

A. M. D. G.

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INDEX TO VOLUME 91

ARTICLES

American Jesuit Chaplains, 1775-1917	101
American Jesuits in Chile, The Osorno Venture	315
Change and Permanency	294
Distortions and Misrepresentations	8
Experiences in the Philippines in World War II	203
Holy Father's Address to the Congregation of Procurators, The	99
In God's Hands Are We	3
Jesuit Devotion to the Sacred Heart	18
Kingdom For the Laity, The	113
Major Superiors in the Northern United States	300
Origin of Jesuit Colleges for Externs and the Controversies about their Poverty, 1539-1608	123
Perspectives of the Church in the Exercises	337
Potawatomi, Jesuits Still Serve the	359
Spiritual Exercises and Recent Gospel Studies, The	246

OBITUARIES

Father Santo J. Catalano	290
Father James U. Conwell	395
Brother William I. Ferrill	65
Father John J. Geoghan	167
Father Edwin J. Healy	365
Francis P. LeBuffe	35
Father William A. Riordan	63
Father John W. Tynan	275
Brother Michael J. Walsh	389
Father Gabriel A. Zema	377

CONTRIBUTIONS

BROUTIN, PAUL, Perspectives of the Church in the Exercises	337
BURNS, CHESTER A., Obituary of Father Healy	365
BURKE, EDWARD L., Obituary of Brother Ferrill	65
CUSHING, RICHARD CARDINAL, In God's Hands Are We	3
DEMARIA, ANTHONY I., Obituary of Father Zema	377
DODD, SENATOR THOMAS J., Distortions and Misrepresentations	8
DROLET, FRANCIS K., Obituary of Father LeBuffe	35
FITZMYER, JOSEPH A., The Spiritual Exercises and Recent Gospel Studies	246
GANSS, GEORGE E., Origin of Jesuit Colleges for Externs	123
GIBLIN, GERARD F., American Jesuit Chaplains	101
HOAR, WILLIAM J., Obituary of Brother Walsh	389
KAROL, JOSEPH S., Jesuits Still Serve the Potawatomi	359
MAHER, ZACHEUS J., The Kingdom for the Laity	113
MEAGHER, AUGUSTINE W., Obituary of Father Riordan	63
MURPHY, JAMES E., Obituary of Father Conwell	395
MORRISON, JOHN J., Obituary of Father Tynan	275

O'NEILL, JOSEPH P., American Jesuits in Chile	315
O'SHAUGHNESSY, WILLIAM B., Obituary of Father Geoghan	167
PAONE, ANTHONY J., Obituary of Father Catalano	290
RAHNER, KARL, Jesuit Devotion to the Sacred Heart	18
RAMSPACHER, JOSEPH H., Major Superiors in the Northeastern United States	300
REPETTI, WILLIAM C., Experiences in the Philippines in World War II	203
WIESEL, HENRI J., Change and Permanency	294

BOOK REVIEWS

ABELÉ, JEAN, <i>Christianity and Science</i> , Tr. by R. F. Trevett (Charles L. Currie)	185
AVANCINI, NICOLA, <i>The Life and Teaching of Our Lord Jesus Christ</i> , Tr. by B. E. Kenworthy-Browne (E. A. Ryan)	306
BALTHASAR, HANS URS VON, <i>Martin Buber and Christianity</i> , Tr. by Alexander Dru (John M. Phelan)	404
BALTHASAR, HANS URS VON, <i>Prayer</i> , Tr. by A. V. Littledale	183
BERRIGAN, DANIEL, <i>The Bow in the Clouds</i> (Peter J. McCord)	309
BOSTON COLLEGE THEOLOGY DEPARTMENT, <i>An Old Testament Study Guide</i> (Vincent E. A. Butler)	187
BOUYER, LOUIS, <i>Introduction to Spirituality</i> , Tr. by Mary Perkins Ryan (Felix F. Cardegna)	177
BOYLE, ROBERT, <i>Metaphor in Hopkins</i> (Henry J. Bertels)	83
BRODRICK, JAMES, <i>Robert Bellarmine: Saint and Scholar</i> (Gerard F. Giblin)	78
BUTLER, RICHARD, <i>Religious Vocation: An Unnecessary Mystery</i> (James G. McCann)	405
CALLAHAN, DANIEL, OBERMAN, HEIKO and O'HANLON, DANIEL, ed., <i>Christianity Divided</i> (Eugene J. Barber)	179
CALVEZ, JEAN-YVES and PERRIN, JACQUES, <i>The Church and Social Justice</i> , Tr. by J. R. Kirwan (H. Paul LeMaire)	413
CAROL, JUNIPER B., ed., <i>Mariology, Vol. III</i> (John J. Ryan)	81
CONGAR, YVES, <i>The Wide World, My Parish</i> , Tr. by Donald Attwater (Eugene J. Barber)	412
DALY, LOWRIE, <i>The Medieval University</i> (Thomas L. Scott)	191
DANSETTE, ADRIEN, <i>Religious History of Modern France</i> , Tr. by John Dingle (Frederick J. O'Brien)	401
DE FRAINE, JEAN, <i>The Bible and the Origin of Man</i> (John F. Sweeney)	303
DEMARCO, ANGELUS A., <i>Rome and the Vernacular</i> (William J. Hendricks)	91
DIEKMANN, GODFREY, <i>Come, Let Us Worship</i> (Leo A. Murray)	93
DIRKSEN, CLETUS, <i>Catholic Social Principles</i> (Thomas H. O'Gorman)	182
DUNN, GEORGE H., <i>Generation of Giants</i> (John J. O'Farrell)	395
ELIADE, MIRCEA, <i>Images and Symbols</i> , Tr. by Philip Mairet (George C. McCauley)	410
FOGARTY, MICHAEL, <i>The Just Wage</i> (Thomas H. O'Gorman)	413
FOLLIET, JOSEPH, <i>World Catholicism Today</i> , Tr. by Edmond Bonin (Denis P. Murphy)	92

FRISON, BASIL, <i>Selection and Incorporation of Candidates for the Religious Life</i> (Louis E. Niznik)	415
GANNON, ROBERT I., <i>The Poor Old Liberal Arts</i> (Donald J. Hinfey)	89
GETLEIN, FRANK and GARDINER, HAROLD C., <i>Movies, Morals and Art</i> (Joseph A. O'Hare)	192
GIBLET, J., ed., <i>The God of Israel, The God of Christians</i> , Tr. by Kathryn Sullivan (John L. McKenzie)	176
GROSSOUW, W. K., <i>Spirituality of the New Testament</i> , Tr. by Martin W. Schoenberg (George C. McCauley)	87
GUARDINI, ROMANO, <i>Freedom, Grace, and Destiny</i> (Gerard F. Waldorf)	407
GUILLET, JACQUES, <i>Themes of the Bible</i> , Tr. by Albert J. LaMothe, Jr. (Jose V. Aquino)	402
HEANEY, JOHN J., ed., <i>Faith, Reason and the Gospels</i> (James A. O'Donnell)	310
HIGGINS, THOMAS J., <i>Dogma for the Layman</i> (James H. Breininger)	409
HOFINGER, JOHANNES, ed., <i>Teaching All Nations</i> (Vincent M. Novak)	78
HOGAN, JOSEPH F., <i>A Do-It-Yourself Retreat</i> (Timothy J. O'Dwyer)	306
HUNT, IGNATIUS, <i>Understanding the Bible</i> (Ralph W. Dengler)	403
JAEGER, LORENZ, <i>The Ecumenical Council, the Church and Christendom</i> , Tr. by A. V. Littledale (Edward A. Ryan)	183
JOLIVET, REGIS, <i>Man and Metaphysics</i> , Tr. by B. M. G. Reardon (Peter J. Roslovich)	186
JONES, ALEXANDER, <i>God's Living Word</i> (Neil L. Doherty)	86
KALT, EDMUND, ed., <i>Herder's Commentary on the Psalms</i> , Tr. by Bernard Fritz (Frederick A. Homann)	408
KILLGALLON, JAMES J., <i>You Are the Church</i> (Thomas P. Walsh)	309
KNOX, RONALD, <i>The Layman and His Conscience</i> (David J. Ambuske)	94
KÜNG, HANS, <i>The Council, Reform and Reunion</i> (John A. Hardon)	305
LECLERCQ, JEAN, <i>The Love of Learning and the Desire for God</i> , Tr. by Catherine Misrahi (James G. McCann)	408
LESTAPIS, STANISLAS DE, <i>Family Planning and Modern Problems</i> , Tr. by Reginald F. Trevett (Joseph S. Duhamal)	73
LEVIE, JEAN, <i>The Bible, Word of God in Words of Men</i> , Tr. by S. H. Treman (Joseph A. Fitzmyer)	397
LUBIENSKA DE LENVAL, HÉLÈNE, <i>The Whole Man at Worship</i> , Tr. by Rachel Attwater (Robert J. Heyer)	409
LYNCH, WILLIAM F., <i>The Integrating Mind</i> (Leonard A. Waters)	395
MCGLOIN, JOSEPH T., <i>Love—and Live!</i> (Robert J. Heyer)	193
MCGLYNN, JAMES V. and TONER, JULES J., <i>Modern Ethical Theories</i> (Frederick A. Homann)	414
MÉNAGER, FRANCIS M., <i>The Kingdom of the Seal</i> (Ralph W. Dengler)	311
METZGER, CHARLES H., <i>Catholics and the American Revolution</i> (James J. Hennesey)	398
MILLOT, RENÉ-PIERRE, <i>Missions in the World Today</i> , Tr. by J. Holland Smith (Thomas H. O'Gorman)	184
MISIAK, HENRYK, <i>The Philosophical Roots of Scientific Psychology</i> (W. W. Meissner)	194

MURPHY, RICHARD T. A., <i>The Sunday Epistles</i> (William J. Keyes).....	180
NEWMAN, JOHN HENRY, <i>On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrines</i> (William V. Dych)	188
O'MEARA, JOHN, <i>Charter of Christendom</i> (Bernard E. McGoldrick)	189
O'NEILL, JOSEPH E., ed., <i>A Catholic Case against Segregation</i> (Joseph P. Sanders)	181
ORAISON, MARC et al., <i>Sin</i> , Tr. by Bernard Murchland and Raymond Meyerpeter (John F. Sweeney)	307
PEIL, RUDOLF, <i>A Handbook of the Liturgy</i> , Tr. by H. E. Winstone (Carl J. Hemmer)	197
PERRIN, JOSEPH-MARIE, <i>Secular Institutes: Consecration to God and Life in the World</i> (George F. Driscoll)	175
PINSK, JOHANNES, <i>Towards the Center of Christian Living</i> (Robert J. Heyer)	416
POAGE, GODFREY R., <i>Secrets of Successful Recruiting</i> (William J. Hendricks)	194
PREMM, MATTHIAS, <i>The Year Made Holy</i> , Tr. by Colman J. O'Dono- van (George C. McCauley)	184
RABUT, OLIVIER, <i>Teilhard de Chardin—A Critical Study</i> (Richard J. Pendergast)	90
RAHNER, HUGO and RAHNER, KARL, <i>Prayers for Meditation</i> (John Gallen)	415
RAHNER, KARL, <i>Inspiration in the Bible</i> , Tr. by Charles H. Henkey (Donald J. Hinfey)	308
RAHNER, KARL, <i>Theological Investigations, Vol. I</i> , Tr. by Cornelius Ernst (John F. Sweeney)	77
RYAN, MARY PERKINS, <i>Perspective for Renewal</i> (John Gallen)	198
SATTLER, HENRY V., ed., <i>Together in Christ</i> (William J. Byron)	85
SHIELS, W. EUGENE, <i>King and Church</i> (Herbert J. Ryan)	84
SNOECK, ANDREAS, <i>Confession and Pastoral Psychology</i> , Tr. by Theo- dore Zuydwijk (W. W. Meissner)	400
SUENENS, LEON-JOSEPH, <i>Love and Control</i> , Tr. by George J. Robinson (Carl J. Hemmer)	81
TRESE, LEO J., <i>Sanctified in Truth</i> (David J. Ambuske)	196
VAUGHAN, RICHARD P., <i>Mental Illness and the Religious Life</i> (W. W. Meissner)	412
WALSH, SISTER MARIE DE LOURDES, <i>The Sisters of Charity of New York: 1809-1959</i> (James G. McCann)	190
WEIGEL, GUSTAVE, <i>Catholic Theology in Dialogue</i> (Frederick A. Homann)	178
WILKIN, VINCENT, <i>From Limbo to Heaven</i> (Thomas H. Green)	195
WILLS, GARRY, <i>Chesterton: Man and Mask</i> (Daniel V. Kilfoyle)	88
<i>Problems in Jesuit Asceticism</i> (Gerard F. Waldorf)	411

GENERAL INDEX

Alaska 395 ff
Allouez, Claude 359
America, 45
American Philosophy of Law, 40
St. Andrew-on-Hudson 169

Aquaviva, Claude 153
Aumann, Jordan, O.P. 330
Avery, Henry C. 217
Borgia, Francis 130
Boston Archdiocese 3 ff
Boston College High 170
Boyle, Bernard 323
Brooklyn Prep 38
Bruehl, James 107
Burke, Edward L. 65
Cashman, Michael J. 227
Castorio, Bernardine 164
Catalano, Santo J. 290
Catholic Evidence Guild 43
Chaplains, Jesuits as 101
Chilean Earthquake, 1960 327
Church-State Relations 9 ff
Civil War & the Society 107
Coffey, Henry 211
Congregation of Procurators, 1961 99
Conwell, James U. 395
Cullum, Leo 215
Cushing, Richard Cardinal 3
DeChaignon, Anthony 108
DeLaCosta, Horatio 245
Deppermann, Charles E. 207
DeSmet, Peter 105, 361
Divine Word, Society of the 318-20
Divino afflante Spiritu 247
Driscoll, William 321
Eastern Jesuit Philosophical Association 57
Educational Apostolate 123
Evolution 46 ff
Farmer, Ferdinand 102
Fasy, Carroll I. 217
Ferrill, William I. 65
First Week of Exercises 345
Flouquet, Pierre René 101
Fordham University 278
Fourth Week of Exercises 342
Gache, Hippolyte 108
Geoghan, John J. 167
Gisel, Eugene 209
Gleeson, Bishop Francis D. 396
Grau, Albert F. 231
Gregorian University 372
Hacker, Leonard G. 214
Haske, Henry 323
Hayes, Bishop James 212

Healy, Edwin J. 365
Healy, Gerald 215
Henry, John 323
Hoecken, Father 361
Hoffaeus, Paul 159
Hubert, Darius 108
Hurley, John F. 205
St. Ignatius Parish, Brooklyn 293
Indifference 18
Keane, Anthony 245
Kennally, Vincent 245
Kienle, Alfred F. 217
Kilroy, James 3
Kingdom of St. Ignatius 113
LeBuffe, Francis P. 35 ff
LeJay, Claude 129
Lenny, John 321
Leonardtown, Maryland 294
Licet debitum of Paul III 133
Lopez, Francisco 210
Lopin, Berchmans 210
Lord, Daniel A. 45
Loyola College, Baltimore 172
Loyola High School, (New York) 4
Lukacs, Ladislaus 124
Marshall, Adam 102
St. Mary's Kansas 352
McAtee, Francis 108
McCaffray, Arthur 212
McCormick, Vincent 321
McElroy, John 103
McNamara, James 323
Messenger of the Sacred Heart 41
Mexican War 104
Multry, Joseph 215
Murphy, Harold A. 218
Murphy, John A. 364
Mystici Corporis 338
Nash, Michael 108
Nativity Parish 292, 378 ff
Neri, Jaime 209
New England Province 3 ff
Nicollet, Jean 359
Nugent, Frank McG. 323
Nutall, Edmund J. 214
Obedience 18 ff
O'Beirne, Vincent 217
O'Connell, Cardinal 3
O'Hagan 108

O'Reilly, Bernard 108
O'Rourke, John 37
Osorno, Chile 315
Ouellet, Thomas 108
St. Peter's Prep 63, 389
St. Peter's College 275 ff
Petit, Father 362
Philippines, World War II 203
Pinet, Father 361
Pontifical Biblical Institute 246
Pope John XXIII 99
Potawatomi Indians 359
Poverty 123
Prachensky, Joseph 108
Priestner, Joseph A. 215
Principle and Foundation 339
Queen's Work, The 54
Rahner, Karl 18 ff
Reardon, Francis X. 203
Regis High School 4, 63, 386
Reith, Joseph 214
Revolutionary War 101
Rey, Anthony 103
Sacred Heart Devotion 18 ff
San Francisco, University of 67 ff
Santo Tomas Internment 205
Second Week of Exercises 113 ff
Selga, Miguel 210
Shanahan, Thomas A. 204
Sherman, Thomas E. 110
Sodality 40 ff
Spanish-American War 110
Spiritual Exercises 246, 337
St. Stanislaus Novitiate 37
Sullivan, Russell M. 215
Superiors in Northeastern Provinces 300-02
Thought 45
Tissot, Peter 108
Triple Sin 343
Two Standards 348
Tynan, John W. 275
Tyrrell, William 110
Usannaz, Anselm 109
Walsh, Michael J. 389
West Baden College 368
Weston College Chapel 5
Wiesel, Henri J. 294
Wiget, Bernardin 107
Xavier High 282
Zema, Gabriel A. 377

WOODSTOCK LETTERS

VOL. XCI, No. 1

FEBRUARY, 1962

CONTENTS FOR FEBRUARY, 1962

IN GOD'S HANDS ARE WE.....	3
Richard Cardinal Cushing	
DISTORTIONS AND MISREPRESENTATIONS.....	8
Senator Thomas J. Dodd	
JESUIT DEVOTION TO THE SACRED HEART.....	18
Karl Rahner, S.J.	
FATHER FRANCIS P. LEBUFFE.....	35
Francis K. Drolet, S.J.	
FATHER WILLIAM A. RIORDAN.....	63
Augustine W. Meagher, S.J.	
BROTHER WILLIAM I. FERRILL.....	65
Edward L. Burke, S.J.	
BOOK REVIEWS.....	73

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In God's Hands Are We

Richard Cardinal Cushing

When a Jesuit is ordained a priest he has usually completed three decades or more of his life. His ordination comes not at the beginning but almost in the middle and often towards the end of his religious vocation. It is exceptional, therefore, for a member of the Society of Jesus to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of his ordination to the priesthood. As a rule he counts the jubilee years from the date of his entrance into the novitiate. On August 15, 1946, Father Kilroy celebrated his golden jubilee and ten years later he marked his diamond jubilee as a Jesuit.

Today he ascends the altar of St. Ignatius Church on the feast day of that soldier saint and great molder of men, to commemorate fifty years of priestly service in the society that Ignatius founded. Father Kilroy joined the sons of Ignatius before the present century dawned. Archbishop Williams was then completing the long years of his episcopate during which the Church of Boston grew from a handful of the faithful to a prominent part of the community. His priesthood began when Cardinal O'Connell was starting his long and eventful struggle to identify the Church with a rapidly evolving society of which the city of Boston had become the center. The religious and priestly life of Father Kilroy thus spans the years during which the modern prosperity of the Archdiocese of Boston was being prepared by sacrifice enriched by a spirit of indomitable faith.

Dreams Become Real

As a young Jesuit scholastic he could foresee the future opportunities for the educational works of the Jesuits. He could sense the frustration of his community as they compared their poverty with the unlimited resources of well endowed secular institutions of learning. He could recognize the

Sermon by Richard Cardinal Cushing, Archbishop of Boston on the occasion of the golden jubilee of priesthood of Reverend James Kilroy, S.J., St. Ignatius Church, Chestnut Hill, July 31, 1961.

abandonment by the latter of the religious traditions upon which they were founded. He could dream about the bright future of Catholic education and the daring and courageous efforts required to make this dream come true. Ere long he became one of the architects of the pioneer plans from which the present Jesuit system of education in this area has been built. God has blessed him with length of years to see dreams and plans become a glorious reality.

Today, at eighty-five, erect in stature, vigorous in health, young in spirit, Father Kilroy is the living bond between the New England Province of the Jesuits and the old Maryland Province which originated some three hundred years ago. His priesthood began on July 30, 1911, when he was ordained by James Cardinal Gibbons, in the Sacred Heart Chapel at Woodstock College, Maryland. Fifty years have passed and today we are privileged to offer with him a Mass of thanksgiving to God for the many priestly duties and assignments he has performed as a priest for fifty years in the Society of Jesus.

Following his ordination he served at Georgetown University for one year as prefect of discipline. His tertianship, the final year of Jesuit theological and ascetical training, followed. Then came five years as prefect of studies at the new Regis High School in New York and a like period as rector of Regis and Loyola Schools and pastor of the Church of St. Ignatius on Park Avenue. In this threefold office he served in his quiet and efficient way. But as the zealous pastor of St. Ignatius Church he was noted for his interest in the liturgy and his advocacy of the frequent reception of the sacraments, the channels of grace instituted by our Divine Lord. As a good shepherd, he encouraged among his parishioners the educational and charitable works of the Church, and in every Archdiocesan appeal in behalf of the expansion program of the church in New York, St. Ignatius Parish, under his pastorate, surpassed all others.

First Provincial

When the New England Province of the Society of Jesus was founded Father Kilroy served as Vice-Provincial from 1924 to 1926. Then he became its first Provincial. During his six years in that new office he completed Weston College and

its beautiful Chapel of the Holy Spirit. Since he had developed in double-quick time a well-equipped faculty, the Holy See accredited the institution with a pontifical status and Father Kilroy was appointed rector. To Boston College he returned in 1937 as Spiritual Father to what is now the largest collegiate community of Jesuits in the world. As a tribute of their affection his fellow Jesuits of the New England Province honored him in 1946 by naming him as their representative at the twenty-ninth General Congregation of the Society of Jesus, held in Rome, when the present Father General of the Society, Very Rev. John Baptist Janssens, was elected.

These are a few predominant assignments our Jubilarian has filled during the five decades of his priesthood in the Society of Jesus. They are indicative of his high place in the Society and the measure of his extraordinary characteristics.

As we offer with him his Golden Jubilee Mass, we pay a tribute to his accomplishments during his long and fruitful life as a Jesuit. But we honor him especially for the many positions of leadership that he has so admirably occupied throughout five decades as a priest according to the pattern of Christ and the strenuous Exercises of St. Ignatius. To me Father Kilroy has been a symbol of priestly dignity and perfection, always serene and down-to-the earth, regulating his personal life and throwing aside personal preferences for the good of souls and the common good of the Society of Jesus. Only a Jesuit totally dedicated to, and completely identified with, the Society could have so completely divested himself of self. Seldom in the public eye, his invisible presence pervades the very atmosphere of Boston College with the refreshing breeze of patience, confidence and optimism, born of detachment from mundane things.

Meaningless Satisfaction

Whenever the Society turned to him for assistance, he was ready to respond with all he had. When others could serve better, he cheerfully, graciously stepped aside, happy as a subordinate in the ranks after he had carried the responsibility of leadership. Without ever refusing the burdens of administration, he has never sought the meaningless satisfaction of exercising authority over others. The success of the Society

in the front ranks of the Church militant has been his only joy; the obstacles in the way of the Society's divine mission have been his only source of concern.

To his confreres he has always been a tower of strength and a trusted advisor in times of difficulty and decisions. He has followed the careers of younger Jesuits with deep personal interest and sympathy, rejoicing in their achievements, comforting them in their sorrows and encouraging them along the arduous road of self conquest and study.

In a crucial period in the history of the Jesuits in this part of the country he was called to be Provincial of the newly erected province of New England. Over and above the ordinary personal qualifications required in one who must exercise authority, a leader was needed in the new province who combined prudence, daring and vision; who was interested in new fields of activity and familiar with the traditions and the policies by which the true spirit of the Society would be perpetuated. Father Kilroy was the man. He laid the foundations of what is now one of the most flourishing provinces of the Society of Jesus. Never one who would capture the imagination of others by brilliant personal impact, Father Kilroy's special talent was his ability to work with them and to resolve their conflicting points of view.

Kind as well as Firm

Only one who has had responsibility over his associates can understand the problems that arise in the assignment of their duties and the resolving of their problems. To be kind as well as firm, to be a father to all and an intimate of none, to organize diversified talents into a smoothly working team, to select capable men for the important positions and avoid looking over their shoulders—these are the requirements of a successful leader. Those who knew Father Kilroy during his term as Provincial were never in doubt about his singleness of purpose, his complete detachment from personal interests and his determination to pass judgment on the basis of objective evidence. As we look back upon his career, these qualities shine forth in all the details of a daily life crowded with the work of policy-making and administration.

We all know that the spiritual life of a Jesuit follows well

established patterns which have developed over centuries of struggle in defense of the ideals of the religious life. The discipline of Christian asceticism, rigidly imposed and faithfully submitted to, makes the Jesuit receptive to the graces by which he is prepared for union with God towards which his religious life is directed. As Father Kilroy celebrates his Jubilee Mass this morning he has come a long way over the road which leads to eternity. Only God knows how much more time is left to him here below. But we who rejoice with him today cannot conceive of the Boston College community without his presence.

Almost Brutally

No longer must he bear the burden and the heat of the day. In the evening of life he stands as an exemplar of all that is good and worthy of emulation in a religious and a priest. His peace and seclusion afford him the opportunity to present to his fellow Jesuits the example and the counsels of a priestly and religious life hidden with Christ in God. His very presence in the Boston College community suggests the practical lesson that the life of a Jesuit is successful only to the extent that it imitates the self-immolation of Christ our Lord. How dramatically the rule of the Society insists upon the emptiness of the present life! How rigidly, almost brutally, the regime of Jesuit life suppresses those human longings which among men of the world are the natural incentives of successful achievement!

Yet how deep and lasting is the peace which comes in old age to those who have offered themselves as victims in the sacrifice which makes religious life a foretaste of heaven. In earlier years the temptation is strong to question the reasonableness of obedience which strikes at the very foundations of personal autonomy. The laws of religious profession, human in their immediate origin, often present themselves as restraints to be circumvented rather than as divine invitations to reciprocate God's love for man. Only with the passing of the years do these lessons become clear, as those who follow in the ways of the world gradually experience the disappointment of following in their own ways, when conformity is painful and obedience rocks the foundations of the natural man. The life

of a Jesuit must always be one of self-immolation. His every experience here below must be interpreted in terms of the greater glory of God. Earthly life must be a living death, so that eternal life, in the presence of God, may not be imperiled.

After fifty years as a priest, and sixty-five years as a Jesuit, Father Kilroy has learned these lessons of Christian perfection. Having learned them, he is continuing to teach them to others. A Jesuit priest of constant cheerfulness, energy, approachability and profound common sense is he. His erect, quasi-military carriage, his firm step and changeless personality reflect that self-discipline which Ignatius bequeathed to his sons.

We pray with Father Kilroy today that he may continue to personify the ideals of Christian perfection which the Society of Jesus constantly waves before the eyes of its members, and thus demonstrate for our emulation the inspired words of the author of the Book of Wisdom: "In God's Hands are we, our words, and the wisdom, the knowledge and the skill of our works."

Distortions and Misrepresentations

Senator Thomas J. Dodd

We in America are entering a period in which some fundamental decisions will be made about the role which religion should play in our national life. For many years the voice of religion has been increasingly drowned out by clashing, competing voices from all sides; voices of materialism, sensualism, pleasure, comfort; voices of freedom from responsibility and freedom from restraint; voices of philosophies that have been constructed to bolster up the various pleas of self-interest.

The churches of America have made a mighty effort to make the voice of God heard above the din of the world. They have organized their resources as never before. They have plunged themselves deep into debt in order to construct facili-

Lecture given at Woodstock, April 20, 1961, by the United States Senator from Connecticut.

ties of all kinds. They have established programs and activities for every phase of life to offer wholesome alternatives to what St. Augustine called "the City of the World."

Whether or not these heroic efforts can successfully combat what appears to be a disintegration of moral and ethical standards is yet to be determined. The outcome will depend upon the kind of climate, the prevailing atmosphere, that religion lives in. If this climate is favorable, the Church will grow in vigor and effectiveness, will flourish and will perhaps make the contribution to our society which will save this nation from demoralization and decline. But if the climate is hostile, if religion is excluded by law and by custom from virtually every place but the church and the home, it will probably fail, as perhaps it *must* fail under such circumstances.

Public Help Needed

For the Church to grow as it should grow, for it to continue to provide hospitals, orphanages, homes for delinquent children, schools, universities; for it to spread its saving influence into all these areas of public service, it must have public cooperation and public help. It has had various forms of public assistance in the past and, as needs and circumstances change, so must the form and nature of public assistance.

If, as the years pass, those of us who believe in cooperation between church and state are given an opportunity to present our case, if we present it effectively, if we are resourceful in making those accommodations which separate the predominantly public aspects of our religious activities from the essentially religious aspects, if we come forth with sensible formulas by which taxpayers can assist church-sponsored activities without giving any undue preferential advantage to the religious faith involved, then I believe that our people and our elected representatives will respond to the justice of this case, as they have in the past.

The great danger before us now is that there are many who would prevent us from having this chance to work out the problem. They maintain that the matter is a closed issue and has been closed since the adoption of the Constitution. The hazard is that this view will be enforced, not through the tra-

ditional process of accommodation and evolution under the American political procedures, not through the ballot box and the deliberations of state legislatures and Congress; but rather through a judicial usurpation which chokes off the controversy before reason gained from experience can overcome ignorance and prejudice.

Attacks on Religious Observance

In recent years we have witnessed the development of a concentrated effort, not just to deny the churches any public help for the performance of their public functions, but to drive every particle and shred of religious observance, even the acknowledgment of a Divine Being, out of the public sphere. Those who lead this drive maintain that prayers must not be said in schools, that there should be no public observances of Christmas or Easter, that all public buildings should be closed to religious activities of any kind; that tax exemptions on church property should be denied; that the Crucifix should be taken down from the walls of any hospital that has received federal aid; that government cannot cooperate with or assist in any activity connected with a religious institution.

Some have made of this movement a sort of religion of ir-religion, which has taken on the dimensions of a crusade. The motto of this crusade is "complete separation of church and state." Day in and day out we are told that complete separation of church and state is an authentic American tradition, a basic Constitutional principle, and even a religious tenet of at least one great branch of Christianity.

In my judgment, all of these contentions are demonstrably false. The American people may decide in the future that they want to adopt the policy of complete separation of church and state; but the notion that America has historically pursued this course or that it is enjoined upon us by the Constitution can be easily proven false. My purpose tonight is to point out briefly a few of those distortions and misrepresentations which are passing as fact in American thought today, and which if not successfully combatted, will rivet upon us, under false pretenses, a solution which rigidly excludes religion from almost every sector of American life.

Never a Tradition

Complete separation of church and state has never been an American tradition, never. At the time of the adoption of the Constitution, there was an established church in nine of the thirteen original states. In all of the original states, for some time after the Constitution was adopted, religion was publicly supported in one form or another and was vigorously advanced by the various agencies of the state.

The Constitution drafters faced no demand that established churches in the various states be disestablished. They faced the problem that different churches were established in different states. None of these churches had any thought of surrendering its pretensions in its own state or its hopes of becoming established in other states. But these religions did not want the Federal Government intervening to decide the matter in favor of one church or another. Various state governments petitioned the First Congress, which was drafting the Bill of Rights, to make sure that no one religion was set up as religion of the country. But nothing could have been further from the minds of the religious leaders of that day, or of the founding fathers, or of the American people, than the idea that there should be a complete dividing line between government and religion.

During the early years of our Republic and for a long time thereafter, state governments intervened actively and effectively in behalf of the prevailing religion. Public school education in America was very heavily oriented toward Protestantism, and schools were expected to carry out extensive religious indoctrination. There are numerous cases in which Catholic children, for instance, were flogged or otherwise punished for refusing to take part in religious observances. It was alarm over this sort of thing that caused the Catholic Church, then very small and very poor, to embark upon the formidable task of setting up its own school system.

I believe that preferential treatment for any one religion in American public schools is unconstitutional and wrong; I point to the errors of the past only to demonstrate that Americans living in the early decades of our Republic, far from believing in an impenetrable wall of separation between church and state, believed in and practiced religious indoctrination

through the public schools, and woe unto those who resisted it.

As the decades passed, preferential treatment for various religions by state governments was slowly done away with, although various aspects of it continued until fairly recent times.

No Official Religion

The true tradition that has emerged in America regarding church and state, as I understand it, is this: No religion can be set up as the authorized official religion of the country. No religion can be the recipient of government assistance that is not available to other religions. No government funds are available to finance purely religious activities. And no one can be compelled to subscribe to or reject *any* religion. To this extent, we do have a form of separation of church and state; but the American tradition has not precluded various forms of assistance to religious institutions so long as all religious groups are treated equitably, as I shall point out later.

So much for the myth that complete separation of church and state was an American tradition dating back to the founding fathers and the first generation of Americans.

It is equally a myth that separation of church and state is an historic religious principle, traditionally embraced by Protestants and opposed by Catholics. The fact is that the peculiar church-state relationship existing in America is a political phenomenon, not a religious one. Protestantism, Catholicism and Judaism, outside of America, all believe in an established church and insist upon it wherever they are able to do so. The situation in the United States is almost unique. Our concept of no established, privileged religion is accepted heartily by Americans of all faiths; but it is not accepted by their co-religionists in almost every other country in the world. So there is no question of theological tradition here.

The Constitution

The third and most dangerous myth is that the Constitution enjoins complete separation of church and state. The current phase of the question turns upon the proposal to provide federal aid for parochial schools. My belief is that the Constitution does not prohibit federal aid to parochial schools;

that it can be construed to do so only by a highly speculative and erroneous process of interpretation; and that those who glibly and dogmatically assert that such aid is unconstitutional, misconstrue or ignore the Constitution, the history which produced it, and the writings of those who drafted it.

The fact is that the Constitution does not *explicitly* ban government aid to religion or to religious schools. The fact is that the Supreme Court has never ruled directly as to whether the Constitution *implicitly* bans such aid. The fact is that in the entire 174 years that we have operated under the Constitution, the Court has ruled only three times on cases really bearing on the subject, and its decision in the third of these cases, the *Zorach* case, marks such a sharp retreat from its two previous decisions as to leave the question wide open at the present time.

Constitutional theory on this point is in its infancy. And if, as I suspect, the question of the government's relationship with religion proves as complicated as the government's relationship with economics, with labor questions, with welfare programs, with civil rights, we may realistically expect many a year to pass, and many a court decision to reverse previous decisions, before the question of whether and to what degree government can aid religion is definitively settled.

Let us then begin with the Constitution. The pertinent part of the first amendment from which have arisen sweeping claims about the "impenetrable wall" separating church and state, reads as follows:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.

If we were to strictly limit the Constitution to what it says, our interpretation would depend on what is meant by "an establishment of religion." To the founding fathers and to legal scholars and statesmen over the centuries, the phrase "an establishment of religion" meant an exclusive position of favor granted by the government to one religion. It meant the kind of established church that our forefathers were familiar with in England, Scotland, France and other countries. It meant the kind of established church which had been set up in nine of the American colonies, the last of which was not disestablished until 1833.

First Congress

The recent theory of some Supreme Court members that the ban on "an establishment of religion" means a ban on all government aid to and cooperation with religion is cast into grave doubt by the actions of the First Congress during its deliberation on the Bill of Rights. The First Congress rejected a proposal by Pinckney to forbid "any law on the subject of religion." It also rejected Livermore's proposal that "Congress shall make no law touching religion." The fact that such language was rejected in favor of a ban against an established church and against the abridgment of religious freedom is a clear indication that the founding fathers did not wish to write into the Constitution an indiscriminate ban on all legislation concerning religion.

The Supreme Court relies heavily upon the supposed intentions of Jefferson and Madison, the principal authors of the Bill of Rights, as a basis for its sweeping interpretation of the First Amendment. But the exhaustive research of J. M. O'Neill into the writings of Jefferson and Madison, published after the *Everson* and *McCullum* decisions, gives scant comfort to those who rely upon Jefferson and Madison as exponents of a total divorce between government and religion.

Jefferson advocated the use of public funds in Virginia for a school of theology. He recommended that a room at the University of Virginia be used for religious worship. The four key provisions of Jefferson's statute for religious freedom in Virginia were directed against an *established* state religion. As President, Jefferson used public funds for chaplains in the Army and Navy and signed an Indian Treaty requiring payment of public funds for the salary of a Catholic missionary priest.

Madison's original draft of the section of the First Amendment dealing with religion reads as follows:

"Nor shall any national religion be established."

Madison was a member of the Congressional Joint Committee that instituted the chaplain system in Congress and during his administration as President, public funds were used for religious purposes on Indian reservations.

Since the First Congress, subsequent Congresses have re-

fused twenty times to adopt proposed Constitutional amendments explicitly prohibiting aid to religious education. If the First Amendment did ban all government assistance to religions or religious institutions, the American people have carried on their affairs in ignorance of this fact from the beginning.

Aid to Religious Institutions

In the absence of any prohibition to the contrary, many forms of governmental assistance to religious institutions have been enacted on the local, state and national level. These include public support of religious orphanages, public support of instruction of Indian children by religious groups; federal grants for the construction of hospitals which are owned and run by religious orders; federal loans to parochial schools under the National Defense Education Act; federal loans for the construction of college housing on parochial college campuses; veterans' educational benefits involving direct and indirect payments to parochial secondary schools and colleges; and a variety of programs on the local and federal level involving such matters as school lunches, medical care and transportation to and from parochial schools.

I have demonstrated that the Constitution does not expressly forbid all aid to religious institutions; that the principal authors of the Bill of Rights, Jefferson and Madison, favored various forms of government aid to and cooperation with religious institutions; that the First Congress rejected proposals to ban all legislation respecting religion; that during the lifetime of the founding fathers and for many decades thereafter, religion was taught in the public schools; and that local, state and federal governments have enacted a large number of public programs which give tax dollars to religious groups and institutions.

It is against this background that we should view the three Supreme Court decisions which bear on this question, the Everson case (1947); the McCollum case (1948), and the Zorach case (1952). And against this background the position taken by Justice Black in his dicta on the Everson case seems extreme and unwarranted.

The majority decision affirmed the Constitutional validity

of a New Jersey law providing bus transportation to and from parochial schools at public expense. Thus the decision *upheld* one form of assistance to parochial schools. But Justice Black in writing the majority decision strayed from the specific question before him in a dictum in which he interpreted the First Amendment in the following words:

No tax in any amount, large or small, can be levied to support any religious activities or institutions, whatever they may be called, or whatever form they may adopt to teach or practice religion.

This phrase of Justice Black is used by many as though it were a part of the Constitution itself and it is important to understand that it is merely a dictum, that is, it is a statement that is not germane to the specific question before the court. It is not part of the court's decision, and has no standing as a precedent for future decisions.

The McCollum Decision

A year later, 1948, came the McCollum decision which is the high water mark of Supreme Court opposition to government aid or cooperation with respect to religious institutions. This is the one decision in the history of the Supreme Court which holds that the First Amendment prohibits aid to religion. It struck down the released time program in effect in Champaign, Illinois under which classes were conducted in religious education for public school children in public school classrooms on a voluntary basis upon the written consent of parents. The Supreme Court banned this program on the ground that it

"affords sectarian groups invaluable aid in that it helps provide pupils for the religious classes through the state's compulsory school machinery. This is not separation of church and state."

The majority decision went on to affirm that neither state nor federal government can pass laws which "aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion over another" and that the First Amendment was intended to erect "a wall of separation between church and state."

If this decision stands the test of time, federal aid to parochial schools will be a forlorn cause indeed. But the McCollum decision touched off a barrage of criticism by lead-

ing scholars in Constitutional law, by the American Bar Association Journal, and by both Protestant and Catholic spokesmen. Its first test came four years later with the *Zorach* case.

In the *Zorach* decision the Supreme Court retreated from the *McCullum* decision in important particulars. It approved the released time system in effect in some New York public schools which differed from the Illinois program only in the fact that public school classrooms were not involved. It is important to note that the *use of school buildings* was not mentioned in the *McCullum* decision as a reason for the unconstitutionality of the program so that this difference is not an essential one. The New York program, like the proscribed system in Champaign, Illinois, made use of the state's compulsory school machinery to provide pupils for religious classes. Therefore, in affirming the constitutionality of the New York program, the Supreme Court undermined the *McCullum* decision which, along with the dicta of Justice Black in the *Everson* case, constitute the principal legal armament of those who claim federal loans to parochial schools run afoul of the First Amendment. This is the latest word of the Supreme Court.

At the Beginning

We are only at the beginning of the development of Constitutional law on this matter. The ultimate decision may hinge on many unforeseen factors and those of us who believe that some forms of federal aid to religious institutions are constitutional and necessary have the right and indeed the duty to press for our point of view, through argument and through legislation until the issue is finally and irrevocably resolved.

I do not believe that the American people have ever wanted, or want today, a government policy that is hostile and uncooperative to the varied works of religious institutions. This country was founded upon immutable laws of God from which we derive what we call inalienable rights. The early decades of our national life were permeated with a strong and deep religious instinct. Our greatest national heroes have consistently sought to found public policy on deeply held religious beliefs about the nature of man and the nature of society.

I do not think the American people want to change this. I

do not believe they will tolerate the attempts of a few "advanced thinkers" to rewrite the Constitution, to distort American history, and to misrepresent the intentions of our founding fathers. I believe that the American people want a society which encourages religious activities, which cooperates with them; not a society which merely tolerates religion and excludes it wherever it can. In time, I am confident that the false assumptions which temporarily delude some of the highest and most responsible officials in the nation, will be exploded.

The truth is on our side and it is up to us to bring it to light. If we argue our case with clarity, with restraint, with scholarship, with respect for the sensibilities of others, the American people in their plain and honest wisdom will come to our side; and our legislatures, our governors, our Congress, our President and our Judiciary will respond to the truth.

Ignatian Spirituality and Devotion to the Sacred Heart

Karl Rahner, S.J.

Pattern of Ignatian Spirituality

First Characteristic of Ignatian Spirituality: Indifference.

Indifference here is not restricted to the leading principle that a man must be ready to do the will of God and so must be prepared to tear his heart away from a thing that would hinder him because of a divine command or divinely appointed circumstances. Indifference here means more, or else it is not at all characteristic of Ignatian spirituality. Here indifference is a sharpened sensitivity to the relativity of all that is

Translation of a conference given by Father Karl Rahner to the theologians at Innsbruck on the Feast of the Sacred Heart in 1955. A French translation has appeared. The present translation from the original German text is the work of three missionaries in India who endeavored to remain as faithful as possible to the German text. They beg the indulgence of the reader who may find the translation rather clumsy.

not God: to the changeableness, limitation, imperfection and ambiguity of everything different from him, including things religious—for these last no less than others are different from him. It is true that the basic act of total surrender to God must find expression in special practices and methods, in devotions, usages, experiences, attitudes; otherwise the surrender would vanish into a mist of unreality. Yet all these expressions come under the rigorous law that all which is not God is subject to recall and replacement. For all things are subject to the free disposition of God, which cannot unequivocally be known from the thing itself or even its permanent structure, but which can be today one thing and tomorrow another. Ignatian indifference can never identify God with any particular way to him or experience of him. Always he is greater than what we know of him, greater too than what he has willed into existence. Always his holy will as the absolute criterion remains the reference point, and it is ever truly distinct from what He has willed. Thus the thing which man embraces as the thing willed by God for him is always embraced with the implicit reservation—exclusive of nothing within it—: “If, while, and as long as it is pleasing to God.”

Such indifference is cold, calculating and, if you will, voluntaristic. This is the source of what has often been blamed as a pragmatic rationalism, as a shallow straining of the will, as a misjudging of the deeper reaches of human nature and of its imaginative and spontaneous powers. Undoubtedly in small-souled people, this can include Jesuits, such all too human mistakes and shortcomings can masquerade as the Ignatian spirit. But where the spirit is genuine, the things that people find hard and menacing in Jesuits spring from a deep root: the root of indifference. This spirit stems from an enormous and definitely dangerous experience of how terribly relative everything is that is not God, who alone is unclassifiable, unutterable, completely beyond our tiny experience; before whom absolutely all is small and relative. So much so that it is only in a very abstract sense (important as that is) that any absolute and immutable hierarchy holds among things; in the concrete, everything changes. A little example is to the point here. Francis of Assisi refused to shelter himself from the divine gift of tears in order to save his eyes:

"Why should I," he said, "when they are nothing more than what a fly has?" Ignatius valued such mystic tears most highly, yet checked himself by what might appear to be cold calculation and decision that really was an anguished perplexity as to God's most profound will in this matter. For it might be thought that with the smaller gift of human sight that seemed alternative to the tears, one could perhaps serve God better than by tears. He wanted to find God in all things. At any rate, it is clear Ignatius knew the vast difference between God and even the choicest of religious gifts. To give another example: his love of the Cross—for it is that—in the Exercises is permeated with this same icy fire of indifference. One might call Ignatius the man of transcendent as opposed to world-immanent spirituality.

Second Characteristic of the Ignatian Spiritual Approach.

Let us designate it by the controversial term "existentialist." The indifferent man is not individualistic in the same way as the Renaissance man, who jealously guarded the highly unique treasure of his own personality and esteemed it as of tremendous, if not of the highest, worth. Ignatius really had little to do with the Renaissance as such, much as some have tried to read him in its light. He had his own understanding of the world, based on a mystical death which can see worth in all things, because nothing really has much worth; quite the opposite of the Renaissance man, who in his new love for the world tended to divinize it. Ignatius was an individualist because for him the two aspects regarding men and the good things of this world—i.e., the common and the particular aspects, their isolation and their relatedness—are equally remote from God. While willing both, he identifies himself with neither and can be fully found in neither. Ignatius is thus not the individualist of the personality but of the person: and when circumstances demand it of the poor person rather than the rich, of the matter-of-fact man who knows his place, the man who recognizes himself to be at the direct beck of the will of that God who as he chooses and sees best disposes this or that, revealing only a part of the way at a time, and desiring that man hold himself open to Him who can reveal Himself in emptiness as well as in fullness, in death as in life, in external

and internal riches for the cultural and religious man quite as fully as in the most dire poverty. This Ignatian attitude is the source of the sceptical, the prosaic, the reserved, the calculating, the apparently deceptive, the adaptation and imitation and planning of alternatives which in prosperity or misfortune mark out the Jesuit. On the one side is this quietly sceptical, disabused attitude, with an instinct for the provisional and temporary, ready to press into service anything but the divine itself. On the other is the preparedness for the unique and novel situation with its ever new challenge, together with the uncommon fact that this attitude is not aimed at profit but at service, and is accepted as a responsibility before which one can neither take refuge in generalities nor pervert the creatures in question to the enhancement of one's own personality. All of this we have chosen to term the "existential" in Ignatian spirituality. It seems so typical of Ignatius that Ignatian spirituality may be said to be even ahead of our time, and it will come into its own in the new epoch which is now announcing itself. Those who consider themselves historically the disciples of Ignatius will have to prove themselves worthy representatives of this spirit in the future.

Third Characteristic of Ignatian Spirituality: Church-Consciousness. In every age men have loved the Church and lived by her. But for Ignatius the Church was ever at the center of his attention: the Church militant to be served despite its obvious flaws, the Church of the Popes, in short the tangible, palpable Church. No one will contest that this is essential to Ignatian spirituality; it is too obvious. One might speculate as to whether it is a quality as fundamental as the two previously mentioned or only a complement of them; perhaps on ultimate analysis it will be the one as well as the other. For the man who really has experienced God's absolute transcendence—not merely his sublime infinity—will humbly accept his own divinely willed limitation. He equally will accept in simplicity and humility the finite creatures and their relative variations that thereafter become for him, in a certain sense, absolute. From this arises Ignatius' unreserved love for the humanity of Christ and of his earthly career with all its limitations, of the Church, the hierarchy, the Pope, and

of "The Rules for Thinking with the Church." Not as though all these things were by a utopian enthusiasm somehow identified with God. Ignatius, who could confess that every fibre of his body quaked at the election of Paul IV, was far from that. His Church-consciousness is that of the man who defies neither himself nor his personal mystical contacts, and thus is prepared to accept the limitation which marks God's self-representation among his creatures. It is this quiet love of humility, service, and objective self-evaluation, from which grows the Ignatian Church-consciousness that is at once the result of a healthy, and the antidote for an unhealthy, existential indifference.¹

An Intrinsic Compensating Factor

So far we have tried to mark out the originality of Ignatian spirituality. Before proceeding, we should recall to our minds that this spirituality identifies itself with other spiritualities in most respects, including the most essential; it differs from them only in a few elements of less importance. In order to bring out its originality, we have to stress the aspects by which Ignatian spirituality diverges from others, leaving aside the elements common to all. We must continually keep in mind that the particularities of which we treat are neither the whole of this spirituality nor its most important elements. The tendency to ignore this fact in practice makes these particularities appear most dangerous. Biology shows us how some characteristics can grow and become bizarre, finally destroying the structure itself. It is the same in the realm of the spiritual. The prophylactic against such spiritual self-destruction is humility; by it man keeps himself open to outside influences while ever remaining within the limits in which alone the limited spiritual being can indefinitely be perfected. With humility a sound, orthodox and sober spirituality is possible; one that keeps consciously to its proper bounds and builds up with little effort a new protective force, protective (oddly enough) against itself; so balancing its internal forces that the particular within it builds up and does not destroy.

¹ For our own edification we may add as a note to these three characteristics that they are worthless if they are left as mere considerations: they must be adapted to life and death or they come to nothing.

In reflecting on the three characteristics already noted as belonging to Ignatian spirituality, it is not necessary to dwell at length on a positive exposition of the likelihood of such an individualistic menace. When not consciously restrained in the manner just remarked, they can make for an attitude that is rationalistic, cold, calculating and sceptical. Exaggerating the relativity of all that is not God, they may lead to an interior unconcern about things, and so once more lose sight of the true nature of earthly and even religious realities. Such an indifference degenerates into a deadening pragmatism that will try its hand at anything because nothing is beyond its competence and so accomplishes nothing. God becomes a hazy idea, a mere word; the force behind that word unconsciously comes to be vested in creatures themselves: in the organization, the authority of the Church, the system, the numbers of the faithful, etc. The existential ascetic becomes a man who has so much control over himself that he possesses everything except a heart that knows how to give itself over to the free dispositions of the divine Will; a heart that would have enabled him to laugh and to cry according to the varying experiences of life and not just according to the dictates of his own will. (Indeed he will want to laugh and cry, since he is no stoic.) Finally, the risks of emphasizing Church-consciousness are familiar. The Church may be considered autonomous instead of a divine instrument; it may be identified with a certain ruling clique, school, or discipline. And so only those who agree with one's private opinion will be considered loyal to the Church.

Our point now is to show how the devotion to the Sacred Heart is an inherent and necessary preventive for Ignatian spirituality against its own dangers.² It will be doubly profitable to reflect on this fact, since its consideration will show us something more of the meaning of the devotion itself. We may prefix our development with the remark that the connection between Ignatian spirituality and the devotion was first shown by the simple fact that the Jesuits—more exactly, some Jesuits—were among the first of its promoters. No Catholic would dare to say that the development of this devotion within

² Such dangers grow with progress in spiritual life; tepid souls are, to their own disadvantage, immune to them.

the Church is a matter of mere chance. Nor would it be valid to offer as an explanation of the extent of Jesuit involvement in it a mere coincidence: St. Margaret Mary had a Jesuit confessor, and visionaries have a predilection for designating their confessors and their confessors' Orders as the instruments of their missions!

Indifference and the Heart of Jesus

Indifference implies a transformation that in many respects must be likened to death. Man has to die to the world; not only to the evil world with its mance. Indifference means a death that prevents man from loving inordinately the world, from falling in love with it, from putting it in the place of God. Such a death in which all things lose their splendour—like nature in winter—and fall back into insignificance, may turn out to be different from the death intended by God. It can be a chilling of the heart, a spiritless leveling-down that no longer takes account of the differences God has put into creatures and which he wants taken note of. The death involved in indifference is only a life-giving death when it is motivated by love and dies into love. Indifference must never kill the heart. It must be the death only of the secret self-seeking that knots itself, refusing to share in God's unending freedom. Indifference *must* be love. Where there is a stoical apathy; where this is a fundamental cowardice that gives up because it doubts of victory; where there is stinginess of heart which does not perceive the grandeur of the world, there is no real indifference. The theoretical truth of this is clear. In practice, however, even the man who fights to gain true indifference is in danger of accepting these false appearances, since they are more easily and less painfully come by than the true. For this reason indifference must include a veritable cult of love—a burning, enthusiastic, bold love. So if at all possible, the devotee must be continually reminded that the center of the world and of truth is a Heart: a burning Heart, a Heart that offered itself to all the ups and downs of fortune and endured them to the end without any fainthearted pretense that they were not real; a Heart quite unlike the stoic's predeceased heart to which no more inspiring challenges can ever come. Indifference must be a readiness of heart to love all to the full

extent of its power; not only this one or that, but all. A complete lack of concern about things created has nothing to do with true indifference. Real indifference is a quality of the heart that is "pierced" and yet alive and itself a fountain of life. Indifference means that the perfect heart is ultimately, a heart "pierced through," giving its last drop of blood; a heart that, if it finds no response to its love, will not in self-concern step back from the risks of love.

It is this quality of true love which should specify the death that is indifference. If such a love did not specify, it would be better to love at least one thing than to have an ashen heart cynically reducing all things to a common worthlessness, and then call that state indifference. Indifference is a great gift, but it acts otherwise than as a lethal poison only when it belongs to someone who is in love with love. Such a one knows what a heart is for. So it may happen that without ever having heard the words "Sacred Heart of Jesus," he loves that Heart, the symbol of limitless love.

Defense against Dangers

We have described this existentialism as the individuality of the person conscious of that uniqueness. This results in his entertaining no inordinate concern to advance himself or expand his potentialities. He allows himself to be consumed in service, since he does not think himself more than the limited creature he is: he bows to the law of indifference. The danger of such an attitude is that it exposes its possessor to a fatal lack of love, to a harshness and a—though perhaps hidden—cynicism: a kind of secret contempt for men which, being "aware of what is in man," loves neither self nor others, but at best manages to maintain a studied patience with man and his foibles. Such an existentialist is in danger of being isolated in a deadly sense; of becoming as it were shrivelled and expressionless, and in any case worn and burnt out in his heart, too knowing to be able to love. He feels in himself something of that total incapacity of enthusiastic love; like melancholic bachelors who imagine such an unconcern to be celibate virtue and are irritated when someone else is weak enough to love. Such an existentialism tends to esteem not losing oneself as solid virtue; whereas virtue is actually salvation by grace of

what is continually exposed to danger. Such an existentialism, lonely and on its way to becoming cold, only becomes sound and good when joined in its humility by a heart that loves, and that loves a Heart. Only he who has love can stand himself and others for any length of time without coming to despise both himself and others. Only he who loves can humbly accept himself and others at their true value, without being stopped short by the limitations he finds. "It is very difficult," says Bernanos, "not to hate oneself." It is impossible, unless one loves, unless one loves that unique Heart which is the Heart of Christ.

He who knows self and is pressed down beneath the heavy burden of that knowledge, must—if he wants to escape self—forget self. Yet plunged in his own being, as he is, how can he? To forget self he must get out of self, and that is impossible unless he loves. In other words, how can he be liberated from his own emptiness and instability by something that is outside self, unless this something be an object of his love? Otherwise, instead of attracting, this object would only intensify the torment felt by this existentialist at the sight of his own limitation and relativity. Now, that love³ can be directed only there where infinite love has lovingly taken a conditioned thing to himself and identified it with himself absolutely. He has done just that by taking the limitation of the humanity of Christ as his own; by taking—through the hypostatic union—the limitation of a human reality so really, absolutely and unconditionally to himself that it has become his own forever. Without ceasing to be in itself limited, it actually participates in an unimaginable way in the divine absolute. And if a man should desire lovelessly to relegate to the relative this exalted reality, he would relegate the absolute as such to the relative! This means also that every genuine love of a limited thing that has regard for the aspect of illimitation within that thing, is in the present order a love directed to the Heart of Christ. For such love has an incarnational character in so far as it connotes faith in the Incarnation. Such love is, therefore, a form of devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

³ Such love must somehow be "delimitized"—if such a hard-seeming paradox of loving something limited unlimitedly can really exist.

A man who has sounded the depths of his own being is not likely to love so naively and unguardedly as another. He feels the need of a love reaching the unlimited: the limited by itself is for him a disillusionment, unbearable in its insignificance. But if such a love is not to be perverted into a proud delight at the immensity of its own insatiable demand for an "all or nothing," then it must be a love of that concrete immensity which sets love free to soar into the illimited. Simultaneously it gives place and rank to other limited creatures as being worthy of love. That immensity is and can only be the concrete Heart of the infinite God, the Heart of the God-Man. Take a man who is not content to remain naively at the level of generalities, and who really perceives what his existence is. Such a person will not stand aghast at the thought of death since he knows by firm faith and hope that he is loved by Someone whose love cannot be reduced to a childish and passing illusion. For it is the love of God, the love of his Heart.

Church-Consciousness

It is scarcely necessary to stress the fact that fundamental Church-consciousness is only befitting and healthy when it is found in a heart motivated by love, in a heart that is *lovingly* Church-conscious. When the servant of the Church is devoid of love, his "Church" becomes a collective egoism which talks of the honor of God and the salvation of souls, but means more precisely the power and glory of the Church and of himself as a member. This service can never be justified except in lovers, who justify it by serving lovingly. In this context truth is luminous only when it glows with the fire of love. Men come to the Sacraments only when they see that the Sacraments have worked in the minister that which is their single purpose, "the charity of God is poured forth in hearts." (Rom. 5, 5). Only lovers can really serve the Church; only they can make of her what she is meant to be, the humbly-serving means of salvation for all. When we see the life of the Church primarily from the point of view of one or another party or tradition, when we join up with others like ourselves in fruitless justification of favorite usages and customs that suit and flatter our pride and opinions, when we no longer dare earnestly to ask ourselves whether we are really ready

to be all to all and to go zealously to others rather than sit back complacently till they come to us—when we are like this, then should we not ask ourselves whether we have prayed enough for the grace that will make us humble and selflessly loving, sacrificing personal privileges in order to bring privileges to others.

How can man pray better for such grace, where better learn the humility needed for love⁴ than from the Heart of the Lord who was not ashamed to love? Only those who are modest enough to discern their own limitations, not only those of others, will be able to avoid the danger of degrading, even though unconsciously, the Rules for Thinking with the Church into rules of a petty, narrow-minded fanaticism. Only men who really love will love the Church. While making her pilgrimage through time in poverty and fatigue, while ardently awaiting the marriage of the Lamb, this spouse of the Lord longs for love,—for a love which cannot be given by one who identifies himself with her as a fanatic with his party. In the last analysis the fanatic does not love, he hates.

Love is a quality all true spiritualities hold in common. The originality of any spirituality must be looked for in other gifts. But always it must be remembered: "if I do not have charity, I am nothing" (I Cor. 13, 2). This is as true of Ignatian as of any other spirituality. The very fountain of love, however, is the Heart of the Lord. Thus Ignatian spirituality is only holy when it loves this Heart and loves together with it. Without love, the other qualities become the more deadly the more exalted they are.

Genuine Development

So far we have tried to study the characteristics of Ignatian spirituality. We have asked ourselves why the devotion to the Sacred Heart is a protection against the dangers naturally accompanying such a spirituality, just as they accompany any other human creation. All such characteristics are limited, and the removal of the limits from the limited is a drastic step. The intrinsic union of the devotion to the Sacred Heart with

⁴ Love is humiliating and it inevitably seems foolish and unmanly to the aloof non-lover.

the spirituality of St. Ignatius, their inner relationship, is precisely what makes the former a protection. There is no question of a foreign influence neutralizing a menace from within. We must not and cannot see the effect of the devotion to the Sacred Heart on Ignatian spirituality in such a light: as though one were the saving element and the other of its nature a real danger. Rather, the characteristics of this spirituality truly spring whole and entire from that devotion and draw from that origin the protective influence in question. The opposition between them reveals itself on deeper analysis as an inner unity. This unity differentiates itself into the duality we have dealt with so far. We may now ask why and how the divine-human love, adoringly honored under the appropriate symbol of the Heart of Jesus, produces of itself the characteristics of Ignatian spirituality and preserves them.

Divine Love and Indifference. Love is primarily a going out of self, always a miracle of transcending one's own narrowness. St. Thomas has explained the profound truth that knowledge is in a sense a transcendence that draws all to itself and is aware of being enriched with the whole of reality. In the drama of life, however, the second act of the spiritual, personal being, is the greater wonder of the bestowal of self on someone else. What this signifies first and necessarily is a triumphant renunciation of self, an indifference to self, a trustful going-out-of-self. This act rules out the existential fear of finite being, ever anxious to preserve, and mortally afraid to lose, itself.

In this generous opening-outward⁵ that is identical with the spiritual being's love, the true lover is really concerned with all even though he seems to devote himself to one alone. He is free, he loves all. He loves not only a collection of individuals but also the source of individuality—God. This insatiable love that tends to embrace all in God makes the lover indifferent not only to self but also to other individuals as such. We say "as such," for it is not as though he did not truly love those other individuals. Rather, he loves them as

⁵ This is much more than a mere temporary leaving of self in order to arrange a federation with others, which would be a kind of collective egoism rather than love.

included within that limitless movement in which everything is loved, praised and esteemed. This other and primary All permeates and surrounds the created all. In this way man can really love only to the extent that, explicitly or otherwise, he loves God who is within and yet ever beyond whatever creature or creatures are loved.

Indifference seen in this way is nothing else than the individual keeping himself open to the All that is God, in order to be able to love others truly. He thus avoids the death which both the lover and the object of his love would have to suffer due to their essential limitation, were they not open to the limitless Fullness, who has lovingly willed himself to limited creatures to be *their* fullness and limitlessness. Hence indifference is the loving, positive reference to (and by) God of all that is limited and individual. It does not unmask the finite to lay bare its pettiness; it does not see through it as if it were empty nothingness. It notes its limitations in order to recognize its relation to the Illimited and the position of security granted it by and in the love of that Illimited. Indifference 'pierces' the heart of the lover and breaks open the rigid closing-in-upon-themselves of the objects loved. Indifference is so strong that it does not shrink from the death prerequisite to this opening-up. Rather it realizes that this is the only way it can liberate the finite, that it becomes unlimited only by being loved in the limitless love of the Unlimited. When someone is loved in the manner just noted, and when the love of God for the person in question is the communication of God himself to that limited being in grace and glory, then that being is loved by the indifferent man as one rendered unlimited by grace, because the person is loved within that same communicated love of God. Man can love in the true sense of the word only in God in as much as there alone each and every being has a common meeting ground and can bestow itself on others. In this manner and for this reason anything can be loved as if it were, at the same time, the only thing and everything that exists. And this is exactly what love desires. Love itself thus becomes indifference. Indifference is nothing else than the phase of upsurging love which is still in time and history with the world on the way to God, "who is all in all;" in whom finally there will be only love and nothing else.

It must also be remembered in this regard that in the present (after the Fall) order, the creature's closing in upon itself to the exclusion of all others, its anxiety to affirm itself, is sin or stems from sin. Indifference, therefore, as the opening of the creature to the all-unifying Love has a special bleeding character which it shares with the pierced Heart of Jesus. I leave this, however, to your personal meditation.

Love and the Existential. There never was love which did not consider itself quite unique, and this conviction is not foolish imagination. On the contrary, it is actually so, whenever love is real: love frees the lover for the expression of his truly personal uniqueness. When one lives in the universal and all-embracing love, then and then alone there is no other who could take his place and duplicate his giving. What he is constitutes precisely an uniqueness which embraces all. This center from which all is acknowledged and embraced exists only once. Love is the birth of the true and completely determined individuality. Such an individuality is not cramped loneliness but an image of the unique individualities in God, each of whom possess in his own way the whole of the Divine Nature by affirming and loving the other as he is.

Love and love alone is existential in yet another sense: it reveals one's own unique, personal vocation, task and mission. For man will not achieve his true self in mere static being nor in conceptual objectivity, but in action. This is so to a much greater extent for man than for angels, or even for God; because man progresses from being a mere member of a species to the personality of unique individuality by his free decisions. This unique line of action, which means much more than conforming to universal laws or fulfillment of the common nature of man, can miss the mark. Man can discover his personality in the uniqueness of his personal guilt. But if he is determined to avoid this failure, where does man hear the call that beyond all general norms will tell him what exactly he has to be? Where will he find his vocation, his mission, liberating him from deadly solitude and boredom? Will he discover it in the depths of his own being? Although man does find it in self, the discovery is not of self but of a gift. Yet being a gift from God, it is for this very reason that it

constitutes ultimately his own personality. So man can find what is most personal only by contemplating the image of self as seen by God. God, so to say, holds this image before our inner eyes. The contemplation of this image humiliates us in our imperfections, but at the same time fills us with joy since we know simultaneously ourselves and God. In this image we are constantly making new discoveries, though never here below will it be completely unveiled to us. Pilgrims that we are, we know as in a mirror not only God but also ourselves: only hereafter shall we know ourselves as we are known. Nevertheless we already sense something of our uniqueness which is rooted in God's grace in that God bestows on each one this very personal quality rendering us worthy of eternal existence.

How are we to discover this vocation, this image, which comes from God? Although the answer may appear to be too simple, it is the correct one: in the union of love with God. In love alone do we understand God; in Him alone do we comprehend what He expects of us. In love of God are we alone disposed to accept ourselves as conceived by Him in His love of us. Outside this love all would ultimately lead to despair and revolt. This would be the consequence even with regard to our own self: finding our individuality we would face the strange abyss of our nothingness. Not by accident do the Spiritual Exercises, if well understood, consist in finding the love for the ever greater God, in Jesus Christ, and in that same discovery, finding our own individual image, our vocation. This discovery comes from inspiration, from above, and not from a technique of purely rational planning, from below. Divine inspiration—whose manifestations may be quite ordinary—is only discerned by a person moved by love. Only as a lover can a human being enter into a dialogue with God, in whom alone the uniqueness of one's existence can be discovered. This process excludes all self-seeking pleasure and implies dedicated selfless service in an identification with the object.

With regard to the love for Christ we must say still more. We must remember that our own individual existence is meant to be a veritable participation in the life of Christ, a following of the Lord and his fortunes in the sense that we really pro-

long his life, and not merely copy it for the thousandth time. For this reason our Christian vocation and individuality can only be found in love for Christ. For precisely and solely by that love do we come to share, as if by loan, in the existence his love for us bestows.

Genuine love of the Church springs from the devotion to the Sacred Heart. Little need be added about this point. The Church herself is born of this Heart. "From a pierced Heart, the Church, the Spouse of Christ is born" is not merely a pretty saying. The Spirit without whom the Church would be no more than an organization, a synagogue, springs from the pierced Heart of Christ; and it is the Spirit of lavish love. This further implies that a correct understanding of the essence of the Church must be the result of viewing her in relation to her origin. Then only can we truly love the Church as she ought to be loved; then only can we escape the danger of having in our mind quite a different reality when striving to discover and love the Church. If we see her as coming from the Heart of Christ, if, helped by grace, we love her by sharing and imitating the love that brought her into being, we imitate the love of Christ for His Spouse the Church as it is described by St. Paul and as the Fathers of the Church understood it. Out of His love for sinful, lost humanity, He constitutes the Church as his Bride by freeing and cleansing it. Out of love He takes mankind, in spite of its adulterous infidelity to God, and makes it His Bride. Out of love He first makes it holy and worthy of love. Christ's love oscillates, so to say, between sinful mankind—which, by the way, has its representatives within the empirical Church—and the really holy Church. If our love for the Church, then, is to be like Christ's, it means we must love men: sinful, lost, groping men and love them truly. We must love a Church which needs to be continually renewed by these very men. We must be able to love a Church that is by no means straightway made into a pure and holy Bride of Christ without spot or wrinkle (Eph. 5,27); but one who is to become what she ought to be only through this same patient, long-suffering, forbearing love. In fact it is with this same patience and humility that we must love even ourselves, who are so sinful and imperfect and ever contributing our

part to the aspect of slave-girl and sinner in the Church (Gal. 4,22).

In a word, we must love a Church which will only be perfect when all that is ordained by God for salvation will have "come home" to her. There we will not merely share in the splendor of the Church; we will also bring along all that the home-comers have of spirit, grace, life, individual character, unique experience. Then only will the Church be in a full sense 'home' when all her children will have thus returned home. Love for the Church from the Heart of Christ is daring and keen-sighted, not a jealously defensive attitude but a furtherance of the Church's imitation of Christ by service. "For He came not to be served but to serve and to give His life as a ransom for the many" (Mark 10,45). Such a love does not seek the honor of the Church as a party, but the salvation and honor of those who must find the Church. Further, it seeks the reason why so few do find her; seeking first not among outsiders but among ourselves. This is missionary love, not an Old Guard, defensive love. This love knows that the Church will ever be renewed precisely at that moment when "someone" with a pierced heart seems to fail utterly. It will not despair but rather will recognize this hellish situation as the hour of his love, of his love for men and for the Father.

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In all the above considerations we have taken as a tacit basis a devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus that need not insist in every case on its being a devotion expressly and definitely limited by the word "Heart." Otherwise, we should not have been able to connect this devotion so closely and absolutely with the fundamental matters of Christianity and the Ignatian spirituality. However, the explicit devotion to the Sacred Heart will achieve very little in the end unless the spirit of love of which we have spoken, flowing from the pierced Heart of Christ, does come into our own hearts in the ways we have discussed. When the grace is offered us to name explicitly that unnamed essential component of Christianity, it is a new responsibility we cannot ignore and is the promise of a blessing to fall on all alike. When it is bestowed, we shall

understand how we die in indifference in order to live, how we come to our own individualities in order to find others and serve them in love, and how we love the Church in order to love all.

Father Francis P. LeBuffe

Francis K. Drolet, S.J.

Seven years have passed since the death of Father Francis P. LeBuffe. With the passing of these years, the figure of this truly remarkable Jesuit has lost none of its distinctive qualities. Visitors to the Jesuit Novitiate of St. Andrew-on-Hudson often walk over to the cemetery for a few moments of meditation and prayer. There the eye searches the headstones for the names of old friends who have gone to God. The grave of Father LeBuffe rests beyond the chapel, and as the visitor stands there, memories of the unusual deeds of this unusual priest come quickly to mind. Author, theologian, jurist, business manager, spiritual guide of priests and laity, founder of religious and scientific groups, promoter of the Sodality movement, he achieved much for the glory of God and the service of the Church,—and this in spite of lifelong eye trouble and a heart condition.

Specialized labors and ill health marked out for Father LeBuffe a path of individualism and of loneliness. Though he was known by many for his writings and his lectures, he was not intimately known except by a few. Possibly this was what enabled him to accomplish so much.

Boyhood and Youth

Francis Peter LeBuffe was a Southerner and there was something in his character that spoke of his Southern origin. He was born on August 21, 1885 in Charleston, South Carolina, the son of Adolph Francis LeBuffe and Marie Catherine Guillemain. He had one brother Leon, and two sisters who later entered the Notre Dame de Namur Community and were known in religion as Sister Clotilda and Sister Agnes Francis.

His younger sister recalls the memory of Frank's birth as told to her by her grandmother. "When Frank was just a few hours old the old Negro mammy was brought in to see the baby. She leaned over the bed, inspected the tiny bundle in front of her and said to the mother, 'Oh, Miss Marie, your boy's got a nose like a bishop.'" On this observation of the old mammy, his sister adds: "It was almost a prophecy, but thank God, not a bishopric but a good S. J. awaited him."

One diocesan priest of Charleston, South Carolina, remained in a special way the lifelong dear friend of Frank LeBuffe. He was Father Patrick I. Duffy, the pastor of St. Joseph's Church and an official of the diocesan chancery. This beloved man had introduced the young boy to the sanctuary and fostered the priestly vocation of this, his most promising altar boy.

Father Duffy had one weakness—watermelon. The story is told that at his rectory his curates and visitors were always expected to return home at an early hour in the evening. When Frank LeBuffe came as a young Jesuit to visit the city on the occasion of his grandmother's illness, he stayed at the rectory. One evening he was unavoidably delayed, but he knew that no excuse would be necessary if he came with a watermelon to delight the waiting pastor. Years later, at the end of his philosophy studies at Woodstock, young LeBuffe defended the whole of philosophy in the Grand Act, and Father Duffy attended as one of the questioners.

During his grade school days, Frank's family moved to Washington, D.C., and settled in St. Joseph's parish in north-east Washington. While there was a school connected with the church, Mrs. LeBuffe found that her boys were too advanced to register in it. There was nothing to do but to send them to a public school in the vicinity. While the parents were distressed, we are told that the lads took good care of themselves.

After attending this school for several months, Frank discovered an announcement of a scholarship examination to be held at Gonzaga College High School. His parents made inquiries and Frank was sent for the examination. Much to the delight of the family he won a four-year scholarship to Gonzaga and with it the providential manner God had for bring-

ing him into contact with the Society of Jesus. At that time Gonzaga had a collegiate department and Frank went as far as completing his freshman year when he applied for entrance into the Society. On August 14, 1901 young LeBuffe, not quite sixteen years of age, entered old St. Stanislaus Novitiate at Frederick, Maryland. Here under the tutelage of Father John O'Rourke, his novice master, Frank LeBuffe began his fifty-three years of life as a Jesuit.

The Young Jesuit

Father LeBuffe, with family roots in the South and steeped in the traditions of the Maryland Jesuits, was among those who went North to spend almost his entire Jesuit life working out of New York City. Before his novitiate was completed, indeed, the entire Jesuit community of Frederick was moved to St. Andrew-on-Hudson.

The impact of Father John O'Rourke on young LeBuffe was deep. Father O'Rourke impressed a personal love of Christ and loyalty to his person on the mind and heart of Frank LeBuffe, the author of so many volumes of *My Changeless Friend*. Our Lord exercised so great a fascination over Frank that he was able to communicate this to many souls through his writings. His master of novices has been called a great "molder of men." Certainly in Frank LeBuffe there was planted the secret of what he later on described in one of his pamphlets as "hardheaded holiness."

On the feast of the Assumption in 1903 young LeBuffe pronounced his first vows as a Jesuit. Thereafter followed three years of Juniorate and then the usual course of philosophy at Woodstock College between 1906 and 1909. His success in philosophy was brilliant, and he was invited to stay at Woodstock for another year to prepare for a public disputation *De Universa Philosophia*.

This disputation included two sessions: one in the morning in theology and another in the afternoon in philosophy. For each defense, distinguished objectors were invited in from other seminaries, four for theology and for philosophy. For Frank LeBuffe these objectors included Rev. Francis P. Siegfried, professor of philosophy at St. Charles Seminary, Overbrook, Pennsylvania, Rev. C. M. Sauvage of Holy Cross Col-

lege at Catholic University in Washington, and Rev. Charles A. Dubray, S.M., of the Marist College in Washington, as well as Rev. Patrick I. Duffy. The disputation attracted distinguished guests also. In attendance that afternoon were Cardinal Gibbons and Very Reverend Father Provincial. At the close both commended the young defendant for "an outstanding performance."

Young Jesuits of those days normally interrupted their studies at this time for a period of five years teaching. Mr. LeBuffe, however, spent only two years as teacher at Brooklyn Prep, 1910 to 1912, and then returned to Woodstock College for his theology. During his course of studies he had manifested an unusual linguistic talent. Upon the completion of his regular course of studies everything pointed toward his pursuing special studies in oriental languages preparatory to a doctorate in Holy Scripture.

Holy Priesthood

During theology Frank's strength failed, yet he was ordained to the priesthood by Cardinal Gibbons at Woodstock June, 1915. From that time on he had considerable trouble with his eyes and with his heart. To regain his health, his superiors sent him to a sanitarium in Pennsylvania. While Father LeBuffe was resigned to his illnesses, he regarded them as the greatest sacrifice he had to accept. Even during his last months he still felt the frustration and referred to it with some disappointment; for he had hoped to go on to a doctorate in Scripture. A rescript from the Apostolic Delegate granted the young priest faculties to celebrate the Votive Mass of Our Lady or the Votive Mass of Requiem.

Father LeBuffe's great strength of will explains why he accomplished so much despite his state of health. People were amazed to discover what his regime was for many years. As a result of his weakened eyesight he was excused from reading the Breviary and in its place recited four rosaries each day. These he would recite, sometimes in bed, or on the bus or plane. Reading hurt his eyes if done in artificial light, so he read an hour or two in the morning and worked as much as he could in the normal daylight. Father LeBuffe used to say that it was good for a man to discover that he had a heart

condition early in life. With this knowledge he would be able to regulate his life and accomplish a great deal without strain. True to this idea, he spent twelve hours out of every twenty-four in bed. He never climbed stairs and avoided subways. When he was making his many trips during his thirty-nine years of priesthood, he knew well in advance where the elevators were in train stations or in the buildings to which he was going.

Throughout his life the routine of his priestly labors was quite different from that of the men with whom he lived. His assigned work often drew him from the community with the result that only a few of his fellow Jesuits really knew his character. None became his intimate companions. He was unable to follow common life and his illnesses called for exceptional treatment and unusual privileges. Somehow he never seemed to be fully part of the community and yet those who knew him were well aware of his great love for the Society. While his exemptions never drew unkind criticism, there was a feeling that he was not a member of the family but rather, a guest. Although this was not his own making, it was a cross and one which he generously bore.

Father LeBuffe was well enough to make his tertianship at Poughkeepsie from 1918 to 1919. When this was completed, he found himself sufficiently recovered to take his final examination in theology which he would normally have taken as a fourth year Father. He pronounced his final vows on March 25, 1920 at Fordham University. During the next three decades at Fordham, Campion House, Xavier and 84th Street, Father LeBuffe undertook a wide diversity of projects which have made his name known throughout the country.

The Jurist

For one whose intellectual pursuits were more in the line of languages and scripture, it is interesting to note that Father LeBuffe was assigned to Fordham during the years 1920-1922 as Regent of the Law School. In addition to being the administrator, he taught legal ethics. Someone has said that LeBuffe was among the last of the "generalists." He himself had called specialization a necessary evil. He was a product of the school of Father O'Rourke which taught that, with the

Jesuit course of studies behind him, no man should fear to undertake any work, discussion or writing whatsoever. True to this principle, his personality was somewhat that of the *omne scibile* type. His first labors in the law school quite naturally saw him begin writing his book *Jurisprudence*. It consisted of thirteen chapters written in thirteen weeks. The first edition, published in 1924, received scathing reviews in law journals for its defense of the natural law but it has gone through five revisions. The last edition entitled *The American Philosophy of Law*, partly the work of James V. Hayes, a lawyer friend, was published by the Jesuit Educational Association in 1953, just a year before his death. As the years passed it was viewed in a more favorable light with the return of greater respect for the natural law after the period of legal relativism and positivism of Supreme Court Justice Holmes. His years of collaboration with Jim Hayes witnessed their attack on those philosophies of law as alien to the American legal tradition, which has its roots in solidly Christian English Common Law.

This legal bent in his character characterized even his asceticism. One of his booklets, entitled *Hardheaded Holiness*, has his much repeated definition of holiness; "I do what I ought to do when I ought to do it, the way I ought to do it, why I ought to do it." This sense of duty, rightly motivated, was characteristic of his dealings with God. His long concern with jurisprudence likewise made him a man who so stressed the virtue of prudence, that in his later years he tended to dampen the enthusiasm of younger people. In addition to his work at the Fordham Law School, LeBuffe later on spent three years as Dean of the School of Social Service.

The Apostle of Prayer

The writer first came into contact with Father LeBuffe at his lectures on mental prayer during one of the sessions of the Summer School of Catholic Action in New York City. It is safe to say that those who knew and loved Father LeBuffe best knew him as the apostle of mental prayer for the laity. One can go further and call him an apostle of mental prayer for religious and clergy also. In many religious communities he brought about the change from meditation in common to

freedom being granted the individual religious to make their own meditations.

If Father LeBuffe still speaks to us through any of his printed works, it is surely through the pages of his many volumes, entitled *My Changeless Friend*. This title reveals the man. For forty-one years, beginning as a theologian at Woodstock College before his ordination, he penned in long-hand each month his own reflections on his changeless friend. And in doing so he brought thousands to closer friendship with Christ. Beginning with 1915, when the first of these little books was issued, a volume was published yearly until a total of twenty-seven had been reached. Over a million copies were sold. And in 1949 the best of these meditations, arranged for daily meditation according to the cycle of the liturgical year, were published in two volumes by the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*. In the introduction to these two volumes Father LeBuffe wrote:

These articles and all that have appeared in the *Messenger* and elsewhere have come straight out of human lives, my own and others. They would never have been written if we had not received *the sacrament* of pain. Personally, as a young Jesuit my one desire was to teach Sacred Scripture and the Oriental Languages for which I was preparing. But the fulfillment of my desire was not in the designs of God, for a complete physical break-up came in 1916 shortly after ordination, the effects of which, some severe, some slight, have continued ever since. Thus the price of these years of writing was pain and the loss of all dreams of scholarship and study. But the price was small indeed. And it was because many a cross-bearer came to me and told me of their trials and sorrows and heartbreaks that ever new inspiration was given me to write. In full truth these articles have been written straight out of bleeding hearts and mangled lives.

Such was the shaping of one of the great apostolates of Frank LeBuffe during four decades of his life. In the lecture halls of the Summer Schools of Catholic Action across the country, at Sodality conventions, he taught mental prayer. On his trips up and down the land or in his room in New York, his pen brought forth these short reflections and meditations month after month. His own definition of mental prayer fits almost every one of them. He described it as follows: "I think on the things of God, in the presence of God, and apply them to myself."

To one who pages through *My Changeless Friend*, they reveal a great deal of the man who wrote them. Frank LeBuffe appears as one who never quit. These little meditations flowed constantly from his pen. They were circulated year in and year out all over the world. At the time of his death, forty magazines and periodicals carried them each month. Prior to going into the hospital before his death, he submitted the last meditation to the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*. It was on death, and it was entitled "Change of Address."

