he gives for this is that at the end of the first week the exercitant should have a more intimate knowledge of his sins than at any other time. (Dir., XVI, 2.) This serves to underline in part the objective of the first week, "namely an intimate knowledge of his sins together with true contrition." (Dir., XVI, 1.)

(to be continued)

# The Washington March: August 28, 1963

Reflections on the participation of the Church in the historic march for equal rights

DANIEL DEGNAN, S.J.

on August 28, 1963, a group of 41 Jesuits from Woodstock College, six priests and 35 scholastics, joined the crowd of over 200,000 people who demonstrated peacefully in Washington for civil rights. The demonstration seems to have been a turning point for the Negro, not only because of the impressive dignity, peace, good will and strength which he showed that day, but because for the first time whites in large numbers had joined him. Ministers and priests had marched down the streets with him, bishops and other church leaders had played leading parts in the demonstration itself. While the Negro was awakening the moral conscience of the American people, it appeared that he had also brought Christianity into the streets, to bear witness there.

The Woodstock Delegation was only one of many Jesuit Groups, among them: Georgetown University, Gonzaga High School and Georgetown Prep, Loyola High of Baltimore, Fordham University, and Le Moyne College. This article is an attempt to record some of this Jesuit participation, setting it in the context of the march itself, and particularly against the background of Christian-Catholic participation in the event. Our effort has been to avoid distortion, while catching the spirit and quality of our own role. Sources have been personal observation, a checking of impressions among the Woodstock participants, information obtained from telephone calls, and from meetings and conversations at the scene.

### The March

At the Washington Monument where the March was to begin, the first impression at about ten that morning was of a Fourth of July celebration or a Sunday picnic: the crowd, Negroes and whites, standing or sitting on the slope from the base of the monument down to Constitution Avenue, some young Negroes chanting freedom songs, most of the people listening to entertainers like Joan Baez, who sang "We Shall Overcome." A few priests were here and there in the crowd and there were Protestant ministers wearing dark suits and Roman collars. Most of the whites, however, were either student types—including a good number of "beats"—or earnestlooking people one would associate with school teaching, New England Liberals, or Sunday church suppers. There was no one stereotype, however, and it was a constant surprise to come upon apparent businessmen, or young suburban-type couples, sometimes with children, or teenagers. Of the Negroes, one would have to see the flood which later moved down the avenue-for an adequate picture: white haired women. youngsters, wizened couples, men and women in the prime of life.

Canvassing the morning gathering for a cross section of clergymen and religious, the editors of Woodstock Letters met an Episcopalian minister who had published in the magazine Crosscurrents: a Capuchin pastor from Woodstock, Virginia; The Chancellor of the Boston Archdiocese and editor of The Pilot, with seven priests of the Boston diocese; more than 60 seminarians of the Christian Brothers from their house in Washington near Catholic University: twenty-five Carmelites. priests, brothers and seminarians, also from Washington: a group of Methodist ministers in lay clothes from Minnesota, three Episcopalian ministers from Maine, six Catholic priests from Michigan, carrying a large sign voicing the support of Michigan Catholics. There was a Josephite from New Orleans, many Holy Cross Fathers and Oblates of Mary Immaculate: and coming to the march together, the pastor of a Catholic parish in New Rochelle, New York, with the rector of the Episcopal church of the same community. There were scholastics from Gonzaga High School in Washington; and from

Georgetown University Jesuit priests and students standing by their G.U. banner.

The Woodstock group, behind a sign "Woodstock Catholic Seminary, For Equal Rights," was heading back to the Washington Monument at about 11:20, after lunch at the bus, when it ran into the March already moving down the street, forty minutes ahead of time. Woodstock joined them and walked in threes and fours along the right side of Constitution Avenue. On their left was a white Protestant minister with his wife, near them a group of Negro girls singing "We shall overcome." The group of forty-one clerics stood out, there was scattered applause from the few onlookers; TV and still cameramen swung around their cameras or ran in front to film them.

By this time the march down Constitution Avenue, the mall and other avenues was becoming a torrent, and it was clear that Woodstock's early prominence—when the parade was thinner—had been an accident. Old Negro women, children, but mostly young and middle-aged people, walked in the crowd, some breaking to the left over the grass and under the trees toward the Memorial, most of it going on to swing left down the street in front of the barricade of television trucks. It was not a march but a free-style walk, a forest of signs in the distance and, closer in, thousands of good-natured Americans: black and white, many walking quietly and easily, some chanting "Jim Crow-must go," or singing "Free-ee-dom." A frequent sight was a Methodist or Lutheran church group, with its white minister and congregation. Some individual Protestant Clergymen were marching with their wives, and some with their children. Every so often a Catholic Negro parish could be seen in the surge, a Catholic Interracial Council, blacks and whites together, a band of white Catholic priests.

The bulk of the parade, however, was the Negro groups, church and secular. Of the whites, students and unions like the United Auto Workers contributed many more people than the church groups. Protestant whites appeared to far outnumber Catholics.

Gradually, as the Jesuits from Woodstock later agreed, it became clear that the moral and religious leadership for the march was the work of the Negro himself. His songs in the march were spiritual: "Deep in my heart I do believe that we shall overcome some day"; his speech was reverent, his attitude throughout without harshness. The address of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. was the climax of the day, sweeping along whites and colored in its Biblical imagery. The call to conscience was being sounded most urgently by the Negro speakers, not the white.

The Church's part in the march was clearly a subordinate one. It was symbolized by the invocation of Archbishop O'Boyle, by the friendly mingling of the crowd as Reverend King welcomed his white brethren.

Moreover, it would be hard to measure the effect of the support which had been offered to the Negro cause and to the march itself by the Catholic bishops of the United States.

### Catholic Participation

After Birmingham and after the administration's introduction of a civil rights bill, A. Philip Randolph, the president of the Sleeping Car Porters' of America, and a vice-president of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., proposed a great march on Washington to dramatize the Negro's demands. The first reaction seems to have been one of dismay. A picture of mobs and riots on Capital Hill was conjured up, aided by some statements predicting that Negroes would sit-in in Congressional offices. Mr. Randolph, however, was a responsible leader; the idea was catching on swiftly, and it soon became clear that moderate forces among the Negroes would direct the entire movement. The "big six" among its leaders were Roy Wilkins of the N.A.A.C.P.; Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; James Farmer, of the Congress of Racial Equality; John Lewis, of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee; and O. Finley of the National Urban League, together with Mr. Randolph. Religious leaders and groups among Protestant and Jewish whites began to express their support of the march.

For the Catholic Church, the break-through came at the end of July, when an emergency meeting in Chicago of the Catholic interracial councils announced their participation in the march. They had first been addressed by Father John La-Farge, S.J., who said that the August 28th march would allow

Catholics "no hesitation" about deciding to take part. This initial effort concerning the march was to receive unprecedented support from the Catholic bishops, many of whom had already published recent pastoral letters concerning the race question, or had delivered sermons and addresses on the theme.

On August 3rd it was announced that four new leaders had been added to the march leadership: Walter Reuther, of the United Automobile Workers, Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, of the National Council of Churches, Rabbi Joachim Prinz, of the American Jewish Congress, and Matthew Ahmann, of the Catholic Interracial Councils. On August 2nd, the Catholic Review of Baltimore had endorsed the march and urged Catholics to take part: and on August 10, America, the national Catholic weekly, expressing confidence that the march would be peaceful, urged "all who can possibly get to Washington that day" to be with the demonstrators. Just about this time, on August 6th and 7th, a meeting was held quietly in Chicago attended by 149 of the bishops of the United States, reportedly to prepare for the next session of the Vatican Council. There the bishops drafted a strong civil rights plea which endorsed the idea of direct action, to be read in Catholic churches on Sunday, August 25, just before the march.

One of the most important gestures of support came from the Archdiocese of New York, where Most Rev. John J. Maguire, auxiliary bishop and Vicar-General, sent a letter to be read in the 402 churches of the diocese on Sunday, August 11. The letter singled out the coming march as worthy of Catholics' participation. As the day approached, the march leaders were able to announce that Archbishop Patrick J. O'Boyle of Washington would deliver the invocation. Archbishop Lawrence J. Shehan of Baltimore and the bishops and auxiliary bishops of Baltimore, Washington and Richmond announced that they would attend the demonstration.

All of this was the backdrop for organizational work by Catholic interracial councils, parishes and other groups around the country. In a final push, the letter which had been drafted at the meeting of bishops in Chicago was read over the bishop's name on Sunday, August 25, in many dioceses all over the nation.

### The Role of the Society of Jesus

It was fitting that the most effective Jesuit participation in this great movement was the work of Father John LaFarge, founder of the first Catholic Interracial Council in 1934, and until 1962, when he became moderator *emeritus*, the moderator of that council, the Catholic Interracial Council of New York City. It was Father LaFarge, who had been the guiding spirit of this apostolate for thirty years, who challenged the emergency meeting of the councils in Chicago: "Are we prepared to witness publicly to our belief, as did the early Christians? The coming march on Washington will allow no hesitation on this score. This is our challenge and I see no honorable way of evading it."

These words were picked up in the National Catholic News Service dispatch reporting the Catholic interracial councils' resolutions and were then carried in Catholic newspapers throughout the country. It was these words and this idea which America was to rely upon in its endorsement of the march. Significantly, the New York Times, in its lead editorial on Sunday, August 25, chose to quote Father LaFarge, "a leading Catholic spokesman on racial justice," to explain why all the major religious faiths and many predominantly white organizations had committed themselves to send trainloads of pilgrims to Washington that week: "It concerns the fundamental rights of all of us—not merely the Negroes but the enire population. We are all involved in this question of right and wrong."

As Father Philip Hurley of Fordham University put it, Catholic participation in the march was a culmination of Father LaFarge's long efforts, and through him a culmination of one of the works of the New York Province of the Society of Jesus. Father LaFarge, he added, had always insisted that this work was thoroughly Ignatian. The first interracial council, in fact, grew out of a retreat given by Father LaFarge in 1934 to the Catholic Laymen's Union.

Father Hurley's own activity in the march, as moderator of the New York Interracial Council, included organizational work both with the Catholic council and at march headquarters. At Washington Square on Thursday night, August 22, he addressed a march rally of 2,000 persons. On Sunday, August 25, a noon Mass was said by him in the Fordham University chapel for the marchers. Besides Father Hurley several other Fordham Jesuits accompanied the New York council's delegation which filled five buses.

In Father Hurley's view, this demonstration would lead to more emphatic involvement of the Society of Jesus in the civil rights movement, to a commitment to the spirit of our own history and of the encyclicals of Pope John XXIII.

Unlike Fordham, Georgetown University sponsored an official delegation of Jesuit and lay faculty and students, organized by Father John F. Devine, the director of student personnel. Father Paul Rock, the Minister of the community, and Fr. Byron Collins, a vice-president of the university, were among the ten Jesuits, a number of lay faculty, and thirty students who asked to march. Georgetown also set up facilities for free emergency food and shelter for 400 marchers. This was done in cooperation with the Washington Urban League and the Catholic Interracial Council, at the request of the Interfaith Group on Race Relations, of which Archbishop O'Boyle of Washington was chairman.

On the morning of August 28th a special Mass was said in Dahlgren Chapel and the Georgetown contingent, which had swelled to several hundred, walked from the campus down Pennsylvania Avenue and then south to the Washington Monument carrying a Georgetown banner. The effect of this participation, Father Devine held, would be felt not so much in the march itself, but on the campus. The response there had been one of wide approval, happiness that "we are doing something." No negative criticism was heard from Jesuits, lay faculty or students. Father Devine pointed out that superiors had exercised courage in giving approval, despite the inevitable prophecies of doom.

In the Buffalo province, Fr. Daniel Berrigan of Le Moyne College worked for the march with the Catholic Interracial Council and Protestant groups in Syracuse. A combined delegation of Protestants, Catholics and Jews was to fill five buses. Looking beyond August 28th, Fr. Berrigan and his brother Philip, a Josephite priest in New York City, were working on a program for future Catholic involvement in civil rights action.

The program, for Catholic priests, seminarians, and laymen, would detail methods of cooperation with organizations such as the Catholic interracial councils, the NAACP and CORE.

As for the effect on the Society of our involvement in the march, Fr. Berrigan expressed an attitude of "measured optimism." The idea of direct action is new and shocking to most of us, he said, and the climate of our studies contributes to this response. Nevertheless, the present involvement was an important step.

At Woodstock College, however, and at the Jesuit high schools in the Washington and Baltimore areas, theologians and regents, along with priests from each of the faculties, showed no hesitation over such direct action. Before the Catholic interracial councils had met in Chicago, and before the bishops' statements, a number of scholastics at Woodstock had begun to think about participating. The result was a small informal group to gather and present the facts to Father Rector, who gave his assent and obtained the permission of Father Provincial of the Maryland Province. An informal canvass showed that approximately 80 per cent of the scholastics wanted to march if permission was obtained, but the decision was for one representative group of about forty.

Georgetown Preparatory School sent several fathers and all of its scholastics, Gonzaga High in Washington about six priests and five scholastics, Loyola High of Baltimore about seven priests and regents. Father James Demske, master of novices at Bellarmine College, Plattsburg, New York, and Father Frederick O'Connor, spiritual father at Shrub Oak (who were at Woodstock for an ascetical institute) also marched.

Undoubtedly there were other Jesuits there, perhaps with interracial or student groups. The point of this article however, is to indicate the variety and quality of our representation, which ranged from the long, immensely productive interracial apostolate of Father La Farge—without which it seems that much of the entire Catholic effort would not have been possible—to the recent, spontaneous initiative of a regent teaching in a Washington high school.