His meditations reveal another biographical fact. He was a man dedicated to the Sacred Scripture. During his years of philosophy, in addition to his studies at Woodstock, Frank LeBuffe spent one hour each day on the study of Hebrew, in preparation for his dream of doing scholarly work on the Scriptures. While he never attained this, in another way he he achieved it perhaps even more fully. His room at 84th St. contained a fine biblical library and he prided himself on his ability to delve deeply behind the meaning of Scriptural texts. In writing his booklets on mental prayer his procedure was almost always the same. There would be a title, then a text from Scripture, an anecdote to illustrate the text and the title, then reflections of his own and always a prayer at the end which was normally addressed to "Dear Lord Jesus." One has but to look at the index table of Biblical references of the two-volume edition of *My Changeless Friend* in order to see the variety of texts from the books of the Old and New Testaments. He had a special love for those of the Old Testament and for St. Paul. Could it be that his inability to achieve the scholarly pursuit of Scripture, was the providential factor which brought his love of Scripture to devoted souls, who with Mary, "pondered over all these things in their hearts?"

Sodalists of Our Lady are required by their rule to spend fifteen minutes a day in the practice of mental prayer. This has been a distinguishing characteristic of Sodalists. And it was this which Father LeBuffe made the touchstone of Sodality interior living for so many people. In one of his meditations he wrote this anecdote:

"But I can't pray," came the impatient answer. "What's the use of telling me to pray, Father? I can't." Once more God's priest heard one of God's own children say she could not talk to her Father.

"Can't you talk to me? Haven't you been talking with me?" "But praying is different, Father." "Yes, it's different only because you do not see God. But did you ever talk over the phone to an unseen friend? And did you ever talk through the aid of a pen to an unseen friend? Just talk that way with God, simply, frankly, artlessly. Isn't the prayer Our Lord taught the apostles a very simple thing? Can you get anything simpler, more everyday-like than the Our Father?"

This and other passages reveal the method by which Father LeBuffe taught prayer for so many years. It is to be noted that he always used the first person and he identified himself with his reading or praying audience. At the Summer Schools of Catholic Action, when one heard Father in a crowded lecture room still the whole group, have them sit there quietly with their eyes closed and speak in their name, always in the first person, one could easily recognize the wisdom of this approach to prayer on the part of this extraordinary teacher of prayer. For the most part he adhered to the *Spiritual Exercises* of Saint Ignatius in bringing the laity to the practice of the second method of prayer. This amounted to a word-by-word reflection on some text of Scripture or on some of the various prayers dear to Catholics.

One of his meditations on St. Paul was entitled "He Shook the World From a Prison." Paul was dear to Father LeBuffe, and it was under the patronage of St. Paul that he performed his long years of work with the Catholic Evidence Guild. A great deal of his writing was done at his desk or on an old writing board in his room at St. Ignatius, high above the street at the corner of 83rd and Park. This room was not exactly a prison like that of St. Paul's, whence that great missionary's writings came; but there are two little bits of writing that reveal his Pauline associations. The first is a little poem that lay on his desk:

When the Great Judge cleans out His desk
In some dark pigeon hole
Cob-webbed and grimy may He find
Your negligible soul.

And the other quotation is taken from the writing on St. Paul, just mentioned:

Now if ever a world traveller, world defier, world shaker saw
himself completely hobbled and restrained, it was St. Paul. Christ

from out of the blinding light on the road to Damascus called him to be an apostle of the Gentiles. Paul heard that call, hearkened to it and started his great apostolic journeys north, east, south and west. "The love of Christ drives me on," was his great cry, and it did. Then suddenly he is pulled up short, taken off the road and thrown into prison. Just the one place in all of God's world where such a "world beater" ought not to be. But did St. Paul quit? We all know the answer: his prison became the greatest pulpit of all ages; and the greatest publishing house of all times, for from it went forth those great letters which have molded and will mold Christian lives until the end of time. Suppose St. Paul had quit. But he didn't. He literally shook the world from his prison. Into my life there will certainly come times when I shall feel "cabined, cribbed, confined." Real talents that I have will seem to have no usefulness then. Every least effort will seem no more worthwhile than striking at the air. It is so easy to quit then, so easy to throw the blame of my inactivity on others or even on God, then to proceed to lapse into the called for inactivity. Maybe God does want me to forego the use of some of my talents for a time even in His cause. Maybe He does want my appointed field of influence to be manifestly narrowed. But there is one thing He does not want and that is for me to quit.

Quit was one thing Father LeBuffe never did. When his first series of mental prayer books on *My Changeless Friend* had to be replaced, he went on to produce others. One three volume series, entitled *As It Is Written*, sold 109,000 copies. Another five volume series, entitled *Let Us Pray* sold 102,000. Other books of his were entitled *Meditations on the Prayers of the Mass* and *Thinking With God*. Probably the one he loved most personally was his booklet, entitled *Prayers for the Dying*, which was no more than his own reflections on the liturgical prayers recited at the departure of the dying Christian soul. It was written because he himself often thought of death. He received Extreme Unction many times and his meditations on death appear constantly. No one will deny that there is great spiritual wisdom in the meditation books of Father LeBuffe. He may not have shaken the world from prison as St. Paul did, but he was a man who learned to talk to the Lord in a simple way and then taught millions of others to do so. He was a man who pondered over the word of God, and communicated his thoughts to countless souls, simply because he found through years of priestly experience that these truths were verified in their lives.

The Business Manager turned Amateur Scientist

LeBuffe, the writer of spiritual books, the administrator of university schools of law and of social service, now found himself, as Jesuits occasionally do, in a totally new field, that of business manager of the *America* Press. His name first appeared on the masthead of *America*, on August 7, 1926 and continued as such for twelve years. The forty-one year old priest, fresh from the lecture halls of Fordham, needed a lecture platform of some sort. This took on several aspects. He was a pioneer in the founding of Fordham University's publication, *Thought*, and acted as its managing editor. He became one of the directors of the Catholic Press Association. But it is in the pages of the bound volumes of *America* that we can now best trace his development.

The first phase of this development of LeBuffe's work coincided with the first volume of *America* bearing his name as business manager. It carried two articles on the development of the outdoor preaching by David Goldstein in Boston and by the Paulists in Canada. Both articles expressed the hope that something similar to the British Catholic Evidence Guild would develop here in America. Not long afterwards, it was Father LeBuffe who formed the first unit of the New York Catholic Evidence Guild. His work in this field will be considered later on.

The second phase of his development came two years later. The September 22, 1928 issue of *America* carried an article by Father Daniel A. Lord, S.J., entitled "The Students Con-vene." Here Father Lord wrote on the first Students' Spiritual Leadership Convention held under the auspices of the Sodalties of Our Lady, August 17-19 at St. Louis University. It was the forerunner of the Summer Schools of Catholic Action and Father Lord stated that "It was splendid history and prophetic in tone." Thirteen hundred and ten students from colleges and universities from coast to coast came to this first convention. What was this prophecy of Father Lord? "The prophecy is, we hope, that there will be an ever widening enthusiasm in our schools for their religious organizations and trainings and a broader sense of leadership among the potential leaders now in training." It was not long before Father Lord discovered that men of the calibre of Father Le-

Buffe could be a strong spiritual influence at the annual conventions sponsored by his National Sodality Office. During the decade and a half that followed, Father LeBuffe made his greatest contribution in the field of mental prayer at the Summer Schools of Catholic Action.

It was, however, quite another matter that attracted his attention. From 1928 until 1932 the field which characterized practically all of Father LeBuffe's writings in the pages of *America* and the pamphlets published by the *Catholic Mind*, was that of evolution. Father LeBuffe was not a specialist in the field of the natural sciences nor was he an anthropologist. And yet the business manager, who charged into the battle against the materialistic evolution of his day, felt himself equipped for the task. Perhaps it was his facility in writing plus a self-confidence built on his knowledge of Scripture, ethics and sociology that gave him courage against the evolutionists. To add fire to his pen, one must remember that those were the days when many scientists were making claims far beyond their competency, and when Al Smith, the Catholic candidate for the presidency, had felt the fundamentalist impact of anti-Catholicism. Perhaps the mood of Father LeBuffe's writings against the scientists of evolution was nothing more than the mood of his times.

Against the Evolutionists

Beginning in 1928 some of the titles which came from his pen against the evolutionists make an interesting list: *Can Animals Be Moral?*, *Neanderthal, a Slippery Ancestor*, *Those Horrible Primitives*, *So Heidelberg, Too, Is Human*. The former professor of ethics fought the materialists and cautioned his Catholic readers against the excessive claims of the anthropologists. He warned that "The primitives ought not to be libeled much longer." His glee was great when the Heidelberg man appeared lost to the evolutionists. At the end of the year 1928 he wrote, "So too, for poor old Heidelberg! He has lost his teeth, he has lost his chinlessness, he has lost his synphysis, he has lost his ramus and mandibular notch, and there is nothing now for the poor old chap but to be a regular fellow."

The following spring saw him enter the field again. "Evolution shifts again. Those of us who are not professedly scien-

tists are so used to being called to task, that we are apt to feel a certain relief when an honest to goodness ranking scientist shakes an arresting finger at his confreres." The armchair anthropologist had begun to find a balanced center among the ranks of the evolutionists.

Wisely, however, Father LeBuffe distinguished between the fundamentalists and the anti-evolutionists. In the spring of 1929 he wrote in the pages of *America*, "Some Catholics are anti-evolutionists along all lines. All Catholics must be anti-evolutionists along some lines, e.g. the *evolution of the whole man*. But Catholics are not fundamentalists and no Catholic needs misinterpret one single finding of science. Such justification as there may be for the public's distrust of science is due chiefly to the misrepresentation of scientists by some of its uneducated devotees."

During these years he had founded and was first secretary of the Jesuit Anthropological Association. He was also attending the national anthropological meetings at Catholic University in Washington. In his articles, he continued to bear down on the evolutionists. One was entitled *Our Face from Fish to Man*; another, *An Unscientific Scientist*; and still another, *Exit the Missing Links*. He would warn evolutionists, like Dr. W. K. Gregory, to stick to the facts. The books of Genesis and the constant Judeo-Christian tradition of creation was under attack. The business manager of *America* could write, "When will scientists learn that competency in their own specialty gives them rights in no least way to dogmatize on all lines?" In 1931, whether any of this dogmatism had been attributed to him or not, he took time out to pen this warning of prudence to Catholic writers, "It is safe to say that every unwise remark made by a theologian anent scientific matters could well be countered by an equally unwise remark made by a scientist anent religious truths."

Those were the years of the great depression from 1928 to 1932. Perhaps the more immediate problems of the hour tempered the battle over primitive man. Whatever the cause, it is noted that from this time on, until his death, Father LeBuffe's writings turned once more almost exclusively to the spiritual. There is no doubt that in this field he had more authority. It is quite a contrast to see in the 1932

pages of *America*, an article from his hand entitled, *Can Boys Learn Mental Prayer?* What had happened to the scientists? By now he had founded the Catholic Round Table of Science and was attempting to achieve at its meetings an entente cordiale between science and religion. The arm-chair was at the round table and the battle was over. Had harm been done, or had good been accomplished? Opinions vary. Perhaps this is what the times called for. It is not too wise to judge the past by the present.

Father LeBuffe and the Secular Media of Communication

During these and succeeding years when the battle with the evolutionists and *America's* business management gave him free moments, LeBuffe found another field for his writing—this time in the secular press. It was the era when the Sunday supplements reached as many as thirty million individuals. Realizing their influence for good and for evil, he determined that he would try to use it as an influence for good. So he approached the Hearst Papers' *American Weekly Magazine* and agreed to write some articles for this syndicate. These included accounts of the canonization of Mother Cabrini, the excavations under Saint Peter's and other religious topics. Yet the magazine was too full of sensational and suggestive materials for one of Father LeBuffe's position to be identified with it as a regular contributor. The editors were not adhering to his conditions. Once more the fighting spirit in LeBuffe challenged the Hearst Papers. He was being highly paid by them, and they feared his attack would affect their Catholic readers. He made demands and they made promises. When he threatened to quit, they offered him the highest rate of fifty cents per word, greater than that given to their best contributors. For a while they attempted to clean up the magazine and he continued with them. This bit of trading actually helped him make some substantial gifts to the Philippines. Ultimately, however, the clean up was only partial and temporary. So LeBuffe broke with them.

Father LeBuffe constantly exercised his fighting spirit with definite watchdog tactics over the media of communications: the press, radio and screen. One letter to the editor of the *Daily News* charged that much of its sensational journalism

was the work of the devil. This brought a sharp retort from the editor who quoted from a letter of another correspondent who charged that the paper was an agent of the Vatican since it pictured priests giving the Last Sacraments to victims of accidents. Later on in his position as Regional Sodality Director, LeBuffe knew he could hurt the purse of producers of off-color shows. Letters of protest or the threat thereof from Sodalists were a weapon to brandish in the face of recalcitrant sponsors. On occasion he used this powerful force as a check on programs. It became evident that this managing editor knew how to influence public opinion.

The fighting spirit of Frank LeBuffe had another angle. A dear friend of his, Father Neil P. Hurley, S.J., wrote, "Father LeBuffe allowed everyone the large liberty of the children of God in choosing freely those devotions which attracted the individual soul. He clung to his own views tenaciously but rarely tried to impose them on others in free matters. Possibly this frankness in dogmatism in his own views endeared him to those lay people with whom he came in contact, while on the other hand it irked on occasion fellow Jesuits who mistook his carefully thought-out views for dogmatism. Some felt he pontificated. Those who were his equals perhaps resented it, but those whom he taught and directed thrived on it."

The Lonely Man

It seems paradoxical that men who lecture to thousands and whose writings enter the minds of millions should be lonely and isolated men. Yet this seems quite true of Father Lord and others who were well known and loved through the Sodality movement. Father LeBuffe had several circles of friends who looked to him as teacher and guide, yet he was a lonely man. Perhaps this explains his special devotion to Our Lord, his changeless friend.

It was hard to enter the friendship of Father LeBuffe. His health required much rest, and the few hours he had to work during the day were given entirely to work. Visits with him were brief and scattered. It is not strange, therefore, that his writings took up the question of friendship. In one of his meditations these words are found:

A friend is a sacred thing to us, one to be honored and respected. Freedom there is in our intercourse and an utter lack of all that is stilted, distant or reserved. But with all that, there is an unmistakable reverence, a complete absence of undue familiarity that even a casual observer will always note. The more bountiful nature and grace have been in enriching my friend, the more dominant will be this air of gracious deference and consideration. A true friend is always one to whom I look up, and this inevitably brings with it payment of due homage. None otherwise is it with those who are truly friends of Christ. We need but to stand at the door of Christ's home and watch them as they enter the shadows within. Their prayerful mien and other-worldly composure tell of their kingly friend with whom they have come to chat. Whether they kneel as best befits an adoration, or whether because of nature's weariness they sit and hold sweet converse with their Friend, there is a delicate decorum in their ways that bespeaks the high esteem in which they hold this Friend.

Living as he did during the last years of his life in the Jesuit community at St. Ignatius, yet often withdrawing from it because of his specialized work and also because of his illness, LeBuffe might well have been writing of himself. He was often seen in the domestic chapel of Loyola School alone in the sanctuary darkness. When did Frank LeBuffe first meet his Friend, the Master? We go to his writings, in another meditation entitled "When We First Met Christ," we find him writing,

Few of us, like St. John, can go back to the time we first met Christ. That was at sainted mother's knee when our lisping lips were taught the sweetest of all sweet names. "Dear Jesus" grew into our lives as we grew up and He was as real to us as little chums we played with. Yet even though because of God's early grace we lose our Friend in the blended memories of infant days, we can go back to other times when we have met Him. It may be as we look over the years we find Him by our side, when sorrow in its darkest form comes into our lives. And when we hear again the words of love that nerved our hearts anew, it may be it was a time of fullest joy, when we hurried into His Sacramental presence and poured forth our hearts in rapid thanksgivings and waited lovingly for His own good words of approbation. Or again it may be that as we travel back though the long spent years we find that blessed morn, when we knelt before our gracious King and swore his liegeman's triple oath, and chose His livery and His service until death stay our warrior hearts.

There was something about Father LeBuffe that made men fear him. Perhaps it was his loneliness, for none shared inti-

mately his fighting, priestly heart, and few were intimately associated with him in work. Though he loved his fellow members of the Society of Jesus dearly and encouraged them in different ways when they had done some particular work, he remained at a distance none the less. One custom was his, to encourage others especially in the field of writing. He would write a note to a fellow Jesuit or acquaintance whose book or article he had read or noticed in the press. These short words of encouragement were a sign of friendship. Perhaps it was because he was so close in friendship to Our Lord that he was able to write these lines in another one of his meditations:

Sometimes the isolation of the human soul comes home to us and carries with it a realization that hurries terror into our inmost heart. Between my soul and the souls around me there is a gulf so broad and so deep that all the powers of human expression cannot span it, when most I need uplifting sympathy and bouyant encouragement. I have indeed my friends, in the brightness of whose smiles my weary careworn heart is fed with strength and courage, but still it is fearfully true that my soul's deepest life is single and unshared. I live by myself alone; alone yet with an indomitable craving for One with whom to share all that lies nearest and dearest to me; alone yet lashed on always by a vast fundamental yearning to pour out my heart and its most secret thoughts and fears and hopes to Someone who will completely understand me. Friends we have whose love for us is as strong as our love for them, but friends they are with only a human power to help, so we are alone. Yes, alone, alone and isolated with a bleak blank road to death ahead of us unless we know the blessed comradeship of Christ our Lord.

The Theologian of the People

The priest, who could write so beautifully of his changeless friend and who could bring Him in intimate prayer to the ordinary faithful, is also well known and loved as the founder of the Catholic Evidence Guild of New York. It was here that the brilliant theologian of Woodstock days brought theology to a band of lay apostles and they, in turn, to the street corners of New York City. The following lines were written by Father Neil T. Hurley, who was closely associated with Father LeBuffe in the Catholic Evidence Guild work. Here in part are his observations from a paper entitled "A Case Study In Lay Theology."

For twenty-five years now a group has been fulfilling the duties that lie incumbent upon the Christian lay apostle by virtue of

his baptism and confirmation. The Catholic Evidence Guild of New York has been exercising its participation in Our Lord's unique priesthood by its active apostolate of preaching and spreading the knowledge of the Faith. Because of the success the Guild has had transmitting the life of grace to its members through its lay theology course, the psychology of its approach deserves attention. The Guild's moderator, Father Francis P. LeBuffe, S.J., has taught lay theology to the members ever since the Guild's inception in 1928.

Originally the Catholic Evidence Guild began as a select group of zealous Fordham boys. In March 1928, after a retreat at Manresa, Staten Island, of the St. Thomas Aquinas Sodality of the Fordham Law School, three young lawyers approached their former jurisprudence professor, Father LeBuffe, with the idea of forming an Evidence Guild. Such work had been going on in the United States for some twelve years, ever since two converts from socialism, Martha Moore Avery and David Goldstein, toured the country explaining Catholic doctrines. In England, evidence work became famous through the Westminster Guild whose distinguished speakers Maisie Ward, Frank Sheed and Father Vincent McNabb, O.P., held forth at London's well-known Hyde Park. Father LeBuffe welcomed the proposal to form such a guild in New York City. He had long entertained a plan to instruct a group of laymen in a deeper love and intelligence of dogma and revelation so that they might exert a more Christian influence on their environment.

Consequently, the three young lawyers interested others in their vision. They unanimously accepted Father LeBuffe's plan to develop and train on a broad slow basis lay theologians well-versed in the more important phases of speculative theology. Father promised his newly-formed group that if they gave him one night a week (two hours a night) for ten years, he would do something with them. A truly heroic ambition. Three years of such training followed before the late Patrick Cardinal J. Hayes allowed the group to hold radio broadcasts in the archdiocese of New York. As a result some seven hundred talks over a seven year period were presented. In 1936 the Catholic Evidence Guild made its debut on Columbus Circle in New York City, an acknowledged hotbed of radicals and reactionaries. Soon however, the Guild, due to its politeness, its seriousness, its intelligent presentation of Church teachings, established a reputation as a sane group with an important message. A short while later women were admitted into the Guild. And then seminarians from St. Joseph's seminary in Yonkers. Today the Guild has affiliated groups on the campuses of Fordham University and Albertus Magnus College in Connecticut. For the past twenty-five years the Guild has expounded Catholic truths over the radio, in labor schools, before Catholic and non-Catholic audiences, at its different "pitches" (i.e. outdoor meeting places) throughout the metropolitan area of New York. . . .

The personal magnetism of Father LeBuffe has been undoubtedly

one of the chief reasons for the Guild's steady growth through the years. Any Guild member will attest to the growing power of Father LeBuffe's radiant personality, his informality, his lively interest in the things of God and the Church, his zeal for souls. His talks on lay theology reveal the rich manifold of his experience. Together with logical preciseness and accuracy and doctrinal depth, Father LeBuffe combined an engaging controversial style replete with light illustrations and anecdotes. Because of his genuine love of philosophy and theology and because of his rapier-like answers to the questions the Guild asked, Father LeBuffe has kept abreast of both subjects over the years. For a period of time one of Father LeBuffe's best-known booklets *Let's Look at Sanctifying Grace*, which he wrote for *The Queen's Work*, was the textbook of the group. But the Guild was permitted to ask questions at random and he allowed its members "the large liberty of the children of God" with no strict curriculum. He treated the economy of God's plan, true, but he did so by following the subjective order of interest and discovery which are revealed by the Guild's questions.

Over the years bonds of friendship formed between the members of the Catholic Evidence Guild and their moderator. He was proud of their work on the street corners of New York. When their questions in theology or his own constant searches for theological truth did not find ready answers, he would save up these ticklish questions for his next visit to Woodstock College. There he would engage in debate with the best minds among the faculty of theology on matters for which he wanted further knowledge. The man who had ambitioned to teach theology in the lecture halls of Woodstock heard his voice through others in the street-corner preaching of his Evidence Guild and came only to Woodstock that that voice might be further clarified.

One of the members of the Guild, Mother Mary Angela, who later entered the Helpers of the Holy Souls, wrote as follows:

Looking back over the years and the many hours of exhilarating intellectual and spiritual sessions in which he gave of his vast knowledge, fine intellect and eminent culture, we are amazed to recall how 'his conversation was in heaven.' How often he lingered on the great homecoming. Sometimes he warned jokingly that if any of us got to heaven not to bother him as he was going to get some of these knotty questions arranged with St. Paul and he wouldn't want it known that he had anything to do with such heretics. He certainly approached heaven by the many shores of knowledge—theology, scripture, law, science, philosophy, and half a dozen incidental ones."

The Regional Sodality Secretary

From 1938 to 1954 Father LeBuffle did his best remembered work as Eastern Regional Sodality Secretary. Two years of this work were at Xavier and the last fourteen years at St. Ignatius Loyola, in New York City. The National Sodality Office had been established in St. Louis and was flourishing under the dynamic direction of Father Lord. That office, *The Queen's Work*, rendered heroic service to the Sodality movement in this country and Canada. But because of the vastness of the project it became evident that regional offices would ultimately have to be created. Father LeBuffle's position as Eastern Regional Sodality Secretary took care of most of the East. A similar office in Chicago was directed by Father Martin Carraine. As eastern representative of the Sodality movement, Father LeBuffle worked with the men at the National Office, not only with Father Lord, but with Father George McDonald, Father Aloysius Heeg, Father J. Roger Lyons, Father Edward Downing and Father Richard Rooney. They were the backbone of the staff members of the Summer Schools of Catholic Action, that unique traveling school which combined the qualities of a retreat, an education, and a vacation all "in six days you'll never forget." During an ordinary summer this team toured as many as ten cities, making the Sodality movement more and more identified with Catholic Action at its best and especially among the youth of the country. At all of these conventions Father LeBuffle's classes on mental prayer were among the best attended and most appreciated.

The system he created as Eastern Regional Sodality Secretary has now been copied in all the provinces of the American Assistancy. And, more or less, the work of the province promoter follows the pattern which he set. Foremost on his list were his dealings with the bishops of the dioceses. During a consultation with the local bishop he tried to bring about the creation of a diocesan director of Sodalities. Then he would place himself at the service of the diocese through this official in spreading the Sodality movement through the parishes and schools. In this way he developed warm relationships with the hierarchy and with the diocesan clergy. While he had success elsewhere, in New York City his relationship with the diocesan

director was not too cordial. And yet they worked out a compromise between the Sodality rule and the rules of the Children of Mary, as the official guide for Sodalities of the New York Archdiocese.

During his sixteen years in the office LeBuffe appeared on countless lecture platforms, and at Sodality rallies and institutes for the training of nuns and priests and brothers in Sodality work. There were constant consultations in the various cities of the East with diocesan directors, sometimes in groups and at other times individually.

Year after year he made it his point to visit casually with his fellow Jesuits in various cities where they were running Sodalities. He was not particularly desirous of formal visits to their Sodalities, but rather when he came to a city where there was one of our colleges or schools, he would usually meet with the men at a dinner and discuss the situation of their Sodalities with them in a rather informal way. Normally each year he would have a general gathering of Jesuits in the metropolitan area and sometimes especially after the appearance of the new Apostolic Constitution *Bis Saeculari*, even monthly he would meet with them to discuss the implementation of this papal directive. One of the best remembered of these meetings came at the time when Father Louis Paulussen, the International Sodality Promoter, paid his first visit to the country in 1953.

There were two documents of his office which Father LeBuffe always carried in his coat pocket. One was a well-annotated copy of the Sodality Rules and the other was an appointment book which he always had on hand to note his assignments. His traveling for the Sodality was considerable. And his bad health forced him to travel light. He sent his laundry case on in advance of any trip, so that he would not have to carry a valise. When he left the house he had only a briefcase with his papers in it. The best of his trips was his trip to Rome in 1951 on the occasion of international meeting of Jesuit Sodality Promoters at the Curia. This was but three years before his death. The experience gave him a new lease on life and stimulated him intellectually in a wonderful manner. On his trip he was doing some writing for the Hearst papers and it was at that time that he discovered the publicity

value of the excavations under St. Peter's. One of the highlights of his trip to Rome was his audience with Pope Pius XII and the resulting autographed letter from His Holiness acknowledging the receipt of the new edition of *My Changeless Friend*. The letter of the Holy Father reads as follows:

It was a happy thought, beloved son, that prompted the new edition and new arrangement of your brief meditations which over many years have lifted the souls of so many readers above the heart-wearying vicissitudes of earth to find in the truths of God's revelation the balm for the wound, the spur for the lagging spirit, the peace and joy that come only from the heart of Jesus to those, who in love, try to follow Him. Mental prayer is a need of prime importance for clerics and the laity; and We express the hope that these two volumes which We accept with gratitude, will be an effective means to make its practice easier and more common.

This papal praise of his labors to promote the practice of mental prayer and also the papal approval of a little prayer in honor of St. Paul for his Catholic Evidence Guild were among the most highly cherished approbations which could have come to Father LeBuffe.

In his work for the Sodality movement in this country, Father LeBuffe will always be remembered for the encouragement he gave to others to undertake this work, so characteristically a Jesuit apostolate. Especially of note is the suggestion he gave to Father James Risk to do his doctorate dissertation at the Gregorian University on *De Congregationis Exemptione*. He knew that a canon lawyer was needed to clarify the legal issues connected with Jesuit and diocesan jurisdiction over Sodalities. The writer himself received encouragement to undertake the specialized work of Sodalities, first during his scholastic days at Loyola in Baltimore and later on as a young priest Father LeBuffe urged him to go to Europe to study the Sodality movement especially in Spain and Italy. When the writer returned to New York it was a period of transition in the Sodality movement, a year after the issuance of the new Apostolic Constitution *Bis Saeculari* by Pius XII which marked the beginning of the revitalization of the whole Sodality movement. Father LeBuffe had labored to build the Sodality movement on another foundation. And yet considering his age and *Bis Saeculari's* stricter ideals, it was good to observe his sincere efforts at this conformity. This was espe-

cially noticeable in the encouragement he gave to support the new Le Moyne College Sodality.

While he encouraged his assistant to follow in his chosen path, he placed great stress on caution and prudence. In this area his associates found him difficult at times. Father LeBuffe was a man of experience and many of the ideas of *Bis Saeculari* had not been tried out in America. Yet many of these ideas were of an older and more glorious tradition from the pre-Suppression days of the Society itself. He not only showed a lack of approval but even opposed many of the older ideals, such as the development of professional sodalities. He claimed they would be crossing parish lines and skimming the cream off the crop of the parish elite. And yet later on when professional sodalities were formed, almost universally they became a stimulus in the revitalization of the existing parish and school Sodality units. He opposed also any mixed Sodalities of men and women such as Cana Sodalities or adult groups of both sexes. He claimed that the psychology of men and women varied so much that they could not receive the same spiritual and apostolic development, according to an authentic Sodality pattern. It did not occur to him to look at his own Catholic Evidence Guild, a group of men and women, which he never considered capable of being developed into a Sodality.

Father LeBuffe, as Eastern Regional Sodality Secretary, in company with the men of his day at *The Queen's Work*, did pioneer labor to build a Sodality structure along the best lines they knew. While he may have differed to some degree with his associates, none will ever deny that the present development of the Sodality movement was made possible only by the stature and labors of the men like himself who first labored in the field. The years before 1948 saw the labors of the founders of the American Sodality movement. Now a new generation of Sodality promoters has risen. The annual January meetings at *The Queen's Work* now see the faces of younger Jesuits.

The list of works performed by this priest of only limited physical ability is impressive indeed. In addition to the ones already mentioned, he was founder of the Eastern Jesuit Philosophical Association, founder and secretary of the Jesuit

Anthropological Association, honorary deputy chief of the fire department of the city of New York, moderator of the New York Circle of the International Federation of Catholic Alumni and a director of the Catholic Press Association.

The last, and perhaps one of the most characteristic labors of Father LeBuffe, might almost entitle him to be called the American apostle for evening Masses. He was far ahead of his time in seeing the need for the laity of assisting at Mass in the evening. He knew the social changes of our country from firsthand observation. He understood the greatly varying needs of the people and felt that morning Mass alone was insufficient in our modern transitional society. While he did not live to see the changes in the Eucharistic fast and the granting of permission for evening Masses, it was in a measure due to him that the American bishops were acquainted with the project. As far back as 1941 he approached Archbishop Joseph Schrembs of Cleveland with his plan. The Archbishop had LeBuffe draw up a letter which he sent out under his own name to all the members of the United States hierarchy. Archbishop Schrembs was able to write to the individual bishops in his capacity of president of the National Eucharistic Congresses and protector of the Priests' Eucharistic League. He asked them to consider the petition to the Holy See, which was enclosed, for week-day late afternoon Masses with a three-or-four-hour Eucharistic fast for the celebrant and communicants. Following the form submitted to him by Father LeBuffe, he explained that Mass offered in the late afternoon would mean that many thousands would avail themselves of the privileges of attending such a Mass and receiving Holy Communion. Moreover, the world crisis of World War II seemed an opportune time to present such a petition to the Holy Father. If the petition met with approval of the bishops, the Archbishop requested them to have their pastors and curates sign the petition and also to ask their parishioners to do likewise.

Again in 1941 Father LeBuffe conferred with Archbishop Murray of St. Paul, who promised him to assign a session at the National Eucharistic Congress to be held that year in St. Paul to the discussion of afternoon Mass. Father LeBuffe was pleased with this. His good friend Archbishop Schrembs of

Cleveland entrusted to his auxiliary, Bishop McFadden, the task of going to the Eucharistic Congress and speaking on the matter of afternoon Masses. However, much to the regret of the Archbishop and of Father LeBuffe, Bishop McFadden was informed that the matter was not to be brought up.

Despite this failure of his plans, Father LeBuffe continued in pursuit of his goal to bring afternoon Mass to the laity. He gathered data from various parts of the world. Then in July 1947, he approached Archbishop (later Cardinal) Cushing of Boston. He brought the prelate up to date on his attempts in this matter with the other members of the hierarchy. He wrote, "I am more than happy that your Excellency thinks so well of the project. It may interest you to know that Cardinal De Gouveia, Archbishop of Lourenço Marques, Portuguese East Africa, has permitted afternoon Masses in his archdiocese. A notice to this effect appeared in the *Denver Register* for April 21, 1946. This would seem to indicate some precedent. Although the news release did not state whether Communion was allowed at the afternoon Mass, that of course, would be quite important."

One of the objectives Father LeBuffe had in mind during his trip to Rome in May and June of 1950 was to bring this matter to the attention of the Vatican officials. And for this he conferred with Cardinal Marchetti-Selvaggiani in Rome, May 1950. He was very graciously received and the account of his efforts was listened to. But once more he received little encouragement, except the words, "Father LeBuffe, any Bishop can take this matter up directly with the Holy See."

Such, in short, were the efforts of one priest to bring evening Mass to the laity. He worked on the premise that he needed petitions from all or many of the hierarchy of the country,—which seemed most unlikely. If he could only have gotten one bishop to appeal directly to Rome, a precedent would have been set. However, this is all part of past history now because Rome itself has spoken, and the evening Mass, within limitations, belongs to the people of the country and the world.

Final Sickness and Death

All of this brings us naturally to the evening of the life of this devoted laborer in the vineyard of the Lord. It was

the winter of 1953-54. He had passed his 69th birthday. Among his meditative writings there is one passage entitled *Just Tired*, which certainly revealed the heart of this priest who had always seemed old, but now was really old. He wrote:

When I was quite young Our Lord placed a cross on my shoulders. I tried so hard to carry it bravely and did manage to do so for many years. But of late it is weighing me down. Right now I am just tired and it is an effort for me to say "Dear Lord, help me"—"Just tired," how familiar that cry to anyone who has dealt with souls. Time and time again in the lives of each of us we just "get all played out." We do not want to quit but it seems quite too much to drag our leaden steps one inch further.

The heart of this aging priest was indeed tired. Countless times he had thought that death had approached and many times over he had received the sacraments of the dying. In March 1953, he had a heart attack. The doctor arrived just in time for an injection to check edema. As a result he was hospitalized and released after two months. From then on until his death fourteen months later, he was confined to the house at St. Ignatius. There were minor attacks and setbacks with increasing frequency. During this time he said Mass only rarely. There was no doubt in his mind that his days were numbered, despite the doctor's insistence that he had five years of limited activity ahead of him. He continued to write regularly for the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* and remained active in his room. There was the regular flow of mail and articles. He was working with Jim Hayes on the publicity for the fifth edition of *The American Philosophy of Law*. He also considered that his apostolate of those days was to offer everything for the good of the Society. During the winter he experienced heart attacks, one on the occasion of a fire in the rectory. There were periodic trips to the hospital.

During April and May of 1954 the attacks and setbacks were more frequent. His days and nights became more difficult. Now a new worry came to him: he feared he was becoming a burden and a bother to his fellow Jesuits in the community. While he was deeply appreciative of the attention he received, it came to him as a real blow that he needed the help of others. All his life he had managed to care for himself. In April and May he began to blame himself for what he called an attitude of self-sufficiency. There were times when he applied it to his

own relations with God. "I thought I could take it," he would say to a fellow Jesuit who was close to him at that time. To him Father LeBuffe often spoke of "the nameless dread;" and when pushed on the subject he could not explain it.

He had been hopeful of dying at home, not in a hospital. But finally he realized that the end was to be delayed. Hospital care was needed and he concurred in the move to the French Hospital. He entered the hospital on May 14 and remained until the day of his death, Ascension Thursday, May 27. During this time his mind remained clear. He was glad to see his friends. Often during his life he had written on the subject of death. His pamphlet on the prayers for the dying had consoled many people. One of the books he brought with him was this little booklet. He had a fellow Jesuit read the liturgical prayers to him and he would often have them reread very slowly so that they might be in his mind. Twenty-two years previously he had written in the pages of *America*, "The Church Prays at Our Dying." It contained these lines:

If I really love God and really try to serve Him, even though I do not serve Him as best I may, I know His love and His call is sweet,—
to come back *home*.

Death was a home-going for Father LeBuffe. Above all, he loved the manner in which the prayers of the Church spoke of Christ coming to the dying soul, "May Jesus Christ appear to thee with a gentle and happy countenance." And he loved to linger on the word 'happy' in its Latin form '*festivus*', a holiday or a festive countenance. He wrote of Our Lord wearing such a look, "that of one to whom the day is one of rejoicing and merry-making and Mother Church who knows her Spouse, God, Who loveth souls, prays that the joy of this holiday, when another weary pilgrim comes home, may show itself in the very face of Christ when He comes to give His welcome."

The writer is indebted to Father Lawrence E. Stanley, S.J., for some account of the last hours of Father LeBuffe:

One very noticeable thing all through his last days was his anxiety not to be any trouble to anyone, his reluctance to ask for anything that would bring comfort to ease his pain. As the nurses and Sisters and doctors tried to make him comfortable, he would repeat, "Christ didn't have this on the cross." Another thing that told its own story was the roster of his visitors. Many of Ours

stopped in and gave him, at his request, their blessing and absolution. There were two other special visitors, the colored chef from 84th Street and the man who cared for Father's room there. The chef looked at the silent suffering priest, picked up the crucifix, held it to Father's lips and then hurried from the room, his eyes filled with tears.

All through his last illness Father was eager to avoid doing his own will. At 7:15 a.m. on the 27th, he opened his eyes, slowly folded his hands and said, "Come, Jesus, come!" and then even in this, not wanting to do his own will but God's, he added, "Dear Jesus, dear God, *Your Will as You will it, when You will it.*"

To the end he would cause no one trouble. The night before I had been asked by the superior if I would say the 7:30 Mass on Ascension Thursday for the doctors and nurses coming off night duty. At that time, when I agreed, Father seemed fairly strong. Later as he noticeably failed I began to wonder how I would be able to keep my promise to be with him to the end and say the Mass. But at 7:20 he went home to God leaving me time to phone Father Gannon, his rector, and then to go down to the hospital chapel to offer Mass at 7:30, for the soul of God's servant. In the spirit of the Church I have prayed for Father and will continue to do so, though I feel he went straight home to the heart of his changeless friend.

Father LeBuffe sleeps in the novitiate cemetery at St. Andrew. Close by this non-professional scientist who fought battles with the materialistic anthropologists in the twenties and thirties, is the grave of the distinguished Catholic anthropologist, Père Teilhard de Chardin. One last excerpt from LeBuffe's writings, entitled *Keepsakes for Heaven*, describes the Jesuit cemetery at Woodstock College; and yet it also tells of the Jesuit cemetery where he himself is buried.

A quiet spot it is, tucked away by the roadside just beyond the gate. A miniature chapel stands amid the serried ranks of the simple tombstones which mark the spots where black-robed warriors lie. And over the door of that sentinel house of God we read,

The Society of Jesus
Here tenderly cherishes
As keepsakes for heaven
The dear ashes
Of those she brought forth.

There they sleep, these stalwart men who once with Ignatian energy hurled themselves against God's enemies. Their common Mother loved them well and nurtured them to holiness and bravest deeds and schooled their hearts to cry, as Xavier did, for added souls to conquer for their Captain Christ.

Father William A. Riordan Augustine W. Meagher, S.J.

Father William A. Riordan was born in the Yorkville section of Manhattan on September 13, 1902 of William and Elizabeth Murphy Riordan. In 1905 the family moved to Washington, D.C., and lived in the parish of St. Aloysius Gonzaga. They remained there until Mr. Riordan died on June 26, 1913. Before his death, Mr. Riordan asked his wife to do two things for him: to move back to New York where her family and friends lived; to make sure that the boys went to a Jesuit school. Both Father Riordan and his brother, Gerry, graduated from Regis High School. Gerry was later to become a great Greek teacher at Regis. He predeceased his brother.

In August of 1921, William Riordan began his Novitiate at St. Andrew-on-Hudson. After the Juniorate he taught first year English at Fordham Prep due to ill health. From 1926 to 1929 he pursued his philosophical studies at Weston. His regency was at Canisius High School where he taught third year Latin, Greek and Spanish. He was moderator of the *Arena*. In 1933 he went to Woodstock for his theology. On the 21st of June, 1936, he was ordained to the priesthood by Bishop John M. McNamara, Auxiliary of Baltimore. Tertiaship was made under Father Peter Lutz from 1937 to 1938.

In 1938 Father Riordan returned to teach at Canisius High School. For three years he taught third year Latin and religion. In 1941 he underwent a serious abdominal operation. He was in the hospital over six months and was anointed twice.

In the year 1942 he came to St. Peter's Prep. It was here that he was to remain in the service of God for the next eighteen years. It was here too that his soul and his body were to be put to the severest test. When he first came to the Prep, he taught fourth year Latin, Greek and religion. This he did for eleven years. From 1953 to 1960 he taught one period of fourth year Latin. In the summer of 1958 he underwent his thirteenth surgical operation.

He was able, nevertheless, to start school that fall. In 1959 there was a noticeable decline in his health. After teaching

the period of Latin, he would return to his room perspiring profusely and quite exhausted. It would take him close to an hour to regain some semblance of strength. Even saying Mass left him in a weakened condition but unless the physician forbade it, he said Mass daily. This extreme lassitude was due to the nature of the disease which afflicted him—polythemia, a superfluity of red corpuscles.

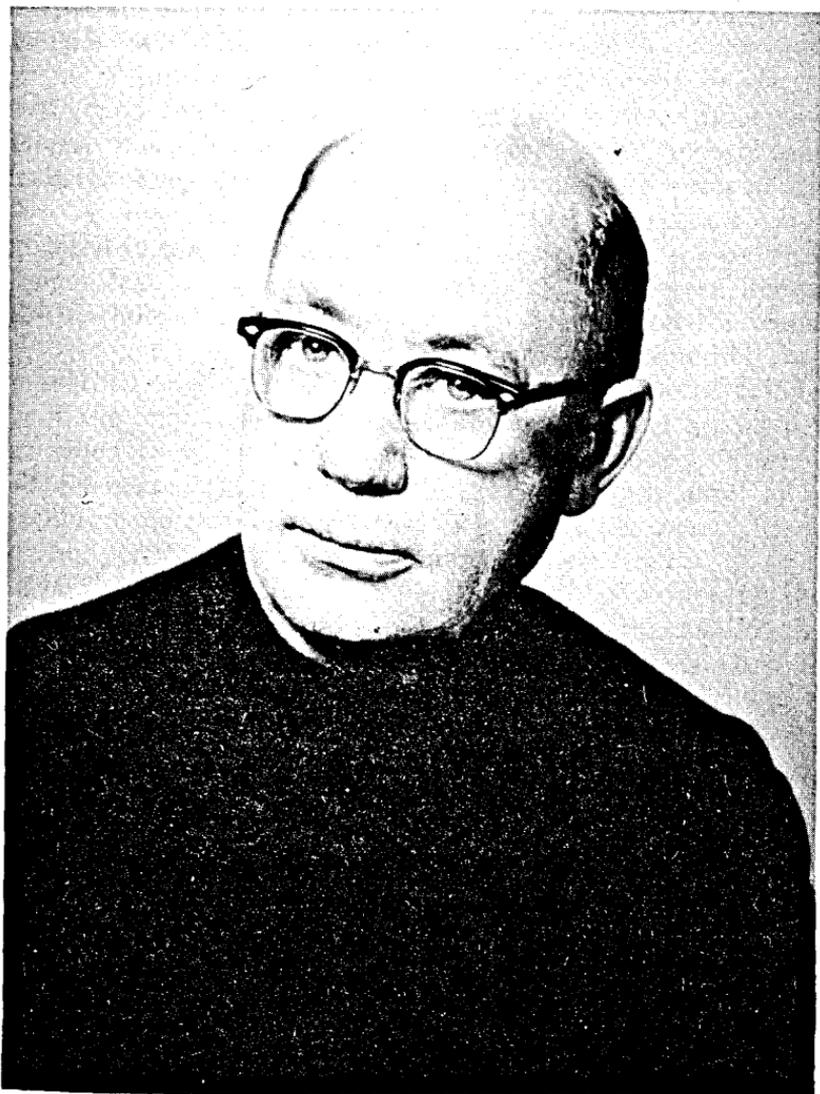
He finished the school year in June of 1960. At the hospital, the physician told him that he had driven himself to the point of exhaustion. In fact he wondered how he had even been able to complete the year. Father Riordan returned home at the beginning of August. About four days later he was back in the hospital suffering from pneumonia. He was not able to return to class.

On December 16, 1960 Father Riordan died on the operating table at St. Clare's Hospital, New York. He was a man of great soul, whose zeal carried him through terrible tortures. He knew thoroughly and was devoted to the *Ratio Studiorum*. He was a man skilled in Latin and Greek, in Ancient and Modern History. He could easily have taught in one of our colleges or universities. He had a facile pen and he could have been a great preacher. Much was denied him because of health. But Father Riordan knew that it is not what you could have been that counts but what you make of situations and circumstances. And so he became one of the best teachers in our secondary schools.

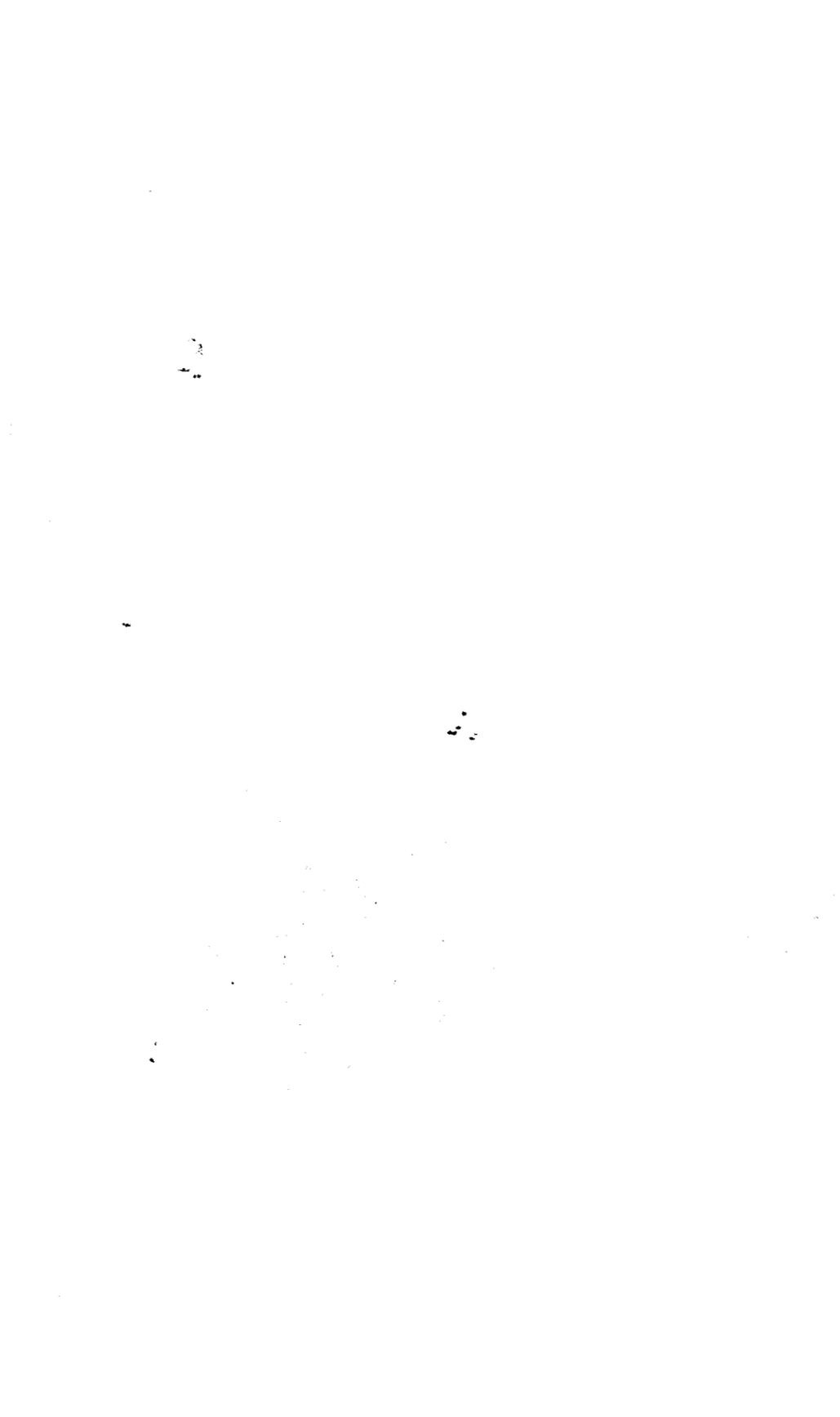
To any complainer about minor ailments he would say, with a twinkle in his eye, "Shall I tell you about my operations?" He, himself, never complained about ill health. His faith, patience and obedience during his many illnesses was a source of admiration and inspiration to all.

Spiritually he was, at times, tormented by the fact that he could not perform the ordinary duties of the priesthood, such as hearing confessions, giving out Communion, and preaching. At times he considered himself a burden to the Society. But he would always add that he trusted completely in Divine Providence and in the Mercy of God.

For such a sick man his charity was remarkable. The door of his room was always open to those who sought his fatherly and prudent advice. For the sick of the Community his charity



Father William A. Riordan



was boundless. It was as if his whole desire for performing the ordinary duties of a zealous priest was poured into this special care he had for them. In him they found a willing and patient listener, a priest who could convey to them the strength born of his own courageous suffering.

Some Jesuits die as famous men. They become known as provincials, rectors, administrators, educators, preachers, writers, missionaries, retreat masters, parish priests and brothers. They live in the public eye doing the work of the Lord well and never flinching in the tasks assigned to them—dedicated to God and to mankind in the Society.

Some Jesuits die as ordinary men, i.e., they were known only in their own community, or by the people with whom they had personal contact, or by the boys they taught. They too worked in the public eye but only on the outer fringe. About the only time their names appeared in the newspaper was when they were assigned to a certain house, or when they celebrated their jubilees—if they lived that long. It is astounding how anonymous they became as the years passed by. And yet this did not make them any less Jesuits.

Every Jesuit lives on in the Masses said for him, in the daily and yearly remembrances at the altar, and in the memory of those who knew him. Father Riordan will live on in the fond memory of those who knew him for, in the words of one of our lay faculty, "He was a fine gentleman." May he rest in peace.

Brother William I. Ferrill **Edward L. Burke, S.J.**

People who believe in omens would say that Bill Ferrill was destined to become a Jesuit by the very fact that he was born on the feast of St. Ignatius of Loyola, July 31, 1925. Be that as it may, when his parents, John H. Ferrill and Frances C. Ferrill, brought the baby to the baptismal font of St. Agnes' Church in San Francisco, they gave him Ignatius as his middle name.

St. Ignatius was to have a further influence on Bill's life in that he grew up in the shadow of St. Ignatius Church in San

Francisco. While still a boy in grammar school, first at Andrew Jackson and later at Star of the Sea, Bill and his older brother John, became members of a group of Mass servers known as the St. Stanislaus Sanctuary Society. He was proud to serve also in the tiny chapel of the Carmelite Monastery of Cristo Rey, just around the corner from his home. So small was he when he first started to serve there that someone used to have to lift him up so that he could light the candles on the altar. This early predilection for serving Mass and the devotion toward the Blessed Sacrament which was its fruit marked the rest of Bill's life. Even in his last illness he continued to serve Mass as long as he could—longer than he should have—and then only gave it up reluctantly because he thought that his occasional fits of coughing might bother the priest.

After graduating from Star of the Sea Grammar School, Bill went to Bellarmine College Preparatory in San José as a boarder. He enjoyed all sports, especially football and basketball and he played halfback on the Bellarmine varsity. Bill was a quiet boy and soft-spoken, but strong and well built and fiercely independent. He was more than just strong; he was *tough*. Reminiscing later on his years at Bellarmine, he recalled that he "never walked away from a fight," but he added with a wry smile, "sometimes I wish I had."

Marine Corps

This courage and toughness was soon to have an outlet other than that of the playing field. Shortly after completing his high school studies, in June 1943, Bill Ferrill enlisted in the United States Marine Corps. Life in the Marines has never been an easy nor a safe employment; in June 1943 it was doubly difficult and dangerous. Bill saw service in the Pacific area: at Pearl Harbor, in the Marshall Islands, and in particular on Guam, where he did patrol duty against the Japanese who, after the surrender of the island, still hid out in the jungle. Bill remained in the Marine Corps until May 1946, when he received his discharge with the rank of corporal.

The next few years were decisive ones in his life. He was now 21 years old, and like many a young man returning from the wars, he was uncertain about his future. The idea of dedi-

cating his life to God's service had certainly suggested itself to him, but what precise form this dedication would take was not clear, and many points remained doubtful in his mind.

In any case, Bill had decided that he needed some higher education, and in 1947 he enrolled as a student at the University of San Francisco. His years at U.S.F. were eventful ones for the University. In 1949 its "cinderella team" won its first national championship at the National Invitation Tournament in Madison Square Garden. In 1951 U.S.F. had its last and its greatest football team, certain members of which became nationally prominent in professional football. But for Bill personally these years were relatively uneventful, at least exteriorly. Interiorly he kept praying and seeking God's will in his regard. Often, his mother later discovered, when Bill said he was just going out for the evening, it meant that he was spending the night in adoration of the Blessed Sacrament in St. Boniface's Church. Gradually his vocation was taking form. He had no great love of study. Besides this, he felt (perhaps wrongly) that he possessed no great talent for counseling other people. "But," as he said later, "I always felt: if you want a piano moved, I'm your man." He was proud of his strength, and not without reason; few of his classmates were as strong or in as good condition as he.

Was the priesthood the only way of consecrating your life to God? Bill knew that it wasn't. From the time he had been a server in grammar school, he had seen the Jesuit Brothers on the Hilltop, as sacristans, as carpenters, as buyers, and as maintenance men. He appreciated the worth of their lives, spent in carrying out the less spectacular, but not for that reason the less necessary, jobs. He was particularly impressed by the late Brother Bernard Bradley, S.J.

Postulant

And thus, shortly after graduating from U.S.F. in June 1951 with a degree in Political Science, Bill entered the Sacred Heart Novitiate at Los Gatos as a Coadjutor Postulant Brother. The number of different occupations which he had, both as a novice brother at Los Gatos and later as a vow brother at the Provincial's Curia in San Francisco, at Alma College, and at U.S.F. is typical of the variety in the brothers' life. He

worked in the laundry, in the winery, and in the boiler room. He was buyer, electrician and, occasionally, cook. When it was decided to make a film portraying the Jesuit Brother's life, it was not surprising that Brother Ferrill was chosen as the main character. No more representative choice could have been made.

At U.S.F., where he arrived in June of 1957, Brother fulfilled the office of sacristan for a while and then was put in charge of the maintenance of the recently-constructed student dormitory, Phelan Hall. It was tribute to his organizational ability that he kept such a complicated "machine" running so smoothly. An even greater tribute to him, as a man, was the respect and even the affection which the men who worked under him conceived for him. He ran "a tight ship," quietly, efficiently, methodically, always giving an impression of power and strength directed by a temper that was almost always, but not quite always, under control.

In January of 1958, after he had been at U.S.F. scarcely six months, a malignant tumor was discovered high on the inner side of Brother's right leg. An operation was undertaken for its removal. The operation was highly successful in the sense that it left Brother without the limp which might ordinarily have been expected as a result. But the operation left unanswered one crucial question: Would the malignancy metastasize, or in non-medical language, would it reappear somewhere else in his system? Only time would tell. After the operation Brother Bill was lighter than he had been before, but he was still strong, still capable of hard work.

It was in August 1959, during his annual retreat at Santa Clara, that Brother first became aware that all was not well. He experienced some very sharp pains on the left side of his chest. Shortly after his return to San Francisco he entered St. Mary's Hospital for observation. Brother found being in the hospital something of a trial. Not that he wasn't treated well, on the contrary, his trouble was that they treated him too well. His deep-seated spirit of independence made it difficult for him to allow other people to do things for him.

The observation at the hospital indicated the presence of cancer cells and a tumor, but their location and distribution

throughout his system made surgery impractical. They would have to be fought by other means.

In New York

With this end in view, Brother Ferrill was sent back to a special clinic in New York City, to undergo a new type of treatment for cancer, by injections. While in New York he became the object of a devoted fraternal charity on the part of the Jesuits at the nearby St. Francis Xavier Rectory, and particularly on the part of the Brothers there. In this contact it is hard to say who was more impressed, he by their great charity, or they by the example of his smiling patience.

In mid-November Brother returned to San Francisco to continue the treatments at home. They were hard on him physically, and as time went on, it gradually became clear that the disease was getting the upper hand. Brother, of course, was not inclined to admit that he was losing ground. He continued to rise at 5 a.m. and to serve early Mass. He insisted on periodic strolls down to Pheasant Hall, to make sure that everything there was "shipshape." But these efforts were costing him more and more in terms of fatigue, he was losing weight, and his breath was becoming shorter. No sadness, however, was ever manifest on his face. "It's all in the contract," he used to say when the going got tough. That was his habitual attitude now. If there was any sadness, it was rather in the hearts of his fellow Jesuits, who found themselves faced with the prospect of losing a Brother whose full worth they were only now beginning to appreciate.

Only one thing bothered him: the idea of being a burden to others, of having to have others do things for him. The one who attended him when he had his treatments had to be very careful, for if he tried to do too much for Brother, he would sometimes be met with a curt, "I can do it myself."

Finally in early January Brother returned to the hospital for further observation. His condition had worsened noticeably, and even he was becoming resigned to letting others do things for him. God's ways are strange; in purifying a soul, He seems to deprive it of what it most clings to, what it is proudest of. In Brother Bill Ferrill's case it was his physical strength.

At last the day came when the doctor told him that they were going to discontinue the treatments. There was no longer any hope of recovery. The news came as no surprise to Brother Ferrill. He had been expecting it for a long time. He was even happy to receive it and he counted it a great grace to be able to prepare thus for death. He had received the sacrament of Extreme Unction privately, at his own request, a few weeks previously, before going to the hospital.

Gratitude and Concern for Others

During the long weeks of his illness those who visited him in the hospital were impressed by his simplicity, cheerfulness, and resignation. Two things in particular were noticed. First, his gratitude. Whether the person in question had given him a pill or an injection, or had put him into an oxygen tent, or whether they had simply given him a drink of water, straightened a pillow or turned down a light, the reply was a deliberate and slow, "Many, many thanks," even when it was hard for him to speak. The second was his concern for others. It is easy for a person who is ill to become wrapped up in his illness. But in Brother's case all his solicitude was for others. "How's the shoulder?", "Take care of your toe, Father," "Watch out for that cold," "Be sure to get enough rest," and similar expressions were constantly on his lips during those last days.

On February 12, 1960 word was received from Rome that, by a decision of Father General, Brother Ferrill would pronounce his final vows of religious profession, normally not pronounced until a Jesuit Brother has been in the Order ten years. In terms of the obligations they entail, such vows add nothing to the perpetual poverty, chastity, and obedience which a Jesuit Brother vows at the end of his two years noviceship, but on the part of the Society they mean final approval, a welcoming of him to her ranks as a fully formed Jesuit.

The ceremony took place in the chapel of the hospital. It was touching both in its simplicity and its brevity. Seated in the sanctuary in the presence of the Blessed Sacrament, Brother Ferrill slowly recited the consecrated formula in a voice barely audible except to those standing at his side.

Present were Reverend Father Charles W. Dullea, S.J., Rector of the University, who received the vows in the name of Father General, and Father John F. X. Connolly, S.J., President of the University, and a few other Jesuit Fathers and Brothers. Present too were Brother Ferrill's mother and father and his brother John, and a small number of the Sisters and nurses of the hospital, who had gathered to witness the unusual event. No one came away from it unmoved. To Brother Bill himself it meant a great deal. He had offered himself completely to God once again. Now he had but to wait for the moment when God would call him home.

Apparent Improvement

The wait was longer than anyone had expected. After the crisis of mid-February there was a period of apparent improvement. Brother Ferrill was able to dispense with the oxygen tent and could spend several hours a day sitting up. The period lasted through the months of March and April. The improvement, however, was only temporary. Slowly the disease was advancing and undermining Brother's strength. This protracted period of illness became a beautiful object-lesson of the Mystical Body of Christ in action. The stream of visitors to Brother Ferrill's room was constant; so constant, in fact, that at times it alarmed the hospital staff, who thought that it put a strain on Brother's strength. The visitors included not only his brother Jesuits and his family, but also students from the University of San Francisco and from Saint Ignatius High School, as well as other friends.

The conversation was always the same; they came to ask Brother to remember some intention close to their heart: a sick relative, an operation, an examination, or some problem of a spiritual or of a temporal nature. Brother, on his side, promised to keep their intention in his prayers, and asked them to keep him in theirs. Thus the vital flow of prayer within the Mystical Body was stimulated. Nor was this action restricted to the immediate surroundings of the hospital or of the city. Letters came from the Midwestern and Eastern United States, from France, from Austria, from Formosa, and from Japan, all promising prayers, and all asking for them in return.

And what was Brother Ferrill's prayer for himself? Surely

such a young and vigorous man must have been tempted to pray for a cure, for a return to health; if only to serve God longer. The thought certainly occurred to Brother, yet he told one close friend, "I've never asked God to spare me and I've never asked Him to take me. I've just told Him to do what He wants with me." It was an act of abandonment to God's Providence, and it found its expression in a brief formula which Brother Bill repeated often during those days, "He knows what He's doing. He knows what He's doing."

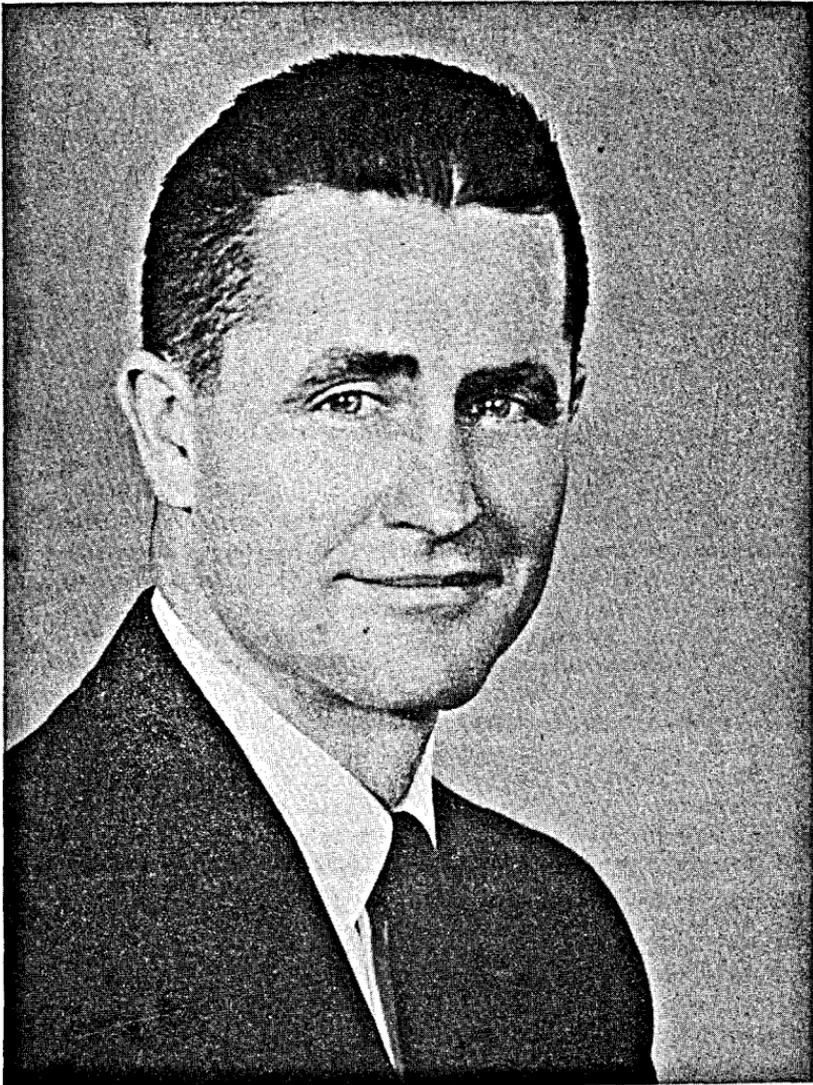
Last Days

In mid-May Brother took another turn for the worse. His weakness now was great and his breath short. The slightest exertion left him panting and exhausted. The added care which this entailed was another blow to his spirit. Still he would use his weak voice to thank those around him again for any service. To thank others for their kindness, to ask for their prayers and to promise his prayers in return, these three things were woven into the fabric of his daily life.

During the last week of May a group of students brought Brother Ferrill a copy of the 1960 Year Book from the University of San Francisco. It was dedicated to him, an alumnus, in acknowledgement of the goodness and generosity which he had shown toward the students during his stay on the Hilltop. Brother received the dedication with simplicity, with gratitude, and with a typical touch of humor. "I'll have to read this thing and find out what a great guy I am." In reality this tribute touched Brother deeply. He spoke of it for days, and those days were among his last.

The month of Our Lady ended and the month of Our Lord's Sacred Heart began. At times Brother was tempted to become impatient for death. "I want to die and be with Our Lord," he said, but just as often he would correct himself and say, "Not my will, but God's be done."

On the last day of his life, he possessed a great peace. He was very pale and weak and could hardly speak above a whisper. When asked how he was, he smiled and said, "Just waiting for Our Lord to come for me." That night a small group gathered around Brother's bed, his mother and father, the Sister of Mercy in charge of the floor and a priest. They



Brother William I. Ferrill



recited together the prayers for the dying. Brother could not answer the prayers vocally, but he indicated by gestures and motions that he was following them. Shortly thereafter he dropped off to sleep, but he would awaken periodically. At about half-past twelve midnight, after they had just moved him in bed, Father Rector asked him, "Is everything O.K., Bill?" "Yes," he said, "Everything is O.K." They were his last words. He lay back and breathed his last. It was June 10, 1960. A great Brother had gone home to God.

Books of Interest to Ours

AN OUTSTANDING WORK

Family Planning and Modern Problems: A Catholic Analysis. *By Stanislas de Lestapis, S.J.* Translated by Reginald F. Trevett. New York: Herder and Herder, 1961. Pp. xx-326. \$6.50.

This is a translation of the second and revised edition of *La limitation des naissances*, published in 1960. The English version reads smoothly, and reproduces the author's thought with clarity and accuracy.

The problems here considered are not only those of the individual husband and wife who want to arrive at a responsible decision on family size and the spacing of children. Also presented are the larger issues of overpopulation in underdeveloped areas, the means that may be used on both national and international levels to alleviate the resultant distress, and the basic facts and principles that may help those in positions of public authority to reach a moral decision for the common good. The treatment is historical, statistical, sociological, demographic, and doctrinal. Father de Lestapis is objective in presenting the history of the opinions of others and the reasons on which they are founded; factual in the way he handles statistical data and honest in the conclusions he draws from them; courageous in facing the problems squarely, neither diminishing their often crucial import nor exaggerating their consequences; thoroughly spiritual in his evaluation of the pertinent religious principles; fearless in his adherence to the teaching of the Church; and convincing in his development of the reasons that justify the Church's position.

The author proceeds from the premise that human problems can be solved only by a comprehensive study of the whole man, taking into account his supernatural elevation and eternal destiny. He knows that a deep understanding of the high dignity of the vocation to married life and of its sacramental character is necessary for those who would arrive at a right decision about the legitimate means of family planning. His

long experience as a counsellor, lecturer, and writer on family problems has furnished him with many personal insights into human behavior and motivation.

The first section is a historical presentation of the positions taken by various national and religious groups, from Malthus to the present day, on the legitimacy of family planning and of the means that may be used for that purpose. Of special interest here is the brief but exact exposition of marital theology recently proposed by different Protestant schools to justify their formal and explicit approbation of contraceptive practices.

In the second section of the book there is an appraisal of the results and implications of a public policy of contraception in those countries where it has been officially adopted. In general, such a contraceptive civilization has not achieved the results that were expected of it, at least not in the manner nor to the extent predicted. It has not reduced the number of abortions as its sponsors claimed it would. It has resulted in efforts to enact legislation that would recognize as legal an ever larger number of reasons to justify abortion. In underdeveloped agrarian areas contraceptive programs have been difficult to introduce and, even where followed, have shown no immediate or effective alleviation of distress. The "happy voluntary motherhood" that was supposed to accompany the practice of contraception has degenerated into a cult of sterility in which motherhood itself gradually loses all esteem and is considered an unhappy burden.

In some countries in which contraception has been the publicly adopted policy there is a marked decrease in the birth rate. However, this has been accomplished mainly in those urban centers in which the people are more wealthy, cultured and intelligent, and where the economy was already highly organized and productive. But even in these, along with a reduction of population there has been noted a number of other distressing and unexpected results: the premature aging of a contraceptive people that loses its spirit and courage in the face of difficulties; the gradual disappearance of that portion of family groups that would freely choose to have a large number of children and thus act as a counterbalance to the one- and two-child family. Also, due to the complete separation of the procreative and educative purposes of marriage from its personalist values and purposes, there has been a general increase of sexual license: a deterioration of the unitive quality of married love, a degradation of the marital act to the level of a sterile erotic game, and a new concept of sex in which the distinction between the sexes tends to become obscured with decreased resistance to sexual perversions and an increased toleration of homosexuality. These are only some of the harmful results of a legally adopted contraceptive program listed by Father de Lestapis, most of which are confirmed by statistical charts both in the text and in the many appendices.

The facts presented in the second section may help us arrive at a proper decision in the solution of similar problems in this country. In various parts of the United States there is an organized movement for

legislation that would make ours a legally and publicly approved contraceptive civilization that would provide public funds for the dissemination of the knowledge and means required for the practice of contraception. There has also been question of the allocation of the resources of our Treasury to underdeveloped areas to help them introduce or sustain a public policy of contraceptive reduction of their population. Many have appealed to two factors only in seeking the answer to these problems: first, the evident fact that ours is a pluralistic society and, secondly, the admitted Catholic principle that the human legislator is not obliged to enact laws against all manner of sin. Surely, other factors must also be considered. The human legislator is obliged to promote the common good of his country. This common temporal good of a country is not promoted when only the economic progress is assured. Even the temporal good of a nation is not promoted when intellectual, cultural, natural religious and moral values are ignored or positively depreciated. In the light of the evidence presented by Father de Lestapis, would we be promoting the common good of our country if we allowed it to become an officially approved contraceptive civilization with all its attendant risks and evils?

The third section is the longest in the book (pp. 97-214), and presents the true meaning of the Catholic position on family planning. The basic human values to be safeguarded and the revealed supernatural truths to be accepted and applied are developed in detail. When he rules out sterilization as a solution to the problem, the author says that on this point "the Church's teaching is categorical and cannot change" (p. 175). The Church's condemnation of contraceptive practices as a solution to the population problem (or to any other) is called "absolute, unqualified, unconditional, . . . written definitively into the very structure of the sexual function" (p. 177).

There follows the most detailed and most convincing presentation of the justification of the Church's position that I have ever read. It is not an argument that can be reduced to the facile form of a brief but often sterile syllogism. It is a thoughtful and evaluational consideration of all the elements involved in the practice of contraception: its direct contradiction not only of the primary end but also of the secondary purposes and values of marriage; its destruction of all the true meaning and symbolism of the marital act; its degradation in countless ways of the very nature of sexuality and of the dignity of human love. Of special importance is Chapter XII in which are contrasted birth control by contraception and birth regulation by periodic continence. The author shows the superiority of the latter method from a sociological point of view with character-forming advantages that are biological, psychological, and economic. He shows how periodic continence, unlike birth control, promotes to a high degree the values of unselfish married love and contributes to the natural and supernatural common good of the family and of humanity. Another chapter on the need and means of preparation for birth regulation through periodic continence anticipates the more detailed treatment of this subject in the recent book, *Love and Control*:

The Contemporary Problem, by Msgr. Leon-Joseph Suenens, auxiliary bishop of Malines.

The fourth section explains the prophetic mission of Catholics in the world to which they are to be a sign, although sometimes a sign of contradiction, as was Christ himself. The author reviews the benefits that have come to mankind in the past by reason of the intransigent position taken by the Church in other matters, and he hopes for good results from her unswerving devotion to principle in this problem also.

In his concluding section, the author recalls the demographic, social, and cultural objectives to be promoted in underdeveloped countries and the legitimate means of furthering them. He considers the practice of periodic continence legitimate if taken in conjunction with the use of economic and social means and especially of international cooperation on the part of the more favored nations. This is a direct contrast to the opinion proposed in the recent book, *Catholic Viewpoint on Overpopulation*, by Father Anthony V. Zimmerman, S.V.D., who maintains that the only social reasons that justify the practice of periodic continence are those that promote the good of the individual family. Zimmerman concludes that it would be immoral to practice periodic continence as a partial means of solving the problems connected with overpopulation in distressed and underdeveloped areas.

I am not competent to judge the economic and demographic elements involved in these two contrasting views, but I do believe that the practice of periodic continence would be morally justified if undertaken with the social purpose of promoting the common good in underdeveloped areas. Pope Pius XII and Pope John XXIII explicitly excluded only contraception when they considered the problems of overpopulation. Neither limited the concept of "social reasons" that justify the practice of periodic continence to the closed circle of the individual family. Moreover, it would be strange if the operation of the sexual faculty, which is primarily ordained to the common good of humanity, could not be regulated in marriage by considerations of the same common good. Yet I doubt if periodic continence can make any significant contribution to the solution of the problem. If the practice of contraception in underdeveloped countries has proved difficult to introduce and of small efficacy, how can we expect these same people to adopt the far more complex method of periodic continence with its demand for recurring weeks of virtuous self-control? This seems to be the opinion of Father de Lestapis also, for he writes: "Unfortunately this reasoning [that Family Planning is the very first method to be adopted] rests on the presupposition that there will be a rapid, almost instantaneous adoption of scientific Family Planning by the populations which are at present underdeveloped. And this is just not true" (p. 270).

Father de Lestapis said earlier that the sociological good of humanity is not on the same level as its supernatural good and that, if a crucial choice must be made, the decision may go in only one direction. Yet, although it should not be a surprise, it is encouraging to read in how many ways he has shown that the Church's doctrine is confirmed by con-

siderations of sound sociology. These thoughts may help those who, when questioned about the Church's position on birth control, immediately become apologetic, although not in the manner of Newman's *Apologia*.

JOSEPH S. DUHAMEL, S.J.

THEOLOGY AT ITS BEST

Theological Investigations, Vol. I. By Karl Rahner, S.J. Translated by Cornelius Ernst, O.P. Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1961. Pp. xxii-382. \$10.95.

In the preface to the original German edition of this collection of theological essays Father Rahner expressed the conviction that the purpose he had in mind would be achieved "if they help just a little (before they are finally forgotten) to confirm young theologians in the conviction that Catholic theology has no reason to rest on its laurels, fine though those may be; that on the contrary it can and must advance, and in such a way that it remains true to its own laws and its tradition." There is every reason to believe that this English version will considerably promote the attainment of this objective in a field largely unreached by the original.

Eleven studies in all make up the volume, ranging in subject matter from an examination of the prospects for dogmatic theology, the development of dogma, through current problems in Christology, the Immaculate Conception and the Assumption of Our Lady, to questions concerned with grace, created and uncreated, and its relationship with nature, monogenism and the nature of concupiscence. The approach is always fresh and original, each essay is a challenge to rethink the question discussed, and indeed to ask new and occasionally startling questions on familiar theological subjects. The answers suggested, whether one is ready to accept them or not, are invariably based on a profound concern with man and the world as they are and as they could be were the Christian revelation ever taken seriously by Christians themselves. Father Rahner himself has said, in an article not reproduced in this collection, that it would be false "to regard theology as having reached a final stage concerned at most with questions which clearly will not be solved even in the future, because theologians have fought over them for centuries. It is indeed possible even today to devote oneself to theology as concerned with the very matter and the questions raised by it, and to study the history of theology not for its own sake but only in such measure as this is absolutely necessary to reach that very matter." This is a plea for a return to speculative theology in the best meaning of that word, and the plea is nowhere better answered than in Father Rahner's own work. The studies here presented in a splendid English translation constitute examples of this kind of theologizing at close to its very best.

Easy reading is not one of the virtues of this volume, but for one who can bring the interest and the leisure required for a careful study of the author's ideas, the effort will be most rewarding. The difficulty lies in part in Father Rahner's sometimes very live and intense concern

with the European background against which he writes. This is not the frame of reference within which the English speaking world must live and have its being, but the analogies are close and the basic methodology of the author is valid for modern man wherever he be.

A special word of congratulations is due to the translator, who has performed the close to impossible task of presenting in accurate and always intelligible English a series of studies which in the original German were very difficult reading indeed. One hopes that the obvious difficulty of the work will not prevent Father Ernst from completing the translation of the remaining three volumes of Rahner's collected writings.

JOHN F. SWEENEY, S.J.

JESUIT, SAINT AND SCHOLAR

Robert Bellarmine: Saint and Scholar. *By James Brodrick, S.J.* Westminster: Newman Press, 1961. Pp. x-430. \$5.75.

The present book is a revision of the author's two volume work published in 1928. When the biography was first issued, Father Brodrick immediately became the recognized expert on the life of Bellarmine and in the interim he has remained the expert, for nothing of comparable worth has yet appeared.

The present format makes the book more readable and brings the saint himself more sharply into focus. St. Robert is still his loveable, charming self. Father Brodrick admits that over the years he has gotten a deeper insight into his hero's fallible scientific knowledge and consequently has entirely rewritten the chapter dealing with the Galileo controversy. He has also revised extensively the section concerning the controversy on grace, that intricate, bitter dispute which produced many involved Latin tomes and much plain vernacular invective.

The original footnotes have been eliminated or embodied into the text. Fortunately, Father Brodrick has succumbed to the temptation to add new ones. These lively small-print anecdotes at the bottom of a page make most sprightly reading.

GERARD F. GIBLIN, S.J.

THE KERYGMA IN THE WORLD OF TODAY

Teaching all Nations. *Edited by Johannes Hofinger, S.J.* Revised and partly translated by Clifford Howell, S.J. New York: Herder and Herder, 1961. Pp. xvi-421. \$6.95.

Catholic is the word for the International Study Week on Mission Catechetics held at Eichstätt, Germany, July 2-28, 1960. As a milestone in the history of catechetics, it takes its place in the line of the International Catechetical Congress at Rome in 1950 and the International Conference of Religious Formation at Antwerp sponsored by Lumen Vitae in 1956. At Eichstätt more than 60 missionary bishops under the presiding Archbishop of Bombay, Cardinal Gracias, gathered and listened and exchanged views. Stimulus for discussion was provided by papers from acknowledged leaders in catechetical research and missionary adaptation. Better than 200 specially invited missionaries and observers filled out the number of participants.

In his address Cardinal Gracias singled out the ubiquitous and indefatigable Father Johannes Hofinger, S.J. of the East Asian Pastoral Institute, Manila, for "the lion's share of our great gratitude." Father Hofinger organized the Study Week and also edited the papers for publication, just as he had done so successfully for the now celebrated Nijmegen conference on Liturgy and the Missions in 1959.

In the same address at the conclusion of the Study Week Cardinal Gracias goes on to applaud "the very positive attitude in catechetics," and he adds, "largely possible because of *the complete unanimity forged among the experts . . .*" (p. 376, italics from the printed address). The same affirmation is echoed in the foreword of Father Clifford Howell, S.J., the editor of the English edition, and by Father Hofinger himself in his introduction. Indeed, the unanimity of the experts stands out so conspicuously that a certain repetitiousness tends to cloy the reader's progress through the book.

A little prenote to the symposium has special relevance to our American scene: "The words catechesis and catechist as used in this book should be understood in their broadest sense; that is, they do not refer to the training of children only, but to any activity designed to impart knowledge and love for the faith to any persons of any age, by all who teach religion in any capacity . . ." (p. viii) In a country which all too widely still identifies catechesis with the penny-catechism this clarification is necessary.

Perhaps it was this broad understanding of the full scope of catechesis that prompted the sub-title, *A Symposium on Modern Catechetics*. The principles assembled at Eichstätt, as happily summarized in the appendix, do indeed furnish a theoretic framework for all catechetical apostolates. Teachers and pastors of souls in America, however, must not expect to find applications to each of their own catechetical areas. In this regard the sub-title and some of the book's advertising could be misleading. *Teaching all Nations* is professedly missionary, gearing by far the greater number of its studies to specifically missionary problems. Nevertheless, all religious educators can with profit dig down to the universal substratum of catechetical theory; they must look for fuller adaptations elsewhere.

All readers, missionary and non-missionary alike, would do well at the outset to study carefully the splendid paper of Father Domenico Grasso, S.J.—to this reviewer the most important contribution to the symposium. Father Grasso deftly distinguishes kerygma (i.e. missionary preaching) and didache (i.e. catechesis) according to the best of exegetical analysis. Without confusing, as so often happens, these two distinct genres of communication, he makes the capital point that "both should have an identical center," and then in a masterful synthesis sketches the main lines of the Pauline kerygma, the heart of the Christian Message, God's Christocentric Plan for man's salvation.

Father Klemens Tilmann's paper helps the reader's perspective; it should also be read early. He traces the rise and decline of kerygmatic catechesis prior to the renaissance of our own times. Kerygmatic

catechesis is no interloper in the Church's history, but is by far the more traditional of the Church's catechetical approaches, antedating by well over a 1000 years the post-Reformation catechetical which too often is held as traditional today. Father Tilmann sees the Spirit at work in the concomitance of the modern biblical and liturgical movements. His paper sheds a necessary light for evaluating the recent directions in catechetics whether at home or in the missions.