## Scripture Services and the Spiritual Exercises

A recent liturgical development, presented in the framework of the Exercises: the scriptural riches of the Kingdom

One of the most interesting products of the simultaneous development of the contemporary Scripture and liturgical movements has been the increasingly popular "Scripture Services" (also known as "Bible devotions," "Bible Vigils," "Word Services," etc.). In view of the fact that the Liturgical Press has recently published a collection of such Services\* which is the work of a group of Woodstock Jesuits, it has been suggested that an example-Service be presented here, together with a brief word of explanation.

Scripture Services represent an attempt to make the riches of the Bible more available for ordinary parish use as well as for occasions of specialized spiritual activity such as retreats, days of recollection, tridua, etc. Their experimental use has been popular in our houses of study in this country for about two years. Though these Scripture Services are not liturgical in the strict sense of that word, they take the Church's liturgy as their model and their inspiration. The Service of the Word, at the beginning of Mass, is perhaps the most familiar and most obvious example in the liturgy which serves as a guide and outline for the structuring of these devotions. Their purpose is simple, but most important for our spiritual lives: reverent attention to the Word of God, followed by the prayerful response of God's people, according to the workings of the Spirit in each one of us.

Hopefully, the purpose of these devotions is faithfully expressed in the structure of each Service. Three readings from Holy Scripture are given in each Service. A homily, which should be understood as a prolongation of the Word's proclamation, may be given after each reading, or perhaps after all three readings are completed. Whatever seems most fitted to meet some local situation must be the norm here. The scheme of the readings follows the traditional liturgical pattern: the first is taken from the Old Testament, the second from a Letter or from Acts; and the third is a reading from the Gospel. After each reading, there is a period for re-

<sup>\*</sup> Scripture Services: 15 Bible Themes, edited for group use by Rev. John Gallen (Liturgical Press, Collegeville: 45¢, pp. 108, paper).

sponsive prayer, both silent and collective. The Service ends with the priest's collecting prayer (Collect) in the name of all.

Though no musical suggestions have been made in the Woodstock collection, it was not our intention to discourage participation by song during these devotions. On the contrary, congregational singing is strongly recommended. Appropriate entrance hymns may be selected without difficulty. The singing of psalms (e.g. the Gelineau Psalms) would be very apt, serving as responsories after each of the readings.

Jesuits will notice at once that the fifteen themes treated in the Woodstock collection follow the order of the Spiritual Exercises which, in their turn, "may rightly be regarded as the seasons of the liturgical year reduced to the four 'weeks'" (Father General in his Letter on the Sacred Liturgy: Instruction, no. 11). Those of Ours who are engaged in the giving of retreats may well find this series of devotions helpful for their work. The retreat director may choose whatever Service seems best at a specific time during a particular retreat, always having the needs of some particular group of retreatants in mind.

For a more complete explanation of the Scripture Service, those interested might consult Father Gelineau's essay, "The Vigil as an Evening Service for the Parish" (in *Unto the Altar*, ed. A. Kirchgaessner, Herder and Herder, 1963). Those interested in composing their own Services will find helpful suggestions for readings in Dannemiller's *Reading the Word of God* (Helicon, 1960).

We reprint here the Service on the Kingdom, as it appears in the Woodstock collection.

JOHN GALLEN, S.J.

### The Kingdom

*Priest:* Recovery from sin is, we have discovered, among the most remarkable of the deeds of merciful love which the Lord has worked for us. But we have always known that there is something more to life than the mere avoiding of death: life is something full of positive value and active possession. John the Baptist preached this simple message of life to the people: "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." Repentance is a turning towards something new.

Everything is gift: repentance itself is made possible by the gift of the Lord. But repentance is not the end of God's gift-giving. The real fact of the matter is that the kingdom of God is in our midst. This kingdom is not presented to us as a threat, or even a promise; it is not best understood as an obligation or a requirement; we have not organized it, or proposed

it. The kingdom is a gift to us, and it is already present to us in the living Person of the King. The King, Christ, is within us, and so, therefore, is the kingdom of God within us. Christ the King is in our midst: he invites us to follow him in labors, suffering and death—but also in glory. This is the way to life. This is the daily life of the Church: joined to Christ, in our labors, our joys, our sufferings, our death, we send up sacrifice and praise to the Father. Daily, Christ asks us to respond to the call which he issues in his Church: he calls us to labor with him for the building of the kingdom.

#### ALL STAND

All: What is lacking of the sufferings of Christ I fill up in my flesh for his body, which is the Church.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Col 1:24.

*Priest:* If anyone wishes to come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me. For he who would save his life will lose it; but he who loses his life for my sake will find it.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Mt. 16:24-25.

All: What is lacking of the sufferings of Christ I fill up in my flesh for his body, which is the Church.

#### ALL SIT

*Priest:* Let us listen to the inspired words of the psalmist, who proclaims to us that all things are under the dominion of the Lord our King.

Reader: The Lord is king; let the earth rejoice;

let the many isles be glad.

Clouds and darkness are round about him, justice and judgment are the foundation of his throne.

Fire goes before him

and consumes his foes round about.

His lightnings illumine the world; the earth sees and trembles.

The mountains melt like wax before the Lord,

before the Lord of all the earth.

The heavens proclaim his justice, and all peoples see his glory.

All who worship graven things are put to shame, who glory in the things of nought; all gods are prostrate before him.

Sion hears and is glad, and the cities of Judah rejoice because of your judgments, O Lord.

Because you, O Lord, are the Most High over all the earth.

exalted far above all gods.

The Lord loves those that hate evil;

he guards the lives of his faithful ones; from the hand of the wicked he delivers them.

Light dawns for the just;

and gladness, for the upright of heart.

Be glad in the Lord, you just, and give thanks to his holy name (Ps. 96).

### ALL KNEEL

*Priest:* Let us pray, offering to God our Lord our worship of praise and service.

Pause for personal prayer.

Seek first the kingdom of God.3

3 Mt. 6:33.

All: Honor and praise to Christ our King!

*Priest*: The Lord is King!

All: Honor and praise to Christ our King!

Priest: His dominion is everlasting.

All: Honor and praise to Christ our King!

*Priest*: His kingship shall not be destroyed.

All: Honor and praise to Christ our King!

*Priest:* He shall reign forever and ever.

All: Honor and praise to Christ our King!

*Priest:* All nations will serve him and obey him.

All: Honor and praise to Christ our King!

*Priest:* He shall come to judge the living and the dead.

All: Honor and praise to Christ our King!

*Priest:* His kingdom is of truth and life.

All: Honor and praise to Christ our King!

*Priest:* His kingdom is a kingdom of holiness. *All:* Honor and praise to Christ our King!

Priest: His kingdom is of justice, love and peace.

All: Honor and praise to Christ our King! Priest: The kingdom of God is within you. All: Honor and praise to Christ our King!

#### ALL SIT

*Priest:* There are many roles to be filled in the kingdom of Christ's Church. Let us listen to St. Paul as he teaches us about the building of the Mystical Body. The reading is from the letter to the Ephesians.

Reader: He himself gave some men as apostles, and some as prophets, others again as evangelists, and others as pastors and teachers, in order to perfect the saints for a work of ministry, for building up the body of Christ, until we all attain to the unity of the faith and of the deep knowledge of the Son of God, to perfect manhood, to the mature measure of the fullness of Christ. And this he has done that we may be now no longer children, tossed to and fro and carried about by every kind of doctrine devised in the wickedness of men, in craftiness, according to the wiles of error. Rather are we to practise the truth in love, and so grow up in all things in him who is the head. Christ. For from him the whole body (being closely joined and knit together through every joint of the system according to the functioning in due measure of each single part) derives its increase to the building up of itself in love (Eph. 4:11-16).

#### ALL KNEEL

*Priest:* Let us pray, begging God to grant us the grace of vision and courage to respond to the holy calling of Christ our King.

Pause for personal prayer.

We are to practise the truth in love, and so grow up in all things in him who is the head, Christ.<sup>4</sup>

4 Eph. 4:15.

All: Lord, build your kingdom within us!

Priest: That we may daily put to death all worldly and self-ish love—

All: Lord, build your kingdom within us!

*Priest:* That we may make all our thoughts the thoughts of Christ—

All: Lord, build your kingdom within us!

*Priest:* That we may be quick to know, in every situation, what is most for the advance of Christ's work among men—
All: Lord, build your kingdom within us!

*Priest:* That we may direct all our actions to the service of Christ—

All: Lord, build your kingdom within us!

*Priest:* That we may bear with courage every burden which the service of Christ places upon our shoulders—

All: Lord, build your kingdom within us!

*Priest:* That we may present to others the encouragement and assurance they need to remain true to their holy vocations—

All: Lord, build your kingdom within us!

Priest: That we may find in your holy Church the task to which you call us for the spreading of your kingdom—

All: Lord, build your kingdom within-us!

Priest: That we may possess the wisdom to understand that our labor counts for nothing without the transforming power of Christ—

All: Lord, build your kingdom within us!

*Priest:* That we may have the joy of realizing that, with Christ, we can do all things—

All: Lord, build your kingdom within us!

*Priest:* That we may enjoy the peace which Christ brings to those who seek him in all things—

All: Lord, build your kingdom within us!

#### ALL STAND

*Priest:* Let us listen to God's saving word in the Gospel of St. Mark: the reading teaches us what it means to rule with Christ in his kingdom.

Reader: And James and John, the sons of Zebedee, came to him, saying, "Master, we want thee to do for us whatever we ask." But he said to them, "What do you want me to do for you?" And they said, "Grant to us that we may sit, one at thy right hand and the other at thy left hand, in thy glory." But Jesus said to them, "You do not know what you are asking for. Can you drink of the cup of which I drink, or be baptized with the baptism with which I am to be baptized?" And they said to him, "We can." And Jesus said to them, "Of the cup that I drink, you shall drink; and with the baptism with which I am to be baptized, you shall be baptized; but as for sitting at my right hand or at my left, that is not mine to give, but it belongs to those for whom it has been prepared."

And when the ten heard this, they were at first indignant at James and John. But Jesus called them and said to them, "You know that those who are regarded as rulers among the Gentiles lord it over them, and their great men exercise authority over them. But it is not so among you. On the contrary, whoever wishes to become great shall be your servant; and whoever wishes to be first among you shall be the slave of all; for the Son of Man also has not come to be served but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many" (Mark 10:35-45).

### ALL SIT

The priest may now give a homily developing the following points:

- 1. Christ the King, the Head of the Mystical Body, the Church, invites all men to share in the life of the kingdom.
- 2. Response to this call of Christ our King will mean for us a life of total service in the building up of the kingdom.

#### ALL KNEEL

*Priest:* Let us pray, begging for the grace to be generous in our response so that we may distinguish ourselves in the service of the Lord.

Pause for personal prayer.

Blessed are the poor in spirit—

All: For theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

Priest: Blessed are the meek—

All: For they shall possess the earth.

Priest: Blessed are they who mourn-

All: For they shall be comforted.

Priest: Blessed are they who hunger and thirst for justice—

All: For they shall be satisfied.

Priest: Blessed are the merciful—All: For they shall obtain mercy.

Priest: Blessed are the clean of heart-

All: For they shall see God.

Priest: Blessed are the peacemakers—

All: For they shall be called children of God.

Priest: Blessed are they who suffer persecution for justice sake—

All: For theirs is the kingdom of heaven.5

<sup>5</sup> Mt. 5:3-10.

*Priest:* Let us pray, giving praise to God for this most wondrous invitation to reign with Christ and begging for the grace to recognize and respond to his call.

Pause for personal prayer.

O Lord our God, you have called us, through no merit of our own, to be members of your Church and to labor tirelessly for its growth. Grant, we pray you, that we may put no obstacle to the workings of your grace within us, but may respond with the total gift of ourselves to the task which you choose for us; through Christ our Lord.

All: Amen! What is lacking of the sufferings of Christ I fill up in my flesh for his body, which is the Church.

*Priest:* If anyone wishes to come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me. For he who would save his life will lose it; but he who loses his life for my sake will find it.

All: What is lacking of the sufferings of Christ I fill up in my flesh for his body, which is the Church.

# The Society's Rules of Censorship

A full discussion of Jesuit censorship and the rules guiding the censor

EUGENE J. AHERN, S.J.

MAY A JESUIT scholastic summarize a scholarly article on the midrashic nature of the first two chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel and send it to a popular devotional magazine? May a Jesuit lawyer at the present time publish an article upholding the opinion that federal aid to Catholic schools is unconstitutional? May a Jesuit sociologist write a criticism of the hierarchy for negligence in meeting a particular social problem? These are some of the questions a *censor librorum* in the Society might have to answer.

This paper will discuss the process of Society censorship and the principles which must guide the censor in forming his judgment. To see the full scope of Jesuit censorship, however, it will be helpful to consider briefly the role of the censor as envisaged by the Code of Canon Law in canon 1393.

According to the Code only certain specific writings have to be censored and only one censor examines the manuscript. The identity of this censor must remain unknown to the writer until a favorable judgment is given. In passing judgment the censor is to stand above all schools of theology and above his own personal opinions and judge only the doctrinal content of the work. If this content is irreconcilable with dogma or with the unanimous or almost unanimous teaching of the Church, the censor should not grant the *Nihil Obstat*. If the doctrinal content, however, expresses a probable opinion, or if, even though singular, it is in harmony with orthodox teaching, the

*Nihil Obstat* should be granted. Paragraph three of the canon, however, reminds the censor that he is to observe a safe middle course in approving and condemning matters submitted to him. This statement reminds the censor to be careful to avoid both excessive rigor and excessive indulgence.<sup>1</sup>

A work, however, may be theologically correct and contain no doctrinal error; but could have a bad effect upon the faithful, cause scandal, give offense or disrupt ecclesiastical discipline. Must the diocesan censor bring this danger to the Ordinary's attention? Some canonists say explicitly that he may mention the danger; others imply an obligation to do so. Since the Ordinary must guard against anything dangerous to the faithful and since he relies on the judgment of the censor, it seems that the censor should inform him if a book, while containing no doctrinal error, is inopportune. Roman Pontiffs have implied that this is part of the censor's task. They speak of his share in the hierarchy's pastoral office, of his judgment in areas which escape a precise doctrinal and moral position and of the need to consider what is helpful for the faithful.

In the regulations governing Society censorship, on the other hand, there is no doubt that the censor must judge on the opportuneness of the manuscript. The Society's censor, therefore, has a more extensive and a more difficult task to perform. For what merits the *Nihil Obstat* and the *Imprimatur* may still fail to meet the Society's requirements.

# The Ordinary Procedure

Before examining these requirements and principles which govern their application in the practical order, it will be of interest to describe the present ordinary process of the Society's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> J. Goodwine, "Problems Respecting Censorship of Books," Jurist 10 (1950), 174-176; Cappello, II, 768; Coronata, II, 957.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Coronata, II, 957, 2a; Bouscaren-Ellis, *Canon Law*, 717; Goodwine, op. cit., 174; D. Weist, *Precensorship of Books*, Catholic University, 1953, p. 143, note 48.

<sup>3</sup> Wernz-Vidal, IV, II, 713; Cappello, II, 766.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Pius XII, Allocution 13 Feb., 1956 (to clerical book critics), AAS, 1956, 127; The Pope Speaks, 3 (1956), 55. John XXIII, Allocution 18 Nov., 1959 (to diocesan censors of Rome), AAS, 1959, 868, 870; Documentation Catholique LVI (20 Dec., 1959), no. 1318, cols. 1566, 1568. P. Benedict XIV, Constitution "Sollicita," 9 July, 1753, Codicis Juris Canonici Fontes, II, 404; 410, 411, 20.

censorship. I say ordinary process because some Society publications, such as *America*, have their own procedures.<sup>5</sup>

Manuscripts which deal with more important matters, for example: Scripture, Theology, Philosophy, and Church History must be examined by three censors; other manuscripts (recall that everything written for publication by a Jesuit must be censored) require the approval of two censors.<sup>6</sup>

If we omit the special censor of matters dealing with the Institute and with the Society's rights and privileges<sup>7</sup> there are three types of censors in the Society: the *Revisor Sanctae Scripturae*, who alone can censor an article dealing with Scripture; the *Censor Librorum*, who can censor any article except Scripture, and the *Suprarevisor*. An article or book on Scripture must be examined by three censors; two of these censors must be *revisores Sanctae Scripturae* and the third must be a *suprarevisor*.<sup>8</sup>

Must all the censors agree before permission to publish any article can be granted? *Per se* they must agree. How does this work out in practice? Apart from Scripture in which special norms apply<sup>9</sup> the procedure is quite simple. If a Jesuit writes an article, for example, on the teaching of English in our high schools and one censor approves it for publication while the other does not, the Provincial (or, by delegation, <sup>10</sup> the Rector) can refuse permission. He can also appoint a third censor. If this third censor approves, the article has the necessary two affirmative votes and can be submitted for publication. If he does not approve, the article cannot be submitted.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Epitome, 895. P. Wernz, "Ordinatio de novo libello periodico" (America), 8 Dec., 1909, Acta Romana, I (1906-1914), 170, no. 11. P. Ledochowski, Selected Writings, 818, 887.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Epit., 883.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Epit., 879, 2; 882, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Epit., 882; AR, VIII (1935-1938), 150.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The procedure for articles on Scripture is as follows. If one of the two revisores disapproves, the manuscript must still be given to the suprarevisor. If the suprarevisor casts a negative vote, the article cannot be published. But the suprarevisor's approval is, in this case, not sufficient. The opinion was not unanimous and the comments of all three must then be sent to Father General. This recourse to the General is also demanded if the two revisores vote affirmatively and the suprarevisor, negatively. AR, VIII, 150.

<sup>10</sup> Epit., 889, 1.

Suppose, on the other hand, that the article discusses St. Thomas's theory of angelic cognition. It must be approved by three censors; if two vote "No" the superior must refuse permission; if two of the three approve, however, the matter again depends on the extra specially-appointed censor.<sup>11</sup>

While the Provincial cannot allow publication without this requisite number of favorable opinions he can always override the favorable judgment of the censors and prohibit the publication of articles which, though approved by the censors, seem to him to be inopportune.<sup>12</sup> In any case of refusal, either by the censors or by the Provincial, the writer can recur to Father General.<sup>13</sup>

### Seven Guiding Principles

We come now to the more important part of this discussion: the principles according to which the censor must form his judgment. The diocesan censor judges one thing: is the teaching contained in this book in harmony with Catholic doctrine? The Jesuit censor, however, must judge in seven areas. He must ask seven questions of each manuscript he examines. We will now briefly discuss each of these questions, concentrating particularly on the fourth which concerns the doctrine which our writers must teach.

The first question is, "Is this written work truly useful?" No question is more relative than this one. Useful for what periodical? *Theological Studies?* For the province mission magazine? For the myriad periodicals in between? For instance, a Jesuit writes an article on the denial of Christian burial. This article is a mere reporting of the opinions of the approved canonical authors. Side by side he places the judgments of Cappello, Coronata and others. He makes no synthesis, he neither raises nor solves any new problems. An article of this kind might be turned down by one type of theological journal but it might well be accepted by another. The article may have a true value and the opinions of eminent ca-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Epit., 887, 1-3; Arregui, Annotationes Ad Epit., 804-805.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> P. Ledochowski, op. cit., 818, 887.

<sup>13</sup> Epit., 887, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Regulae censorum, Practica Quaedam ad Formulam Scribendi, 104. Epit, 684.

nonists on one particular point would be easily available to the parish priest. The 8th and 10th General Congregations, however, decreed that the writings of Ours should not be mere repetition, 15 nor, as Father General Wernz said, should they be of the kind which shed no new light on the subject (in lucem eduntur sine nova luce). 16 Gathering opinions, however, is not mere repetition. Maybe they have never before been gathered in this particular way for this particular periodical; and making them available in one place is, in a way, the shedding of new light upon them. This kind of reporting-theology can be truly useful, as can writing done with a view to publication in popular devotional magazines. The Epitome states that while our efforts should be especially directed towards the more scholarly journals we must not neglect the literary apostolate to the ordinary Catholic. 17

Considering the great variety of periodicals, all serving a recognized need, it is hard to see how a Jesuit would write something which would be *inutile* for every single one of them. To help the censor answer this question of usefulness it is recommended that when the writer turns in his manuscript, he mention the class of periodical at which he is aiming.

The next two questions on the censor's form are answered fairly easily. "Does the writing certainly surpass mediocrity, considering the audience for which it is intended?" and "Does it respond to the standards expected of a Jesuit?" In other words, if the article is directed to scholars, is it truly scholarly; if the article is mere reporting, is it good reporting; if the article is an account of the renovation of the Woodstock Chapel for the mission magazine, is it a good account? Finally, is it written in the way an educated man is expected to write for this particular audience?

The most interesting question upon which the censor must pass judgment is the fourth: "Does the manuscript meet the requirements regarding the doctrine which we must hold?" The *Epitome*, discussing *de doctrina tenenda*, states "Ours are to follow the more secure (securiorem) and the more approved

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Institutum S.J., III, Florence, 1893, 67, no. 8.

<sup>16</sup> Quoted in Arregui, op. cit., 633.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> 681, 2.

(magis approbatam) doctrine and those authors who teach this doctrine." This general principle, however, strict as it appears to be, must be interpreted in the light of the rest of the *Epitome*, of the decrees of the General Congregations and in the light of actual Society practice.

For the *Epitome* also states, "In urging security of doctrine superiors are to consider above all else the mind of the Church and the Holy See." Again, "For an opinion to be considered free it is not enough that it is not yet condemned but we must carefully consider whether it is in harmony with the clearly manifested mind of the Church and the Holy See and the Fathers, and whether it is proved by the common consent of the Catholic teachers."

It appears that this principle, for practical purposes, agrees exactly with the principle stated in Canon 1393. Neither the diocesan nor the Jesuit censor, in the matter of doctrine, is to be more Catholic than the Church. There is this difference however: if the doctrine agrees with the teaching of the Church it does not necessarily follow that the Jesuit censor will approve the manuscript. The diocesan censor begins his work with one concern—doctrine. The Jesuit censor has seven concerns, of which doctrine is one. But when the Jesuit comes to that one concern where his task coincides with the task of the diocesan censor, their points of view are the same: is the doctrine contained in this manuscript in harmony with the teaching of the Church?

The Jesuit censor must cling to a stricter general principle, yet this principle is not so strict that it brooks no modification. Just because an idea is new, that a particular theologian is singing extra chorum, does not mean that the censor should look on his work with suspicion. For Society legislation has frequently reminded us that we are not to fear new things simply because they are new. The Fifth General Congregation stated that Ours are not to think up new ideas unless they spring from "clear and solid principles." The Epitome also clarifies the attitude we should take toward new ideas by warning us against an intemperate zeal for novelty and by remind-

19 314, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> 314, 1.

<sup>20 319, 1.</sup> 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Institutum S.J., II, 273, V Gen. Cong., d. 41, no. 2.

ing us that in a serious matter nothing new is to be proposed unless it is proved.<sup>22</sup>

The 44th decree of the 30th General Congregation, with its advice to writers, censors, and all of Ours, illuminates in a remarkable way the requirement that Ours follow the more secure and more approved doctrine. It reminds our writers that while they are to be true sons of the Church they are not to fear in their scholarly investigations to approach the new and even difficult problems of our age; they are to use legitimate methods of investigation to increase the bounds of knowledge; and when their conclusions are not completely worked out they are to be proposed outside scholarly circles only with great prudence. The decree also reminds our censors not to be attached to their own personal opinions, nor are they unjustly to limit the liberty allowed in freely disputed theological questions. This 44th decree closes with an appeal to all Jesuits. "All of Ours are to take great care in preserving security of doctrine. Likewise, in passing judgment on the scientific labor of those who, as vigorous workers in the vineyard of the Lord, deal with difficult problems, Ours are to receive their efforts not only with a just and open mind but even with the greatest charity. Ours are to abhor that partisan spirit which thinks that anything new by that very fact must be blocked and suspected."23

The fourth question of the censor then, must be seen in the light of the *Epitome*, the General Congregations, and especially in the light of Society practice; for in the Society's scholarly journals, in the books published on controversial matters by her renowned professors, we see mirrored the Society's interpretation of her own law.

In so interpreting this law, however, the Society is following the advice of the Roman Pontiffs who continually remind us that the theologian enjoys *libertatem in dubiis*.<sup>24</sup> Pope Pius XI said, "Do not demand more than the Church, the mother and teacher of us all, demands of all; and in those matters which are disputed by the better known authors of the various

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> 319, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> AR, XIII (1956-1960), 335-337, XXX Gen. Cong., d. 44, nos. 4, 6, 8, Epit., 317, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> confer note 4; also Epit., 322.

schools, let no one be prohibited following what seems to him to be closer to the truth."<sup>25</sup>

What then, determines doctrina securior et magis approbata? In the light of the evidence presented it seems that scholarship, under the aegis of the Church, determines the interpretation of the censor's fourth question.

Perhaps it will be helpful to discuss a practical example. Suppose in 1948 a Jesuit professor had written an article approving of artificial insemination using the sperm of the husband obtained in a legitimate way. Several moral theologians maintained that this opinion was probable although it was not the more common opinion. Was the censor to veto the article merely because it was only probable and not the more approved opinion? No, at the time the matter was not settled; it could be discussed freely. Doctrinally the article was acceptable. Even so, the censor might well have rejected it for the method of its argumentation, for imprudent or inaccurate use of terminology or for poor style. As we know, the Holy Father ruled out this probable opinion on September 29, 1949.26 This action of the Pope by no means implied that the censor was negligent in the performance of his responsibility. At the time the censor judged the article, the mind of the Holy See was not clearly manifested; and until the Holy See spoke theologians were encouraged to investigate the moral implications of the problem.

Before we leave the censor's fourth question we must mention one other requirement: in free questions the doctrine of Ours is to be uniform as much as can be.<sup>27</sup> This prescription surprises the modern Jesuit; he is well aware that Jesuits disagree in print. Jesuits, even in direct controversy, have spiritedly supported opposing views on such questions as the liceity of removing a scarred uterus, papal doctrine on the Right-to-Work Laws, the relations of Church and State, and the nature of the Divine Missions. This prescription of uniformity must be seen in its context in the *Constitutions* from which it comes. St. Ignatius in treating of union and fraternal charity mentions uniformity in doctrine, as much as possible, as a means to this desirable end. In his day disagreement

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> P. Pius XI, Ency. "Studiorum Ducem," AAS, XV, 323.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> AAS, XLI, 557-561.

<sup>27</sup> Epit., 314, 2,

tended to be venomous; disputes even among Catholics were frequently bitter. The atmosphere has changed since the days of St. Ignatius. Doctrinal disagreements, even between Catholics and Protestants, are discussed in a calm and friendly manner. Today the theologian expects disagreement; he and the Church are well aware that theological development cannot exist without it.