Bishop Leon Elchinger of Strasbourg, one of the great pioneers of the catechetical movement, extols the divine pedagogy evident in biblical history. God's dialogue with men took the form of act as well as word. Salvation-history, therefore, the great drama of God's meeting with man, provides the motivating approach to inspire the vital faith-commitment which is the objective of all catechetics.

Links between biblical catechesis and liturgy make up the substance of Bishop Josef Blomjou's paper. In six concise directives the missionary bishop from Tanganyika pleads for "this integral method of educating the Christian in union of cult and catechesis, making him understand more and more the mystery of Christ." (p. 233)

Dr. Josef Goldbrunner, a priest-psychologist from West Berlin University and well-known in American catechetical circles as well, plays up the necessity of catechetical method, but incisively shows its limitations, too. "Method alone is like a vessel calling out to be filled with a new content, kerygma." (p. 111) Method is "in the service of kerygma," with its whole reason for existence, following Cardinal Newman's distinction, to help the student reach "real knowledge" in contrast to merely "notional knowledge." (p. 116) Only real knowledge interiorized with conviction will lead to the vital faith "which takes possession of the whole man, gradually transforming him into a new man." (p. 111)

Applications to mission catechetics abound, many with deep insights born of long experience. Bishop Karl Weber of China makes an eloquent appeal for vernacular in Mass participation. He sees reciprocal benefits for both catechesis and liturgical worship. (pp. 244-250) Archbishop Hurley of South Africa counsels the bishops of the world with a forthrightness which might only be expected from a member of the hierarchy addressing his peers. His program for catechetical renewal is vigorous and ambitious, beginning at the very source of priestly formation, the seminary. (pp. 345-350) The Archbishop's suggestions for seminary training give strong support to Father Hofinger's own recommendations to balance a one-sided theology of scholastic exposition with a kerygma-orientated approach to the pastoral needs of the Church. (pp. 305-316)

The other papers run the gamut of catechetical problems encountered on different missions: textbooks, catechist-training, adaptation to the cultures of the peoples evangelized. The theme running through all these papers is adaptation. From behind these efforts of seasoned missionaries to reach the non-Christian masses in every corner of Christ's vineyard a

zealous dedication shines through. In reading *Teaching all Nations* one senses that the same dedication lights up each printed word.

VINCENT M. NOVAK, S.J.

FOR EVERY PRIEST AND EDUCATOR

Love and Control: The Contemporary Problems. By *Leon-Joseph Suenens*. Translated by George J. Robinson. Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1961. Pp. 200. \$3.25.

Here is a book that merits a careful reading by every priest and Catholic educator. In a remarkably clear and concise discussion, Bishop Suenens offers a realistic and refreshingly positive analysis of the contemporary problems of conjugal chastity.

Part I of this translation of *Un problème crucial: Amour et Maîtrise de Soi* first sketches out the contemporary problems—e.g. neo-Malthusian propaganda and the changing role of women in society—which have produced a basic misunderstanding of marital love. Bishop Suenens then develops a sweeping and inspiring account of the true meaning of conjugal love, showing how control consists not in loving less, but in loving more profoundly. With firmness and understanding, he presses home the importance and relevance and ascetical demands of self-control in both partners of a marriage. Throughout this section, one finds in many forms the principle that “the only attitude worthy of a man and a Christian is the one that depends on reason and faith in performing the act which is a supreme collaboration with God.”

Part II is concerned with the question, “What is to be done?” With an experienced hand, Bishop Suenens discusses a multitude of ways in which correct views of love and control can be disseminated among Catholic youths and married people. The author addresses, in successive chapters, priests, doctors, the faculty and students of universities, educators, and the leaders of Catholic organizations; in each case, there is a careful survey of the problems to be overcome and many useful suggestions regarding the ways in which each group can contribute to the work of sound Christian sex education. The role of parents, incidentally, receives heavy emphasis and is developed in detail within the chapter addressed to educators.

CARL J. HEMMER, S.J.

MARIAN STUDIES

Mariology, Volume III. Edited by *Juniper B. Carol, O.F.M.* Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1961. Pp. viii-456. \$9.50.

Two years ago a National Shrine to our Patroness, Mother and Queen was dedicated in the Capital on the grounds of the Catholic University of America. This year, another monument to Mary Immaculate, more lasting than bronze, has been completed with the publication of this third and last volume of *Mariology*.

It is a joy for Catholics in this country to know that as we now have a National Shrine, so too, thanks to the collaboration of these eminent and devoted scholars, we now have a first completed American study of our Blessed Lady in English, bringing to us a deeper knowledge of

the ineffable Mystery of God's Mother, and let us hope, a correspondingly deeper love and devotion to her.

One finds in this third volume a summary of present day Marian devotion. The authors have jointly given us in a little less than 500 well printed pages what amounts to an index on the external cultus of Mary, especially in this country. One who is in search of concise data on Our Lady's feasts, her months and special days, and a discussion of the liturgical prayers in her honor, need only to turn to this volume. Neat and authoritative sketches are likewise provided on her principal devotions, the Rosary, the Scapular, devotion to her Immaculate Heart, and the Holy Slavery of St. De Montfort. Analyses are given of Marian religious orders and institutes, Marian confraternities and societies, a world glimpse of modern Mariological societies, of Marian centers, libraries and publications, of Marian congresses, of Marian shrines and apparitions, of Our Lady in art, in music, and finally, devotion to Our Lady in respect to Protestants. All of these are studies by scholars and authorities of the first rank.

If asked to single out some studies among so many worthy of note, I would underline Father Charest's chapter on the Legion of Mary. The fire of the Legion in its conquest of the entire world for Christ through Mary Mediatrix gives a concrete answer to the objections of non-Catholic scholars likewise listed in this volume. Father Edward A. Ryan's historical study on devotion to Our Lady in the United States should bring consolation and encouragement to the Catholics of this young republic. In reading the section on Marian Orders and Congregations in the Church, one cannot miss the fact that Our Lady is the great Missionary, inspiring her sons and daughters down the ages and throughout the world to undertake great things for her Divine Son and the good souls and to carry His Holy Name to the ends of the earth.

The Consolata Fathers are listed as having Missions in Africa (p. 200) whereas they have missions in Argentina, Brazil and Colombia likewise. A question mark must be placed after November 26th as the Miraculous Medal Feast (p. 214); and an "*utinam*" after the statement that today the Rosary Confraternity "may be found erected in virtually every parish." (p. 226) Rev. Thomas A. Joyce, O.P., Director of the Rosary Society Headquarters in New York, estimates "that not more than 50% of the parishes in the United States have the Rosary Confraternity canonically erected." It would seem besides that #42 (Cordi-Marian Missionary Sisters) (p. 218) would be better listed under Section II. Heart of Mary, than under Section IV. Mary. The reviewer regrets that no mention was made of the outstanding Marian and American Home Mission Society of Glenmary of Glendale, Ohio, and that no reference is to be found to the National Children's Day in honor of Our Lady of Fatima which has been sponsored each October for the past 13 years by the Catholic Woman's League of Dallas, Texas with a world-wide response. Finally, the historian justly cites the amazing production of the Green Scapular as "an example of American mass production applied to an object of devotions." (p. 376) It is well, however, to bear in mind

that this unparalleled "mass production" (it is now up to a little more than 20,000 a week, rather than the 15,000 cited) is not due to advertising, but to the mass demand for this Scapular because of the great favors obtained through it from the loving and all-powerful Heart of Mary Immaculate. A topical index should be had, especially in this final volume.

JOHN J. RYAN, S.J.

INSIGHT INTO HOPKINS

Metaphor in Hopkins. By Robert Boyle, S.J. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961. Pp. 231. \$6.00.

To use the oil driller's terminology which Father Boyle applies to his own work, the author has taken a "core" drilling of the imagery in Hopkins' poetry and has analyzed the findings. This is a valid operation since Hopkins' mature work has an organic unity based on a uniting theme for all his imagery; namely, the divine life in human beings, or grace. The proper mode of expression for this marvelous unity in Hopkins lay in metaphor. Father Boyle, disagreeing with the usual notion of metaphor as a fusion of two real beings, holds rather that there is only one real being to which another nature is fused. He then proceeds in separate chapters to apply his theory of metaphor to eight central images which have a vital influence in eight important poems. The underlying theme of all these images is the life-giving presence of Christ. Christ is seen operating in His individual members on earth, in the Holy Spirit, and in His Mother; then He is seen as revealed in the hearts of each of His followers, in His wrestling with souls to bring them life, in His apparent desertion of faithful souls, and finally in His relationship with nature.

In the course of his skillful and thorough investigations, Father Boyle ranges over most of Hopkins' significant poems, with generous references to his letters and journals, besides the Scriptures, the Fathers and all the poet's major critics. The author courteously but firmly takes issue with many of the mistakes and absurdities of the critics who have failed to grasp Hopkins' vision. The first source of many critical errors is word trouble, where critics miss the new meanings or shades of meaning an important word acquires in the individual circumstances of the poem. A far more important failure is attributed to what he calls the pagan critics, who bring to their work misconceptions of the Catholic view of reality and others who fail to understand the poet's attitude towards his vocation as a Jesuit. And finally, the failure to appreciate fully the use of rhythm as metaphor so basic to Hopkins, has marred otherwise fine criticism. For while it remains true that the meaning determines the rhythm, yet a vigorous and vital rhythm can help to reveal and elucidate the meaning. In the masterly final chapter of the book, Father Boyle draws all his material together and provides the reader with the one sure thread for the maze of Hopkins' imagery: the life-giving operations of the Incarnate Word of God.

Even in the fast growing field of Hopkins criticism, this book of Father Boyle's will stand out as a milestone. His insight and penetra-

tion has added significantly to our deeper understanding of Hopkins' vision and craft. The author has patiently gathered all the riches of past criticism, corrected it where necessary and has put it into proper focus. Only in the arguments presented on pages 100 ff. is the case overstated, when the present Office of the Sacred Heart is cited as the immediate source for the two final images in the "Windhover" and their juxtaposition. This could hardly have been possible since Hopkins would have been familiar only with the old office in which the word "jugum," the basis for one of the images, does not appear. There is little doubt that *Metaphor in Hopkins* will become one of the key works of Hopkins criticism. The value of the book is greatly enhanced by the prefacing to each chapter, of the poems and images to be discussed and by the excellent analytical charts for the more complex images.

HENRY J. BERTELS, S.J.

CHURCH AND STATE IN OLD SPAIN

King and Church: The Rise and Fall of the Patronato Real. *By W. Eugene Shiels, S.J.* Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1961. Pp. 399. \$6.00.

This scholarly work of narrative history presents the documents on the Patronato Real. It is Father Shiels' purpose to tell the story of the high purpose, initial success and later perversion of the Royal Patronage first in Granada, then the Indies, and finally in the Spanish homeland itself. The book is more than a mere collection of documents. It belongs to the genre of institutional history and consequently follows the genetic method of development which answers the questions: why the institution arose; what it really was; how it worked; what it accomplished and why it failed to persevere.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part contains a narrative divided into fifteen chapters. The first two chapters deal with the origin and development of the Spanish Patronato Real and the general notion of patronage and presentation in the history of the Church. The remaining thirteen chapters of this part present translations of the most important documents relating to the Patronato. They begin with *Laudibus et honore* by which Pope Eugene IV gave to Juan II of Castile on August 9, 1436 personal patronage over churches recovered in the crusade against Granada and extend to Benedict XIV's Concordat with Ferdinand VI on February 20, 1753. Each of these forty-five documents is placed in its historical setting: Canonical, social, political and religious movements are traced in order that the document may come to life and the reader not be led astray by an abstract, aprioristic and anachronistic interpretation of these primary sources.

The second part of the volume is a critically edited printing of the text of the forty-five documents translated in the first part. The work that went into this second part of the volume can be adequately appreciated only by someone who has struggled with original sources in Hispanic American history. The book has an excellent bibliography and helpful index.

Father Shiels, chairman of the History Department at Xavier University, Cincinnati, is a recognized authority on Hispanic American history. As is to be expected, he has written a superb book. The style is clear and vigorous, his judgment informed and balanced. He handles his materials with sureness and deftness. The book is a piece of first-rate scholarship, yet, unlike many professedly scholarly books it is not so geared to the specialist that it is obscure and uninteresting to the student of general history or even the reader at large. Any Jesuit will find the book gripping reading. It casts much light on the intricate background of early Jesuit history and the chapter on the suppression of the Society by Charles III is expertly done. The translations of the documents are not only accurate but graceful and dignified in style.

For the student or teacher of Latin American history the book supplements but does not supplant the work of J. Lloyd Mecham on the Patronato which was published almost thirty years ago. But it is an important supplement, especially since Mecham's work does not contain the documentation of the present book.

Loyola University Press is to be congratulated on another beautifully printed addition to their Jesuit Studies series. There are, however, some minor imperfections which a second edition will no doubt eradicate. The print from the tenth to the twelfth lines of page 194 is broken. The first sentence of the second paragraph on page 185 seems to imply that Charles V died a heretic, which is obviously not the author's intention. The sentence is confused and confusing.

This book is a pleasure to read. It is the product of long and laborious research by a gifted and expert historian. It represents, in the very highest degree, Jesuit and Catholic scholarship.

HERBERT J. RYAN, S.J.

FOR CANA CONFERENCES AND THE LIKE

Together in Christ—A Preparation for Marriage. Edited by Henry V. Sattler, C.S.S.R. Washington: National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1960. Pp. 304. \$3.50.

This collection of eleven pamphlets, gathered into a loose-leaf binder, is a marriage preparation course intended primarily for group instruction but is readily adaptable for work with individual couples. Areas of emphasis are: courtship; marriage as vocation and sacrament; mixed marriage; conjugal love; adjustment to male and female personality differences; civil and ecclesiastical laws governing marriage; family economics; the physical realities of love, pregnancy and childbirth; marital chastity; parenthood; family apostolate.

Authors of individual booklets are not identified. However, the following names are listed as constituting the editorial board: Rev. John S. Banahan, Rev. Joseph F. Cantillon, S.J., Rt. Rev. Msgr. Irving A. DeBlanc, Very Rev. Msgr. John A. Goodwine, Mr. and Mrs. Emerson Hynes, Dr. William Lynch, Rev. Forrest Macken, C.P., Dr. and Mrs. Linus Maino, Rev. Gerald Murphy, S.J., Rev. Henry V. Sattler, C.S.S.R.,

Rev. John L. Thomas, S.J. Father Sattler is general editor of this highly useful collection.

The most valuable booklet in the course is probably Pamphlet No. 5, "Man and Wife." Beginning with the principle that husband and wife are equal but different before God, the author discusses the "gifts" they hold in common and the "gifts" that make them different. The discussion of emotions in man and woman offers a valuable insight to those approaching marriage. It is essential that they understand a woman's characteristic tendency toward loneliness and a man's proneness to discouragement. "As in all spheres of unity, if each will be concerned about the other, each will find his own needs met. It is easy for a man to be affectionate to a woman who has a calm confidence in his abilities and who gives him constant encouragement. It is easy for a woman to encourage a husband who is warmly affectionate." (p. 17)

The weakest link in this collection is Pamphlet No. 1, on "Courtship." Helpful information is given on practical questions to be settled before the wedding, but much of the matter covered is fairly irrelevant to those for whom marriage is imminent. Perhaps a booklet devoted solely to the engagement would get the course off to a better start. Hopefully, the section on premarital chastity will come through future editions without the examples of "kidding" given on page 26 to illustrate the suggestion that a sense of humor can often save a dangerous situation. The suggestion should, of course, be retained; but it is likely to be followed with more confidence and success if the examples are forgotten.

The collection is well indexed. A general bibliography of paperbacks is included. Suggested pamphlet readings are given on the back cover of each booklet; unattractive front-cover drawings, however, give the collection an undeserved amateurish stamp.

Arrangements have been made with seminaries in St. Paul, Minnesota and Baltimore, Maryland to offer the course on a correspondence basis. Tests are included in each pamphlet. A teacher's manual and a testing device are available from the Family Life Bureau, N.C.W.C.

WILLIAM J. BYRON, S.J.

THE WORD OF GOD

God's Living Word. By Alexander Jones. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961. Pp. ix-214. \$3.95.

Father Jones is professor of Hebrew and Scripture at Upholland College, Lancashire, England. The Catholic Biblical Association of Australia invited him to conduct its first Biblical Congress at Sydney in August of 1959. This book is in substance what he said there.

The range and variety of these twelve crisp essays can hardly be squeezed into the narrow description on the jacket which concludes that the book is "an introduction to the Semitic mind and thus an introduction to the Bible itself." It does indeed insist on the difference between the Hebrew style of thought and expression and the diluted Greek mode familiar to our culture. The second essay discusses and illustrates the mind of the Bible, and this is never lost from view. But equally evident

is the mind of a biblical theologian—"[ours] is the age of biblical theology"—and a Catholic scholar.

The author begins by tracing the theme of the Word of God itself from the Old Testament through post-Biblical Jewish tradition to its maturity in the fourth Gospel. The biblical view that history is theology is presented in chapter three and exemplified by the growth of the Saving Word about suffering as it tends toward the Cross. We then watch God's X-shaped process of election: the converging perspective of Genesis, the numerical narrowing of the Remnant to the Chosen One, Christ; and from this "point of intersection" the widening of the new Israel to embrace all men. The next two chapters are addressed to the Marcion argument, with us yet, that the New Testament contradicts the Old. St. Paul's solution to the apparent antithesis of the Law and the Cross (dramatically portrayed in Rom. 5-8) is given in the form of a play consisting of a prologue and three acts. The image of God as loving husband, thematic in both Testaments, is shown to prohibit an opposition between a God of Wrath and a God of Love. Following a discussion, in the Synoptic context, of the theological literary form of a "gospel" is a chapter on St. John's Gospel and method. There is an essay on the significance of Qumran, and one on Our Lady in Scripture, particularly the Lukan Annunciation scene.

In contrasting Catholic and Protestant approaches to Scripture, the final chapters are methodological. One is on the question of Scripture and Tradition, the other on the notion and implications of Inspiration.

Father Jones writes with an eye on common sources of misunderstanding and an ear alert for the well-wrought phrase. His book has been praised by Father Francis McCool, S.J. as "a modest and readable *Summa Biblica* in which the author conveys to us the most important insights about the Word of God." (*America*, 11/11/61, p. 206)

NEIL L. DOHERTY, S.J.

SCRIPTURE AND THE SPIRIT

Spirituality of the New Testament. By *W. K. Grossouw*. Translated by Martin W. Schoenberg, O.S.C. St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1961. Pp. x-203. \$3.95.

This book is intended to meet what its author considers to be a compelling contemporary problem: a prevalent ignorance of the NT which leads some Catholics to substitute secondary forms of liturgy and spirituality for forms closer to the rich NT message, while other Catholics are growing dissatisfied with these derivative manifestations of the Christian ethic. Grossouw hopes his analysis of NT spirituality will meet the needs of the latter. By spirituality he does not mean the "interior life," but "the whole concrete activity of the Christian in his spiritual-corporeal unity, comprising his existence in the world and his association with others, so far as this is imbued with an authentic Christian spirit." (p. 5)

Three major sections deal with the Synoptics, Paul and John. The first section highlights the Father in Heaven, the Coming of the King-

dom, the Sermon on the Mount, the Two Commandments, Self-Denial and Serenity of Soul. The second section treats of Paul's Conversion, Sin, Homo Religiosus, Flesh and Spirit, Faith and Charity, the Church. In the last section, John's theology of Godliness, Sacramental Symbols, Faith and Love are the topics.

Grossouw describes Paul's spirituality as "above all a protest against Pharisaism as a continuous, wholly human potentiality for religious experience." (p. 96). What he says of Paul is characteristic of his analysis of John and the Synoptics: he sees in them an affirmation of the transcendent, yet loving initiative of God in all Christian spiritual activity. Although our response is so conditioned by God's gifts, it is described in the NT as an energetic, personal allegiance to God in Christ. Throughout Grossouw is opposed to 'anticipating' God's providence by attempting to build a spiritual edifice without a foundation which respects the natural virtues. In a balanced and thoughtful fashion, traditional formulations of spiritual principles are weighed in the light of the NT. The NT is consistently viewed on its own grounds, though its language and thought-forms are clarified for the reader. The author argues quietly for a more scriptural orientation of Christian spirituality.

This book will be helpful for religious in general, for retreats and formation movements, for college students (to whom originally it was addressed) and for adult study clubs. GEORGE C. MCCAULEY, S.J.

THE MAN BEHIND THE MASK

Chesterton: Man and Mask. *By Garry Wills.* New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961. Pp. 243.

In the still unfinished task of achieving a complete critical assessment of Chesterton, Mr. Wills' effort must certainly be considered a step forward. If the book had no other merit at all, the author would deserve praise for his courage in attempting to come to a reasoned judgment on a subject who presented such varied faces to the world that a judgment on one of them frequently seems to be in conflict with the rest. As the author points out in his Introduction, the temptation of Chestertonian evaluators is to yield to the over-simplification of caricature, to refuse to take seriously a man who persistently refused to take himself seriously. But there is more here than courage. Wills' insight into Chesterton as fundamentally a man of powerful and far-reaching intelligence, an intelligence itself more significant than the particular forms in which it was actuated, is what gives unity to his whole critical effort. It is an insight which probably cannot be justified by the ordinary methods of literary criticism; perhaps its only justification is a personal, sympathetic reading or re-reading of Chesterton's major works in a spirit of honest inquiry as to who and what was the man that produced them.

Be that as it may, Wills illumines the real value of Chesterton's work by pointing out the context in which it must be considered: the existential philosophy which he worked out for himself in reaction to his own temptation to nihilism; the method of literary criticism which scorned the historicism of his own day and foreshadowed the organic criticism

of the present; the poetry which was more in the tradition of the ballad than in that of either Romanticism or Victorianism; the plays and novels which retained their imaginative impact even when revealed as thinly disguised forms of propaganda; above all, the role which he chose for himself of "metaphysical jester," which more than anything else sheds light on the man behind the mask, combining as it does the characterization of the two saints Chesterton admired so much and understood so well—Thomas Aquinas and Francis of Assisi. There is also a valuable putting into proper perspective of Chesterton's political theories, when it is pointed out that the theories and the author of them were indeed remote from the actualities of political experience, and that here, more than in any other area, Chesterton was victimized by those around him who were more interested in proclaiming an ideology than in asking whether it was true.

If the book is not a total success, its limitations are due to the author's somewhat over-pretentious style as well as to the difficulty of the task which he set himself. If, however, it has the effect of driving people to re-read and rethink Chesterton, whether in agreement or dissent, it will have accomplished a worthwhile thing.

DANIEL V. KILFOYLE, S.J.

AN APPRECIATIVE LOOK BACK

The Poor Old Liberal Arts. By Robert I. Gannon, S.J. New York: Farrar, Straus & Cudahy, 1961. Pp. x-207. \$4.00.

Father Gannon is an ideal author for such a book as this. Using the framework of his experience in education as a student, teacher, and administrator, he has fashioned a tableau of American education during the first half of this century. He loves the liberal arts and his concern is what has happened to them from the time he entered Georgetown in 1909 to the end of his presidency of Fordham in 1949. He has suffered through the various panaceas foisted on American education in the past fifty years: Eliot's liberation of youth at Harvard, the good news of Dewey, the typical American eyewash of equal education for all, and other assorted specimens of progress. As the natural enemy of these, the liberal arts have been afflicted with severe bruises. Once the cornerstone of education, today it seems apologies must often be given for their continued existence.

He points out that our Jesuit institutions, while not surrendering the ultimate norms which simply must be clung to, have not remained untouched by the national madness. He indicates we are not quite sure, often enough, of what we ought to be doing in our schools. In the highly competitive business of education, in the reign of technology, our schools could seem to be sitting on a fence in a state of bewilderment. He suggests it may be better for us to manage smaller institutions with a definite commitment to the liberal arts, which are not merely or necessarily Latin and Greek and which will honor pure science and mathematics. Would this not be an honest and more viable engagement in the educational enterprise, one which we can do well and openly advertise as

such? Father Gannon is by no means antiquarian; he realizes adjustment is essential for growth, but he refuses to accept severance with the past and the fatal relativist mentality resulting from such a drastic amputation.

What lends force to this book is the author's personality and the mode he has chosen to present his views. Rather than express himself in abstract terms, he takes us through his active life as Georgetown student, teaching scholastic at Fordham, student at Cambridge, dean of the resurrected St. Peter's, and president of massive Fordham University. This concrete approach shows how he has observed the actual data and induced his conclusions from them. This plus the sparkling Gannon wit and a style that vividly recreates past events make for a book which rewards the reader as well as goads him to reflection.

The excellent C. S. Lewis delivered his inaugural address at Cambridge on a similar theme. He referred to himself as perhaps one of the last of the dinosaurs. For him this was a cause for pride because, if what he represented and thought to be of value was to become extinct in our age of progress, he wanted to go down with it. Father Gannon's educational values are much the same. May this noble breed enjoy long life and bountiful posterity.

DONALD J. HINFEY, S.J.

TEILHARD RE-EXAMINED

Teilhard de Chardin—A Critical Study. *By Olivier Rabut, O.P.* New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961. Pp. 247. \$3.95.

In the words of the author, "the aim of this book is not to applaud Teilhard de Chardin's line of reasoning—and still less to find fault with it—but to indicate the chief problems that it raises, and begin, at least, to ponder them."

The first of the book's three sections deals with Teilhard's cosmological concepts of "psychism," "radial energy," the "inventiveness" displayed by the evolutionary process, and its intrinsic orientation towards increasing "complexity-consciousness." While admitting the probability that a valid insight (not always original with Teilhard) lies behind each of these ideas, Father Rabut questions the definitive form which it takes in Teilhard's developed thought. His recurring criticism is Teilhard's lack of caution and failure to criticize his own ideas sufficiently. He illustrates the point that other solutions than Teilhard's are possible by discussing at some length the more conventional scientific ideas of Simpson and Meyer.

Perhaps Teilhard's most startling thesis is that evolution, since it is a process absolutely central to the universe, will infallibly attain its goal, and that this fact implies that there already exists a personal center, the "Omega point," able to sum up all consciousness within itself, and finally to unify individual human persons in a supra-personal organism centered around itself. The last two sections of the book considers this thesis under its philosophical and theological aspects respectively.

Philosophically the author's verdict, once again, is that the proposition is neither proved nor evident. He finds that Teilhard has strayed from

science into philosophy, but without making the change in his method that the new type of problem requires, and he thinks that Teilhard shows signs of a gnostic tendency to identify his own concepts with reality.

On the theological side, the author heartily endorses Teilhard's general objective of relating the concept of evolution to the thought of St. Paul and finds much to approve of even in regard to details. However, he feels that Teilhard fails to take sufficient account of the distinction between nature and grace and, more particularly, thinks that "one is well advised in dropping such doubtful concepts" as a "change of state" resulting in a superorganism which is in some sense natural.

Evaluation of a critical study of the thought of Teilhard de Chardin is bound to be influenced strongly by one's own opinion of Teilhard and his ideas. One who, like this reviewer, admires Teilhard may conclude that the author's criticism is far more negative than is warranted. Certainly it would be possible to take issue with him on a number of points. Nevertheless, if one bears in mind that many of his remarks are, in his own words, "less an adverse criticism of Teilhard than a statement of the problem," one will conclude, I think, that the viewpoint of the book falls well within the bounds of what is fair and reasonable. Father Rabut is far from unappreciative of Teilhard and regards him as a brilliant, original thinker, vitally interested in the pressing problems of our time, whose insights open up many important lines of investigation for the future. Though keenly aware of Teilhard's cavalier disregard of methodology and self criticism, he displays an insight into Teilhard's thought and a detailed appreciation of his method and objectives that seems to be lacking in many other authors, both critical and laudatory. Consequently, his book should be genuinely helpful for the understanding and evaluation of Teilhard's ideas.

RICHARD J. PENDERGAST, S.J.

A MUST FOR ALL INTERESTED

Rome and the Vernacular. By *Angelus A. DeMarco, O.F.M.* Westminster: Newman Press, 1961. Pp. 191. \$3.25.

With the continual development of the liturgical movement throughout the world, the ever increasing discussion of the use of the vernacular in the Mass and the administration of the sacraments is a necessary and natural effect. That this usage is neither novel nor without objection is quite evident from this brief history of past vernacular problems.

Working from the change of the liturgical language from Greek to Latin, the author uses the various privileges for the vernacular as the framework of his development. Cyril and Methodius in their work among the Slavic peoples, John of Monte Corvino and Matteo Ricci and the Chinese rites, the Greeks, Armenians and even modern day Germans have caused Pontiffs to vacillate between great use of the vernacular and minimal usage.

The fifth chapter, "The Council of Trent," with its careful annotations and complete exposition of the Protestant demands for a vernacular

liturgy, is perhaps the most important chapter in the book. From an analysis of the reasons behind these demands—the concept of the Mass as a mere method of instruction in the development of faith—the Church's hesitancy in extending the privileges of the vernacular appears extremely reasonable.

Father DeMarco is careful to side with neither faction in these discussions and yet does provide more than ample material for the proponents of the vernacular.

The book is an excellent synopsis of the vernacular problems and can be used to gain a quick insight into the Roman position on these problems.

WILLIAM J. HENDRICKS, S.J.

THE CHURCH UNIVERSAL

World Catholicism Today. By Joseph Folliet. Translated by Edmond Bonin. Westminster: Newman Press, 1961. Pp. 214. \$3.25.

Dr. Folliet's book is an intriguing attempt to survey the problems, assets and liabilities of modern Catholicism in the brief confines of some two hundred pages. In many ways it is similar to John Gunther's series of "Insides," and might be called "Inside the Catholic Church."

The first section, devoted to a survey of the "geography of world Catholicism," recommends itself not because of its remarks on individual countries which are familiar enough, albeit true, but because of broader values. Reading through Folliet's account of the Church in Europe, America, Africa, and in such seldom heard from places as Malta, Costa Rica and Switzerland, the reader is impressed with the incredible variety within the universal Church, in riches possessed and problems to be faced. He is subtly warned not to judge everything in the light of his own nation's problems, but to seek solutions for his problems from fellow Catholics the world over. The value of this section is one of perspective.

The Church's most pressing problem, the author states in his second section, is one of weaving the Church into the very fabric, structure, mentality and mores of our brand-new civilization. The past failure of the clergy to adapt to the urbanization of large sections of society has led to a decline in religion in the large cities. Similar problems of adaptation lie everywhere around us now, from technological improvements of all sorts, to Church architecture and liturgy, from TV to the increasingly important cultures of Asia and Africa. As a corollary, Folliet stresses the importance of the expert, devoted lay apostle.

The author's third section is devoted to a brief examination of modern spirituality, which he finds puts less stress on the exterior and extraordinary forms of sanctity, concentrating instead on sanctification of the ordinary duties of one's state of life. In this it is more akin to St. Thérèse of Lisieux than to the Fathers of the desert. Conscious striving for sanctity has become more widespread; "holiness has become democratic," and the great characteristic of Christianity in this age is the growth of lay spirituality. Modern apostles, lay and otherwise, are more devoted than ever to the material welfare of souls. They are "structural missionaries," intent on changing or modifying institutions within

society that militate against the spiritual and material welfare of souls. F. Ozanam is typical of this type of apostle. They are efficient, active and expect success. Their prayer is that of contemplatives in action, and their spirituality, fed by the twin "discoveries" of Bible and liturgy, is centered on the Mystical Body.

Folliet's style is very readable, journalistic in the best sense of the word. If his insights on particular issues are familiar, his wide perspective is different and challenging. In brief, it is a very readable and intriguing book.

DENIS P. MURPHY, S.J.

THEOLOGICAL AND LITURGICAL

Come, Let Us Worship. By *Godfrey Diekmann, O.S.B.* Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1961. Pp. 180. \$4.50.

To those who have followed the Liturgical movement in the United States, the name of Godfrey Diekmann, the editor of *Worship*, is a familiar one. By that same token a review of his book is perhaps superfluous since in it he has gathered together the various addresses which he himself has delivered over the years at the annual National Liturgical Weeks. As such, therefore, they are already well known.

The constantly recurring and unifying theme of these essays can most easily be expressed by a quotation from the book itself. "The Liturgical movement, therefore, is nothing more nor less than an effort to translate the theology of the sacraments into practice in a way most conformable to the glory of God and the salvation of souls." In his initial chapter he traces the history of Christian piety in an attempt to show what has happened to popular participation through the ages. Due to the nature of his book this extremely complex subject receives rather schematic and perhaps oversimplified treatment. The more scholarly reader, however, will forgive Dom Godfrey since an abundance of references is included in the text and a comprehensive bibliography appended to it.

Subsequent essays treat of the sacraments, the theology of the sacraments, the Mass, the Church Year, the role of our Lady in the Liturgy and the educational value of the Liturgy, including its relation to parish life. All of these subjects are handled skillfully by a man who brings to his task a scholarly knowledge of dogma, scripture, patristics and church history, as well as the apparent ease of a poet in expression. For Father Diekmann writes well and he writes eloquently.

His book cannot be called a major contribution to Liturgical scholarship, but then it was not meant to be. Much of what is said in it has been said elsewhere, although it has rarely been said as well. Its chief merit lies in its well-balanced and very spiritual approach to the aims and efforts of the Liturgical revival. Dom Godfrey is neither an archeologist nor a fanatic. He is primarily a theologian in close contact with the sources of Christian life and well aware of the problems involved in the renewal to which he has so ardently dedicated himself. His book is eminently readable and highly recommended.

LEO A. MURRAY, S.J.

RETREAT CONFERENCES

The Layman and His Conscience. By Ronald Knox. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961. Pp. 218. \$3.50.

When you finish reading this retreat of Ronald Knox, you feel as if you had been eviscerated spiritually by the deft broad sword of the author. The purpose of any retreat is to draw the retreatant closer to God by rooting out some little flaw that keeps God at a distance. In any retreat we should become serious about God and serious about self. Monsignor Knox urges the retreatant to check up on the relationship that exists between himself and the eternal truths. It is a personal inquiry and one that should lead to a new personal encounter with the living God.

This personal encounter with God is the dominant theme of the retreat. In the opening conference, Monsignor Knox asks the retreatant to picture in his imagination the wonderful scene from the Gospels of Our Lord encountering the pitiful, blind beggar. He points out that the remarkable and memorable part of the whole vignette is the fact that Our Lord asks for the beggar. In the same way, in a retreat Our Lord is asking for us. He wants to meet us on a personal level. A retreat is a time for honesty and it is very difficult not to be honest in a personal encounter with another person. "Try to get as near Our Lord as possible, open your heart to Him as much as possible; unite your will to the will of God, and leave the rest to Him."

The theme of the personal encounter recurs again in the conference on the Holy Eucharist. The sacred, precious gift of the Eucharist was a personal one. It was a gift to individuals. This tremendous truth is often overlooked today even though the prayer the priest recites as he distributes Holy Communion is a petition for individual protection of the communicant. "*Corpus Domini nostri Iesu Christi custodiat animam tuam in vitam aeternam. Amen.*"

Even in His dealings with the crowds, Our Lord always dealt with them as individuals and not as crowds. Recall the story of the woman with the flow of blood. Jesus was in a hurry to get to Jarius' house and the poor woman did not want to delay Him. She merely touched His robe. As far as she was concerned, the matter was over and done. But Jesus turned and asked who it was that touched Him. Why was Jesus so specially keen to see the person? "I think because it was not part of His program to glorify God with mass produced miracles; each person He cured must be brought into personal relations with Him, must be able to say afterwards, 'He turned and spoke to me.' Of all those thousands who lay on their beds by the roadside, not one was healed but carried away some memory of His voice, 'Go and sin no more,' 'Thy faith has saved thee'; it was to be a personal experience."

With the personal encounter as a foundation for the rest of his conferences, Monsignor Knox devotes some time to the cultivation of virtues that stress the personal element in our every day living: humility, kindness, and simplicity.

The culmination of the personal encounter with God will be the final vision of God face to face. The good Monsignor closes the book with

some thoughts on death, (he includes in this conference an interesting excursus on the meaning of tolling the death bell nine times) eternity, heaven and hell.

I was particularly fascinated by his description of hell. "Going to hell is going to a place where all the people, not just some people, all the time, not just some of the time are trying to assert themselves and hating one another."

The closing conference of the retreat brings us back again to the leit motiv of the whole book, the personal encounter with God. The theme of the last conference is the Transfiguration story and we are urged to carry away one text with us to help us on our way to God. "Immediately looking about them, they saw no man any more, but Jesus only with them."

DAVID J. AMBUSKE, S.J.

AMONG OUR REVIEWERS

Father Joseph S. Duhamel, S.J. (New York Province) is professor of moral theology at Woodstock College, Maryland.

Father John F. Sweeney, S.J. (New York Province) is professor of dogmatic theology at Woodstock College, Maryland.

Father Vincent M. Novak, S.J. (New York Province), teacher of religion at Fordham Preparatory School, New York, studied at *Lumen Vitae* and is currently writing a series of high school religion textbooks, the first of which appeared recently.

Father John J. Ryan, S.J. (Maryland Province) is editor of *Fatima Findings*.

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**JESUITS AS CHAPLAINS IN THE ARMED FORCES:
1917-1960**

BY
GERARD F. GIBLIN, S.J.

- Based on Questionnaires and on Army, Navy, Air Force and Maritime Service Records.
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CONTENTS FOR APRIL, 1962

ADDRESS TO JESUIT PROCURATORS.....	99
His Holiness Pope John XXIII	
AMERICAN JESUITS AS CHAPLAINS: 1775-1917..	101
Gerard F. Giblin, S.J.	
THE KINGDOM FOR LAITY.....	113
Zacheus J. Maher, S.J.	
JESUIT COLLEGES FOR EXTERNS AND THEIR POVERTY	123
George E. Ganss, S.J.	
FATHER JOHN J. GEOGHAN.....	167
William B. O'Shaughnessy, S.J.	
BOOK REVIEWS	175

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The Holy Father's Address to the Congregation of Procurators

Beloved Sons,

In accordance with your Constitutions you have met at Rome from the different Provinces of the Society of Jesus spread throughout the world in order to acquaint your Father General of the state of each Province.

And today you come to present your homage to the humble successor of the Prince of the Apostles, impelled by that spirit of faith and ardent charity to which you strive to attune all the actions of your lives. Thus today for the first time We receive in audience and address Our fatherly words to such a representative gathering of your Institute. It is indeed a great pleasure for Us, and we take the opportunity of expressing Our satisfaction as a fresh proof of Our benevolence in your regard.

We are aware of the devotion with which the members of the Ignatian family labor for the glory of God and the help of souls. For in the various countries to which God's adorable will has led Us We have made acquaintance with active groups of your Society. But what affords still greater gratification is that your Order's chief characteristic lies in fidelity to the See of Peter. The purpose your Lawgiver had in mind when adding a fourth Vow to Profession was that by this means you might also advance towards religious perfection, namely by asserting a special obedience to the Holy See and dedicating in its service the energies of your minds and wills.

Continue, beloved sons, in this resolve and course of action; they are for you the source of exceptional merit. In your

This translation is taken from the *Irish Province News* for January 1962.

efforts at virtue continue to model yourselves on the pattern of holiness which the wise legislation of your Founder proposes to you. You will thus bring joy to the Church of Christ and by tireless zeal will advance continually, according to that saying of Scripture: "The path of the just, as a shining light, goeth forwards and increaseth even to perfect day" (*Prov.* 4:18).

Let this light, then, increase and shed its ray on all who benefit by your priestly zeal, so that "They may see your good works and glorify your Father who is in heaven" (*Matt.* 5:16).

Promote with your habitual devotion the various forms of the apostolate in which you are engaged, particularly those of the training of youth and the work of missions and retreats. You will thus play a notable part in advancing the sublime task which is the object of Our continual desire and solicitude, namely a reawakening of genuine piety among all classes of society, the flourishing of a sound morality, the steady diffusion of truth.

Now that you are about to return, each one to his own Province, We would ask you, beloved sons, to assure your religious brethren that the Pope follows their apostolic labors with his fervent prayers and fatherly affection. As Vicar of Christ Jesus We cannot but draw sweet consolation from the large membership of your Society, all seeking the glory of Jesus, all bearing on their brows and on their works the name of Jesus which "is above every name" (*Phil.* 2:9). From that name let them draw inspiration and incentive for the practice of virtue, "For thy name shall be named to thee by God for ever; the peace of justice and the honor of piety" (*Bar.* 5:4).

We give loving expression to these good wishes and counsels, so that with ever-growing zeal you may fulfill the duties assigned you in God's extended vineyard. "For the rest, brethren, rejoice, be perfect, take exhortation, be of one mind, have peace. And the God of peace shall be with you" (*2 Cor.* 13:11).

As pledge of this heavenly peace and unending joy, We lovingly impart the Apostolic Blessing on Father General, on you, Fathers, and the associates of your labors, and on each and every member of the Society of Jesus.

American Jesuits as Chaplains in the Armed Forces: 1775 to 1917

Gerard F. Giblin, S.J.

Revolutionary War

During the Revolutionary War only one Catholic priest, Father Louis Eustace Lotbinière, had any officially recognized standing as a chaplain with the Continental Army.¹ He was appointed by General Benedict Arnold in the course of the American invasion of Canada (September to December 1775) and served with the First Canadian (Livingston's) Regiment. His commission was ratified by the Congress on August 10, 1776.² One Jesuit, or rather, ex-Jesuit for the Society of Jesus had been suppressed in America by this time, did become involved with the American army in a quasi-official role. This was Father Pierre René Floquet of the Diocese of Quebec. This, as in Father Lotbinière's case, was during the American invasion of Canada.

The size of the American invasion force as it entered Canada had dwindled considerably and the Yankees were forced to enlist Canadians. Jean Olivier Briand, Bishop of Quebec, forbade his subjects to join the Americans. Father Floquet, on receiving assurances from their American commander that the recruited Canadian garrison troops in Montreal would not be used against their compatriots in the siege of Quebec, confessed and communicated them, since it was the paschal season. For this action he received the thanks of the Americans and was nominated as chaplain of Moses Hazen's regiment of volunteers. The bishop's response was different: he suspended the priest for his association with the Americans. Though Father Floquet sympathized with

¹ This article is intended to complement "Jesuits as Chaplains in the Armed Forces: 1917-1960" which appeared in *Woodstock Letters* in the November, 1960 issue (Vol. 89, pp. 325-482).

² "Chaplains in the American Revolution" by Charles H. Metzger, S.J. *Catholic Historical Review* 31 (1945) 31-79.

the Yankee invaders, he refused to associate further with them and wrote to his bishop: "I humbly supplicate your Lordship to pardon me and remove the interdict which my misdoings have drawn down on me."³

In the Colonies Father Ferdinand Farmer was considered for appointment as chaplain with the British army. When General Howe occupied Philadelphia in 1777, he toyed with the idea of raising a regiment of Catholic Tories and making Father Farmer its chaplain. Father Farmer did not favor the idea and evidently neither did the Philadelphians. The regiment was never raised.⁴

The Society of Jesus was officially restored in the United States when three men, Robert Molyneux, Charles Sewall and Charles Neale pronounced Jesuit vows on August 18, 1805. The newly resurrected Society provided no priests for the War of 1812. Their numbers were few: about eighteen priests; and the war was not one of extended land campaigns. Only when the British invaded Southern Maryland and burned Washington did the war come near the American Jesuits.⁵

Father Marshall

In 1824 Father Adam Marshall, a priest of the Maryland Mission, signed up as schoolmaster aboard the U.S.S. *North Carolina*. The Jesuit was suffering from a lung disease and the doctor had prescribed a sea voyage. His vessel was a ship-of-the-line, one of the few possessed by the United States in the days of sail. She was rated at 86 guns, almost twice the armament of the famous frigates that had defeated the British in the war of 1812, and had a crew of a thousand men. The young officer cadets, the midshipmen, were in Father Marshall's charge. During the *North Carolina's* voyage

³ For the pertinent documents relating to Father Floquet and Bishop Briand, confer *Catholics and the American Revolution* by Martin I. J. Griffin (1907-1911. Three volumes) I, 104-110.

⁴ "Father Ferdinand Farmer" by John F. Quirk, S.J. *Woodstock Letters* 44 (1915) 55-67.

⁵ As far as can be discovered, no Catholic priests served as chaplains in the War of 1812. "The fact remains that the War of 1812 is the only one in which our history sheds no light on the name of a Catholic chaplain." *Catholic Military and Naval Chaplains, 1776-1917* by Dom Aidan Henry Germain (Washington: 1929), p. 33.

through the Mediterranean the religious services aboard the battleship were conducted by the Episcopalian chaplain. The priest was impressed by the minister's preaching ability. A sermon he listened to he described as "well delivered, well composed and instructive in its morality, contained no controversy and it and the prayer might have been pronounced with propriety by a Catholic priest."

Father Marshall records in his diary that he was unable to say Mass aboard the ship. But a priest is always a priest: he was ready to comfort, advise and confess. Father Marshall's disease proved fatal. The final entry in his diary, pasted in by the lieutenant of the watch, reads, "September 20, 1825. At 2:30 A.M. the Revd. Adam Marshall, Schoolmaster, departed this life. At 10 A.M. called all hands to bury the dead, and committed the body of the Revd. Adam Marshall, Schoolmaster, to the deep." The final prayer over the priest may well have been pronounced by the minister whose sermons he praised.⁶

War with Mexico

When the war with Mexico began in 1846, President James Polk requested Bishop John Hughes of New York to appoint some Catholic priests as chaplains to the army. Polk was disturbed by the Mexican propaganda line: The Americans were coming to Mexico to destroy the Catholic religion. The bishop turned to the Jesuits at Georgetown and Father Peter Verhaegen, provincial, appointed Fathers John McElroy and Anthony Rey.

Father McElroy, who began his career in the Society of Jesus as a coadjutor brother, was at the time of his appointment sixty-four years old. For twenty-three years he had been pastor of St. John's Church at Frederick, Md. "Aggressive, but none the less prudent," Father Anthony Kohlmann, his novice master, had described him. Father Rey was thirty-nine, and at the time of his appointment Socius to the provincial and an administrator of Georgetown College. At the

⁶ Father Marshall's manuscript diary is in the Woodstock College archives. Excerpts from it are published in *Journal of Father Adam Marshall, 1824-1825*, edited by Joseph T. Durkin, S.J. (University of Scranton, 1943).

end of May the two priests went to see the President. He explained their mission to them and wished them success. They were not commissioned as chaplains, the law made provisions only for clergymen who had been duly elected by the regiments in which they were to serve. Each priest was promised a \$1,200 a year salary. Father McElroy and Father Rey travelled overland to Cincinnati where they boarded the riverboat *Thomas Jefferson*. At New Orleans they switched to the steamer *Alabama* and journeyed across the Gulf of Mexico to Port Isabel, Tex. A final boat, the *Troy*, took them up to the Rio Grande and their destination Matamoros.

Matamoros was at that time (June 1846) headquarters of Zachary Taylor's army. The town contained one uncompleted church and numerous uninstructed Catholics. Mexicans had complained that the Yankees had come to rob them of their religion, but in Matamoros Father McElroy saw precious little of it practiced. The uncompleted church was a prime instance of their apathy. During the past quarter of a century since their liberation from Spain not one new church had been completed in Mexico. With his customary vigor Father McElroy set to work visiting the hospitals and teaching catechism to children.

On August 4 Father Rey left Matamoros and accompanied Taylor's army on its journey to Monterey. For a time the army halted in Camargo, regrouped, provisioned and finally moved against Ampudia's Mexicans who held Monterey. In a three day battle (September 21 to 24, 1846) the 6,000 man American force defeated the 9,000 troops of General Ampudia. The Mexican general requested a truce and withdrew his men. With the army Father Rey entered Monterey, presented himself to the pastor and celebrated Mass in the church with Mexicans and American soldiers as worshippers.

Death of Father Rey

About January 19, 1847 Father Rey, in company with a man named McCarthy left Monterey and journeyed northwest to a town called Marin. There they fell in with a group of Mexican guerillas who shot McCarthy. Realizing that the priest would identify them if they allowed him to escape, the sacristan of the church of Marin, himself one of the guerillas,

reached a decision. "Shoot the priest." Father Rey was killed. The villagers of Marin reverently brought the body to their cemetery and interred it.

For a while Father McElroy was left in doubt as to the fate of his fellow Jesuit. In April a letter from Caleb Cushing, a brigadier general in the Massachusetts Volunteers, informed the priest that Father Rey had been murdered. By this time Father McElroy had come to the conclusion that his own mission in Mexico was not a success. He could not speak the language and communicate to the local peasants the honorable intentions of the American government. On May 11 he left Matamoros and began his return journey to the United States. Father McElroy, despite his advanced years, outlived not only the Mexican War, but the Civil War as well. He died in 1877 at the age of 95.⁷

Father De Smet

Only one Jesuit served with the army in the period between the Mexican and the Civil War. This was Father Peter De Smet of the Missouri Mission. Near Council Bluffs on the territory of the Omaha Indians in the autumn of 1846 Father De Smet came upon a large party of Mormons. The group had not yet decided upon a destination and plied the missionary with questions. Where was a good place to settle? The priest described the region near the Great Salt Lake and the Mormons seemed pleased with the description. Once he had set up his New Jerusalem, Brigham Young defied the Federal government and ordered state officials out of Utah. In retaliation the Congress in 1857 sent off an expedition of 3,000 soldiers. Brigham Young surprised this army, burned its food wagons, and ran off its cattle. Embarrassed and hungry, the destitute expedition returned home.

⁷ References to the war experiences of Father McElroy and Father Rey are frequent in *Woodstock Letters*. The most important are:

Kines, L. Berkeley. "Lincoln in a Cassock: Life of Father John McElroy, S.J., 1782 to 1847" 87 (1958) 335-398.

McElroy, John, S.J. "Chaplains for the Mexican War" 15 (1886) 198-202; 16 (1887) 33-39, 225-229.

McElroy, John S.J. and Anthony Rey, S.J. Correspondence. 17 (1888) 3-12, 149-163.

The following year another expedition was organized under the direction of William S. Harney, an army officer who had earned a good reputation for his campaign against the Sioux in 1855. Since the general's troops were three-quarters Catholics, he asked that Father Peter De Smet be appointed as their chaplain. On May 13, 1858 Father De Smet received a letter from John B. Floyd, Secretary of War: "It is the President's intention to attach you to the Army of the Utah in the capacity of chaplain, in the belief that in this position you will render important services to the country."

Since Father De Smet was about to begin a missionary journey to the Far West, the letter was in accord with his wishes. He accepted and left St. Louis, Mo., to report to Fort Leavenworth, Kans. General Harney received the missionary courteously and promised every assistance, a promise which he kept. As the expedition progressed Father De Smet ministered not only to the army personnel but also to the Indians they met enroute: Pawnees, Sioux and Cheyennes. When the army reached Mormon country, the general received word that the Latter Day Saints would not offer resistance. After installing a new state governor, the expedition returned to St. Louis. Father De Smet turned in his resignation, but in view of threatening Indian troubles in Oregon it was not accepted.

Indian Troubles

General Harney, accompanied by Father De Smet, set out on a new expedition. They travelled by way of Panama and the Pacific Ocean, landing finally in Vancouver, only to discover that Colonel George Wright had already established peace. But it was a tenuous peace. The Indians had been forced to give hostages as a bond for their good behavior. Father De Smet knew that a peace enforced under these conditions would not last. The missionary went to see Colonel Wright.

"Release the hostages in my custody. I will vouch for their conduct." Colonel Wright was reluctant until assured that General Harney agreed with the priest. The release was arranged. In company with the liberated Indians, Father De Smet returned to the Coeur d'Alènes after a twelve year absence. The Indians were delighted to see their old friend.

"I sang midnight Mass on Christmas. The Indians chanted the *Gloria* and the *Credo* and sang hymns in their own tongue." On April 16, 1859, in company with nine Indian chiefs, Father De Smet returned to Vancouver. There the Indians signed a peace treaty. The threat of war was at an end, and with its cessation came the completion of Father De Smet's duties as a military chaplain. He returned to St. Louis.⁸

The Civil War

The Civil War found the United States still a mission territory. In 1861 the Society of Jesus had in the United States only one regularly constituted province, that of Maryland; another, the Missouri, would be established in the course of the war, in 1863. The New York and Canada Mission was supplied by priests from the Province of France (replaced in 1863 by the Province of Champagne); the New Orleans Mission was staffed by the Province of Lyons.

The number of Jesuit priests was as follows: Maryland: 77; Missouri: 73; New York and Canada Mission: 46 (in the United States); New Orleans: 34. In all 230 priests. These figures are for 1863, midpoint of the war. In addition, there were a handful of Jesuits from other European nations.

It is difficult to trace priests who acted as fulltime chaplains. The *Catholic Directory* was not printed for 1862 and 1863. The province catalogues do not always list the full activities of a priest. Father Bernardin Wiget, for example, is listed simply as rector of Gonzaga College, without reference to the fact that he is a commissioned hospital chaplain in the army. Father James Bruehl within the space of the war years passes from Lyons (1860-1861), to Missouri (1862-1863), to the Austrian Province (1864) with no mention that, while in America, he was a commissioned chaplain.

The list of commissioned chaplains in the Civil War, in so far as it can be reconstructed, is as follows:⁹

⁸ *The Life of Father De Smet, S.J.* by E. Laveille, S.J. N.Y.: Kenedy, 1915.

⁹ I have relied on Dom Germain's work (*op. cit.*, note 5) in determining who was and who was not commissioned among Jesuit chaplains. In two places I have disagreed with his listing. James M. Dillon of the

List of Chaplains

Union Forces

- Bruehl, James. Austrian Province. Hospital chaplain at Beaufort, N. C., and New Orleans, La. Served from July 28, 1862 to May 30, 1863.
- McAtee, Francis. Maryland Province. With the 31st New York Infantry from October 30, 1861 to June 4, 1863.
- Nash, Michael. New York Mission. With the 6th New York Infantry from June 5, 1861 to June 25, 1863.
- O'Hagan, Joseph. Maryland Province. With the 73rd New York Infantry from October 9, 1861 to September, 1863. Returned to service after making tertianship, 1864-1865.
- Ouellet, Thomas. New York Mission. With the 69th New York Infantry from November 10, 1861 to December, 1862. Hospital chaplain in North Carolina from May 1863 to January 1864. Returned to the 69th Infantry, February 1864 to June 30, 1865.
- Tissot, Peter. New York Mission. With the 37th New York Infantry from May 25, 1861 to June 22, 1863.
- Wiget, Bernardin. Maryland Province. Hospital chaplain, Washington, D. C. Appointed October 9, 1862.

Confederate Forces

- de Chaignon, Anthony. New Orleans Mission. With the 18th Louisiana in 1862.
- Gache, Hippolyte. New Orleans Mission. Regiment unknown. Served from July 22, 1861 to April, 1865.
- Hubert, Darius. New Orleans Mission. Served with 1st Louisiana from May 20, 1861 to April, 1865.
- Prachensky, Joseph. New Orleans Mission. Served with 3rd Alabama from September 5, 1861 to February 5, 1862.

In addition to these commissioned chaplains there were many other priests who served the army in an unofficial capacity. One of the best known of these unofficial chaplains was Father Bernard O'Reilly who entered the Society of Jesus as a priest. During the war he labored for a time with

63rd New York, classified by Germain as a Jesuit, seems rather to have been a member of the Congregation of the Holy Cross. Also, Samuel Barber, who is described as joining the Army of Northern Virginia in March 1864 and remaining until the Appomattox surrender could not have participated in these events. He died February 23, 1864 at St. Thomas Manor (*Catholic Directory* for 1865, p. 210; corroborated by the catalogue for the Maryland Province for 1865). Also helpful was an unpublished manuscript by Stephen J. Laut, S.J.: "Jesuit Chaplains in the American Civil War."

the 69th New York Infantry. He afterwards withdrew from the Society, and in subsequent years became known for his historical writings, lives of Leo XIII and Pius IX, in addition to other works.¹⁰

Union chaplains in the Civil War were elected by their regiments; hospital chaplains were appointed by the president. Both classes were commissioned with rank and pay allowances equivalent to a captain of cavalry. This unlikely branch was chosen to equalate the chaplain's commission because it was realized that in the course of his ministry a chaplain would need a horse and the cavalry commission carried with it such a provision.

The Union prescribed an austere uniform for its chaplains: a "plain black frock coat, with standing collar and one row of nine black buttons: plain black pantaloons; black felt hat or army forage cap without adornments."¹¹ Most of the chaplains were unaware of the regulation and adopted army dress or ordinary clergy attire.

Despite the fact that they participated in many bloody engagements, Jesuits fared well on the casualty lists. Two Union chaplains became prisoners of the Southerners for three weeks: Father Tissot and Father O'Hagan were both captured by the Confederates during the Peninsula Campaign. They were directed to proceed to Richmond. There they stayed at the residence of Bishop John McGill. Without being exchanged for Confederates they were allowed to return to Washington in the third week of July, 1862.¹²

Two Jesuits were wounded: Father de Chaignon while with the Confederate army in Tennessee¹³ and Father Hubert

¹⁰ Another unofficial chaplain who deserves mention is Father Anselm Usannaz, chaplain for a time at the infamous Andersonville Prison in Georgia. He gives his name, homonymically at least, to Father Hosannah in MacKinlay Kantor's *Andersonville*: "The Jesuit from over Mobile way. He spoke three or four languages, perhaps more."

¹¹ *Chaplains of the United States Army* by Roy J. Honeywell. Washington: Office of the Chief of Chaplains, 1958, p. 110.

¹² "A Year in the Army of the Potomac" by Peter Tissot, S.J. *Historical Records and Studies* 3 (1904) 42-87. This is Father Tissot's diary kept during his first year as a chaplain.

¹³ *The Jesuits in New Orleans and the Mississippi Valley* by Albert H. Biever, S.J. New Orleans, 1924, p. 113.

during the Gettysburg battle, July, 1863.¹⁴

Father Francis McAtee, the last of the commissioned Union chaplains, died in 1904 at the age of 79. Father Hippolyte Gache outlived him, dying in Montreal in 1907 at the age of 90.

The Spanish-American War was a sudden lightning flash in American history. It flared up, was fought and gone in four months, April to August, 1898. Tampa, Florida, was the port of embarkation for the invasion of Cuba, the one extended land campaign of the war. Here Father William Tyrrell, pastor of St. Louis Church, Tampa, and his fellow Jesuits worked strenuously so that as many as possible could receive the sacraments before they set off to the war. Once the invasion of Cuba had gotten underway, the priests helped organize hospital facilities for the numerous victims of typhoid fever. The major battles of the Spanish-American War were fought in the hospitals. During the war the battle deaths for the army totaled 369, non-battle deaths 2061.¹⁵

- The only Jesuit commissioned during the war was Father Thomas E. Sherman of the Missouri Province. General Sherman's son was commissioned as chaplain in the 4th Missouri Volunteers on May 16, 1898 and mustered in at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri. He spent the entire war stateside. During July and August Father Sherman was stationed at Camp Alger, Virginia. On August 12 an armistice was signed and on the 18th he shipped out from Newport News aboard the *Obdam* with orders to report in Puerto Rico.

Father Sherman spent some time in Utuado, Puerto Rico, as chaplain to the 6th Massachusetts Volunteers. During this period he had his only brush with the war. He spent a night at the home of a Señor José Blanco who had been a lieutenant colonel in the Spanish volunteers and was extremely unpopular with the local natives. During the night there was a pistol shot and subsequently the neighboring hacienda was fired by a band of marauders. Father Sherman and his host

¹⁴ "Letters of Civil War Chaplains" by T. S. King, S.J. *Woodstock Letters* 43 (1914) 170.

¹⁵ The Tampa Jesuits were assisted by Father René Holaind, Ethics Professor from Woodstock. Other unofficial chaplains included Father Patrick J. Kennedy (New Orleans) with the 2nd Louisiana and Father Daniel P. Lawton (New Orleans) with the Louisiana Field Artillery.

waited for the attack that fortunately never materialized. Father Sherman wrote an interesting account of his own psychological reaction to the brief encounter: "For the first and only time in my life did I realize the intense pleasure which there is in exposure to danger, one that leads all the world of manhood to concede that fighting is the best fun in the world." An interesting reaction from a man whose father gave war its classical definition.

While in Puerto Rico Father Sherman also acted as a special observer for the War Department. He was attached to the staff of General Ulysses Grant II and he travelled extensively about the island, sometimes as much as thirty hours in the saddle, gathering material for his report. On his return to the United States Father Sherman was honorably discharged, February 10, 1899. He was the last Jesuit to be commissioned in the army until World War I.¹⁶

COMMISSIONED (OR OFFICIALLY APPOINTED) JESUIT CHAPLAINS¹⁷

Mexican War

<i>Name:</i>	<i>Province:</i>	<i>Branch:</i>	<i>Period:</i>
McElroy, John	Maryland	Army	1846-1847
Rey, Anthony	Maryland	Army	1846-1847

Expeditions against the Mormons and Indians

<i>Name:</i>	<i>Vice-Province:</i>	<i>Branch:</i>	<i>Period:</i>
De Smet, Peter	Missouri	Army	1858-1859

Civil War

<i>Name:</i>	<i>Province or Mission:</i>	<i>Branch:</i>	<i>Period:</i>
Bruehl, James	Austrian	US Army	1862-1863
de Chaignon, Anthony	NO Mission	CS Army	1862
Gache, Hippolyte	NO Mission	CS Army	1861-1865
Hubert, Darius	NO Mission	CS Army	1861-1865

¹⁶ *General Sherman's Son* by Joseph T. Durkin, S.J. N.Y.: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1959.

¹⁷ Father Floquet is omitted because his appointment was never ratified; Father Marshall, because his appointment was not as chaplain but schoolmaster.

McAtee, Francis	Maryland	US Army	1861-1863
Nash, Michael	NY Mission	US Army	1861-1863
O'Hagan, Joseph	Maryland	US Army	1861-1863; 1864-1865
Ouellet, Thomas	NY Mission	US Army	1861-1865
Prachensky, Joseph	NO Mission	CS Army	1862
Tissot, Peter	NY Mission	US Army	1861-1863
Wiget, Bernardin	Maryland	US Army	1862-?

Spanish-American War

<i>Name:</i>	<i>Province:</i>	<i>Branch:</i>	<i>Period:</i>
Sherman, Thomas E.	Missouri	US Army	1898-1899

Casualties

Mexican War:

Killed by the enemy:

Rey, Anthony. Killed by Mexican bandits or guerilla forces near Marin, Mexico, January 19, 1847.

Civil War:

Wounded in action:

de Chaignon, Anthony. Wounded while serving with the Confederate army in Tennessee.

Hubert, Darius. Wounded in the arm while serving with the Confederate army during the Battle of Gettysburg, July, 1863.

Prisoner of War:

O'Hagan, Joseph. Captured on June 30, 1862. Detained in Richmond and returned to Union control on July 20, 1862.

Tissot, Peter. Captured on June 30, 1862. Detained in Richmond and returned to Union control on July 20, 1862.

The Kingdom for the Laity

Zacheus J. Maher, S.J.

The subject proposed is a very interesting one, but it is beset with many complexities. In scholastic fashion I shall first present the status quaestionis and then come to the thesis proper.

1. The retreatants under consideration are neither priests nor religious, but laymen, and specifically those in a fixed state of life, not those seeking to discover their vocation. The latter would require special treatment. To include them in our discussion would be too time-consuming. Furthermore, the vast majority of our retreatants are not in this class.

2. Ignatius himself warns us that not all are qualified, whether intellectually or spiritually, to go beyond the first week of the Exercises.

3. A considerable length of time is required to condition the soul to enter on the Second Week. It is impossible to do this in a single retreat of two or even three days.

4. On every retreat there are those who have come for the first time, and those who have made five, ten or even more retreats. This is a continuing problem in all retreat houses. Would that we could meet it by conducting two retreats simultaneously, one for the newcomers, the other for the veterans. The difficulty would be intensified if you were to attempt to present the Kingdom to such a diversified group.

5. How is the meditation to be regarded? Is it to be considered apostolic, tending directly and primarily to the fashioning of the lay apostle rather than to the perfection of the individual, or is it to be directed primarily to the sanctification of the individual, with the consequent emergence of the instrument better fitted to work for the salvation of the

Paper read at the biennial meeting of the directors of Jesuit Retreat Houses for men, held at El Retiro San Inigo, Los Altos, California, September 25-28, 1961.

neighbor? I favor the latter view, in the spirit of the second rule of the Summary.

Primarily the Individual

There is no doubt that, objectively, the Kingdom of Christ is the Church militant, suffering and triumphant. This is the kingdom to which Our Blessed Lord made such frequent reference; here, however, Ignatius would seem not to have the Church but the individual primarily in mind. The enemies the retreatant must wage war against are not those who continuously assault the Church but those who assail himself. It is in this warfare that men must share with Christ in the labor in order that they may later share in the glory.

Ignatius' view is basic. A society is nothing apart from the individuals who go to make it up, and is no better than they. "The kingdom of God is within you." It is a kingdom of hearts. Herein are lodged the enemies to be overcome. Christ stands before the citadel of the human heart, seeking its surrender. "Son, give me thy heart." The enemy with whom the retreatant must engage is self: in him are rooted the carnal, the sensual and the worldly love which Ignatius will presently stigmatize. This is the reason why the manual of arms handed him as he entered upon his retreat read: "Soul exercises to conquer oneself." As Monsignor Guardini (*The Lord*, p. 162) phrases it: "We are the arch enemies of our own salvation, and the Shepherd must fight first of all with us, and for us."

This too is why the directives in the preludes and the colloquies are so personal: *I want, I need, I desire*. What have *I* done? What am *I* doing? What ought *I* do for Christ? All this and more of the same nature would seem to indicate that Ignatius has the individual primarily in mind, secondarily the apostle.

6. The next praenotandum has to do with the manner of presenting the parable of the earthly king. Should it be given as Ignatius presents it or should it be streamlined to the jet age? Give it as he does. *Aut sit uti est, aut non sit*.

The arguments for alteration stem largely, I believe, from the fact that kings (and queens), generally speaking, have been a rather sorry lot in history. They are passé today,

particularly to an American. Nevertheless by a strange inconsistency, the notion of king conveys the idea of excellence. The best of everything is king. In some ways we Americans are very provincial in our thinking. Because our form of government is, theoretically at least, a splendid one, and has worked out quite well through so many years, it does not follow that it is equally good or suited to the temperaments of all other peoples. Nor should we seek to impose it on them, must less to belittle theirs. Rather we should strive to understand their point of view, to enter more fully into their way of thinking, and even, if it be necessary, project ourselves into the minds and manners of former people. Though we as a nation or as individuals, feel no particular sense of loyalty towards the person of a given president (We may even have voted for his opponent), others might feel such loyalty towards their respective sovereigns, the more so if, in their estimation, royalty is identified with country and country with royalty. So it was with Ignatius. He was a hero worshiper. His hero was his king.

Parables

It may be objected that the temporal king is a fictitious character. Granted, but how often have we not been inspired by fictitious characters in literature? Our Blessed Lord spoke in parables, and without parables He did not speak to them. Shall we then discard these too because they are fictitious?

But all this aside, the great argument for retaining the notion of the king is the very Kingship of Christ itself, always prominent in the liturgy of the Church, in the Scriptures, and emphasized once again in the fairly recent establishment of the Feast of Christ the King. To modify Ignatius' presentation would be to weaken, if not to destroy entirely, the device he has thought out to achieve the purpose of the meditation; the comparison made between the temporal king and the King Eternal. How flat would such a contrast be if made between any historical character, however outstanding, and Our Blessed Lord! This is precisely why Ignatius had to devise a somewhat comparable term of comparison: "A human king, chosen by God Himself, whom all Christian princes and men reverence and obey."

The next and the final praenotandum is made with the greatest respect and reverence for St. Ignatius and only with relation to retreats given to the laity, never to priests or religious, much less to Ours. It is made because of an obstacle to deriving the full fruit of the meditation due to the unfamiliarity of the average Catholic layman with the whole of the Life of Christ, and his consequent lack of appreciation of the magnificence of the character of Our Blessed Lord. How few of the laity have read even the four gospels in their entirety! Here are the results of polls I took of three different retreat classes at El Retiro. *Question:* Have you read the four gospels in their entirety? *Answer:* 55 No, 12 Yes; 52 No, 15 Yes; 55 No, 16 Yes. Total 162 No, 37 Yes.

Archbishop Goodier wrote in his *A More Excellent Way*: "It is important for us to bear always in mind that we learn Our Lord as He was, and therefore, as He is, wholly from the gospels." And Father McCorry: "Of all the books this world will ever hold, the four gospels will be in every way the best. So we will always read Christ, only we must not misread Him" (*America*, 9-2-61). And how few have ever read a harmony or a standard Life of Christ! How brief is the explanation of the gospel at Sunday Mass to which they are exposed! *Ignoti nulla cupido!* How then can a man be won to Christ unless and until he comes to know Him? How shall he be brought to know Him unless he comes into contact with Him? How shall he be brought into contact with Him except through meditation on the gospels?

Order of Presentation

I have often asked myself: might it not be better to give the meditation of the Incarnation *before* that of the Kingdom? This majestic meditation would bring to the retreatant an interior knowledge of the Lord who for him has become Man. Thus too will he come to love Him more ardently and follow more closely. How much more clearly will he then see Christ Our Lord, King Eternal, in his own Person as he makes his appeal: not a remote personality, dimly known and vaguely appreciated, but a close, I had almost said a tangible reality, with whom he has consorted in the intimacy of prayer and contemplation!

I believe that this furtherance of the knowledge of the Personality of Christ in the retreatant, which is a prerequisite for the fruitful presentation of the Kingdom, is in itself a worthwhile objective, even though one were to accomplish no more or were to go no further into the Exercises.

Application of the Parable

Ignatius reveals his own soul in the book of the Exercises. Indeed it is one of the greatest of the spiritual *Aeneids* left by the saints. Ignatius was a man of high knightly ideals. The more he saw these realized in any given individual, the more was he drawn to that person. Thus he came to know the saints and was won to them; thus too, he came to know Christ in his life, in his works, but above all in his Person. In Him he saw verified in the highest possible degree all that was great and good in man. Here was the fulfillment of his ideal. Here was the ultimate in perfection, human and divine. Here was his Lord, the King Eternal. He would enlist in His service, offer Him his best and his all. He would be Christ's man, ignorant at the moment of all this might entail, but ready to dedicate anything, everything, self above all, to His Person and to His cause. Then it was that he gave up the temporal for the eternal, Charles V for Christ, man for God.

It is to such a degree of attachment he would bring the retreatant as the partial result of the meditation of the Kingdom. Can the average layman be brought to it in the brief period of a weekend retreat? I do not think first-timers can. The man who has made several retreats may be brought somewhat nearer to it, the more so if the retreat lasts three, five, or more days and the traditional exercises of the First Week be condensed, as well they might be, for men of this type. I believe that more frequently than is commonly supposed, great good will result from even a partial presentation of the Kingdom, i.e., a presentation of the comparison between the earthly king and the Eternal.

In the first place, the praise, reverence and service—particularly the service—of the Foundation is placed before the retreatant in a new light; there it was stressed as a matter of duty, here it is emphasized as an expression of attachment, a manifestation of admiration and of love. Personal knowledge

and contact with Christ will have engendered love. Love leads to the offering of self to the labor, so that following Christ in pain he may also follow Him in the glory. He will henceforth strive to save his soul, not so much because he must, but rather because he would not disappoint Christ Whom he loves and Who has become Man to die for his salvation.

Collaboration

But he should not be allowed to rest here. He must be brought to realize that it is not only his own soul which Christ would save but the souls of all men as well. And because he now cares for Christ, he will become enthusiastic about this project of his Lord. If you really care for a person you wish to see all his hopes realized. This *caritas Christi* will then urge him on to collaborate with Christ to the fullest extent of his power in the attainment of his heart's desire. This is the birth of an apostle. This is the Pentecost of the soul, when the retreatant has been changed into the new man, the *homo conjunctus cum Deo*, the instrument in the hand of God who will spend himself and be spent in the service of Christ, seeking no other reward than the privilege of further service. Such men Pius XII had in mind when in his allocution to the *Renascita Cristiana*, he said: "Men who wish in the field in which circumstances, planned by Divine Providence, have placed them to collaborate in leading souls back to Christ the one Lord and Master, men who by constant good example, by courageous profession of their firm conviction of the truth of Christian principles, slowly, continuously, progressively, exert an influence upon a group of people who think differently from them. Such is the meaning of the entire work of redemption and every apostolate, whatever may be its form, is but a participation in that redemptive work of Christ" (See *Catholic Mind*, July, 1947, p. 388).

Where if not in retreat can such men be fashioned? Were the total result of the retreat movement merely a body of Mass-on-Sunday, Fish-on-Friday Catholics, men who do the minimum they must in order to save their own souls, but are unconcerned about the salvation of others, then it would have failed of its objective. The retreat master must open up

new horizons to the retreatants. He must not let them be content with the avoidance of mortal sin, he must have them labor by frequent reception of the sacraments and by an accentuation of their spiritual life to diminish the frequency and the intensity of venial sins; he must lead them on to the practice of the examen, of meditation, of spiritual reading. Men are often more anxious to go further than we are ready to lead them, more anxious to receive than we are to give. They ask for bread. Do not give them stones for bread, nor serpents for fish. To what heights of Catholic living could they not be brought if we only dared to show them the way!

Ever since Pius XI stood in the field of the world, littered with the dry bones of Catholic inactivity, ever since he uttered the cry which brought flesh and sinews to the scattered fragments of the laity, there has been a stirring of skeletons. The Pontiff startled priests and laity alike with the hope expressed in his encyclical on atheistic communism: "That the fanaticism with which the sons of darkness work day and night at their materialistic and atheistic propaganda might at least serve the holy purpose of stimulating the sons of light to a like and even greater zeal for honor of the Divine Majesty."

And this is the same Pius who wrote in so laudatory a manner of the Spiritual Exercises and declared in his Apostolic Constitution, "We deem it proved that the Spiritual Exercises made according to the plan of St. Ignatius have the greatest efficiency in dispelling the most stubborn difficulties with which human society is now confronted!" Surely he never thought this would be accomplished if retreatants were to be restricted merely to the ground work of the First Week. Rather, I fancy I can hear him say to us: "Jesuit Retreat Masters: I charge you, send real Catholic men out of your retreat houses into every phase of life; family, social, parochial, commercial, professional, political, educational; men who will command attention and demand respect for the Church and for themselves by their spiritual stature, men who will be first and foremost to answer the calls made upon them for the Catholic action so vital to the well-being of the Church today. The begetting of such, and the being

in labor until they are begotten unto Christ, this is your most imperative responsibility."

Offerings of Greater Value?

I sincerely feel we can respond to the Holy Fathers by the proper presentation of the Kingdom as thus far indicated. But can we, or ought we go further? Can we venture to lead the retreatants into the ranks of distinguished service men? Can we rightly urge them to make "offerings of greater value and greater importance?" The answer is not easy. Once again I remind you, I am speaking of laymen, not of religious, or even of diocesan priests. I feel that in regard to the latter the problem is intricate and beyond the scope of this paper.

The offerings to be made are these: spiritual poverty, actual poverty, wanting to bear insults, and abuses, and as will be added in the Two Standards, contumely and contempt, and this in imitation of Christ, out of the desire to be as He, for love either finds equals or makes equals.

There is no particular difficulty about spiritual poverty. Our Blessed Lord named it as the first of the Beatitudes, and these are for all. Further, it is the Indifference of the Foundation, but with a higher motivation. But actual poverty? The majority of our retreatants, whether they be single or married, are men of ordinary means; few of them seek money for money's sake; rather, they seek it for their families, to maintain them at a reasonable standard of living and to meet the many obligations they must carry in the present-day economy, and, God knows, these are great indeed. Add to these the constant demands made on them for contributions to ever so many worthy causes, within the framework of the Church and outside it. The marvel is that they can do what they are doing, and that they have done so much. I salute them. I admire them. They donate, oftentimes at great personal sacrifice, setting an example of detachment and of modest living in not a few instances even to the clergy. Here some retreatants might be fittingly cautioned against envy of those better circumstanced than they and also against overreaching themselves in their disastrous desire to live above their means. Then, too, if correction in attitude towards the acquisition and disposition of money is needed, propose that startling and all-

inclusive directive of St. Ignatius: "To Amend and Reform One's Life and State," with particular regard to material things: "How large a house and household he ought to keep; likewise of his means, how much he ought to take for his household and house and how much to disperse to the poor and to other pious objects."

Insults and Abuse

We come now to the bearing of injuries and abuses, of contumely and contempt. This is the height of Ignatian asceticism. *Sed non omnes capiunt hoc verbum*. I fear you would have a difficult time bringing all priests to make this offering of greater value. With your experience, you will understand. Religious of both sexes, yes: this should be of the very substance of their spirituality. For the Jesuit it is his rule of life. But our problem is with the laity. The Exercises are not so much verbiage. Ignatius did not intend that they should be merely informative—as if one were to say to a retreatant: "This is a possible service, but it is not for you!" Desires are not to be aroused, nor resolutions proposed which have no practical application. The offering is not *pro forma*. To urge men to seek to be down-graded when up-grading is essential to their securing a position or holding a job, or advancing in their trade or business, or profession? After all, they do this for the laudable purpose of properly maintaining their families and meeting their financial responsibilities. Will it not seem contradictory and futile? I have come to feel that the extent to which these particular offerings of greater merit can be presented to our retreatants, if at all, is an acceptance of them when they come, the more so if they are unavoidable and undeserved,—reserving always the right, even the duty, to the preservation of one's reputation.

It was the selfsame Ignatius who proposed this love of contumely and contempt, who refused a public flogging in Paris and who later sought juridical vindication of the good name of the Society in Rome. This illustrates further the difficulty of properly explaining the implications of this meditation in a short retreat to the lay retreatant, lest he go away misinformed and consequently troubled in spirit. Father Edgar Bernard, S.J., in his *Notes for a Layman's Retreat*,

when he comes to the formula of dedication for distinguished service men, makes no mention at all of poverty, whether of spirit or actual, none of bearing injuries and abuses, but words it this way: "I wish and desire to imitate Thee in faithfully carrying out whatever resolutions it will please your Divine Majesty to make known to me during the course of this retreat." Those interested in pursuing the subject further, will find some apposite remarks in *Notes on the Spiritual Exercises* by Hugo Rahner, S.J.

Daily Life

But outside of this area, there lies another, extensive and difficult, in which the bearing of insults, contumely and contempt can be ambioned and no material harm result. In daily life instances will constantly occur when others will be preferred; when others will be invited and he overlooked, ignored, or excluded; when he will be asked to take a lower place because another, more worthy than he, has arrived; or when in some parochial affair another will be voted in and he voted out; another stationed in the receiving line and he asked to lend a hand in the parking lot; when, as we read in the Knox version of *Kem̄pis* (3, 49): "Others will be listened to when they speak but people will take no notice of anything you say. People will say a lot of nice things about others, no one will say a word about you. Others will be given this or that position of trust, you will be reckoned good for nothing at all. Naturally, this kind of thing will make you sad now and then, but if you bear it all without saying a word, you will have taken a great step forward." At this point the retreat master would naturally be led to speak of the vanity of human glory, of the transitoriness of the temporal, the everlastingness of the eternal, of the value of a pure intention, of looking only to God for one's reward, of not letting the right hand know what the left is about, of so letting one's light shine before all men that they may glorify not you but your Father Who is in heaven, of constant loyalty in spite of inconsiderateness and ingratitude and the thousand hurts which wittingly or unwittingly are inflicted on man by his fellow man. Perhaps we can sum it all up by saying that just as we distinguish between spiritual and

actual poverty, so may we distinguish between the spirit of acceptance and actual endurance of contempt. We may urge on to the one whereas we would not be prudent in urging on to the other.

Bring the retreatant so far and you will have led him to a high plateau of spiritual perfection, with all its consequent blessings. His position will be rendered more secure if he can be induced to devote some time at reasonably frequent intervals, or when the opportunity presents itself, to meditative reading on the life of Christ. All this cannot be accomplished in the brief period of a single retreat but it can be returned to in subsequent retreats, at least to groups properly qualified. I refrain from discussing a continuance program along the lines of the schedule followed in the Workingmen's Retreats, but surely this would be an Ignatian approach and quite applicable here.

May I conclude, therefore, by urging you to give the Kingdom to qualified groups of the laity. Where adaptations are necessary make them prudently, always seeking to ascend the ladder which reaches to heaven, rather than to descend. Then indeed shall we fashion men who will labor with Christ in the day and watch in the night, men who will have a part in the victory as they have had in the toil. Call them what you will: Distinguished Service Men, Third Order Jesuits, Lay Jesuits! They will be men according to the heart of Ignatius, men according to the Heart of Christ.

The Origin of Jesuit Colleges for Externs and the Controversies about their Poverty, 1539-1608

George E. Ganss, S.J.

Since the first four volumes of the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu* were published in 1894, this scholarly series, now numbering eighty-seven volumes, has obviously brought immense benefit to scholars. It has made available to the interested public, Jesuit and non-Jesuit alike, multitudinous primary sources which have contributed much to dispel

former ignorance, error, and even calumny. Previously these sources existed only in the handwritten originals which are stored in the *Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu*—a long room in the Jesuit Curia in Rome. Its two floors contain the closely packed rows of modern library shelves on which these precious documents are still carefully preserved, arranged chiefly in chronological order.

From the very beginning, the quality of editing in the *Monumenta* was very high. Yet, naturally enough, these editors, quite like the excavators of Pompeii, gained experience and ever improving techniques as they progressed. Also, the recent editors could draw from the vast information which is contained in the later volumes and which was not yet available to their predecessors at the turn of the century. It is in no way surprising that these later tomes contain introductions and notes which are far more extensive, illuminating, and satisfying than the early ones. Consequently, the time has come when the early volumes can be reworked and improved with the light more recently gained.