Despite this change in atmosphere, however, the Fathers General and the General Congregations have continually stressed that, even in the midst of controversy, the Jesuit should never forget the need of charity. Even in answering calumny against the Society we must not be harsh or bitter or uncharitable in any way.<sup>28</sup> As Father General Ledochowski said "... pens dipped in vinegar and gall must be watched." He added, however, "We must be equally eager, though, to guard against undue mildness that may rob our style of sinewy strength and vigor."<sup>29</sup>

The fifth question which the censor must answer is, "Does the manuscript contain anything which might disedify?"<sup>30</sup> At this point the censor might have to consider the problems involved in the popularization of new trends, e.g., Scripture Studies. An article on the midrashic nature of Matthew 1 and 2 which appeared in a biblical journal cannot be substantially transplanted to the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*. Yet if these chapters are truly midrashic the faithful have the right to this truth. Its presentation to them, however, must be gradual and prudent. If the censor judges the presentation to be imprudent he must reject the article.

The sixth question is, "Does it contain anything which would lessen respect for the Society or which oversteps the bounds of reserve expected of Religious men?" This question plays upon the same theme as the preceding: the need for prudence. This virtue is especially needed, Father General Janssens says, when Ours write about marriage problems. "Not rarely has it happened," he complains, "that a priest has written what should be written by a doctor or by a man who has lived the conjugal life." <sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> AR, XII (1951-1955), 420.

<sup>30</sup> Epit., 319, 2; XXX Gen. Cong., d. 44, no. 6.

Finally, "Does it contain anything which would give anyone, especially a prelate or Religious, or any nationality a just reason for being offended?" Charity must be the continual concern of the Jesuit, whether writer or censor. Especially must he avoid, as the Fathers General have pointed out on more than one occasion, offending those of any particular national origin.<sup>32</sup>

Under this question the censor might also have to consider the Society's regulation about avoiding politics and disputes among Catholics unless the integrity of the faith and morals are somehow involved.<sup>33</sup>

These are the seven questions which the Society censor must consider, the answers to which demand prudent, practical judgment. There is frequently no cut-and-dry solution to these problems; circumstances of time, place, social and intellectual development must be carefully considered.

Having considered all these circumstances the censor then makes his judgment. As the *Epitome*<sup>34</sup> and the Rules of the Censors decree, "Censors are to pass judgment without consideration of personal favoritism or of private opinions. They are to judge the doctrine of the work according to the more common teaching of the best authors, and its value according to the probable judgment of scholars in the field. They are not to think that only that doctrine is secure-which pleases them; nor are they to approve only that style of composition which corresponds to their own literary bent. Nevertheless, in judging they are to be strict rather than easy; and they are not to let pass by unnoticed anything which involves even a doubtful danger to the good name of the Society."<sup>35</sup>

We have thus far discussed the process and the guiding principles of Society censorship. A few other aspects of this censorship, however, are worth mentioning.

Canon Law states that the identity of the censor must remain unknown to the author until a favorable judgment is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Epit., 684, 3; Reg. Cen., no. 4, par. 3; P. Ledochowski, op. cit., 818.
P. Janssens, AR, XII, 94-95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> P. Ledochowski, op. cit., 818, 821, 887. Epit., 682, 2. P. Wernz, op. cit., 166, no. 4.

<sup>34 885.</sup> 

<sup>35</sup> no. 5.

given.<sup>36</sup> Society law is much stricter; even when the work appears in print, the censor cannot say, "I do not mind if anyone knows that I censored that work." Secrecy is not optional. Censors are, as their rules state, to be *secreti maxime tenaces*. They are to show the work and their judgment upon it to no one without leave of the Provincial.<sup>37</sup> Naturally, if the work appears in print the censor will know the author but during the process of examination the censor should not know the author's identity so that he may judge the work objectively, freely, and sincerely.<sup>38</sup>

The *Epitome* and rules place further obligations upon the censor: he is not to delay in examining the work,<sup>39</sup> he should not make any marks on the manuscript,<sup>40</sup> and the style and tone of his written judgment must not be harsh or bitter.<sup>41</sup>

Finally, we will consider the possible judgments which an individual censor can make about any given manuscript. Remember that final permission to publish comes from the superior; consequently, before each of the following judgments we should prefix "as far as the individual censor is concerned. . . . " The censor may say that the work can be published as it is: or that it can be published only if certain corrections are made. In this latter case the censor's approval for publication is contingent upon the writer's making the corrections—and if the writer so complies, the work, according to the judgment of the censor, does not have to be re-examined by the censors although the superior may rule that it has to be re-examined. Or the censor may judge that the work can be published as it is but suggests certain improvements in the style of the work. In this case the individual censor's approval is not contingent upon the author's accepting the suggestions. but the superior may tell the author that he has to follow the suggestions before the article can be published. The censor may also judge that the work cannot be published as it is, but that if certain corrections are made the writer can resubmit it for another round of censorship. Finally, the censor may judge that the manuscript is simply unsuitable for publication. 42

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Institutum S.J., II, pp. 374, 428. X Gen. Cong., d. 11; XVI Gen. Cong., d. 15.

<sup>39</sup> Reg. Cen., no. 3.

<sup>40</sup> no. 7. 41 no. 7. 42 Epit., 886. Practica Quaedam, no. 104.

If the manuscript is rejected by the censors, is the writer entitled to know the reasons? Ordinarily, yes. Canon Law and the  $Epitome^{43}$  agree on this point. Unless a serious reason prevents it, the Provincial or the Ordinary should tell the author the reasons for the manuscript's rejection. The interpretation of a serious reason depends upon the prudent judgment of the superior. In his commentary on the Epitome Father Arregui mentions two possible reasons. Suppose the censor, neglecting to follow his own rule, was extremely harsh in his criticism of the article. This harsh criticism might discourage the author. In this case the superior judges a withholding of the reasons for rejection to be more prudent. Again, in certain circumstances, the revelation of the reasons might reveal the identity of the censor and the superior might think it better to avoid this possibility.<sup>44</sup>

One last point. If, after approval, the writer substantially changes his manuscript, he must submit it for re-censorship.<sup>45</sup> Insignificant changes in grammar and style are allowed.

In conclusion, then, we have examined the function of the censor in Church and Society law. In Canon Law only certain specified writings must be censored; one censor examines them for one purpose only—to judge whether the doctrine contained in the manuscript is in harmony with the teaching of the Church. The identity of this censor must remain unknown to the author until a favorable judgment is given. Society law, on the other hand, demands that all writings be censored by two or, in more important matters, by three men. These censors are to remain unknown to the author even after a favorable judgment has been given, and they are to judge not doctrine alone but also the utility, the quality, the style, the prudence, the charity, and the opportuneness of the manuscript under consideration.

The Society's rules for censors are many and detailed, but the prudent application of these rules has been responsible for the truly effective literary apostolate of the Society, an apostolate which has reached and influenced and won the admiration of so many.

<sup>43</sup> Canon 1394, 2. Epit., 888, 2.

<sup>44</sup> p. 805.

<sup>45</sup> Epit., 888, 3.

## Christ Forms the Martyr\*

A living example of the Church "witnessing" across the centuries

On May 30, 1940 in the church of St. Ignatius, Zikawei, Shanghai twelve young Jesuits were ordained to the priesthood. The next day they offered their first holy Mass. It was the feast of the Sacred Heart.

To commemorate the joyous occasion, the group prepared in Chinese a souvenir booklet, entitled "Friends of the Sacred Heart." They intended it to be a tribute of thanks to Our Lord's love for the series of graces which culminated at the altar on those two days. Each priest wrote a chapter about a saint dear to him and to the Heart of Jesus.

Seven of the group were Chinese, three French, and two American. Of the Chinese one died of illness in 1943; another is now the Jesuit Master of Novices in Formosa. Since 1955, three have been in prison: Francis Ts'a sentenced to a 15 year term; Joseph Zen, with 12 years to serve; and Thomas Mei, held indefinitely in a labor camp.

The other two died in prison,—Father Beda Chang on November 11, 1951, four months after his arrest; and Father Louis Wang, January 20, 1961, after seven and a half years behind bars.

A good biography of these brave priests is desirable, and would be inspiring. But a man's serious writing is also self-revealing. The following pages present in English translation of the ordination tribute which Father Chang offered to the Lord he loved. The character, aspirations, and deep spiritual insights of this priest shine through the lines he wrote.

The kind hand of divine Providence will also be discovered in the document. It is plain that ten and twenty years before his final sacrifice God was preparing this priest, in heart and mind, for the particular challenge he would meet. In what he wrote, we can trace the transmission of God's grace, through His saints, to the shores of China today.

We read enough about the making of martyrs from the human side, and the story is dark. It should help us to think of the making of martyrs from God's side, a story luminous with love. This article shows that, by 1940, God's seed had fallen in good soil and not long afterwards bore rich fruit.

The article is now published in English partly for its own merits, in praise of Ignatius the martyr; and as documentation, (perhaps we dare to say as a piece of compound hagiography), too good to be lost, or to remain unknown in our language.

CHARLES J. McCARTHY, S.J.

<sup>\*</sup> Note: The following preface, translation, and annotations (incorporated by the editors into the text in italics) are the work of Fr. Charles J. McCarthy, S.J., close friend and fellow-prisoner of Fr. Chang.

# Saint Ignatius, The Martyr

BEDA CHANG, S.J.

ST. IGNATIUS, whose martyrdom took place about 108 A.D. was the third bishop of Antioch. His noble and virtuous career fills a glorious page in Church history.

Regarding his childhood there is an ancient tradition which still stirs us to an admiring, holy envy. One day, probably in the early autumn of Our Lord's third year of preaching, Jesus put His arm about a small boy, held him for a moment near His heart, and set him among the Apostles to teach them a lesson. "Unless you be converted and become a child," He said, "you cannot enter the kingdom of heaven.... If any man humble himself like this child, he will be great indeed in heaven" (Matt: 18: 3, 4).

Such is the reading of the Gospel text. In its extreme simplicity the Gospel does not tell us how lovingly Our Lord's hand rested on the little boy that day, how affectionately His eyes turned to this young friend of His. But if we taste and penetrate the Gospel's words, the scene is not hard to imagine. The sacred writers do not say what the first and last names of the fortunate youngster were, nor from what family he came. But according to an ancient tradition it was Ignatius, the holy bishop of Antioch, who bravely endured martyrdom for Our Lord about 70 years later.

Our Lord's picking out this child and holding him up as a living exemplar was tantamount to the grace of canonization. The embrace of Our Lord, pressing the boy to His heart, can be compared to the privilege given to the beloved apostle of the Sacred Heart, St. John, when he rested his head on the breast of Jesus. Two beautiful favors from Jesus. How bountiful Our Lord appears in His love, and how warm-hearted in His gifts! From the time he was lifted up as a child, Ignatius, it seems, was a favorite friend of the Sacred Heart of Jesus!

Seventy years later, Ignatius gave his life for Our Lord in the Roman colosseum. By then, the one-time babbling child had become a white-haired old bishop. The saint died in order to be closely united with Jesus; and really, that had been the one lifelong hope of the holy man.

All through his life Ignatius had a single ambition, to be in union with Jesus. His surviving writings are seven letters which he wrote while he was in chains on the way from Antioch to Rome, instructions to the churches of Asia Minor and one to the church of Rome. They also constitute a profession of his loving faith. And, of course, since his heart held just one desire, to be united closely with Jesus, whatever he wrote centered around this one theme.

Time and again Ignatius exhorted each Christian of these communities in this manner: "You must not simply bear the name of Christ's believers; you must really conduct yourselves in a way that befits the name. You must have Christ's heart as the guide of your heart, revere Christ as the exemplar of virtue, and put into practise Christ's holy truth. Imitate Jesus, abide in Jesus; live Jesus' life" (cf. Magnes. 4; Rom. 3). There is not a page in the letters of St. Ignatius which does not contain such phrases. The most urgent duty of him who would be a Christian (in the view of Ignatius) is to be closely united in thought and feeling with the Sacred Heart of Our Lord.

St. Ignatius developed this idea along two lines of reasoning. First, he argued from the relationship of Christ to His heavenly Father, saying: "Our Lord and His holy Father are one; so, if we wish to be one with the Father, it is indispensable that first we be united with Christ." For instance, he wrote to the Magnesians: "The Lord being one with the Father did nothing, either in His own Person or through His apostles, without the Father.... Hasten all of you together as to one temple of God, to one altar, to Jesus Christ alone, who came forth from the Father in whom He is, and to whom He has returned" (Magnes. 7).

Secondly, Ignatius argues from the relationship of our human race to Christ. "Christ is our life!" (Smyrn. 4), and so, "It is of utmost importance to us that we attain to life in Jesus Christ," for, "if we are separated from Christ we can live no longer" (Trall. 9).

This doctrine of being joined with Christ unto unity is the central controlling principle of Ignatius' life. Why and how should we love our fellow men? How can we please the Lord?

How can we attain interior peace and joy of heart? All kinds of ascetical principles are derived, repeatedly and without exception, from this basic teaching.

In theories of ascetical theology, some for the sake of convenience distinguish mystical union and practical asceticism as though they were two separate schools. Actually, in a genuine spiritual life, mystical union and practical discipline are no more than two tendencies, as it were. Surely they do not split the spiritual life into two distinct streams, two realities that cannot be mixed. The special point of St. Ignatius' asceticism is to take these dissimilar currents and blend them together in the sacred charity of Christ.

Why must one follow the bishop? Because to follow the bishop is to follow Our Lord. How must one follow the bishop? We should obey him as Our Lord obeys the Father, after His example. Christians must be mutually united in heart, because only when they are of one mind and heart do Christians reach accord with Christ Our Lord, and so become able to enjoy a harmonious, united charity unto the praise of Christ. "Relying on the Passion of Christ, both Jews and Gentiles in the Church are all joined, and made one Body" (Smyrn. 1).