Among those early volumes is the *Monumenta Paedagogica quae primam Rationem Studiorum anno 1586 editam praecedere*. This volume, and the four volumes entitled *Ratio Studiorum et Institutiones Scholasticae Societatis Jesu* (which Father Georg Pachtler edited in the series *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica* from 1887 to 1894), have long been the chief primary sources on which students of early Jesuit education have based their treatises. Yet by comparison with later volumes of the *MHSJ* the introductory descriptions and explanatory notes in the *Monumenta Paedagogica* of 1901 are disappointingly meager. Hence the present directors of the series decided on a revision.

In 1956 a Jesuit trained in the techniques of historical research, Father Ladislaus Lukács of the Province of Hungary, was assigned full time to the task of re-examining the entire field of the Society's ministry of education, for approximately the first century of her existence. For nearly five years he has been combing the Roman Archives of the Society, selecting and transcribing documents omitted by the editors of 1901, compiling notes which explain them, and synthesizing his discoveries into a coherent account. At the

Domus Scriptorum Sancti Petri Canisii in Rome, Father Lukács recently showed to the present writer many of these manuscripts—including the handwritten draft of the *Ratio Studiorum* from which the printer set the type in 1599. These pages, now yellow and brittle with age, contain faded handwriting of which some is beautiful calligraphy and some is scratching indescribably difficult to decipher. Yet, with skill and patience, Father Lukács has now transcribed multitudinous important pages.

He has well-laid plans to publish both our former documents and new ones too, all with introductions and notes far more copious than we previously had. According to his present conjecture, the material dealing with the period 1539 to about 1608 will fill four volumes. They will bear the title *Monumenta Studiorum*. He has fair hopes that the first volume will appear within a year.

As a preparatory study Father Lukács recently published two lengthy articles in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, XXIX (1960), pp. 189-245, and XXX (1961), pp. 3-89. They give us a sample of the new knowledge which will soon be ours in greater abundance. Their title is: *De Origine Collegiorum Externorum deque Controversiis circa eorum Paupertatem Obortis, 1539-1608*. The first article portrays the gradual evolution of St. Ignatius' concept of education as one of the most important ministries of the Society, from 1539 until his death in 1556. The second treats the years 1556-1608, a period stormy with serious problems, scruples, and controversies about the poverty of the Jesuits who dwelt in the Society's schools. These articles contain information truly new to us which is indeed extensive. With it, the facts we formerly knew can be viewed with deeper insight because they appear in their proper place against a larger background. Also, many gaps in our former knowledge which we had to bridge by inference, or unsatisfying conjecture can now be filled with documentary precision and reliable statistics. Thus we gain a complete picture which is far more realistic and satisfying.

Taken together, the two articles would make up a book of about 145 closely printed pages. This book is of great interest to American Jesuits who are so extensively engaged in the

Society's apostolate of education. Yet many of them will be hard pressed to find time to read this work. Happily, Father Lukács chose to write in Latin, a language which makes his research accessible to all of us. But his subject matter is of such a nature that his pages are by necessity packed with close historical and legal reasoning, and with copious citations of documents written in Italian, Spanish, and sinuous Latin. This cannot make light reading after a day in a classroom or office.

Hence we shall present here an American adaptation of his two articles, largely in the manner of a digest. We shall retain his divisions and captions, and give samples of his thorough documentation. Thus those who desire his ampler treatment and documentation for one point or another will be able to find the place quickly in his original articles.

First Part: Genesis of the Ministry of Teaching Externs, 1539-1556

According to the *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*¹ there are two types of Jesuit domiciles: 1) the professed houses where the formed Jesuits exercise their sacerdotal ministries (such as preaching and administering the Sacraments), and 2) the colleges, in which the Jesuit scholastics live and study until their education is complete and they can be transferred to a professed house. A professed house (and the formed Jesuits in it) must subsist exclusively on alms, but the colleges are permitted to possess endowments and fixed revenues. The formed members may not in any way use these revenues for themselves.² At first Ignatius expected that most of his Jesuits would live in the professed houses, and that the colleges would be secondary dwellings, seminaries to supply men for the professed houses.

But the actual development in history, even during his lifetime, was precisely the opposite. At his death in 1556 there were only two professed houses and forty-six colleges, of which at least thirty-three conducted classes open to extern

¹ *Cons.* p. 3, c. 1, n. 27 [289].

² *Examen* I, 3-4 [4-5].

students. Moreover, the colleges themselves had evolved in such a manner that many, perhaps most of them, were educational institutions conducted more to benefit externs than to be seminaries for the Society. Through subsequent decades these proportions remained pretty much the same. By 1579 there were ten professed houses and 144 colleges; by 1600 sixteen professed houses and 245 colleges.³ Furthermore, many of the Jesuits who dwelt in the colleges were engaged, not in teaching, but in the spiritual ministries proper to the professed houses. Consequently, scruples and doubts arose to bother many capable and sincere Jesuits, especially from 1570 to 1608. They thought that the Society had fallen away from the observance of its *Constitutions*. One typical example is the celebrated ascetical writer Alphonsus Rodriguez. Preparing agenda for the Fifth General Congregation, he wrote in 1593: "The Society seems to be failing to live according to its Institute,"⁴ and he pointed out that most of its colleges were not in practice what he thought they ought to be, namely, seminaries for Jesuit scholastics. In this he was echoing opinions which had been voiced in provincial and general congregations for forty years.

To what extent was this true? By 1608 the concepts around which the debates turned were exceedingly complex and sometimes confused. The most efficient means to clarify these concepts and then appraise them is to re-examine them historically from their first origin in both the practice and the laws of Ignatius.

Chapter I. 1539-1550. Evolution of the Colleges before the Promulgation of the Constitutions of the Society

At Montmartre in 1534 Ignatius and his university-trained companions vowed to live perpetually on alms in evangelical poverty. At Venice in 1538 they further decided to form a religious order of an apostolic type; and in Rome in 1539 they

³ Lukács, L., in *Archivum Historicum S.J.* (henceforth AHSJ), XXIX, p. 190.

⁴*Archivum Romanum S.J.* (Henceforth ARSJ), Congr. 20^a, p. 303; *Instit.* 182, 48v. (All citations from ARSJ are taken from Lukács, *op. cit.*, AHSJ XXIX and XXX.)

took steps to carry this decision into practice. They intended that their professed members should live in houses which could have no fixed income.

1. *The Origin, Nature, and Spread of the Colleges, 1539-1545*

Since few men with university degrees were willing to embrace an apostolic life of this type, Inigo and his companions saw the necessity of admitting and educating youths. They devised the plan of having these young men attend the classes of the best universities, like Paris, while they lived in near-by houses (*collegia*) of the Society. But Ignatius' experience at Paris had shown that the need of daily begging interferes with solid progress in studies. Therefore he and his associates determined, at Lainez' suggestion, that these colleges should be allowed to possess endowments and fixed revenues for the support of the students (*studentes*), but which the professed members were not to use in any way for themselves. Then the Inigists took care to have this arrangement approved in the papal bull of Paul III *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae*, dated September 27, 1540.

These colleges, as conceived by the Inigists in 1540, were to be near universities but completely independent from their control. They were to be mere domiciles in which the Jesuits were to give no instruction and to admit no externs. Neither were the Jesuits *ex professo* to engage in sacerdotal ministrations characteristic of a professed house, though these were not wholly forbidden.

To clarify their minds and to be ready to make explanations to prospective founders, the professed Fathers who came to Rome in 1541 to elect a General composed a document describing the nature of these colleges. It was entitled *Fundación de collegio*. Already in it they outlined for the scholastics a plan of studies directed to a supernatural end. They also explicitly stated the golden rule they intended to follow: to make whatever changes experience would reveal to be useful in helping the Church according to circumstances of time and place.⁵

In 1540 King John III of Portugal was the first to consent

⁵ *MI, Cons. I, p. 57, n. 13.*

to establish such a college for Jesuit scholastics. It opened near the University of Coimbra with 12 scholastics in 1542. It had 25 in a rented house in 1543, and 95 in 1546. By 1547 it was adequately endowed. It can be called a college of the first form (*forma*) or type: merely a domicile, sufficiently endowed, exclusively for Jesuit students.

This college at Coimbra seems to have been the only instance in which the concept of a college of the first form was perfectly achieved in practice. The Inigists inaugurated at least six more by the end of 1544 (for example, at Paris, Louvain, Cologne, Valencia, and elsewhere), but they could not find founders willing to give adequate endowments. Prospective founders always wanted benefits for the youths of their region, and not for Jesuit scholastics alone. For example, at Salzburg, Germany, in 1544 Father Le Jay found the Archbishop unwilling to establish such a college exclusively for Jesuits, but ready to endow one in which Jesuits would teach seminarians both Jesuit and non-Jesuit. On January 21, 1545, Father Le Jay wrote to Ignatius his opinion that the best way to help the Church in Germany would be to found a seminary and have Jesuits teach in it.⁶ At the Council of Trent in 1546 Father Le Jay also urged the establishment of seminaries.

2. *Beginning of a New Apostolate: the Ministry of Teaching in our Colleges, 1545-1550*

In 1545 Ignatius, now General, decided to draw up legislation for the training of the scholastics. He summoned Father Lainez to Rome for consultation. Among other measures they revised the formula of 1541 for foundations of colleges. One unobtrusive word was added which in reality was a great innovation: founders were to provide not only for officials and rectors (*oficiales y regidores*) as before, but also for teachers (*preceptores*).⁷ One probable reason for this innovation was the experience gained at Padua. There the university lectures were too few and sporadic and had to be supplemented in the Jesuit domicile. Similar trying situations

⁶ *Ep. Broet*, 286-291.

⁷ *MI, Cons.*, I, 53, 58-59.

were encountered in the other universities of Italy, as also in Portugal and Germany.

Negotiations with the Duke of Gandia, Francis Borgia, were perhaps another reason. He had observed the Jesuit college at Valencia where the scholastics attended the University. Then he requested (in 1544), and obtained (March 14, 1545) authorization to establish a similar college at Gandia, where there was no university and where, consequently, the Jesuits themselves would have to do the teaching. Moreover, the Duke desired the classes to be open not merely to the Jesuit scholastics but also to externs. In his duchy he had many Agarenes, the descendants of some Christians who had apostasized to Mohammedanism in the seventh century. These Agarenes who lived near Gandia had recently been converted to Christianity; but Francis Borgia saw that they were not at all well instructed in the Faith. He hoped to train young Agarenes to become competent catechists with even some knowledge of philosophy and theology, that in their native tongue they might instruct other members of their race. Thus their spiritual good, rather than the training of Jesuit scholastics which could be done elsewhere, was his real and chief reason for endowing the college. These apostolic desires appealed to Ignatius, too. So he willingly acceded to Borgia's desires, and thereby accepted the teaching of externs among the apostolic ministries of the Society.

In 1546 classes in philosophy were begun at Gandia, with thirteen Jesuits and ten Agarenes in the college. Rightly did Father Nadal write in his Chronicle for 1546: "The College of Gandia was begun, and in it our men began to teach publicly (*inchoarunt publice nostri docere*)."⁸ And Father Polanco wrote for 1547 that this College of Gandia became also the first "university of general study" (*universitas studii generalis*) in the Society.⁸ The papal charter granted it the rank of a university. A second form of Jesuit college had now evolved. Technically, it had the legal form of an endowed

⁸ *MI, Font. Narr.*, II, 206-207. This should be noted in passing. From 1542 onward Jesuits helped by doing some of the teaching in the seminary at Goa, India. But this was not a college in their control until 1548.

house for Jesuit scholastics, which conducted classes for Jesuits open also to externs. But in reality, since the Jesuit scholastics could have been trained elsewhere, the spiritual good of these externs, the Agarenes and their race, was the chief motive for which the new college had been founded. The ministry of teaching profane subjects to extern students for a supernatural end had now been included within the scope of "*quodvis verbi divini ministerium.*"⁹

In 1547 Ignatius tried to establish at Paris a similar college as a seminary for Jesuits and externs, but he was blocked by the civil authorities. He was frustrated in similar attempts at Dillingen in 1548, and at Ingolstadt in 1549, where Father Le Jay was his negotiator. Ignatius expressly stated that his chief aim was the apostolic one, the good of souls in Germany, and that the good of the Society was a "secondary end" (*pro secundario . . . fine*).¹⁰

But through negotiations arising in 1547 he did successfully establish a college of the second form in Messina, Sicily. Father Jerome Domenech, admiring the success at Gandia and depressed by the low state both of religion and of education in Sicily, urged the Viceroy there to establish a similar college. Subsequently the magistrates of Messina, in order to gain for their citizens the benefits characteristic of Jesuit activities, asked Ignatius for masters to teach theology, the arts, rhetoric and grammar, and for other Jesuits, some to study and some to perform works of zeal. The magistrates offered to support all these from the city's taxes. In March, 1548, Ignatius sent five priests there as teachers and five scholastics as students. His words of instruction as they departed let them know that he expected this college to be more important for the service of God than any ministry previously attempted. His hopes were fulfilled beyond expectation. The college produced great spiritual fruit in Sicily, and a plan of studies was devised, with the pupils divided into classes, which was copied throughout the Society.

Like Francis Borgia, the founders at Messina were motivated to offer to support the Jesuit college chiefly by the

⁹ Nadal, *In Examen annotationes, ARSJ, Instit.*, 186a, 28v.

¹⁰ *MI, Ep. XII, 239.*

benefit they expected for the youths of their city, though they consented also to support some Jesuit scholastics as a *seminarium Societatis*. Ignatius too was moved to accept the college chiefly by his desire of spiritual gain for the citizens, as his letters show.¹¹ Yet in the legal documents¹² he reverses the order of the magistrates and describes the school as a college for scholastics of the Society with the classes open also to the public. Why this inversion? Ignatius does not give his reason. But we observe that by the inversion he brought the new school into technical conformity with the papal bull of 1540. *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae* had permitted endowments and fixed revenues for colleges for the scholastics of the Society. By the same papal bull, the ministries of the Society had to be given gratis. Since Ignatius now clearly regarded the teaching of externs as one of these ministries, it too had to be gratis. He could not in the legal formula lay himself open to the charge that he was accepting fixed revenues for this ministry of teaching.

It was at this same time, 1548, that he was bestowing intensive work on his *Constitutions of the Society*. Text a of them dates from about 1548, and the subsequent Text A from about 1550. It is only natural that he used the same procedures and manner of expression in the *Constitutions*. In them too the colleges are in many passages described as a *seminarium Societatis* with their classes open also to externs e.g. Part IV, *Proemium* [307]; c. 3, n. 1, B. [333, 338]; but the chief motive for accepting a college is often the spiritual good of the externs e.g., Part IV, c. 11, n. 1, [440]; Part VII, n. 1, D [622].

These developments at Gandia and Messina occurred in an era when men were awakening to the value of education. Cities which had recently been content with the haphazard results obtained from poorly paid and often itinerant schoolmasters, were now clamoring for schools—even for schools above the elementary rank. The Lutherans in Germany were developing better schools, with leaders such as Melancthon (1497-1560) who published his *Ordnung* for his new *Obere*

¹¹ E.g., *MI, Font. Narr.*, III, 749.

¹² *Esp. MI, Ep. II*, 29-30; XII, 340-341; *ARSJ, Sic.* 202, 44r, 46rv.

Schule in 1526, and Sturm (1507-1589) who took charge of the gymnasium in Strassburg in 1537. It was only natural that Catholic rulers were looking to the Society for something similar. It was natural, too, for Ignatius to see the value of the apostolate of teaching in colleges. They were a means extraordinarily suitable for spiritual renewal in his era.

3. *The Ministry of Teaching and Papal Documents, 1549-1550*

By 1549 experience had led Ignatius and his associates to introduce changes, not only in the form of the colleges, but also in the manner of life and of apostolate which the Pope had approved in the bull of 1540. Hence, in 1547 they took steps to have all these innovations approved in a new bull; and Paul III favored them with *Licet debitum* on October 18, 1549.

The bull of 1540 had granted the right to construct colleges *in universitatibus*, that is, near the universities already existent. The bull of 1549 gave the General a favor unusual for the time, the right to depute his subjects to give, with no further permission required from anyone, "lectures on theology and the other faculties . . . anywhere (*ubilibet*)."¹³ Thus the college at Messina, where there was no other university, was legalized.

Did this right to teach anywhere pertain to Jesuit scholastics alone, or extend also to externs? The words do not compel the extended application. But in the light of the historical circumstances for which the bull was sought and granted, the need of legalizing the college of Messina, the words must be interpreted to refer also to externs. Indeed, the words were to be so interpreted in the bull *Salvatoris* of Gregory XIII in 1576.

But one small point was passed over as needing no change in juridical wording. Both bulls allowed the colleges steady revenues "applicable to the students" (*possessiones, usibus . . . studentium applicandas*), but which the professed Society had no right to use for itself. The historical circumstance of need of covering the practice at Messina, and the later testimony of Father Polanco in 1565, when he wanted *studentium*

¹³ *MI, Cons. I, 367.*

changed with papal approval to *collegialium*, are evidence that in the bull of 1549 both Ignatius and the Pope really meant "students *and others* living in the college," for example, the officials, the professors, and the spiritual *operarii*. But they did not state this, and thus unfortunately opened the door for later doubts, scruples, and controversies, which (as we shall see) did arise in about 1570. By living in colleges as a result of traditional usage, the professed and the formed coadjutors were de facto drawing benefit from the steady revenues. Did they have the right to do this, or were they violating their vow of poverty?

Chapter II. The Forms of Colleges in the Constitutions

Ignatius' concept of the colleges is enshrined in the *Constitutions of the Society*, especially in the seventeen chapters of Part IV. Now Part IV has a history more complicated than the other parts. To study this history we must carefully distinguish the following texts in which Part IV is found: Text a, of 1548-1550; A, composed in 1550 and shown at the end of that year to the professed fathers in Rome; B, named the "autograph" because on it Ignatius wrote his own corrections; C, approved by the First General Congregation of 1558; and D, the critical text of 1594.

The oldest text, a, contains only our present preamble, along with Chapters one through six and eight through ten. It contains many statements which at first blush seem to indicate that Ignatius accepted colleges only to train Jesuit scholastics. For example, its title is: "The Instruction of Those who Remain in the Society as Members." Chapter 3, n. 1 [333] begins: "We now take up the scholastics for whose instruction the colleges are undertaken." However, attentive examination of these texts in the light of other statements in text a reveals that already between 1548 and 1550, Ignatius had carefully inserted several new words into the Preamble. He did this to cover the practices at Gandia and Messina which were innovations in the colleges as approved in the bull of 1540: for example, the colleges could be "near universities or apart from them," and he will treat "what concerns the universities"—and they were for externs.

Words such as these, plus the interpretation of Father Nadal, show that in text a Ignatius merely wrote incompletely about the colleges and did not exclude the work of teaching externs. In other words, before 1550 he approved the ministry of teaching publicly. Unfortunately, however, when he added the later chapters to give clearer treatment to the matters pertaining to the externs (seven, about classes for them, and eleven through seventeen about the universities), he did not go back to make the title of Part IV clearer and change the other obscure statements which really needed re-touching.

These later chapters are not found in Text A of 1550, but they are in Text B, the autograph of 1556. Manuscripts in the *Archivum Romanum S.J.* prove that they were written before 1554. Ignatius opens Chapter 11, n. 1 [440] with these strong statements:

Through the motive of charity, colleges are accepted, and classes open to the public are conducted in them for the improvement in learning and in living, not only of our own members, but even more especially of those from outside the Society. This same motive can be extended to our undertaking the management of universities, that through them this fruit sought in the colleges may be spread more universally because of the branches taught, the numbers attending, and the degrees granted.

These words, contained already in a manuscript which antedates Text B of 1556, reveal progress in Ignatius' thought. He has reached and approved a third form of colleges: colleges (or universities) intended principally for the benefit of externs, but with a *seminarium Societatis* attached.

At first sight, however, a subtle objection could be raised against the above reasoning. In the text, the classes are something distinct from the colleges; and the words more especially for the benefit of the externs refer only to the classes, not to the acceptance of the colleges themselves. Therefore this text still refers only to a college of the second form: a *seminarium Societatis* with classes open also to the public.

Examination of Ignatius' habitual use of the terms colleges and classes (*colegios* and *escuelas*) (for example, in *Cons.* Part IV, c. 12, B [449] and c. 15, D [477]) is enough to

refute this objection. But even stronger rebuttal is contained in a document of about 1556 which shows that Ignatius and his associates conceived the colleges and their classes as one moral unit; also, that for them a university was not something distinct from a college, but rather something still a college with classes or faculties of philosophy and theology added to it:

Until now the Society has accepted two forms of colleges. Those in which she does not assume an obligation to give lectures are founded near a university. The other form consists of those in which the Society does assume an obligation to give lectures; and this form itself is of two kinds. The first kind is found when the college does not hold the privileges of a university; the second when the college itself is also a university (*Monumenta Paedagogica*, 25-33).

Further, Ignatius' practice till the end of his life confirms the statement that his concept has evolved into that of the third form of colleges. The statistics below reveal that from 1550 to 1556 he established many small colleges which really sought the benefit almost exclusively of externs.

His contemporaries have testified that his constant practice and intention was to change details of the Society's ministries and laws when experience revealed that an alteration would bring greater glory to God.¹⁴ To permit incorporation of such changes during the rapid evolution of the Society's ministries from 1548 to 1556 was one important reason why he did not "close the Constitutions" before his death, but merely promulgated them experimentally. He desired the First General Congregation to give them their full legal force.¹⁵

In the First General Congregation in 1558, Father Polanco, desiring to keep the wording of various passages consistent, proposed that the word "more especially" in Part IV, c. 11, no. 1 [440], cited just above, should be altered to "and also." The Congregation, however, rejected his proposal and kept the words "even more especially" for the benefit of externs. In 1565 the Second General Congregation also retained these important words, "more especially." Consequently, the first

¹⁴ E.g., *ARSJ, Instit.* 178, I, 151r; *MI*, Ep. III, 503, 676.

¹⁵ *Pol. Chron.* VI, 39, n. 107.

statement in *Constitutions*, Part IV, c. 11, n. 1 [440] has a juridical value which cannot be questioned. Furthermore, beyond any doubt that same passage mirrors Ignatius' practice and intention about the colleges: he regarded the apostolate of teaching externs as one of the Society's ministries.¹⁶

In resumé, Part IV of the *Constitutions*, as approved by the First General Congregation in 1558 and by Pope Gregory XIII in 1583, gave full juridical recognition to these three forms of Jesuit colleges or universities:

- Form 1: A college with no classes and for Jesuit scholastics only, as that at Coimbra in 1546.
- Form 2: A college with classes conducted chiefly or at least legally for Jesuit scholastics as a *seminarium Societatis*, but also open to externs, as those at Gandia or Messina.
- Form 3: A college with classes conducted chiefly for externs, but also as a *seminarium Societatis*, as that at Naples. (In it there were twenty Jesuits, of whom one was the rector, one the minister, two spiritual *operarii*, one teaching priest, three teaching scholastics, five scholastics as students, seven brothers, and 160 extern students in four classes.) In actual practice, however, the *seminarium* was often nonexistent in colleges of the third form, as was the case in the colleges of Vienna and Lisbon.

Chapter III. The Further Evolution of the Colleges, 1550-1556

1. *The Nature and Purpose of the New Colleges*

A document¹⁷ written in Rome in 1550 reveals another new development. In some colleges the Jesuits, in addition to teaching externs, were also exercising the priestly ministries for which the professed houses had been established. Moreover, after 1549 St. Ignatius and Father Lainez, probably because of the spiritual harvest reaped at Messina, urged the foundation of colleges of the third form, with the result that in foundations from 1550 to 1556 these colleges became far more common than the second form. From 1550 to 1552 over

¹⁶ From time to time some Jesuits have doubted, even in our own day, that Ignatius willingly embraced education as a ministry of the Society, as Very Reverend Father General J. B. Janssens has testified (*Acta Romana S.J.*, XIII, 1960, pp. 784, 816-824). See also *AHSJ* XXIX, 1960, pp. 400-406.

¹⁷ *ARSJ, Instit.* 178 I, 72r-73v; *Mon. Paed.*, p. 46.

ten colleges were founded clearly fitted to benefit externs rather than the Society. In 1552 Ignatius commissioned Father Polanco to state that scholastics can be sent to a college, not merely to learn, but also to help in the teaching and other tasks, at least, for example, when some of the regular teachers are ill.¹⁸ Still another manuscript,¹⁹ which Ignatius commissioned Father Polanco to write and which is entitled "A Summary Report on the Institute of the Society," describes the nature and purpose of its domiciles. In treating the colleges it has nothing to say about their being seminaries for the Society, but indicates that their function is publicly to teach humane letters, philosophy, or theology. It further states that in a place where the Society has no house but only a college, the Jesuits in the college can exercise the ministries proper to the houses. This, like the statement in Constitutions Part IV, c. 7, B [394], is tantamount to an admission that the colleges too can perform the functions of the professed house which had turned out to be so difficult to establish or conduct.

However, during this period some colleges of the second form continued to be established. An example is the Roman College which was opened in 1551. Ignatius intended it to be a seminary for the Society with its classes open also to the externs, that it might serve as a model for Jesuits of all provinces.

2. *Ignatius' Zeal for Colleges of Humane Letters*

After 1550 Ignatius displayed intense zeal to establish everywhere he could colleges whose chief purpose was the improvement of extern students in learning and virtue. He urged superiors in Spain, Portugal, Germany, and elsewhere to erect colleges like those of Messina or Rome. For example, in a letter to Father Araoz,²⁰ Provincial of Spain, he pointed out the benefits which such colleges will bring to the Jesuits who teach, preach, or study in these colleges, to the extern students, and to the city or region.

¹⁸ *MI, Ep. XII, 309-310.*

¹⁹ *ARSJ, Instit. 178 I, 46r.*

²⁰ *MI, Ep. IV, 5-9.*

In 1554 Peter Canisius asked Ignatius about the means by which the Society could help Germany in its many spiritual dangers. Ignatius replied:²¹

The best means to help the Church in this distress would be to multiply the colleges and schools of the Society in many regions, especially where it is thought that there will be a concourse of students.

These documents of 1550-1556 manifest Ignatius' final concept of the colleges and universities. He desired them to be institutions in which 1) extern students were to be taught; 2) various other priestly ministries were to be carried on; and 3) some Jesuit scholastics were to be formed for future apostolic work. His practice is further evidence that this was the concept he entertained during the last six years of his life. After the opening of the Roman College in 1551, virtually no college was founded chiefly for the benefit of the Society; but the number of small colleges with classes in humane letters open to externs rose to about thirty.

One contrast is striking. In this period Ignatius wrote many letters urging the foundation of colleges; but not even one document has been found in which he urged the foundation of professed houses. Under his direction the spiritual ministries proper to them were now being carried on by Jesuits living in the endowed colleges. Even though many of these Fathers, some of whom were the professed, were engaged not in teaching but in ministries exclusively spiritual, Ignatius manifested no anxiety whatever lest he and his Society might be violating the prescriptions about poverty in the papal bulls. Furthermore, during this period Ignatius was in frequent communication with the popes who could easily have remonstrated with him if he were acting against their intentions. But they manifested instead pleasure at the success of the Society's apostolate.

In 1555 Francis Borgia had an opportunity of inaugurating houses in three cities where there was good hope that they would develop into professed houses. He wrote to Ignatius about the matter. Ignatius commissioned Father Polanco to reply that he would rather have colleges:²²

²¹ *MI, Ep. XII, 261.*

²² *MI, Ep. IX, 82-83.*

Our Father's intention is, especially in the beginning, that colleges should be multiplied and not houses. For it is necessary to have accommodations to receive and instruct many students.

3. *The Formula of 1553 for Accepting Colleges*

From 1550 to 1553 colleges multiplied so rapidly that it became difficult to find enough Jesuits to staff them properly. Some colleges, too, lacked adequate endowments. Hence, in 1553, Ignatius issued an ordination containing new norms.²³ For ten years no college was to be accepted unless fourteen Jesuits could be supported in it: two or three priests for sacerdotal ministries, four or five teachers to train the youths in learning and moral virtue, two coadjutors for temporal affairs, and a few scholastics who were to learn letters either in that college itself or elsewhere, and to substitute for the teachers in case of illness. All these Jesuits were to be free from begging or other temporal matters which might impede their work. If a city failed to provide all this within a year, the Jesuits were to abandon the incipient college and go elsewhere.

This ordination shows us that in Ignatius' concept, these small colleges were chiefly—in fact, almost exclusively—for the benefit of the extern students. He allowed the Jesuit scholastics living in the college to pursue their courses of study in near-by universities or to substitute for sick teachers. Clearly, therefore, he did not consider their presence *as students in the college* to be an element which was essential²⁴ if the college was to comply with the papal bull of 1550, *Exposcit debitum*.

Clearly, Ignatius desired each college to support some scholastics. But he did not require that to be legally constituted each college must contain Jesuit scholastics as students.

4. *The Statistics of the Persons in Jesuit Domiciles in 1556*

The Table gives our latest, well-documented²⁵ statistics about the number and distribution of persons in the Jesuit domiciles

²³ *Institutum S.J., Decretum LXXIII Congregationis Generalis I.*

²⁴ *Mon. Paed.* 32; *ARSJ*, Hist. Soc. 174, 4r-5v; *Ep. Nadal IV*, 628.

²⁵ The sources, too lengthy for our space, are listed in *AHSJ*, XXIX, pp. 242-243.

of Europe when Ignatius died in 1556. Although future research may require change in some details, it is not likely to alter the substance of the picture. The table gives concrete illustrations, and confirms the chief conclusions reached above about Ignatius' practice and policies in the last ten years of his life. The following observations are especially noteworthy.

In 1556 the two professed houses, in Lisbon and Rome, were a tiny minority among the Society's domiciles; but the colleges had multiplied to the number of forty-six. Colleges of the first form (mere domiciles exclusively for Jesuit scholastics and conducting no classes) also were very few. They were located in cities which already had a famous university and where, consequently, it was difficult for the Jesuits to open classes to externs. Such was the case at Alcala, Salamanca, Valencia, Paris, Louvain, and Cologne. Through Ignatius' urging however, the colleges at Padua, Bologna, and Coimbra had by 1556 opened their classes to externs.

In the College of Seville some Jesuit Fathers were teaching theology to six Jesuit scholastics and no externs. With that one exception, there was no college conducting classes exclusively for Jesuit scholastics. In most of the colleges, the contract accepting the endowment put the Society under obligation to conduct classes for the extern students of the city. Most colleges, too, were teaching only humane letters. The College of Loretto was also teaching philosophy, and the Roman College both philosophy and theology. It is therefore clear that Ignatius and his Society were conducting most of the colleges chiefly for the benefit of externs. In thirty-four of the forty-six colleges listed in the table, the number of Jesuit students was less than twenty.

The Roman College, however, is a special case. It was being conducted for approximately equal numbers of Jesuits and externs. But this situation was to change in 1565, when the Second General Congregation decreed that each province should try to erect its own *studium generale*, that is, a college of philosophy and theology. From that year onward the Roman College too had more externs than Jesuits.

There were many small colleges which had no scholastics as students, though they had a few as teachers. Therefore

TABLE

Persons living in Jesuit Domiciles in 1556

Abbreviations: 1. TJ—Total Jesuits; 2. F—Fathers (Rector, Minister, Operarii); 3. TF—Teaching Fathers; 4. TS—Teaching Scholastics; 5. SS—Scholastic Students; 6. SN—Scholastic Novices; 7. B—Brothers; 8. Cl—Number of Classes; 9. E—Extern Students; 10. PrH—Professed House; 11. C—College or University; 12 Hp—House of First Probation.

<i>Domicile and Year Founded</i>			TJ	F	TF	TS	SS	SN	B	Cl	E
In Italy											
1	PrH	Rome 1540	c.60								
2	C	Padua 1542	11	3		3	1		4	3	c.90
3	C	Bologna 1546	9	4		3	1		1	3	c.120
4	C	Messina 1548	28	7	1	4	1	7	8	5	275
5	C	Palermo 1549	34	6	2	3	4	10	9	5	280
6	C	Tivoli 1550	5	1	1	1			2	2	103
7	C	Romanum 1551	c.100				72				
8	C	Venice 1551	12	2		2	3		5	2	60
9	C	Ferrara 1551	12	4		3	4		1	3	c.90
10	C	Florence 1552	14	4		4	3		3	4	
11	C	Naples 1552	20	4	1	3	5		7	4	160
12	C	Perugia 1552	9	2		4	1		2	4	170
13	C	Modena 1552	6	2		3	1			3	
14	C	Monreale 1553	8	2	1	2	1		2	3	120
15	C	Argenta 1554	4	1		1			2	1	50
16	C	Genoa 1554	13	2	1	4	5		1	5	226
17	C	Loretto 1555	58	7	2	1	40		8	3	
18	C	Syracuse 1556	9	3		3			3	3	150
19	C	Bivona 1556	11	3		4			4	4	170
20	C	Siena 1556	5	2		3				3	180
In Spain											
1	C	Valencia 1544	25	6			9				
2	C	Gandia 1545	10	4					4	2	
3	C	Valladolid 1545	17	9	2		*				

In Spain (continued)			TJ	F	TF	TS	SS	SN	B	Cl	E
4	C	Alcala 1546	36	5			27		4		
5	C	Barcelona 1546	8	4					4		
6	C	Salamanca 1547	28	1			21				
7	C	Burgos 1550	12	4		3	3		2	3	c.100
8	C	Medina del Campo 1553	15	5		5		2	3	4	170
9	C	Oña 1551	3	1					2		
10	C	Cordova 1553	26	6		c.5				c.5	300
11	C	Avila 1554	4	1					3		
12	C	Cuenca 1554	12	4		1		7		1	
13	C	Placencia 1554	22	9		5	3			5	170
14	C	Granada 1554	28	8				20			
15	C	Seville 1554	11	5			6				
16	Hp	Simancas 1554	22								
17	C	Murcia 1555	9	6							
18	C	Saragossa 1555	9	5					3		
19	C	Monterey 1556	5	3		2			4	2	80
In Portugal											
1	C	Coimbra 1542	103				30				900
2	Hp	Coimbra	27								
3	C	Evora 1553	19	4		5	4		6	4	300
4	C	Lisbon 1553	18	5		5	2		6	5	600
5	PrH	Lisbon	22	7					15		
Varia											
1	C	Paris 1540	13								
2	C	Louvain 1542	4								
3	C	Cologne 1544	17	5							
4	C	Vienna 1551	33	5		8		12	7	6	320
5	C	Prague 1556	19	2	1	6	8		3	5	
6	C	Billom 1556	10	4		5	1			5	800

* The others were students of philosophy and theology.

the presence of scholastics as students was not regarded as a necessary element to constitute a college juridically according to the *Constitutions*.

In the colleges, for example at Barcelona, were many priests who were not teaching but performing only the ministries proper to the professed houses. Yet by the mere fact of living in these colleges they were profiting from the steady revenues:

The First Part of our study can now be terminated with this brief resumé. Much evidence has shown that Ignatius' esteem of the ministry of forming youth through teaching extern students in Jesuit colleges grew constantly during the last ten years of his life. He bequeathed that esteem to his Society by both his practice and his *Constitutions*. It is beautifully reflected, too, in a letter which he commissioned Ribadaneira to write in 1556 to King Philip II of Spain.²⁶

Second Part: The Controversies about the Poverty of the Colleges, 1556-1608

Chapter I. Ignatius' Concept of the Poverty of Jesuit Domiciles

In the First Part of our study we watched how Ignatius, as he profited from experience from 1539 to 1556, gradually formed his concept of the ministry of educating extern students through the colleges, and finally embodied that concept in his *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*. But once his legislation was enacted, its meaning, like that of any other code, was soon the object of controversies. We now direct our attention to them.

From 1570 to 1608 sincere Jesuits observed what seemed a disproportionate number of colleges and asked: are we not obliged to establish professed houses and to suppress colleges? Were colleges which had no *seminarium* of Jesuit students licit at all according to the papal bulls and the Jesuit *Constitutions*? Were the professed and formed coadjutors, who by living in the colleges were *de facto* profiting by their

²⁶ *MI, Ep. X 705-706.*

fixed revenues, violating their vows of poverty? For the papal bulls which allowed those revenues for the support of the students did not mention the officials, professors, or other priests engaged in sacerdotal ministries rather than teaching. The sure road to an understanding of the controverted legal technicalities is a review of the origin of the types of poverty in the Society, that of the professed houses and that of the colleges.

Ignatius' habitual procedure in organizing the Society from 1539 to 1556 was this. He kept his gaze fastened on the end to be attained, greater glory to God to be achieved through apostolic activity. Then he searched out the most efficient means he could think of for any given area of spiritual work, sought papal approval, and put the means into practice. Subsequently, in the light of experience and prayer he modified the means, and sought papal approval anew for the modified means.

In his private life, the gradual change in his attitude to poverty is an apt illustration of his penchant to modify earlier concepts as a result of experience. Inflamed with love of Christ at his conversion, he resolved to live on daily alms as a pilgrim for the rest of his life. But after his vision beside the River Cardoner near Manresa in 1522 he felt himself called by God to labor for the spiritual welfare of his neighbor. So he changed his uncouth manner of living to one more suitable for winning souls. Again, as a student at Paris he learned by experience that the need of daily begging seriously hindered study. Hence he modified his poverty still more, and in his summers he begged enough money to last him through the subsequent academic year.²⁷

In similar manner, while he was organizing the Society he constantly modified its poverty because of emerging spiritual opportunities or needs. One evil besetting the Church in his day was the scandal given by ecclesiastics who were excessively bent on wealth and luxurious living. Ignatius and his companions wanted to offset this by giving an example exactly the opposite. The life which they lived after their vows at Montmartre in August, 1534, can be epitomized in

²⁷ *MI, Font. Narr. II, 75-76.*

these words of Nadal: to preach the word of God in complete poverty while living on daily alms.²⁸ In Rome in 1539, while taking their first steps to organize their order, they resolved that its members should profess the poverty of mendicants, and that neither they, as a group, nor the houses, in which they were to live, could possess endowments or fixed revenues. But aware that they would have to train young men, and that daily begging would be incompatible with these 'youths' progress in learning, they decided that the colleges or domiciles of these Jesuit scholastics could possess endowments and fixed revenues, exclusively for the support of the scholastics. However, the professed members and their houses were strictly forbidden to use these revenues for their own benefit.²⁹

Hence arose the two kinds of poverty in the Society. Neither kind is in itself more perfect than the others, since, as Suarez writes in *De Religione Societatis Jesu*,³⁰ "the whole perfection of religious poverty consists in its proportion to the purpose of the religious institute, according to the doctrine of St. Thomas." Ignatius, now a priest but not yet General, and his associates had all these arrangements approved in the papal bull of 1540, *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae*.

But already in 1541 they found it desirable for the sake of a greater good, their apostolate, to make a slight retrenchment in that complete poverty of the professed houses. The need of seeking alms every day turned them from spiritual ministrations to temporal concerns, and it also offended the very people whom they had hoped to win to Christ.³¹ Therefore they decided that a professed house could have steady revenues to meet its extraordinary expenses, though it must continue to meet ordinary expenses, such as food and clothing, by alms alone.³² This was a third type of poverty in the Society, but it lasted only a short while. The retrenchment of 1541 is no longer existent in the passage about professed

²⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 87, n. 84.

²⁹ *MI*, *Cons.* I, 29, n. 6; cf. *Examen* I, 3 [4].

³⁰ *Lib.* IV, *cap.* 10, n. 1, p. 751 in *Op. Omn.* XVI, Paris, 1866.

³¹ *MI*, *Cons.* I, 63, n. 28.

³² *Ibid.*, I, 62, nn. 27-28.

houses in the formula of 1545 for accepting colleges. By that year Ignatius, now General, had gone through his deliberations of 1544 and 1545 about poverty—including the thoughts which he recorded in the surviving fragments of his *Spiritual Diary*.³³ At this time, too, he was gathering material for his *Constitutions of the Society*, but not yet composing them.

After he again resolved on the twofold poverty, Ignatius wanted the professed houses and the colleges to follow in the future their separate ways, with the professed houses receiving no benefit from the fixed revenues of the colleges and the colleges getting nothing from the alms of the professed houses. This desire implied that he expected the professed houses to be multiplied more—or at least as much as—the colleges. For otherwise the professed members would have to live in the colleges where they would be benefiting from the fixed revenues, and their poverty would be only on paper.

This expectation was not fulfilled in fact. During the last years of his life he saw that there were only two professed houses and forty-six colleges; and that of all the ministries of the Society that of teaching externs in the colleges seemed to be producing the most far-reaching spiritual results. Yet in these years he was in deep spiritual peace. He wrote to the University of Paris in 1556:³⁴

We have a very few houses which are supported by alms, but many colleges which draw their support from fixed revenues, or from the revenues which are given by the founders, and which do not even receive small gifts.

Clearly, without any anxiety of conscience Ignatius accepted this situation as the will of Providence.

Chapter II. The General Congregations from 1558 to 1580.

The Desire to Multiply Professed Houses and Avoid Further Small Colleges

Some of Ignatius' best Jesuits, however, did not feel peace of conscience over this matter. For example, in a letter of

³³ *Ibid.*, I, 78-81, 86-158.

³⁴ *MI*, Ep. XII, 627, n. 4.

early 1558 St. Francis Borgia stated that the coming General Congregation ought to discuss the promotion of poverty, especially through multiplying the professed houses.³⁵ He thought that circumstances had changed and that they would be more practical than in Ignatius' lifetime; that therefore each province ought to have at least one. Father Lainez, now General, disagreed and urged cautious procedure, lest harm be done to the marvelous spiritual fruit being reaped from the colleges by making it harder to find founders for them. Like Ignatius in 1555, he thought that more colleges would be better than more professed houses.

In the First General Congregation, too, some German Fathers desired the establishment of a professed house in their province. Others countered by pointing out that even daily begging would not bring sufficient food in Germany then.³⁶ Still others thought that it is contrary to the *Constitutions* for the professed to live in colleges. Father Lainez replied that the *Constitutions* truly permitted this, Part VI, c. 2, C [558] if the work of the professed was necessary or useful for the college. The *Constitutions*, not yet printed, were not at the time very well known. Father Polanco, however, who knew not only the *Constitutions* but also Ignatius' interpretation and practice, feared future trouble from some obscurities. From the Congregation he wanted—but failed to get—a declaration that the professed be allowed to live in the colleges in regions where begging was impractical. Also, a few Spanish Fathers wanted—but failed to get—a decree converting small colleges into houses, lest priests be excessively occupied in teaching. Such an alteration of a college would have entailed infidelity to the wishes of its founders.

In the Second General Congregation in 1565 still graver reasons were brought against the multitude of small colleges, especially on the ground that they were keeping too many priests from ministerial work. Thus, tacitly and perhaps unawares, these Jesuits were censuring the procedure of St. Ignatius and Father Lainez. Father Polanco opposed them. The Congregation recommended to the new General, St.

³⁵ *MHSJ*, Borgia III, 342-353, esp. 344-345.

³⁶ *ARSJ*, Germ. 138 II, 424r.

Francis Borgia, moderation in acceptance of small colleges, but it did not forbid them. The number of Jesuits required, which Ignatius had set at fourteen in 1553, was raised to twenty. Thus the Congregation provided for the complaints based on inconveniences of insufficient personnel and endowments.

But shortly after the Congregation, there arose serious doubts of a juridical nature. Missionaries in the Indies were living in a domicile which they hoped would become a college, but they were not teaching. Rather, their ministries were those proper to the professed houses. Yet they were living on fixed revenues; indeed nothing else seemed possible. This was a case not provided for by the two types of poverty described in the *Constitutions*. The General, St. Francis Borgia, thought their practice illicit but too complicated for him to decide upon without much further study.³⁷

In 1573 the Third General Congregation in its seventeenth decree urged the new General, Father Mercurian, to try to establish professed houses. There was manifestly fear that the poverty of the colleges with fixed revenues would become in practice the only type in the Society, and that the other type, that of living on daily alms, would disappear. Many efforts to establish professed houses were made, but all met with poor success.

In 1576 Father Polanco pointed out one reason. In many places a professed house would have to accommodate thirty or forty Jesuits. To meet their ordinary and extraordinary expenses by daily begging with no fixed revenues would be virtually impossible. Not even the professed house in Rome had successfully met expenses. There was a second reason. In the colleges, many priests were exercising the ministries proper to the professed houses, and so the colleges rendered the professed houses unnecessary. Colleges endowed with fixed revenues and educating the young men of the region were less burdensome and irritating to a city than a professed house of priests continually begging.

³⁷ Such residences received official approval only later in 1600 when sixty years of experience had demonstrated the moral impossibility of founding professed houses in any significant number.

Although these sincere Jesuits were tortured by these juridical difficulties about poverty, they continued to think that teaching externs was one of the most proper and important ministries of the Society. For example, Father Lanoy wrote from Innsbrück³⁸ in 1560: "Where the populace has been completely subverted and keeps away from the sermons of the Catholic preachers, no hope seems left except the right and Christian education of the youth as yet uncorrupted." Also, Fäther Bustamante, Provincial of Andalusia, wrote to Father Lainez on June 28, 1559, that this work done in the colleges, "while being that which the Society can do at less cost to itself, is the most profitable of all its employments."³⁹ These words faithfully echo Ignatius' instructions when he sent Nadal in 1553 to promulgate the *Constitutions* in Spain: he was to have the form of the colleges of Italy introduced, "especially in the more important places, where more spiritual profit and edification can follow."⁴⁰

Chapter III. Beginnings of the Controversies about the Nature and Purpose of the Colleges, 1571-1586

The controversies now turned to another problem: the liceity of the small colleges which did not in practice have a *seminarium* of Jesuit scholastics in the capacity of students. Through its provincial congregation of 1571 the Province of Aragon expressed its opinion that the colleges must be also seminaries training Jesuit scholastics. It requested the General, St. Francis Borgia, to permit only those colleges "which are necessary to attain this end" of training the scholastics. We know that this norm was false, because by omitting mention of the ministry of educating lay youth it implied that the training of Jesuit scholastics was the only purpose of the colleges, or at least their chief and necessary purpose. But by his practice after 1548 and by his *Constitutions* Part IV, c. 11, n. 1 [440], Ignatius had promoted small colleges

³⁸ *MHSJ, Lit. Quad.*, IV, 443.

³⁹ *MHSJ, Lainez*, IV 397.

⁴⁰ *MI, Ep.* IV, 13 (in *AHSJ*, XXIX, 233, n. 189).

chiefly or solely for the benefit of externs. The classes for externs could not be called something secondary and accidentally added.

Nevertheless, in 1573 the provincial congregation of Aragon again asked the General "to declare whether it is licit for colleges to exist where our scholastics are not instructed, but are lecturers only," and it gave the reason for its difficulty: "According to the papal bulls and the *Constitutions* the purpose of the colleges is that they may be a seminary of the Society, and the opening of schools is an accidental addition (*ex accidenti adjungatur*); but practice reveals something different: for there are many colleges where no scholastics are being instructed."⁴¹ To this the new General, Father Mercurian, replied that colleges without scholastics are truly colleges, but incomplete or inchoative colleges as long as their revenues are insufficient to support a seminary of Jesuit scholastics."

Meanwhile, however, new fuel had been unwittingly added to the fire. In 1572 Father Pedro Ribadaneira had published his *Life of St. Ignatius* in Latin at Naples. In 1583 he published an edition in Spanish at Madrid, and flames of serious controversy soon appeared. Book III, Chapter 22, contained a beautiful section on the utility of the apostolate of teaching. Here Ribadaneira mentioned two forms of Jesuit colleges: 1) the seminaries in which Jesuit scholastics prepare themselves for their priestly lives, and 2) those in which Jesuits are "not the learners but rather the teachers of all branches." Thus, by omitting mention of colleges which were conducted for both Jesuits and externs, he asserted—apparently for the first time in published writing—that Jesuit colleges could exist for externs *alone*. The documents of St. Ignatius' day—though not his practice—did always show the colleges as being simultaneously seminaries for Jesuits and schools to train externs. Father Ribadaneira's presentation went contrary to the case which the fathers of Aragon had been propounding for ten years, and it quickly drew their fire. In the Province of Toledo, too, his book was subjected to censorship. The report sent to Rome stated that the first purpose of the colleges was

⁴¹ ARSJ, Congr. 93, 98r.

to be *seminaria Societatis*, and that the colleges which had no such *seminarium* were not in accordance with the papal bulls and the *Constitutions*.⁴²

In 1586 a rather free Italian translation of Father Ribadaneira's Spanish *Life of St. Ignatius* was published in Venice. Similar criticism quickly appeared. The Assistant for Portugal, Father Emmanuel Rodrigues, wrote a severe censure in which he maintained that "to teach externs is the secondary and accidental purpose, and to teach Jesuits is the primary and essential end of the colleges." We know that Father Rodrigues' censure is inaccurate because it overshoots its mark. In the colleges which Ignatius had founded principally and almost exclusively for externs, the primary purpose was to teach the externs, and not Jesuits. Hence, the teaching of externs could not be called something merely "secondary and accidental." Ignatius had even stated through Father Polanco in a letter of about 1553 that the function of these colleges "is to teach all who come from without (beyond our own students)."⁴³ Father Rodrigues, of course, cannot be blamed for not knowing this letter, because it was unavailable to him. But he could have known Ignatius' statement in *Constitutions*, Part IV, c. 11, n. 1 [440]. The education of externs was, also, the chief reason for which most founders had signed the contracts by which they endowed colleges, and it could hardly be regarded as secondary and accidental. And if colleges of the third form achieved their chief purpose of training the externs, omission of their secondary purpose, the training of scholastics, could well be tolerated, at least for a time—especially in provinces where a large college with more facilities could train the young Jesuits better. However, the historical fact is that Jesuits of 1586 were scandalized by the existence of small colleges for externs which had no *seminarium Societatis*.⁴⁴

⁴² *MI, Scripta de S. Ign.*, I, 738.

⁴³ *ARSJ, Instit.* 178 I, 46r.

⁴⁴ Such colleges without a *seminarium* were explicitly declared licit by Decree XXVII of the Eighth General Congregation in 1646.

Chapter IV. The New Formula for Accepting Colleges, 1588-1593

Father Claude Aquaviva was General from 1581 to 1615. This was a period of extraordinary stress, both internal and external, in the history of the Society, and he would merit great praise if he had done no more than hold the Society together. But he did much more. Among many other accomplishments he completed and promulgated the celebrated *Ratio Studiorum* of 1599. Nevertheless, during this troubled period the work of education was only one of his many cares. As we survey his educational work we must remember that the historical information now available in the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu* was not nearly as easily accessible to him as to ourselves. Hence, he deserves our indulgence if in some respects his knowledge of this field as a whole is found to be less comprehensive than our own.

In about 1586 the Assistant for Portugal, Father Emmanuel Rodrigues, in composing *agenda* for the Fifth General Congregation wrote his opinion that Father Lainez' *Formula* of 1564 for accepting colleges ought to be replaced by a new *Formula* "which would be in accordance with the papal bulls and the *Constitutions*;" also, that "the small colleges were not seminaries of the Society as they ought to be, but rather its burden and ruination (*gravamina, immo ruinam*)."⁴⁵

Among the General's collaborators Father Rodrigues was not alone in holding that opinion. In fact, Father Aquaviva himself maintained that the small colleges which were not truly seminaries of the Society were against its Institute, and he was eager to remedy this situation.⁴⁶ He always showed himself more ready to turn down than to accept new colleges; and already in 1585 he wrote that he had rejected about sixty offers to found such schools. He too was convinced that the small colleges for externs were a burden to the Society and should not be accepted unless "for evident utility of the Society." In this attitude he differs from his predecessors

⁴⁵ ARSJ, Congr. 20^a, 233-234.

⁴⁶ ARSJ, Congr. 95, 253r; AHSJ XXVIII, 1959, 340; ARSJ Congr. 94 I, 94rv; Congr. 95, 112v.

in the generalate. From St. Ignatius onward they had often accepted these institutions more for the spiritual welfare of the extern students and their cities than for that of the Society.

In 1588 Father Aquaviva, in order to check the desire of externs and provincials to multiply colleges, composed a new *Instruction*⁴⁷ about what should be done and what avoided when foundations were offered. In it he presupposed that all the colleges ought to be seminaries for the Society. He even stated explicitly that a college ought to maintain, in its own institution or elsewhere, a seminary large enough to provide its own replacements; and that otherwise it would be a grievous burden (*maximum onus*) on the Society. He openly stated that very few (*paucissima*) of the colleges then existent were able to measure up to these requirements.

His last assertion is an implicit charge—henceforth to be echoed by many other Jesuits—that his predecessors had failed to keep the colleges up to the norms established by the *Constitutions*. Had the Society, then, in reality fallen away from its primitive spirit? His assertion must be diligently examined if we are to appraise it correctly. On what did he base the charge?

First, consideration should be given to the number of Jesuits which the various Generals had envisaged as a suitable staff for a college. In the earliest years of the apostolate of teaching externs, St. Ignatius was willing to inaugurate a college with even a few Jesuit teachers. In the *Formula* legislating for 1553-1563, however, he required founders to provide support for fourteen Jesuits with about this distribution: two or three priests for spiritual ministrations, four or five teachers, two brothers, and three or four scholastics as students. Father Lainez in his *Formula* of 1564 asked for support for twenty Jesuits in a small college of three classes in humane letters, or thirty Jesuits when these classes numbered five; fifty Jesuits in a college of medium size; and seventy in one of large size. In a small college the distribution was: four priests (rector, minister, two spiritual laborers termed *operarii*), four teachers, seven scholastics as students,

⁴⁷ *ARSJ Instit.* 40, 109r-111, published in *AHSJ XXX*, 1961, pp. 69-75.

and five brothers. Father Aquaviva raised these numbers to fifty Jesuits required in a small college of five classes, eighty in one of medium size which also taught a class in philosophy, and 120 in a large college (*collegium maximum*) which had classes in humane letters, philosophy, and theology, and therefore was classified as a *studium generale* or university. In the small college of five classes manned by fifty Jesuits, Father Aquaviva set down this distribution, (which in reality adds up to fifty-four): five officials for governing the house, eight teachers, five spiritual *operarii*, eighteen coadjutors, and eighteen scholastics as students to constitute the *seminarium Societatis*.

Thus, Father Aquaviva conceived that a small college conducted by thirty-six Jesuits should maintain also a seminary of eighteen scholastics; and it was with this concept of the colleges and these numbers in mind that he wrote his disturbing words: very few (*perpauca*) of the existing colleges were able to fulfill the requirements. These numbers, too, reveal why he opined that most of the colleges were not truly seminaries increasing the Society's numbers, but rather her calamity and ruin (*calamitas et vastatio*). His requirements naturally deterred provincials and founders from setting up new colleges.

Many of the contemporary Jesuits shared his opinion and openly expressed their fear that the Society had fallen away from its primitive spirit of fidelity to the papal bulls and to its own *Constitutions*. But in passing we can make this observation. It was not in truth St. Ignatius' spirit and *Constitutions* to which the Society of 1590 was failing to live up. Rather, the Society was merely not living up to the then current interpretation of that spirit and those *Constitutions*. In the light of our present knowledge of the documents and what they meant to St. Ignatius' contemporaries for whom they were written, that interpretation cannot be called correct.

It is hard for us today to understand Father Aquaviva's desire to increase the number of Jesuits in each small college, or even his reluctance to admit new colleges which would have extended the Society's apostolate more effectively. It becomes still harder in the light of other contemporary occurrences. Complaints were coming in to Rome like that which Father

Antonio Possevino proposed to the Fourth General Congregation in 1581—the Congregation which elected Father Aquaviva: “In most of the colleges in Italy the Jesuits have insufficient work (*otiantur*); and colleges which formerly taught 600 or 800 students now instruct only 300.”⁴⁸ A provincial congregation of the Roman Province made similar complaints in 1590, whereupon Father Aquaviva composed a letter on the avoidance of idleness (*ad fugiendum otium*).

Father Aquaviva thought that in his *Formula* for accepting colleges he was following the ideas of St. Ignatius and Father Lainez, and that his own concept of the nature and purpose of the colleges was identical with theirs. He was aware that the colleges conducted by St. Ignatius and Father Lainez did not at all measure up to his own concept; but he thought that his predecessors had merely tolerated these shortcomings because the Society was still in its infancy. He felt that the circumstances had changed by his day, and that he should tolerate the deficiencies no longer. “What our Fathers did according to the times and primitive beginning of the Society,” he wrote, “is one thing . . . but what they handed down to us in their *Constitutions* and decrees is something different.”⁴⁹

Here too Father Aquaviva reveals a presupposition which is historically erroneous: that the small colleges whose chief, and at times only, purpose was to benefit externs had come into being before the Society was formed through the *Constitutions*; that these colleges had somehow survived after the *Constitutions* were written, and consequently were burdens rather than seminaries for the Society. The very opposite is the truth. Almost all of the *Constitutions* were written by 1550, and it was in the period immediately following (1551-1556) that St. Ignatius showed his greatest zeal to diffuse the small colleges whose chief purpose was the benefit of the externs. It was because of the experience that he gained from this apostolate that he added to Part IV, perhaps about 1553, chapters 7 and 11 through 17.

There was another reason which contributed toward leading Father Aquaviva to his outlook on the colleges which was

⁴⁸ *ARSJ, Congr.* 20b, 256v.

⁴⁹ *ARSJ, Instit.* 40, cited in *AHSJ XXX*, 1961, p. 72.

different from that of Ignatius. Father Aquaviva was at the time inclined to a life more of contemplation than of action,⁵⁰ and to promote devotions more characteristic of contemplation. Two of his close associates in government testified to this inclination about 1590, Father Emmanuel Rodrigues, Assistant for Portugal, and Father Paul Hoffaeus, Assistant for Germany. This led to tension and division of opinion in the circle of Father Aquaviva's collaborators, since Father Maggio and Father Alarcón, Assistants for Italy and Spain, approved his ideas while Father Hoffaeus and Father Rodrigues opposed them. This dissension became publicly known to the Fathers Procurator sent to Rome in 1590. They thought and wrote⁵¹ that "a foreign spirit was being introduced, drawing our men away from their Institute and impeding the ministries of the Society." Circumstances such as these could, of course, have contributed to the formation of Father Aquaviva's severe opinion of 1588 that the colleges, in practice benefiting externs rather than the Jesuits, were threatening ruin to the Society.

In 1593 the Fifth General Congregation examined Father Aquaviva's new *Formula* and reduced the numbers of Jesuits it required respectively from fifty to thirty, eighty to sixty, and one hundred twenty to one hundred. But even this mitigated requirement turned out to be impossible in practice. In 1645 the Eighth General Congregation abrogated the *Formula* of 1588 and permitted acceptance of a college if it would support twenty Jesuits.

Chapter V. Colleges with Fixed Revenues but no Jesuit Students, 1593-1594

To inform the provinces of his thought before the approaching Fifth General Congregation of 1593, Father Aquaviva sent them in 1590 a summary of his *Formula* for the colleges. From this resumé Jesuits everywhere gathered the opinion

⁵⁰ See J. De Guibert, *La Spiritualité de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Rome, 1953), pp. 220, 228-229.

⁵¹ See *AHSJ* XXVI, 1957, 3-56, esp. pp. 22, n. 74, and XXVII, 1958, p. 293.

that the Society had fallen away from its primitive spirit of the *Constitutions*, since they seemed to require that every college be a seminary for the Society, something which few were in actual practice. Two serious scruples arose. First, in such colleges, was it licit for the professed or the formed spiritual coadjutors to live on the fixed revenues which seemed to have been permitted only to sustain the Jesuit scholastics? Second, in the colleges were many professed and spiritual coadjutors whose assigned work was priestly ministrations and not teaching, and who therefore did not seem to be strictly necessary or useful to the colleges. Was it permissible for them to live in these colleges where they too did in fact profit from the fixed revenues? By the *Constitutions* they seemed to be obliged to live on alms in the professed houses. And yet in most places, there were no professed houses.

On this latter scruple the Belgian Province was the first to propose its doubt to the General Congregation of 1593. Father Aquaviva replied that there was no need to be anxious about this matter, because in his opinion any priest living in a college could be called at least somewhat useful to it. In the General Congregation the most discussion fell on the first point of anxiety, the small colleges which had fixed revenues but no Jesuit scholastics as students. Father Fonseca, the celebrated professor of philosophy and formerly Assistant for Portugal, wrote that such colleges were illicit because the Institute permitted the revenues only for the sake of the scholastics; but that they could be retained in the hope of their being converted into such seminaries. To relinquish them, indeed, would violate the contracts with founders and cause scandal. Moreover, Ignatius himself had permitted them. Father Francis Arias also thought that the steady revenues could be used only for the support of the Jesuit students, but he proposed a different solution: to seek from the Holy See a declaration permitting the other Jesuits in a college to live on its revenues. Another Father thought that the colleges interfered with the mobility of the professed, who ought to be free to be sent on missions anywhere in the world. The authors of all these arguments manifestly had poor knowledge of two important factors: 1) chapters 11 through 17 of Part IV of the *Constitutions* and 2) the practice

of St. Ignatius which is the indispensable guide to accurate interpretation of the entire Part IV.

Father Paul Hoffaeus, however, was one outstanding exception. In Rome as Assistant for Germany from 1581 to 1591 he labored to gain an intimate knowledge both of the legal documents (the papal bulls and the *Constitutions*) and also of the historical practice by which the Society had been governed. With patient labor he read an immense quantity of official letters from the generalates of Ignatius, Lainez, Borgia, and Mercurian. He copied copious extracts which pertained to the debated problems, and which are still preserved in the Roman Archives of the Society. He also wrote a work which he entitled his *Replies to Doubts about the Examen and Constitutions*, and which seems equal in merit to Father Nadal's *Scholia on the Constitutions*. These works reveal to us the opinions which Father Hoffaeus may well have expressed in the Fifth General Congregation in 1593.⁵²

He accurately captures the abstract legalistic temperament and ideas of his contemporaries when he puts them into this doubt about the Preamble of Part IV of the *Constitutions*.

Since the objective which the Society directly seeks etc.—From this Preamble it follows that in the whole Fourth Part the matter treated is the formation in learning of our scholastics alone, and not of externs. For what contribution to our end is made by educating externs in humane letters or even philosophy, in order that they may become later on advocates, courtiers, and the like? Therefore, either the education of externs is not treated in Part IV, or this Preamble is defective (*mancum*).

Then, like a breath of fresh air after the long and stuffy legalism comes Father Hoffaeus' succinct and admirable reply which expresses both the ideas and the practice of Ignatius:

It is not the Society's intention that the formation in learning should be carried on for the sake of our own members alone, but also for the sake of externs, as is evident from Part IV, c. 11, n. 1 [440]. And in this education of externs the Society seeks not only that they become learned, but simultaneously learned and good, as can also be seen in Part IV, c. 16, n. 1 [481]. And it is not foreign to the scope of the Society to provide the means in order that the externs may in time turn out to be good and pious physi-

⁵² ARSJ, München, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, *Jesuitica* 6 (prius 5) 75v-76r.

cians, jurists, courtiers, and the like. For, such men can make contributions of great utility toward the salvation of souls, and the consolation and help of the Christian religion. This is something which does belong to the end which the Society intends.⁵³

This reply justifies the inference that Father Hoffaeus thought the *Preamble of Part IV* defective insofar as it fails to mention the education of externs. The truth is that this Preamble is defective by being incomplete. After St. Ignatius added to Part IV chapters 7 and 11 through 17 relative to the ministry of educating externs, he did not revise or even retouch the *Proemium* to bring it into express verbal harmony with the new chapters. As early as 1558 Father Polanco and the First General Congregation had shown awareness of this deficiency,⁵⁴ and of the similar incompleteness found in Part IV, c. 3, n. 1 [333]: "We now take up the scholastics for whose instruction the colleges are intended." But they thought the matter sufficiently covered by St. Ignatius' clear statement in Part IV, c. 11, n. 1 [440]: "Colleges are accepted, and classes open to the public, are conducted in them for the improvement in learning and in living not only of our own members, but even more especially of those from outside the Society."

Surprisingly, the opponents of small colleges chiefly for externs constantly referred to the two passages in the *Preamble* [307, 308] and c. 3, n. 1, [333], and never to c. 11, n. 1 [440]. Here, too, Father Hoffaeus is the exception. He rightly relied heavily on c. 11, n. 1 [440], and maintained that small colleges could be accepted chiefly for the benefit of externs, but would be still somewhat incomplete if they did not have a small *seminarium* of Jesuit scholastics. He further wisely maintained that a small college could support these Jesuit scholastics as students somewhere else.⁵⁵ All this was completely in accord with Ignatius' practice from 1550 to 1556.

Equally sound and marvelous for his era is Father Hoffaeus' opinion on the other hotly debated problem of colleges which have steady revenues but no Jesuit students. The adversary

⁵³ *Ibid.* 6 (*prius* 5); also 2, and *ARSJ, Instit.* 51 I-II.

⁵⁴ See *AHSJ*, XXIX, 1960, pp. 215-217, 223.

⁵⁵ München, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, *Jesuitica* 6, 197v-198r.

of such colleges states that in the *Constitutions* and papal bulls there is

“only one reason why the colleges may possess fixed revenues, namely, for the sake of the students, that, freed from the distraction of begging, they may be able to apply themselves in peace to their studies. Therefore, if the colleges are not supporting a seminary of students, they may not have fixed revenues. For it is stated in *Examen* I, 4 [5] that these revenues may not be spent for another purpose.”

Father Hoffaeus replies:

“The colleges have fixed revenues for the sake not only of those studying but also of those teaching, as is clearly evident from Part IV, c. 2, n. 6 G [332] and c. 11, n. 1, [440]. Consequently, it is permissible also that formal coadjutors and the professed used the fixed revenues of the colleges if they are useful to the colleges, by teaching and giving aid, Part VI, c. 2, n. 4 [560] and c. 3, C, [558] and Part IV, c. 10, A [442]. Furthermore, if those who are to teach the students are supported, does this not result in utility to the students? Finally, even the teachers can be called students, in so far as by teaching others they also teach themselves.⁵⁶”

Father Hoffaeus further maintained that those priests living in a small college and occupied in spiritual duties but not in teaching could also use the steady revenues, because of *Constitutions* Part IV, c. 2, [330] and Part VI, c. 2, C [558]; also Part IV, c. 7, n. 3 [398] and c. 8, n. 1 [400] and Part VII, c. 2, D [622]; c. 4, n. 1 [636].

Many of the Jesuits however, were basing their case against the small colleges without scholastics not on the *Constitutions* but on the papal bulls. *Regimini militantis ecclesiae* in 1540 allowed endowments and fixed revenues to the colleges as applicable only to the students (*possessiones . . . necessitatibus studentium applicandas*) so that the professed could not use them for their own uses; and even after Ignatius had allowed their use for the teachers, spiritual operarii, and officials as well as for students at Messina and elsewhere after 1548, the word *studentium* had remained unchanged in *Licet debitum* in 1550. To these adversaries, too, Father Hoffaeus wrote a correct reply which went right to the point:

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 6, 5r.

Obj: "*Studentium applicandas.*" Therefore by papal authority colleges in which there are no [Jesuit] students cannot have fixed revenues; and it is not enough if teachers live there.

I reply: see my notations on *Examen* c. 1, n. 4 [5], where it is stated [by me] that according to the *Constitutions* fixed revenues are possessed also for the support of the teachers. And the *Constitutions* have been approved by the Apostolic See.⁵⁷

As early as 1558 Father Polanco had wanted to change the word "students" in the papal bull to "those living in the college" (*studentium* to *collegialium*) and to seek papal approval of the change, because he foresaw possible difficulties in interpretation like those which did rage for nearly forty years after 1570. But the First General Congregation, made up of members who were long habituated to Ignatius' own practice in interpreting the papal bulls and his *Constitutions*, was not yet troubled by Father Polanco's difficulties, and voted him down.⁵⁸ No doubt his difficulties then seemed only an academic problem. But if only Father Polanco had won that vote! The needless and fruitless controversies of 1570 to 1608 would have been forestalled.

The replies of Father Hoffaeus, because they are based on his comprehensive knowledge both of the legal documents and of the historical circumstances which is necessary to interpret the documents aright, are marvels for their time. They give him the stature of a giant among his contemporary Jesuits who were basing their opinions almost exclusively on analysis of the words in legal texts.

Chapter VI. The Consultations of 1600

The Fifth General Congregation decided that the problem of colleges with fixed revenues but no Jesuits as students was something too complicated to be settled without further study. It requested the General to investigate the matter with his Assistants. What Father Aquaviva did about it in the years immediately following is not known. But the anxiety about

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 6, 212v. The approval was by Pope Gregory XIII in *Quanto fructuosius*, Feb. 1, 1583.

⁵⁸ See *AHSJ* XXIX, 1960, p. 213.

poverty and infidelity to the *Constitutions* increased throughout the Society.

In 1600 Pope Clement VIII sensed the existence of trouble and expressed a desire to help in solving the problem of formed members benefiting by the revenues of small colleges. A congregation of Procurators, making recommendations at his request, brought out that "cities prefer the education of youth through schools, rather than professed houses." This statement reveals that the real reason why professed houses had not been widely established was the virtual impossibility of finding founders—not the multiplication of colleges for externs which Father Aquaviva and many Jesuits had for years regarded as the cause. This congregation suggested to the Pope that the Society should try to establish residences (*residentiae*) in which the professed not necessary or useful to the colleges could live, and which might in time develop into professed houses.⁵⁹ In 1599 Father Aquaviva had urged in somewhat similar vein that the professed should be sent often from the colleges on missions in the surrounding areas, and that temporary residences should be established as their dwellings. He also appointed professors to study the debated questions about the colleges more deeply. Another document⁶⁰ of about 1600 (whose author is unknown but may well be Father Aquaviva) urges establishment of residences where professed not truly necessary or useful to the colleges may live on alms, or if this becomes impossible, even on fixed revenues.

In 1600 Father Aquaviva appointed a committee of experts to investigate the vexed problems about poverty. Among them was Father Gregory of Valencia, prefect of studies of the Roman College. These experts, too, wrote that all the colleges of the Society were instituted for the training of the scholastics. This assertion is true only of the first form of colleges. Somehow these experts overlooked the fact that from 1548 onward Ignatius had developed colleges of the second and third forms, without thinking that he was unfaithful to the papal bulls or his own *Constitutions*.

⁵⁹ *ARSJ*, Congr. 26, 149r.

⁶⁰ In *AHSJ* XXX, 1961, pp. 75-77.

Chapter VII. The Sixth General Congregation and Colleges for Externs, 1608

Many provinces requested the Congregations of Procurators in 1603 and in 1606 to do something to settle the harrassing problems about the colleges. The latter Congregation convoked the Sixth General Congregation of 1608. In preparation for it the celebrated ascetical writer, Father Alphonsus Rodriguez, composed a Memorial of Matters⁶¹ which the Congregation ought to consider. He urges anew the old complaints against the colleges: "The Society seems to be failing to proceed according to its Institute. Its end is to travel to various places and to live anywhere where there is hope of greater help to souls; but cities seek the Jesuits almost only to teach their sons. Hence the Society's colleges have become caves and whirlpools swallowing her men."

The Assistant Secretary of the General Congregation, Father Bernardine Castorio, did not leave us an account of its debates about the colleges. But he did leave us a treatise of his own on them which certainly had a great influence on the decrees which the Congregation enacted. His treatment is both historical and practical. In his opinion, any Father living in a college, whether he be a teacher or a spiritual *operarius*, can be considered useful to it in some way. What about the colleges which possess fixed revenues but no Jesuit scholastics as students? This difficulty can be solved if the General Congregation will decree that the *Constitutions* do not make it certain that support of the scholastics is the only reason why the fixed revenues are permitted. The chief reason why these controversies and anxieties were able to arise and endure was a lack of clarity in the *Constitutions*, especially in some passages.

Father Castorio's treatise seemingly had efficacious effects. The Sixth General Congregation enacted its eighteenth decree which settled the problems which had harassed so many Jesuits for forty years, and the following quotation will show.⁶²

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78.

⁶² *Institutum S.J., Decreta Congregationis Generalis VI, XVIII.*

Decree XVIII

In regard to the colleges, which have been multiplied until now and in which seminaries of our own students are not actually existent, the question was asked whether they could licitly be retained; and what remedy ought to be applied, since it seems to appear from the *Constitutions* and Apostolic Letters that the fixed revenues in the colleges and houses of probation were granted for the seminaries of our own students.

The Congregation examined many passages of the *Constitutions*, the Apostolic Letters, and the Decrees of the First, Second, and Third General Congregations. It brought many matters under discussion and diligently examined them for our days. Then the Congregation decided upon this decree.

No scruple ought to exist, or to have existed, about this entire matter. This is all the truer because the uninterrupted practice, which is an excellent means of interpreting laws, handed down in a continued sequence from the very time of our blessed Founder, until now, can render us free from anxiety.

Nevertheless, because of the privilege granted by Pope Julius II to the Order of Preachers and because of its own privilege, (granted by Julius III in *Exposcit debitum*, 1540), the Society is empowered to issue clarifications of doubtful matters found in its Institute and formula. Therefore, to remove all difficulties, the Congregation enacts this clarification. Not only the colleges which contain such seminaries, but also the others in which the pursuit of learning is carried on and classes have been opened for the benefit of our fellow men, are in accordance with our *Constitutions* and Institute. Furthermore, the professed and formed coadjutors, about whose case there was greater reason to doubt, could be maintained in the colleges without any scruple—for there could be no difficulty about the other members who even as *operarii* are necessary or useful. Moreover this is not a case of the professed Society drawing aid from the fixed revenues of the colleges which was forbidden to the professed houses (*Examen* I, c. 4). However, all care should be taken to perfect the inchoate colleges, in order that some of our scholastics should be maintained either in them or, if it be more profitable to the Society, in some other seminaries through contributions.

That decree can indeed be called a complete victory for the Jesuits who had argued in favor of the colleges chiefly for externs. It again gave a clear juridical standing to the ancient usages which had grown up under the eyes and guidance of Ignatius from 1545 to 1556. He thought that he had incorporated those practices into the *Constitutions*, but un-

fortunately some passages remained obscure and turned out to be the occasion of the misinterpretations and controversies which raged from 1570 to 1608. From 1545 to 1556, also, Ignatius was in close contact with the reigning popes who would surely have remonstrated with him if they thought his practices against their bulls. But Ignatius died before he thought of obtaining a new papal bull allowing the professed and the formed coadjutors to live, either as teacher or priests, in the colleges chiefly for externs and to be supported by their revenues.

It is worthy of note that during the years of the unfortunate tensions and controversies about these matters, the propriety of listing the teaching of externs as one of the most important ministries of the Society's apostolate was seldom if ever called into question.

One concluding observation, however, is perhaps the most important of all. The primitive spirit of the Society consisted of two elements: first, the practices which Ignatius initiated with the constant approval of the contemporary popes and then bequeathed to his sons, and second, the laws, or principles guiding actions, in which he thought he had embodied those practices, but to which in some instances he had given obscure expression. The Jesuits were faithfully carrying out his practices through the years when they were vexed by doubts and controversies about the interpretation of those laws. After 1570 there arose a new and rather romanticized concept of what that primitive spirit had been—a concept which we now know to be historically false. By the very fact of the Society's adherence to the set of traditional practices which Ignatius had bequeathed, it came into conflict with this new interpretation. Hence, what so many of its best and most sincere members from 1570 to 1608 thought to be infidelity to the primitive spirit of the Institute was in reality something totally different: mere non-compliance with this incorrect interpretation of what the primitive spirit was.

Father John J. Geoghan

William B. O'Shaughnessy

During life Father Geoghan had expressed the hope that he would die with his shoes on, active to the end. This grace God granted him on April 3, 1957 in his eighty-third year at Inisfada, Manhasset, New York. He had come down to say Mass and while vesting suffered a severe heart attack. Tranquilly he received the last rites and in a short time was face to face with Christ, his King, in whose army he had served gracefully and well for sixty-four years as a Jesuit and fifty years as a priest.

It was a long life span from September 7, 1893 when a dark haired, comely, athletic, and genial youth arrived at the novitiate in Frederick, Maryland, from Philadelphia. John Geoghan was then in his nineteenth year and had completed his sophomore year at Saint Joseph's College in Philadelphia, when he decided to seek a career with the Jesuits in whose parish he had lived and in whose schools he was educated. John was the oldest of three sons.

By June 1907, when John Geoghan came to ordination after the novitiate and juniorate at Frederick, philosophy at Woodstock, regency at Holy Cross College, theology at Woodstock, the novice of 1893 had matured into solid physical frame, grown silver in hair, fine in feature, virile in character, military and dignified in manner—altogether of impressive appearance which was to be an asset to him to the end. With the exception of a mild illness during his tertianship, Father Geoghan was to have the added blessing of good health until the last few months of his life. Father and his classmates had, in 1898, received minor orders from James Cardinal Gibbons, archbishop of Baltimore; and Cardinal Gibbons for over thirty-five years conferred the major orders at Woodstock. But in 1907 Father Geoghan and his class were ordained at Woodstock College by Archbishop John M. Farley, Archbishop of New York, who later in 1911 was to be created Cardinal. In that ordination class of 1907 was

Father John H. Farley, nephew of Archbishop Farley; so that year Cardinal Gibbons extended the courtesy of ordaining to the Archbishop of New York.

Besides the languages which his course in the Society had led him to master, Father Geoghan had a proficiency in reading and speaking French, a fair knowledge of German, and, in his few years as Spiritual Father at Saint Andrew, he wrestled³ with an Italian grammar until he could read some of Dantè in the original.

There was a musical side to his make-up. He had a resonant baritone voice and read music sufficiently to make him a good brass in choir and glee club and to enable him to sing a High Mass well. He was a perennially cheerful character and easily broke into song. To his vocal ability he added an instrumental versatility. Father played with amateur skill the accordion, the harmonica, the saxophone and the guitar. Any of the other three he might be heard playing on different occasions in different houses but the guitar seemed to have occupied his fancy only during his years in Boston.

Extensive Reading

From his early years he was an extensive reader in the classics, history, biography, spiritual books, modern literature, fiction, poetry and current magazines. He became well informed, developed a fluency and choice of language and a fertility of imagination. Without realizing it he was building up assets for a long speaking career ahead which he neither planned nor foresaw. This reading enriched also his fine sense of humor and gave him a fund of stories which he could dramatize entertainingly even in several dialects when called for. It made him good company in any gathering and spiced his after-dinner speaking at which he was among the best.

One, associated with him for many years, cannot omit a tribute to his sound spiritual character, of a matter of fact type, manifested in long years of regularity in religious routine, in his devout Mass, in his fidelity to the breviary at set periods of the day, in the ideals he lived and preached, in his delight in giving retreats. One did not know him long before he was aware of a strength and virility of soul which could face anything fearlessly when the situation demanded it.

Immediately after theology Father was sent to Linz in Austria for his tertianship. While there he heard one of the national airs whose melody kept ringing through his mind. Its martial quality and its call to loyalty impressed him as a vehicle for a call to supernatural loyalty. He could write off a limerick or a piece of humorous verses without effort and with serious effort could pen a good poem now and again. The national air gave him an inspiration which took final form in his hymn to the Sacred Heart, "Heart of Jesus, may Thy reign, O'er the world its power regain" which was sung throughout the province for years.

At St. Andrew-on-Hudson

Returning from Europe in 1909 Father found himself assigned to the teaching of poetry class at Saint Andrew-on-Hudson; from 1910 to 1912 he taught the rhetoric class. There were only three professors in the juniorate then, Father Francis P. Donnelly, Father Francis Connell and Father Geoghan. Each taught the three subjects of his class: Latin, Greek and English. The young priest-professor of the juniorate is best pictured for us by some of his Jesuit pupils who, through the years, have done well in the Society. One writes of the year in poetry class: "Father Geoghan was a strict teacher; not so inspiring as others but conscientious. He was patient and tolerant of us who were struggling along." Another presents him as the rhetoric teacher: "Father was a reserved man and, although very courteous to us as students, there was never what might be called warmth in the association. At Saint Andrew he seemed to be a fine scholar and gave the class a satisfactory course in the classics. I remember him for his valuable drill in Latin conversation which served us well at Woodstock. But there was no personal attention and encouragement for individual research over and above what the regular schedule prescribed."

It was at Saint Andrew that Father Geoghan made his final profession on February 2, 1911.

In 1912 Boston College and its high school were sending forth their graduates from the modest red brick building on James Street back of the Immaculate Conception Church and residence on Harrison Avenue in the south end of Boston.

Father Geoghan was assigned there that summer as prefect of studies for college and high school. The old red brick building was crowded and plans were being made for some years to separate the college from the high school and move the college to more attractive and ample surroundings. During the presidency of Father Thomas Gasson a site was purchased in Chestnut Hill just over the southern boundary line of the city of Boston. Here in 1913 was opened the large tower building, the first of that group of Gothic buildings which form today one of the most beautiful college campuses in America. The college classes were transferred to the new college and two administrative faculties were formed for college and high school, Father Michael Jessup becoming dean of studies at the college and Father John Geoghan remaining at James Street as prefect of studies for the High School. Both faculties continued to live at the residence on Harrison Avenue under the one rector, Father Thomas Gasson, and later under Father Charles Lyons who succeeded Father Gasson in January, 1914. In 1917 Saint Mary's Hall, the faculty residence, was opened on the Chestnut Hill campus and the College faculty moved out. The rector, Father Lyons, still in residence on Harrison Avenue, continued as head of both institutions with a Father Minister at each place. On July 20, 1919 College and High School were separated into independent units with Father William Devlin as rector of Boston College and Father John Geoghan as superior of the High School. In 1925 the high school would become a rectorship.