It was by a defense of Church unity that Father Chang made his eventual arrest a certainty. In the spring of 1951 he rose with courage to speak at a Communist-called meeting of Chinese educators from Shanghai's private schools. Those present were asked, under strong pressure, to pledge that they would promote among their Christian students the movement for a separatist, national Church. Father Chang refused; in his speech he explained the Catholic Church's desire to be integrated in the national life and cultural life of every country. He argued that an incorrupt Catholic faith is excellent soil for patriotism of the truest kind. He made it clear that he would be loyal to the dictates of faith and conscience, to keep the Body of Christ undivided. At the end of his speech, before his hearers realized it, his conviction, eloquence and courage evoked from them a short burst of warm, honest applause, upsetting the careful strategy of those in power. Shortly afterward Father Chang and his community were expelled from the Jesuit college of which he was rector; within five months he was jailed.

Speaking of mercy, Ignatius wrote these words to St. Polycarp: "Copy the ways of God. Do not let widows be neglected. After God, you should be their guardian.... Help others along

as the Lord helps you" (Polyc. 4, 6). He also wrote to the Smyrnaeans in these terms: "The heterodox, because they have no regard in charity for the widow, the orphan, the oppressed..., denying the gift of God, perish in their own disputatiousness.... From their conduct you can discover that they are not of the truth of God, but are at variance with it in many points..." Briefly, Ignatius is saying that if we can abide in Christ when we are doing something, then, even if we perform a natural or material action, it also has supernatural and spiritual value.

This is the way that true peace and joy are attained. Just as, in any spirituality, faith and charity are inseparable, so in the whole Ignatian spirituality being united with Christ and imitating Christ are fused into one.

All who have read the epistles of St. Paul must feel a fervent love for Jesus pulsing between the words and lines. Jesus alone is on the tip of Paul's pen, because in the heart of Paul only Jesus held sway. And whoever reads St. Ignatius' last letters will gather the same impression. The saint's spirituality has but one objective: that he may be united with Jesus! Because Jesus is St. Ignatius' all, the saint's life had one single hope, union with Jesus!

Bravely and Gladly To Suffer with Jesus As His Close Friend

Being united with Jesus and following Jesus—in other words, mystical union and practical asceticism—are inseparable in St. Ignatius' whole life. Now, the cross and mystical union are also inseparable; because the cross is an ironclad proof of Christ's love for us! It is likewise the real testimony of our love for Jesus! So, before Our Lord suffered His Passion, in order to teach future generations He spoke in this way: "Whoever wishes to follow Me must take up His cross!" (Matt. 16: 24). Ignatius paid close attention and gave full practical assent to this teaching. He wrote to the Christians of Magnesium as follows: "If we would rely upon Christ, and yet were unwilling to suffer the Passion with Him, His life would not be in us" (Magnes. 5).

To preach abroad the holy name of Jesus, Ignatius himself suffered both insults and chains, and this not unwillingly, but with gladness and courage. He wrote to the Christians of Rome: "Fire and cross, and the clawing of wild beasts, the breaking of bones and the mangling of members, the grinding of my whole body,—I shall endure them all, contented. I have only one wish, personally to draw nearer to Jesus Christ!..." (Rom. 5)

This way of enduring pain is so ardent and valiant. How can he have such enthusiasm and courage? He himself tells us: "I rely on the holy name of Jesus to support me. Why did I give myself up to death, to fire, to the sword, to wild beasts? The fact is: to be near the sword is to be near God; to be among the beasts is to have God by my side—provided only that, in the name of Jesus Christ, I suffer along with Him. I shall endure all, for He who is perfect man is my strength" (Smyrn. 4). Being one with Jesus Christ, you cannot fail to suffer; but, being with Him, there are no sufferings impossible to endure.

All the weight of the brainwashing process, totally and brutally mobilizing environment to break the prisoner's self-respect, his spirit and loyalties, was used against Father Chang during his months in prison. In interrogations, threats of death and worse were hurled at him; in sessions of indoctrination, through the days and sometimes at night, his captors coaxed and promised this esteemed and able priest a high post of leadership in the schismatic church subservient to Communist policies. Soon the tension, malnutrition and insomnia consumed his forces. Fellow prisoners heard him, stretched out on the cell floor, praying simply: "Jesus, Mary, Joseph, save me."

"Greater love no man hath than to lay down his life for his friends" (John 15: 13). In order to be united with Christ, and to return the charity of Jesus, Ignatius gladly and bravely welcomed the cross of Our Lord. Nor was it enough for him just to carry the cross. Only when on that cross he was crucified with Christ, and laid down his life for Christ, did he fulfill his heart's desire to be united with Him.

While being brought from Antioch to Rome for his martyrdom, Ignatius not only did not shrink from hardships, but went forward joyfully as to a banquet. But, because his hope and desire were so irrepressible and intense, he found it difficult to wait without being restless. He feared that the Christians of Rome would devise means to rescue him, and prevent his witnessing unto Our Lord by death. So he wrote a letter to them

in which he begged them not to hinder him from reaching the final goal. He implored them to let him be eaten by the wild animals so that at last he might arrive unto God.

When the police came to arrest him, August 9, 1951, Father Chang was in the common room at the Jesuit theologate in Zikawei, conversing after lunch with conferers. The police ordered him to follow them. Calmly he went with them to his room, gathered a few articles of clothing, and passed through the doors with a quiet smile and a farewell lift of his hand to the anxious Jesuit friends who with heavy hearts watched him go. "On his face was the serene expression of those who already belong to a world other than this one," remarked a friend who saw him. To avoid popular demonstrations, the arrest was quietly made. Unlike Ignatius' journey to the arena of his death, Father Chang's was short, and made in the comfort of a large modern auto which the police were using.

"I am God's wheat," Ignatius wrote. "I hope to be ground by the teeth of the wild beasts that I may end as the pure bread of Christ." That was the reason he gave: "so that by these means I may be made a sacrifice to God." Earnestly, he also bade them: "If anything, coax the beasts on to become my sepulcher, and to leave nothing of my body undevoured, so that, when I am dead, I may not bother anyone to bury me. I shall really be a disciple of Jesus Christ if, and when, the world can no longer see so much as my body" (Rom. 4).

Ten hours after Father Chang's lonely death, police summoned a priest classmate of his to identify the wasted corpse that lay on the cement floor of a Ward Road prison room. At first the authorities agreed to release the body to his confreres for reverent burial. But the news of his sacrifice sped through the city. Next morning early Masses were thronged by people of every age and class, joined as one family in homage for the father and brother they loved. At Zikawei. where the remains were awaited, a praying crowd grew in size from hour to hour. For fear of a disturbance, the police retained the body. Finally they permitted a secret burial by the family, under police watch. They forbade that Fr. Chang's name be inscribed above his grave, unless the term of opprobrium "criminal" was added. So his name is not to be read there. Before this final self-effacement, how rich in meaning are the words of Ignatius of Antioch: "I shall really be a disciple of Jesus Christ if, and when, the world can no longer see so much as my body!"

"Neither the kingdom of this world, nor the bounds of the universe can have any appeal to me. I would rather die for Jesus Christ than rule the last reaches of the earth. My search is for Him who died for us! My love is for Him who rose from death for our salvation!" (Rom. 5). How noble is a voice so full of thanksgiving and love; and at the same time how warmly affectionate!

During Ignatius' martyrdom, an ancient tradition tells us, after the wild beasts had eaten his limbs, his heart and inner organs were laid bare. At this moment the spectators lining the sides of the arena saw on his heart, dripping with fresh blood, the name of Jesus inscribed.

The tradition's symbolic meaning is profound and far-reaching. The Holy Name is the symbol of the love in Christ's Sacred Heart. Upon St. Ignatius' heart this holy Name was written clear and deep, truly proclaiming the love for Christ's Sacred Heart which filled the center of Ignatius' heart.

A simple rectangle of cement was poured above the grave where Father Beda Chang's body rests. Before the slab had hardened, university students visited the cemetery and with firm fingers traced lasting letters which, with a slight change of emphasis, symbolize the same spirit as tradition found in the early martyr's heart: LIVE CHRIST THE KING! Above the priest's heart, resting at last, one name only is to be read, the name of Christ. Et dives sum satis!

The whole heart of Ignatius was full of love of the Sacred Heart. In his entire life and death, he wanted one thing only: union with Jesus, to be the close friend of Jesus' Sacred Heart. Who among us has not the same kind of hope? But do we bear in the depths of our hearts the same impression, the burning desire to be at every moment, in all things, united with the Sacred Heart?

In our spiritual life, perhaps Jesus has become too abstract. Of course, for the great gift of martyrdom we dare not dream or hope. But is our small daily cross ever lacking to us? Do we think of bearing it quietly with Jesus, for Jesus, imitating Jesus? For the friend of the Sacred Heart, St. Ignatius the martyr is not only a patron in heaven. He is more, a sure guide and truthful teacher leading us to genuine love of our Savior's Heart!

## Father James P. Sweeney

First Provincial of the New York Province

## J. CLAYTON MURRAY, S.J.

LATE IN THE AFTERNOON of February 10, 1963, death closed the outstanding career of Father James P. Sweeney, at first Minister, then Vice-Rector of Canisius College (1930-1934); Rector (1934-37); Vice-Provincial of the Maryland Regio (1937-39); Provincial of the newly founded New York Province during the first six years of its existence (1939-45).

"He was a brave man." These words, addressed to the author, a few minutes after Father's death, by one of the physicians who had attended him during his last illness, serve as the most succinct and summary judgment which might be made upon Father Sweeney. The doctor, who had known him for less than three weeks, was basing his judgment on the way in which his patient had accepted the various treatments following radical surgery. It has been said, although due allowance must be made for exceptions, that as a man lives so shall he die. Father Sweeney was not an exception. His conduct during his last illness was only another example of the "fortitudo in rebus arduis" which he had manifested again and again during his lifetime.

In stressing this characteristic fortitude of Father Sweeney, one takes it to imply, primarily, a willingness to face a problem rather than escape from it, and a realistic approach to things as they are and not as he might like them to have been. The fortitude of which we speak involved in Father Sweeney a readiness to make practical judgments in living situations and take the means required to implement them, as well as a will-

ingness to accept their consequences. Obviously, such fortitude could not be exercised by any superior in the Society without great hope and confidence in Divine Providence.

There was a definite event in Father Sweeney's Jesuit life which markedly seems to have determined the course of his subsequent career. After quite effective periods of teaching, as a regent in Boston and, following ordination, as professor of philosophy and sociology at Canisius College, Father Sweeney was holding the position of Minister in the Canisius community. While in this post in 1934 he was suddenly thrust into the role of Vice-Rector of Canisius, under the most unusual circumstances and at a most critical time in the history of the College.

The economic depression which had begun in 1929 was still being felt throughout the land. The College struggled under a debt of \$450,000. Interest payments, considering especially the number of students in the College, were staggering. It was, perhaps, discouragement over the financial outlook that worked as a key factor in the abrupt 'resignation' and departure from the Society of Father Sweeney's predecessor in the office of President and Rector.

Bleak indeed then was the outlook for the Vice-Rector when he received his appointment on April 10th. From the time that their newspapers had received word from the office of Senator Robert F. Wagner of the resignation of Father Sweeney's predecessor from the New York State Labor Board, inquiring and persistent reporters had been clamoring for information about him. A prominent Buffalo banker, fearing something amiss, called for an immediate payment on a note of the College. Experienced Jesuit administrators who were cognizant of the situation certainly seemed justified in estimating it as a moment in which the good name of the Society in Buffalo, the fate of hundreds of students, and the future of the lay faculty hung in the balance. Nevertheless, as subsequent events suggest, Divine Providence had provided that there would be at hand a fearless and efficient master of the crisis.

First of all, with the helpful counsel and remarkably loyal assistance from his community, the Vice-Rector was able to prevent public circulation of the circumstances of his prede-

cessor's so-called 'resignation.' It was not until years later that the facts became known to any extent.

Secondly, with characteristic courage, Father Sweeney set to work to rehabilitate the college financially. Bishop William Turner, Bishop of Buffalo, came to his aid with a substantial loan, as did the Good Shepherd nuns and other friends of the college. The note called by the bank was promptly paid off and all further connections with that institution summarily severed. Father Edward Phillips, Provincial of the Maryland-New York Province, offered to set aside half a million dollars of Province assets, if needed, as collateral.

Lay members of the faculty were informed that if the college were to continue to exist and attain financial stability, either their number would have to be reduced or a 10% cut in salaries would have to be imposed. Loyal both to their fellow faculty members and to the college, they agreed to the reduction in remuneration.

As a result of these steps and by forceful, candid talks with bankers, in dealing with whom, incidentally, he seemed to have a special talent throughout his whole career, Father Sweeney was able to secure not only lower rates of interest, but actually to amortize part of the principal of the college debt. Outstanding public accountants were called in to make sure of the liabilities and assets of the college. Harassed higher superiors were undoubtedly pleased that, although going through this trying period, Canisius College was among the first to pay its annual Province tax. This broadness of view which enabled him to appreciate needs other than those of his immediate surroundings was typical of Father Sweeney and would manifest itself on many subsequent occasions.

Within his own context too, Father Sweeney showed himself not only highly appreciative of the financial needs of the college, but also deeply concerned over its academic standing. While putting the college on a sound economic basis, he also provided subsidies for certain lay members of the faculty to complete studies for doctorate degrees. In choosing these members and encouraging them to undertake further study he gave further evidence of his discernment. All those whom he subsidized attained to positions of respect and authority in their fields. He recognized, moreover, the critical academic

need the college had of physical expansion and better administration of the college library. To take care of the former, about one-third of the first floor of what is now called "Old Main" building was assigned as library space. Certain rooms, both private and common, formerly used by the Jesuit faculty were taken over and the Jesuit accommodations were moved to upper floors. For the administration of the library, Father Sweeney, again evidencing his power of estimating the talents of others, was fortunate in having Father Provincial grant his request for the services of Father Andrew L. Bouwhuis as librarian. In a short time, despite still cramped physical surroundings, the services of the library were raised to an admirable degree of efficiency.

Father Sweeney also found time in the midst of stabilizing Canisius to extend his efforts outside the college. For five years he served as a member of the executive committee of the National Catholic Educational Association, and for two of these years, 1936-38, he was vice-president of the Eastern section of the Association. From 1934-37, the College and University Council of the University of the State of New York counted him among its members. In 1941, St. Bonaventure University deemed his accomplishments worthy of an honorary degree.

In the light of his record as Rector at Canisius, it is not surprising that higher superiors should have thought of Father Sweeney when considering a candidate for the office of Vice-Provincial of the Maryland Regio. In the Fall of 1937 he was appointed by Father General to that office and two years later was installed as first Provincial of the newly-formed New York Province.

Among the first problems confronting the new Provincial was the need of diversification of labors in New York, lest the history of the newly-formed province become the "Tale of Two Cities," New York and Buffalo. As early as 1940, less than a year after he had been appointed as Provincial of Maryland-New York, the possibility of a college at Syracuse was considered by Father Sweeney and his consultors. In fact in March, 1940, permission to borrow money for opening a retreat house in that city had already been obtained. In July, 1943, Bishop Walter J. Foery of Syracuse, formally approved

the opening of such a house and, in the fall of 1944, it was opened under the capable direction of Father Robert F. Grewen.

Although the outbreak of World War II naturally upset plans for the college, this did not deter Father Sweeney in 1942 from acquiring, with money borrowed from Canisius College, what was known as the Arsenal Hill property, an act which, in the words of Father Sweeney, served as "our ticket of admission to the Syracuse Diocese." This property was not destined to be the site of the proposed college, for later, a much larger and more desirable location, on the outskirts of the city, was purchased. Obviously to attempt the opening of a college at a time when colleges were being depleted by demands of the armed services was out of the question until the end of the war, but Father Sweeney continued to make provision, both financial and academic, against the day when a Jesuit college in Syracuse would be a reality.

Father Bouwhuis, librarian at Canisius College, was given \$10,000.00 to acquire books for the proposed college, and provision was made for the books to be stored at Canisius until a place would be available for them in Syracuse.

In April, 1945, even before the end of the war in Europe, Father Sweeney had gone to see Bishop Foery concerning the possibility of a diocesan drive to support the building of the proposed college. In February, 1946, the Bishop formally promised support of such a drive, having in the previous August given informal approval and requested the opening of a Labor School in the diocese. At the same time, August, 1945, he offered, rent free for a period of three years, a downtown building to house such a school and the Jesuits conducting it. The school was started in the fall of 1945. It is likely that this Labor School contained the seed or germ of the Institute of Labor Relations later established at LeMoyne College.

The lasting gratitude of the Society will ever be due to Bishop Foery for the manner in which he threw the full support and cooperation of the pastors of his diocese into the drive for the new college. The Bishop saw to it that the drive was conducted from the Chancery in the way in which such diocesan drives are usually run. Integrated with these efforts were the gigantic labors of Father Bouwhuis, who acted as the Execu-

tive Director of the drive, representing the Society. It is hardly surprising that with such dynamic two-pronged promotion on the part of both diocese and Society the drive netted approximately 1.5 million. To supplement this amount, Very Reverend Father General, in the fall of 1946, granted permission to Father Francis A. McQuade, Father Sweeney's successor as Provincial, to borrow \$700,000. What up till this time St. Peter Canisius would have called a "paper college"—one proposed but for which no funds were available—was about to become a college of bricks, mortar, faculty and students.

In accordance with that desire, previously mentioned, of seeing further diversification of labor in the New York Province, Father Sweeney, during his first year as Provincial, approached his life-long friend Bishop Edmund F. Gibbons of Albany, about the possibility of starting laymen's retreats at the Tertianship at Auriesville during the summer months. The Bishop, whose altar boy Father Sweeney had been when the then Father Gibbons was pastor of St. Vincent's Church in Attica, and who, as Bishop, had ordained him in Albany in 1926, surely would have welcomed further assistance of Jesuits in his diocese, had it not been that he did not wish to hinder the work already being done by the Redemptorist Fathers in the field of retreats for laymen in his diocese. He advised Father Sweeney to wait. Five years later, in 1945, however, he approved the opening of the retreat house in Glenmont, and gave both property and house thereon as a personal gift to Father Sweeney. Father C. Justin Hanley was appointed as the first superior.

But it was not to the area of the New York Province alone that Father Sweeney's interest extended. Shortly after assuming the office of Provincial of the Maryland-New York Province, in late 1939, the mission of Durham, North Carolina, was established and Father John Risacher from Loyola College, Baltimore, began his long and zealous labors, continued to the present day, in that rugged mission field.

Realizing the great need of fostering vocations to the Society in the area of the newly formed Maryland Regio, Father Sweeney, despite the war conditions involving repeated calls for chaplains, acceded in 1942 to the request of Bishop William

J. Hafey of Scranton, Pennsylvania, to take over St. Thomas University, now known as Scranton University. The Maryland Regio, hesitant because of still unsettled division of manpower. had previously felt that it was impossible to accept the Bishop's invitation. Father Sweeney, as Provincial, agreed to accept the offer and generously signed an agreement to allocate a substantial number of teachers for a period of ten years to enable Maryland to staff the newly acquired college. It should be noted here that this and other acts of jurisdiction involving the Regio were within the competency of Father Sweeney in as much as he was still Provincial over the entire Maryland-New York area, and the formal decree of separation had not yet been promulgated. On August 19, 1942, word was received from the American Father Assistant of Rome's approval of the canonical erection of Scranton University and also of incurring the obligation of a loan of \$200,000 to meet various costs involved in undertaking this new work.

One of the principal burdens of a Provincial is the care of the missions entrusted to the Province. Father Sweeney was unable to exercise the customary function of the Provincial in this respect but he showed his usual willingness to trust those appointed to positions of responsibility by allowing the Missionary Superior in the Philippines, Father John Hurley, to exercise wide discretionary powers and by seconding important decisions made by him. What good judgment was shown by the Provincial in this respect is evident from the way in which the Missionary Superior conducted the affairs of the Philippine Mission during the trying years of the Japanese occupation and from the fact that so few of Ours lost their lives during that time. Who can estimate the worries which must have beset the Provincial concerning the safety of so many of his subjects and the future of the mission upon which so much in men and money had been expended?

Not the least revelation of the man's fortitude was his reaction when, relieved from a post of authority, he once more assumed the role of subject. After 15 years in administrative work, he cheerfully returned to the classroom to teach philosophy to Juniors at St. Peter's College, Jersey City, from 1946-51. In that year, 1951, however, glaucoma made it impossible to carry on any longer the work of study and correction of

papers involved in regular class teaching. Yet, for a few years thereafter he did continue his practice of teaching a summer school class in philosophy at Canisius College. For nine ensuing years, until 1960, he continued to serve at St. Peter's as Procurator, an office in which his provident and efficient handling of investments was a decisive factor in enabling the college to considerably expand its physical plant.

Even if the separation of the New York and Buffalo Provinces in 1960 had not led to the return of most men of those provinces to their native areas, deteriorating health would probably have forced the retirement of Father Sweeney from his post at St. Peter's to a less exacting assignment. He was appointed Procurator at McQuaid High School, Rochester, with the understanding that, should he find the work beyond his strength, he should so inform the Provincial. Within a few months he was forced to write to Father Shanahan, Provincial, that failing health and impaired vision rendered it impossible to carry on in his office. Thereupon he was assigned as House Confessor at Canisius College, an assignment which he found most congenial, a sort of homecoming to his Alma Mater from which he had received his Bachelor of Arts degree 46 years before, an honorary degree of Doctor of Letters in 1938, in which he had served as teacher and Father Minister and later, in what was the most critical time in the history of the college. as President.

In accepting his ocular malady, abnormal blood pressure, and, finally, in his latter years, the sometimes humiliating limitations imposed on his activity by the incipient ravages of Parkinson's disease, Father Sweeney continued to exemplify an uncomplaining obedience to God and to his doctors' orders. In more than one instance this involved notable inconvenience and a dependence on the assistance of others, not always easily endured by those of strong will who are accustomed to command others.

It was not difficult for those who did *not* know him well to form an erroneous, and, in some cases, disparaging opinion of Father Sweeney. The writer himself, who lived under him both as Rector and Provincial, was sorely tempted on more than one occasion to do just that. Blessed with a keen, quick mind, along with an acute sense of humor, it is not surprising—

words being the expression of thoughts—that we should find, on occasion, in the words of Father Sweeney, sharp and cutting remarks, whose effect the speaker did not realize or foresee. When such words are spoken to an inferior, their effect can be more piercing, in so far as he feels that in his position he can make no comparable response.

But it could be seen that Father Sweeney did come to recognize the effect of such remarks and that he regretted it; but the spoken word of apology seemed either not thought of or impossible for him to express. This failure may possibly be considered part of an overall makeup of a character not given to outward expression of feelings which internally were very real. To the writer, it has seemed, rightly or wrongly, that the externally off-handed or casual treatment of persons or things sometimes manifested by Father Sweeney, his outward jollity and carefreeness on many occasions, were merely a cloak of an interior concern and perhaps an attempt to seek relief from it. In fact, perhaps this was a major cause of what was not the least of Father Sweeney's afflictions when Rector and Provincial, an abiding insomnia which could only have been aggravated by the serious problems he was called upon to face.

That underneath the surface beat a warm and very human heart is evidenced by his ability to make life-long friends both in and out of the Society. To one who once asked him how he managed to carry on through the various crises of his career and to accomplish what he did, he magnanimously replied: "I have had many good friends." There was a certain frankness and directness about him, which abhorring trivia and unessentials and mere formalities, got to the heart of things and which so impressed others that he got to the hearts of men—at least of those who came to know him more than superficially.

It is unfortunate that, as Provincial, many of his subjects never came to know him other than in this fashion. Those who worked intimately with him have told of the almost unspeakable agonies he endured as Provincial when there was question of disciplining a subject for some serious defect. Nevertheless, when occasion demanded, he was not one to run away from making a decision pro or concorning the conduct of a subordinate, or to change his mind, having once made the decision.

Early in January, 1962, on the advice of his physician, who was concerned about certain symptoms manifested by his patient, Father Sweeney entered Buffalo General Hospital to undergo a complete checkup. After a week of exhaustive tests, he was told that he could expect to go home the next day, as nothing demanding hospitalization had been found. However the next day brought a revised judgment. Further analysis of one of the tests had indicated the all too likely presence of intestinal malignancy. An operation was deemed imperative, to which, Father, with characteristic fortitude, agreed, although he appeared to be dubious of the outcome. Despite the fact that the surgeons, as far as could be ascertained, removed all the cancer, and to that extent the operation was successful, proper functioning of various organs failed to resume. Although at times the patient appeared to rally and was mentally clear, at other times his speech was incoherent. Finally, early in the morning of February 10th, internal bleeding so weakened his condition that he suffered a complete collapse. Informed by Father Paul J. Gampp, Minister of the college, of his serious condition, he showed himself resigned and signed himself many times with the sign of the cross. At about two o'clock in the afternoon he lapsed into a coma, and despite frantic efforts on the part of doctors and nurses to build up his blood pressure, he succumbed shortly before five o'clock.

At the funeral, held in Christ the King Chapel at Canisius, both Bishop Joseph A. Burke, Bishop of Buffalo, and his auxiliary, Bishop Leo R. Smith, were present. Due to the illness of the Buffalo Provincial, Father James J. Shanahan, the solemn high Requiem Mass was celebrated by Father Anthony J. Bleicher who had been the tireless and able Socius to Father Sweeney and two preceding provincials. Both the Maryland and New York Provincials sent representatives and an imposing number of Ours from throughout New York State, braving stormy, snowy weather, gave striking evidence of the esteem in which Father was held.

Due to the inclement weather of the winter months, it was decided that the body of Father Sweeney should rest in a vault in the local German and French Roman Catholic Cemetery until such time as weather would permit his burial at Auriesville. There, early in May, with the customary prayers and proces-

sion, the community of the Tertianship and the Shrine paid him a final tribute, as the body of Father Sweeney became the second to be interred in the new cemetery.

R.I.P.

JAMES PATRICK SWEENEY, S.J.

Born, of Irish parentage—March 16, 1894, at Attica, New York

Education—Canisius High School and College, Buffalo

Entered Society—Poughkeepsie, New York, August 14, 1914

Studies—Woodstock College, (Philosophy and Theology)

Regency-Boston College High School, Boston College

Ordination—Albany, New York, 1926

Tertianship—Saint Andrew-on-Hudson, Poughkeepsie

Canisius College, professor of philosophy 1927-1929, minister 1929-1934, vice-rector, rector 1934

Georgetown, vice-provincial of the Maryland Regio 1937-1939

Kohlman Hall, provincial of New York Province 1939-1945

Albany, mission band 1945-1946

St. Peter's College, professor of philosophy 1946-1951, procurator, spiritual father 1951-1953, procurator, house confessor 1953-1960

Canisius College, 1960-1963

Death—February 10, 1963

Funeral—Auriesville

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## Books of Interest to Ours

Illusion and Anxiety. By Marc Oraison. Translated by Bernard Murchland, C.S.C. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1963. Pp. xxix-153. \$3.95.