Boston College High

The move was beneficial as both institutions expanded to capacity in a few years. In the twenties the high school enrollment reached near 1600, calling into requisition all available space, including the altar boys' room under the church. There were four to six sections to each year with only one or two classes under fifty in number and some reaching over sixty. It was Father Geoghan's blessing to have a fine staff of Jesuits who generously assumed the heavy burden of twenty to twenty-five hours of teaching a week and a program of four or five different subjects. Through their efforts

the school maintained the academic respect of the city. The auditorium, with its large stage and its seating capacity of about twelve hundred was the scene of constant activity during the academic year, with its monthly reading of marks, occasional academies, elocution contests, public debates of the Bapst and McElroy societies with the leading high schools of the city of Boston, plays, always of high standard, under the supervision of that superb dramatic coach, Father James L. McGovern, lectures of current interest, monthly moving pictures for the lay people, and delightful operettas by the Sunday School children each Spring. All these events were well attended by the people and Father Geoghan made it a practice to be present on all occasions. The athletic teams won prestige in the city and Father Geoghan, with a lifelong interest in athletics, rarely missed a home engagement.

The Immaculate Conception Church, one of the few collegiate churches the Society has in this country, was not a parish; rather it was situated in the Cathedral Parish, but people came from different parts of the city to assist at Mass and the various services. As they were an understanding congregation, Father Geoghan would have distinguished preachers for special times such as Lent, Advent, for the Alumni Sodality Retreat and for Holy Week. During his tenure of office Father Geoghan was a regular confessor in the church, preached at Low Mass on Sundays and took his turn once a month in giving the sermon at the High Mass. His dignified presence and his strong voice, which was to endure to the end of his life, gained immediate attention and his thought and language framed themselves into sermons of quality. As moderator of the altar boys for two years and obliged to be present with the boys at the High Mass, I had the opportunity of hearing him often. Through these sermons and addresses given here and there in the city Father Geoghan won respect as a preacher. On the occasion of the death of Pope Benedict XV in January 1922 His Eminence, Cardinal O'Connell, Archbishop of Boston, called in person at the high school residence and requested Father Geoghan to preach the eulogy at the Solemn Requiem Mass for the Pope at the Cathedral of the Holy Cross. The assignment flustered Father somewhat and he went off to the college and hid himself for

a few days to prepare. He did his task well and gave an eloquent eulogy. *The Pilot*, official publication of the Archdiocese of Boston, in reporting the event in its issue of February 4th, 1922 states: "After the Communion of the Mass, a touching and eloquent tribute was paid to the life and works of Pope Benedict XV by Very Rev. John J. Geoghan, S.J., Rector of the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Harrison Avenue." The sermon, quoted at length, reads impressively even today.

The Teacher

In 1925, after a six year term as superior, Father Geoghan was transferred to Xavier High School, New York, where he remained a year as Minister. In 1926 he began his long residence of fourteen years at Loyola College in Baltimore where he taught the classics for two years and junior philosophy for twelve years. For the young men in college he was the right kind of professor: an interesting lecturer, clear in thought, facile and apt in expression, firm in discipline, insistent on study, yet courteous and humorous, priestly. The students admired him and dubbed him the General because of his distinguished appearance, his refined manner and his military carriage. On externs he left the impression of the scholarly priest and gentleman. The following incident is typical of a number. On two occasions Father Geoghan and the writer attended in a private home a rather formal dinner at which a professor of Johns Hopkins University and his wife were present. The professor was famous in his field and had come from Europe to lecture in the United States. In Europe his family were devout Catholics. He had been educated by the Jesuits and he came here and lived as a good Catholic. However, as he went up in American university circles he gave up the practice of his faith and withdrew his wife and children from it. On both dinner occasions the professor made it a point to talk a good deal with Father Geoghan; and on the occasion of the second dinner as the professor and I sat aside together in the living room toward the close of the evening the professor said to me: "If priests like Father Geoghan moved more among the professors of secular colleges, these professors would have a higher aca-

ademic regard for Catholic colleges." There was a sequel to the event and perhaps Father Geoghan had an initial influence in it; within the year the professor and his family were back in the practice of their faith.

During these years of teaching Father spent the summer vacation giving several retreats. The retreats of these years were to Sisterhoods generally and to laymen and women on week-end retreats. In these he moved easily and effectively. In the thirties, while he was at Loyola College, Father was assigned to his first priests retreat; it was to be to the Springfield, Massachusetts, diocese in June. The notice came in the early Spring and he became a fidgety, busy individual for weeks, reading, outlining, writing. He did not mind retreats to nuns or lay people but he did not consider himself of the calibre for priests' retreats. There was no self-satisfaction or complacency in his make-up. Though he was a capable man, he considered himself just an ordinary individual who tried to do his task well. The nice tributes of the Springfield priests made him feel relieved and he approached, with more confidence, some time later a retreat to a community of Benedictine priests in Washington, D. C. In the community was the famous psychologist and psychiatrist of Catholic University, Dom Moore, who is now a Carthusian. Father Moore later became the superior of the Benedictine community and, as one of his subjects sent to Saint Andrew to make his ordination retreat told the writer, was eager to have his fellow Benedictines know well the Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius. He considered them invaluable for life. From this point on priests' retreats were a regular part of Father Geoghan's life.

As in Boston so in Baltimore Father Geoghan made a number of friends; some he kept in contact for life. In fact in later years he would try to get a retreat in Baltimore and another in Boston each year in order to see these old friends.

Retreat Master

The year 1940 was to close his teaching and academic career; between classroom and office his educational work stretched over thirty-three years; from now on his efforts were to be in the ascetical realm in giving retreats. In this

work he was to spend the longest consecutive period of years and for it he was most fitted. It was to be the great work of his life. In 1940 he took up residence at Inisfada and would spend most of the time ahead there. For three years, 1948-51, he would be transferred to Saint Andrew-on-Hudson as Spiritual Father of the house but even then he would keep at his work of retreats. He returned to Inisfada and the retreat band in 1951. As is the case with retreat directors his range of work was wide and diversified, with retreats of from five to eight days; with conferences to religious, tridua, novenas, days of recollection. The retreatants will be children, laymen and women, Sisters, seminarians, priests secular and religious, including Jesuits. His journeys carried him from New York to California and from Washington, D. C., to Nova Scotia. All through Father Geoghan's life his eyes remained good (some cataract trouble in his seventies was cleared up by an operation) his voice strong and his memory retentive. Whether he gave a conference, a sermon, a day of recollection or an eight day retreat he, to the end, used no notes while talking. With regard to his retreats to Sisters the same tribute was usually heard by the writer who followed him in various places: an edifying priest, a genial character, a fine speaker, a wise counsellor. The quality of his retreats to priests may be gauged by the remark made to the writer by the well-known Monsignor Patrick Lavelle, rector of Saint Patrick's Cathedral in New York for fifty-three years, after Father Geoghan gave the retreats to the priests of the New York Archdiocese: "We have just had a distinctive retreat from Father John Geoghan. Where have they hidden him for the last twenty years?"

Unto the End

Father Geoghan celebrated his golden jubilee as a Jesuit in 1943 and his diamond jubilee in 1953. He remarked in his speech at the golden jubilee dinner: "I always connected golden jubilees with a crutch and a wheel chair but, thank God, I do not feel the need of either tonight." The same was true at his diamond jubilee in 1953 and even into late 1956. Had he lived a few months longer he would have celebrated his golden jubilee as a priest. The first indication of his

sturdy heart weakening came in December 1956, just three months before he died, when he was giving a year end triduum to a community of Sisters of Mercy in Baltimore. He had a heart attack there. It passed and he got back to New York safely. After several weeks in Saint Vincent's Hospital, he returned to Inisfada in February apparently in fair condition. But as the weeks went by he was failing more than he realized. He had retreat engagements ahead and, to his nephew who visited him two days before he died, he expressed the hope and the eagerness of being able to meet them. April 3, 1957 stilled that hope and eagerness. The statement of a contemporary member of the mission and retreat band speaking of Father's death and of his cheerfulness and work carried on to his advanced years, seems, on surveying Father Geoghan's career, a fitting epitaph to his life, "He was a great priest and an inspiration."

Books of Interest to Ours

A MODERN PHENOMENON

Secular Institutes: Consecration to God and Life in the World. *By Joseph-Marie Perrin, O.P.* New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1961. Pp. xvii-122. \$3.50.

This book was first published as part of a series in 1957 under the title *Consécration à Dieu et présence au monde*. It is, as the author states, "an attentive meditation on the words of the Church," namely the documents of Pius XII on Secular Institutes, the Apostolic Constitution *Provida Mater Ecclesia* and the *Motu Proprio Primo Feliciter*, both of which are included in an appendix. Its point of view is primarily theological and ascetical, and does not treat the canonical aspects of Secular Institutes.

Perrin's meditation succeeds in sketching clearly the essence of this new body within the Mystical Body which at once shares with the religious vocation the life of the vows while differing from it in not demanding a common life. Thus an essential constituent of the Secular Institute is presence in the world. It is insisted that "they are not a branch of religious life, but a new creation which though it is the result of an evolution remains new nonetheless and providential for our times."

After Part One treats of preliminary questions concerning the possibility of a secular *state* of seeking perfection and the need for the Church to define the essentials of such a state, Parts Two and Three dissect these essentials. They come down to: the practice of the evangelical counsels under vow or oath in the world or secular state according to the particular rules or constitutions of the chosen institute, with the apostolic end of rendering one's own daily vocation in the world serviceable to the mission of the Church.

The book is not meant to be a theoretical commentary, but serves as a good introduction and answers clearly the question: What is a Secular Institute?

GEORGE F. DRISCOLL, S.J.

POPULAR BIBLICAL ESSAYS

The God of Israel, The God of Christians: The Great Themes of Scripture. Edited by J. Giblet. Translated by Kathryn Sullivan, R.S.C.J. New York: Desclée Company, 1961. Pp. x + 261. \$3.95.

M. Giblet has assembled a collection of essays on themes of biblical theology written by some of the most distinguished scholars of French-speaking countries. The essays are grouped under five topics: "God's Plan," written entirely by Giblet, comprises "God's Choices," "God's Covenant with Man," and "God's People." Under "God's Revelation" appear "Holy is the Lord" (Lefèvre), "God in our Midst" (Leboisset), and "God our Father" (Boismard). "God's Demands" contains "Blessed are the Poor" (Gelin), "To Believe in God" (Léon-Dufour), and "To Serve God" (Lefèvre). "God's Fidelity" treats "Men's Sin" (Spicq), "Conversion" (Pierron) and "Retribution" (Sister Jeanne d'Arc). "God's Victory" includes "The Messiah of God" (Gelin), "The Kingdom of God" (Descamps) and "The Spirit of God" (Guillet).

This is an imposing list of contributors; but the authors have not written here in the style and form which have made their names so well known in biblical studies. These are explicitly popular essays in biblical theology, homiletic in tone; they read like conferences or lectures on the themes; they often give leads which could be used by the preacher; and they could well be used as a book of meditations. Each theme is pursued through Old and New Testament, often through the separate books or classes of books. Quotations from the Bible are abundant.

The extent of the text covered by each article occasionally leaves the reader—who here is a student of the professional writings of these men—with the impression of no great depth. This criticism is made with all due reservations; the Bible is not easy to treat on a popular level, and one who attempts profundity may obtain nothing but obscurity. Some of the contributors have succeeded better than others, which is normal in a work of collaboration. But lapses are only occasional.

What one has here is a series of quiet and informal conversations with men, whose knowledge and love of the Bible is beyond doubt, on the meaning of the Bible in Christian life. Biblical scholars have often

been taxed with neglect of this aspect of their work, so warmly recommended by the late Pius XII. These men have fulfilled the duty with competence and often with distinction in this book. Modern biblical studies are not intended to make the Bible less urgent and meaningful for Christian life. Essays like this should convince any one that the fruits of modern biblical study for richer Christian living are all the defense that biblical studies need. We hope that French scholars, whose work in scholarship has been of primary importance, will continue to produce such books addressed to a wider public.

JOHN L. MCKENZIE, S.J.

CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS OF SPIRITUALITY

Introduction to Spirituality. By Louis Bouyer, Cong. Orat. Translated by Mary Perkins Ryan. New York: Desclee, 1961. Pp. 321. \$5.75.

Bouyer presents his book as a manual for practical use which is to serve as an initiation into the fundamental problems of every spiritual life and into the perennial principles governing the solution to these problems. First, he examines the elements which together constitute a spiritual life. These elements are set firmly in the framework of the liturgy. Here Bouyer is at his best, as he handles such problems as the use of the Bible in the liturgy, in meditation and spiritual reading. The chapter on prayer is especially good on the relationship between the divine office and personal prayer. The treatment of the sacramental life is somewhat disappointing in its brevity, but the author has treated this area at great length in his other works.

After discussing prayer as the contemplation of the Christian Mystery, and the sacramental life as its presence in us, Bouyer moves on to the question of Christian asceticism as the systematic adaptation of our whole life to this Mystery. He begins with a survey of the historical development of the motivation of Christian asceticism. This is followed by a philosophical-historical study of man, ordered to the resolution of the apparent antinomy between Christian asceticism and humanism, between the cross of Christ and man's self-development.

In the second part of the book, the author treats the different Christian vocations which modify, not the components, but the mutual adjustment of the elements which constitute every spiritual life. He discusses lay spirituality, monastic spirituality, and the apostolic vocations, both priestly and religious. Bouyer vigorously denies the distinction between a "creative" and a "redemptive" spirituality as the basis for distinguishing the active and the contemplative life. He insists upon the oneness of the creative and redemptive aspects of all genuine Christian spirituality in whatever state it is to be realized. In this context he raises some disturbing questions about a too facile development and exposition of a spirituality of action. His esteem for monastic spirituality is especially evident. He makes some good points on priestly spirituality and on the difference between priestly and religious celibacy.

The third and final part of the book examines the dynamism of the spiritual life, showing how it comes to integrate in the living of them the static elements already considered. Here Bouyer discusses the traditional Three Ways of purification, illumination and union as the development and rhythms of the spiritual life. The last chapter treats of the mystical life. The book concludes with a note on the communion of saints and the great classics of the spiritual life which are available in English.

Bouyer limits himself in this work to problems of contemporary interest in the spiritual life of the present generation. Many problems which would necessarily have to be treated in a systematic treatise of spiritual theology are deliberately passed over. The author's method is to trace the historical development of various practices, to understand how and why they came about, and then to discover their exact import. This done, the attempt is to disengage the values in the practices and examine their absolute value, if any, and their current relevance. Bouyer's honesty and forthrightness are refreshing. He asks the questions that ought to be asked and attempts answers that are unequivocal and stimulating. Though his treatment of individual questions is necessarily brief, Bouyer's insights, controlled by the lessons of history, provoke respectful reflection. His style is as pungent as ever and its appeal is carried over in the translation.

FELIX F. CARDEGNA, S.J.

VERITAS IN CARITATE

Catholic Theology in Dialogue. *By* *Gustave Weigel, S.J.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961. Pp. 126. \$2.75.

The slim appearance of Father Weigel's book should not deceive the prospective reader. Its skillful pages take him to the center of Catholic life and show the Church's hierarchy and scholars at work as today's major theological questions are brought into sharp relief. Ecclesiology, sacramentalism, ecumenism, tradition and scripture, church and state, each appears in turn presenting progress and problems significant for Catholic and non-Catholic alike. Indeed, chapters I-III represent the 1960 Taylor Lectures at Yale Divinity School (the first ever given by a Roman Catholic), while the other four chapters reproduce occasional lectures elsewhere. These circumstances give the text an admirable clarity and directness. Exposition of Catholic dogma is unequivocal, without apology, and often in pointed contrast with non-Catholic positions. Differences are faced with honesty and there is no attempt to conceal chasms that separate Christians of different confessions.

Catholics can learn much from its pages. In particular, the chapters on sacramental symbolism and church-state relations have a depth and scope disproportionate to the brief space they occupy. The researches of Father Maurice de la Taille, S.J., and Dom Odo Casel, O.S.B., introduce the presentation of sacramental liturgy as the prime and necessary meeting point for the transcendent God and his creatures in space and time. Thus Christian man appears inexorably involved in symbol;

analogy, and sacrament. Christ can be understood only in his symbolic actions of Supper and Cross, while the Church in turn is Christ symbolically present and saving. In a word, symbolism is the key to good theology, for it alone allows the theologian to preserve both the transcendence of God and the participation of all things in God's being.

If a clearcut solution to the persistent problem of church-state relations is not yet at hand, it is because the proper questions have not yet been asked. Father Weigel remarks that to ask the Church for a definitive solution to this (or any such) problem before theologians have constructed the question with accuracy is at best naive and can only occasion badly constructed answers and subsequent confusion. Nonetheless the theological principles and conclusions explained here are an important step in the right direction and provide for further development.

Our brief review does scant justice to the book's genial mode of presentation and rewarding insights. It is recommended to all, especially to college students and educated lay Catholics. Unfortunately there is neither an index nor a bibliography to aid the interested reader, for whom the book ends all too soon.

FREDERICK A. HOMANN, S.J.

SCHOLARLY ECUMENICAL DIALOGUES

Christianity Divided. Edited by Daniel Callahan, Heiko Oberman, Daniel O'Hanlon, S.J. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961. Pp. xiv-335. \$6.00.

This book, a collection of essays by prominent Protestant and Catholic theologians on critical problems in contemporary theology, achieves in an admirable way the end proposed by the editors in their introduction: to note areas of agreement and disagreement, differences of interest and emphasis between the Catholic and the Reformed Churches. The evidence provided in these essays demonstrates that if the aims of the ecumenical movement are still blocked by substantial differences, these aims are not so utopian as many imagine. There are areas of agreement now, achieved not through the surrender of precious teachings, but through communication of ideas and the patient, scholarly re-examination of theological positions.

Each of the thirteen essays is accompanied by a brief introduction, explaining the context of the essay in modern theological investigation, and by a list of suggested readings for those interested in pursuing the particular point. Catholic is paired with Protestant, each presenting his views in one of the following areas: Scripture and Tradition (Cullmann, Geiselman), the Bible and its relation to recent scholarship (Fuchs, van Ruler, Stanley), the Church (Barth, Weigel), the Sacraments (Thurian, Oberman, Schillebeeckx), and Justification (Torrance, Küng).

Not only does the book gather together in a single volume articles previously scattered through various books and journals, but it also provides very readable translations of six articles that had been available only in French, German or Dutch.

The Catholic will find interesting the prominence given to preaching in several of the Protestant essays; perhaps some of these ideas may be incorporated into our own theology of preaching and examined in their application to the Church's magisterium.

Additional points of interest: Schillebeeckx' answer to the perennial problem of the identity of Calvary and the Mass; Küng's detailed examination of the meaning of sanctification and justification in the New Testament; Geiselmann's effort to establish that all Revelation is contained in the Scriptures, properly understood; Cullmann's conviction that the fixing of the Canon by the early Church precluded any further Apostolic Tradition.

A single criticism that might be voiced would be this: Since only two of the articles were composed with members of the other sect specifically in mind, the effort to understand is made somewhat more difficult for the novice in the ecumenical movement.

These articles do not make for casual reading. They demand a close and penetrating study, but one amply rewarded with increased awareness of current theological trends and with new hope for Christian unity.

EUGENE J. BARBER, S.J.

FOR PREACHERS ESPECIALLY

The Sunday Epistles. By *Richard T. A. Murphy, O.P.* Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1961. Pp. 274. \$5.00.

The busy preacher today can find himself in somewhat of a dilemma. On the one hand, he is aware of the revival of interest in Liturgy and Scripture and of his need for sermons to match the enthusiasm of his more knowledgeable congregation. On the other hand, if it has been some years since his seminary training, he may feel inadequate to the task; the recent advances in Scripture studies may have left him uncertain of the accuracy of his traditional approach and hesitant to use it.

Father Murphy's new book solves the dilemma completely. It provides material well suited to the current revival from a somewhat neglected part of the Sunday liturgy. It presents this material in a language that is clear, accurate and easily readable. It is a work of careful scholarship. In brief, *The Sunday Epistles* is an excellent book. It is the much-awaited companion volume to the author's *The Sunday Gospels* which was published last year. Following the same format as its predecessor, each Sunday's selection, averaging five pages, is divided into Introduction, Explanation of the Epistle, and Hints for Homiletics. The Introduction places the Epistle selection in its historical context or explains the problem which Paul is trying to solve. The Explanation, the major part of the section, gives a clear, accurate exegesis of the selection, verse by verse, dissolving the obscurities and bringing out the richness of Pauline thought. The abundance of Scriptural cross references in this section is especially helpful. The Hints for Homiletics suggests several ways that the Epistle message can be further developed in a sermon. The first of these will suggest a liturgical development

when the Sunday itself is of liturgical importance.

But *The Sunday Epistles* is not a book for preachers only. It is not a book of prepared sermons, but primarily a commentary on the Epistles. Its only limitation as a commentary is that imposed on it by its selected framework. Many of the richest sections of the Epistles are not found in the Sunday liturgy and hence are not in the book. Even with this limitation it could still serve as a suitable text for a parish study club. As a source of understanding and appreciation of the Sunday Epistle selections, it could be used for meditation, for spiritual reading or for a fuller participation in the Sunday liturgy.

WILLIAM J. KEYES, S.J.

SEGREGATION FROM SIX ANGLES

A Catholic Case against Segregation. Edited by Joseph E. O'Neill, S.J.
New York: Macmillan, 1961. Pp. 155. \$3.95.

This is an exceptionally well-written and stimulating set of essays by six Jesuits and a woman professor of psychology who present both natural and supernatural considerations against compulsory segregation solely on the basis of race. To the four articles by Father Robert W. Gleason, Father Arthur North and Father John W. Donohue and Doctor Anne Anastasi which originally appeared in the Autumn, 1960, issue of *Thought* magazine have been added three written especially for this book by Father Robert F. Drinan, Father Joseph H. Fichter and Father John LaFarge.

Father Gleason points out the theological basis for calling compulsory segregation unchristian, namely, its practical denial that human dignity is the same in all men. Compulsory segregation violates the law of human solidarity and sins against charity and justice.

Father North traces the rise of the "separate but equal" Plessy doctrine in 1896 to its demise on the day of the Brown decision, May 17, 1954. The preparations for and the thinking behind the Brown decision that "Separate facilities are inherently unequal" are outlined, and the reasons for objecting to it are clearly proposed.

Father Drinan examines the role and degree of effectiveness of legislation in promoting desegregation in the North in the areas of housing, education, and employment. He believes that where an anti-bias law has some support in the community it can inhibit the effects of and even eliminate to some extent the racial instincts of its subjects.

Father Donohue in discussing biracial public education in the South points out that, as a matter of history, the promoters of Negro public education in the past ninety years have been, in chronological order, Northern Protestant missionaries, the Federal Government, the Southern Negro community, Northern philanthropists, and the Southern state and local governments themselves. The Southern defense of their biracial educational system on legal, factual and ideological grounds is then presented and evaluated.

Doctor Anastasi points out that group prejudices are not inborn but learned by the individual as he grows up in a community which

already displays such attitudes, and that a mere increase of contact with out-groups does not always decrease prejudice. The harmful effects of segregation upon the individual's concept of self and upon his personality development are factually shown.

Father Fichter points out six instances where predictions made with regard to consequences involved in a change from a segregated to an integrated society in the Southeast were proved false. To explain this disparity between predictions and actual performance Father Fichter suggests that in the Southeast the norms governing the relations between the races contain two elements of instability: first, they differ sharply from those of the American culture in general; secondly, they are now constantly under challenge to change.

In the last essay Father LaFarge points out that the earlier articles have conclusively destroyed the image of the current American Negro as a congenitally inferior person. He reminds the reader that when in real life one meets a personification of the pejorative stereotype of the Negro, he ought not to think of genetics as the explanation but of the many retarding factors of poor health, home, education, etc., which can produce degradation in any human beings.

These essays force the reader to form a new image of the Negro, and the Negro to form a new self-concept. The Negro, especially the young Negro, must not feel that he or she is just a problem, but rather that "the white majority is persuaded, intelligently convinced that the presence in our midst of this minority group is, in its own mysterious way, a precious gift of the Creator to our nation."

JOSEPH P. SANDERS, S.J.

THE SOCIAL ORDER

Catholic Social Principles. *By Cletus Dirksen, C.P.P.S.* St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1961. Pp. xix-247. \$4.00.

The recent publication of *Mater et Magistra* and the discussions that ensued within Catholic circles are proof enough of the present interest in and concern for Catholic social principles. Father Dirksen's book is an attempt to bring together in summary fashion some of the more basic principles which must be included in any Catholic's study of the social order.

Beginning with a study of man, his nature, dignity, and fundamental rights, the author considers the society in which man lives. The concepts of law, the social virtues of charity and justice, and the very nature of society are investigated. Within this framework the author examines the notions of the common good and of authority together with the functions of the state as part of society. Corresponding to two diverse situations which are significant in modern times, the author treats of internationalism and the role of lesser social units within society. Socio-economic problems of wage-justice, the right to private property, and co-determination are investigated in the final chapters of the book.

In stressing moral aspects of social problems the author often has

recourse to papal documents, doctrines of the Church Fathers, and even a few Scriptural citations. The use of some of these could be questioned, as when it is claimed that language differences are due to a confusion that was "deliberately imposed upon mankind by God in view of the pride occasioned by the tower of Babel," or that it was Augustine's *City of God* "which dealt the *coup de grâce* to the pagan civilization of the Roman Empire."

It is unfortunate that the book was published too soon after *Mater et Magistra* to include the encyclical in its consideration. Catholics may also wish that the book were more up-to-date in dealing with such present problems as civil rights, welfare measures, unionism, land reform, etc. Terminology could also have been improved, substituting modern terms for heavy scholastic formulae, and defining more carefully such chameleon words as "liberal." And in the general modernizing of the book, a more up-to-date bibliography including latest editions of books listed as well as some of the recent periodical literature would have been helpful.

THOMAS H. O'GORMAN, S.J.

CONTEMPLATION

Prayer. *By Hans Urs von Balthasar.* Translated by A. V. Littledale. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961. Pp. 246. \$5.00.

When this book appeared in Germany five years ago, reviewers pointed out that it is much more speculative than practical, much more from the head than from the heart. While willing to admit that a man thoroughly acquainted with prayer might, if he could find time to study the text, profit by some of the author's insights, they warned that beginners would be discouraged if not positively misled by the book. It makes difficult reading.

BEST STUDY

The Ecumenical Council, the Church and Christendom. *By Lorenz Jaeger, Archbishop of Paderborn.* Translated by A. V. Littledale. New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons, 1961. Pp. xvii + 194. \$3.95.

The author, a member of the Preparatory Commission of the Second Vatican Council and well known for his interest in the promotion of Christian unity, published this important study in 1960. It begins with a rapid historical survey of the ecumenical councils of the past. The author finds some unity in them but also points out the considerable differences which he traces 1) to the fact that councils existed before there was any ecclesiological doctrine on their nature and functions; 2) to the perennial efforts of the Church, catholic as well as one, to adapt to changing circumstances; and 3) to the fact that, however normal, useful, and even morally necessary councils have appeared to be, they are never a strictly necessary organ of Church government. He goes on to point out, nonetheless, that when united in council, the bishops represent the magisterium, have a right to full and free discussion of doctrines and decrees, as well as of difficulties and objections. After noting that the Holy Father in announcing the coming

council confined himself to generalities in giving its purpose, the author looks forward to a discussion of the relations of Church and state, made necessary by the emergence of a new type of state. He also sees the Church taking stock of its position, face to face with a world which seems more divided than ever ideologically despite speed of communications and economic interdependence. He also has some interesting pages on what the laity may expect from the council. In his discussion of the spiritual condition of Christendom on the eve of the council, Archbishop Jaeger refers to the longing for unity which has found expression in many places.

This book presents the best general study in English on the coming council.

EDWARD A. RYAN, S.J.

THE LITURGICAL YEAR

The Year Made Holy. By *Msgr. Matthias Premm*. Translated by Colman J. O'Donovan. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1961. Pp. viii-180. \$3.50.

In the tradition of the work of Parsch, Lohr and others, Msgr. Premm's book aims at giving the Sundays and major feasts of the liturgical year more meaning in the lives of Catholics. The Mass of each day is explained in terms of the liturgical season in which it occurs. This is quite successful with regards those parts of the Mass which are changeable. The remaining parts of the Mass (Prayers at the Foot of the Altar, Gloria, etc.) Premm claims, take on a particular complexion as the season or feast varies. This seems to lead to such a profusion of complexions for these unchangeable parts that they take on Protean stature. However, the individual analyses are on the whole persuasive. The symbolism is seldom forced; but see the interpretation (p. 68) of the *Levate* in terms of the resurrection. Perhaps, too, a longer essay on what the liturgical year is, and a few remarks on the nature of Sacred Time, would serve as a better introduction to the book.

The book should be of general value for sermon material, as well as for anyone who uses the missal at Mass and who wishes to use it with greater understanding.

GEORGE C. MCCAULEY, S.J.

THE MISSIONARY CHURCH

Missions in the World Today. By *René-Pierre Millot*. Translated by J. Holland Smith. New York: Hawthorn Books, 1961. Pp. 140. \$3.50.

The one hundredth volume of *The Twentieth Century Encyclopedia of Catholicism* could not have been devoted to a more Twentieth Century topic, the missionary activity of the Church today. Of special interest to today's missionaries is the author's reflection on papal documents of this century from the *Maximum Illud* of Benedict XV to the *Princeps Pastorum* of John XXIII, each document summarized in the light of its historical context.

At the outset the author points out what he considers to be a mission country: "The countries studied in this book will be those governed

by Propaganda." According to this definition Australia is a mission country whereas Alaska, Goa, Algeria, and the Philippines are not. From this notion of a mission country the various mission fields are briefly described and are statistically considered with some attempt made at highlighting particular problems besetting particular missions. The final pages of the book are given to a consideration of the very pressing problems of nationalistic movements in Africa and Asia, and of the Silent Church in Communist dominated territories.

Though the purpose of giving "within the framework of this series, a glimpse of modern missions" is a noble one, it is questionable whether or not the present volume is satisfactory. Before the proposed 150 volumes of *The Twentieth Century Encyclopedia of Catholicism* have been completed this hundredth volume will be outdated, a tribute to the vitality of the missions. Statistics gathered in 1953 cannot represent today's mission forces. It is hard to accept 829 as the number of American missionary priests when more recent figures indicate 1300 American priests working in Propaganda missions. And would not the more common notion of a mission country serve the admitted purpose of the book better than the limited one used?

Ours may be disappointed with the treatment given our Jesuit missions. Passing references are made to Jesuit missions, but appreciation of the work being done by Jesuits in India, Burma, Japan, and non-Propaganda countries is at most merely parenthetical, a complaint that can most likely be made by other missionary congregations too.

THOMAS H. O'GORMAN, S.J.

RELIGION AND THE SCIENTIST

Christianity and Science. By Jean Abelé, S.J. Translated by R. F. Trevett. New York: Hawthorn Books, 1961. Pp. 140. \$3.50.

The French title of this book, *Le Christianisme se désintéresse-t-il de la Science?* is perhaps more appropriate than the generic English title. The latter frequently connotes a treatment of the traditional conflicts between science and religion, whereas Father Abelé restricts his discussion to their mutual relevance, a more basic and contemporary issue. Does Christianity mutilate the authentic human values of science? Conversely, can science fit into a genuinely Christian world-view?

The opposing Catholic answers to both questions are cited in the introductory chapter. The author agrees with the more optimistic position expressed variously by Pius XII, de Montcheuil, de Chardin, and others.

In Part I Father Abelé relates science to fundamental Christian truths. Christ in his Incarnation reconciled the temporal and eternal elements of his Kingdom, and by his example showed that earthly concerns could be genuinely Christian. St. Paul extends the rule of the Kingdom of Christ to the whole cosmos which was created through and for Him. Everything in the universe is of a piece and is to be recapitulated in Christ. This is science's claim to nobility: matter is humanized, then Christianized.

In the least satisfactory section of the book, Part II, Father Abelé has cited the science of mechanics as an historical example of how science and Christianity have collaborated. His contention of a specifically Christian impulse in developing the science of analytical mechanics from the science of machines is certainly debatable. The author relates how the pioneers in mechanics were prone to confuse their scientific arguments with religious and philosophical ones, to the detriment of all three. This serves as a warning for one trying to relate his science with his religious faith, but one wonders whether so much space is well spent on an already well-known failure at synthesis.

Present-day problems of the scientist trying to achieve that synthesis are treated in Part III. Father Abelé rightly stresses that the scientific quality of one's work is neither helped nor hindered by one's attitude toward religion, and that the real problem regarding science and Christianity lies within the person himself trying to harmonize the two. While the habits of thought engendered by scientific method can create problems of faith, reflection often reveals science and religion are not as disparate as one might suspect. Above all, the Christian must realize that there will always be some tension between his science and his faith. Due to original sin, the recapitulation of all things in Christ can be attempted only under the shadow of the Cross.

Father Abelé does not write with the sweeping force of de Chardin nor does he convey the sense of personal involvement found in Coulson's *Science and Christian Belief* or Pollard's *Physicist and Christian*. Thus he may not convince as many non-scientists of the interest Christianity has in science, nor as many scientists of the validity of his solution to their problems. However, he has much to say to both.

CHARLES L. CURRIE, S.J.

A FRESH APPROACH

Man and Metaphysics. *By Regis Jolivet.* Translated by B. M. G. Reardon. New York: Hawthorn Books, 1961. Pp. 144. \$3.50.

His thirty years as dean of the Faculty of Philosophy at l'Université Catholique de Lyon eminently qualifies Msgr. Jolivet to add the present volume to the some two dozen works he has already authored. Though the present book must necessarily conform to the demands of an encyclopedic series, the presentation remains of general interest without sacrificing the solid core requirements of specialized scholarship. To achieve this Jolivet has limited his intent to an extended essay rather than develop a systematized and perforce oversimplified thesis-style textbook. His concern is not so much the conclusions of metaphysics as the nature and scope of the inquiry.

Man has always looked beyond the empirical and relative to the absolute; that is a fact. And although the genuineness of metaphysics as a mode of knowledge has been challenged, yet at least the illusion is real; and as a phenomenon it can be scientifically established and correctly described. The first half of Jolivet's book is such an analysis and definition of the metaphysical experience as a persistent

phenomenon in the history of the human race. From this analysis flows the content of metaphysics as a science discussed in the second half and embracing the entire field of the knowable and affirmable that remains outside the domain of the sciences.

The viewpoint of the whole is the *philosophia perennis*. But as ground for his analysis, Jolivet builds largely on modern authors; the book is indeed a commentary on contemporary philosophical thought, showing wide familiarity and sympathetic insight. Such an approach justifies the validity of the metaphysical quest in so far as the experience justifies itself; and man's concern for the absolute does emerge from Jolivet's fascinating pen as a vital one. The book will challenge the general reader, and students of philosophy should find its fresh approach stimulating. A glossary and select bibliography have been added, but there is no index.

PETER J. ROSLOVICH, S.J.

A PIONEER EFFORT

An Old Testament Study Guide. By the Members of the Boston College Theology Department. Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts: Boston College Press, 1961. Pp. 209. \$2.50.

Boston College, true to its growing reputation for intellectual leadership, has produced a pioneer effort in bringing the results of recent Catholic Old Testament studies to the college level. The *Study Guide* contains: articles and documents to assure a sound orientation in biblical studies, an outline of the entire Old Testament in the form of questions on each of the individual books, and finally ten appendices containing various pertinent information.

The first five chapters of the book contain articles by R. A. F. MacKenzie, S.J., Archbishop Goodier, Donal O'Connor, and James Brennan. Their aim is to give the student historical, literary and religious perspective in his Old Testament reading. Chapters six and seven consist in the complete text of *Divino Afflante Spiritu*, the response of the Biblical Commission to Cardinal Suhard, and the passage on polygenism from *Humani Generis*.

Part II of the book, the study questions, is divided into twenty-five "sets." Each set begins with dates pertinent to the section of Scripture under consideration, and then gives page references to such books as the *Catholic Commentary*, and Anderson's *Understanding the Old Testament* which treat the matter at hand. Lastly there is an outline, in question form, of the subject of the set.

Ten appendices make up the third part of the book. These contain important collateral matter such as maps, a list of variant spellings of the Old Testament books, a guide to pronunciation, a glossary, selections from Near Eastern literature, etc.

An Old Testament Study Guide will be a great convenience for the student. The choice of matter included has been judicious and the themes emphasized in the questions are well selected. Its value could be increased by the inclusion of a treatment of Old Testament texts and translations and a fuller pronunciation guide. As it stands, however, the

pronunciation guide does not give the variants of biblical names which the student is likely to come upon in his reading. One oversight which the editors will certainly correct in future editions is the implication, in a comparative list of Old Testament books, that the Confraternity Old Testament retains the Douay nomenclature.

VINCENT E. A. BUTLER, S.J.

NEWMAN AND THE LAITY

On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine. *By John Henry Newman.* Edited with an introduction by John Coulson. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961. Pp. 118. \$3.00.

This short essay of Cardinal Newman appeared originally as an article in the *Rambler* of July, 1859, the last issue of that periodical published under Newman's editorship. It is no accident that it has never been reprinted in England since that time, for the original publication caused a storm of controversy in England and in Rome because of certain statements that allegedly exaggerated the role of the laity in the Church. Today, however, the growing concern among theologians to develop a theology of the layman that would delineate more clearly his proper role in the Church makes this new edition particularly timely.

The editor prefaces Newman's essay with a lengthy introduction describing the events which provoked Newman to write the article, and evaluating its theological significance. Much of this background information is culled from hitherto unpublished sources and constitutes in itself a valuable contribution to Newman scholarship. The essay itself presents in three stages Newman's defense of his earlier and much-criticized statement: "In the preparation of a dogmatic definition, the faithful are consulted, as lately in the instance of the Immaculate Conception."

In the first section Newman replies directly to the critics who objected to his use of the word "consult" in such a context by specifying the precise sense in which he used the word. This clarification made, the second section takes up the more fundamental question: whether it is correct to say, as Newman had said, that the faithful have a right to be consulted in dogmatic matters. The answer is an emphatic yes, "because the body of the faithful is one of the witnesses to the fact of the tradition of revealed doctrine, and because their consensus through Christendom is the voice of the infallible Church." Newman explains that the infallibility of the Church is not in the consensus of the faithful, but the consensus is an *indicium* to us of the judgment of the Church which is infallible. He sets forth the cardinal theological principle which he feels to be at issue: "Though the laity be but the reflection or echo of the clergy in matters of faith, yet there is something in the *pastorum et fidelium conspiratio* which is not in the pastors alone." In support of this position, the third section presents historical evidence to show that during the Arian controversy the Nicene dogma was maintained for the greater part of the fourth century not by the

unswerving firmness of the Holy See, Councils or Bishops, but by the *consensus fidelium*.

Newman ends with a plea for a laity that is well educated in the Faith as the only way to avoid indifference and superstition. The essay as a whole shows the importance of Newman's thought for the theology of the laity so vitally needed today, and provides another instance of his genius anticipating by a century the direction that Catholic thought was eventually to take.

WILLIAM V. DYCH, S.J.

THE CHARTER OF CHRISTENDOM

Charter of Christendom: The Significance of "The City of God." By John O'Meara. New York: Macmillan, 1961. Pp. 120. \$2.50.

This small volume contains the third annual "St. Augustine Lecture" sponsored by Villanova University in spring, 1961. Professor O'Meara presents in two parts the background to *The City of God* (I) and an analysis of the basic argument (II). Part I treats of the historical setting at the time of the composition of this, the greatest of Augustine's works. Then follows a sketch of some anticipations of the theme of the Two Cities as found in other works of Augustine. Finally there is Augustine's own description of the work as found in the *Retractationes*.

All of Part I is really introductory. Its chief merit lies in calling attention to the adumbrations of the Two Cities as found in the *Confessions*. *The City of God* is an application of the personal experience of the *Confessions* to the history of mankind: the two loves which battled for the soul of Augustine himself are the two loves which have built the Two Cities. This link should be kept in mind. It shows us that the central drama of *The City of God* is salvation, not some theory of Church and State or the riches of a baptized Platonism. Such things are, as M. H. I. Marrou remarked, mere caricatures of the main theme.

Part II is Professor O'Meara's main concern. He attempts to prove that *The City of God* is a synthesis of the Bible, Greek philosophy and Rome. Augustine's basic inspiration is not Plato's *Republic* or Cicero's notion of *Res Publica*. This "charter" is not a "philosophy of history" or even a "theology of history." At most, it is a "theological interpretation" of history. Nor is Platonic doctrine of decisive import in *The City of God*, granting Augustine's profound respect for Plato, Varro and, above all, for Porphyry's *Philosophy from Oracles*. Ernest Barker's emphasis on the Platonism in Augustine comes in for strong criticism here by the author who regards it as the opinion of a nonspecialist.

Did Augustine banish Rome *in toto* to the category of states which are no states at all because they lack justice? Rome lacked this essential ingredient of an authentic state because she did not render proper justice to God in so far as she worshiped false gods. The author says that Augustine held Rome to be absolutely evil on this count, but relatively good on other counts. This relative good was fulfilled in Christianity.

Professor O'Meara's book focuses our attention where it belongs:

on the spiritual and Biblical roots of *The City of God*. Perhaps the ecclesiological import of Augustine's work could have received more attention along with the profound effect that predestination and grace had on the formation of *The City of God*. But even as it stands, his lecture makes rewarding reading coming as it does from the pen of an outstanding specialist.

BERNARD E. MCGOLDRICK, S.J.

AN IMPRESSIVE STORY OF UNSTINTED DEVOTION

The Sisters of Charity of New York: 1809-1959. By Sister Marie de Lourdes Walsh, S.C. New York: Fordham University Press, 1960. 3 vols. Pp. xviii-364; ix-339; x-355.

Sister Marie de Lourdes has written the history of a diocesan congregation known to Jesuits of the New York Province by its work in St. Vincent's Hospital and in the parish schools of St. Ignatius Loyola and St. Francis Xavier in New York.

The story of the Sisters of Charity of New York began in Emmitsburg, Md., back in 1809 when the widowed convert, Elizabeth Seton, and a handful of associates organized themselves as a religious community for service in the educational and charitable mission of the young American Church. In 1817 Mother Seton sent three of the Sisters to open the community's first New York house. In 1846, faced with the decision of the superiors at Emmitsburg to seek the incorporation of the entire Seton community in St. Vincent de Paul's Daughters of Charity, a number of the Sisters of Charity stationed in New York opted, with the encouragement of Bishop John Hughes, to regroup into a diocesan congregation which would have its own motherhouse at New York and would retain the habit and the constitutions of the foundress. Today the congregation has grown to almost 1500 members and staffs a college, a junior college, close to one hundred primary or secondary schools, four child-caring institutions, three general hospitals, and a handful of related health and service institutions.

As the documentation in each of the three volumes shows, Sister Marie's work is firmly founded upon research in the relevant diocesan and community archives and in a wide variety of published and unpublished secondary sources. Instead of a straight multi-volume chronicle, Sister has adopted the much more serviceable device of devoting an initial volume to a survey of the general history of the community, leaving for subsequent volumes the more detailed treatment of the community's educational, hospital, child-care, and related charitable works. The result is a history which affords the reader at one and the same time an organic account of the over-all development of the community and an adequate treatment of each one of the community's numerous foundations.

Volume I, intended as it is to provide a general survey of the community's history, tends to be largely what might be called "mother-house history." Volume II concentrates on the educational works of the community. Volume III is devoted to hospital, child-care, and other charitable works. Here, as in the previous volume, each institution is

accorded a complete historical sketch. While any particular one of these miniature institutional histories will appeal primarily to readers who have had some connection with the institution in question, the general reader will find that cumulatively they tell a most impressive story—a story not without its women of talent, imagination, and drive, but written in large part by ordinary women remarkable principally for their lives of devoted service.

Although Sister Marie's narrative occasionally lapses into eulogy where a more detached account would have been preferred, for the most part the historian has remained in control and the result is a comprehensive and sober reconstruction of one hundred and fifty years of well-laden history—a fine specimen of official community history.

JAMES G. MCCANN, S.J.

A GREAT HERITAGE OF A GLORIOUS PAST

The Medieval University. By Lowrie J. Daly, S.J. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961. Pp. xiv-241. \$5.00.

The standard work on the medieval universities is that of the Oxford philosopher-theologian-historian Hastings Rashdall, first published in 1895 and revised in 1936 in three volumes. At the opposite end of the line, quantitatively speaking, is the delightful series of lectures by the American medievalist Charles Homer Haskins delivered at Brown University in 1923 and published under the title *The Rise of the Universities*. Much scholarly work has been done in periodical or monographic form on the subject but for some time a need has been felt for a short but scholarly summation of this research for the use of college students and teachers. The present work supplies this need admirably.

Father Daly, originator and director of the Vatican Microfilm Projects of St. Louis University, has behind him many years of research and classroom lecturing on the subject of medieval university education. Father Daly writes in a pleasant, clear style and his book is unencumbered by footnotes, an omission which every scholar makes reluctantly.

In six brief chapters the author treats of the development of medieval education from its classical origins, its slow beginnings within cloister walls, to its supreme embodiment in the university of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The most important chapter, from this reviewer's standpoint, is the chapter on "Constitutional Democracy at the University Level" which is a lucid summary of Pearl Kibre's excellent monograph on *The Nations in the Medieval European Universities*. A further chapter emphasizes the central importance of the textbook in the medieval universities. The fourth chapter deals with the very intricate subject of the progress of the students from apprentice to doctor; there follows a treatment of life in the universities, and finally a discussion of the place of the university in the world of the Middle Ages. An appendix of six documents completes the work.

Father Daly's book is a fine example of the fairly large number of books being published these days which attempt to bring the fruit of

recent scholarship to the general student. His work will be of great use to college students and teachers who are seeking a good summary of this important subject.

THOMAS L. SCOTT, S.J.

MORALS AND THE MUSE

Movies, Morals and Art. By Frank Getlein and Harold C. Gardiner, S.J. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961. Pp. 179. \$3.50.

This is the third in a series published by Sheed and Ward in response to the papal exhortation for Catholics to devote serious study to the motion picture. Edward Fischer's *The Screen Arts* was an introduction to the art of the film. Father William Lynch's *The Image Industries* provided a theoretical framework for the other books in the series. The present volume is divided into two parts: The Art of the Movie by Frank Getlein, art critic for the *New Republic*, and the Moral Evaluation of the Film by Father Harold Gardiner, S.J., literary editor of *America*.

Mr. Getlein's half of the book will probably prove more informative to those concerned with the film as a particular art form with its own peculiar language. The level of discussion is intended to be introductory and Getlein's frequently provocative style lends itself to discussion in study group or classroom contexts. After recalling the commercial origins of the film as a medium of mass entertainment and the consequent obstacles to artistic achievement, Getlein outlines a general theory of art before applying it specifically to the film. Time and rhythm are conditions of any art form but they are at the very heart of the film. It is the particular resource of the film that it offers the artist a complete control of time; the tension between narrative time and film time is essential to the art.

Getlein sketches briefly the history of the film as an emerging art form and clearly highlights the moments of pivotal discoveries. Edison's first experiments led to E. S. Porter who first hammered out the basic grammar of the film and D. W. Griffith and the historic *Birth of a Nation*, the film that introduced such important techniques as cutting and closeups. He notes with interest that most of the technical advancements were motivated by commercial interests. Sound and technicolor were only introduced when it was necessary to boost attendance; the actual techniques were already well known. At the present time the industry is grappling with the problem of the wide screen. Early experimentation with the wide screen has not been successful either artistically or commercially.

Those familiar with Father Gardiner's articles in *America* as well as his more theoretic *Norms for the Novel* will find the same sane and sensible approach to the film. Most of this half of the book is an application of Father Gardner's critical norms to the film, but several points are made that are more pertinent to the film as a peculiar cultural phenomenon. Both Mr. Getlein and Father Gardiner are concerned with the personality cult of the star system. Getlein's objection is largely artistic; producer, director and editor should be the true

artists of the film, not the actor. There is little hope for creativity if films have to be tailored to the public image of a successful star. Father Gardiner objects to the false values implicit in such a system and in most of the films such a system produces. Hollywood has found the most marketable commodity to be the mass daydream. This flight from the real is not as obvious an assault on morality as the suggestive dance or costume but, in the end, can be more viciously corrosive. This escape from reality has its peculiarly Catholic expression in the "jolly priest" films, which succeed in making Bing Crosby in a Roman collar a most reassuring, if hopelessly counterfeit, religious symbol.

JOSEPH A. O'HARE, S.J.

THE TEENAGER AND LOVE

Love—and Live! *By Joseph T. McGloin, S.J.* Milwaukee: Bruce, 1961.

Book I: Learn a Little! Pp. 97. \$1.25. Book II: Yearn a Little! Pp. 134. \$1.35. Book III: Burn a Little! Pp. 144. \$1.50.

This trilogy for teenagers aims at presenting positive principles as a basis for a more mature Christian life. It is written "for those who realize that the Christian life is not just a constant effort to avoid sin but rather is a positive thing—the living of a life in conformity with God's will in order to achieve man's only true purpose, eternal union with God" (Book I, p. x).

In *Learn a Little!* the author treats the end of creation, the use of creatures, and sin. *Yearn a Little!* concerns the do's and don't's of dating and sex. *Burn a Little!* continues the consideration of the means of reaching our final destiny. The three main topics here are death-hell, grace, and prayer.

Although there are good individual sections, the author's general approach seems to be too moralistic, tending towards an obligation-structure of Christian life rather than a value-centered approach. His central theme may be stated as the service of God as our life's task. Presenting Christian teaching as knowledge of how to realize our life's purpose leads to a system of duties rather than to a deep appreciation of Christian values. Further, Father McGloin practically ignores the rich renewal of Christian principles brought about by the scriptural and liturgical revitalization.

In particular this attitude can be seen as he treats death-hell for twenty-one pages at the beginning of *Burn a Little!* (*or, what's Love all about?*); the second chapter considers creation, the fall, redemption, justification, faith, and baptism in all of nine pages. This accent on death is poor even psychologically, for death is merely a retreat-time consideration for the teenager; it will not be a constant source of positive motivation. Also in accord with this general approach is his treatment of the sacraments as helps and the relatively minor consideration given to the Mass. Likewise, since he does not situate Christ as continuing his action in time in the sacramental-liturgical life, his fine presentation of the person of Christ loses some of its power to foster a dynamic, personal engagement to a full life in Christ.

In short, although here and there it contains good, practical insights, this trilogy does not adequately present the positive richness of the Christian life as a basis for the teenager's total commitment to Christ.

ROBERT J. HEYER, S.J.

A POST OF NEWLY DISCOVERED IMPORT

Secrets of Successful Recruiting. *By Godfrey R. Poage, C.P.* Westminster: The Newman Press, 1961. Pp. 219. \$3.50.

In the not too distant past the admission that one was engaged in vocational recruiting was sufficient to unleash the fury of a Salem witch hunt. With the advent of TV advertising and public relations extravaganzas, the once maligned recruiter now finds himself in a singularly vital and influential post in his diocese or community. There are occasions, however, when the recruiter undertakes his task with ample good will and enthusiasm linked with an equal ignorance of the field. It is for these individuals that this book was written.

The author, Father Poage, is noted for his success in the vocational apostolate and the number of his previous publications in this same field. In this volume he presents a continuous listing of the qualities desired in a successful recruiter as well as the points to be covered when dealing with the candidate and his parents. His chapter on meeting the challenge of modern youth offers much to stimulate the minds of older religious who find themselves inadequate in dealing with today's youth. What to avoid in dealing with the parents and candidate, the manner of approaching the candidate after the initial meeting, the outlining and actual operation of a diocesan vocational campaign are some of the more practical topics discussed.

There are, unfortunately, one or two limitations which must be considered before following Father Poage's advice. First, Father is dealing with the entire field of recruiting and as a result his material must be adapted to the particular age group with which one is working. Secondly, and perhaps this is the most important flaw of the book, there is a definite tendency to oversimplify parental objections to a youngster's entering a juniorate while still of high school age. These objections are frequently more valid than the author would admit and as a result deserve a great deal more respect than the author is willing to give.

In spite of these two objections the book in its general approach and with its excellent bibliography gives the prospective recruiter much information and will enable him at least to begin his apostolate with sufficient knowledge for the task before him.

WILLIAM J. HENDRICKS, S.J.

PHILOSOPHY AND PSYCHOLOGY

The Philosophical Roots of Scientific Psychology. *By Henryk Misiak.* New York: Fordham University Press, 1961. Pp. xiv-142. \$3.00.

This little book is intended to fill a gap in the literature readily available to students of the history of psychology. Too often the study

of the science is conducted in a historical vacuum, and almost universally, when the vacuum is filled, it is conspicuously not filled with a consideration of the vast tradition of human thought which has had an incalculable impact on the shape and the progress of scientific psychology.

Father Misiak has provided us with a compact volume which might serve as a directive for a reading program in this vital area. He glances through most of the history of philosophy in its attempt to penetrate the nature of man, and in the process he manages to touch most of the important bases. Inevitably he is forced to leap-frog tremendous distances, and where he lands his treatment is of necessity cursory and superficial. It is much to his credit that he always seems to land on his feet. Consequently there is a great deal of "philosophical root" in this little book and little scientific psychology.

In racing through the philosophical roots from the pre-Socratics to Spencer and Bergson, sensitive and problematic issues are touched which are pertinent to some provocative and perplexing questions facing modern psychologists. While most of us recognize the *de facto* congruence of philosophical positions and theoretical formulations, the discussion ought to focus on what that congruence means or should mean to the scientist who is concerned with the understanding of human behavior. Father Misiak has at least shown us where to look to find the problem.

W. W. MEISSNER, S.J.

ANOTHER APPROACH TO AN OLD PROBLEM

From Limbo to Heaven. By Vincent Wilkin, S.J. New York: Sheed & Ward, 1961. Pp. xiii-145. \$3.00.

The title of the present work is somewhat misleading. The book is, in fact, an inquiry into the role of baptism in the entire economy of redemption. As such it is the work of a deeply thoughtful Jesuit, a man with a remarkably priestly and apostolic heart. The work was put together in the final months of Father Wilkin's life, and represents all that his waning strength would permit him to record of a vision he had been elaborating for many years.

The problem which most troubled Father Wilkin, in trying to synthesize redemptive theology, was that of those infants who died unbaptized. He felt there should be a way to heaven for them. With this *a priori* postulate, quite honestly acknowledged as such, he set about the double task of positive and speculative theology.

The speculative part of his book is by far the more interesting. He outlines an explanation of the gaining of heaven by unbaptized infants which is most appealing, and which is quite consonant with his whole picture of baptismal theology. This explanation defies brief summary, but the central point is the abolition of original sin at the last Judgment: "With the whole economy of original sin abolished by the consummation of redemption, and this abolition being signified by the General Resurrection, . . . can (the unbaptized infants) be said to

continue in the state of original sin when original sin itself, i.e. in its racial revolt and enmity against God, has been abolished? What is there in the soul of the infant that original sin should survive there, when the infant has lost its solidarity with Adam and has escaped from the power and captivity of Satan?" (p. 76)

It is, however, in the area of positive theology—in Father Wilkin's return to the sources for the basic tenets of Catholic doctrine on the matter—that his thesis stands or falls. He considers the second Council of Lyons and Florence, and notes the contrast between the pains of those damned for personal sin and those who died with nothing but unremitted original sin. In a letter of Innocent III, he notes that "perpetual" is applied to the punishment of the former but not to that of the latter. There are, however, certain texts which Father Wilkin does not mention—texts commonly cited in proof of the eternal exclusion of the unbaptized. The chief of these are from Trent and Carthage: The latter is especially important since the canon in question explicitly denies eternal life to the unbaptized. One can only wish that it were possible to ask Father Wilkin how he explains this canon. Until it is explained, the central thesis of the book is of doubtful value.

This work, then, leaves many questions unanswered. Nonetheless it is beautifully written, affords much food for thought, and is a moving revelation of a contemporary *Alter Christus* as he wrestles with an anguish as old as Augustine.

THOMAS H. GREEN, S.J.

PRIESTLY SANCTITY

Sanctified in Truth. By Leo J. Trese. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961. Pp. 183. \$3.50.

Sacerdotal sanctity is a major concern with Father Trese. Since 1950 he has written six books on this subject. At the very end of *Sanctified in Truth* he tells the reader that this is his last venture into a touchy but most important area of spirituality. If true, and we hope it is not, then a real lacuna will open up in the field of books on various aspects of the spiritual life of "the servants of the Lord."

Father Trese's strong point of appeal is his absolute candor and simplicity of style. The simple thesis of his books has been to urge the priest to be a holy person. If the priest is to be the true representative of Christ here on earth, then the priest himself must be a man dedicated to prayer and self-sacrifice.

Sanctified in Truth develops a central theme that can be stated simply, "Don't try to carry the load alone." Trese uses the topic as the subject of his first chapter and then lets the rest of the book branch off and develop from that thesis. Therefore the proper way to read this book is to read one chapter a day and to ruminate slowly on the thoughts suggested. The result should be a deepening of the awareness that the source of a priest's power and effectiveness is Christ Our Lord.

In the first chapter Father Trese attacks the common modern heresy

that the priest can do all things and, if he does not do all things, he is a failure. The advice given is sound and sane, "Relax, Father, relax." The simple point is that God made us what we are and we are expected to work out our sanctity and the sanctity of others within that framework. Once a priest has accepted this basic fact of his limitations, he should fashion himself in the image of Christ. This means a persevering effort to see ourselves and others through the eyes of Christ; to think as He would think, to judge as He would judge, to speak and act under any circumstances as He would speak and act.

Sanctity involves prayer, sacrifice, spiritual readings, devotion to duty, and the acceptance of our own limitations. Each of these ideas is treated in its own chapter and many practical examples are sprinkled throughout the chapter to add relevance to a possibly abstract idea.

Father Trese makes no attempt at scholarly presentation. He may be accused of being a popularizer of theology, but if this means that people can read his books without strain and still come away with some solid thoughts about the spiritual life and the life of grace, then God bless him and his work. A multitude of footnotes does not make a scholarly book. At the same time a lack of ponderous references does not make a book frivolous. *Sanctified in Truth* is no weighty tome of theological speculation. It is a book that thinks priestly holiness is important and attempts to show the way to reach that goal. Every priest should read this book or at least some sections of it and use the ideas presented as a measuring rod of his personal commitment to the Eternal High Priest, Christ Jesus Our Lord.

DAVID J. AMBUSKE, S.J.

A HANDY REFERENCE BOOK

A Handbook of the Liturgy. By Rudolf Peil. Translated by H. E. Winstone. New York: Herder and Herder, 1960. Pp. xv-317. \$5.95.

The constantly swelling stream of literature exploring and urging the case for liturgical reform may understandably irritate many priests engaged in pastoral work as well as religious and lay teachers of religion courses. Much as they would like to bring the liturgy to bear on sermons and classroom instruction, they simply do not have the time to sift through countless journals and books much less to fashion the scattered nuggets into new courses and curricula. Father Peil has undertaken this task in this present volume, a translation of his *Handbuch der Liturgik für Katecheten und Lehrer*, first published in 1955.

The *Handbook* has four parts that sketch out a graduated scheme of liturgical instruction spanning the first of the primary grades on through high school. Part I, the liturgy in general, explains elementary terms and gestures, the meaning of the church and its furnishing, the vestments and vessels, and the hours and feasts of the Church year. Part II deals with the Mass; Part III explains the liturgical year; and

Part IV moves on to the Sacraments and Sacramentals. Each section of the book focuses on a clearly stated aim and there are numerous suggestions regarding the presentation of material as well as homework assignments and practical applications for the students. Throughout the *Handbook* Father Peil underscores the unique instructional value of having the students witness the thing or action, e.g., a wedding, about which they are studying.

In large part this book meets the need described above; Father Peil's imagination and erudition will enable pastors and religion teachers to inspire the young with the vital relevance of the liturgy to their daily lives. Understandably, American readers will find that some of the suggestions are peculiar to German education or national liturgical traditions. Furthermore, the teaching aids listed are almost exclusively from British publishers.

CARL J. HEMMER, S.J.

PERSPECTIVE IN THE SPIRITUAL LIFE

Perspective for Renewal. By Mary Perkins Ryan. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1960. Pp. 94. \$2.25.

The difference between Maisie Ward's recent "Changes in the Liturgy: Cri de Coeur" (in *Life of the Spirit* for October, 1961) and this volume may well turn out to be one of the words in Mrs. Ryan's title: perspective. While it is not really fair to set at odds the statements of these two distinguished ladies, yet one cannot help feeling that Mrs. Sheed would be less inclined to be so professedly autobiographical, were she to approach the general problem of renewal within the Church from the point of view adopted by Mrs. Ryan.

The problem, as Mrs. Ryan describes it, is the great gap to be discerned between spirituality and life in the world, whether that life be lived by the priest, the religious or the layman. The solution, the perspective which she offers, is given in terms of sacred history: by an unfathomable gesture of love, God creates so as to give creatures a share in His life and, after sin, shows forth the profound fidelity of that love by engaging in the process of re-creation. "As revealed and developed in Scripture, the liturgy, and Christian tradition, it opens out all the aspects of human life to the truth and love given us in Christ." The effort of the book is to show that the viewpoint of sacred history is more realistic in the sense that it brings home the reality of God's action in our lives here and now, as well as the response which such action calls for on our part. There is an excellent chapter on "The Distribution of Roles" within the Body of Christ which helps to make more concrete both the call and the implications of response according to the different states of life.

The author adds some particular suggestions which pertain to family life (Chapter 6) and to education (Chapter 7), following the lines of her fundamental thesis of "the all-inclusive realism of the Christian spiritual life."

This is a book that high school and college men and women will find

inspiring and thought-provoking. Maisie Ward was not wrong to tell us how she feels about things; but perhaps Mrs. Ryan is more to the point in telling us some things to think about.

JOHN J. GALLEN, S.J.

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CONTENTS FOR JULY, 1962

EXPERIENCES IN THE PHILIPPINES IN WORLD WAR II.....	203
W. C. Repetti, S.J.	
THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES AND RECENT GOSPEL STUDY.....	246
Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J.	
FATHER JOHN W. TYNAN.....	275
John J. Morrison, S.J.	
FATHER SANTO J. CATALANO.....	290
Anthony J. Paone, S.J.	
CHANGE AND PERMANENCY.....	294
Henri J. Wiesel, S.J.	
MAJOR SUPERIORS IN THE NORTHERN UNITED STATES	300
Joseph H. Ramspacher, S.J.	
BOOK REVIEWS	303

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Experiences in the Philippines in World War II

W. C. Repetti, S.J.

Woodstock Letters has always been a repository for the work and experiences of the Society, but a comparatively small amount has appeared in connection with World War II in the Philippines.

Now that we have reached the twentieth anniversary of that war it may not be out of place to give a short account of the effect of that war on the Society in the Philippines. The following pages are offered, not as a comprehensive relation, but as a personal record based on a contemporary diary and notes. Many of the incidents mentioned here affected varying numbers of persons and in this respect it becomes more general than a purely personal narrative. The facts are given without any embellishment.

At the outbreak of the war the author held the position of chief of the section of seismology of the Manila observatory, which was the central office of the weather bureau of the Philippine Government. During the last three months of the house arrest in Manila he held the office of minister of the community, under Father Francis X. Reardon as rector. During the first three months of the internment at Los Baños he was in charge of construction work, in so far as any could be done, and the construction group was made up of Catholic brothers and Protestant ministers of various denominations.

HOUSE ARREST: December, 1941—July 11, 1944

Monday, December 8, 1941. Air raid alarm at midnight; we went down to the patio but nothing happened and we returned to bed. At 3:00 A.M. on the 9th we were jolted in our beds by bombs being dropped on Nichols Field.

December 10, 1941. Air raid at 12:40 P.M. on Cavite Navy Yard, Nichols Field and Camp Murphy. The American guns could shoot only to 9,000 feet, and the Japanese flew at 10,000 feet. All quiet signal at 2:00 P.M. One of the civilian employes, killed at Cavite, had a wife and three children, and the

Marines brought them over to us to give them quarters in one of the school rooms. The wife had been a dancer in Shanghai, was not working at her religion, but now she returned to the sacraments. The meteorological unit of the Navy, bombed out at Cavite, set up desks in the observatory corridor, and remained six days. One evening, a lieutenant and an ensign came in, gathered up a few papers and rushed out, saying that they were going south.

The first air raids were based on Formosa and the planes could be expected to reach Manila about midday. Nevertheless, we had to observe a strict blackout every night. The Japanese bombed only military installations. The Philippine government, however, ordered that all interisland boats be painted gray, and the enemy took them to be military or naval ships, and bombed them while tied up in the Pasig river. They offered a small target and one bomb which fell short struck a fire house and killed one man. A northeast wind was blowing and some bombs went beyond the mark; hitting the post office, the treasury building, the Dominican church, and General Carlos Romulo's newspaper office.

The Ateneo had stored up quite a quantity of food, but the government ordered the cadet organizations to continue their activity and our cadets practically consumed our food supply.

The Red Cross chartered a steamer to evacuate wounded soldiers to Australia and it left Manila on Christmas night, with Father Thomas A. Shanahan as chaplain. I went up to the roof on Christmas Eve night and the only lights visible around the entire horizon were a few fires and the lights of the Red Cross ship. The communities of the Novitiate and San José Seminary moved into the Ateneo. The members of the observatory staff had to give up their rooms and move their beds into the offices.

The Religious Section

1942. The Japanese army brought a religious section, consisting of three Catholic priests, seven or eight Protestant ministers, and some Catholic seminarians, under the command of a colonel. They took the Ateneo grade school, in the Walled City, for their headquarters, and went about Manila, putting signs on churches, convents and ministers' homes, telling the Japanese army to keep out. They wished to win the favor of

the Filipinos. Later on, they brought down four Japanese nuns and seven or eight Catholic girls, and they were expected to go to Catholic schools and propagandize, but it had no effect.

When the Japanese began to round up aliens they commenced at the south end of the city, and checked every house. When they reached the Ateneo they told us to pack up for internment. Just at that time, our superior, Father John F. Hurley, and the Japanese colonel of the religious section were at the house of the Apostolic Delegate. A telephone call brought them hurrying back to the Ateneo, and the colonel had everything postponed until the following day. Then four officers and one of the Japanese Catholic priests came to talk it over with Father Hurley. They were actually interested in obtaining possession of the school building and observatory, and offered us adequate quarters in one of the buildings of the University of the Philippines, almost directly across the street. The conference went on for over two hours and Father Hurley was at his wit's end when his telephone rang. It was a German friend down town who asked how we were making out? Father Hurley said that it looked bad. The German said; "They can not do that to you." Father Hurley hung up his phone, turned to the Japanese and said, "He said you can not do this to us." Without asking any questions, they stood up, bowed and walked out, and we were left alone for a year and a half.

Not being interned in a camp, we had to purchase our own food, and were told not to leave the building except on necessary business, and then wear a red arm band. The school had about ten acres of ground and so this house arrest was not hard on us. The Japanese put the observatory under Filipino civil engineers, but it was a mere matter of form, because they had their own meteorological office in one of the buildings of the University of the Philippines, and no reports were coming in from our weather stations. There was enough paper and chemicals to keep the seismographs in operation for about seven months. The man who replaced me knew nothing about seismology and came to me for advice and information.

About the middle of January, or a little later, certificates were issued by the religious section of the Japanese army granting exemption from internment in Santo Tomas, and on asking for residence tax certificates, which would enable us to go about freely, we were told to wait for a time.

March 5, 1942. Black-out was ordered for Dewey Boulevard and vicinity. This probably included us, and it may have been due to the fact that the Japanese converted the Boulevard into an air strip.

March 29, 1942. Three Japanese officers inspected the Ateneo and said that they would take it over, but nothing happened. About this time, the Filipino chief of police, who was a friend of ours, tipped us off that the Japanese military police were preparing to make a surprise search of our house, and that gave us time to hide anything that we suspected might be taken. Our food supply was scattered, a quantity being put under the bed of each person, so that it would not appear to be very large. No inspection was made.

Bataan Surrenders

Saturday, May 9, 1942. Bataan surrendered today, and at 11:30 P.M. there was a strong earthquake. The floor of my office was made of Philippine hard wood boards, about eight inches wide and very solidly nailed down. During the earthquake it sounded as though the boards were being ripped up, but next morning no change could be seen.

Sunday, May 10, 1942. The Japanese meteorologist came to my office to ascertain the location of the earthquake in order to send a report to Tokyo. He told me that he graduated from the University of Tokyo the preceding June, that he wished to be a scientist, and added, "But now it is war." His living quarters were in the alumni building of the University of the Philippines, almost opposite our building. He was a good pianist, knew Western music, and in the evening we could hear him playing. I asked him to remember me to Professor Imamura of the University of Tokyo, and he said he would. I went to the Philippine General Hospital for a hernia operation.

Monday, May 11, 1942. Dr. Tan operated on me from 11:00 A.M. until 1:00 P.M. under local anaesthesia. Dr. Tan said that I was not in condition for a spinal anaesthesia and ether is not used much because the Filipinos are subject to ether pneumonia. When he began to sew up the incision the threads broke, and so he had to double every thread; supplies were running low on account of the war. Corregidor surrendered

while I was in the hospital and one day I was given some food which they said came from Corregidor.

Wednesday, June 3, 1942. Returned home today in a wheel chair, because the hospital grounds were adjacent to those of the observatory.

Saturday, July 11, 1942. Permanent release certificates were received today from the religious section of the Japanese army at our grade school. I did not go personally on the ground that I was not sufficiently strong enough to walk that distance. The Japanese were displeased because we did not go to Santo Tomas to receive the certificates, and so we felt that we were still interned in our own house.

Before Christmas, 1942. Canada and Australia sent moderate sized Red Cross packages to the internees in Santo Tomas.

Internment in the Ateneo

During the first eighteen months of the war about one hundred Americans were interned in the classrooms of the Ateneo, on the first floor. One was a placer mine engineer who had worked in Alaska, Panama and Columbia. We had many interesting talks. He was somewhat piously inclined, and every morning he wrote a quotation from Scripture on the blackboard in his room. I loaned him *In the Steps of St. Paul* and he greatly enjoyed it. His roommate had a navy duffel bag and I saw the great advantage of it under the circumstances.

We had some heavy brown canvas, which had been used as an awning, and one of our mechanics took it to a sail maker who made a good duffel bag for me. The Ateneo had a large number of Boy Scout tents, from which Father Hurley had duffel bags made for the Americans, who were liable to internment. It was one of the best provisions made for the internment.

The Japanese meteorological officers searched our library three times, looking for reports from observatories as far as India. It showed their inefficiency because their own observatories should have had these reports and supplied them to the army. Father Charles E. Deppermann hid some reports in which he knew they would be particularly interested.

The Ateneo had a set of loud speakers of various ranges mounted on a movable stand on the stage, and also a good

selection of records. The phonograph was in the projection room of the auditorium and every Saturday afternoon there was a musical program of two or three hours for all of the internees. All of the music was operatic, until the last number and that was "McNamara's Band," which served as a signal that the concert was over.

A prominent American lawyer, Mr. Perkins, was the representative in the Philippines for Thailand, and the Japanese allowed him and his daughter to remain in their house on Dewey Boulevard until he could clear up all official business. After a couple of months he asked Father Hurley if he and his daughter could come into the Ateneo with the other Americans. She had married an American before the war, but he had been called into the service and died in a prison camp. Some time after moving in with us, she went to a hospital to have a baby and then came back and shared a classroom with some other women under my office. I met her on the grounds one day and told her that I could hear the baby crying, but that it did not bother me. I asked her if she could hear my typewriter and she said it sounded like a machine for making shoes. After that I put a pad under it.

June, 1943. The Japanese erected a fence across the school yard, which left the main building, the observatory wing and the astronomical building on one side; and on the other side were the auditorium, three one story wooden laboratories, a small two story students' library, and the industrial chemistry buildings. The Japanese erected an addition at one end of one laboratory building and equipped it with large iron pots over a fire place so that it could be used as a kitchen. Thereupon all the Americans who had been interned in our buildings were taken to Santo Tomas, and we were told to vacate the main building on July 2nd and 3rd. Some of our men went to the retreat house, some to the vacant diocesan seminary, some to the house of the Augustinians in the Walled City, and the rest moved into the auditorium and laboratories. The Japanese did not believe that we could get everything out in two days, but we did it in a little more than one day. We received assistance from the alumni of the Ateneo, some of whom furnished push-carts, from the alumni of the Christian Brothers, from girls brought in by the Belgian Sisters, and from others. The Japanese went about writing their names on pieces of fur-

niture, meaning that it was to be left to them; but Mr. Jaime Neri, S.J., who knew some Japanese, erased their names and wrote something else. We moved out every piece of furniture, the toilet cabinets, and every electric bulb except one at the front door. An American electrician, who had been released from Santo Tomas to work for the Japanese, came in and began to collect all of the mercury vapor lamps. The Japanese tried to follow him, but he would get someone to distract them while he took the bulbs. About three o'clock in the afternoon he was seen going out the side gate, with bulbs under his arm, and he said; "It is getting too warm around here, I had better get out." The electric water coolers were moved over into the observatory wing, where the Filipinos were still on duty.

I took a place in the physics laboratory and found that I had the use of a bureau which had belonged to the daughter of Mr. Perkins, the lawyer—a superb piece of furniture. The first night we were in the laboratory a Japanese sergeant came in from the main building, and said; "Over here all light; over there all black-out." He took some bulbs that must have burned out at once, because they were 110 volts for the laboratory and the voltage in the main bulding was 220.

The best item of food during this period was corn muffins. Father Eugene Gisel connected a small motor to a coffee grinder, and two boys were kept busy all day grinding corn into meal. The first muffins were as hard as bricks, but after that they were put into a large deep pan, with a little water in the bottom of the pan, the pan covered and the muffins steamed. Each person had two muffins each morning. We bought a large quantity of canned corned beef, to be taken with us in case of internment. The cans had Chinese labels pasted over Argentine labels; they were examined regularly, and if any swelling appeared on the ends the meat was used immediately, because the swelling indicated that gas was beginning to form.

Saturday, August 21, 1943. We received anticholera shots by order of the city officials.

Letters Home

During this year, July, 1943-July, 1944, we were offered the opportunity of writing a one page letter to the States, to

be carried on the exchange ship. Nothing was to be said except that we were well; anything else would probably have been censored by the Japanese. The Japanese exchange ship met the Gripsholm at Lourenço Marques in east South Africa.

Father Hurley suggested that if we had anything which we wished to save it might be well to put it in the hands of the families of the Filipino Jesuits. I made up about eight packages of microfilms and historical matter which I had written. Father Charles E. Deppermann put his material in the hands of the Sisters of St. Paul de Chartres and everything was lost. Father Miguel Selga entrusted his to a Spanish friend who lived in the Malate district, and all was lost. One day the thought occurred to me that if there should be any fighting in the area that the families would not concern themselves about packages of papers, and I called mine back. The microfilms were placed in a brass box, sealed, and buried under the stage of the auditorium, with the assistance of Mr. Berchmans Copin, S.J. Other material was placed in tin boxes, in which we had received photographic paper for the seismographs, and also buried under the stage of the auditorium, with the assistance of Mr. Francisco Lopez, S.J., who was killed by a sniper during the battle of Manila. After the war they were dug up by Brother Duffy and sent to me. Still other material was placed in the vault of the treasurer of the Mission in the Walled City. There was a safe door opening into the office of the treasurer, and an ordinary wooden door covered the safe door. When the Japanese occupied the house the native Sisters hung a curtain in front of the door, put a statue of St. Joseph on a pedestal in front of the curtain, and the Japanese did not disturb it. After the war, with all wooden construction burned away, the vault was left standing on the first floor walls but the steel door had been warped by the fire and a hole had to be cut through the concrete wall; but everything inside was saved.

June 6, 1944. My weight is 153 pounds; a loss of about twenty-five pounds since the beginning of the war.

INTERNMENT: July, 1944—February, 1945

Strategically, the turning point of the war was the battle of Midway; but for the people, at least in Manila, it was the fall of Saipan. After that the Japanese press in Manila became

bitter. It had been believed that Saipan could not be taken.

Friday, July 7, 1944. About 5:00 P.M. word was passed around for all of the Americans to assemble in the lecture room of the physics laboratory. The roll was called, and a Japanese army officer read an order that all American, British and Dutch subjects, who were not interned, must now go to camp. The order was in Japanese and it was translated for us. Then the army officer left and an officer of the Japanese military police took over. His first question was; "Where is your radio?" He looked rather incredulous when we told him that we had none. Then he told me (I was minister at the time) to call the Filipino Jesuits together in another room, which I did, and then showed him to the room. He told them to prepare our supper while he searched our belongings. This plan was modified. While he made the search in the laboratory, those of us who were living in the auditorium went to supper; and as I had moved to one of the dressing rooms in the auditorium, I was in the first supper group. When the search in the laboratory was completed, we went to our rooms in the auditorium and waited for the search.

My room was the last to be examined and when the officer came in he asked, "Trouble with your eyes?" He had seen me wearing dark glasses and he wore them also. On my desk were some cigarettes made from a local bush, for asthma, and I offered him one, telling him their purpose, but he refused. He found a diary in my trunk and asked its year. I told him that it was a five year diary, and he asked if I wished to keep it, and when I told him that I did, he gave it to me. I think he wished to get rid of it rather than show ignorance by asking the meaning of a five year diary. He found nothing else but a barometer, which he took, and an account book.

Father Henry Coffey's retreat notes were taken, and a boy was left behind in the room to tie them into a bundle. The boy was probably a Catholic, because he said, "Father, I am sorry to do this, but every time we go out we have to bring something back."

We had set up an altar on the stage of the auditorium and the people came in for mass every morning. When the officer left my room he stepped out on the stage, looked around, and then went down into the body of the hall, and said, "Very beautiful temple." He asked that all the men be called together

again, but many had gone to bed. To those who assembled he expressed his thanks for their cooperation.

When he left, after 11:00 P.M., we distributed the articles which had been saved for this occasion; each one receiving an aluminum plate, cup, knife, fork, spoon, five cans of corned beef, a supply of matches and some toilet paper.

The Japanese had used our main building as a hospital, and whenever a group was about to return to duty, they would gather in a room and spend the evening singing weird songs. Their garbage was dumped in one corner of the grounds and produced a horrible stench. At one period they sent their convalescents out to the garbage pile, and they sat there swatting flies, which, it was said, were sent to the city health department for experiments.

One day a strong wind blew down a portion of the fence that separated our buildings, and three of our men saw a Japanese officer on the other side. He said, "You think you are prisoners; over here we cannot have our own thoughts." Then a sentry told him to move on.

Father Coffey was about to go to a convent to give a conference but the Japanese would not allow him to leave the grounds.

We asked the military police officer if Father Arthur McCaffray could be excused from internment on account of his blindness. The officer asked if Father McCaffray could walk, and when told that he could, he said he could not be excused. We were told to be ready at 9:00 A.M. the next morning, and I asked him if we could come later if we provided our own transportation. He considered it and then said, "No."

Father Gisel had something operating in his laboratory and a guard went with him to arrange his apparatus.

Bishop James Hayes had taken up his quarters with the procurator of the Belgian missionaries and after supper the procurator called me and asked what should Bishop Hayes do? I told him that the Bishop's name was not on the list and that he should do nothing. Eventually, Bishop Hayes went to the Santiago Hospital as a patient.

To Santo Tomas

Saturday, July 8, 1944. At nine o'clock some Japanese trucks came in to take us to Santo Tomas. Each person was

given four tags for bed, bedding and baggage. Crouched in one corner of a truck there was a tiny Indo-Chinese nun who had been picked up at the Sisters of St. Paul de Chartres. The Japanese wished to close the canvas flaps on the back of the trucks, so that we could not be seen, but we protested and they were left open. The drivers took the most direct route to Santo Tomas where we were put in the gymnasium. The floor had been marked off into squares and we were told to make ourselves comfortable. In the afternoon we were called outside to identify our baggage. Food was brought to us in large cans and dished out to us from the stage of the gymnasium. The internees who brought the food were not allowed to speak to us, but Father Hurley came in, sat on the floor in the midst of a group and was not noticed. He gave us what news he had. This roundup brought in approximately 400 Catholic priests, brothers and nuns, together with some Protestant ministers, their wives, children, and church workers. Sleep was practically impossible because of the hard floors and the mosquitoes.

Religious Internment Camp

Sunday, July 9, 1944. About 4:00 A.M. the entire religious group was taken by truck to Tutuban station and at 5:45 the train started for Los Baños, arriving there about 7:00 A.M. After a long wait in the train we were transported to the camp by truck, arriving there between 10 and 11 A.M. A temporary assignment was made to barracks for a check-up and lunch, after which permanent assignments were made. The Jesuits went to barrack 19.

Before the arrival of this religious group a fence had been erected in the camp, separating fourteen barracks and a kitchen at the east, and higher, end of the camp from the other portion, and this east end became the religious section, known popularly by the lower camp as "Vatican City."

Barrack 20 was occupied by nuns; 19 by priests and brothers; 18 by single and unattached Protestant women, 17 and 16 by Protestant families, 26 by nuns, 25 by priests and brothers, 23 by offices, canteen, clinic, sewing detail, and lost and found office. On August 23rd the priests and brothers of 25 moved into 21, and the nuns of 26 moved to 22, to obtain a better water supply. These moves were made without the

knowledge of the Japanese commandant and he became highly indignant when he heard it.

The chapel was an ordinary barrack building. Four cubicles were removed from the west end to make a large community chapel. The Jesuits erected five small altars in the two cubicles at the east end; other Fathers erected their altars in the other cubicles; Father Joseph Reith and Mr. Leonard G. Hacker, S.J., occupied a cubicle near center. After the merger of the two camps, October 11-13, barrack 12 became the Catholic chapel. The interior arrangement was the same as in the former chapel, but reversed in direction, the community chapel being at the east end. The Protestants had a building as a chapel until the merger in October and then they combined with the Protestants of the lower camp in the use of barrack 5.