Rationalism built a world based on the illusion that everything could be organized by the power of reason. That world is now crumbling around us, but the fundamental illusion of rationalism still weighs heavily on the modern mind. We are still largely a people who consider whatever we do not understand a personal insult. We irreverently tend to reduce the mystery of "the other" to the sterile terms of our own intellects because we have fallen in love with our concepts. In our own minds we destroy the mysteries of reality because we are fascinated by the proposition that reason is absolute and can offer a solution to any human mystery. The result is that we drive ourselves into deeper anxieties because the mysteries are greater than the exalted image we have of ourselves and the power of our reason. We betray reality and cannot enter into proper relation with it, because we love only what we can understand in the prison-categories of our minds and thereby corrupt within ourselves the capacity for love. We are bound by narcissism and infantilism, and we fail because we have forgotten what it means to grow. Such is the sickness of soul that Abbé Oraison considers in this fine series of essays devoted to Love, Anxiety, Failure, Sex, Infantilism and Religion.

The author is a psychiatrist and is keenly aware of the major contribution that modern clinical psychology has made towards restoring balance to our divided souls. Modern psychology, emphasizing existential man and not unchanging essences, sees man as he is. It has shown, for example, that man's condition is a drama of love that is never fulfilled, and that there is no perfect adaptation to life. In a word, the mysteries of our condition are beyond the solutions offered by reason and reason must recognize that it is out of its depth. Cannot this awareness of reason's limitations rekindle in us an attitude of reverence for mystery? And cannot this reawakened attitude have an enormous influence on the appreciation, understanding and communication of Revelation—that other view of life which seeks to teach men what they are, and which much of modern Christian education, through an infantile, rationalistic approach that stresses the letter over the spirit, has effectively veiled from anxiety-ridden creatures?

One of the author's major concerns is to try to indicate a way of bringing the radically different perspectives of modern psychology and Christian Revelation into closer relationship. His contribution in this regard consists in showing some of the startling points of agreement between the postulates of Christian Revelation and some basic aspects of human psychology that Freudianism has brought into strong relief. The focusing elements in this approach are first, the comparison of the meaning of love as it is developed in Scripture and as indicated in the findings of clinical psychology, and second, an appreciation of the importance of history and the remarkable convergences seen when comparing the historico-psychological development of the human being with the development of the saving history of the Living Word. These comparisons of the ideas of love and history are dominant in each chapter of the book.

Perhaps the best treatment in the book is the comparison between the growth of Israel in the love of Yahweh with the growth of the child in his progress from a child's narcissism to an adult's mature love. In this connection, the author's words on the Canticle of Canticles are especially illuminating. In the chapter on failure, he forcefully scores the fundamental principle involved in psychological growth: one must constantly die in order to be continually born again, and the highlighting of this psychological truth with the appeal to the episode of Christ with Nicodemus is effective. His exposition of narcissism is fine throughout, and in the chapter on sex, his observations on emotional and sexual maturity, positive chastity, and the problems of the homosexual—his inability to realize genuine human love, his despairs and hopes—are excellent.

The style is not technical and the book should enjoy a wide public. The author does not pretend that the book is exhaustive. He is simply presenting some themes for reflection. At times he has a tendency to scatter his thought out from its basic direction: the reader gets the impression that he is reading jottings in a loosely constructed notebook. There are also times when the reader knows that a chord has been struck. Through the author's magic of linking the words of Scripture to the forcefully real findings of modern psychology in an ever heightening concentration of meaning, what was formally known only as an idea becomes a truth.

GENE M. BUCKINGHAM, S.J.

In Memory of Me. By Edmund Flood, O.S.B. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1962. Pp. 117. \$3.00.

This book is a primer, an outline of Salvation History, showing the massive structure of God's plan for men. The author re-tells, in simple but cogent style, the central history of the world. It is a love story, beginning in creation, delayed by the Fall, and developing into the Old Testament Covenant and promises, where God unfolds His plan with "majestic unhurriedness." The second section of the book deals with the enactment of this plan of love through the coming of the Mediator, Who in His resurrection lifts all mankind up into sonship and a share in the lovelife of the Trinity. The third section, somewhat the longest, details the plan's fulfillment in the Eucharistic action of the Church. Particularly

valuable here is the author's insistence upon the realized eschatology of early Christianity, his analysis of the Mass in its essential structure as an action of the community joined with Christ in thanksgiving to the Father, and his gentle suggestions for liturgical reform.

Dom Flood has written a beautiful book. The dedication implies that it has been prepared from courses given to students at St. Benedict's School, Ealing, London. It should prove most useful, therefore, to teachers, and to anyone, young and not-so-young, taking his first look at Salvation History and the role of the Mass in that continuing History. While it is addressed to the general reader, the book contains an appendix with theological justification for the positions taken.

JOSEPH P. WHELAN, S.J.

Theology for Today. By Charles Davis. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1963. Pp. 310. \$5.00.

For several years now there has been need for a semi-popular survey of the new theological crosscurrents in dogmatic theology. Father Davis, known for many years as a contributor to several English theological magazines, was the likely man to write it. Here he presents these essays to a wider audience in a book that has preserved a remarkable unity for its diverse background.

Besides an essay on the communal nature of the Mass which will have a familiar ring for readers of his *Liturgy and Doctrine*, there are excellent essays on the nature of faith, two on ecumenism, one on the Trinity, two on original sin and three on Christology. Other essays deal with Mariology, Extreme Unction, Christ's Resurrection, the resurrection of the body and the last things.

Father is convinced that theology has an apostolic function: to develop a dynamic awareness of the Christian message which will provide the only permanently valid basis for the missionary urge to "go and preach." And in his development of each topic he gives concrete example of how to translate modern theological concepts into vivid imagery. He has a deceptive simplicity in presenting difficult material by a striking art of illustration and graphic writing. In this respect alone the book is valuable for all those who communicate the Christian message to our age.

A second task for the theologian is to maintain organic vision and a balanced, synthetic grasp of Christian truth. As a survey this book manages to keep such a vision and will help every student of theology anxious to refresh himself on recent developments.

A third task he assigns to theology is to be revelant. This can only be done by a speculative theology which reflects on the riches uncovered by the biblical, liturgical and patristic movements in the Church. The task of such a theology would be to bridge the gap between the mentality of the past and our modern age. So far theological renewal has remained of domestic, intra-mural interest.

We welcome this book as a sign of the growing popularity of Father Davis in the country. (Another example is his regular column now in America magazine.) This is a testimonial to a theologian who has de-

voted his extensive writing to bridging the gap between the findings of specialists and the average priest and student of theology. As such, this is the best extensive survey of current theology that we have seen.

GERARD F. WALDORF, S.J.

To Preach the Gospel. By P. Hitz, C. SS. R., translated by Rosemary Sheed. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1963. Pp. xii-209. \$3.95.

No longer satisfied with a defensive moralistic emphasis in sermons and missions, preachers will welcome this fresh and stimulating treatment of a very modern subject. Although not a complete treatise on the theology of preaching, Father Hitz's book is one that has a great deal to say to those who are interested in bringing the findings of present day theology into the pulpit.

The main concern of the book is with mission preaching, but almost all of the suggestions offered as well as the principles upon which the suggestions are based can be applied to the ordinary parish sermons. The fact that the author is a member of the Redemptorist congregation lends authority to his observations.

Father Hitz rejects many of the criteria of successful preaching that have held sway in the past. Full churches, numerous Communions, etc., do not of themselves indicate that preaching is accomplishing what it should. Nor do condemnations of sin or exhortations to moral and ethical living constitute the sole nor the most important matter for preaching. Too often a living faith which is not present in many of the "faithful" has been presupposed in those who hear sermons. What they need is an explanation of the basic good news that is the fundamental Christian message, but what they often get are exhortations to live a life they are not prepared nor equipped to live.

How did preaching get the way it is? Father Hitz gives an historical exposition of mission preaching from the eighteenth century to the present day and shows how the circumstances of the times influenced the development of mission preaching. With today's understanding of theology, however, there must be a renewal of emphases. The primacy of charity must be felt in today's sermons more than it has in the immediate past. More and more the preaching of today must have its source in Scripture. Just as the sermons of the Apostolic Church had the central Christian paschal mystery as a major theme, so too the sermons of today should be much more kerygmatic in tone than moralistic. The primary objective of the preacher should be, as the book's title suggests, to preach the Gospel.

THOMAS H. O'GORMAN, S.J.

The Church and the Sacraments. By Karl Rahner. Translated by W. J. O'Hara. New York: Herder and Herder, 1963. Pp. 117. \$2.25.

Though most of Karl Rahner's far-ranging theological reflections are expressed in essay form, the result is not a heterogeneous collection of disparate, fragmented insights. For one of his key concerns is to search out and meditate upon the intelligible, ordered structure of God's saving action in the world of man. Thus, in *The Church and the Sacraments*,

Rahner moves from the reality of the Church as fundamental sacrament to those realities (the seven sacraments) which flow necessarily from the Church's sacramental nature. The Church is the fundamental sacrament because it is the continuing presence, in space and time, of Christ's redemptive action and victorious grace; it is the expression and realization of God's saving mercy for the here and now of each man's life. And when the Church, as the continuation of Christ, acts for the salvation of the individual in situations that are of decisive importance for his supernatural destiny, we have the various sacramental actions: the Eucharist, Baptism, and the rest. Thus the sacraments are realizations (in the sense of things that make real) of the nature of the Church in the life of the individual.

But if the sacraments are essentially realizations of the Church's nature, it is not surprising that, though meant for the personal sanctification of the individual Christian, they are not concerned with establishing a merely private relationship between God and man. Rather, the sacraments achieve their purpose of sanctification by drawing the individual into the community of the people of God and by filling him, in and through that community, with Christ's saving grace. For example, the Eucharist does not simply bring Christ to a person in some kind of private, individualistic relationship; instead, this sacrament confers grace insofar as its reception renews and deepens a man's incorporation into the Body of Christ, the Church.

Always working within this basic framework and from these initial insights, Rahner explores and illuminates other aspects of sacramental theology: the institution of the sacraments by Christ; the ecclesiological significance of each sacrament; the relationships between sacramental and personal piety, and between sacramental word and preached word; the concept of opus operatum. And in all this theological reflection he is intent on being a faithful hearer of God's word, which lives for us in Scripture and in the authentic tradition of the Church. For he wishes to make this word meaningfully and compellingly present to the man of today. Here, as in his other theological work, he achieves this purpose masterfully.

THOMAS MCQ. RAUCH, S.J.

American Pluralism and the Catholic Conscience. By Richard J. Regan, S.J. New York: Macmillan, 1963. Pp. xv-288. \$5.95.

Father Regan really gives us two books. In the first third of the volume he examines Catholic doctrine on political tolerance and exposes a theory which claims to meet both the demands of the writings of Leo XIII and the realities of American pluralism today. In the last two-thirds (after an examination of the religious freedom clauses of the First Amendment to the federal Constitution) he considers specific conflicts which arise when Catholics meet other Americans to work out our national life. Here the current constitutional law is explained, Catholic principles set forth, and some course of action recommended to minimize or reconcile the conflicts. Both parts of the book needed writing; both are well written; both are controversial.

The political writings of Leo XIII are landmarks, and Father Regan builds on the comprehensive analysis given them a decade ago by Father John Courtney Murray. The crucial question on the theoretical plane for American Catholics is whether Catholic theory necessarily sees state establishment or preferential treatment of Catholicism as "the ideal." There is no question that Leo's writings appear to give an affirmative answer to this, and such has been the "traditional" position on Churchstate which claims to be built on them. The book's contribution here is not a development of a new position-Father Murray's is accepted-but rather a way of interpreting the Leonine documents. Father Regan meets the most difficult texts head on, and grounds his distinction by seeing Leo directing these writings to a "paternal" society, and not adverting to "modern democracy." "If Leo's reference to the body politic and the state are specifically applicable to paternal society, then it is an inescapable conclusion that his blueprint on the ideal relationship between the Church and state was specifically designed to apply to that type of society. If he never expressed the conception of democratic society in the modern context, then it would be foolish and grossly unfair to Leo to suggest that he intended his blueprint as an ideal for that type of society" (p. 46). If the distinction at first seems merely artful, the book makes a strong case to show that it fits the facts.

The latter part of the book deals with concrete problems—religion in the public schools, state aid for parochial schools, obscenity censorship, anti-birth control and Sunday closing laws. Here the author's understanding of the uses of pragmatism in politics and law, commented on by Father Murray in his foreword, shines. So, too, does a careful knowledge of current constitutional law, manifested by a bravura skipping back and forth among the opinions of the different justices in different cases in a fashion that may leave the uninitiate breathless.

"No writer on the topic of religion and education can hope to satisfy all critics" he writes on page 168. Unquestionably this will be his experience. One may picture "typical Catholics" and "typical secularists" exchanging smiles for frowns as Father Regan passes from defending last year's decision banning the New York Regents' school prayer, to giving a negative vote for any religious displays or symbols (especially Christmas) in the public schools, to advocating state aid for parochial schools not only as constitutionally permissable but as politically prudent.

What he has done in this area is to take his stand on two fundamental principles of contemporary constitutional law. The first is that the Fourteenth Amendment revolutionized federal-state relations, and that as a result "at least approximately the same degree of protection is afforded the individual as against both federal and state establishments of religion and infringements of religion" (p. 91). The second is the "principle of neutrality" (reaffirmed this June in the Bible-reading cases), that "neither a state nor the federal government may prefer one religion over another or all religion over nonreligion" (p. 100). I term these fundamental in today's constitutional law, because they have been debated in the past, and much time and effort has been spent attacking them. But

they have been vigorously affirmed by the Supreme Court, which this year referred to arguments against them as "mere academic exercises."

This points up the specific virtue of the book: it deals with problems in terms of alternatives which are real under the current law. Father Regan has written clearly and intelligently, and has made an important contribution to the thought and literature of Church-state in the United States.

Jon O'BRIEN, S.J.