General Internment Camp

October 11, 1944. The Japanese army commandeered the permanent buildings of the Agricultural College west of the barracks, except the hospital, which necessitated that all the barracks be used to capacity. Barrack 12 became the Catholic chapel, and, later on, parts of it were used during the day for classes and the sewing detail.

The Hospital. Prior to October 11 the religious camp had its own clinic for minor ailments. To obtain medical treatment, the internees met at barrack 15 at 1:30 P.M. and were escorted to the camp hospital by a Japanese officer and one of the doctors of the religious camp. They returned in the same manner, with whatever articles could be smuggled into the religious camp. After October 11 all had access to the hospital where five American doctors were on duty for periods of two hours. The clinic was open morning and afternoon with male attendant and navy nurses. Dental service for necessary cases was furnished by an American dentist, Dr. Doyle, morning and afternoon. It was a surprise to find Mrs. William E. Hoffman in barrack 18. I met her and her husband in May, 1929, while on the way to the Pacific Science Congress at Java.

The Canteen. This sold fruit, eggs, coconuts, soap, coconut oil, and miscellaneous articles, but the prices steadily increased and the stocks decreased. Father Edmund J. Nuttall, S.J., was on the canteen committee of the religious camp, but after October 11 there was only one canteen for the entire camp and the religious committee ceased to function. Father Nuttall, however, was asked by the chairman of the canteen committee to act as purchaser for the nuns to save them the tedium of standing in line. Each barrack had one purchasing day a week. The

last canteen day was in Christmas week; duck eggs had reached seventeen pesos each, and very small coconuts, 5.50.

The Library. Each internee was allowed to bring a few books to the camp and a library was organized to obtain circulation. Father Irwin, S.J., served on the library committee. After October 11 the religious internees had access to the circulating and reference libraries of the older camp.

Classes. Formal classes of all grades, from kindergarten up, were organized in the religious camp, under the supervision of the wife of a Protestant minister, who had been engaged in educational work and was competent. Father Joseph A. Priestner, S.J., taught trigonometry; Father Russell M. Sullivan taught Latin; and Mr. Gerald Healy, S.J., taught chemistry. Independently of the camp curricula, Father Leo Cullum treated special questions in canon law for the Jesuit scholastics. Father Joseph Mulry gave a series of special lectures on poetry to the Jesuit scholastics, and on the philosophy of literature to the nuns.

Religious Activities. Every afternoon there was a service in the chapel, consisting of rosary, litanies and benediction. Father Cullum conducted a question box with a weekly talk, and after the answers there was a short sermon by another Father. For a time, there was an additional sermon during the week but this was dropped when black-out and air raid restrictions made it inconvenient. Several Jesuits gave private instructions to individuals who had been rounded up by Father William R. McCarthy, M.M., pastor of the lower camp.

Bishop Constancio Jurgens, Bishop of Tuguegarao, was appointed ordinary of the camp by the Apostolic Delegate, and confirmation was administered on two occasions. Father Joseph F. Boyd, O.M.I., was pastor of the Catholic chapel. The outstanding sermon of the internment period was given by Father Mulry on the feast of Christ the King. On the feast of St. Francis, the Dutch Fathers sang St. Francis' Ode to the Sun, during benediction, and a large number of Protestant ministers and their wives attended. Two elderly Episcopalian deaconesses were frequent attendants at the daily benediction.

The ration of mass wine was 40 drops for the Jesuits. Near the end of the internment small hosts were being used for consecration, and very small sections for communions. Bishop Jurgens gave a dispensation for mass without a server, without candles, and without ablutions with wine.

Kitchen. After three days in Los Baños the religious camp had to take over the full operation of its own kitchen, under the direction of Father Gisel, S.J. All cooking was done in cauldrons set in a concrete base, with a firebox under the cauldron.

Entertainment. The Japanese refused to sanction a formal entertainment committee, but concerts were given from time to time. The Ateneo glee club and the Dutch Fathers and Sisters were the most popular entertainment units.

Money. On September 4, 1944, the Japanese ordered that all internees

turn over their money to the central committee for deposit in the Taiwan Bank of Manila. Each internee was then allowed fifty pesos monthly for use in the canteen. The Red Cross issued money to those who were destitute. Many of the civilian internees held on to their money or reported only a portion of it. The Japanese threatened to close the canteen unless all money was turned in but did not carry out their threat.

Barracks. The barracks were constructed of cheap commercial timber and *sawali* (woven split bamboo). They were 200 feet long by fifteen feet wide. There was a longitudinal corridor about five feet wide, with a transverse corridor at the center of the barrack, about six feet wide. The corridors divided the building into four sections, and each section was divided into four cubicles by *sawali* partitions about seven feet high, the corridor side of the cubicle being left open. The floor of the cubicles was raised about eight inches above the ground; some floors were of boards and some of split bamboo. Each cubicle had two *sawali* windows, two meters by one meter, hinged at the top, and supported open by bamboo poles. The roof was made of trusses, connected by two by four perlings, and covered with nipa palm. The cubicles were twenty-four by thirteen feet. Between every two barracks there was a structure divided into two parts; one for men, the other for women. Each section contained four shower heads, latrine and wash trough. There were eight electric lights along the corridor of each barrack. The nuns used sheets to make curtains for the open side of the cubicles. In barracks 16 and 17 the cubicles were enclosed with *sawali* walls and door.

Water Supply. It was very difficult to obtain satisfactory and consistent explanations of the water supply. A dam was built some two or three kilometers from the camp. The Americans told the Japanese that it would not be adequate, and that the water could not be raised to full height without causing the dam to slip, but the Japanese paid no attention. The supply was quite inadequate many times; was never fully adequate in the religious camp, and sometimes failed completely for hours. On one occasion when the supply failed a report was given out that the dam had cracked and squads of workers were taken out to change the route of a certain pipe, and it was said that this would solve the trouble; but it did not. At another time a pipe was found to be clogged with debris. During one period in August, 1944, the internees were allowed to go in groups, under guard, to the stream in back of the hospital to wash clothes. For a day or two after a heavy rain there would be a good flow of muddy water in the taps. After the merger of October 11, the American plumbers adjusted the valves of each bath room so as to ensure some water in all barracks at some time during the day. Frequently we could get water only from one faucet near the floor and only at certain hours.

The drinking water was pumped from a well in the camp area, chlorinated and distributed through a separate system. After the failure of electric current, as a consequence, perhaps, of American bombing, tanks were set up, filled with tap water, chlorinated and receptacles had to be filled from these tanks. Many internees had only clay water jugs.

Jesuit officials. Father Francis D. Burns, S.J., was a member of the central committee of the religious camp. This committee ceased to function after October 11 because the lower camp had equipment and skilled workers. Father Gisel was in charge of the kitchen of the religious camp. Father Reith and Mr. Hacker did invaluable work in setting up and improving the chapels. Father Carroll I. Fasy was monitor of the Jesuit barrack.

Work Details. The work crew had to go to the hills in back of the camp, under Japanese guards, fell trees and cut them into convenient lengths. Carrying details were sent out to bring this wood into the camp; for a time, with a truck; later, on their shoulders. The men's barracks took turns in this wood carrying; those over 55 years of age and those exempted by the doctor did not have to take part in this carrying. The wood-crew then had to split the logs into firewood.

Women, including the nuns, cleaned the rice and vegetables. There were details for cooking, firing the stoves, and carrying the food to the barracks. The nuns did the laundry work for the chapels, and the sewing for the Catholic religious of the camp. The Dutch nuns cleaned the chapel daily. There were also grounds and sanitation committees.

Isolation Hospital. In the latter part of July a number of cases of dysentery appeared and an isolation hospital was opened in the lower camp, and a call was made for volunteers to assist in the work. Fathers Henry C. Avery and Alfred F. Kienle were on duty as orderlies. After the merger of October 11, a portion of one of the barracks in the religious camp was used for isolation purposes. During the last four weeks of the internment Father Vincent O'Beirne also worked as an orderly.

Some Incidents of the Internment

Tuesday, July 11, 1944. One of the Benedictine Fathers said Mass in barrack 19; another in the nuns' barrack. A group of nuns and priests arrived from Baguio.

Wednesday, July 12, 1944. Some of the priests were able to say Mass in the chapel.

Saturday, July 15, 1944. The central committee and the chairmen had a formal meeting with the Japanese commandant. The essence of his talk was that the internees should obey the rules.

Sunday, July 16. First Benediction in the chapel.

Tuesday, July 18. A Japanese general, name not announced, inspected the religious camp, and passed through barracks 16 and 20. He complained to the commandant that the internees did not bow to him. The commandant passed the word that we should bow to any generals who come to the camp, but that

the Japanese officers of the camp were indifferent about bows to them.

Monday, July 42. Brother X, a French Canadian brother (not a Jesuit), who had been in India, and was subject to attacks of cerebral malaria, wandered out of the barracks about 2:00 A.M. and was picked up by Japanese army soldiers. This caused the camp personnel to lose face and a tremendous furor was raised. The blame was put on the internees, regardless of the man's condition. They ordered that the grass be cut for a distance of 10 meters inside the fence, and that the internees do guard duty from 10:00 P.M. until 6:00 A.M. Neither order was carried out.

Tuesday, July 25. About 10:30 P.M. poor Brother X escaped from the Japanese guard house and ran back into the camp, pursued by the guard. Father Harold A. Murphy and the guards took him back to confinement.

Wednesday, July 26. The Japanese gave permission for Brother X to be present at Mass every day.

Thursday, August 3. Twenty-two patients in the new isolation barrack.

Monday, August 7. The Japanese took photos of the internees, in groups of five.

Wednesday, August 9. Brother X had to be sent to the Philippine General Hospital in Manila; later to the Psychopathic Hospital in Mandaluyon, and was killed by the Japanese in the battle of Manila in February, 1945.

Sunday, August 13. Lula Reyes and her brother came from Manila with some chapel supplies and some furniture.

Monday, August 14. Acute water shortage.

Thursday, August 17. The Japanese order a partial black-out, until further notice, in the barracks.

Friday, August 19. Good water supply; shower baths for the first time in daylight hours.

Sunday, August 20. Meals cooked in the lower camp kitchen to conserve fuel; slim breakfast.

Monday, August 21. Meals becoming smaller.

Friday, August 25. Noon meal today consisted of two small, level, kitchen ladles of rice and about twenty red beans; second helping, one ladle of rice and bean juice.

Thursday, August 31. The commandant states that orders have come from Manila that air raid trenches for the women and children should be dug. The general committee protests that they would be useless and impracticable. Nothing comes of the order. Program at 7:00 P.M. by the Dutch Fathers, Brothers and Sisters in honor of their Queen.

Saturday, September 2. Program at 7:30 P.M. Songs, music, explanation of the water system by an American of the lower camp; talk on camp health by Dr. Honor, Seventh Day Adventist missionary doctor.

Wednesday, September 6. Flood decreasing again. Japanese tighten up on purchases from the Filipinos at the gate. More persons picking edible weeds in the ditches. I found a patch outside my window and pick a plate full every day. Quarters of the Dutch Fathers searched for Philippine money.

Monday, September 11. Funeral of Franciscan Missionary Sister who died of tuberculosis; funeral attended by Episcopal Bishop Binstead who had worked as an orderly and was the last person to whom the Sister spoke. At 5:00 P.M. three truck loads of supplies arrived from Manila, sent by the chaplains' aid society and others.

Thursday, September 14. Air raid alarm at 11:00 A.M. Everybody ordered into the barracks. All clear at 11:30. It was said to be a practice alarm.

Saturday, September 16. The Dutch Fathers receive a severe lecture from the commandant for their "serious crime" of not surrendering their Philippine money.

Sunday, September 17. Air raid alarm from noon till 1:30 P.M. Dinner served in the barracks.

Thursday, September 21. Heavy bombing at 9:00 A.M. and at 3:00 P.M. Everyone in high spirits. Dinner served in the barracks; corned beef for the Jesuits from our private stock. Air raid alarm; complete black-out, except one light in the toilet and one in the center of the barracks. At 8:00 P.M. a heavy explosion in the direction of Manila.

Friday, September 22. Mass in the barracks by Msgr. Casey. Black-out called off at daylight. Bombing three times during the morning. Raid alarm changed to alert at 9:30 P.M.

Saturday, September 23. Masses at 5:00 and 5:30 dropped;

late masses as usual. Alarm, 7:30 to 9:00. On again at 9:30 A.M.

Sunday, September 24. Air raid alarm from 9:00 A.M. until 1:30 P.M. Some bombing far to the north.

Thursday, September 28. Dinner today consisted of two scoops of *lugaw*, i.e., thin rice water. The Japanese labor plan petered out; the night patrol seems to have died a quiet death.

Wednesday, October 4. Drinking water line blocked; supply has to be carried from lower camp.

Thursday, October 5. Distant explosions heard today. The bugle for meals and Father Deppermann's time gong were ordered discontinued some days ago. Fr. Deppermann was known as Father Time.

Friday, October 6. Election of new central committee.

Saturday, October 7. Volunteers called to bring wood down from the hill. Announcement made that the two camps are to be fused; 500 to be moved into "Vatican City." No reason was ever given why the two camps had been separated.

Sunday, October 8. Coffee at 8:00 A.M. Breakfast at 10:15 A.M. Dinner at 4:45 P.M.

Tuesday, October 10. Increased activity in private cooking in the morning; decrease in camp menu.

Wednesday, October 11. A stream of internees from the lower camp moving into upper camp, in rain and slippery mud. Columban Fathers move into our barrack; also Fathers Anthony Gampp and Francis Doino.

Thursday, October 12. Alert off and on during the morning. Water still off; bucket brigade formed.

Friday, October 13. About a hundred internees come from Santo Tomas; they bring interesting news about Manila and Europe. Victrola concert near the kitchen after dark.

Sunday, October 15. Air raid alarm at 9:00 P.M. About twenty planes go south about 11:00 A.M. Bombing heard before and after. Back to alert about 3:15 P.M.

Wednesday, October 18. Air raid alarm about 8:15 A.M. Plane passes over the camp, going southeast, trailing smoke, its engine missing fire; it catches fire, the pilot bails out about half a mile beyond the camp, and the plane dives. A force

of about forty Japanese go out and come back with parts of the plane. It was learned long after that guerrillas came to the aid of the pilot as soon as he landed. A typhoon seems to be passing to the south. Electric line broken; lights out about 8:30 P.M.

Thursday, October 19. Some fifty-odd planes seen going southeast about 2:30 P.M.

Friday, October 20. A perfect day of sunshine. Two large planes, flying very high, going northwest; probably photographing.

Saturday, October 21. Alternate alert and alarm five times during the day.

Tuesday, October 24. Alarm about 7:25 A.M. Antiaircraft fire to the north-northwest. Alert at 9:30 A.M. Two more short raids before 4:00 P.M. Alert about 7:30 A.M. Alarm about 10:00 A.M. At noon it was announced that there will be no water in the higher barracks for eight days, while the water system is being altered.

Thursday, October 26. Alert about 7:15 A.M. Went to the hospital in the afternoon and the doctor prescribed some vitamins. Some Japanese planes went south today, and some returned in the evening.

Saturday, October 28. Full flow of water in the latrines for the first time.

Sunday, October 29. Feast of Christ the King. Some confirmations by Bishop Jurgens in the afternoon. Alert about 7:30 P.M.; it seems that this is to be continuous from now on. Everybody's expectation seems to increase. Fourteen planes were in sight this afternoon.

Wednesday, November 1. Another injection of vitamins received at our clinic. Our lights were said to be unsatisfactorily shaded; they were corrected, but the Japanese did not come for an inspection, as they said they would.

Thursday, November 2. All Souls Day. The Jesuits said only one Mass each today. Vitamin tablets to be issued daily at supper.

Friday, November 3. The Emperor's birthday. About one hundred visitors appeared at the gate but they were refused admission.

Saturday, November 4. Masses moved up one hour today, in expectation of an inspection by the Japanese. Baggage inspected at 12:30 P.M. by the commandant and his staff; seemed to be looking for electrical articles.

Sunday, November 5. Heavy bombing about 7:45 A.M. in the direction of Manila. Flames visible in all directions. My weight is now 64.2 kilograms.

Monday, November 6. Heavy bombing for an hour or so around eight A.M. in the direction of Manila. About 9:30 A.M. a large squadron of planes passed from west to east, south of the camp. About 10:30 A.M. heavy detonations to the NNW. Food ration, 5.5 grams.

Wednesday, November 8. The Japanese allow the Red Cross to buy one short ton of camotes (sweet potatoes) and 350 kg. of camote tops for 16,000 pesos. Small typhoon during the night. At daybreak the wind is already in the west. No drinking water today.

Friday, November 10. Typhoon moving away; squalls increasing.

Saturday, November 11. Heavy detonations heard today. Canteen today.

Sunday, November 12. The central committee emphatically rejected the Japanese work plan, which promised additional rations of rice for five hours work on the farm. Father Leo M. Kinn taken to hospital with beriberi.

Monday, November 13. Many bombers in sight today. My last day at the canteen this month; my quota is spent.

Wednesday, November 15. Duck eggs, fourteen pesos, and coconuts, eight pesos at the gate.

Thursday, November 16. The worst supper so far; a spoon of *gabi* (i.e., greens) and one scoop of stew water, and one of *gabi* water. Some corned beef from our private supply.

Saturday, November 18. Canteen reduced to garlic and calamansi. Barrack 19 carried wood this afternoon, but got off lightly. To make representation about the food, Bishop Jurgens and some of the central committee called on the commandant who put the blame on Manila. He agreed to give the rice ration to the kitchen by weight, instead of by bags.

Sunday, November 19. Weight, 138.6 pounds. Gordon Thomas, an American lawyer from Cebu, age 68 years, died today of tuberculosis.

Monday, November 20. Father Kinn returned from the hospital. Twenty or thirty truck loads of wounded Japanese are said to have been brought into the Baker Memorial Gymnasium (the Japanese hospital) during the night. Japanese refused to issue salt today; they say it is not available, although there are some twenty sacks in the store room.

Wednesday, November 22. Went to the hospital to get treatment for a cold. Dr. Honor, Seventh Day Adventist, on duty.

Saturday, November 25. Bombing to the north about 8:15 A.M. Squadron of planes passed to the southeast, above the clouds.

Sunday, November 26. Canteen open at 10:00 A.M. Now once a week.

Tuesday, November 28. Japanese released 50,000 pesos for Thanksgiving. They offered to sell us a bag of sugar for 10,000 pesos. The central committee refused and purchased four bags of mongo beans for 22,000 pesos; they also bought red beans for 25,000 pesos. Some mail came in today.

Thursday, November 30. Thanksgiving Day. Good breakfast; three scoops of corn mush, three spoons of grated coconut. Mass and sermon at ten o'clock. General Ko inspected the camp this afternoon, but did not pass through our barrack. No internee was allowed to speak to him, and a year later, at the trial of General Yamashita, he said he received no complaints. Supper consisted of mashed camotes, egg plant, pork and bean soup, and coffee. Corned beef and oleo from our private stock.

Friday, December 1. Monthly canteen money issued, 250 pesos. Father Deppermann lectured on weather, 6-7:20 P.M. A hundred or more internees came from Santo Tomas in Manila.

Saturday, December 2. No more oil for the chapel lights. Barrack 19 carried wood at 2:00 P.M. Canteen open for Group B.

Sunday, December 3. Canteen open for Group C, 10:00 A.M. till noon. My weight is now 135.7 pounds.

Monday, December 4. Three Jesuit Fathers changed cubicles to make place for three Dutch Fathers who are to move in.

Tuesday, December 5. A hundred internees arrived from Santo Tomas in Manila. They were forced to walk from the station, four kilometers; of the many old people in the group, some fainted and had to be hospitalized.

Wednesday, December 6. Northeast monsoon showers for several days, making the nights rather cool. Meals slightly improved during the past week or so. Great hopes for the Red Cross Christmas packages from the States. Last year each internee at Santo Tomas received a 100 pound package. Those in house internment, as we were, did not receive any; although the Maryknoll Sisters went and asked for them. The packages were consigned to the Swiss consul, but the Japanese took them from him, removed the cigarettes, and sold them on the streets of Manila.

Thursday, December 7. There are now 2146 persons in the camp. All are urged to bow to the commandant and to visiting officers. The commandant has not been seen in our section of the camp since a Japanese general made an inspection.

Friday, December 8. High mass at 10:00 o'clock. Breakfast consisted of corn mush, plus private coffee, oleo and condensed milk.

Saturday, December 9. One of the recently arrived internees died last night. The central committee recorded the death as due to starvation, but this displeased the Japanese. Unshaded lights are permitted until further notice, and outside fires until 9:00 P.M.

Monday, December 11. The Chaplains' Aid Association of Manila arrived today with a five ton truck load of presents for Catholics and Protestants; using a truck from the Dominican sugar mill at Calamba. On the truck were Father Muñoz, O.P., a Filipino S.V.D., Jesuit scholastics Federico Martinez and Hilario Lim, and three ladies. They brought nicely wrapped bottles of liquor for the commandant and Lieutenant Konishi, the executive officer, who was back of harsh measures against the internees. The truck was unloaded at the Catholic chapel. They also brought 59,000 pesos, of which the Jesuits received 15,000 pesos.

Tuesday, December 12. Roll call at 7:00 P.M. Partial black-out resumed.

Wednesday, December 13. Roll call at 7:00 A.M. begins. The internees lined up on the road in column of fours. One half of barrack 19 carried wood today. Nine hundred sacks of rice are said to be at the station; transportation difficult.

Thursday, December 14. Bombing this morning in several directions: heavy towards Lipa, to the south. Thirteen planes pass north at 9:45 A.M. Half of barrack 19 carrying wood this afternoon: hard labor. Explosions heard during the night.

Friday, December 15. Planes diving over Lipa this morning. Checkup at 7:00 A.M. by two Japanese. Three hundred internees allowed to go out, under guard, for private wood gathering. Rice and corn being hauled from the station all day; Americans not used for this work.

Saturday, December 16. Heavy explosion and glare to the southeast at 1:30 A.M. Bombing about 8:00 A.M. Private wood gathering again this afternoon. Japanese order windows and side doors covered while lights are on in the evening. In the past three weeks the Japanese rice-corn-camote ration has decreased from 474 grams to 252 grams per person per day.

Sunday, December 17. A beautiful day. Canteen open 12:30 until 2:30 P.M. Total black-out ordered tonight; only emergency lights allowed. My weight is now 141.7 pounds, a gain of six pounds, since the arrival of extra food from Manila. Father Mulry does not show any gain in weight.

Thursday, December 21. The commandant announced that no relief supplies have been received in Manila. Great disappointment to all.

Friday, December 22. Warning bell for roll call will ring at 6:45 instead of 6:55. Barrack 19 carrying wood today. Evening gong at 9:45 and 10:00 will be discontinued.

Saturday, December 23. Father Leo E. McGovern gives a blood donation for a Good Shepherd Sister.

Sunday, December 24. Father Russell Sullivan taken to the hospital about 1:30 A.M. Japanese busy hauling rice from their storeroom at the station; they consider it to be safer from guerrillas if it is in the camp. Midnight Masses by

Bishop Jurgens and Bishop John C. Vrakking, M.S.C.

Monday, December 25. Regular masses begin at 4:00 A.M. Outdoor mass cancelled. Some planes pass over at 11:30 A.M. Said to be land-based planes, which gave everyone great encouragement. Dr. Honor operated on Father Sullivan for adhesions, the operation lasted an hour and a half. The Sisters had made a crib with clay figures moulded by one of the Canadian Brothers. The Protestant ministers wished to see the crib and brought their children. Sisters waited at the door of the chapel to escort them. One of the Sisters had asked a Japanese soldier to bring in greens to place around the crib.

Wednesday, December 27. It is reported that the Red Cross packages are in Kobe, and will be shipped at the end of January. There is but little hope that they will reach Manila.

Thursday, December 28. No more vitamin tablets from the food line. The kitchen will try to obtain unpolished rice. We are now receiving 85 grams of rice and corn per day per person.

Friday, December 29. It was announced that as of January 1st there will be 45,000 kilograms of rice and 6,000 of corn, and no more in sight. Barrack 19 carrying wood this afternoon.

Sunday, December 31. Last ration of private sugar today. Grain ration increased to an actual 100 grams per day. Nearby strafing at 9:00 A.M. More raiding in afternoon.

Monday, January 1, 1945. Beautiful morning; camp in good spirits. Sister Trinita, M.M., arrived this morning after six months in the hands of the Japanese military police. She had been accused of aiding the guerrillas and spying. After her examination she had to be put in a house with some other women until she regained enough strength to travel to the camp. She was put in a box-car with Japanese soldiers, one of whom offered some of his food, telling her that the food in the camp was poor. Twenty-two planes pass to the north flying at a high altitude, and gave gun bursts over the camp, which we assumed to be salutes because there were no Japanese planes in sight. Solemn high mass by the Jesuits; sermon by Bishop Jurgens. Special lunch from our kitchen. It is now

officially stated that the ten-day issue of food is 100 grams of corn and 100 grams of rice per day per person. Nine fast Japanese planes pass south this afternoon. Coffee at a community gathering in the moonlight at 7:45 P.M.

Tuesday, January 2. Captain Williams, an Australian, died last night and was buried this morning; the third burial in the new cemetery near the Catholic chapel. Captain Williams promoted Father Deppermann's lecture on the weather. It is reported that there has been a shift in the garrison and that only ten experienced guards have been left with the recruits to police the camp. The camp has received some gifts (food, etc.) from the International Y.M.C.A. This is probably the same group that adopted this name to placate the Japanese and get some help into the military prison camp at Cabanatuan.

Wednesday, January 3. A squadron of bombers and fighters passed north this morning about 9:45 A.M. The reported increase in the food ration was not apparent this morning: two scoops of watery rice.

Thursday, January 4. A squadron of bombers, 25 or more, and fighters, passed north this morning about 9:30.

Saturday, January 6. A squadron of planes passes north this morning about 9:45. Heavy concussions to the north. Refund of 71 pesos from religious camp money. Two planes strafe in the direction of the town of Los Baños. Heavy bombing in the direction of Manila about 3:00 P.M. A salt ration issued today for which each internee has to pay.

Sunday, January 7. At 12:45 A.M. the camp police were told by the Japanese to collect all the shovels in the camp. At 2:50 A.M. Miss Feeley was awakened and told to hand over the card records on which she had been working. At 3:30 A.M. the central committee chairman and vice-chairman were told that an order had been received to turn over the camp to the American central committee, and that the Japanese would evacuate at 5:00 A.M. Word was passed to avoid any demonstration, because Japanese troops were still in the area. First call was given by the bugle at 6:00 A.M., and at 6:30 A.M. the American flag was raised by Mr. Michael J. Cashman, S.J. and then the British flag by Mr. Hughes. Bishop Binstead, Episcopalian, gave a blessing, recited the Our Father, and

then the flags were lowered to avoid any provocation. Two or three Japanese guards were left at the gate, apparently by oversight, and they were fed by the camp kitchen. A good breakfast at 8:45 A.M. with extra coffee from our private supply. Another sugar ration today from our supply. Jesuits stand guard all night, in two hour shifts, in the chapel, at the Sisters' barracks, and in our own. Heavy explosions heard during the night.

We had heard, through the grapevine, that American ships had been seen in Verde Island Passage. General MacArthur used this and other means to give the Japanese the impression that he would land south of Manila; hence our garrison left us. This and the actions of other Japanese garrisons in the island camps very effectually contradicted the report, which became very prevalent later on, that the Japanese intended to kill all prisoners and internees.

Monday, January 8. An old man was buried this morning. Squadrons of planes passing north this morning and returning. Some gifts were received at the gate today and yesterday from Filipinos.

Tuesday, January 9. Distant bombing or shelling from 8:00 to 9:00 this morning; again at 9:30 for half an hour, Planes maneuvering to the north, and also in other directions, from 10:00 to 11:00 A.M. Visitors at the gate, near the chapel, morning and afternoon. Many persons selling food to internees. It is thought that the plane activity indicates some land action.

Wednesday, January 10. Prolonged heavy bombing at a distance. Bombing and strafing of Los Baños about 10:30 A.M. Radio news tonight that the Americans had landed at Lingayen Gulf, about 90 miles north of Manila. No lights in the barracks tonight.

Thursday, January 11. Chapel, pump and corn grinder now on the university circuit for current; only emergency lights allowed in the barracks. Priests appointed for duty at the gate and shed to receive gifts for the Catholic group.

Friday, January 12. Bombing and strafing of the railroad and highway from Los Baños to San Pablo.

Saturday, January 13. At 2:00 A.M. the Japanese garrison returned and occupied their former quarters, barracks 3 and 4. They say that they were called away on a special mission

which has now been carried out, and that they have returned to protect us. It is evident that they were expecting a landing at Batangas or Lucena, and were fooled by the landing in Lingayen Gulf. Roll call ordered for 10:00 A.M. and then postponed. No food at noon from the camp kitchen. Supper at 5:30 P.M.

Sunday, January 14. Father Mulry was found on the floor of the latrine and was taken to the hospital about 1:00 A.M. Planes pass north about 9:00 A.M. Mr. Charles E. Wolf, S.J., gave 500 c.c. of blood for a transfusion for Father Mulry. Internees are ordered to assemble on the hospital road at 2:00 P.M. for check-up. The barrack monitors were ordered to assemble at the Japanese office. It turned out to be merely a trick to get us out of the barracks and then search them. Guards were posted to keep us on the road. At 3:00 P.M., when it was realized what the Japanese intended, the internees walked past the guards and returned to the barracks. Orders were given to return to the road, but were countermanded before we reached it. A perfunctory check-up was made in the barracks by a Japanese officer at 3:30 P.M. and they thereby saved face. A quantity of rice bread which had been contracted for by the central committee was brought to the gate but the Japanese would not allow us to receive it. Lights are allowed in the barracks tonight.

Monday, January 15. No morning roll call. Two or three women, representing the barracks, went to the commandant and Lieutenant Konishi and demanded more food; they are said to have been treated roughly, one is said to have called the lieutenant a coolie. The central committee demanded food and were given a midday meal today, and a promise for tomorrow. At 4:00 P.M. it was announced that the Japanese had conceded all points asked: autonomy, three meals, packages at the gate. At 4:30 P.M. rifle fire in the direction of the main road.

Father Mulry was operated on at 10:00 P.M. and died on the table at 10:25. Father Henry W. Greer and Sister Isabel were present. A few evenings later, Dr. Honor, who assisted in the operation, told Father Gisel and myself that they found ulcers of long standing in Father Mulry's stomach, and that a cancer had formed in the ulcers. He had never complained.

Tuesday, January 16. Mass, office of the dead and funeral of Father Mulry at 7:00 A.M. Fifth burial in the new cemetery.

During the absence of the Japanese garrison each internee was given ten kilograms of rice, as an emergency ration. Last night more rice was distributed to the barracks with as much secrecy as possible, but the Japanese learned of it and today they demanded that it be returned.

Heavy and prolonged bombing nearby and to the NW. Ten youngsters were arrested for waving to the planes. Lieutenant Konishi drove Filipinos away from the gate. Japanese guards shot an internee who was coming into the camp in back of the soap house. The Japanese commandant concedes the request of the central committee that we supply ourselves, receive gifts at the gate, etc. It is said that there are a hundred bags of rice in the store house for the Japanese garrison of eighty men, and 300 bags for 2140 internees.

Wednesday, January 17. At 7:00 A.M. the burial of the internee who was shot yesterday. Bombing to the NW at 9:00 A.M. as yesterday. It is becoming more difficult to secure food from the outside; a big factor being the attitude of the Japanese towards the Filipinos who bring the food. Check-up 2:30 P.M. in the barracks by a high officer from Manila. Election of a new central committee at 3:45 P.M. Back to half rations at supper.

Thursday, January 18. New central committee; Calhoun, Cecil, DeWitt, Heichert, Watty, and Harris. The Japanese order that the radio set taken from their barracks, when they left us on January 7, be returned by 3:00 P.M. tomorrow, otherwise they will refer the matter to the military authorities. Father Coffey taken to the hospital after dinner with a heavy cold. No lights tonight. Heavy explosion to the southeast in the evening. Two planes very low over the lake. No result from the order about the return of the radio set.

Friday, January 19. It was announced at breakfast that the radio set had been returned; and this relieved the tension. It was learned later that the radio set which was returned was not the Philco set which had been taken from the Japanese barracks, but nothing further came of the matter.

Saturday, January 20. Very heavy rain, 5-6 A.M. Low

ceiling, planes over the lake about 8:30 A.M. Thirty-one planes go north over the lake at noon; more at 12:30 P.M. west of Mt. Makiling. Japanese take over the University power plant and allow four services: the pump, the corn grinder, the hospital, and the reefer.

Sunday, January 21. The central committee announces that with proper rationing our grain supply will last until February 14, i.e., two meals a day, and lunch if anything comes through the gate. Moderately distant bombing, followed by air raid signal. Some internees detect signs that the Japs are ready to pull out. Heavy explosions east and north. Air raid signal off about 6:00 P.M.

Monday, January 22. Planes passing north about 9:15 A.M. Solemn Requiem High Mass for Father Mulry at 9:00 A.M., arranged and celebrated by non-Jesuit clergy; panegyric by Bishop Jurgens. Father Fasy elected monitor of barrack 19; Father Boniface Axtmann, O.S.B., assistant monitor.

Tuesday, January 23. Flares and heavy bombing to the southeast at 3:15 P.M. At 4:30 P.M. an internee, age 42, died. The Japanese tore down the electric line between the well and our chapel. Father Coffey returned from the hospital.

Wednesday, January 24. Heavy explosions during the night. One plane over the lake from 9:00 to 10:00 A.M. Air raid signal on all day.

Thursday, January 25. Air raid signal on about 9:00 A.M. and off at 6:00 P.M. This becomes the daily routine; the obvious purpose being to keep us off the roads. No lunch from the camp kitchen. Jesuit community lunch at 8:00 P.M. in the moonlight. Father Deppermann appointed the official timekeeper of the camp. He erected a fifteen-foot board with a hole near the upper end which would throw an image of the sun on a meridian line.

Friday, January 26. Mr. Albert F. Grau, S.J., taken to the hospital about 4:30 A.M.. Operation for abscess on liver by Dr. Nantz. Air raid signal at 8:00 A.M. Fire on the east side of the lake burning all day.

Saturday, January 27. Air raid signal at 8:15 A.M.. A few planes over the lake at 9:15 A.M. Strafing along the lake shore in afternoon.

Sunday, January 28. Many planes going north this morning. An internee, Reynolds, of the Pan-American Company, threw his bags over the fence and was shot through the shoulder as he attempted to crawl under the fence, in back of the shop. He had been warned by the Filipinos not to attempt it. A half an hour later, when the American planes had disappeared, he was carried on a door to the sentry box. At 8:15 he was taken about 50 yards outside the camp and shot by the guards by order of the commandant. The body was turned over to the American doctors. Father Boyd gave him conditional absolution, from a distance, before the shooting. Burial at 11:30 A.M. At 10:00 A.M. a severe warning was given that internees should stay off the roads during air raid periods, which means all day. Gates closed; nothing allowed to come in. Order given that all are to assemble on the road at 6:30 A.M. for a check, and no one is to leave the barracks after 7:30 P.M.

Monday, January 29. Check-up on road from 7:00 to 7:30 A.M. Air raid signal, as usual, about 8:30 A.M. Distant bombing to the north. The Japanese take over the food administration again, saying that the Americans have demonstrated their inability to provide. They promise 300 grams of rice per person per day.

Tuesday, January 30. No check-up this morning because several of the Japanese staff went to Manila last night. Mass at 7:30 this morning; no candles: vigil lights. Insufficient light for earlier Masses.

Wednesday, January 31. Heavy bombardment last night. The Japanese announce that our grain ration will now be 240 grams per day; 25 of corn and 215 of rice.

Thursday, February 1. All hoping that the internment will end very soon. A group of four-motored bombers goes south about 12:15 P.M. Lieutenant Konishi announces that seven sacks of rice and one of corn will be issued to the camp daily. This means less than 200 grams daily per person.

Friday, February 2. Heavy distant shelling to the northwest last night. Explosions to the east. Eight bombers go north about 8:00 A.M. No electricity in the hospital last night. Some internees have disappeared from barrack 28.

Sunday, February 4. Heavy firing to the north all night, tapering off about noon. Two nearby explosions.

Tuesday, February 6. Heavy shelling again last night to the NNW. Some seemed closer than on preceding nights. Heavy firing and bombing to the NNW this morning. The commandant now has a horse.

Wednesday, February 7. Heavy firing to the NNW last night and this morning. Increased bartering at the gate; the Japanese guards acting as middle men. A Japanese guard was cut up by a Filipino, outside the gate this morning, and all bartering was stopped. Firing to the SSE at 4:00 P.M. Very heavy explosion to the northeast at 10:00 P.M. We never obtain any explanation of these explosions.

Thursday, February 8. A quiet morning; cloudy; all seem to be in a depressed mood. Two planes over the camp at 3:40 P.M. The soldier who was knifed yesterday was buried outside the gate at 6:45 P.M.

Friday, February 9. Sound of battle to the NNW from 8:00 A.M. till 4:00 P.M. Rifle and machine gun firing on the road outside the camp, 6:00-7:00 A.M. Large fire to the NNW at 3:00 P.M. Battle of Manila.

Saturday, February 10. Some planes passing during the day. A few distant explosions heard. Reflection of large fire towards Manila in the evening. The Japanese confiscated our push cart; food had to be carried to all barracks. Heavy firing to the northwest last night and this morning. Again 4:00 to 5:00 P.M. Heavy rain till morning. One of the most quiet days that we have had. A novena ended this morning, and our community commenced another to St. Joseph. Five trucks of grain brought into the camp last night and put into barrack 3; said to be a military supply.

Monday, February 12. Firing to the northwest last night and this morning. Ito made the check-up alone this morning.

Tuesday, February 13. Maryknoll Sisters celebrated their twenty-fifth anniversary. A few planes pass this morning. Bishop Jurgens made an appeal to the Japanese for two more bags of rice daily. He was told that bridges are down and that transportation is difficult, and that everyone is starving, American citizens as well as American soldiers at the front.

At 6:30 P.M. the Japanese made a thorough search of the old kitchen and the shop; looking for radio sets. This afternoon they collected all picks and shovels; another sign of evacuation. Artillery practice in the hills towards San Pablo from 6:00 P.M. till dark; unless the Japanese were trying to shell the guerrillas.

Wednesday, February 14. Artillery fire again this morning, 7:00 to 8:00 A.M., towards San Pablo. Air raid rules read and emphasized in each barrack, at 6:30 P.M. All must be present at the morning check-up; no exception for Mass.

Thursday, February 15. Masses begin at 7:20 A.M. after the checkup. All quiet today; and all looking for early release, because it is believed that the American forces have pushed south from Manila. Mr. Grau returned from the hospital. Internee Shaw died of beriberi. Fire to the southeast, 8:00-9:00 P.M.

Friday, February 16. Heavy bombing to the north and northwest at 9:00 A.M. Heavy volume of smoke to the southeast at 10:00 A.M. Japanese still complain of violation of check-up rules. The northeast wind brings loud shouts of the Japanese practicing their stave fencing. Internee Moak died and was buried today; cause, starvation. The grave diggers are having difficulty keeping ahead of the deaths, because of their weakness; extra men are put on. Fire to the southeast at 8:00 P.M.

Saturday, February 17. Rifle shots at the chapel corner sentry box at 3:00 A.M. Two planes circle low over the camp three times. The Japanese collected the axes again, but returned them. Internee Whitmeyer died of tuberculosis and was buried today. Planes fly low over the camp at 4:45 P.M. and some interpret this to mean an early release.

Sunday, February 18. Various and many rumblings and explosions during the night. Fire this morning towards San Pablo. Internee Campbell died today. Heavy strafing to the west this afternoon; probably destroying the Japanese battery in a quarry about a mile west of us.

Monday, February 19. Internee McGill, an Episcopal minister, died last night. Instead of issuing rice, as promised, the Japanese gave eight sacks of corn and thirty-six of un-

polished rice; but only twenty-five kilograms to a sack, instead of the usual fifty.

Tuesday, February 20. Internee Blair, a Protestant minister, died at 6:30 A.M., weakened by a long spell of dysentery. A heavy raid nearby at 8:30 A.M. by thirty or more planes. The Japanese escorted some civilians through the camp this afternoon, and this gave rise to a report that the military is pulling out.

Wednesday, February 21. Heavy firing to the northwest all last night. Half kilogram of unpolished rice given to each internee, to last until Friday night. Watery vegetable soup for supper. The Japanese threaten: "If they leave the camp within the next two or three days conditions will be different from their last departure; the penalty will be shooting for attempts of the internees to leave the camp, for Filipinos dealing with the camp, or for attempts to contact the guerrillas." In other words, we must remain in camp and starve. We were fearing that if the Americans advanced down the west side of the lake and the garrison withdrew, we would be caught between the fire of the two forces.

Thursday, February 22. Washington's Birthday. Shelling and bombing began about 6:00 P.M. last night and continued until about 9:00 this morning. Breakfast from our own kitchen; stewed rice and fresh talinum, mango tea. Bombing and strafing nearby, W and NW, from 4:00 to 5:00 P.M. by ten planes.

Friday, February 23. Rescue by American forces. Account of this will be given below.

Religious Census of the Internment Camp, before October 11, 1944.

Jesuits	76
Missionaries of the Sacred Heart	32
Redemptorists	12
Society of the Divine Word	12
Congregation of Immaculate Heart	11
Congregation of the Holy Cross	10
Christian Brothers	8
Dominicans	7
Mill Hill Fathers	6
Columban Fathers	4
Benedictines	3

Maryknoll Fathers	2
La Salette Fathers	2
Capuchin (Indonesian)	1
Quebec Foreign Mission Society	1
Salesian Fathers	1
Vincentian Fathers	1
Apostolic Missionary (Canadian)	1
Domestic Prelate. Monsignor Casey.	
Census taken by a Maryknoll Father by order of the Central Committee.	

Groups of Catholic Sisters in the Internment Camp.

Maryknoll Sisters	47
Franciscan Missionaries of Mary	22
Good Shepherd Sisters	9
Immaculate Conception Sisters	9
Franciscan Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament	9
Sisters of the Holy Cross	6
Holy Ghost Sisters of Perpetual Adoration	2
Benedictine Sisters	2
Sisters of Charity	1
St. Paul de Chartres Sisters (Indo-Chinese)	1

Protestant Groups in the Internment Camp, prior to October 11, 1944.
(After that date there was an increase in numbers.)

Seventh Day Adventists	60
Presbyterians	48
Episcopalians	25
Methodists	19
Church of Christ	8
Baptists	8
Christian Missionary Alliance	7
Plymouth Brethren	7
Congregational	4
Independent Christian Missionaries	4
Penial Missionary Society	3
Evangelical Church	2
United Brethren	2
Assemblies of God	2
Quakers (Friends)	1

Some Addenda to the Internment Period

All of the Sisters discarded their starched pieces of costume and simply wore a black veil over their heads.

A number of persons used *bakyas* in the camp. They are thick wooden sandals with a leather toe piece, and very good in muddy ground. They slip off if worn with socks or stockings. One day a Maryknoll Sister

was wearing a pair and a Protestant minister complimented her on her pretty ankles.

One day while the women and the nuns were cleaning the rice, a Seventh Day Adventist woman told one of the Sisters that before the internment they had agreed among themselves to refuse to be interned with Catholics; but since the internment they felt differently about it. The Japanese gave them no opportunity to take a stand on it.

Before we went to Los Baños the Americans had been allowed to go out on a truck, under guard, to purchase supplies from the Filipinos, but this had been stopped when we arrived, and the doctors said that we were in worse physical condition than those already in the camp.

The Japanese occupation money was known as Mickey Mouse money by the Filipinos.

Our camp was on the grounds of the Agricultural School of the University of the Philippines, and was the second erected in that neighborhood. The first was blown down by a typhoon because the Filipino carpenters stole half of the nails while erecting the buildings.

The Seventh Day Adventists put on their best clothes on Friday evening and did no work until Sunday morning. We used their tools on Saturdays and they used ours on Sundays. Dr. Honor, Seventh Day Adventist doctor, the second best in the camp, remarked that he was becoming interested in the Catholic services because they did not last as long as his.

Before the merger of October 11th, one of the members of my construction crew, was a Methodist minister who had been teaching in their seminary in Manila. On Christmas day he came to our barracks to greet me and met Msgr. Casey, to whom he said, "After this experience I can not talk as I did before." Probably, he had not been very complimentary to Catholics.

One of our projects was the erection of a covered passage way between barracks 17 and 18, so that the men in 17 would have protection from rain in going over to use half of the toilet building between 18 and 17. Dr. Cook, a Presbyterian minister, drew the plan for this passage, and it was a perfect piece of draftsmanship. He was a graduate of the Princeton Theological Seminary, and he and his wife had spent twenty-five years in Korea. When the Japanese forced out some missionaries, the Cooks came to the Philippines and were caught there by the war. They were a delightful couple and I frequently visited them. On Christmas day, Dr. Cook gave me a tray, which he had made, and it was beautifully done. After returning to the States he obtained a parish in northern Pennsylvania, and sent me a card every Christmas. One year, in January, I received a card from Mrs. Cook telling me that her husband had dropped dead, and she has continued sending a card every Christmas.

There were two Episcopal bishops in the camp. One of them, Bishop Binstead, came from a family on MacArthur Boulevard, outside of Washington, and he was a very charming man. He worked as an orderly in the hospital, and was the last person to speak to the Franciscan nun who

died, and he came to her funeral. The other bishop was more reserved.

Before the two camps were merged on October 11, 1944, a guard was stationed at the gate between the two camps. One of the guards spoke English and was very friendly with the youngsters until he saw an officer, and then he became very stern. He said he was from St. Louis, had been visiting in Japan and was caught by the war. The youngsters called him St. Louis Joe.

While I was in charge of the construction work in the religious camp the superior of the Maryknoll Sisters asked me to put partitions around the four shower heads in the bath room to give more privacy. I gathered material, asked two Dutch Brothers to do the work, and we made four cubicles. The Sisters gave us cookies.

The monitor of barrack 18, occupied by single and unattached Protestant women took a vote on cubicles and it was about 50-50. She asked me to put in two cubicles, saying; "There are two Episcopal nuns, who are 70 years of age, and have not taken a bath since we have been here." Two Protestant ministers offered to do the work. One young woman came in and asked; "What is going on here?" I told her that we were putting partitions around two of the showers. She said; "Gosh, that will destroy all sociability."

At the beginning of the war my weight was about 180 pounds. There was a platform scale in the kitchen of the internment camp, and the internees were allowed to use it on Sunday afternoons. At the end of January, 1945, I weighed something between 125 and 130 pounds, but the effort of walking back to the barracks, up hill but not steep, was so great that I did not go down again. It was a month before we were rescued and my weight probably went down to 120 pounds.

After returning to the States I obtained from Captain Ringler, Fort Benning, Ga., a copy of the official orders for the rescue. Captain Ringler took part in it as a paratrooper.

The Rescue

February 23, 1945. Immediately after the capture of Manila, General MacArthur ordered the rescue of the Los Baños internees but the division commanders asked for a delay until they could reorganize their units. The day was set for February 22nd, but a report that Japanese troops had been seen on the road caused the postponement of the rescue until the 23rd. Information had to be communicated to the guerillas, east, south and west of the camp, and special precautions had to be taken to prevent the news from getting to the Japanese and to the American newsmen.

A reconnaissance platoon was sent down the lake two nights before the rescue, in native boats, to select a place for the paratroopers to drop and a beachhead for the amphibious

tractors. They were popularly known as alligators because of their appearance when coming across the water. The platoon hid in the woods during the day, and on the morning of the rescue sent up smoke columns from the two selected places.

American intelligence had ascertained that the nearest body of Japanese troops of appreciable size was located at San Pablo on the south side of the mountain that rose in back of the camp, and that they could not reach the internment camp in less than three or four hours by truck. About a mile to the west of the camp there was a battery of two large guns, in a stone quarry, but they were demolished by the strafing on the 20th. A machine gun squad moved into Mayondon Point on the 21st but that was not a menace.

Nine C-47 planes were used to carry 114 paratroopers from Nichols Field just south of Manila. The paratroopers slept beside the planes during the night before the rescue. Fifty-four amphibious tractors were used.

They went down the west side of the lake (Laguna de Bay) the second night before the rescue, and, during the day, hid under the trees at take-off point. They left the beach in the dark, about 4:00 A.M., in six columns of nine machines each and steered by compass. This was the first operation of its kind; previous movements had been from ship to shore. On reaching a certain point in the lake they executed a right flank move and headed for the south shore. They carried ground troops whose duty it was to hold the main road to the east and west of the camp against possible Japanese attack. During the night the guerrillas closed in on the camp and hid in the grass.

The signal for the beginning of action was the dropping of the first paratrooper from a plane. He appeared on scheduled time, 7:00 A.M. The guerrillas began firing into the sentry boxes, and the first amphibious tractor hit the beach at 7:02. The warning bell had rung at 6:55 for the internees to line up on the road for the daily check-up, but the sound of the planes caused us to hesitate and remain inside. The Japanese did not wish us to be on the roads when planes were passing over, and they themselves did not wish to be in the open.

When the firing commenced, we dropped to the floor be-

cause the bullets were flying about with a whining sound, impinging on the beams of the barracks with sharp thuds. After a period of time which seemed about fifteen or twenty minutes, there was a lull, and the firing resumed when the paratroopers approached the camp. There were 82 in the Japanese garrison and those not on guard duty were just coming out of the barracks for setting-up exercises. It is said that all were killed quickly, except Lieutenant Konishi, the executive officer, who was in Manila at this time. In a previous account, written by an American officer, who did not take part in the rescue, it was stated that not a shot was fired into the camp. No shots were fired at the internees but there was no wall to stop the bullets.

After the firing ceased we were told to pack and be ready to leave in fifteen minutes. I emptied my suitcase and duffel bag on the bed and selected the articles I wished to take, including the mosquito net, because I did not know to what place we would be taken. I took the duffel bag and left the suitcase.

In the meantime, two amphibious tractors each flying a small American flag on its radio rod, had driven in between our barracks and that of the Protestant women; as soon as I finished packing, I went out and got into one, the tailboards having been let down. We waited there for what seemed to be an hour or more; the reason being that we were at the far end of the camp, and the other amphibious tractors which had parked on the ball field, had to load and get away. We finally started and, as we drove down the road, we could see the coconuts which the Japanese would not allow the Filipinos to sell to us. There was nothing to hold to except the top edge of the side of the amphibious tractor and, in crossing ditches, those who had no hold were tossed about. As we left the camp, the barracks on both sides had already been fired by the Americans and were quickly burning. One American, who had saved quite a quantity of clothing, wished everything to be taken out, but the army simply set fire to the barracks and burned him out. In the end he had less than anyone else.

When we reached the lake and drove into the water, the running was perfectly smooth at about four miles an hour. The total distance that we traveled on water was seven miles.

Mr. Grau had brought a small quantity of food and it was passed around, and some of the soldiers gave their rations to internees. Those who could not be accommodated in the amphibious tractors were formed into line and marched to the beach, under guards to await the return of the amtracs, and the guerrillas carried their baggage.

In passing Mayondon Point we were fired upon by the Japanese machine gun which had moved in there the preceding day, but, inside the amtrac we were perfectly free from danger. Each amtrac carried a 50 mm. and a 30 mm. machine gun on the roof of the driver's cabin, and our man fired one burst with the 50 mm. machine gun against the Japanese, and then the gun jammed. He began to take it apart, and he was too close to the line of fire to allow the other man to use the 30 mm. gun. The reverberation from the 50 mm. gun seemed to concentrate in the amtrac and I was deaf in my left ear for two days. I heard that Father Cullum and a civilian internee were seated on the platform of an amtrac filled with Maryknoll Sisters. At one point their amtrac lurched from side to side and both men were thrown off. Both were fished out, but not even the driver could explain the cause.

We drove over to Gulod, on the west shore of the lake and up on the beach where the tailboards were let down. An ambulance crew passed each amtrac, asking if there were any stretcher cases inside. Father Downey, of our amtrac, said, "No, we are alright," and then passed out in a dead faint, and was carried off on a stretcher. Aerial cover for the operation was provided by two or three P-40's, which flew low over us until all were transferred from the beach at Gulod. This was a sufficient force because the Japanese air force had been practically wiped out.

As soon as the amtracs were emptied they went back to Los Baños to pick up the remaining internees. The detachment of ground troops which had been assigned the duty of holding the road to the west of the camp, was under orders to continue westerly until they joined the American troops coming down the west side of the lake, and fight their way through the Japanese if necessary. After the second group of internees was loaded into the amtracs it was found that there

was space for all of the ground troops, including those to the west.

The Americans had detailed four or five open trucks to transport the internees to Muntinlupa, fifteen miles to the north. Muntinlupa was a penitentiary which had been completed a few years before the war. The Japanese had continued to use it as such, and when the Americans captured it, only a few days before our rescue, they released all of the political prisoners. When the internees moved in, it was given the name Hospital Camp, and a few criminals who remained, with ball and chain on their legs, were used to sweep the paths. It was the only place available in the vicinity of Manila to house our group.

With 2100 internees collected on the beach at Gulod it was impossible to get into a truck unless one happened to stop just at the spot where you were standing, and so, after one or two attempts, I gave up and sat on my duffel bag to wait. Some Filipino boys had some fruit for sale, but they would take only American money, which very few persons had. A few persons, of whom I happened to be one, received a cup of coffee which had been brought for the paratroopers.

I sat on my bag, in the sun, from 11:30 A.M. until 4:00 P.M. and then a soldier came over to us and said that he had an ambulance with only two stretcher cases and that four of us could ride. It was covered and far better than standing in an open truck. Being among the last to reach Muntinlupa, we found the buildings filled, and about fifteen of us occupied a tent, which was far more comfortable than being crowded in a concrete building, sleeping two high on bunks. The buildings were about 500 feet long, and about thirty feet wide. By six o'clock in the evening, all of the internees and the troops who took part in the rescue were safely in Muntinlupa. We were surrounded by a high fence, with guards posted, but we felt completely free after being rescued; one has to experience this in order to appreciate it. Shots were heard outside every night because this area had been taken by the Americans only a few days before, and some Japanese snipers were around.

There was only one line for supper on this first evening, and two lines for breakfast. Serving was greatly slowed

down by a shortage of utensils, but that was soon remedied. Four tents were erected outside the kitchen and provided with tables and seats where meals could be eaten. On one of the first days an American internee held up his plate and said, "The Japs told us that all Americans are starving." Large cans of scalding water were provided, in which the internees washed their utensils, but after a few days the army took over this task and the internees washed only their cups. Some days later meals were served according to barracks and this eliminated the long wait in line.

On the morning of the second day the Red Cross gave small cotton bags to carry safety razors, blades, soap, towel, comb, and toothbrush and paste. Later on, each one was given a shirt, and there were special distributions every day: candy, cigars, etc. Altars were set up in a large hall and many Masses a day were made possible. Archbishop Michael J. O'Doherty, Father Hurley and several Filipino scholastics visited the camp. If an internee had a place to go, means of transportation, and means of subsistence he could obtain a release from the army authorities. Father Hurley took several back to Manila to assist in relief work. Passes to Manila could be obtained for reason and transportation had to be by hitchhike; otherwise no one was allowed to leave the camp. Movies were shown on some evenings and some music was provided. For a few days we could hear firing to the northeast where the Americans were driving the Japanese into the hills.

On the first day in Muntinlupa we did not receive much more food than we had been receiving in the internment camp, but the quantity was increased carefully every day. One day word spread around that mashed potatoes could be found on the dump, and the internees turned out with any container they could find. This was soon stopped by an armed guard, to prevent overeating.

The trucks which were bringing food from Manila were ambushed one night and then planes began to drop food by parachute. It was in packing cases, and one day a plane passed low over me, as I was walking along a road, and dropped a case. I did not know which way to jump and the case did not miss me by much, the parachute not having time

to open. The parachutes were made of blue nylon, and as soon as they dropped, the Dutch Sisters were out with their scissors and made quick work of the parachutes.

On March 10, 1945, Father Deppermann and I had an opportunity of leaving for the States, but he did not take advantage of it because he was feeling unwell and did not know what accommodations would be available on shipboard. He asked me to send word to his brother, on reaching San Francisco, that he would come as soon as possible. When I reached San Francisco on April 9, 1945, I learned that Father Deppermann had already passed through. The army was planning the invasion of Okinawa and a professor of meteorology at Penn State told the officials that if they wished to know anything about Pacific weather they should contact Father Deppermann. The air force located him at Muntinlupa and flew him to Washington immediately. When he entered Gonzaga, emaciated, in GI clothes, carrying a duffel bag, he was thought to be a tramp until an older member of the community recognized him.

This period was succinctly summed by an American who taught history for the Christian Brothers in Manila, when he said, "It was a terrible experience, but I would not have missed it for the world."

Internment of Father Hurley. Father John F. Hurley was called to Fort Santiago, the headquarters of the military police, and questioned over a considerable period, but he was allowed to return home. Later on, he received a phone call from Santo Tomas and was told he must report for internment. I think this was on Monday and he told them he could not be ready until Wednesday. The Japanese agreed and then he asked if they would send for him. The phone was abruptly hung up. Miss Feeley, an Episcopalian church worker, who had been in Japan and knew the language, was working in the office of Santo Tomas and was later moved to Los Baños. She said that when Father Hurley asked the Japanese if they would send for him the officer became furious, slammed down the phone, and said, "He wants us to send for him."

The Incident of the Bayonets. When the Ateneo cadets were disbanded the rifles and bayonets were left behind in

the Ateneo. That was the reason for a guard being stationed at the gate, who every day looked through the window of the rifle room to see that they were still there. Finally, the rifles were removed, the bayonets left behind, and the guard taken away. An exchange of notes took place between Father Anthony Keane, the minister of the Ateneo, and Father Vincent Kennally, superior of the retreat house at Santa Ana. The bayonets were sent to Santa Ana and Brother Edward J. Bauerlein threw them into the Pasig River. The notes of Father Keane and Father Kennally fell into the hands of the Japanese and led to a search of the house and the arrest of Fathers Keane, Kennally and Horacio de la Costa. Father Bernard F. Doucette was also arrested for having a barometer in his possession; and Father Mulry because he had photos of Tokyo after the earthquake of 1923, which he had obtained from Father Mark McNeal. The prisoners in Fort Santiago were obliged to sit on the floor with their backs against the wall from 7:00 A.M. until 7:00 P.M.; and lie on the floor during the night. If a guard saw anyone slouching, he would throw something at him through bars of the door, or call him outside and slap him in the face.

Father Mulry told the officer that he had forgotten about the pictures. The officer asked what he would have done if he had remembered them. The Japanese suspected that they were to be used in the States to show the destruction of Tokyo by bombing. Father Mulry said; "I would have thrown them away, because you would not understand." The officer asked if Father McNeal had obtained help in the States, and if he were still living. Fr. Mulry said that Father McNeal had obtained help in the States and was dead. The officer stood up, removed his hat and said, "We salute Father McNeal." He reported that Father Mulry was innocent and went away on business. He returned a month later and found that Father Mulry was still in confinement. He raised a storm in the office and Father Mulry was released. When the latter returned home, he had only his shoes, trousers and undershirt. He said, "Kempis was wrong when he wrote: *Cella continuata dulcescit.*"

The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius and Recent Gospel Study

Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J.

Recent developments in the Catholic interpretation of the Gospels seem to create a problem for many preachers and retreat masters, especially for those who are accustomed to give the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius. It is not the key meditations, like the Principle and Foundation, Sin, the Kingdom of Christ, the Two Standards, etc., which are affected by these developments, but the contemplations on the "mysteries of the life of Our Lord" in the Second, Third and Fourth Weeks. It seems that the new scriptural trends make the retreat master uneasy, when he presents a contemplation in the more or less classic manner. Some have apparently been reproached by retreatants who complain that the manner of presentation of such contemplations is not up-to-date, and corresponds neither to the questions in the minds of those who have been trained according to the "new approach" to Scripture, nor takes sufficient account of basic and fruitful biblical themes. More specifically, it is felt that the "new approach" has eliminated the historical element of the Gospel episodes and has thereby swept the props from under the Ignatian contemplations themselves.

Francis J. McCool, of the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome, has already addressed himself to certain aspects of this problem.¹ He has rightly stressed the *type of history* which is used in the Gospels and tried to allay the fears represented by the feeling expressed at the end of the preceding paragraph. There is no need to rehash this historical aspect of the problem which he has handled so competently, but

¹ "The Preacher and the Historical Witness of the Gospels," *TS* 21 (1960) 517-43; "The Modern Approach to the Gospels and the Spiritual Exercises," *A Cooperative Study of the Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius, Held at Fordham University June 28, 29 and 30, 1961* (New York: Kohlman Hall, 1961), pp. 167-99. The reader will also consult with profit V. T. O'Keefe, "Towards Understanding the Gospels," *CBQ* 21 (1959) 171-89; D. M. Stanley, "The Conception of our Gospels as Salvation-History," *TS* 20 (1959) 561-89; J. L. McKenzie, "The Bible in Contemporary Catholicism," *Catholic World* 193 (July 1961) 225-32.

there are many other aspects on which a few reflections may be permitted. These reflections will touch on the problem itself and its origin, and then concern themselves with some suggestions for a solution.

Reflections on the Problem Itself

How does the problem arise? I believe that the situation described above is created by two factors. On the one hand, there is the "new direction" in modern Catholic scriptural studies, a "new approach" which dates mainly from the time of *Divino afflante Spiritu* (1943).² To deny it or ignore it is to play the ostrich; it is found in countless Catholic books and articles and is used widely in Scripture courses of seminaries throughout the world. It is an approach with which all who use the Scriptures will have to reckon sooner or later. On the other hand, certain phases or expressions in the *Spiritual Exercises* themselves seem to have been pressed more than Ignatius himself may have intended. A re-examination of some of them well may permit the retreat-master to adopt the "new approach" and profit by some of the richer insights into Scripture which this approach has uncovered, and which previous generations of retreat-masters may never have suspected. In other words, the problem seems to be two-faced and it will be well to approach it from both of these angles.

I

Divino afflante Spiritu, the encyclical of Pope Pius XII on the promotion of biblical studies, stimulated a new approach to the Scriptures in recommending to Catholic exegetes the serious study of the literary forms in which the ancient inspired writings had been composed.³ This was official, papal

² This "new direction" in scripture study was well described by L. Alonso Schökel, "Dove va l'esegesi cattolica?" *Civiltà cattolica* 111, No. 2645 (September 13, 1960) 449-60; in French, "Où va l'exégèse catholique?" *L'Ami du clergé* 71 (1961) 17-22. It was this article which occasioned a violent, irresponsible and unfounded attack on the Biblical Institute; see the writer's survey, "A Recent Roman Scriptural Controversy," *TS* 22 (1961) 428-44, in which an extended summary of Alonso Schökel's article can be found (pp. 428-31). See also his *El hombre de hoy ante la biblia* (Barcelona: J. Flors, 1959); to appear shortly in English translation.

³ *Rome and the Study of Scripture* (5th ed.; St. Meinrad, Ind.: Grail, 1953), pp. 97-99; Paragraphs 35-9 (NCWC Pamphlet, pp. 18-20).—Some

sanction given to a method of critical, literary analysis which previous centuries of biblical exegesis had not known. But it was in accord with the assured results of the last two hundred years of intensive study of the Gospels. It is well to recall briefly at this point various phases through which the study of the Gospels has gone, in order to understand the position of modern Catholic exegetes with respect to them and to appreciate the background out of which the specific problem with which we are dealing has risen.

Since the time of Tatian (*ca.* A. D. 160) it was customary to harmonize the Gospels (by stringing the episodes together to make a sort of *Life of Christ*),⁴ or to explain away discrepancies (by stressing the substantial agreement of the evangelists, as did Augustine in his *De consensu evangelistarum*),⁵ or to construct *catenae* (i.e., biblical commentaries in which successive verses of the scriptural text were elucidated by "chains" of passages derived from previous commentators, especially the Fathers),⁶ or finally to investigate their "four senses" (historical, allegorical, moral and anagogical, according to Augustine of Dacia's well-known distich, *Littera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria, moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia*).⁷ Such exegesis of the Gospels was undoubtedly

recent pronouncements give the impression that the study of biblical literary forms is unorthodox. These pronouncements are not in harmony with the directives of Pope Pius XII. Cf., a recent article by E. Cardinal Ruffini ("Generi letterari e ipotesi di lavoro nei recenti studi biblici," *Osservatore romano*, 24 August 1961, p. 1; Engl. tr. "Literary Genres and Working Hypotheses in Recent Biblical Studies," *AER* 145 [1961] 362-5), which brands such study as an "absurdity." To appreciate the significance of this situation, see the report of H. Fesquet ("Nouvelles querelles dans les milieux romains de la critique biblique," *Le Monde*, 1 November, 1961, p. 8), who juxtaposed the statements of Pope Pius XII and Cardinal Ruffini.

⁴ This method was used not too long ago by A. J. Maas, *The Life of Jesus Christ According to the Gospel History* (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1891, 12th repr., 1947). "The text is entirely framed out of the words of the gospels, in such a manner that nothing is omitted and nothing added" (p. v.). For the problems which this rather arbitrary stringing together of the various Gospel texts and the labelling of it a "Life of Christ" present in the study of the Gospels themselves, see the remarks of F. J. McCool, "The Modern Approach. . ." pp. 183-4.

⁵ *CSEL* 43 (ed. F. Wehrich, 1904).

⁶ See, for instance, the *Catena aurea* of St. Thomas Aquinas on the Gospels. Cf. R. Devreesse, "Chaines exégétiques grecques," *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément* 1 (1928) 1084-1233.

⁷ See H. de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale: Les quatre sens de l'Écriture* 1/1-2 (Paris: Aubier, 1959); see also R. E. McNally, "Medieval Exegesis," *TS* 22 (1961) 445-54.

fruitful and provided the spiritual nourishment of untold generations of Christians; no one can deny this, and certain aspects of such study might well deserve renewed interest today. Yet for all its venerable tradition and spiritual value, such Gospel study remained in many ways quite extrinsic to the text itself, and surprises, even at times shocks, the modern mind, trained to a literary and historical critique of ancient writings. In general, it can safely be said that patristic, medieval, and even renaissance exegetes were not interested in a literary analysis of the Gospels which would, for instance, determine the specific purpose of Mark's Gospel over against Matthew's. A comparative study of the first three Gospels was beyond their interest. The reason for this attitude, in part at least, was the notion of inspiration which prevailed in those times, often equating it with a form of divine dictation. The interpretation of the Gospels, consequently, concentrated on them as the *verbum Dei* and, generally speaking, little or no concern was had for the hagiographer's part in the writing.

The modern study of the Gospels may be dated from the end of the eighteenth century with the emergence and correct formulation of the Synoptic problem, that *concordia discors* of matter, order and phraseology in the first three Gospels. The nineteenth century wrestled with that problem and all sorts of solutions were proposed, chief among them being the Oral Tradition theory and the classic Two Source theory. What was characteristic of this study of the Synoptic Gospels was an *intrinsic analysis* of the texts themselves in their mutual relationships in an effort to detect traces of written sources which had been used by the evangelists in their composition. It has been called Source Analysis. By the end of the nineteenth century this quest for written sources had reached an impasse; even today there is no universally satisfying solution to the Synoptic Problem. But with the end of First World War came a new type of internal criticism of the Gospels, labelled *Formgeschichte* or *Form Criticism*. This method examined the Gospel texts, in an attempt to pierce back beyond the written sources and to discover the forms of the Gospel stories which had been handed down during the generation between Christ's departure and the redaction of

the written Gospels. The chronological framework of the Gospels was called in question because of the stereotyped links used by the Synoptic evangelists; the Gospels proved to be only collections of isolated episodes artificially linked together. The classification and comparison of the *pericopae* themselves resulted in the assignment to them of a *Sitz im Leben* (or vital context) in the early Church, which would account for the rise and development of such stories about Jesus. The result of this Form Critical approach to the Gospels posed the question of the historical value of the Gospels and eventually ended in the radical skepticism of Rudolf Bultmann, for whom *der historische Jesus* could not be known, while the object of his primary concern, *der geschichtliche Christus*, was reached by faith alone.

The extreme position just described has never been accepted by Catholic exegetes, who have always emphasized the historical character of the Gospel accounts, while stressing the special type of history (salvation history) which is contained in them. But a reaction against the extreme position of Bultmann soon set in among Protestant scholars as well; it was perceived that he had pushed the method beyond its legitimate limits. The reaction took several forms, but here it will suffice to mention only a few. First of all, it was noted that, even if one grants that the order of the episodes in the Gospels is often quite arbitrary (compare Matthew and Luke) and the links are stereotyped formulae, there are nevertheless certain groupings of material which apparently belong to a primitive and fundamental *datum* of the Gospel tradition. The studies of C. H. Dodd have shown that the scraps of the primitive kerygma which are preserved in the speeches in the first part of Acts reveal a remarkable agreement with the basic order of Mark's Gospel, especially in the fourfold division of the public life of Christ: John the Baptist and the preparation for the ministry, the Galilean ministry, the journey to Jerusalem, the events of the last week in Jerusalem.⁸ Such a basic framework cannot be incidental, and

⁸ See C. H. Dodd, *The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1936); "The Framework of the Gospel Narrative," *Expository Times* 43 (1932) 396-400. Also W. L. Knox, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Cambridge: University Press, 1948), p. 17; V. Taylor, *The Gospel According to St. Mark* (London: Macmillan, 1953),

though it is derived from the primitive kerygma of the Church, it reflects undoubtedly the outline of the life of Christ itself. The same basic order is perceived also in the Matthaean and Lukan Gospels, but in each case it is possible to show the deliberate modification of it for the purposes of each evangelist. Moreover, no matter what theory is adopted today as a solution to the Synoptic Problem this basic structure is acknowledged. It should, therefore, be accepted at face value and its substantial historicity acknowledged. At least to this extent it is possible, therefore, to pierce back from the *Sitz im Leben der Kirche* to the *Sitz im Leben Jesu*. The historical data of the Gospels puts us at least this much in contact with *der historische Jesus*.

This may seem to leave in suspense, however, the question of the historicity of the individual episodes and even of the relative (chronological) order of the episodes within such a basic framework. The attitude of the modern Catholic exegete toward this further problem is to accept the basic historical value of the individual episodes, unless there is a *positive reason*, emerging either from the text itself or from a comparison of parallel texts in the Synoptic or Johannine traditions, which may *cause* him to modify that position. Several reasons bring him to this position. First of all, although the Gospel stories read in many cases like an historical narrative *prima facie* and are inspired accounts, it should be remembered that it has never been taught by theologians that the necessary formal effect of inspiration is historicity. The mere fact that a passage is inspired does not make it historical. Pope Pius XII emphasized, "The ancient peoples of the East, in order to express their ideas, did not always employ those forms or kinds of speech, which we use today; but rather those used by the men of their times and countries. . . . No one, who has a correct idea of biblical inspiration, will be surprised to find, even in the Sacred Writers, as in other ancient authors, certain fixed ways of expounding and narrating, certain definite idioms, especially of a kind peculiar to the Semitic tongues, so-called approximations, and certain hyperbolical modes of expression, nay, at times, even paradoxical, which help to impress the ideas more deeply on the

mind.”⁹ The exegete, therefore, has the obligation of determining accurately what the inspired form (history? gospel? midrash? popular tale?) really is which is being used. Though inspiration does not necessarily make a passage historical, nevertheless it may still be so for other reasons, the nature and extent of which must be determined. Secondly, even Papias long ago was aware of the fact that the Gospel material had been adapted. This he frankly admits, even though he asserts the fidelity of Mark in recording accurately all that he could remember of Peter’s preaching.¹⁰ Thirdly, when parallel accounts of the same event are narrated in the Gospels, there are well-known discrepancies at times, which manifest a modification of the *basic story* in the course of the tradition. If the individual text of Matthew, or of Mark, or of Luke were all we had and were accepted at its face value, the question, “What really did happen?” would probably never arise. But we do have three inspired accounts of the same event which at times differ, although it must be admitted that many of these discrepancies affect merely minor details.¹¹ And yet, some of these very modifications which have been introduced are precisely the indications given to the exegete of the deliberate theological or religious preoccupations.

⁹ *Divino afflante Spiritu*, Par. 36, 38 (NCWC Pamphlet, pp. 18-9).

¹⁰ “And the Elder said this also: ‘Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately all that he remembered of the things said and done by the Lord, but *not however in order*.’ For neither did he hear the Lord, nor did he follow Him, but afterwards, as I said, Peter, who adapted his teachings to the needs [of his hearers? of himself?], but *not as though he were drawing up a connected account of the Lord’s oracles*. So then Mark made no mistake in thus recording some things just as he remembered them, for he made it his one care to omit nothing that he had heard and to make no false statement therein” (quoted by Eusebius, *His. eccl.* 3.39,15; *GCS* 9/1, 290-2).—This ancient testimony, which is often so highly regarded for the authorship of the second Gospel, clearly shows that Papias did not think that Mark had composed what we would call a critical biography of Christ.

¹¹ The story of the cure of the blind man at Jericho offers the classic example: in Mark (10.46) the cure takes place as Jesus and his disciples leave Jericho; in Luke (18.35) as they approach Jericho; in Mark and Luke one blind man is cured, but in Matthew (20.30) two are cured. And yet there are so many agreements in the wording of the passage that it is impossible to deny that they are parallel accounts of the same incident. See A. Huck, *Synopsis of the First Three Gospels* (9th ed., rev. by H. Lietzmann; Engl. tr. F. L. Cross; Oxford: Blackwell, 1957), pp. 150-1. Or compare Mt 3.11 with Mk 1.7; Lk 3.16; or Jn 12.3 with Mk 14.3; Mt 26.6.

pation of the compiling evangelist.¹² These modifications indicate to him that he is dealing with a religious history, with salvation history. For the Gospels are not mere records of the *ipsissima verba et facta Iesu*, but often are interpretations of them compiled in order to witness to the mystery of Christ and to bring about conversion—interpretations which are explications of what Christ implicitly said or did, interpretations derived from the fuller comprehension of Christ in the early Church's post-Easter faith (cf. John 2.22; 12.16; 14.26), interpretations which have arisen from the application of Christ's teaching to a new situation. It is not possible, however, to give a more specific answer here about individual episodes and their relative order of historicity within the basic structure already mentioned—more specific, that is, than the principle enunciated at the beginning of this paragraph. Individual cases would have to be examined.

In more recent times two other significant reactions to Form Criticism have taken place. First, just as source analysis gave way to *Formgeschichte*, so the latter has yielded to *Redaktionsgeschichte* (the analysis of the relationship of the individual Gospel-units to the whole, or the attempt to sketch the "history of the redaction" of the Gospel, to explain the theological import of the very framework in which the Synoptic material has been arranged by the evangelist). In this type of study emphasis is put, not on the *Sitz im Leben der Kirche*, nor even on the *Sitz im Leben Iesu*, but rather on the *Sitz im Evangelium*, the gospel-context of the individual episode. What part has it in the total portrait of Christ which the evangelist is drawing? It thus acknowledges that, though the framework of the Gospel account is often quite artificial, nevertheless the evangelist must have had a reason in so ordering the individual units, and an effort is made to determine that reason and to uncover his theological purpose.

As a result of this modern approach to the Gospels there are three perspectives according to which the Gospels can be studied—three legitimate points-of-view which emerge from the *intrinsic analysis* of the texts. First is the *Sitz im Leben der Kirche*, which the original Form Critics called merely *Sitz*

¹² See H. Conzelmann, *The Theology of St Luke* (tr. G. Buswell; New York: Harper, 1961).

im Leben and meant thereby the situation in the early Church which was responsible for the rise and development of the Gospel story (sometimes even said to be the "creation" of it). Today, modern Catholic exegetes will recognize that this perspective is legitimate, because it gives an insight into the situation which was responsible, not for the creation of the story, but for the recalling and the *preservation* of the tradition about Jesus. Secondly, there is the perspective of the *Sitz im Leben Jesu*, the historical situation in the life of Jesus himself, often most difficult to ascertain, because of the problems mentioned above. Finally, the *Sitz im Evangelium*, or the situation in the Gospel itself. The latter is the perspective of the inspired writer, for it attempts to discern what his intention was in so using the story which he records. Of the three perspectives it is obviously the last one which is the most important, because it bears the charism of inspiration to the greatest extent. And yet, it is not the one which is most occupied with the historical question.

Still another significant reaction to Form Criticism has recently made its appearance in Scandinavia, where emphasis has always been strong on the value of oral tradition in biblical studies. Birger Gerhardsson, in a recent book entitled *Memory and Manuscript: Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity*,¹³ has shown that there existed in the early Church an institution which provided for the controlled transmission of the sayings of and narratives about Jesus. Just as in contemporary Judaism the "sayings" of the Rabbis were handed down by a group of trained "repeaters" (*tanna'im*), by a process which controlled the oral tradition from teacher to pupil, so too in the early Church there seems to have been a similar institution, for evidence of it appears in the post-apostolic patristic writers, in Luke, and in Paul. The latter especially uses the

¹³ *Acta seminarii neotestamentici Upsaliensis* 22; Lund: Gleerup, 1961. For an extended review of this important book see the writer's note, "Memory and Manuscript: The Origins and Transmission of the Gospel Tradition," *TS* 23 (Sept. 1962). —See also H. Riesenfeld, *The Gospel Tradition and its Beginnings: A Study in the Limits of 'Formgeschichte'* (London: Mowbray, 1957; also appears in a slightly abridged form, but with bibliographical references in *Studia evangelica* [Texte und Untersuchungen 73; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1959], pp. 43-65; and in *The Gospels Reconsidered* [Oxford: Blackwell, 1960], pp. 131-53).

the Greek equivalents of the technical terms of the Jewish oral tradition (*paradosis*, "tradition", *paralambanein*, "to receive" [a teaching], *paradidonai*, "to hand down, transmit"—see Gal 1.13-4; 2 Thess 3.6; 1 Cor 11.2,23; 15.1-3; etc.). This controlled transmission in the early Church was part of the *didache* and was responsible for the preservation of the traditions about Jesus' words and deeds. The evidence of this well-documented study of Gerhardsson thus heightens the historical value of the individual episodes and lends support to the perspective of the *Sitz im Leben Jesu*—although it still does not eliminate the problem which we raised earlier (especially that of the discrepancies within the Synoptic and Johannine traditions). Its significance lies in the fact that it has substituted a well-documented institution of the early Church as the real *Sitz im Leben* or matrix of the Gospels for the postulated and often ill-supported ones suggested by the pioneer Form Critics. If this new development is joined to the work of C. H. Dodd about the basic framework of the Gospel tradition which is reflected in the primitive *kerygma*, then we see that the life of Christ is presented in the Gospels with a certain global historicity.¹⁴

To conclude our remarks on the modern Catholic interpretation of the Gospels, it will be well to cite a paragraph from Gerhardsson, which manifests a remarkable affinity with the position which many Catholic exegetes have been holding.

It seems to be an extremely tenaciously-held misapprehension among exegetes that an early Christian author must *either* be a purposeful theologian and writer *or* a fairly reliable historian. This misapprehension is applied to the author of Acts, to the Evangelists, and to those who preceded the Evangelists in forming the various elements of the gospel tradition. The pioneer form-critics Dibelius and Bultmann have contributed materially to the perpetuation of this error. They work on a basis of an over-simplified alternative, maintaining that the men who shaped the gospel tradition had no wish to preserve memories for posterity, but *instead* wished by their proclamation to arouse faith in Christ. This is a false alternative. To present the problem in this way fails to do justice to the deep-

¹⁴ This, I believe, is the reason why the recent *Monitum* on Scripture spoke about the *germana veritas historica et obiectiva Scripturae Sacrae*, in which the Holy Office by using *germana* made it clear that it was not espousing any fundamentalistic reading of the Gospel text, and thereby acknowledged that the evangelists, like all other writers, did not compose without employing a literary form. See further *TS* 22 (1961) 443-4.

rooted respect for divine revelation which was felt in Antiquity (and elsewhere): to that profound reverence associated with the words which were 'heard' and the things which were 'seen,' i. e., those events which were understood and interpreted in religious categories. Nor does it do justice even to the reverence commanded by the authoritative teacher or a received authoritative tradition. The fact of the early Christian Apostles, teachers and Evangelists having presented their material with a religious end in view does not necessarily mean *per se* that their memories ceased to function, or that their respect for historical facts vanished.¹⁵

The words of Gerhardsson should be pondered carefully and should not be interpreted beyond what he is really saying. It would be illegitimate to conclude from them he is espousing the historical value of the Gospels in any fundamentalistic sense. But he is merely saying in other words that the Gospels are a special type of history, salvation-history or religious history.

To a generation of retreat masters trained on ideas about Scripture which are not in conformity with those expressed above some of these notions may be at first a bit difficult to understand and accept. I can assure them, however, that with a little adjustment in their outlook it will be quite easy to see the validity of the position described above and they will in time discover that the "new approach" is often far more fruitful in its spiritual value than the older one with its preoccupation with the chronological and historical aspects. This richer and more meaningful character of the "new approach" is the real reason why the modern exegete goes out in quest of it—he is not out merely for novelty. Be this as it may, however, the situation which we have been describing is certainly a major factor in the problem which is met by many retreat masters in presenting the *Spiritual Exercises* today.

II

But there is another factor which contributes to the retreat master's problem in handling the contemplations of the Second, Third and Fourth Weeks of the *Exercises*. That is the understanding of Scripture which Ignatius presupposes

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 209.

there. In other words, the problem is not due exclusively to the modern trends in the study of the Gospels. This is an obvious factor in the problem and should be recognized frankly. For Ignatius was a child of his time and did not view the Scriptures as a modern man would. He looks on the Gospel accounts as a literal and exact reproduction of what actually took place, and does not even suspect a problem of literary dependence or redactional embellishment or transmissional modification. When faced with an obvious problem, he harmonizes the text like the rest of his generation. Take, for instance, his first point in the contemplation on the Vocation of the Apostles: "St. Peter and St. Andrew seem to have been called three times. First, to some knowledge of our Lord. This is evident from the first chapter of St. John. Secondly, to a following of Christ in some way, but with the intention of returning to the possessions they had left. St. Luke tells us this in the fifth chapter. Thirdly, to follow Christ our Lord forever, St. Matthew, chapter four, and St. Mark, chapter one" (275).¹⁶ It is of little concern to Ignatius that his added explanations of the degrees of conversion ride roughshod over statements in the Gospels themselves, e. g., "And they brought the boats to land and left everything and followed him" (Lk 5.11). This is part of Luke's account which suggests just as much as does the Markan and Matthaean accounts the everlasting commitment of Peter and Andrew to Christ. See, further, the harmonization of the text involved in the seven words of Christ on the cross (297).

For Ignatius the text of the Gospels as it stands is what he means by "history" and the "facts." In the very beginning of the *Spiritual Exercises* he gives the instruction that the retreat-master "should narrate accurately the facts of the contemplation or meditation" *la historia de tal contemplación*

¹⁶ The translation used is that of L. J. Puhl, *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius: a New Translation Based on Studies in the Language of the Autograph* (Westminster: Newman, 1951). The numbers refer to the sections of this translation, which uses the marginal numbers of the Spanish-Latin text published by Marietti (Turin, 1928). —Ignatius' treatment of the vocation of Peter and Andrew is derived from Ludolph of Saxony; see H. Watrigant, *La genèse des Exercices de saint Ignace de Loyola* (Amiens: Yvert et Tellier, 1897), p. 83; L. M. Rigollot (ed.), *Ludolphus de Saxonía: Vita Jesu Christi ex evangelio et approbatis ab ecclesia catholica doctoribus sedule collecta* (Paris: V. Palmé, 1878), I, 246-7.

o meditaci6n (2). "The reason for this is that when one in meditation takes *the solid foundation of facts (el fundamento verdadero de la historia)*, and goes over it and reflects on it for himself, he may find something that makes them a little clearer or better understood" (2). In the explanation of the first prelude of the contemplation on the Incarnation he explains that it will 'consist in calling to mind the history of the subject I have to contemplate' (*la historia de la cosa que tengo de contemplar*, (102)).¹⁷ On at least six other occasions in the *Spiritual Exercises* Ignatius uses the word "history" in the same sense at the beginning of a contemplation. "This is the history of the mystery" (111; see also 137, 191, 201, 219). But note the significant use of the word *history* in the

¹⁷ Just where Ignatius got the word *historia* and what he meant by it is not easily determined. It turns up in Ludolph's *Prooemium* (#16), in a paragraph which is surprisingly headed, "Evangelistae non semper rerum gestarum ordinem servaverunt." But Ludolph thinks it better to rearrange things, *ne tamen turbari possit devotio parvulorum, locis debitis, quodam ordine alio, prout res gesta, vel dicendi congruentia exigere videbatur, in sequentibus per ordinem situantur. Non tamen affirmo quod hic sit verus, ac certus et debitus rei gestae ordo descriptus quia talis vix ab aliquo reperitur expressus. In ipso autem Evangelio, reperies Verbi incarnati historiam, mandata et promissa: in quibus habes viam, veritatem, et vitam. Christi igitur exempla nosce, quia bene vivere possis, praeceptis bene vivere scias, promissis bene vivere velis.* (ed. L. M. Rigollot, p. 10). By such an admission Ludolph shows some awareness of the problem which has become acute in modern times. Commentators on the *Spiritual Exercises* usually recall the fact that Ignatius has treated the sequence of Gospel scenes rather freely and has not even preserved that of the Gospels themselves. "Ignatius has at times changed the chronological sequence and the joining of the mysteries and made insignificant additions. Much of this is to be explained by the Saint's reading on his sickbed of the "Life of Jesus" of Ludolph of Saxony, e. g., when he presents first the adoration of the Magi, then the presentation in the Temple, and the Flight into Egypt (## 267-9), [cf. also #161 with #280, 285-88], when the sellers of doves are "kindly" treated (#277), when Christ speaks of the "beloved" disciples (#278, 281, etc.). But Ignatius also departs not infrequently even from Ludolph. Fr. von Hummelauer has best explained the reasons for such departure according to the intrinsic structure of the Exercises" (E. Raitz von Frenzt, *Ignatius von Loyola: Geistliche Uebungen nach der Uebersetzung von Alfred Feder, S.J.* [12th ed.; Freiburg im B.; Herder, 1957], p. 135, n. 1). For a r6sum6 of the way in which Ignatius uses the word *historia* see J. Calveras, *Pr6ctica de los Ejercicios intensivos* (2nd ed.; Barcelona: Balmes, 1952), p. 205. —For another (more traditional) view of the "solid foundation of facts" see A. L6pez de Santa Anna, "El uso de la historia y arqueologia b6licas en las meditaciones de los Ejercicios, seg6n la mente de San Ignacio," *Manresa* 1 (1925) 107-17. "De esto se sigue la imperiosa necesidad de conocer los detalles b6licos y arqueol6gicos para que la imaginaci6n trabaje con provecho sobre fundamento verdadero y no sobre ficciones rid6culas o al menos gratuitas" (p. 110).

first prelude of the meditation on the "Three Classes of Men": "This is the history of the Three Classes of Men" (150). Then he proceeds to present an imaginative, parable-like case-history. It is obvious that the function of the first prelude is to give a short summary or résumé of the subject, on which the "mental representation" (*composición viendo el lugar*) of the second prelude is to be based. It is at the first prelude of the exercise that Ignatius intended the retreat master to "narrate accurately the facts of the contemplation or meditation," "the solid foundation of facts." What he means by this is not what we would call the objective, historical facts of the *event*, as an historian might present them, but rather the "scriptural facts," the facts of the scene as they are narrated by the sacred writer. It would be a mistake to think that he is using the word in our modern, technical sense; but equally a mistake to think that he means anything less than what the Scriptures recount. Ignatius is obviously thinking of *salvation-history*, those events of the past which took place "in the fulness of time" and which are recorded for our edification and spiritual profit in the Gospels.

Ignatius had not the slightest concern about the historicity of an episode—whether it could be established with satisfaction or not. Like Ludolph of Saxony he was interested in other aspects of the episode. This is brought out by the way he handles the first prelude of the Kingdom of Christ: "This is a mental representation of the place. Here it will be *to see in imagination* the synagogues, villages, and towns where Jesus preached" (91). His emphasis is above all on the retreatant's activity, on his picturing to himself what Christ did or said, in order to make it present to himself. It is true that Ignatius is not asking us to picture Christ merely walking down the pages of the New Testament, but that he wants us to picture the historical Jesus actually walking down the roads of Palestine. This is beyond doubt, but even here the emphasis is on the *mental and imaginative activity* of the retreatant. This accounts for the freedom which he takes with the sacred text itself; in the contemplation on the Nativity he explains, "This is the history of the mystery. Here it will be that our Lady, being about nine months with child, set out from Nazareth, as may be piously believed, seated on

an ass, and accompanied by Joseph and a maid, leading an ox. They are going to Bethlehem to pay the tribute that Caesar imposed on those lands" (111). The biblical "history" says nothing about a maid, an ass, or an ox. But who can say that Ignatius is wrong in asking the retreatant to feed his soul on such a consideration? Or again he instructs the retreatant to see with his imagination "the way from Nazareth to Bethlehem. Consider its length, its breadth; whether level or through valleys and over hills. Observe also the place or cave where Christ is born; whether big or little; whether high or low; and how it is arranged" (112). Surely he does not expect the retreatant to engage in much research to find out the length and breadth of the road, etc. By his imagination he is to make it all present to himself.¹⁸ "For it is not much

¹⁸ This approach to the Scriptures Ignatius has inherited at least from Ludolph of Saxony, if not from other spiritual writers of his time. In the *Prooemium* (#11) of his *Vita Jesu Christi* Ludolph proposed his "Methodus quo meditanda est vita Christi." It reads as follows: "Vidisti ergo ad quem excelsum gradum meditationes vitae Christi perducunt: nunc in ipsas meditationes te aliquantulum introducere tentabo, non omnia quae in Evangelio scripta sunt pertractando, sed quaedam devotiora ex his eligendo. Nec credas quod omnia, quae Christum dixisse vel fecisse meditari possumus, scripta sunt, sed ad majorem impressionem ea tibi sic narrabo prout contigerunt, vel contigisse pie credi possunt, secundum quasdam imaginativas repraesentationes, quae animus diversimode percipit. Nam circa divinam Scripturam meditari, intelligere, et exponere, multifarie possumus, prout credimus expedire, dummodo non sit contra fidem, vel bonos mores. Quicumque vero asserit de Deo aliquid quod non est tibi certum, vel per naturalem rationem, vel per synderesim, vel per fidem, vel per sacram Scripturam, praesumit et peccat. Cum ergo me narrantem invenies: Ita dixit vel fecit Dominus Jesus, seu alii qui introducuntur; si id per Scripturam probari non possit, non aliter accipias quam devota meditatio exigit, hoc est, perinde accipe ac si dicerem: Meditor quod ita dixerit vel fecerit bonus Jesus; et sic de similibus. Tu autem, si ex his fructum sumere cupis, toto mentis affectu, diligenter, delectabiliter, et morose, omnibus aliis curis et sollicitudinibus tunc omissis, ita praesentem te exhibeas his quae per Dominum Jesum dicta vel facta sunt, et ex his quae narrantur, ac si tuis auribus audires, et oculis videres, quia suavissima sunt ex desiderio cogitanti, et multo magis gustanti. Et ideo quamvis multa ex his tamquam in praeterito facta narrantur, tu tamen omnia tamquam in praesenti fierent, mediteris: quia ex hoc majorem sine dubio suavitatem gustabis. Lege ergo quae facta sunt, tamquam fiant; pone ante oculos gesta praeterita tamquam praesentia, et sic magis sapida senties et jucunda" (ed. L. M. Rigollot, p. 7). —This method of contemplation can be traced back to Bonaventure at least. "Haec et his similia de Puero Iesu meditari potes, dedi tibi occasionem. Tu vero, sicut videbitur extendas et prosequaris, sisque parvula cum parvulo Iesu, nec parvipendas talia humilia et quae puerilia videntur, meditari in ipso. Videntur enim haec dare devotionem, augere amorem, accendere fervorem, inducere compassionem" (*Meditationes vitae Christi*, c. 12 [ed. Vives, 12. 509-630]).

knowledge that fills and satisfies the soul, but the intimate understanding and relish of the truth" (2). Finally, recall his apology for including the first apparition to Mary, "Though this is not mentioned explicitly in the Scripture, it must be considered as stated, when Scripture says that He appeared to many others. For Scripture supposes that we have understanding, as it is written, 'Are you also without understanding?' [Mt 15.16]" (299).¹⁹ The result of such reflections is the realization that when Ignatius speaks of the "facts" or the "history" of the mystery, he means the "scriptural facts," the facts as narrated by the sacred writer.²⁰

Another aspect of the issue can be seen in the fact that Ignatius calls these Gospel scenes of the life of Christ "mysteries." The selection of certain episodes of the life of Christ for meditation has often been traced to the period of Ignatius' convalescence.²¹ It is likely then that he derived this term from the spiritual books which he was reading. By the word "mystery" he may have understood nothing more than an

¹⁹ That this is not an entirely personal idea of Ignatius is seen from the remark of Suarez: "Absque ulla dubitatione credendum est Christum post resurrectionem primum omnium Matri suae apparuisse" (*In S. Thomae*, q. 55, disp. 49, s. 1, n. 2; ed. Vives, 17. 544). But even so conservative an exegete as U. Holzmeister recognized that it was at best a pious tradition; see "Num Christus post resurrectionem benedictae Matri apparuerit," *Verbum Domini* 22 (1942) 97-102.

²⁰ To appreciate somewhat what the medieval historian was interested in, and what underlies Ignatius' notions of "history", one should consult the book of one of the great modern Bollandists, H. Delehaye, S.J., *The Legends of the Saints: an Introduction to Hagiography* (tr. V. M. Crawford; London: Longmans, Green, 1907), especially pp. 64-66, or in the new translation of the 4th ed., 1955 by D. Attwater (New York: Fordham, 1962), pp. 50-55.

²¹ *Autobiography* #11: "He took great delight in the books he was reading, and the thought came to him to select some short but important passages from the Life of Christ and the Lives of the Saints. And so he began to write very carefully in a book, as he had already begun to move a little about the house. The words of Christ he wrote in red ink and those of our Lady in blue, on polished and lined paper in a good hand, for he was an excellent penman. Part of his time he spent in writing, part in prayer" (W. J. Young, *St. Ignatius' Own Story, As Told to Luis González de Cámara* [Chicago: Regnery, 1956], p. 11. Cf. H. Holstein, "Contemplation of the Mysteries of Christ," *Finding God in All Things: Essays in Ignatian Spirituality Selected from CHRISTUS* (tr. W. J. Young; Chicago: Regnery, 1958), pp. 90-103. Also H. Pinard de la Boullaye, *Les étapes de rédaction des Exercices de S. Ignace* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1945), p. 22, who maintains that the section on the "Mysteries of the Life of Our Lord" (##261-312) was probably not composed before his stay in Paris 1528-35. Similarly H. Bacht, "Der heutige Stand der Forschung über die Entstehung des Exerzitienbuches des hl. Ignatius von Loyola," *Geist und Leben* 29 (1956) 327-8, especially p. 333.

incident in the life of our Lord, suited for commemoration or imitation or as having some spiritual significance for Christians.²² The use of it is probably akin to the "mysteries" of the Rosary. Whether the medieval mystery plays influenced the use of the word in the *Exercises* or not is not matter for discussion here, but the rendering of the scene present to the mind of the exercitant has undoubtedly some affinity with them. But, at any rate, the re-presentation of the Gospel scene is what is stressed, whereby the retreatant will contemplate "the states of His Sacred Humanity," to use the phrase of a modern author.²³

There is one further element in the *Spiritual Exercises* which must be considered. Throughout the Second Week Ignatius instructs the retreatant to pray in the third prelude "for an intimate knowledge of our Lord, who has become man for me, that I may love Him more and follow Him more closely" (104). Ignatius makes much of the imitation of Christ (see 109, 135, 139, 168, 175, 248,). Indeed, the climax of the Three Kinds of Humility is precisely that "I desire and choose poverty with Christ poor, rather than riches, in order to imitate and be in reality more like Christ our Lord" (167). This imitation is often based on the example of Christ in the Gospel scene being contemplated, but on one occasion it is even based on how the retreatant imagines Christ would conduct Himself at table: "Whilst one is eating, let him imagine he sees Christ our Lord and His disciples at table, and consider how He eats and drinks, how He looks, how He speaks, and then strive to imitate Him" (214). Once again, there is an obviously rich and fruitful consideration in the notion of

²² The meaning of this word for Ignatius is singularly without comment in most of the standard commentaries on the *Exercises*. H. Holstein (*op. cit.*) thinks that Ignatius may have been influenced in his selection of "mysteries" by the illustrated Lives of Christ which were current. It is, furthermore, impossible to exclude the medieval meaning of *mystery* which is a synonym for the sense of Scripture "secundum allegoriam." H. de Lubac (*op. cit.*, I/2, 397) explains: "The mystical sense is the sense which refers to mystery, which is a reality, hidden at first in God, then revealed to men at the same time that it is realized in Christ. It is then the sense which contains the fulness of doctrine: 'iuxta mysticum intellectum haec omnia referuntur ad Christum' . . . A search was made in the sacred Books for 'mysticos legalium umbrarum intellectus,' i. e., they looked everywhere in them for the 'truth' of these shadows, that Truth which is Christ Himself."

²³ C. Marmion, *Christ in His Mysteries* (4th ed.; St. Louis: B. Herder, 1939), p. 24.

the imitation of Christ. No one can deny that it is founded on New Testament data (Jn 13.15; 1 Pet 2.21; Phil 2.5; Col 3.13; 1 Jn 2.6; 1 Cor 11.1). But the problem arises from the fact that many of the events of Christ's public life are not presented by the evangelists for imitation. This is the reason why at times the retreatant senses a certain superficiality in the presentation, if, for instance, the Nativity is to be contemplated merely for the purpose of imitating Christ's poverty, or the life at Nazareth for His obedience. The modern perspective of *Redaktionsgeschichte* would rather analyse the incident in order to appreciate the reason why the story is used in the evangelist's total portrait of Christ; it tries to reckon with the final summary comment in the episode which the evangelist so frequently adds. It may be that the element of imitation is part of this perspective, but frequently it is not. John Bligh, S.J., has well stated the situation with regard to the Gospels:

Did Christ during his daily life regard it as his task to set an example which should be remembered and imitated? Did he endeavour to give the moral teaching of the Sermon on the Mount concrete embodiment in a series of incidents which his followers could remember and imitate? If he did, at all events these paradigm incidents have not been remembered; the four gospels do not narrate them. . . . The evidence of the gospels is that Christ regarded himself as setting a pattern not of each particular precept of his New Law but of the essentials, namely perfect obedience to his heavenly Father, willing acceptance of humiliation, and voluntary self-sacrifice for the sake of others. He set this example chiefly by taking up his Cross and dying on it. He is a living law only in this sense, that he is a living embodiment of the Law of Charity, which is his 'way:' 'I am the Way' (Jn 14.6). If Christ's purpose during the Public Life was not to set an example of all the moral virtues required of his followers but rather to teach his hearers what the content of obedience was *for them*, still less is the purpose of the gospel accounts of the Public Life to set forth Christ's daily life as a model for our imitation. The criteria by which St. Mark selected the incidents to be incorporated in his account of the Public Life are very mysterious; but there is little to be said for the view that his choice was controlled by the aim of setting forth Christ as a model for imitation . . . the greater part of the Synoptic and Johannine traditions are not concerned with Christ as a model for imitation, but Christ as lawgiver, prophet, rabbi, revealer, and worker of miracles.²⁴

²⁴ "Liturgical Mysticism," *Heythrop Journal* 2 (1961) 333-44, esp.

If this is the case, then another area of conflict may seem to arise between the modern Scriptural approach and the *Exercises*.

We come finally to what is really the basic aspect of the problem. Even granting that Ignatius is a child of his time and reads the Gospels like a fundamentalist renaissance man and puts great emphasis on the imitation of Christ (in accord with the contemporary "Devotio moderna"), his handling of Scripture is completely *subordinated to the purpose of the Exercises*. His goal is ascetical; the Exercises have "as their purpose the conquest of self and the regulation of one's life" (21). To this end Ignatius subordinates all the Scripture which he uses, almost totally neglecting the Old Testament and ordering all that he uses of the New Testament to prepare the retreatant's soul for the key meditations. As Ignatius first conceived of and used the *Exercises*, they were calculated to produce a tremendous psychological conversion in the retreatant, an "election." This was certainly his original conception and to such a psychological goal he picked and chose those "mysteries" of the life of Christ which would be best suited for the transit from the Kingdom of Christ to the Two Standards, Three Classes of Men, Three Kinds of Humility and the Election. In the course of the time the custom grew up of repeating the *Exercises*, whence has come the practice of the annual retreat today. Adaptation of the *Exercises* in such retreats has been a subject often discussed: How much has to be retained in order that the Ignatian *Exercises* be given? No one makes an election every year; with the shift of emphasis here in the repeated retreats greater stress was in time put on the imitation of Christ in details and the contemplations of the life of Christ were used more for this purpose. They were often used as occasions for moralizing exhortations and the question of the imitation of Christ received even greater stress. To accomplish this even more stress seemed to be needed for the historicity of the details of the scene. Now the modern biblical movement has made Catholics aware of the neglected riches in the inspired Scriptures, both of the Old and the New Testament. Recent Gospel study has shifted the emphasis from the historical and chronological to the

kerygmatic and theological reading of the evangelists' compilations. It seems to call once again for an adaptation of the Ignatian method—and once again the problem of the fidelity to the method of Ignatius is going to come up. Must I accept the perspective of Ignatius in the treatment of the contemplations on the life of Christ and subordinate the treatment of the Gospels to it? Or can some compromise be worked out? It seems that the latter is desirable, because the retreat master will have to respect the sensibilities of retreatants, and in time more and more of them will be aware of the "new approach."

The foregoing remarks should have indicated the various aspects of the two factors which contribute to the modern problem which faces the retreat-master. Part of it springs from the "new approach" in Gospel study, part of it from certain Ignatian presuppositions. However, it is not a problem which is completely insoluble. In the following section we shall try to offer some suggestions for a solution.

Some Suggestions for a Solution

If we recall the three perspectives according to which the Gospels can be studied, viz., the *Sitz im Leben der Kirche*, the *Sitz im Leben Jesu*, and the *Sitz im Evangelium*, it is the last named which suggests itself as the one most suited for the purposes of the retreat-master. In fact, though there is a problem here, it is precisely this one among the three which best corresponds to the Ignatian view of the Gospels and what we have termed his "scriptural facts." Only rarely will the *Sitz im Leben der Kirche* be of interest to the retreat master. His interest will naturally incline him toward the *Sitz im Leben Jesu*, because he would like to be sure that it really happened just so, and this perspective would seem to furnish him with the material needed to be able to "see in imagination the synagogues, villages and towns where Jesus preached" (91). But this is a complicated perspective, hard to use, and dependent on Synoptic and Form Critical comparisons. If the retreat master happens upon a well-worked out explanation of this viewpoint for some scene or other, he can of course use it. But in the long run this perspective is somewhat removed from the purpose which Ignatius has in mind. Is it not

immaterial to the retreat master whether it can be established with certainty that the event took place just as it happens to be described in the Matthaean or Lukan Gospel? After all, the scene was recorded as such under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit for a very definite purpose—for the education of the people of God, for the edification of the Church, and for our spiritual instruction and nourishment. Suppose it does turn out that a certain scene as presented by the Matthaean Gospel has been embellished in the light of the early Church's Easter faith, or that it can be shown that Luke has deliberately modified his account of an incident to adapt it to his theological point of view, nevertheless such embellishments and modifications are inspired. They may have to be discounted in a consideration of the episodes from the standpoint of the second perspective, but as they stand they are part of the story of Jesus intended by God for the edification of His church. That is why the third perspective, which tries to account for the use of precisely such details as contributing factors in the whole portrait of Christ, should be preferred by the preacher and the retreat master. For it copes with the Matthaean, Markan, Lukan, and Johannine formulation and tries to perceive the pertinence of the episode to the entire message of the evangelist. Now this aspect of modern Gospel study can easily be adopted by the retreat masters; it fits easily into the directives of Ignatius that the "solid foundation of facts" should be exposed—the solid foundation of "scriptural facts."

In view of this I would suggest that in an eight day retreat, in which a number of episodes of the life of Christ are to be used, they be taken entirely from one Gospel. Since Mark and John lack an Infancy Narrative, the choice would preferably be either Matthew or Luke; and because of the contemplation on the Incarnation Luke's account would probably be more suitable. However, after that initial meditation in the Second Week, which has, as a matter of fact, its own distinctive Ignatian cast, the Matthaean Gospel could probably be used just as well. But in adopting the scenes from Luke, or Matthew, one would do well to adopt also the outlook, the theological approach, and the portrait of Christ of that evangelist. These can be found in many introductory

books which explain the purpose of the Gospels.²⁵ This solution would serve also to unify the contemplations much more than they normally are in a retreat. Ignatius is concerned that the retreatant acquire a thorough knowledge of the Christ, whose cause he is to espouse, and it is difficult to think of a better way of doing this than to follow and use as much as possible of the inspired portrait of one of the evangelists.

Of course, the Markan and Johannine Gospels can also be used; the riches of the latter are always a mine for the retreat master. But the use of these would call for greater adaptation. But what should be avoided, it is suggested, is the pick-and-choose presentation of the "mysteries" derived from the different evangelists. For this might betray most quickly to the retreatants who may be aware of modern scriptural developments that the retreat master is not quite *au courant*—should he really be concerned about this? If this technique is used, then it will also provide possibilities for variety, should the retreat master have to give a second or even third retreat to the same group. On one occasion, Luke's portrait could be presented, on another Matthew's and so on.

A number of the episodes of the life of Christ are prescribed by Ignatius and are always looked for in a Jesuit retreat. But the choice of the others is left to the discretion of the retreat master. Why should they not be so chosen from the Gospel being used to build up the portrait of Christ according to the conception of that evangelist? If they are, then the problem is apparently eliminated which is caused by an extrinsic norm such as, "What scene will suit best the consideration of this or that virtue?"

What we are suggesting here is a slight adaptation of the *Exercises* in view of the modern development in Gospel study. If one feels that this is too much of a departure from the Ignatian method, and that it is necessary to pick and choose Gospel scenes arbitrarily to produce the effect intended by Ignatius, then there is little reason for the retreat master to worry

²⁵ For example, the introduction to *La sainte Bible (de Jérusalem)*, published by the Ecole Biblique, Jerusalem (Paris: Cerf). In this connection the recent book of H. Conzelmann, *The Theology of St Luke* (tr. G. Buswell; New York: Harper, 1961), might be used. The reader is warned, however, that it is not easy to read; see *TS* 22 (1961) 663-5. But it does highlight the Lukan theological perspective.

about the modern Scripture movement. For Ignatius' perspective will not really agree with any of the perspectives of the Evangelists, and is quite distinct from the modern preoccupation of *Redaktionsgeschichte*. The retreat master then can be as free and untrammled as Ignatius in accommodating Scriptures to his ascetical goal. If however, he has become aware of the neglected riches of the Scriptures now uncovered by the modern approach, then he can adopt a perspective graced with the charism of inspiration and adapt his presentation of the contemplations on the life of Christ to this perspective. For it seems to us that the adoption of the perspective, say of Luke or of John, will not change the Ignatian *Exercises* that much. After all their fundamental drive is found in the key-meditations and the contemplations on the life of Christ are in reality psychological padding, destined to prepare the retreatant for the renovation of his life (which in the normal annual retreat will find its expression much more in the deepened appreciation of "finding God in all things" of the Contemplation to Attain the Love of God), or to fortify him in a decision made in a retreat of election. But in any case a careful scrutiny of one Gospel or another for scenes which will at once preserve the evangelist's perspective and stress the element of conversion to Christ would seem to be the idea—and would seem to be at most a slight modification of the Ignatian method.

As for the question of the imitation of Christ mentioned above, it should be made clear that we are not counselling the avoidance of such a theme in a retreat. There are undoubtedly Gospel scenes which lend themselves to it; but the difficulty lies in the fact that many of the more important scenes for the evangelist's portrait of Christ lack precisely this element of imitation. The theme of imitation can be revitalized by presenting those aspects of Christ's *life as a whole* which are particularly apt for imitation (see the remarks of J. Bligh above). Of all the Gospels it is again that according to Luke which is most suited to the aspect of imitation. Apropos of the Lukan Passion Narrative in particular, X. Léon-Dufour, S.J., has pointed out that Luke's presentation of the Passion is that of a drama in which the reader is invited to participate,

to engage himself like Simon of Cyrene, carrying his cross "behind Jesus."

The reader is invited, no longer to make a simple act of faith in God who fulfills the Scriptures and in Jesus the Son of God made manifest in His death. Unlike Mark, Luke explains, as does Matthew, the mystery which he unfolds. The reader is no longer especially invited to adore the person of Jesus who presents Himself as the Son of God, the all powerful Lord (Matthew), but to recognize his own weakness with Peter and his malice with all those who have condemned Jesus, to adore the infinite mercy of Jesus, so human and so kind, and to participate especially in His patience. . . . Jesus is not simply a model, He is the type of the persecuted Upright One, resuming in His person the persecution of all times and revealing by His triumph the victory of His followers.²⁶

Another comment on the imitation-theme may be permitted at this point. Ignatius instructs the retreatant often to reflect upon the matter being contemplated to draw fruit from it: "I will reflect upon this to draw profit from what I see" (106; see also 107, 108, 114, 115, 116, 122, 123, 124). In many retreats such reflection is motivated chiefly by the quest for something to imitate; the viewpoint adopted is that of exemplary causality. But (at the risk of introducing Aristotelian expressions into such a discussion as this) why could not the reflection adopt the other types of causality: material, efficient or final? Such considerations would enrich the presentation, and the last one, finality, would certainly agree with the perspective of *Redaktionsgeschichte*.

Further, though that imitation of Christ means obviously the more or less direct copying of the way in which Jesus behaved in certain situations (cf. 1 Pet 2.21; 2 Cor 10.1), there is more to the notion of the imitation of Christ than this simple reference to human example. Recall Paul's reference to it in 2 Cor 8.9 "You know how gracious the Lord Jesus was. Though he was rich, he became poor for your sake, in order that by his poverty you might become rich." As C. H. Dodd has pointed out, "Clearly he does not mean that Jesus was a rich man who gave up his wealth and adopted a life of poverty, like (let us say) Francis of Assisi. No doubt He had a moderately prosperous carpenter's business at Nazareth and sacrificed it for a career which sometimes left Him

²⁶ *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément* 6. 1476.

with nowhere to lay His head; but that could not fittingly be described as being rich and then becoming poor. No, Paul is alluding to the belief of the church that Christ had at His disposal the power and riches of another world, and that He chose the lot of a man, and a poor man at that, in order that He might share those riches of another world with His fellowmen."²⁷ Cf. Phil 2.5-8. The "hard core of historical fact" here is that Jesus was crucified and went to His death in complete obedience to the will of God, like a servant whose only thought is to do what the master wants done. But Paul sees in this act of Jesus the concrete expression in history of a divine act of self-giving beyond space and time, revealing the character of God Himself. He recommends to Christians the imitation of this divine self-giving; they should become as like God as possible, not by self-deification, but by walking "in love as Christ loved you" (Eph 5.2). "It is in respect of the love which Christ showed to man that the character and action of God are to be copied."²⁸ This is the aspect of love which should dominate all human activity.—But such a consideration, so briefly indicated here, means that the retreat-master must pierce beyond the mere analysis of a Gospel scene from the standpoint of exemplary causality to the other standpoints mentioned above.

When it comes to the handling of certain specific contemplations the retreat master may still feel that what has been offered as a solution above has not really come to grips with the individual problems which worry him. Perhaps a few examples may help in this regard; they are drawn mainly from questions which have been proposed to the writer from time to time; extensive illustration is impossible. But if, for instance, the retreat master feels uneasy in suggesting that the retreatant represent to himself the Blessed Mother reciting the *Magnificat*, he can simply phrase it thus: "Picture to yourselves the Blessed Mother uttering the canticle which St. Luke puts on her lips." This much is certainly based on

²⁷ *Gospel and Law: The Relation of Faith and Ethics in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia, 1951), p. 40. Our paragraph is largely inspired by Dodd's treatment of imitation. Perhaps also of use will be E. J. Tinsley, *The Imitation of God in Christ: An Essay on the Biblical Basis of Christian Spirituality* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960); see the review by J. Bligh cited in note 22.

²⁸ C. H. Dodd, *Gospel and Law*, p. 42.

the "solid foundation of facts"—the inspired Lukan facts (even though the historian might hesitate to assert that the stylized Greek formulation of the hymn is precisely what the Aramaic-speaking Mother of Jesus uttered on that occasion). The important thing to remember here is that it is the Lukan Greek formulation which has come down to us as the inspired text, intended by God for our instruction and spiritual profit. But then let the retreat master make sure that he includes in his explanation of the canticle the part that it plays in the Lukan Gospel and in the Lukan portrait of Christ (which can be found in any competent commentary). This is not an introduction of extraneous matter into the Ignatian retreat, for in the long run it will give a more reliable picture of the Christ with whom the retreatant is expected to become enchanted and captivated during the course of the Second, Third and Fourth Weeks. The end-result of the incorporation of such elements into the retreat from the modern approach to the Gospels can only be one of added spiritual and intellectual stimulus and nourishment.

Again, if the modern retreat master feels uneasy about the Magi and their star, he is not obliged to begin the contemplation by stating, "Now there may have been no Magi, but we will meditate on them anyway." Simply because individual, fallible exegetes cannot supply the retreat master with convincing reasons to assure him that the Magi *de facto* did adore the Infant Christ (Who can assure him of this, *seclusa declaratione auctoritativa magisterii ecclesiastici infallibilis?*), he should not omit the meditation from the retreat. He should present it as one of the five episodes of the Matthaean Infancy Narrative, whose purpose is to extol the greatness of the Child now born, the scion of David, the Anointed One of Israel. It is true, of course, that the scene is described with elements which appear to the modern mind as nothing more than folkloric details: astrologers following a new star on the horizon, whose vagaries across the heaven tax the imagination; their arrival with the exotic gifts of the East; their mysterious disappearance to their own land; the consternation of "all Jerusalem" at their arrival and story. Let us suppose for a moment, *dato non concessio*, that there is nothing more here than folklore. Why should not such elements be exploited for

what they are intended to do: announce the birth of one of the "greats" of this world's history? Here is a child who is born, whose greatness is heralded by a "new star," similar to that said to have arisen at the birth of Abraham in Jewish legends. He is a child whom learned men from among the Gentiles were said to have come a long distance to adore. Who is this child? Why is He great? Matthew has already intimated the answer by his genealogy in ch. 1: He is the scion of David, the *Christ*—the One for whom all Israel has been waiting. Born of the line of Abraham, a Jew of the Jews, He is heralded among the Gentiles as one of the "greats" of history. All of this, of course, would serve the ulterior purpose of Matthew who implies the contrasting reception of Jesus among His own people. Even pagans acknowledge the greatness of this Anointed One of God, who is made manifest to them by an astrologer's star. Matthew would have recorded as part of his Infancy Narrative a popular tale, which for some reason Divine Providence has seen fit to endow with the charism of inspiration for our edification and spiritual profit (but has not thereby necessarily made out of it a piece of historical writing). By this story Matthew is introducing into his "Little Pentateuch," which is the Infancy Narrative, the theme of the rejection of the suffering Messiah by the people of Israel. The Magi, the Flight to Egypt, the Massacre of the Innocents, all strike the chords of this basic motif. The Jews are represented by Herod and his consultants, who are thrown into consternation at the arrival of pagan astrologers seeking the King of the Jews. Whether the historicity of the scene can be established or not, it has a place in the Matthaean Gospel and therefore a place in Christian piety and instruction.²⁹

Again, the retreat master should remember that he is not an exegete as such. If Pius XII made it the duty of the exegete to "discern and define clearly that sense of the biblical words which is called literal . . . , so that the mind of the author may

²⁹ See S. Munoz Iglesias, "El género literario del Evangelio de la Infancia en San Mateo," *Estudios Bíblicos* 17 (1958) 243-73; J. Racette, "L'évangile de l'enfance selon saint Matthieu," *Sciences ecclésiastiques* 9 (1957) 77-85; M. M. Bourke, "The Literary Genus of Matthew 1-2," *CBQ* 22 (1960) 160-75; J. E. Bruns, "The Magi Episode in Matthew 2," *CBQ* 23 (1961) 51-54; A. M. Denis, "L'adoration des Mages vue par S. Matthieu," *NR T* 92 (1960) 32-39.

be made abundantly clear,"³⁰ he also stressed that the exegete was to set forth the theology of the individual books or texts so that their exposition might aid priests in their presentation of Christian doctrine to the people and help all the faithful to lead a life that is holy and worthy of a Christian. The exegete's study of Scripture is a restricted one, whereas the preacher or the retreat-master uses Scripture in a far wider scope. There are other uses of Scripture which are certainly legitimate—the homiletic use, the liturgical use, and even the medieval allegorical (theological) use. For the most part these are accommodated senses of Scripture,³¹ and can scarcely be graced with the name of an *inspired* sense, one intended by God as the author of Scripture. However, such accommodations of Scripture have a long history in the patristic, conciliar, and theological traditions of the Church, not to mention the homiletic and liturgical traditions, where their use has been abundantly fruitful. Is not this the sort of thing to which Ignatius refers when he apologizes for the first apparition: "For Scripture supposes that we have understanding, as it is written, 'Are you also without understanding?' [Mt 15.16]" (299)?³² Who can deny that it is part of the divine economy of salvation to use not only the *inspired* sense (= the literal sense), but also such accommodated senses? But in so using Scripture, the retreat master is not *per se* an exegete.

Finally, it should be emphasized again that Scripture is

³⁰ *Divino afflante Spiritu*, Par. 23 (NCWC Pamphlet, p. 14). The whole section here on the "Interpretation of Sacred Books" and the relation between the literal and the spiritual sense of Scripture would deserve restudy in the light of what we have written above.

³¹ The medieval *allegorical* sense and perhaps even the *liturgical* sense might seem to some to be instances of the *sensus plenior* of Scripture. Many modern theologians debate whether or not there is such a sense in Scripture; certainly the *magisterium* of the Church has not yet come out in favor of it. Its existence is denied by many. Cf. R. E. Brown, *The Sensus Plenior of Sacred Scripture* (Baltimore: St. Mary's, 1955); Benoit, P., "La plénitude de sens des Livres Saints," *RB* 67 (1960) 161-96; synopsized in *Theology Digest* 9 (1961) 3-8. But cf. also the letters of M. M. Bourke and J. L. McKenzie on the subject; *ibid.*, pp. 66, 126.

³² In this connection recall the words of Ludolph of Saxony cited above in note 17 ("Non tamen . . . velis") and in note 18 ("Nam circa divinam . . . mores").—By the same token, it may seem that one could legitimately extend the principle of the imitation of Christ even beyond the perspective of the evangelist. True, no one can say that it is wrong to do this, but it seems that here above all the modern retreat-master has to be careful. Let him not present it as if it were the intention of Scripture itself, for this would be the worst possible type of *eisegesis*.

subordinated to the goal of the *Exercises* in a retreat. The retreat master is not merely expounding a text, but he is *using* scriptural texts to an ascetical end. But he must, nevertheless, be careful. Today, modern retreatants, especially those who may have some training in modern scriptural developments (like seminarians on the theological level, certain groups of Sisters or Brothers, not to mention young priests), may be rather sensitive, if a very fundamentalistic interpretation of certain Scriptural passages is used with them. Their sensibilities have to be respected, as the retreat master well knows. Hence, even though he is not asked to be an exegete, it is nevertheless desirable that his *use* of Scripture be somewhat in line with modern exegetical principles.

But even in this regard it may be that we are talking about what is—or could be—a false problem. Just as there are poor retreat masters, who fail to comprehend the psychological build-up of the *Exercises* and never achieve in their retreats the purpose envisaged by Ignatius, so too there are retreatants who are captivated by the novelty of the modern Scriptural approach and are perhaps too inclined to criticize even the good retreat master for his lack of modernity. If we have recommended above an adaptation of the *Exercises* in view of the modern scriptural developments, it is obvious that such a recommendation should aim at striking a balance or the happy medium. Consequently, it is well to reflect on the different purposes of the exegete and the retreat master and not exaggerate the problem itself. Ignatius' use of Scripture and his purpose is one thing, that of the exegete in the modern scriptural movement is another. A judicious adaptation is what is needed.

Father John W. Tynan

John J. Morrison, S.J.

On a cold night in March 1960, the phone in the Minister's room at Saint Peter's College, Jersey City, rang at 4:00 A.M. The call was from Saint Vincent's Hospital in New York City and the nun's voice at the other end softly announced that an extraordinary Jesuit had just passed in review before his beloved Leader, Christ. Father John W. Tynan, S.J., died on March 22, 1960 at 3:50 A.M. He was 64 years old. Bombardier in World War I, chaplain in World War II, professor of physics, dean of men, rector of a happy, devoted and energetic community—his was a full and effective life. His former community, now scattered across three Provinces, aging somewhat and therefore slow to use superlatives, speak of his rectorship as "our best years."

In 1947, the centennial year of Saint Francis Xavier in New York City, speaking before a group of three hundred prominent graduates, Father Tynan humbly said, "We are here to celebrate the 100th anniversary of Saint Francis Xavier. He was a giant. Loyola was a giant. We, their followers, try to imitate them. But we feel like pygmies. Oh, we have our little successes. However, we experience many failures. Yet, please be assured that we are trying hard to imitate those two giants. Be patient with us. Our sights are set at the same targets. Please pray that our marksmanship may equal theirs." Father Tynan did not experience many failures and he enjoyed many little successes. He was dean of men at Saint Peter's College when he died. The senior class, 1960, dedicated their year book to him. Their dedication reads in part:

He has balanced a deep reverence for the ideals he seeks to foster in us with a kind and priestly sympathy for our pain in growing into these ideals. His guiding hand has been firm and gentle, his direction wise and sure, his correction an education in responsibility, his life an incarnation of the goal held out for our attainment.

John and his twin sister Mary were born October 21, 1895 to William John and Ellen McCormick Tynan in Jersey City.

They had an older brother Tom and three younger sisters, Veronica, Helen and Catherine. Jimmy Murray, father of the Honorable James Murray, Commissioner of Jersey City, regarded John's talents so highly that he paid a special visit to Mr. and Mrs. Tynan to persuade them to enroll him at Saint Peter's. The result was that John attended Saint Peter's Prep from 1909 to 1913 and Saint Peter's College from 1913 to 1917.

World War I

The United States entered World War I when John was a senior at College. The only day he was absent from college classes was the day he enlisted in the army. Upon graduation, he was sent to Fort Myers, Virginia, and on December 15, 1917 to Kelly Army Air Force Base in Texas as an air cadet. Though he did not qualify as a pilot, he earned a rating as a bombardier. The war ended, however, before he was sent to Europe and he was honorably discharged December 12, 1918. When he returned home, he went to work at Port Newark for the Adams Express Agency. This he knew would be a brief interlude for he had applied for the Jesuit Order. He went to Saint Andrew-on-Hudson for his noviceship September 14, 1919, with a bachelor of arts degree and as an army veteran.

Parenthetically we note here that when World War II broke and the ivy halls of Rose Hill were fast becoming a ghost town, Father Tynan was restive to be with the troops. He gave up his rank as colonel in the Guard to serve as a first lieutenant in the active army. It is significant that in his final days at Fordham, his friends of every class spontaneously arranged for send-offs. Twenty-five doctors assembled at The Lido to bid farewell. The Kingsbridge armory staged a dress parade, and, most touching of all, the Fordham students walked *en masse* with him all the way down the elm-lined road of the campus to the Third Avenue gate.

Throughout Father Tynan's life people referred to two characteristics, greatness and virility. His physical stature, his very posture marked him as a military man even when he wore civilian clothes. On his twenty-fourth birthday at Saint Andrew's he recalled that he spent his previous birth-

day in Louisiana fighting mosquitoes and cleaning airplanes. His fellow novices encouraged him to talk about his army experiences. As he wrote, "They haven't allowed me to stop talking army yet."

Father Tynan's father was a strict man. He checked on his children's homework every night. He was also a man of singular piety as we may judge from the following excerpt from a letter he sent his son soon after the long retreat and not long before his death:

I always had admiration for that man who kept his heart so pure that the all-seeing eye of God found no dust in it. I often ask myself, "How did he do it?" So when you were born I said, "There is his model." You can easily understand now what I mean when I say you gave me one of the greatest joys of my life when you told me you had joined the Jesuits. I never mentioned a vocation to you because I believe the Almighty reserves calling men to the priesthood to Himself. Years before the Holy Hour was begun in Saint Bridget's, I used to have one of my own on Saturday nights. I never could meditate, so I prayed and hoped and begged and cried, yes, and sometimes I fell asleep, all in one hour. You were often the subject of my thoughts. I said many a time to our blessed Lord, "I'll waive the pleasure of ever seeing his back at the altar as a priest, only call him! For Kalamazoo or Hong Kong or Jersey City."

John Tynan spent two years studying philosophy at Weston. His third year was made at Mount St. Michael's, Spokane, Washington. He received his M.A. from Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington in 1923. The first year of regency (1925-1926) was spent at Fordham Prep. Occasionally he would be invited to his sister's for dinner. His brother-in-law demurred, "Whenever we invite your brother to dinner, do we have to invite *all* the Jesuits from Fordham?" From 1926 to 1929 John taught physics at Fordham University and helped operate Fordham's seismological station. It was during this time that he wrote articles on seismology. It is reported, also, that he contributed articles to science fiction magazines.

Theology

During his theology at Woodstock College, 1929-1933, he organized a group of twelve classmates to put together a set of source material notes on the Spiritual Exercises. Admittedly, it was an amateurish compilation, but from the extant copies, it is obvious that the range of reading was wide

and the copiousness prompted the remark that it had more address material than the Manhattan phone book. After tertianship at Saint Andrew, Father Tynan was assigned for three years as associate professor of physics at Saint Joseph's College, Philadelphia.

In 1936 Fordham University entered into one of its most colorful eras. Scholastic standards soared and the groundwork for the University's present eminence was carefully laid. In that wonderful era, the Fordham Ram proudly trotted before thousands of football spectators. Rose Hill was one of the recognized powerhouses of the athletic world. Into this highly charged atmosphere stepped the man made for the occasion. Father Tynan became dean of men and athletic moderator. The effectiveness of his Fordham days was summed up by Father Cronin, Professor of Philosophy, "It is hard to pick out one thing. He did everything well. You took that big leaguer for granted." Father Tynan had an instinct for anticipating trouble. One boarder at an open window had carefully measured off the distance to a professor coming across the lawn, and just before he tossed a bag of water at his target, Father Tynan stepped beside him. "He just looked at me," the boarder later explained. "Didn't say a word. I was so scared of that man I didn't even feel the icy water going down my pants." A graduate recalls, "Black Jack gave us our lumps, and from him we loved it."

As dean of men, he suffered when he had to impose penalties. Inclined to soften the punishment, he had to wrestle with his conscience. He was literally sick after dismissing one student from the college. Eight years later, after the war, the same student came back. He told a faculty member, "I came back for one reason,—to say that Father Tynan was right. That's how much I admire him." On one occasion, a student caught off base was summoned to the dean's office. Father Tynan, waiting for no explanation, coldly said, "Go home." The student asked for a chance to explain. "Go home," Father Tynan repeated. The student dejectedly packed and proceeded to depart. Father Tynan quickly called Father Farley. "Tack," he said, "don't let that boy go home. Just get his story. I have to act so it will get around campus. But it's just an act."

Leo Paquin, All-East end, 1937, and about 6 feet, 6 inches, admitted that when Father Tynan looked at him, his blood ran cold. When Coach Jim Crowley gave a guided tour of the campus to his freshman team, he would assemble them outside of Father Tynan's office and remark, "Inside there is the one place a smart footballer never sees."

As those colorful years succeeded each other, the name of Tynan was almost as well-known as the word Fordham. It began to take on a legendary stature. Culprits emerging from his office were congratulated if they could speak without stuttering. The years only deepened the admiration in which he was held. George Babich, former basketball star at Fordham, visited the college about the time the basketball scandals were breaking elsewhere. One athletic official was expressing relief that Fordham's name was not involved. George quietly broke in, "I am not at all surprised that Fordham was not involved. The groundwork for that was laid years ago. Father Tynan used to bring us athletes into his office and show us how much Fordham was spending on our education. After he explained everything to me, he closed by saying, 'George, please never cut Fordham's throat.' And as I looked back into that sincere and virile face of his, I knew I could never voluntarily hurt Fordham." Father Ed Berry, professor of mathematics at Fordham, recalls that all the athletes had deep respect for Father Tynan and felt miserable when they were in his disfavor. Vincent Lombardi, coach of the world champion Green Bay Packers and one of Father Tynan's seven blocks of granite of pre-war football, shrugged his shoulders and summed it up, "What a priest, what a man!" Father Tynan's charm saved many an awkward situation in the sectional bowl games. At the Cotton Bowl ceremonies in Dallas, Texas, before the Texas Christian game, he donned a ten-gallon hat and happily exclaimed, "Don't worry, folks, I'm not here to convert you. We're here to play football."

World War II

Toward 1940, war was a definite possibility. Fordham students graduated with no immediate plans. The draft was about to begin. Father Tynan could not see the students he loved go off without him. He became Chaplain of the 8th

Infantry Regiment at Kingsbridge Road. He considered this to be a special apostolate since he felt he could reach men in uniform more easily if he wore a uniform himself. His charming manner made him a hit with officers and men alike who looked on him as their special friend and spiritual advisor. Thousands referred to him as a man's man and probably no greater compliment than that could come from a soldier. After a short time, he led the whole regiment to a military Mass. Through the streets they paraded, Father Tynan at the head, the Colonel, in deference, taking second spot, right into Fordham University Church.

As soon as he completed Chaplain's school at Harvard, Father Tynan was sent to the European Theatre of operations as Chaplain of the 115th Station Hospital and 235th Ordnance Battalion. From the records he kept while in the Army, we can judge his tremendous capacity for work while his rations were shared with civilian families who continued to express their gratitude till the day he died. This man's man was the soldiers' priest every inch of the way, keeping the morale and spirit of the men at the highest level. His commanding officer refused to allow him to be transferred because he knew that the mental and emotional state of individuals and of his organization were in competent hands. Father Tynan had a flair for the military and was a natural leader. Above all he set the example and provided a standard for all to emulate. He was decisive, unselfish, loyal, had an excellent sense of humor, and a good memory for recounting witty anecdotes.

"Throughout the war," he wrote, "the Catholic priest was given a deference and respect, even by non-Catholics, that was often denied their own chaplains. And all the world, even the enemies of the Church and those who refused even to admit the existence of God, acknowledged that a priest is not like other men. Protestant chaplains themselves were often generous enough to admit that the priest had influence they could not command. And why did the priest stand out even in the judgment of men who knew not the Christ? Because the priest *is* different. The sacrament of Holy Orders has made him different. Christ made him different. He has the grace and character of a priest."

His sermons to soldiers were brief and pointed. "We should think very little of a soldier," he pointed out, "who had to be ordered to love his country. We should evaluate that kind of love as a barren and unproductive emotion, incapable of generating acts of courage or heroism or even basic loyalty." The motto of the American Rangers is, "Follow Me," and around it he wrote a sermon: "If you will follow Me, take up your cross and follow Me—along the road of the commandments, the sacraments, the road of prayer and penance. Follow Me in keeping your mind and heart clean and pure. Follow Me in keeping your tongue unsullied by bad language for My Name's Sake; Follow Me in justice to your neighbor; in kindness and charity and humility; in refraining from murmuring and complaining." General William Crofton, a Protestant, told the writer he never met a more effective chaplain in his long military career. Even when Father Tynan could no longer speak, and General Crofton was an amputee, he frequently visited with Father Tynan because he revered him as a priest and a man. There were other general officers: William P. Cavanaugh, Martin Meany, Martin Forey, Walter S. Stanton, William Cox, and William Ottman who were also close personal friends. When he was released from active duty after the war as a Major, Father Tynan was given the following awards: The World War I Victory Medal, The American Campaign Medal, the World War II Victory Medal, The European-African-Middle Eastern Campaign Medal, and the Meritorious Unit Emblem.

About this time, in a letter to his twin sister, Mary, when her son, John Tynan Kelly, upon graduating from Fordham, chose to enter the Trappist Order, Father Tynan wrote, "I know what a vocation is, and what it is to try to get rid of one, and how miserable one is when he refuses to follow it. You remember how the thought of being a Jesuit plagued me and how I fought it off by postponing the inevitable. You also knew that I went to Saint Andrew hoping they would not keep me. You know too that I was not there long before I was afraid they would not, and I have completed twenty-five years of a happy life that I would do all over again if I had the chance."

On January 30, 1946, Father Tynan, fresh out of the army,

was appointed rector of Xavier, the Jesuit military school in Manhattan, and pastor of the parish Church. Whether or not his military background was a factor, we shall never know, but the choice was popular with the Xavier community. The spontaneous acclaim, when the official appointment was read, was unique. His own comment on the appointment was that a Jesuit should never refuse an assignment even though it is difficult. One member of his energetic community said midway through Father Tynan's stay at Xavier, "I've been goaded by others, but Black Jack got more mileage out of me than any other rector." At the same time, Father Tynan was confiding to a Jesuit friend from another house, "I wish these fellows would slow down and let me catch up with them." So the years at 16th Street sped by, packed with activities inspired by the rector who led without seeming to lead, who ran a house without dictatorial overtones, which he blandly stated he wanted "busier than Madison Square Garden." If the Jesuits at Xavier during this period felt somewhat like ushers at the Garden, it was not because they spent much time at 50th Street and 8th Avenue. They were all too happily engrossed at 16th and 6th. Truthfully, there was never a dull moment at 16th Street for the next six years. Members of the community spoke of being on the Xavier team.

In his first exhortation, February 24, 1947, Father Tynan said, "Unity is a virtue without which a community is like a group of rival merchants. The unity of this household is so manifest that it is spoken of by visitors: For this grace, we humbly thank its Author—our Father in heaven. Unity demands selflessness and generosity, and will neither long endure nor be productive of good unless informed by charity which is love for one another in Christ, our Brother. Let us pray that Saint John the Apostle, whose recurrent theme was love, may obtain for us the perpetuation of the Christlike fraternity that informs our house, that we may continue to see Christ in each other to the glory of His Name." He might have added that unity is not achieved without a leader.

So deft was his leadership that the unity seemed a finished thing from the beginning. Jesuit guests at Christmas time asked for rooms at Xavier because, as one of them said, "It's

like coming home." Public relations flowed smoothly in a house where the rector, with uncommon perspicacity, considered the switchboard operators the first and most important link with the public. Was there a fire in the parish? There was. Three tenements burned down, mercifully without loss of life. But Father Tynan and his community took over even as though they had set it. For three days the *New York Times* featured stories about how the Xavier Community sheltered homeless families in the gym, obtained groceries, looked for future lodging and advanced that indispensable item—money.

The Rector

Father Tynan, in giving general orders to a minister, said, "Keep this plant open around the clock." While the minister was mulling over the idea, the rector, perhaps proving his point, founded a still flourishing chapter of the Nocturnal Adoration Society. Nearby Stuyvesant Town led him to build fourteen new rooms on the top of a ninety-eight-year-old building. This housing development was named Tynantown over the protests of the rector. Signs asking for volunteers were usually filled the day they were posted, with the rector's name at the top or the bottom. Prayer and work were the watchwords of his regime. "The hardest and most valuable work of the day is" he stated, "the morning meditation. Religious life without meditation is a contradiction. The fruit of formal prayer is to keep our spirituality replenished so that all may thereby be supplied, and to insure our own growth in grace and wisdom. A follower of Christ the King is a worker, who strives by prayer to keep his motives pure. The quality of our work as well as the quantity, should be a cause of concern to us. To offer to God a work defective because of lack of effort or carelessness, is unbecoming, to say the least. The *greater* glory of God will not be served by slipshod work. Every bit of our work should bear the mark of careful planning and execution."

At the end of his first year as rector, Father Tynan could say, "We have many holy men under our roof. They would be surprised to learn they are so considered. We are all striving sincerely towards the goal our vocation wants us to

achieve. Let us not be complacent. There is no such word as enough in the lexicon of the sons of Ignatius. Today's success, happiness and unity are no series of fortuitous accidents. They are the fruit of hard work. They will increase and multiply if we continue to work as Xavier and the other First Fathers did. If we do, we, too, shall become glorious gems in the crown of Holy Mother Church."

Father Tynan's devotion to the Blessed Virgin was outstanding. He made every effort to promote the devotion to the rosary. He himself said it many times every day. At one period of his life, he seemed always to have the rosary in his hands. When somebody remarked about this, he used to pass it off by saying, "It takes only seven minutes to say it." He caused a shrine of Our Lady of Fatima to be erected in the church and once a year had a procession around the boundaries of the parish, the statue of Our Blessed Mother mounted on a float towed by a jeep with a searchlight playing on the statue. The people of the parish followed behind reciting the rosary and singing hymns. The Fatima procession was a community effort. The idea was a result of Father Tynan's lifelong devotion to Mary. The execution involved everybody in the house. The parish priests organized the parishioners: old and young, from the Married Ladies Sodality and Holy Name Society down to the Cub Scouts. The jeep, belonging to the National Guard, towed the float, owned by the Fire Department, while the streets were aswarm with plain clothes men. Their uniformed brethren were mounted on horses, guard of honor to Our Lady. At the head of this devout procession of 3,500 marched Father Tynan and the entire community reciting the rosary led by a voice in a sound truck. And all this took place on the fringe of Greenwich Village, deep in lower Manhattan. While the rosary mounted up to Heaven, an anti-aircraft searchlight startled people as far away as Jersey City across the Hudson. One Father Provincial wrote, "Father Tynan was the best liked and admired rector in the province, generous, unselfish, easy of approach, encouraging, fatherly."

1947 was the centennial year of Xavier. The celebrations were worthy of its glorious history and of its glorious alumni including two archbishops, four bishops, scores of right

reverend and very reverend monsignori, and hundreds of priests and laymen prominent in every walk of life. Memorable were the pontifical masses of thanksgiving for the glorious hundred years. Father Gannon's sermon was broadcast over a national hookup. The Apostolic Delegate, Most Reverend Archbishop Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, now Cardinal Secretary of State to Pope John XXIII, came. Father Michael Clark and Father Charles Connor preached memorable sermons. The military review was attended by the military, civic and ecclesiastical leaders of the decade. The centennial dinner in the grand ballroom of the Astor was filled beyond capacity. The first annual military ball was a grand success. The Father's Club, which has contributed so greatly to Xavier over the years, was inaugurated that year. These things did not just happen. They were the result of careful planning and execution by Father Tynan and his Jesuit staff.

As pastor of the Church, Father Tynan was particularly devoted to his flock because the responsibility of the *cura animarum* concerned him deeply. He remarked once that he felt Jesuits did not make good parish priests, "because we do not have the vocation to be parish priests." This was not the opinion of the parishioners.

Father Tynan redecorated church and parish school. He arranged better recreational facilities for the children of the parish. He attended nearly every devotion in the church. After every Sunday Mass, he was outside to greet the parishioners. His office was at the entrance of the rectory and he took as many of the calls at the rectory as the priest on duty. Because of its location, many asked for alms at the rectory. Father Tynan never turned one of them away. When someone pointed out that he was an easy mark for panhandlers, he said he would rather be fooled ninety-nine times out of a hundred than let one of Christ's poor go away without help.

In 1948, Father Tynan began the year with an exhortation: "As we look forward to another year of life and work in this least Society, we are conscious of a desire to make the coming year better than the last. How can I do a better job this year so that its end will find a maximum number of souls influenced in the greatest possible way by my efforts? And

how be sure that the end of the year will find me, who have sworn to seek perfection, really advanced along its way? Each tomorrow must contain the elements of the answer: day by day fulfillment of the day's work to the best of our ability. It behooves us to heed those countless impulses of the Holy Spirit that overcome the inertia of the flesh and produce the momentum that results in utter flight towards God. Constancy is placed high in the category of self-improvement devices. To be doing at all times the holy will of God is the heroic goal that alone will satisfy one who is really crucified to the world. Are there such among us? I believe there are, and not a few. Else how could so many blessings come our way. Am I deceived when I thank our Heavenly Father that He has given me the happiness to live with brethren wholly devoted to Him? No, the Spirit of God is with us and in us and about us. We are as good and we are as effective as we are imitators of Christ. To count all things as dross save the love of Christ; to be able to say 'I live; now not I but Christ liveth in me.' This is my prayer for you and myself as we go into this new year."

When the Mayor of New York resigned to take a diplomatic post in Mexico, Vincent Impellitieri was president of the City Council and a parishioner of St. Francis Xavier parish. The Democratic Party did not choose Mr. Impellitieri as its regular candidate, so he chose to run as an independent. Father Tynan selected Mr. Impellitieri to receive the annual military review at the armory. Since the invitation to Mr. Impellitieri was tendered before the election took place, one of the community asked Father Tynan, "What if Impellitieri loses the election?" To which Father Tynan answered, "I am not inviting Vincent to take the review because of his candidacy, but because he is an outstanding Catholic gentleman whom Xavier is proud to honor."

The *New York Daily News* ran a headline for the Inaugural of Mayor Impellitieri:

One Invited—Fifty Thousand Attend!

The one invited was Father Tynan and the front page picture showed Father Tynan administering the oath of office to the Mayor.

Another highlight of his regime at Xavier was the occasion when Very Reverend Father General cabled Father Tynan to meet the plane carrying the arm of Saint Francis Xavier to New York. A Portuguese Archbishop was accompanying the celebrated relic to Japan to commemorate the 400th anniversary of Xavier's arrival there. The Xavier cadets formed a Military Guard of Honor and a large detail of police came to escort the relic to 16th Street. When his Excellency handed over his precious cargo to Father Tynan he removed the relic from the case to allow the employees at LaGuardia, the guard of honor and the police to venerate it. It was a sight to see the throng of people gathering at the airport to pay homage to Xavier, and by the time the cavalcade had returned to 16th Street, such a throng of faithful had gathered in the church that it seemed a modern Xavier miracle. No announcement had been made of its coming. For the next three days the church was filled to capacity all day long with people who wanted to venerate the relic. *Life* magazine came down to do a picture story on it.

When the precious relic of Saint Francis Xavier's arm was returned to the States, it had a triumphal tour in most of the large cities of the country, and, when Father Arthur McGratty brought it back to New York, Very Reverend Father General deputed Father Tynan to return it to Rome. The trip, which began on December 8, 1949, was a memorable one. He visited Ireland, England, France, Switzerland, Portugal, Belgium and Italy. On his arrival at midnight in Rome, he was met at the airport by Very Reverend Father General. During his stay in The Eternal City he had an audience with Pope Pius XII and a fifty minute interview with Very Reverend Father General. He returned to New York on January 10, 1950.

It was soon after his return from Rome that his throat condition began to cause alarm. He could speak only in whispers and the members of the Community began to think of him as a sick man. Because of the rigors of winter, Father Provincial sent him to Florida. This seemed to work wonders for when he returned his voice appeared to be normal. Characteristically, the following Sunday he preached at *all*

the Masses. But his voice was never the same again. His preaching days were numbered.

Father Michael Costello succeeded Father Tynan as Rector of Xavier in January of 1952. Father Tynan spent the next year at Fordham University as director of the alumni and then six months as procurator of Canisius College. He came to his alma mater, Saint Peter's College, in June 1953 where he remained until his death seven years later.

The virility of Father Tynan's character shows forth most clearly during those last twelve years of suffering. Some souls are made stronger by adversity, and such was his. Father Tynan had always been considered a strong character but the high quality of his willingness to suffer for Christ became more and more evident. In 1948 while he was rector of Saint Francis Xavier, he had his gall bladder and appendix removed. While he was in the army in 1917, he had been treated for a thyroid condition. Later in 1939, a swelling on the left side of his neck was diagnosed as of thyroid origin. In 1948 a special medication produced violent reactions. In October 1949 his thyroid disorder manifested itself in an aggravated manner. In 1950, his vocal cords were scraped and a polyp was removed. At Saint Peter's College Father Tynan had to submit to radical surgery. As a result, he would never talk normally again. Nerves and muscles all were cut so that sensation, touch, taste and smell were temporarily destroyed. His passion had begun. To his devoted sister Veronica he wrote: "Pray that the chalice may pass, or that I may have the courage to drain it." It was not the physical pain alone, although that was all too real. More trying, perhaps, was the fact that Father Tynan, once president of the debating society, a tireless preacher, a great conversationalist could not preach and only occasionally could be understood.

Trying

He never stopped trying. Twice a week he made the long trek up to Columbia's Teachers College trying to learn to speak viscerally. He was an apt pupil and fought any feeling of discouragement lest it affect the other members of his class. Always, however, he carried about his pad and pencil so as not to embarrass those who could not understand. Frequently

he would simply hand you a piece of paper with a pleasantry written thereon. During this period he continued to be a very effective dean of men and did extensive writing as an apostolate. In the evenings he customarily walked on Hudson Boulevard in front of the college, and seemed to know everybody in Jersey City. Everybody looked on him as a friend. Each evening as a service to the community he went out, no matter what the weather, to get the morning papers. He enjoyed the recreation room because he said he always felt better at night and enjoyed the companionship of the community.

Celebrating Mass during his last years taxed his strength considerably because he always wanted to observe every rubric perfectly. Usually he was completely exhausted after it. Nor did he ever omit any of his other spiritual duties, though he might easily have been excused. During Litanies he stood on the threshold of the chapel lest he have a coughing spasm which might annoy others.

In April 1959 Father Tynan began to experience severe pains in his chest. Tests showed several lobes of the lung affected. There had been a metastasis of the carcinoma to the lungs. When informed of the malignancy, Father Tynan said, "I am sixty-three years old. Even if I were a well man, how long more could I be expected to live?" The pain was excruciating until October 1959 when there was a temporary improvement; but after the new year, the ravages of the disease reached a terminal stage. It is typical of the man that he never stopped working until five days before he died. He entered Saint Vincent's Hospital on Friday, March 18th and the end came the following Tuesday morning at 3:50 as he slept.

The great concourse of people who came to Saint Peter's Hall to pay their last respects to Father Tynan and the crowd that filled the cathedral-sized church of Saint Aedan when his friend, Bishop James A. McNulty, D.D., celebrated a pontifical requiem Mass attest to the innumerable friends he made during his lifetime. Bishop Stanton, Auxiliary of Newark, and Right Reverend Msgr. Hughes, Vicar General of the Diocese, led the hundred Monsignori, priests, and Jesuits, who attended the funeral. Bishop McNulty accompanied the body to Saint Andrew-on-Hudson for interment where Father

James J. Shanahan, now Provincial of the Buffalo Province and Father Tynan's last superior, read the obsequies.

No better epitaph could have been written than this excerpt from Father General's letter to Father Shanahan, dated July 1959: *Pater Tynan, fortis athleta in apostolatu Christi, miles Ignatianus.*

Father Santo J. Catalano

Anthony J. Paone, S.J.

On the fourth of October, 1960 the office of Reverend Father Provincial of the New York Province sent out the usual postcard notifying the members of four Jesuit provinces that Father Santo J. Catalano had died piously in the Lord at St. Andrew-on-Hudson. This brief notice marked the end of a long and varied career, a career that began before the original Province of Maryland-New York had been divided into its present four provinces of Maryland, New York, New England, and Buffalo.

Santo Catalano got his first real taste of Jesuit training when he entered St. Francis Xavier High School in 1903. Every morning he made the trip to Manhattan from Brooklyn, where his family had settled after they arrived in this country. Santo had been born at Baucina, Palermo, Sicily on April 16, 1889. If his later years were any indication, we may assume that he studied zealously to gain and maintain good grades in his high school studies. Even during his days as a young priest at Nativity Parish, those who remember him, say that he impressed them by his scholarly approach to the questions and problems which arose. Nor did he lose his taste for knowledge in his latter years as teacher and Spiritual Father at Brooklyn Prep, and as parish priest in St. Ignatius Parish. Those who visited him in his room at Brooklyn frequently beheld his desk covered by three or four open books in which he was seeking the information to solve some moral case or prepare some novena, conference, or sermon.

On September, 21, 1908, young Santo Catalano entered the novitiate of St. Andrew-on-Hudson. As a straw indicates the direction of the wind, so did many little habits of his later life show the lasting effect of his noviceship training. His fidelity to the daily visit, meditation, examen, his regularity in reciting his office and his interest in spiritual books during his many years at Brooklyn Prep and St. Ignatius Parish, Brooklyn, were the visible straws indicating the lifelong direction of his spirit. As Spiritual Father, he was able to recommend a variety of spiritual authors to those who consulted him. His conferences gave proof of extensive reading and intense immediate preparation, in spite of his many years in the ministry. Judging from the large array of spiritual notes which he had gathered and arranged in some fifty or sixty loose-leaf books, he seems to have been dissatisfied with a mere rereading of old conferences and exhortations. In the numberless items he culled from magazines, newspapers, and a host of authors, we see how his mind was constantly on the lookout for useful illustrations, anecdotes, events, and ideas that might give freshness and power to his sermons, talks, novenas, and retreats.

The Great Experiment

After three years of philosophical studies and allied subjects at Woodstock College, Santo Catalano ventured forth in 1915 into the Society's great experiment of the regency. In those days the regency lasted for five years. The first four of these years were spent at Gonzaga High School in Washington, D. C. For one year he taught Latin, Greek, and English Grammar in First Year High, and was then assigned to teach the same subjects in Second Year. In 1919 he was sent to teach Mathematics and French at Boston College High School. We need no record of his success as a regent. The fact that he would spend twenty-one years of his Jesuit life in the classroom is proof enough that superiors considered him a capable teacher.

After tertianship, Father Catalano would return to teach for a year at Garrett Park. Then after eleven years in parish work at Nativity Parish, he would re-enter the classroom for three years at Gonzaga and twelve years at Brooklyn Prep.

As an old teacher, Father Catalano was a source of wonderment to many a young man on the faculty. He carried a full teaching load along with the others. He was painstaking in giving prelections; patient in correcting the repeated mistakes of the slower students; prompt in marking his quizzes and tests; and ever ready with some joke or anecdote to lighten the mood of his classes. Many a time he was given a group of boys who had discouraged former teachers with their unwillingness or inability to apply themselves; and to the surprise of not a few, he got them through both the midyear tests and final examinations. When the status relieved him permanently of his teaching assignment, he took it somewhat hard, but with a good deal of resignation.

Parish Assignment

Three status changes assigned Father Catalano to parish duties. His first steady parish assignment came in the summer of 1926, when he was appointed assistant in the Jesuit Parish of the Nativity at Second Avenue and Second Street in Manhattan. It was there that he pronounced the four solemn vows of the Society on February 2, 1927. Old parishioners of Nativity Parish recall how formal he was as a young priest. He found it difficult to see eye to eye with his local superior, Father Dominic Cirigliano, whose easygoing informality seemed to militate against the orderly discipline which Father Santo tried to instill into the young people. Nevertheless, the parishioners understood and appreciated both the informality of the one and formality of the other.

Father Catalano's sermons to the parishioners and his instructions to the young showed his usual painstaking labor. All who knew him were quite enlightened by his message and impressed by his earnest delivery. His work with religious brought a deeper knowledge and inspiration to many who heard his conferences or made his retreats. Years after he had left Nativity, he was still being requested for annual retreats and tridua by the religious communities who had heard him before.

In 1933 Father Catalano was appointed superior of Nativity. For the next four years, he went about his added duties with his usual zest and zeal. Then, as though superiors had recalled

his former talents in the classroom, he was sent back to teach in the halls where he had spent his first years of regency. After three years at Gonzaga, he was transferred to Brooklyn Prep. For the next twelve years he applied his talents to the students in the school by day and to a number of parishes and religious communities in his spare time.

Brooklyn Parish

Finally in 1952, he was once again assigned to a Jesuit parish, that of St. Ignatius in Brooklyn. Without much ado, he disposed of his school books and took up his duties as an assistant parish priest in the same community. Parishioners of St. Ignatius parish showed their appreciation by their frequent recourse to him in their needs. With the mellowed understanding gained through the years, he gave his heart and tireless help to all who came to him. His Married Women's Sodality flourished and worked devotedly in raising money for the missions. Through their weekly card party, they sent thousands of dollars to the Jesuit Seminary and Mission Bureau, and also helped pay for the bus transportation of the St. Ignatius children who attended Nativity School. Just before he was struck by the lingering illness which was to terminate his earthly life, the Mission Bureau asked him to name some useful article they could give him as a sign of appreciation for his outstanding help to the missions. Father Catalano could think of nothing but a new typewriter to carry on his work of correspondence and his composition of the conferences and talks to which he was still devoting the same earnest care that had characterized his younger years.

Last Years

In the year 1953 he was made spiritual father of the Brookly community. For the next five years, he made himself available to his fellow Jesuits, without diminishing any of his parish activities. At the age of 70, his strong constitution, which had been given no special favors through the years, began to falter. After an examination, the house doctor concluded that Father Catalano must have strained himself. The doctor's prescription, however, did not give the expected relief. A further examination revealed that the patient had

suffered a stroke. Never having been familiar with illness, Father Catalano became unsure of himself, and confined himself more and more to his room. He failed noticeably in the following weeks. Since he needed more care than could be offered at Brooklyn, he was sent to Shrub Oak. For a while he became somewhat despondent in the infirmary, but then began to feel better. He was heartened when he found that, with a little help, he could offer Mass again and even attend the regular meals in the refectory. The ordeal of illness and inactivity, however, gradually became too much for this old soldier of Christ. He slowly began to fade away. He was finally removed to the infirmary at St. Andrew-on-Hudson. There he died on October 4, 1960.

Change and Permanency

Henri J. Wiesel, S.J.

The grain of wheat must fall into the ground and die, or else it remains nothing more than a grain of wheat. But if it dies, it yields rich fruit. John: 12, 24.

I go back this afternoon—and I ask you to come with me—I go back all the way to the year 1662 when the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, having paid the enormous price of 40,000 pounds of tobacco to William Bretton, acquired by that transaction 750 acres of his land upon which they then established a Catholic center—a Catholic church, a rectory, a Catholic school and a Catholic burial ground. Quite naturally these were dedicated at first to St. Ignatius Loyola, but at a later date were rededicated to St. Francis Xavier. This Catholic center still stands upon the same land though greatly reduced in size and vastly shrunken in importance.

There at Newtown were planted some of the very first grains of wheat in the fertile soil of St. Mary's County of

Sermon delivered on the occasion of the dedication of a new church of St. Aloysius at Leonardtown, Maryland, on March 18, 1962. Archbishop Patrick J. O'Boyle of Washington, D. C., dedicated the Church. Very Reverend John M. Daley, Provincial of Maryland, offered the Mass.

Maryland's infant colony. This was but thirty-two years after the arrival of the early settlers in 1634. That fertile soil had been waiting, waiting hungrily and thirstily, for these wheat grains which took root at once and flourished with each succeeding year. "The grain of wheat must fall into the earth and die, or else it remains nothing more than a grain of wheat. But if it dies, then it yields rich fruit."

This is not the hour nor the proper occasion to tell the story of that old historic spot, interesting though it be. But it is the time to relate the fact that from that old Newtown rectory, still standing and still occupied, there came a long procession of priests to serve the spiritual needs of the Catholic settlers who even then were immigrating up from the lower section of St. Mary's county and were already establishing themselves, building their homes and manor houses, ploughing their plantations in and around Bretton Bay. Thus by this immigration came into being the more or less well-defined settlement of Leonardtown.

In open defiance of the then unjustly established laws forbidding public Catholic worship, the Holy Sacrifice was offered in many a manor house and home until the dawning of better days. In 1776 or thereabouts a distinct movement was initiated by the priests and people of this general vicinity to have a church building or chapel of their own. By this time the stringent laws against Catholics, although still in effect and still on the statute books, were not as strictly enforced as in the earlier years of the seventeenth century.

So came the happy day when from the fields of Francis Xavier at Newtown very carefully and with extreme caution was transplanted some of the growing wheat, with the result that a small modest chapel of wooden construction was built in what is now referred to as the Old Cemetery of Leonardtown. Its foundation timbers were laid on land donated by Ann Thompson.

This transplantation from Newton, this shifted wheat took root at once, good, deep root, firm, fine root under the fatherly care of one James Walton, S.J. He it was who nourished it carefully, watered it generously, guarded it safely and guided it correctly. Were we to mention every

sacerdotal laborer whose good fortune it was to tend this flock, the day would have run far into the night.

Three Generations

Nearly three full generations of Maryland Catholics worshiped in that first little church. The time came, however, when their aspirations for something better and more commodious began to demand attention. The old records tell me that on June 29, 1846 one Vincent Camalier, architect, began the erection of a new and grand St. Aloysius Church upon a site donated for that very purpose by James Blackiston and his wife, Ann. September 1 of that same year saw the blessing and laying of the corner stone, 116 years ago. The total cost of the new church was \$3,555.50.

Again the wheat had been transplanted. It profited vastly by its new location, by the new and fresher soil, the warmer sunlight and the gentle breezes blowing up from the river and the bay. It grew rapidly. It prospered well. Year after year it gave abundant, rich harvests as is attested by the yellowed books of record. Turn rapidly the pages of 116 years. Pass over quietly many, many events in the life history of St. Aloysius church and parish. Over the names of pastors and priests, over the names of families, parishioners, of children and teachers you must glance rapidly. But as you turn the pages of the past note well the hundreds of marriages, the thousands of baptisms, the long, long list of the departed souls. Make no attempt to count the times the Holy Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Our Savior has been offered, nor the distributions of the Bread of Life. Make no record of the absolutions, the blessings, the graces of God Almighty day after day, year after year.

Full four generations of Catholic Marylanders have worshiped in that old church whose crumbling ruins you will see as you look to the south of this site. In that old sacred house of God they found solace in their sorrows, light in their doubts, solutions of their problems and strength in their daily conflicts with the spirit of the world, the flesh and the powers of Satan. To that old sacred shrine now passing came Baltimore's illustrious Cardinal and Archbishops, Gibbons and Eccleston and Kendrick, Spaulding and Bayley and Curley.



FATHER JOHN W. TYNAN



And be sure not to pass over unmentioned three other good friends, Curtis and Corrigan and McNamara. These came in their appointed rounds to enlist your ancestors in the army of Christ, to encourage them, to strengthen them and to help them on their way to God and to eternity.

How wonderfully interesting would it be today if the present day modern methods of recording the spoken word had existed in the infancy of this historic parish. Imagine our emotional enthusiasm today if home-movies had been invented in 1662. We would see our ancestors of days long forgotten driving along the dusty county roads as they must have done that September morning when with fitting ecclesiastical pomp and ceremony the corner stone was bedded down in soft mortar. We would see others, many others trudging through the pathways on their way to Mass or Sunday school or the devotions of Vespers and Benediction. We would see recorded for all time the expression of happiness as the steeple of that church came into view.

Proud Witnesses

This afternoon we are the proud witnesses of still a third transplantation of the wheat brought over from England to the Maryland Mission by Andrew White, John Altham-Gravenor and Thomas Gervase. How well it has fulfilled the words Christ used to describe it: "Believe me what I tell you this: the grain of wheat must fall into the ground and die, or else it remains nothing more than a grain of wheat; but if it dies, then it yields rich fruit." Ancient, old, beloved, that structure to the south of us has heard the words of Christ and has begun to die. In its turn it prepares to die in order that more abundant life might be the result. It had from Christ no promise of permanency, but only death and decay. It carried no insurance from the ravages of time. Bravely through the years, the 116 years, it has withstood the winter's snows and the summer's heats. And now it prepares to die, for it knows that in dying it is bequeathing to us and to those who are to follow us in the years ahead rich fruit and abundant harvest. It searched for a site whereon it might reestablish itself, it looked for fields to welcome the new and younger wheat. To the everlasting honor of the Sisters of

Charity of Nazareth let us here take note that the land upon which we are now gathered is the gift, the generous gift of these devoted Sisters. Mere words will never repay their goodness to the parish of St. Aloysius at Leonardtown. They seek no reward in this life, but they do ask and they have well merited the undying and prayerful remembrances which we as a parish are able to bestow upon them. Let not a single day pass by without a fervent "Thank you" rising from the altar and from the hearts of this parish.

Rather roughly have we sketched the life of this parish from its first spark of life coming from Newtown all the way down the years until it arrives at this latest location and in this dignified building. The wheat and its plantings and its transplantations from place to place we have watched admiringly. There remains but one further thought to occupy our minds this afternoon.

Whenever and wherever the planters dug into the soil of St. Mary's County they seemed never quite satisfied for they always dug down deeper and deeper until their efforts laid bare the bedrock. How far down they had to dig I do not know. But this I do know—they always found bedrock. They went down deep into the ground because Christ one day told the man who was to be His representative on earth these well remembered words: "Thou art Peter, and it is upon this rock that I will build my church and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven." Thou art Peter, thou art the Rock.

All through the passing years we Catholics have enjoyed the consoling conviction that the tiny wooden church built in the Old Cemetery in 1776, was built on that Rock of Peter. The grander one erected in 1846 saw its foundations laid upon that same Rock of Peter, just as this latest edifice dedicated and blessed this afternoon by His Excellency, Our Archbishop, is put down on that same Rock of Peter.

The physical fabric of all these church edifices must needs succumb to the teeth of time, but the Faith professed in them will endure without changing forever and forever. Our hearts must rejoice within us this afternoon as we bow down in

adoration before the Sacred Species in the Holy Sacrifice. How happy are we to realize that It is the same Body and same Blood of Christ raised high above that first altar by Father James Walton. He spoke the same words of consecration over the bread and wine used by every priest since the Last Supper. The same words soon to be used by Father Provincial.

Have you ever wondered who it was that offered the first Mass after the Ascension of Our Lord? Could it have been Peter? Perhaps it was. See the Apostles and Mother Mary in their midst gathered together in the Upper Room just as we are gathered here in this Cenacle. Without special vestment, without book or candle, without music, or incense, he took the bread into his hands and whispered the words he had heard Christ use so recently. He filled a cup with wine and blessed it as he had seen Christ fill the cup and bless it. "This is My Body. This is My Blood." And Father Walton did the same and all that long line of priests blessed the bread and broke it in the very same manner in which Father Daley will bless it and break it. There has never been a changing, there never will be one.

Our beliefs and our seven sacraments are precisely the same as when your great-great-great grandfathers knelt before these primitive altars in the long ago. Without even the slightest shadow of change since the days when Peter and Paul and James and John baptised and married and confirmed and annointed and absolved. They call this gift which Christ gave His church immutability, and I cannot help but feel that the old order passing away, the old church edifices being abandoned and destroyed have taught us a lesson,—that while the one passes the other endures forever. Or as St. Paul wrote the same thought to the Hebrews: "What Jesus Christ was yesterday and is today, He remains forever."