The Unity of Christians. By Augustin Cardinal Bea. Edited by Bernard Leeming, S.J. New York: Herder and Herder, 1963. Pp. xvi-231. \$4.95.

It is not the theme alone which makes this collection of Cardinal Bea's articles, conferences, and interviews a most unusual reading. Many theologians have written about the unity of Christians, although their considerations and discussions often must remain in too technical a sphere to provoke a response from the ordinary reader.

Cardinal Bea's reflexions reveal the biblical theologian, and this is precisely their revolutionary element. The mature word of a man who, inspired by Scripture, has identified himself with the deep and essential longing of all Christians for unity, is almost a prophetic call to carry on the re-awakening of a consciousness which for so many centuries had been overpowered by narrow-mindedness and by bitter polemical disputes, if not by open hatred and mutual acts of violence. Perhaps much of this new attitude is due to a general trend of contemporization of our battleweary world, but Cardinal Bea is far from assuming an unrealistically optimistic outlook.

His word of Unity is a hard word. With almost shocking sincerity he points out again and again the seemingly unbreachable abyss which separates us from Protestants (a name he dislikes) and from the Eastern churches. Overlooking possible prejudices still existing on both sides, he above all refers to the doctrinal barrier: "Any 'conciliatory' attempt (speaking of the Second Vatican Council) to water down or to explain away dogmas would be an infidelity to the command received from the Lord and, moreover, would destroy its own purpose. The most responsible of our separated brethren themselves repudiate any idea of unity at the expense of truth" (p. 138). A true union cannot be built on the shaky grounds of a doctrinal compromise, nor can it be achieved by any kind of superstructure which would include all the churches and not identify itself with anyone in particular: "Here also Catholics can only respond with a 'non possumus.' The very nature of the church, willed and sanctioned by our Lord, is contrary to any compromise in matters of doctrine. Any weakening in this respect would compromise faith itself" (p. 140). Thus the only possible union is the one achieved within the Catholic church.

This realization which for so many of our separated brethren is a source of disappointment and an object of severe criticism, should not lead us Catholics to a proud rejection, but to the humble recognition that the load of truth is a heavy load: "About catholic dogma we are obliged

to be uncompromising. Yet this intransigence, joined to the memories of past struggles and of the injuries inflicted during them, has too often tended to harden the minds and hearts of the separated brethren and to lead them, if not to hatred, at least to lack of any real interest" (p. 45). These tremendous obstacles, however, should not detain us from cooperating in the urgent task of promoting unity, a task from which nobody is excluded. With particular insistence Cardinal Bea outlines the areas in which this can and should be done: prayer, sacrifice, a true christian life, adherence to the "undivided and undiluted Catholic truth," or in other words, sincerity, knowledge of our separated brethren and their belief. clarifying conversations, cooperation, wherever possible, in matters of common interest, but, above all, love and respect: "Our attitude towards Christians of other faiths . . . must be formed by the teaching of the New Testament; it must be marked with such humility and deep respect for our neighbour that we acclaim him even a better Christian than ourselves, (p. 59)" for our separated brethren are indeed Christians, too.

This, in brief, is Cardinal Bea's word of re-union. It is an unmistakable echo of the call of our Lord, so clear and urgent in our needy times, "to do our part in the realization of Christ's desire that there may be one fold and one shepherd" (p. 93).

O. BEGUS, S.J.

Personality Development in the Religious Life. By John J. Evoy, S.J. and Van F. Christoph, S.J. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1963. Pp. 247. \$3.95.

Fortunately more and more religious are becoming aware of the psychological problems involved in the development of personality in the religious life. But not all have the training to read through the jargon of the periodical literature. Fathers Evoy, a psychologist, and Christoph, a sociologist, present in Personality Development in the Religious Life a discussion of the influence that one's child-parent relationship has on one's later life. The authors employ the "interruptive technique," which is in the form of a dialogue by the two priests, thus making the approach more human.

The authors follow substantially the theoretical framework of David P. Ausubel, a modern psychiatrist, on infant behavior. After discussing earliest human experience and different theories of infant behavior they present a brief description of constitutional typology according to the foremost student in the field William H. Sheldon (chapters one to four).

In chapter five we are brought vis-a-vis with Ausubel's theoretical position on the development of the child: as the child gets closer to his second birthday he comes to believe that he is no longer omnipotent, but rather his parents are. "This is the great crisis in his development" (p. 51) What is there in the child that makes him worthwhile? In almost a state of panic the child is "posed" with a dilemma: is he or isn't he important? The things the child can do are so meager when compared with the activity of his parents that the solution cannot lie along the lines of competing with the activities of his parents. Ausubel suggests another possibility: "satellization." This is defined, "as a dependent identification

with the two giants who are his parents." (p. 52) The authors explain at length this pregnant theory of Ausubel. If in this process the child feels rejected in any way, his personality development will be hindered and the consequences will appear later in life.

The authors also discuss how the child can be accepted by his parents and the effects that this will have on his further development. Extrinsic evaluation, acceptance of the child on account of what the parents can gain from the child, is contrasted with intrinsic evaluation, acceptance of the child because he is their child. But since being wanted on any terms is preferable to non-acceptance or rejection, the child will take acceptance on the best terms he can negotiate. And "the child invariably takes the perceived parental evaluation of himself as correct." (p. 69)

We might say that the rest of the book is an explicitation and application to the religious life of what has been presented so far. Rejection as such is treated more fully in chapter five, one of the best chapters in the book. Here some of the consequences of parental rejection as manifested in religious life are presented. Anxiety—one of the effects of rejection—is dealt with in chapter six. Childhood and adolescence each receive a separate chapter. The problems these stages of development present and their consequent impact on future religious life are treated clearly and practically. Finally four unhealthy forms of satellization (overprotection, overdomination, underdomination, underappreciation) are considered adequately under separate headings. At the end of the book eleven pages of thought-provoking concluding remarks pin down some conclusions and corollaries.

I think that even though this book has been written for religious sisters anybody interested in the religious life should read it. Spiritual bandaids have been used too generously in the past—and even in the present—for all sorts of difficulties in the religious life. This book will help spiritual directors and superiors to be more cautious and subjects to be more understanding of themselves and their immediate neighbors, including their superiors. Its lack of technicalities, its humour and fluency of style make it very readable.

JUAN J. SANTIAGO, S.J.

The Prison Meditations of Father Delp. New York: Herder and Herder, 1963. Pp. xxx-193. \$4.50.

In the course of a person's life it is often a tragedy that brings him up short and forces him to a sharp and searching look at himself and his surroundings and at the real meaning and worth of both. This book records such an examination. The tragedies which faced the German Jesuit Alfred Delp were the destruction of his homeland and the world during World War II and his own imminent death at the hands of the Nazis.

The work is made up of five powerful meditations on different parts of the Christmas cycle, essays on the tasks and needs of man, the world and the Church today, reflections on the Our Father and the Come Holy Ghost, and some brief but moving thoughts of Father Delp written just after his final condemnation.

The pages have about them a ring of Thomas Merton (who writes the

introduction to the book) insofar as Father Delp insists that the Church and the Christian must not—and cannot—stand aside from the problems and deepest needs of modern man. The individual must enter into a perfect relationship with God before he fulfills the purpose of his existence, but this should not keep him aloof from mankind. And there is much in the Church that seems to exist more in the name of habit, convenience, safety, and middle-class respectability than in the name of God, and which can hardly be considered apt vehicles for the coming of the Holy Spirit. Modern man has wounds that are deep, wounds that will certainly not be healed by any religious endeavors which merely skim the surface. But the one who does tend to those wounds will also be the one who wins man's heart; it will not be the one who passes him by in the name of his holy duties.

The meditations on the Sundays of Advent, on the people of Christmas, and on the Epiphany are especially incisive, and the essays of the second section provide bracing spiritual reading for any time of the year.

JAMES H. BREININGER, S.J.

The Adolescent: His Search for Understanding. Edited by William C. Bier, S.J. New York: Fordham University Press, 1963. Pp. x-246. \$5.00.

This book will not appeal to those whose only concern is with the intellect of the adolescent and the matter he studies. However, those who teach or work with teenagers as persons will find the proceedings of the Fordham Pastoral Psychology Institute (June, 1961) both interesting and helpful.

The adolescent is often just as mystified in his attempt to understand his changing self as are his parents, teachers, and priests. Thus, those who are working with him must study his search for understanding if they are going to assist and not hinder him in reaching his goal, maturity.

The twenty-four papers published here are arranged according to five divisions. The introductory papers set the stage at a level which the beginner can readily grasp and those with some sociological background can use as a quick review.

In his search for understanding, the youth seeks to understand himself, especially his newly emerged stirrings and impulses in the area of sex. Dr. Robert Campbell, a frequent contributor to the Institute, delineates the sexual development of the teenager describing the normal youth and pointing out some danger signals in this period. He presents a fine treatment of masturbation and homosexuality. Father Pius Riffel, S.J. briefly traces various psychological schools of thought on the causes of scrupolosity. His own study suggests "that scrupolosity is more significantly related to age than to sex." He points out that severe scrupolosity among children and adolescents can be indicative of pathology and gives cases. Father Augustine Grady, S.J. discusses sex education in schools, and Father Henry Sattler, C.S.S.R. makes valuable comments on parish work and counseling.

The section on juvenile delinquency is introduced by Fabian Rouke's fine paper on "The Home and Delinquency." The key to the problem according to Rouke "resides in the twin areas of accepting authority and developing control." In his explanation Dr. Rouke gives a very clear and simple explanation of id, ego, and superego which will warm the hearts of the uninitiated. The other articles—on the role of the courts, the Youth Board, and the contributions and limitations of the institutional approach—will be of value to all.

The discussion of Emotional Adjustment in Adolescence begins another series of fine papers. Dr. Graham Blaine describes the range of adjustment treating the formation of identity and its problems especially with reference to the academic setting. In another paper he describes some of the cases of serious pathological illnesses among adolescents he has treated. Dr. A. A. Schneiders discusses further the search for self-identity, the main task of the adolescent. Dr. Francis Bauer states that the essential problems of dependence and independence, especially of assuming responsibility, "are largely the result of the way in which they are treated by adults." Not all will agree with his view on the "inherent dangers" in much social legislation in relation to this topic. Papers on school counseling and pastoral counseling present practical advice. And from the psychotherapist's viewpoint, Alfred Joyce is convinced the adolescent needs more protection, guidance and maturing discipline than at any other time of life.

One would like to see the Tri-Une Conference technique tried in many more places. Schools and parishes are a fine medium for this. Martin Meade discusses educational choices and James Cribbin presents the problems of vocational choice placing the idea of vocation in its broad framework. Father Bier, S.J.'s studies in religious vocation are very pertinent and revealing especially concerning the background of the applicant and his motivation. His findings agree with other psychological studies and along with the high fallout rate in minor seminaries suggests an area of reevaluation.

The whole idea of vocation, only briefly touched on here, is much misunderstood and needs clarification both psychologically and theologically. The adolescent and his vocation in modern day society would make a fine topic for a future institute. Also, it would be helpful if the Institute would offer a bibliography of suggested readings in the various areas for those not professionals in the field.

NEIL VER SCHNEIDER, S.J.

Peter and the Church: An Examination of Cullmann's Thesis. By Otto Karrer. Translated by Ronald Walls. New York: Herder and Herder, 1963. Pp. 142. \$2.25.

This book, as the sub-title indicates, is a critical appraisal of Oscar Cullmann's theory on the Petrine succession and authority (Peter, Disciple, Apostle, Martyr. Trans. Floyd V. Filson. 2nd ed. London: SCM Press, 1962). The first edition of Cullmann's book, published in 1952, was answered on the Catholic side by Msgr. Charles Journet the following year (The Primacy of Peter. Trans. John Chapin. Westminster: New-

man Press, 1954), a fact, incidentally, of which Father Karrer makes no mention. Presumably, then, Karrer is taking the occasion of Cullmann's revised second edition to write a further Catholic appraisal.

In simplest terms, Prof. Cullmann's thesis embraces two main points. The first is the historical argument that Peter only held the primacy until James the Less assumed authority over the See of Jerusalem. The second point is the exegetical argument that the Petrine succession, as taught by Catholic dogma, cannot be supported by Scripture. Underneath both these arguments is the Protestant view that Scripture alone suffices as the post-apostolic authority.

In irenic tones, Father Karrer argues against the first point that James the Less did not assume the apostolic primacy by assuming control over the See of Jerusalem. Further, Peter brought the authority which he retained throughout life to Rome, where it remained after his death. These arguments are abundantly attested by both Scripture and early church documents, at least to the extent that this would have been a problem for the Christians of those early times.

Perhaps the most telling refutation of Cullmann's thesis is to be found in Father Karrer's clear presentation of the contradictions which would follow. For, "If the church of apostolic times, although a fellowship of brethren bound in the Spirit of love, is at the same time characterized by a "holy order"-"hierarchy" in the original meaning of the word-, by a collegiate leadership in the same Holy Spirit; if this circle of authorized officials is given a primus who carries the keys and is a supreme shepherd of the "lambs and the sheep"; and if all of this has been provided by the Lord of the church for the sake of the kingdom of God, so that the church, as God's special people, may be the instrument for inaugurating the kingdom of God, how then could the apostles have come to think that later on the church would no longer require the same order and structure, that they could change over, as they felt inclined, to some other structure, no longer having to be both charismatic and hierarchical, and yet, with its new form, still the same church as Christ conceived it,-arguing that it is, after all, a question of the inner Spirit and not of outward form? Why then did he himself give it this form? (pp. 98, 99)."

We anxiously await Prof. Cullmann's response to this and the other difficulties raised against his theory by Father Karrer.

PETER J. McCord, S.J.