MAJOR SUPERIORS IN THE NORTHEASTERN UNITED STATES

Superiors of the Maryland Mission

Father Andrew White	1633
Father Philip Fisher (<i>alias</i> Percy)	1636
Father John Brock (really Morgan)	1639
Father Philip Fisher	1642
Father Bernard Hatwell	1645

Jesuits were dispersed and fled to Virginia, probably to Eastern Shore, Virginia.

Father Philip Fisher	1646-1651
Father Francis Fitzherbert	1654

Another dispersion in 1656.

Father Henry Warren (<i>alias</i> Pelham)	1661
Father Michael Foster (<i>alias</i> Gulick)	1678
Father Francis Pennington	1690
Father William Hunter (<i>alias</i> Weldon)	1696
Father Robert Brooks (or Brooke)	1701
Father Peter Atwood	
Father Thomas Mansell (<i>alias</i> Harding)	
Father George Thorold	1725
Father Vincent Philips	1735
Father Richard Molyneux	1736
Father Thomas Poulton (<i>alias</i> Brook and Underhill)	1740
Father George Hunter	1747

Father Hunter went to England in October 1756 and returned in July 1757. Father James Ashby (*alias* Middlehurst) took his place during the absence. Father Hunter was again in England May 24, 1769 to May 18, 1770. Father Ferdinand Farmer (really Steinmeyer) replaced him.

Father John Lewis	1771
Father Robert Molyneux	June 27, 1805
Father Charles Neale	December 9, 1808
Father John A. Grassi	October 1, 1812
Father Anthony Kohlmann	September 10, 1817
Father Peter Kenney, <i>Visitor and Superior</i>	April 23, 1819
Father Charles Neale	November 15, 1821
Father Francis Dzierozynski	August 13, 1823
Father Peter Kenney, <i>Visitor and Superior</i>	November 14, 1830

Maryland Provincials

Father William McSherry	February 5, 1833
Father Thomas F. Mullyedy	October 10, 1837
Father Francis Dzierozynski	March 12, 1840

Father James Ryder	September 14, 1843
Father Peter Verhaegen	January 4, 1845
Father Ignatius Brocard	June 26, 1848
Father Charles H. Stonestreet	August 15, 1852
Father Burchard Villiger	April 25, 1858
Father Felix Sopranis, <i>Visitor of North America</i>	November 28, 1859
Father Angelo Paresce	April 19, 1861
Father Joseph E. Keller	August 15, 1869
Father Robert W. Brady	May 8, 1877

On August 7, 1879, Maryland and the New York Mission were joined under the title of New York Province. On August 19, 1880 the name was changed to Maryland-New York Province.

Father Robert Fulton	May 28, 1882
Father Thomas Campbell	May 21, 1888
Father William O'B. Pardow	November, 1893
Father Edward Purbrick	March 14, 1897
Father Thomas J. Gannon	October 10, 1900
Father Joseph P. Hanselman	March 25, 1906
Father Anthony J. Maas	October 4, 1912
Father Joseph H. Rockwell	July 31, 1918
Father Laurence J. Kelly	June 23, 1922
Father Edward C. Phillips	September 12, 1928
Father Joseph A. Murphy	August 28, 1935
Father James P. Sweeney	October 7, 1939
Father Vincent L. Keelan	July 2, 1943
Father David Nugent	February 2, 1947
Father William F. Maloney	February 2, 1953
Father John M. Daley	July 31, 1959

Father James P. Sweeney was made Vice-Provincial of the future Maryland Province on October 6, 1937 and was succeeded on November 1, 1939, by Father Vincent L. Keelan who remained as Vice-Provincial until the division of the Maryland-New York Province into the Maryland Province and New York Province on July 2, 1943.

New England Provincials

On July 31, 1921 Father Patrick F. O'Gorman was made Vice-Provincial of the future New England Province. He was succeeded as Vice-Provincial on November 6, 1924 by Father James M. Kilroy. On July 31, 1926, New England was made a Province.

Father James M. Kilroy	July 31, 1926
Father James T. McCormick	November 21, 1932
Father James H. Dolan	May 6, 1937
Father John J. McEleney	December 8, 1944
Father William E. FitzGerald	October 10, 1950
Father James E. Coleran	August 15, 1956

New York Superiors

From 1846 New York City and other parts of New York State belonged to the New York-Canada Mission of the Champagne Province of the French Assistancy.

Father Clement Boulanger	March 26, 1846
Father John B. Hus	November 28, 1855
Father Remi J. Tellier	April 24, 1859
Father James Perron	January 7, 1866
Father John Bapst	July 31, 1869
Father Theophilus Charaux	June 15, 1873

On August 7, 1879 New York and the Maryland Province were united. The Provincials of New York from 1879 to July 2, 1943 are the same as those of Maryland since New York and Maryland formed the Maryland-New York Province.

Father James P. Sweeney	July 2, 1943
Father Francis A. McQuade	October 30, 1945
Father John J. McMahan	March 4, 1948
Father Thomas E. Henneberry	June 25, 1954
Father John J. McGinty	July 15, 1960

Buffalo Superiors

In the nineteenth century Buffalo was at first a part of the New York-Canada Mission of the Champagne Province. In 1869 Buffalo became the residence of the superior of the Buffalo Mission of the German Province of the Society.

Father Peter Speicher	July 4, 1869
Father William Becker	1870
Father Henry Behrens	December 22, 1872
Father John B. Lessmann	November 21, 1876
Father Henry Behrens	February 2, 1886
Father Theodore van Rossum	July 7, 1892
Father James Rockliff	July 25, 1898
Father Rudolph J. Meyer	1906

On September 1, 1907, the New York State portion of the Buffalo Mission was united to the Maryland-New York Province. In 1960 the dioceses of Albany, Buffalo, Ogdensburg, Rochester and Syracuse were separated from the New York Province to form the Buffalo Province. The Provincial is

Father James J. Shanahan	June 21, 1960
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Note: The 1881, 1882 and 1883 *Catalogi* of the Maryland-New York Province have lists of superiors as an appendix. Most of our lists are taken from them; sometimes shortened. Brother Joseph H. Ramspacher, Brother Socius of the Maryland Province, supplied much of the additional data.

Books of Interest to Ours

AN INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT QUESTION

The Bible and the Origin of Man. By Jean De Fraine, S.J. New York: Desclee Company, 1962. Pp. 85. \$2.50.

This is an important book, primarily of biblical exegesis, but also a judiciously balanced examination of the Church's pertinent official pronouncements, on the subject of the origin of mankind. The author's expressed aim is to determine as accurately as possible the meaning of the principal scriptural passages relating to man's beginnings. This is done in three steps. The first sets forth the problem, which has taken on new urgency in the light of relevant modern scientific findings in this area. The second section is a detailed study of the biblical data, with the intention, as the author puts it, not to show how far one *must* go when presenting Catholic doctrine on the subject, but rather how far one *may* go without being unfaithful to the biblical expression of the doctrine. The final chapter compares the author's exegesis of scripture with the teachings of the Church.

The biblical passages analyzed are principally Genesis 1:26-28; 2:7 and 2:18-24, and in the New Testament, Acts 17:26 and Romans 5:12-19. We can indicate here only one or two of the many valuable points made. On the question of the unity of the human race as derivable from the Genesis accounts, "the most obvious and most natural explanation seems to be that . . . the ancient author . . . identifies the 'woman' with one individual Eve. Yet it is important to remember that in the Genesis account the two individuals, the man and the woman, cannot be considered as being completely isolated from other men. On the contrary in some way they include all others. The text of Genesis 2:18-24 certainly goes beyond the horizon of a single couple, and as such it is hardly apt to give an answer to the problem of the number of first human beings. The whole attention of this narrative, directed entirely towards religious considerations, is fixed on connecting man to God, and, within humanity, man to woman. . . As for the unicity of a single primitive couple, it does not seem to be the object of an explicit and direct affirmation."

In Romans "there can be no doubt that the unicity of the first sin is affirmed; the state of sin of all mankind is bound to one single transgression. . . . [But] does one transgression necessarily imply one individual transgressor? It seems to us that for St. Paul this question is of secondary importance. The main point is [not] that the common state of sin has been 'caused' in a rather extrinsic way by an isolated individual. It is [rather] the affirmation of a mysterious identity. All men sin *in Adam*, and it is through his disobedience (*ipso facto*, and not merely by way of consequence) that all men sin, that 'the many were constituted sinners' (v. 19). For the individualistic way of thinking, the unicity of the transgression spontaneously suggests the unicity of one single individual sinner. The latter communicates his guilt to other

individuals, doubtless bound to him, but nevertheless distinct from him. For St. Paul, on the contrary, the solidarity was much greater. His thought is not so much along the lines of a temporal succession of different individuals; but rather it fits the lines of [an extra-temporal concentration]."

After a very valuable discussion of the idea of "corporate personality," so prominent in biblical thought, the author says that "it seems we must reach the following conclusion: from the text of Romans 5:12-19, taken exactly, we can hardly deduce an indisputable argument for the monogenetic descent of man. St. Paul refers simply to the account of the first sin as given in Genesis. He 'teaches' nothing explicit about the strictly individual unicity of the first sinner . . . St. Paul's whole attention is focused, not upon the unicity of this individual sinner, but on the unicity of the original sin which has become common to all—not on an ancestor numerically one, but on the 'corporate' character of the first 'man'."

Concluding his study of the Church's teaching on the relation between the dogma of original sin and the monogenistic origin of the race of men, with particular attention to the encyclical *Humani Generis* of Pius XII, the question is posed: May a Catholic henceforth argue against the doctrine of monogenesis? The answer must be that "it would be inconsistent with thoughtful wisdom and supernatural prudence to adopt this attitude." But a further question is asked: Has the Church made a definite pronouncement on this matter? The author answers thus: "When we carefully analyze the official text of the Encyclical, it seems that the restriction of freedom on the subject of mono- or polygenesis is not necessarily irrevocable. The absence of enlightenment which results when it is in no way apparent *how* polygenesis *can* be reconciled with Revelation, is not necessarily final. It is possible (we do not say probable, or certain) that with passage of time the objective probability of this conciliation may become apparent, under the form, for example, of a mitigated monophyletism. In that rather questionable case, it would be beneficial to have established, as a preliminary, a clear distinction between monogenesis and the very nucleus of the doctrine of original sin. . . . When the Holy Father speaks of a deviating exaggeration, it cannot be a question of a final and irrevocable condemnation. An obedient son of the Church will not take it upon himself to defend this hypothesis [of polygenesis] or to propose it as probable; but he cannot identify it as formal heresy." The solution, as the author adds, can be supplied only through the living Magisterium of our Holy Mother the Church. And without doubt it is objective and scholarly studies such as this which will help to the attainment of this authoritative solution.

The English translation, while it reads well, is not always as accurate as one might wish. Some of the errors have been corrected in the quotations used in this review.

JOHN F. SWEENEY, S.J.

THE COMING COUNCIL

The Council, Reform and Reunion. By Hans Küng. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961. Pp. x-208. \$3.95.

The thesis of this book is that since the forthcoming Vatican Council is explicitly linked with the question of reunion among Christian Churches, the prelates to the Council should gravely consider the welfare of the ecumenical movement in their deliberations and decrees. Three of the five chapters are on apologia for speaking with ruthless honesty about the serious needs and corresponding demands for reform which have faced the Church in every period of her history, with special urgency at the present time.

In pursuance of his theme Küng highlights the human weaknesses and limitations of the Church which make her deformed and therefore an *Ecclesia semper reformanda*. Basic to this concept is the fact that always "there are mistaken developments and mistaken attitudes in the Church."

Prominent among these developments was the turn that the Counter-Reformation took in opposition to the Contarini group at the time of the Council of Trent. The latter was "a movement within the Catholic Church, related to the religious aspirations of the Reformation (though not to its theological formulae)." But instead the lines between the Church and Protestantism became hardened. "The two groups of separated brethren, unwilling even to recognize each other now, began to devote themselves entirely to mutual strife, and so to grow away from each other in every respect and to fall into a total estrangement."

Küng sees the Church in modern times in serious need of carrying through the changes that were not made in the sixteenth century and which have become more imperative than ever before. He is encouraged by certain developments in recent years, such as "a definite decrease in the importance of the Vulgate . . . more balanced interpretation of the meaning of transubstantiation . . . less juridical statement of the Church's teaching . . . far-reaching purifications of the papacy from politics . . . a growing understanding in moral theology of the individual conscience and of the ever-varying situation of the individual . . . suspension of celibacy . . . and thus allowing married priests even in the Western Church . . . all that is secondary in Catholic devotion (relics, indulgences, veneration of the saints, and much else that was overstressed at the time of the Reformation) has been manifestly giving ground."

Given Küng's purpose, *The Council, Reform and Reunion* is a powerfully written volume that leaves nothing to the imagination to implement its aims. Judging by the advance reports from Archbishop Ramsey and Bishop Pike, this is "one of the most important works on the Christian scene today," one that Bishop Pike bought for every priest in his diocese and that is sure to be well received in Protestant circles.

One serious limitation of the book is the two-fold assumption on which its main thesis is based, that the deformities in the Church are due to error or lack of vision or moral wrong (not only among the faithful but in the Church's highest administrators), and that the projected reforms

should be made from the vantage point of the best in Protestantism. Always the author's concern is to introduce those elements which would satisfy the descendants of the Reformation (short of doctrinal compromise) and eliminate what displeases them. This leads him to support "dispensation from the obligation of celibacy . . . avoid giving a false, authoritarian, clericalist impression of the Church . . . Communion under both kinds," and a host of other items, in the direction of practices and customs in the Protestant tradition.

At the same time such grave problems as divorce and birth control, loss of faith and compromise with the Church's precepts to which Catholics are tempted through contact with a non-Catholic environment are not even mentioned. As a result the many splendid ideas which Küng projects are obscured by his preoccupation and, except for the specialist, it is hard to distinguish in the book between changes that should objectively be made and those which may be useful subjectively to promote Christian reunion.

JOHN A. HARDON, S.J.

A TREASURE

The Life and Teaching of Our Lord Jesus Christ. By *Nicola Avancini*, S.J. Translated from the Latin by B. E. Kenworthy-Browne. New York: Kenedy, 1961. Pp. xxxii-554. \$4.95.

The translator of this book may be right in using the Italian *Nicola* instead of the German *Nikolaus*. Father Avancini was born near Trent which lies south of the Alps. But in early modern times the region was part of the German Empire. The famous council was held there precisely because it was German, at least politically, although geographically Italian. Avancini, himself, was member of the Austrian Province and under Father de Noyelle was Assistant for Germany. He was well known in his day as a poet, especially as a dramatist. Father Bernhard Duhr calls him a Tyrolese.

Father Avancini's meditations are, indeed, uplifting but practical, warm but not sentimental, penetrating, simple and at once encouraging and exacting. The translation is competent but changes the direct "thou" of the original to the more modern "we." The book is a treasure and well worth the price.

E. A. RYAN, S.J.

THE EXERCISES IN A NEW KEY

A Do-It-Yourself Retreat. By *Joseph F. Hogan*, S.J. Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1960. Pp. 274. \$1.25.

This is a wonderfully refreshing variation of the ever-old, ever-new treatment of the Exercises. Father Hogan writes a quietly encouraging book and admirably fulfills what he professes to do: show people how to bring out the real good in them. The book is intended: 1) for those who have never made a retreat and to whom the idea is strange and forbidding; 2) for those who would like to make a closed retreat and cannot, especially the sick and suffering; 3) for those who have made a retreat and would like to regain the clarity of vision and peace it gave them; 4) for husbands and wives who would like to make a retreat

at home either together or individually; and 5) for those who are making an open retreat and want a companion book to keep them in the spirit. Retreat masters, too, will use the book with profit. They will discover that it offers an endless variety of stimulating ideas which will give amazing vigor and delightful freshness to the old familiar truths and principles. The author's treatment is sparkling and up-to-date. The meditations are spiced and spaced by pointed incidents and telling stories. The chapter on the mercy of God is particularly impressive and contains a real human-interest story showing that God's mercy is above all his works.

TIMOTHY J. O'DWYER, S.J.

THE IDEA OF SIN

Sin. By Marc Oraison and others. Translated by Bernard Murchland, C.S.C. and Raymond Meyerpeter, O.S.B. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1962. Pp. xiv-177. \$4.50.

Discussing the relations between modern psychology and the Christian idea of sin, Marc Oraison says in his personal contribution to this symposium, that "these reflections can only be scattered and juxtaposed." In a sense this is true of the book as a whole. Here are five essays centered about the very important idea of sin in the Christian economy; the unity of the book lies primarily in the fact that each of the contributions is concerned with one or other aspect of sin; the various discussions in some cases overlap, and in any case are never really drawn into a unified whole. This is not to say that the book is of no value; the competence of the various authors is well-established and their suggestive studies gathered here have a real worth.

"Our age," as Father Murchland remarks in his introduction, "is as haunted by the presence of sin as any other. . . . The deepest articulations of the modern mind—particularly in literature, philosophy, and theology—demonstrably add to the literature of sin and have created new approaches to the mystery itself. These essays may be cited as evidence of some of these new approaches, and they emphasize in a compelling manner the deepest truth about sin: namely, *that it is not so much an infraction of law as a betrayal of a personal relationship.*" This is very just assessment of this collection. Newness is not sought for its own sake or for the purpose of startling the reader, but to meet the exigencies of contemporary life and thought.

In his *Psychology and the Sense of Sin*, Marc Oraison draws a very clear distinction between the guilt complex of contemporary psychology and the Christian conception of the nature of repentance for true sin. "Psychotherapy," he concludes, "operates at the level of emotional and reactional relations of the subject insofar as there is something in him, if we may so speak, of the *infrahuman*. The Sacrament of Penance operates at the level of '*suprahuman*' relationships. There can be no common measure or even comparison between the two." This does not mean that the practice of confession never has a therapeutic value. But we cannot reduce the sacrament to the plane of merely human techniques; this would be ultimately to suppress the essentially super-

natural purpose and efficacy of the sacrament.

Father Henri Niel, S.J., of the Catholic University of Lyon in France, discusses the Limits of Responsibility in the light of modern psychology; the problems confronting the catechist in his presentation of the Catholic idea of sin are handled very intelligently by F. Coudrea, P.S.S., of Paris. The final articles on Redemption from Sin and the Doctrine of Original Sin are by J. de Baciocchi, S.M., and Professor Gustav Siewerth, respectively. Thus the idea and reality of sin is examined from the psychological, moral, philosophical and theological viewpoints, always with an eye to contemporary problems and present day difficulties.

JOHN F. SWEENEY, S.J.

A NEW AND EXCITING SERIES

Inspiration in the Bible. By Karl Rahner, S.J. Volume I of *Quaestiones Disputatae*: Translated by Charles H. Henkey. New York: Herder and Herder, 1961. Pp. 80. \$1.95.

Karl Rahner and Heinrich Schlier have undertaken the editorship of a series of books called *Quaestiones Disputatae*. The title of the series pretty much defines what they intend to do. Matters under discussion in the whole area of theology come within the purview of the editors and it is their intention to further the work of theology by rephrasing perennial questions, exploring the old with the help of the new, working with hypotheses. They insist that theology is alive and able to speak to the people of this day. The first three books of the series appeared in English late last year, and each year three more volumes are scheduled to be published.

The first essay in the series is Rahner's work on biblical inspiration, which is not well known in the field. God wills and institutes the Church in absolute pre-definition, and this will applies to the Apostolic Church in a unique way because of the singular function this latter enjoys. Scriptures are a constitutive element of the Apostolic Church, originating with God and at the same time being an expression by the Church of what she believes. Thus they are included in God's absolute will, and in a way which makes Him their author. "He achieves [the Scripture and His own authorship] because and in so far as He wills Himself as acting and efficient author of the Church." In brief, inspiration is divine causality of the Church, in as much as this causality views the constitutive element of the Apostolic Church, which is the Scriptures. The inspiration of the Old Testament is explained by the Old Testament's position as an a priori part of the Church's prehistory. The necessary and inbuilt drive of the Old Testament toward Christ and the New Testament guarantees it the same validity as the New Testament. In the general structure of this view the thorny question of revelation of the inspired canon is well explained. The revelation is given because the writings emerge as a self-expression of the primitive Church. The rational acknowledgement of this (which means *knowledge* of inspiration and canonicity) takes time, and is another matter. Furthermore, Rahner brings the magisterium and Scripture together nicely: for "the infalli-

bility of the later teaching Church is, by definition, the inerrant interpretation of the Scripture, because it includes by definition the link with the early Church, which necessarily teaches the later Church and has expressed her teaching in the Scripture."

We might ask if inspiration of individuals is well explained and if Old Testament inspiration really finds a place in this system. Still, it is only an essay, albeit a brilliant one. I cannot pass any judgment on its ultimate validity, though many have expressed satisfaction with the basic outlines of his approach. Doubtless his contribution will exert great influence on future speculation on inspiration.

DONALD J. HINFEY, S.J.

THE CHURCH IN FOCUS

You Are the Church. By James J. Killgallon. Westminster: Newman Press, 1961. Pp. 136. \$2.95.

You Are the Church presents in a clear readable style an answer to some of the popular misconceptions non-Catholics have about the Church. Therefore it has a positive orientation, for it is the author's conviction that only well-informed Catholic laymen can dispel the distorted image of the Church. In his chapter on the Mystical Body, for example, Father Killgallon discusses two attitudes of mind: one which fears, the other which admires the vast structured organization of a worldwide Church. This visible, juridical element, he rightly claims, is but one aspect of the multi-hued robe that is the Church. In presenting the doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ according to the mind of Pius XII, Father Killgallon stresses the fact that through the Church Christ has prolonged His presence here on earth with us.

A chapter entitled "What the Church Is Not: Mistaken Notions" gives an answer to the problems non-Catholics have with the Church's position on sacramentals, the Mass and Scripture. A section devoted to Our Lady is particularly readable, seasoned as it is with some fine anecdotes. For example, Catholics express the powerful intercession of Our Lady by a joke which tells how our Lord complains to St. Peter about the strange characters who are wandering about in heaven and orders him to keep a stricter watch on the door. Peter replies, "Lord, what good does it do for me to keep watching the door when your Mother goes around opening all the windows." Father Killgallon has given us a lively, interesting book which displays real understanding of and sympathy with the difficulties non-Catholics have with the Church. His answers are at once sound doctrine and enjoyable reading. The book is to be recommended to the Catholic laity and to priests in search of material for their sermons.

THOMAS P. WALSH, S.J.

PRAYERFUL AND IMAGINATIVE REFLECTIONS ON SCRIPTURE

The Bow in the Clouds. By Daniel Berrigan, S.J. New York: Coward-McCann, 1961. Pp. 220. \$4.50.

The sub-title of this book, "Man's Covenant with God," indicates the contents more readily than the title. The two sections of the book probe

various aspects of the Old and New Covenants. The treatment is never exclusive, however, and the Old Covenant forms are always discussed in terms of their New Covenant anti-types.

It would be rather difficult to plug this book into any ordinary category, such as 'essay' or 'treatise,' for Father Berrigan's style is altogether unique. More accurately the book might be described as prayerful reflections on the scriptures, presented in deeply spiritual yet highly imaginative terms. The author is primarily a religious poet and his thought develops more in the logic of image and metaphor than in a purely conceptual chain of ideas. This is important to keep in mind if one is to appreciate the real value of his prose works.

To summarize the contents of such a book, filled with flashes of imaginative and spiritual insight as it is, would be impossible. The best that can be said here is that Father Berrigan employs the essential facts contained in the written covenants (man's fall, the call to faith, covenant, prophecy, apostolate, sacrifice, etc.) and makes them meaningful to the educated Catholic of today. If the book is read in the same spirit in which it was written—prayerfully, reflectively, imaginatively—then its purpose should be achieved with great success.

This success is not substantially marred by the many printing deficiencies. For example, we find "Isaias" on page 83 and "Isaiah" on page 87; "1900 years" on page 106 should be "1300 years"; on page 118 "even iniquity can conceal" should read "even iniquity cannot conceal"; "pre-emptory" on page 120 should be "peremptory"; "Guarini" should be "Guardini" on page 159. Further, although the book is meant to be devotional, it would not seem to be too much of a distraction to indicate the sources for the many non-scriptural references. But these are accidental quibbles about a book which reflects an unusually brilliant religious and poetic insight.

PETER J. MCCORD, S.J.

NOT TO BE MISSED

Faith, Reason and the Gospels. By John J. Heaney, S.J. Westminster: Newman Press, 1961. Pp. 327. Cloth \$4.95. Paper \$1.95.

God's communication of Himself to men in the revelatory process calls for an act of supernatural faith which does seeming violence to our sense of logic and rational procedure. We are reasonable men and so over and over again we seek to demonstrate the credibility if not the logic, the reasonableness if not the rationalism, of our faith. This excellent anthology of fifteen essays by contemporaneous authors both Catholic and non-Catholic presupposes that the reader is a believer and then strives mightily to dissipate the smoke that hangs heavily over the no-man's-land that separates faith and reason: to "justify the relation of faith to reason as it meets its concrete test in the Gospel literature."

The anthology is divided into three parts. In part one, entitled *Faith*, the nature of faith, its power and relationship to reason are discussed with concision and insight by Charles Davis, Romano Guardini and Jean Levie. In part two, *Reasoning Faith*, there is an ample discussion of problems connected with Hellenism and the primitive kerygma (F. Filson,

Hugo Rahner); the historicity of the Resurrection (K. Adam); Form Criticism (D. Stanley); and the Dead Sea Scrolls (H. H. Rowley). In part three, *Faith Synthesizing*, Fathers O'Keefe and Stanley write about the nature, spirit and literary form of the Gospels as salvation history, while Jean Mouroux concludes the selections with an essay appropriately entitled: Faith, the Beginning and the End. In addition to the fifteen essays there is an Epilogue, a Summary, an Appendix on miracles (Taymans) and an Index.

Two minor criticisms. One fears that the discerning college student for whom the book is intended as collateral reading may feel he is being "conned" by the subtitle. Any book that advertises itself as "A magnificent Summary of modern Thought on a vital Question" labors under a twofold difficulty, for it promises too much and at the same time seems to be adopting a defensive posture. I doubt that Father Heaney intends to take either position.

He admits in his Preface (p. vii) and Epilogue (p. 290) that his collection is necessarily incomplete because of the nature of apologetics. On the other hand, the four Protestant authors who contribute essays to the anthology give fair indication that the Catholic apologist (*sit venia verbo*) of today is in company with a group that is paradoxically as numerous as it is elite. Why be shy? Though the nature of the discipline defies the thoroughness and the ordered lines of a chaste methodology, the theologian's concern is not rebuttal but affirmation. Thinking again of the college student, might not the "Suggested Readings" appended to certain essays be more alluring if pertinent passages and/or select pages were cited rather than the bald title and author of a 400-500 page tome?

Father Heaney is to be congratulated for his selection of articles. The Newan Press is to be congratulated for a splendid printing job sold in paperback for a still more splendid price.

JAMES A. O'DONNELL, S.J.

OLD ALASKA

The Kingdom of the Seal. By Francis M. Ménager, S.J. Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1962. Pp. xvi-203. \$3.00.

Father Ménager spent twenty-five years in Alaska. He traveled to his first mission near the coast of the Bering Sea in a boat that was a relic of gold rush days. After mastering the complexities of the language from the still famous grammar of Father Frank A. Barnum, S.J., he adapted the history of salvation to a people who had never seen a lamb. He told of the Good Reindeerherder and explained that we are his deer. He brought music into their lives and composed hymns for them on a ten dollar reed organ brought from Seattle. Those were the days of dog-sledding the circuit of isolated Eskimo villages. He learned to teach the faith in the crowded, underground "kazga." He said Mass on gasoline boxes; he baptized in freezing temperatures.

When Father Ménager brought the first electric light to the village, he explained how it worked to all who came to see. He arranged them in a semicircle, had them hold hands, gave the two end men the bare

wires, and turned on the generator. They were so delighted that they insisted on getting individual shocks. But when the first plane to travel to the lower coast of the Bering Sea touched down near his mission church it was Father's turn to try something new. Before he left Alaska he had won his pilot's license and was flying between his mission outposts.

Behind this record of a priest's experiences among the Eskimo is the history of a vocation. It is written with a directness and spontaneity that will appeal especially to boys. Both the format and the illustrations by the author round out a fine book.

RALPH W. DENGLER, S.J.

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CONTENTS FOR NOVEMBER, 1962

AMERICAN JESUITS IN CHILE: THE OSORNO VENTURE.....	315
Joseph P. O'Neill, S.J.	
PERSPECTIVES OF THE CHURCH IN THE EXERCISES.....	337
Paul Broutin, S.J.	
JESUITS STILL SERVE THE POTAWATOMI.....	359
Joseph S. Karol, S.J.	
FATHER EDWIN J. HEALY.....	365
Chester A. Burns, S.J.	
FATHER GABRIEL A. ZEMA.....	377
Anthony I. DeMaria, S.J.	
BROTHER MICHAEL J. WALSH.....	389
William J. Hoar, S.J.	
FATHER JAMES U. CONWELL.....	395
James E. Murphy, S.J.	
BOOK REVIEWS.....	401

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The Osorno Venture

Joseph P. O'Neill, S.J.

The foundation of the first American Jesuit community on the South American continent is, in many ways, an historic event. The Maryland Jesuits are the first of what promises to become a great migration of North American Jesuits to South America. But despite being first, three years here is too short a time to make a great deal of history. Here we present not so much a list of achievements as an effort to give some idea of what this venture is like, the land and its people, the inheritance from the past, the present problems and future plans.

I. THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLE

A Bird's-Eye View

The heartland of Chile is a long, relatively narrow valley bounded by the towering Andes to the east and the coastal range to the west. At the head of this valley stands the capital, Santiago, a modern city of two million people. Almost at the end of the valley, six hundred miles to the south, lies Osorno. Although it has a population of only sixty thousand, it too can boast of being a modern city.

As an economic center Osorno has been doubly blessed. It sits in the center of one of the most beautiful lake regions in the world and its farms are among the richest in Chile. So money comes in from the tourist trade during the summer and all the year round from the sale of beef and dairy products.

The city itself lies in a great hollow. An irregular series of low but abrupt cliffs hem it in from all sides except the southeast. It is as though Osorno were sitting in a giant soup bowl from which a good-sized chip had been knocked out. The natural growth of the city is toward the southeast and in this area a site was chosen to build a new school.

Religious and Racial Background

Though a large percentage of the people of Osorno is of European stock, there is some mixture of Indian blood. There are, however, few of pure Indian blood, though among the poor in the city and among farm workers, Indian characteristics appear with great frequency.

At San Mateo, as you might expect, Spanish names like Gonzalez, Angulo, Garcia and Vasquez predominate. Surprisingly enough, of the 300 boys in the school more than a hundred have German names, twenty or so are Syrians and there is a sprinkling of French, English and Italian names. The roll call becomes a very cosmopolitan affair with Caesar Gomez, Dennis Smith, Elias Ayub and Otto Stolzenbach sitting side by side.

The German influence is very strong in the southern provinces of Chile because they were the first, in modern times, to colonize the area. Many of the first settlers from Germany were refugees from the revolutions of 1848. But the migration they started has continued to the present day. To a great extent the Germans of Osorno have preserved their language and customs. Even those born in Chile frequently have a German accent when they speak Spanish. It is not unusual in the banks and the large stores in the center of town to hear more German spoken than Spanish. In fact, in some businesses a speaking knowledge of German is a basic requirement.

Being an industrious and thrifty people, the Germans have the largest and best-kept farms in the area and are by far the wealthiest group in Osorno. Though greatly outnumbered by those of Spanish descent, their wealth and education have brought them social prestige and political power. It is not unusual for the governor of the province to have a name like Scholz or Shilling and the mayor, a name like Follert or Hott.

The Germans who settled the province of Osorno were mostly Lutherans but their positive influence on the religious life of Osorno has been small since they have little interest in contacting non-Germans. The Catholics among them settled more to the south where German Jesuits founded a number of parishes and a high school in Puerto Montt. The Chilean Jesuits now administer most of these works.

Despite the fact that the Lutherans had small interest in making converts, they have had a negative influence on the prestige of the Church, and Osorno has never been considered a very Catholic city. All too often Catholics here have had an inferiority complex about their faith because they have never had much social or political influence. Catholicism is considered the religion of the poor and of the Indian by the Germans and they tend to look down on popular religious manifestations like processions which are so dear to the heart of the Chilean poor.

But this situation began to change for the better seven years ago. The turning point was the erection of Osorno as a diocese in 1955 and the appointment of Monseñor Francisco Valdés, a Capuchin friar, as its first bishop. Since that time the bishop has become the rallying point for a host of new organizations and activities. The Christian Family Movement was started among young Catholic couples. Catholic business and professional men formed a fraternal society called "Amicat" (*Amigos Catolicos*) to promote a more vigorous Catholic life among their members. Finally Bishop Valdés was able to get American Jesuits to run a school that would compete with the German and French schools in quality of instruction and social prestige.

But the picture, though improving, is still far from bright. Religious instruction is still very weak. San Mateo is the only Catholic boys' school in a radius of 80 miles. The Sisters of Christian Charity have a fine girls' school in town. But besides these there are no other Catholic high schools and only four other Catholic grade schools in the city.

To attend the spiritual needs of the 138,000 souls in the diocese there are only 35 priests. Of these, three belong to the diocese. Vocations are few. At the present moment there are only two priests in the diocese who were born in Osorno. Most of the rest are foreign-born: Americans (9), Dutch (9), Germans (5), Argentineans (3), Belgians (2).

The reception of the Society by the clergy was very warm. The American Precious Blood Fathers, who have three parishes in towns south of Osorno, were very helpful with advice about the practical necessities of life. Fr. José Doemkes, S.V.D., the superior of the Divine Word Fathers in Osorno,

gave invaluable help in the first few months. He acted as counselor, interpreter, and Spanish teacher when such help was most needed.

Economic and Social Status

In their economic status the majority of the boys do not present a very wide spread. There are one or two of the very poor and one or two of the fairly rich. The majority come from what in the States we would call the lower-middle and middle-middle classes.

Of the 252 families from which the students come, one hundred and six fathers are salaried white-collar or service workers; fifty-two have their own small businesses; forty-six are farmers; seventeen are independent truck owner-drivers who engage in contracting and hauling on a small scale. The rest are a scattering of doctors, dentists, lawyers, teachers, architects and soldiers.

The basic wage for white-collar workers is \$67 a month. With fringe benefits, bonuses, and seniority, the average white-collar worker who has a son at San Mateo will earn between \$35 and \$45 a week. It is not uncommon for those in the professions and in business to have a small farm to supplement their income. While the cost-of-living is somewhat cheaper here than in the United States, most of the families who send their boys to San Mateo have to make sacrifices to pay the \$80-a-year tuition. This is especially true of the fifty families who have more than one son in the school.

II. OUR INHERITANCE FROM THE PAST

The Old San Mateo

In 1963 Colegio San Mateo will celebrate its Golden Jubilee. But the celebration will be somewhat hollow for, in reality, little more than the name has survived the rigors of the first fifty years. As a school San Mateo has been chronically ill and more than once close to extinction. Both fire and earthquake have closed its doors and its intellectual development has had a great number of ups and downs.

In 1913, the year San Mateo first opened, Osorno was still a bit of a Wild West town, cut off for the most part from the

outside world. The railroad had not yet arrived and the nearest deep-water port was a hundred miles to the south. Supplies coming by sea had to be brought up sixty winding miles on the Rio Bueno. Then by wagon and ox-cart they were hauled another twenty miles to the town itself. Travel by land was difficult and not always safe from marauders.

Much of the province of Osorno was still Indian territory and though the coastal tribes had been subdued for a number of years, older residents could still remember when, some thirty years before, the Araucanians, in one last savage outburst, raided the town of Osorno and burned the Church of San Mateo.

Into this isolated outpost came a remarkable German priest, Fr. Walter Horsthemke, S.V.D. A man of profound culture, an accomplished musician and fluent in four modern languages, he was to be a dominant figure in the religious and civic life of Osorno for the next forty years.

In the fall of 1913 Fr. Horsthemke opened a little school for his parish, San Mateo. He himself taught the twenty-one first graders who showed up for class. During the next three years the school prospered so well that first humanities (7th grade) was started with thirteen students. At the end of its first decade San Mateo seemed to be firmly on its feet with a record enrollment of almost two-hundred boys. The number of boarders was quite satisfactory, though not reaching the high of seventy for 1921.

To the eye of the viewer some forty years after the fact, San Mateo seemed to be prospering and giving promise for future growth. But it was not to be so. Suddenly there came a series of surprising reverses which were to bury the school for almost ten years. In 1925, the boarding facilities were dropped. In 1926, the humanities (high school section) were suppressed. Finally on Ash Wednesday, 1927, a few days after school had opened, the Church of San Mateo and its school were completely destroyed by fire.

For the next nine years San Mateo remained closed while Fr. Horsthemke begged and borrowed enough money to rebuild the church and school. Gradually the money came in. First the church was built, a simple poured concrete construc-

tion. The school, a three storey wooden building, was finally completed in late 1935.

The new San Mateo that arose from the ashes of the old was no phoenix. When it opened again in 1936, the school had only fifty-three students in the first four grades. In 1939, first humanities was resumed with twenty-five students. In the decade 1940-49, there were on the average three grades of humanities (7th, 8th, 9th grades) and five elementary grades. The average total enrollment for the same period was two hundred sixty-three but only fifty-two of these were in the humanities.

The death of Fr. Horsthemke in 1950 marked the beginning of San Mateo's last decade under the Divine Word Fathers. Yet in the '50's, to all outward appearances, the school seemed to prosper and plans were made for new constructions. Boarding facilities were resumed in 1950. Enrollment began to go up steadily. In 1955 the humanities became tuition free and a kindergarten was begun with thirty-one children. 1957 was an *annus mirabilis*. For the first time in its history Colegio San Mateo had all six years of humanities. By this fact it was given special recognition (*notas reconocidas*) by the Ministry of Education. Enrollment reached a record four hundred thirty students and the number of boarders, fifty-four, was the highest in thirty years.

Yet at the end of 1957, the most successful year in San Mateo's history, Fr. José Doemkes, the Rector, informed Bishop Valdés that the Divine Word Fathers were giving up the school. They would teach one more year to give the Bishop time to find replacements. But at the end of 1958 they were leaving unconditionally. Lack of manpower was the reason for this decision. It seemed that once again the Colegio would be closed down.

Negotiations with the Maryland Province¹

In the summer of 1958, during his *ad limina* visit to the Holy See, Bishop Valdés visited the Curia of the Society to talk with the Assistant for South America about getting

¹ The substance of this section is based on the report Fr. John Lenny, S.J. prepared after his visits to Osorno.

teachers for the only boys' school in his diocese. As the South American Assistant could offer no encouragement, he introduced the Bishop to Fr. Vincent McCormick, then American Assistant.

Fr. McCormick suggested that the Bishop stop off in Baltimore before going back to Chile because the Maryland Province might be interested in the work in Osorno. India, the Province mission, had been closed to foreign missionaries for some years. The recently opened seminary in Burma, while requiring a large initial outlay of men and resources, would not present a great manpower drain on the Province in the years to come.

With this encouragement from Rome, Bishop Valdés visited Baltimore to discuss the matter with the Provincial, Fr. William Maloney. The talks went well and the Bishop was promised that his offer would be fully considered.

To avoid committing the Province sight unseen to this work, Fr. Maloney sent Fr. John Lenny and Fr. William Driscoll down to Osorno to investigate the school and its possibilities. The two priests arrived in Osorno September 27, 1958 and stayed until the 29th. With the invaluable help of Fr. Doemkes, they examined the school from all angles. With Bishop Valdés they settled the basic points of the contract: 1) the Bishop would give the present school building for as long as it was wanted or needed, 2) He would give a site for a new school, 3) He would provide lodging until an appropriate residence was built.

On their return to Baltimore both Fr. Lenny and Fr. Driscoll gave favorable reports on the prospects in Osorno. On the basis of these reports it was decided to accept the work in Osorno with the condition that the Maryland Province Jesuits would be independent of the Chilean Provincial and that the diocese of Osorno would be part of the Maryland Province. The matter was so settled by Very Reverend Father General in his decree of December 8, 1959.

By January, 1959 all but one of the major problems in taking on the work in Osorno had been settled. The remaining point was educational. What kind of a school should we run in Chile? Should we adopt the Chilean system of education or introduce our own? How free should we try to be from the

Chilean Ministry of Education? It was to report on these all-important matters that Fr. Lenny returned to Chile in January, 1959.

Arriving in Santiago on January 14, Fr. Lenny consulted Mr. Walter Howe, then United States Ambassador to Chile, and other top Embassy officials on the Chilean situation in general. Most enlightening were his consultations with the principals of the two high quality English-speaking schools in Santiago, Fr. Francis Provenzano, C.S.C. of St. George's and Mother M. Aileen, I.H.M. of Villa Maria Academy.

After his talks with the two principals, Fr. Lenny found himself faced with a dilemma—either accept the Chilean educational system with its rigid state control and unwieldy program of studies,² as they do at St. George's, or disregard the state program and its diploma completely and teach according to the American system as they do at Villa Maria. To follow St. George's would seem to cripple our educational efforts. To follow Villa Maria and be without the state diploma would make it extremely difficult, though not impossible, for graduates to enter the University or be employed by those state agencies that require a state diploma.

While pondering this problem and seeking a solution, Fr. Lenny visited the Jesuit-administered Catholic University of Valparaíso. There Fr. Jorge González, S.J., the Rector, and Fr. Raymond Barros, S.J., the Dean, suggested a *via tertia*. They informed Fr. Lenny of a new law on experimental schools by which the state would consider valid the marks given by a school whose experimental plan of studies was approved by the Ministry of Education.

Given this hope of breaking the educational impasse, Fr. Lenny prepared a brief outline of the system of education as practiced in the Maryland Province high schools. To this he added the modifications we would introduce to adapt to the Chilean situation. This outline was presented to the Minister of Education, Sr. Francisco Cereceda, on January 30.

At the end of his interview with Fr. Lenny, the Minister said he would go along with the program. But he suggested that a more complete and more specific presentation be pre-

² Cf. *infra* for a more complete idea of the problem.

pared. For it was necessary that the program be reviewed by the technical office before final written approval could be given. It seemed at the time that chances were bright for state approval of the experimental plan. Later events were to darken the picture considerably.

Maryland Province Jesuits Take Charge of San Mateo

From the time of Fr. Lenny's return to Baltimore on February 19 until the following September only one important decision about the Osorno venture was made. This was the selection of the men for the work. During the first week of June, three priests and three scholastics received word that they were going to Osorno. Rev. John F. Henry, S.J., prefect of discipline at St. Joseph's Prep was named Rector. Rev. Henry Haske, S.J., who just completed Tertianship, was appointed Minister. Rev. Frank McG. Nugent, S.J., Minister at Wernersville, was appointed Spiritual Father. The three scholastics chosen were Mr. James McNamara, S.J., Mr. Joseph P. O'Neill, S.J., and Mr. Bernard Boyle, S.J.

After eight weeks of intensive Spanish at Georgetown University's Summer School, we began to get ready for the October 8th departure date. Fr. Henry, with Fr. Lenny as his consultor, had left for Osorno on September 8. Some points of the contract still had to be hammered out with the Bishop. All the furniture and cooking utensils had to be bought and the house prepared for our arrival.

The major communication from Fr. Henry during this time was to tell us to make sure to bring our overcoats and umbrellas. Winter in the Southern Hemisphere was not yet over and Osorno, with 187 days of rain a year, was one vast puddle.

The five of us arrived in Santiago the 12th of October and were met at the airport by Fr. Henry and Fr. Renato Poblete, a Chilean Jesuit who had studied at Woodstock. At the Jesuit high school in Santiago, where we stayed for the next few days, the Fathers went out of their way to make us feel at home. The first night at dinner the Provincial, Fr. Carlos Pomar, read a short speech in English, a language which he does not speak, to welcome us to Chile. Before leaving for

Osorno, we visited the Apostolic Nuncio and the American Ambassador, both of whom were most cordial and happy to hear we were going to work in the South.

The six of us arrived in Osorno on Saturday the 17th of October. The next morning at the nine o'clock Mass, the Bishop introduced us to the people. It was the feast of St. Luke and the text for the sermon was from the gospel of the day. *Messis quidem multa, operarii autem pauci. Rogate ergo dominum messis, ut mittat operarios in messem suam.*

That same morning we got our first good look at the school building which is almost directly behind the Cathedral. It was not an impressive sight. The school is a three storey wooden structure painted yellow with brown trim. It has thirteen fairly good-sized classrooms on the first and second floors. The entire third floor is given over to an auditorium. As we looked through the windows, the interior looked quite gloomy and in need of a good coat of paint.

The school year closes in December. So during the next few weeks we observed classes to find out who were the good teachers and what type of student we had in the school. With no previous experience in grade school education we were somewhat at a loss to determine how high the level of instruction was in the primary grades. But the boys did know some English and seemed, in general, to be on the level of a good grammar school in the States. The humanities section (7th grade to 4th year high school) was a different matter. We were not impressed with what we saw there. Since the Divine Word Fathers had left at the end of 1958, there was, naturally, a certain let-down during the *interregnum*. Only the first four of the regulation six classes of humanities were actually operating. A number of boys were cast-offs from the French and German schools. The marks in general were low and discipline lax.

Discipline, we soon found out, would be one of our major problems. These Chilean boys were open, generous, and intelligent but they were not strong on doing what they are told. Our problem would be compounded by the fact that with only a few months of Spanish behind us, our control of the language was something less than perfect.

After seeing the state of the school we were confronted

with the question whether we should continue with the school as it was or should drop some of the classes in the humanities. It was not an easy decision to make. If we dropped the boys, the only place that would take them was the public high school. There the attitude toward the Church runs from passive indifference to active hostility. Secondly, the move would certainly cause bad feeling against us from the boys and their families.

Despite these factors, the decision was made to drop all those who were then in the humanities. The following considerations tipped the scales. We did not come to Chile to run a second-rate school. With the little Spanish we knew, we were afraid we would not be able to take firm control of San Mateo if we started off with both the grade school and high school sections. The six of us would be spread too thin to raise the intellectual standards.

As we anticipated, a cry went up from the parents of the boys we dropped. Two meetings were held to discuss the matter. One, held by the Rector, in a hotel auditorium was open to all those interested in the "new" San Mateo. The other was a rump meeting conducted by the parents of the boys affected. Nothing ever came of the matter and soon the whole episode was forgotten.

The First School Year

After a summer (December through February) of painting the classrooms and sprucing up the grounds, Colegio San Mateo was opened under Jesuit auspices on March 15, 1960 with an enrollment of two hundred eighty boys, from the first to the seventh grades. The first grade with fifty-seven enrolled was split into two sections with Mr. McNamara and Mr. O'Neill teaching a half day of English in each section. Mr. O'Neill also taught a half day of English in the second grade. Mr. Boyle and Fr. Henry, the Rector, taught the third and fourth grades. Fr. Nugent and Mr. McNamara had classes in the fifth and sixth grades. Fr. Haske took charge of first humanities and the prefect of discipline's office.

The first weeks of school were hectic. Crying first graders had to be comforted and their mothers shooed away from the

windows. Boys were without books because orders placed in Santiago months before had not been filled. It seemed that those who had books did not have pencils and those who had pencils did not have paper. The patio in front of the school was an obstacle course because the work on a building we were tearing down had not yet been completed. When it rained, the hole left by the building formed a dandy wading pool. The boys were quick to use it.

Inside the classroom mutual lack of comprehension was the order of the day. Because of our faulty Spanish, the boys found it difficult to understand us. We found it no less difficult to catch their fast and colloquial Spanish. A 45-minute class became a torture. No matter how much you prepared, it seemed as if you invariably ran through it all in the first fifteen minutes. The remaining half hour became a battle of wits trying to keep the boys' attention and making sure that bedlam did not break loose.

At first discipline was difficult to maintain because we were deprived of the teacher's prime weapon, his tongue. What were the right words in Spanish to reprimand a boy? What did grade-school boys admire and what did they fear? We were not quite sure. So all of us began carrying big sticks into the classroom. When things got a little noisy, down slammed the stick on the nearest desk. For a few minutes at least, order would be restored. By the end of the year half a dozen desks and every blackboard pointer in the school were casualties in this classroom warfare.

Despite the fact that San Mateo started class fifteen minutes later than any school in town, it was not rare in the first few weeks for twenty or thirty boys to be late for class. There was only one solution, that venerable Jesuit institution, Jug. First and second graders were exempt because they did not know how to write. But anyone else in the school was liable to find himself in the *gran sala a las 4*. Jug has made an impression not only on our boys but on their parents as well. So much so that Fr. Haske's gesture of four fingers flung into the air (to signify 4 P.M.) is becoming a universal sign of "You're going to catch it."

But we did not have it all our own way. The boys got their licks in, too. Sensing our inexperience, they were not slow in

trying to take advantage of us. One common trick was to ask permission a couple of times during a class to go to the bathroom. Since, in the beginning, the capacity of a third or fourth grader was to us an unknown quantity, we let them go for fear of further consequences. Only later talking with the Sisters from Villa Maria did we realize how often we had been taken.

Looking back on them, these experiences seem rather funny. But at the time the constant fight to keep discipline and the tremendous effort required to make oneself understood made teaching an exhausting, unrewarding grind. All of us had heavy schedules, and they were to become even heavier when in April, a month after school began, Fr. Haske came down with a severe case of infectious hepatitis. By the middle of May we were ready for a good long rest but none was in sight.

The Earthquake

A vacation did come, though. We had not counted on Mother Nature who had a grim sort of holiday prepared for us. On Sunday May 22, 1960, a major earthquake shook the southern provinces of Chile killing more than a thousand people and destroying a hundred million dollars worth of property.

It had started out as a quiet Sunday afternoon in Osorno. In the rec room after lunch we talked about the earthquake that the day before had hit Concepción, a city three hundred miles to the north. It was suggested that we cable to the States saying that we were all right. But after a little discussion no one felt that it was necessary. By three o'clock the pinochle deck had been put away and everything was quiet. Then at 3:10 a sharp shock hit the house like a fist against a cardboard box. Overhead lights swung crazily and a floor lamp fell over. Nothing else. Those who were taking a siesta just rolled over again. Shocks like these had been coming all day as an aftermath of the quake in the North.

Four minutes later the house began to shake violently. Lamp fixtures and book cases came crashing down. It became almost impossible to walk. Fr. Henry lost his footing and fell coming down the stairs. Once outside we huddled in a little

patio as the four big chimney pots rolled off the roof and came crashing down within ten feet of us. Part of our cement fire wall collapsed and huge chunks fell into the patio. All the while the ground beneath our feet was rolling like the deck of a ship and a tremendous sound roared in our ears, the shriek of metal against cement and the shrill protest of twisting wood multiplied a thousand times by the city around us. It was a scene from the Apocalypse.

Five minutes later it was all over. Though badly shaken, none of us was hurt. Fr. Haske and Fr. Nugent went immediately to the hospital to attend to the injured and dying. Fr. Henry checked with the Cathedral parish to see if they needed his help and then looked the school over. It had withstood the force of the earthquake rather nicely. One classroom was badly damaged and a rain shelter had collapsed. Otherwise all was well.

The next two nights we slept out in the open for fear that strong aftershocks might collapse our already damaged house. Water and electricity were out for a week but gradually life came back to normal. Within ten days we were ready to resume classes. But only a few of the boys showed up. Parents were still afraid to let their children out of sight. Finally three weeks after the quake, on June 6, we went back to class. We had had our good long rest.

The effects of the quake continued to touch our lives, but in a much more pleasant way. From our families and friends and from our brother Jesuits came financial aid and thirty-five tons of food and clothing for the earthquake victims of the South. It was a staggering amount of material and it created a tremendous impression of the generosity and fraternal charity of American Catholics.

III. PRESENT PROBLEMS AND FUTURE PLANS

After the earthquake and tremors were over, the remaining months of the school year passed by rather tranquilly. We had the small successes and small failures common to any school whether in Chile or America. Gradually our Spanish began to improve and our hold on the boys became more secure. Little by little we began to feel at home in Osorno and at one with its people. Our adaptation to the Chilean scene

did not, however, solve all our difficulties. From the beginning three major problems were to dog our efforts: 1) Where to get English teachers, preferably religious, to take over the grade school; 2) How to secure approval for the experimental plan of studies; 3) The effort to build a new school, with all the difficulties of negotiation and planning that it involves.

The Search for Teachers

It was evident from the beginning that we could not for long continue to teach in the grade school. Each year, as a new class of humanities was added, less and less of our time would be available for teaching in the lower grades. Yet San Mateo's success and popularity are based on the fact that the lower grades are taught to a great extent in English. Where, then, to get English teachers to take our place?

Our first thought was to see if we could get the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary from Philadelphia, who conduct Villa Maria Academy, the finest girls' school in Santiago. Through the good offices of Mother Aileen, who has been extraordinarily generous both in her kind hospitality and shrewd advice, contact was made with their Mother General. While we were waiting for an answer from Villa Maria, approaches were made to the Maryknoll Sisters who were working in Chile and, through Fr. Nugent, to the Sisters of Mercy. Meanwhile in Baltimore, Fr. Driscoll was contacting other religious congregations.

One by one the rejections came in. Mother Mary Coleman, Mother General of the Maryknoll Sisters, visited Osorno on November 26, 1959 and showed interest in our work but she had no sisters to spare. In February, 1960 Fr. Henry went to Santiago to talk with the Mother General of the Immaculate Heart Sisters. Again sympathy was expressed but no chance of obtaining sisters. In Baltimore, too, results were nil. So Fr. Henry resorted to a simple plan of attack. He got out the Catholic Directory and began to write to every Mother General of a teaching order in the United States. It was a long, tedious job and results at first were quite discouraging. Each month the replies came back. They were a study in how to say No, gently but firmly, No.

After this continuous series of rejections we had about given

up hope when on April 16, 1961, Fr. Henry received a letter from Rev. Jordan Aumann, O.P., who had founded a group of Dominican Sisters to work exclusively in Latin America. The sisters were scheduled to begin teaching at St. George's in Santiago in March, 1961. Fr. Aumann expressed interest in Osorno and said that if nothing unusual happened, he would be able to send sisters for the 1963 school year. Three nuns are scheduled to come. For us this letter was the occasion for a real celebration. One of our major problems was about to be solved.

But 1963 was two years away and English teachers were already in short supply. This shortage became even more acute when in March, 1961, not only was a new class of humanities added but Mr. McNamara went to theology and no replacement for him was sent from the Province. Even though we admitted only half the number of new students as the year before, teaching loads went over thirty hours a week.

As a stop-gap measure Fr. Henry turned to lay volunteer groups. After correspondence with the Papal Volunteers and AID, he was able to contact a group of lay missionaries at Regis College, Weston, Mass. Two graduates of the class of '61, Judy McAuliffe and Kathleen Roach volunteered for Osorno. They arrived on July 18, 1961.

It was not to be an easy experience for them. Coming from an American summer to a Chilean winter, both women soon came down with heavy colds. After that came the frustration in the classroom of not being able to make themselves understood. Finally, knowing little of the language, they stayed with families who spoke only Spanish. But they adapted well to the situation and soon became like members of the Chilean families with whom they were living. At the end of the school year, December 1961, they returned to the United States.

Background on the Chilean School System

The second major problem was to get approval for the experimental plan of studies. A little background on the Chilean educational system will show not only the advantage of the plan but also why we encountered such difficulty in trying to get it approved.

Chilean educational thought and practice has been strongly influenced by the French secondary school system. It is as if the highly centralized and rigidly controlled administration which the Third Republic imposed on French schools were transplanted, root and branch, to Chile. The French *lycée*, the first-rate school maintained by the State, and the *collège*, which is a subordinate school maintained by the municipality or by private means, have become in Chile the *liceo* and the *colegio*. The French *baccalaureate*, the final examinations for secondary schools conducted by the University, has been transformed into the Chilean *bachillerato*.

On paper Chile has a much more centralized school system than the United States. In theory every improvement in a state school, even to the replacement of a broken window, must be cleared through the Ministry of Education in Santiago. Practically every week new directives, binding on all schools, are issued from the Ministry. These may range from what color jackets the boys are to wear to more properly educational subjects such as curriculum and examinations.

The school system is not the only relic of the French Third Republic. The Radical party, the most powerful single political force in Chile, is a lineal descendent of turn-of-the-century French anticlericalism.

The Radicals have a strong voice in the Ministry of Education. Their philosophy can be put in three words, "*El Estado Docente*," that is, the State has primary, even sole responsibility for the education of its citizens. All other schools are divisory and weaken the unity of the State.

The "other" schools are, principally, Catholic schools. The Radicals work in every way that they can to curtail and hinder the growth of Catholic schools. Any Catholic school that tries to free itself from State control, as we have tried to do in Osorno, is in for very rough sledding. For even though the government in power might be called Catholic, the establishment in the Ministry is solidly Radical. Catholic Ministers of Education come and go, but the Radicals stay on.

The Radicals are also powerful in the administration of the local school systems. As we mentioned before, the Chilean regional school systems are grouped around a Liceo, or central public high school. The Liceo is considered *the* school. All

other schools in the area, public or private, are subsidiary to the Liceo and depend upon the approval of the Liceo for the promotion of their students. Without a certificate of promotion from the Liceo for each year of high school, a boy can not take the University entrance exam.

At the end of the school year, the Liceo sends examining boards to conduct final examinations for all grades in each of its member schools. If a boy fails any of these exams, he must return at the beginning of the next school year to take another exam. If he flunks two condition exams and his total average is below passing, he must repeat the year. The examinations themselves are not uniform for each school. Each examining board makes up its own exams and the range of difficulty varies from school to school.

It is in these final examinations that the State exercises its greatest control over private education. In theory this control need not be odious. It might even be beneficial if the exams were uniform and the boards impartial. If, however, these men are anticlerical, they have a Catholic school like our own at their mercy. It is not unknown for an examining board to fail an entire class.

The San Mateo Experimental Plan of Studies

To free ourselves from this tight State control and from the unsatisfactory official plan of studies, we have presented an experimental plan of studies and asked for government approval. If we were to gain this approval, we would be able to give our own exams and still have valid promotions.

The name "experimental," as applied to our program, is a misnomer. As we mentioned before, it is for all practical purposes the Maryland Province syllabi translated into Spanish. But to the Chileans it is something new. The Chilean curriculum tends to be diffusive where we would be intensive. For example, a Chilean student, in what corresponds to our second year high school, has eleven subjects to cover—Mathematics, English, Spanish, French, Biology, History, Religion, Manual Arts, Music, Physical Education, and Drawing. Each of these subjects is of equal importance in the final examinations. A failure in Music or Physical Education has the same weight as a failure in French or Biology. Manual Arts is

given the same number of hours a week as French, which gives the impression that both are equally valuable to all. In general, it is a system that tries to do too much. It tries to educate the boy going on to the University and the boy staying home on the farm, using the same program for both. It is surprising that young Chileans are as well educated as they are.

Our proposed changes are obvious to one familiar with our schools in the States. First we would drop Manual Arts, Music and Drawing from the curriculum and make them extra-curricular activities. Secondly, our instruction would be more intensive. For example, where in the Chilean system a boy would study Chemistry and Physics together for two years, but for just three hours a week each, we would give him Chemistry six hours a week one year and Physics six hours a week the next year.

The Fight for Government Approval

After two years of trying, we are farther away from government approval now than when we first arrived in Chile. The reason is more political than educational. When we arrived in Chile, a number of factors were on our side. The Minister of Education, Sr. Francisco Cereceda, had a son a Jesuit and had granted approval to a Chilean Jesuit experimental school in Valparaíso. Fr. John Lenny was able to get *viva voce* approval from Sr. Cereceda for our experimental plan. The next step was written approval.

As soon as Fr. Henry arrived in Santiago, he presented the fully worked-out program to Sr. Cereceda. Seven months later, the plan was returned to Fr. Henry for some revision and amplification. With the help of Fr. Jorge Gonzalez, S.J., Rector of the Catholic University of Valparaíso, the necessary changes were made. But before the experimental plan could be presented to the Ministry again, Sr. Cereceda resigned and a new Minister of Education was appointed.

The new Minister, Sr. Eduardo Moore, though a Catholic and very sympathetic, had not the same interest in pushing our plan through the mazes of the Radical establishment. Fr. Henry logged more than ten thousand miles of travel between Osorno and Santiago trying to get the plan approved.

Seeing that his own influence was not enough, Fr. Henry then organized a political action committee among the fathers of the boys. One member is the president of the Conservative party in Osorno and another the president of the Christian Democrats. These men tried to apply pressure on the Ministry through their political representatives in Santiago. So far all results have been negative. After two years of hard work the experimental plan has neither been approved nor rejected. We can not get a "yes" because the Radicals will not allow a "yes." We can not get a "no" because the Chilean Constitution guarantees freedom of education. For two years we have been in limbo, hung up between a constitutional ideal and a political reality. We live from year to year teaching according to an unapproved curriculum, hoping that our exams will be valid.³

In 1960 we were saved, paradoxically enough, by the earthquake. The school year was so badly disrupted that the State suppressed exams in Music, Drawing and Manual Arts, subjects which we did not teach. For the school year 1961, we presented a petition to the Ministry to promote our students to the next grade without taking examinations in the above subjects. That petition was not granted. So our boys had to take these exams soon after the 1962 school year began.

Our Plans for the Future

The present school building is just a half block from the Plaza de Armas, the governmental and business center of town. It is an ideal location in many ways but both the school building and the grounds are too small for our future needs. The site of our future plant is some eight blocks from the center of town. Though it is the property which the Bishop had given us, we decided to build on it only after investigating every other available site in Osorno. Eleven and a half acres in area, the site is almost completely level and has a somewhat triangular shape. Nearby is a residential section of town from which a good number of the boys come. A bus line runs right in front of the property and water and electricity can be hooked up with little expense. A somewhat larger piece of

³ It was decided, sometime after this paper was written, to adopt the Chilean plan of studies for the school year 1962.

ground would have been preferred but none was found that could match the advantages which the Bishop's property offered.

Approval to build has been received from Rome and the plan is to put up a new humanities section first. Construction is to begin this December. The grammar school will continue in the old building until we are financially ready to build again.

It is difficult to project San Mateo's future growth. But within the next few years we hope to have an average of eighty students in each of the preparatory grades and fifty in each of the six classes of humanities. The lower average number of students in the humanities is based on the experience of the French and German schools which graduate about half of those who started humanities. Once our new facilities have been put to full use, we expect a total school population of between eight hundred and nine hundred students.

Since San Mateo is the only Catholic boys' school in the province of Osorno, we will eventually have to provide boarding facilities for those who live on outlying farms. At the present moment some thirty of our students are boarding with families in town.

Conclusion

The major portion of this paper touches only "The Little World of San Mateo." Men used to monumental buildings or grand exploits in space will find the story of six men working in a wooden schoolhouse in Chile small stuff indeed. Yet here, with the grace of God, is the mustard seed, that smallest of all seeds which grows larger than any other in the garden.

The Osorno Venture, though starting in a schoolhouse, will not be confined there. For the challenge and opportunities of the apostolate here are enormous. The poor are looking for justice and some one other than the Communists must champion their cause. Catholic couples look for guidance and instruction and there are not enough priests to help them. High school and University students are looking for some meaning in their lives but they will not go to the Church to find it. The field is white for the harvest. Pray, then, to the Lord of the harvest that He send workers into His field. We commend the Osorno Venture to your kind prayers.



Perspectives of the Church in the Spiritual Exercises

Paul Broutin, S.J.¹

The *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius purport basically and most obviously to be a book of personal asceticism, and have always been classified as such in religious literature. Saints and popes, preachers and directors of conscience, clergymen and laymen, have always sought and found in the *Exercises* an "order of charity." While the *Exercises* are the product of the profoundly personal religious experiences of Ignatius, they also bear the imprint of their era, which is that of the *devotio moderna* and of sixteenth-century individualism. St. Ignatius has transposed this heritage to another register, but the harmonies between the two are unmistakable. Between the motto of Newman, "God and myself" and the twentieth annotation² there seems to be perfect agreement. We can discount certain unfortunate comparisons and superficial commentaries on the *id quod volo* which, at the price of exalting self-discipline, arrive at a religious egocentricity which is totally un-Ignatian. But the fact remains that individualistic piety, interior reform, the seeking of God's will for me, are the basic ideas of the *Exercises* which receive the greatest stress in individual and group retreats. And no one will contest the justice of this interpretation.

But do the *Exercises* exclude wider horizons than these? Do they not reveal an ecclesial perspective more in conformity with present-day trends? Under the guiding force of the liturgical and theological movements, modern piety has made

¹ This article first appeared in French in the *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* 32 (1956) 128-144. The translation and adaptation here is by Fr. Edward J. Mally, S.J.

² "The more the soul is in solitude and seclusion, the more fit it renders itself to approach and be united with its Creator and Lord; and the more closely it is united with Him, the more it disposes itself to receive graces and gifts from the infinite goodness of its God." (Translation of L. Puhl, Newman Press, 1957) Cf. St. Augustine: "Noli foras ire, in teipsum redi; in interiore homine habitat veritas." *De vera religione*, c. 39, n. 72; *PL* 34, 154.

rich discoveries in this field during the past forty years. Under the leadership of Dom Gréa and of Pères Clerissac, Meersch and de Lubac, more significantly, in the light of the encyclicals *Mystici Corporis Christi* and *Mediator Dei*, "the Church has reawakened in our souls."³ The mystery of the Church and its history have become the object of prayer. We are now in a better position to understand that the true prayer of a Christian is the prayer of a member of the Church, and a spirituality centered about the Church is in full process of development. If the *Spiritual Exercises* remain on the periphery of this trend, which is manifestly inspired by the Spirit, then is it not to be feared that they will once again fall into disesteem? Such a situation would indeed be an injustice to St. Ignatius, for in his mind the *Exercises* were never meant to be narrowly restricted or rigid.

In order to make this adaptation it is not sufficient to subject the *Exercises* to some sort of fanciful coating, to expand the meaning of certain isolated words, or to compose excursus in the margin of the text. What is required is that the truth of the *Exercises*—a truth which is always ancient, always new—be penetrated anew, and studied in a light different from that of the usual explanations. The *Exercises* open magnificent perspectives on the mystery of the Church, and it is our task to bring to light these unexploited riches. These treasures grow in the soul that contemplates them, and enlarge the whole field of the soul's investigation and research.

Too often, in speaking of the spirit of the Church which animated St. Ignatius, we are content to quote the Rules for Thinking with the Church, together with several passages from his letters. But there is much more ample and rewarding material to be found. The fact is that the entire book of the *Exercises* can be interpreted "ecclesially." If the word *Church* occurs only rarely in the *Exercises*, it is still true that the Church itself is woven into the very fabric of every page.

³ R. Guardini, *Vom Sinn der Kirche*, p. 1. Quoted by H. de Lubac, *Splendor of the Church* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1956), p. 10, note 2.

The Principle and Foundation

The meaning of the Principle and Foundation has varied greatly with individual interpreters. According to the notes of John Helyar⁴ and the directory of Vittoria,⁵ the Principle and Foundation was intended at first to be no more than a preliminary remark similar to the annotations. But even the earliest directories already accord it more importance. "The foundation should be proposed before anything else," in the form of a meditation, "by points."⁶ Thus presented, it became an important principle of the spiritual life, the foundation of the entire edifice. Though proposed in the form of a preparatory prayer, it was to be the bond of continuity and coherence between the various exercises, to give meaning to the three degrees of humility as well as to the colloquies to the crucified Christ, and finally, to be a companion-piece to the Contemplation for Obtaining Divine Love. Thus the Principle and Foundation belongs to the supernatural order, and cannot be truly understood except in the light of the Gospel.⁷ It is not the work of an Erasmus or a William of Vair, but of the mystic of Manresa and the Cardoner, whose thought follows a continuous line. It is a program of perfect *ordinatio vitae* in the supernatural order, a brief recalling of the Christian economy of salvation. Hence it is not surprising that the Church is implied in the Principle and Foundation, for we cannot conceive of a participation of the divine life which does not take this communitary form. Even at this stage of the *Exercises*, the connection between the glory of God and the salvation of souls, the notion of an indifference which frees the soul, and especially, the intensification and growth of the new life, suppose a family milieu in which mankind can enter into communion with the divinity.

⁴ John Helyar was an Englishman, born ca. 1503, who made the *Spiritual Exercises* under St. Ignatius. He has left a MS copy of the *Exercises* written in his own hand, dating from ca. 1535 (*Codex Reginensis*), together with a set of notes called *Praecepta utilia iis, qui spiritualium meditationum stadium ingressuri sunt*. Cf. *Monumenta Historica S. J.*, series 2a, tom. unic. (Monumenta Ignatiana: Exercitia et Directoria) [Madrid, 1919], pp. 207-208; 569-573. Subsequent references to the *M.H.S.J.* are to this volume. [Tr.]

⁵ Cf. *M.H.S.J.*, p. 792. [Tr.]

⁶ St. Ignatius, *M.H.S.J.*, p. 783; Polanco, *ibid.*, p. 807; Miron, *ibid.*, p. 853; González Dávila, *ibid.*, p. 910.

⁷ Cf. J. Levie, "The Meditation on the 'Foundation' in the Light of Saint Paul," *Woodstock Letters* 84 (1955) 18-32.

This basic plan spans two eternities, going from the state of grace to the state of glory. Without this predestining of man to eternal glory, human beatitude cannot be integrated into the honor and service of God. The uncreated glory unites the three divine persons among themselves; created grace unites humanity to the Trinity in and through the Church. The "man" of which Ignatius speaks is not a Platonic idea; it is the Spiritual Man, the New Man, the Whole Man, head and members, of redeemed humanity. It is to these citizens of heaven, these co-heirs with Christ, these children of the Father—*fili in Filio*—that St. Ignatius speaks when he proposes the fundamental truth. In his own manner he is repeating the words of St. Paul: "The world, life, death, the present, the future—all of it belongs to you. But you belong to Christ, and Christ belongs to God." (1 Cor 3.22-23) It is necessary to keep this perspective in view from the very beginning of the *Exercises* if we are to maintain throughout the course of the *Exercises* the balance between *amor complacentiae* and *amor concupiscentiae*, between perfect and imperfect charity, between self-love and self-abnegation.

The late Père Huby explained this necessary connection between the individual and social points of view:

Man is born and reared in a society, and normally does not develop without the assistance of others like himself. But this condition is not sufficient to free him from his selfishness. He can look upon the blessings he has received as so many instruments of self-cultivation. He can refuse to others the gift of his love, or enclose himself within the narrowly limited scope of a selfishness that takes account of only two or three others, an individual rather than a person in the full sense of the word. For if it is true that the real person is one made in the image of the Blessed Trinity, then personality implies both distinction and union with respect to others. To break out of the circle of one's own individualism, to open one's self to a love which is not bounded by distinctions of caste and race, nor by injuries and offenses, is to spiritualize one's self more and more. For only the spirit can transcend the barriers which the flesh tends to raise up instinctively. In his *Journal Métaphysique* Gabriel Marcel writes: "I do not truly lift myself up to God except when I think or desire with all my strength that an infinity of other beings also count in His sight."⁸

⁸ J. Huby, "Gloire de Dieu et salut personnel," *Etudes* 204 (1930) 527.

This is precisely the attitude of soul, the entering into God's presence, the prayer which St. Ignatius demands at the outset of the *Exercises*.

Use of Creatures

If this spirit of catholicity is necessary in order for one to adore the living God in spirit and truth, it is equally necessary in order for one to find his true place in relation to all other creatures. In their epistles St. James and St. Paul have laid down the principles: "Of his own accord he [the Father] brought us into being through the message of truth, so that we might be a kind of first-fruits among his creatures." (Jas 1.18) "For creation is waiting with eager longing for the sons of God to be disclosed. For it was not the fault of creation that it was frustrated; it was by the will of him who condemned it to that, and in the hope that creation itself would be set free from its bondage to decay, and have the glorious freedom of the children of God." (Rom 8.19-21) "The appointed time has grown very short. From this time on those who have wives should live as though they have none, and those who mourn as though they did not mourn, and those who are glad as though they were not glad, and those who buy anything as though they did not own it, and those who mix in the world as though they were not absorbed in it. For the present shape of the world is passing away." (1 Cor 7.29-31)

It is in the light of these inspired texts that St. Ignatius determines the use of creatures. They are to serve as *viaticum*, as provisions for man on his journey back to God. They are the pledge which the Father gives men of their eternal inheritance. And they must necessarily enter into the Catholic profession of faith, because all creatures concur in the working out of the supernatural order. Left to the whims of the individual, they can give the appearance of vanity, as St. Paul says. But St. Ignatius wishes creatures to keep their imprint of God, to remain in their divine transparency: they come from God and lead back to God. To pass beyond temporal goods without losing eternal goods, the Christian needs a directing principle, the *Tantum Quantum* in the Foundation of the *Exercises*. But what else is this just measure, made of prudence and wisdom, if not the personal vocation of each

one in the Mystical Body of Christ? It is on this level that we should study the whole question of material and spiritual possessions, of individual and collective work. The rules for the distribution of alms, especially the first and seventh, are an application of this.

Viewed in this light, the principle of indifference also assumes a positive character which gives ease and confidence to the soul. It loses that stoical flavor which some wish to give it, and becomes impregnated with the spirit of the Gospel.

Père Saint-Jure has transposed the text of St. Ignatius with remarkable skill:

With regard to indifference, we should for our part be indifferent to all the uses which Our Lord wishes to make of us, whether for wealth or poverty; for honors or scorn, for pleasures or pains, for health or sickness, life or death, for time or eternity, to have or not to have, to retain or renounce, to love, to hate, to desire, to do, to speak, to be silent, and, in general, for all things; so that without any resistance on our part, and with complete freedom on His, He can dispose of us, our bodies, our souls, our thoughts, our affections, of everything, and use us absolutely as He pleases.

We should have toward Him the indifference of a member under the control of the head, just as the foot is by nature completely undetermined as to whether it will go to the left or to the right, along one path rather than another; or as the hand is undetermined to move in one way rather than in another. . . . So we too must not desire anything on our own, in order that Our Lord may have all power to move us as undetermined members, and to use us when, how, and why He wills.⁹

Hence Father Rahner is not mistaken in maintaining this interpretation:

Everything in the *Exercises* which precedes and follows these two key meditations [the Kingdom and the Two Standards] takes its meaning from them; all that precedes, because only after them do we see with such clarity what Ignatius intended in his Principle and Foundation which he prefixed to his First Week. Only after these exercises does their theology become apparent, progressing as it does from creation, through indifference, to that which "conduces more to the end for which we were created." But why and for what end we were created we can learn only from Christ our Lord; we can learn in what the "more" consists, since now it receives a more significant development, though in itself it appears illogical

⁹ Saint-Jure, *L'homme spirituel* (Lyon, 1836) I, 87-88.

and meaningless. All this provides a new solution to the question whether or not the Foundation is primarily and solely concerned with natural creation and the consequences which flow from it, and whether it is therefore merely a preparatory theodicy. This is not the case at all. It is, then, incumbent upon us to imbue the meditation on the Foundation with the Christological [and, we might add, Ecclesiological] spirit, without in any way sacrificing its introductory character of laying bare the mere outlines and nerves, so to speak, of the *Spiritual Exercises*.¹⁰

The Triple Sin

The Principle and Foundation refers to the order of creation as such, and applies to all states of life and all states of soul. The *Exercises* properly so called are situated in the order of redemption, or more exactly, in the order of sin, of the redemption of man, and of the Church Militant. The exercises of the first week are concerned with sin, and in them we can admire the psychological genius of St. Ignatius. In order to inspire in each one "shame and confusion, a growing and intense sorrow and tears for my sin," he begins by giving us a lesson. Through the spectacle of the sin of the angels and of Adam and Eve, he presents it under all its aspects, individual and social, spiritual and sensible. He lays it before us in all its dimensions, he measures all its energies and drives.

Far from being a superfluous exercise which can be omitted at the discretion of the retreat master, the meditation on the sin of the angels is an essential element of the *Spiritual Exercises*. If, as St. Paul says, all society in heaven and on earth has its origin in the fullness of source which is the Father, then the angels constitute the first supernatural world of pure and perfect spirits, the first assembly of hierarchized free beings, the first universe in which all the parts are in quest of their primordial unity. As pure spirits they have a native and secret affinity to God who is Spirit.

From the first moment of their creation they are in possession of all their faculties, natural and supernatural. They have neither childhood nor adolescence nor growth, and from the start they are capable of making their fundamental choice,

¹⁰ H. Rahner, *The Spirituality of Saint Ignatius Loyola* (Westminster: Newman Press, 1953), p. 36-37.

either to accept or to reject the grace which they received collectively in nine choirs.

The catastrophe takes place. It is the total rejection of the supernatural, the fall of a multitude declaring its solidarity, the first spiritual world overthrown and irrevocably destroyed. The sin of the angels becomes thus the exemplar, so to speak, of all other sins. It is the source of that immense solidarity in evil into which will be incorporated every other rejection and denial of divine grace. As leader of the revolt Lucifer becomes the tempter, the liar, the murderer from the beginning, the demon Legion mentioned in the Gospel. By his social instinct, or rather, by his pride of race, he seeks to throw off its axis the supernatural world on earth just as he had ruined the one in heaven. He scores a masterful success in attacking the head of humanity. He drags down all of humanity in his fall by an original sin which is the counterpart of the original sin of the devils, and which has the same spiritual and collective traits.

Similarly, what interests St. Ignatius in the sin of Adam and Eve is not so much their disobedience as "the great corruption which came upon the human race," that mass of human beings "all going down to hell." Here is the full source from which the sin of the human family takes its origin, the fundamental error of wishing to seize by one's self and for one's self the gift of God which, as such, is never bestowed except for the totality of a multitude. It is the racial pride of a spirit who severs divine love at its root, "the desire to be absolute and independent instead of subject, the preference of one's separate and solitary advantage to the good of the whole whereof one is but a part. It is the self-centralizing, self-exalting tendency let loose from the yoke of reason to run its course, and not restrained to the service of God, and by the higher law of universal good."¹¹

This rejection of grace received as head of the human race was the sin of Adam, and it was directly dependent upon the sin of Lucifer. In recalling the account in Genesis, St. Ignatius wishes only to present the genealogy of evil, to establish this continuity between the revolt of the pure spirits and that of the incarnate spirits. His purpose is to press to its

¹¹ G. Tyrrell, *Hard Sayings* (London: Longmans Green, 1901), p. 79.

ultimate conclusion that inexorable logic which binds all the damned with the same chain. "Whoever commits sin is a child of the devil, for the devil has sinned from the beginning." (1 Jo 3.8) All men are by nature involved in one and the same universal catastrophe, they are lost *en masse*. It is at this center of misery that Ignatius feels the heritage of sin weighing heavily upon them, and the realism of his words "an ulcer and an abscess" recalls that of St. Paul's words at the beginning of his epistle to the Romans (1.24-32). Hence the question of numbers falls into the background. There are in hell, says St. Ignatius, "countless others who have been lost for fewer sins than I have committed." It is even possible for a man to be condemned to hell "because of one mortal sin." The whole enormity of his sin consists in having ratified in his own life the rebellion of Lucifer and of Adam, in having shared in the evil within the anti-Church of the fallen spirits of all worlds and all times.

From this viewpoint of collective responsibilities, the meditation on personal sins takes on new meaning. In the text of the *Exercises* the emphasis on the individual is undoubtedly the more marked. The fourth point, which recalls St. Angela of Foligno's vision of the two abysses, is a solitary mystical experience. But the other motives of contrition pointed out by St. Ignatius lend themselves easily to being adapted to more extensive horizons. Thus, in the second point, the common estimation of the Church could be a very useful basis for "weighing the gravity of my sins and seeing their loathsomeness and malice." Even though it were forbidden by God's law, revealed or positive, sin would still have an intrinsic ugliness. Allow a man, a family, a society, to abandon itself to lies and to anger; we will see that immediately life becomes impossible. "And so of resentment, peevishness, discontent, sarcasm, ill-nature, pride, arrogance, boasting, meanness, avarice, selfishness, fraud, dishonesty; not to speak of coarser vices like drunkenness and impurity. Let any one of them run its course unimpeded, and it stands to reason that it will destroy the happiness of mankind, and make life, individual and social, altogether unbearable and impossible."¹²

This essential holiness of the universal order reappears in

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 99.

the fifth point of St. Ignatius' meditation (*Exer.*, no. 60). There the repentent sinner asks himself how it is that the universe continues to follow its harmonious laws when the moral order has been overthrown. The "cry of wonder accompanied by surging emotions" re-echoes "before the assembly of saints and angels." If their mere presence is a source of humiliation for this insignificant rebel who is the sinner (third point), how overwhelming would it not become if the angels and saints did not intercede for him? Is it not the mystery of the Communion of Saints which sheds light on this whole situation? Reparation appeals to the living forces of the entire Mystical Body. Is it not that the Church itself has already been affected by the injury, in the collectivity of her members? Not the least among present-day theologians have emphasized the social resonances of all sin. This is exactly in the spirit of the Exercises.

In the plan of God all men are bound together. They form a vast body, so to speak, with Christ as its head, and directed in its totality to the procurement of God's glory and the eternal happiness of each of its members. Each in his own place and within his own sphere must contribute to the common cause. Consequently no one acts in isolation. He is part of that immense choir in heaven and on earth which sings the glory of the Creator, and the false notes which he sometimes allows himself not only disrupt the general harmony, they also affect all the other participants. In other words, the sinful act of one individual produces an inevitable repercussion in the moral life of humanity at large. By violating the order according to which he should tend toward his end, the sinner, as far as lies within his power, works to overthrow and destroy it. The liberty which he allows himself is not a bad example, the consequences of which are completely outside his power to prevent or limit; it is also a direct encroachment upon all those who must necessarily maintain and safeguard this law in order to arrive at an end. It is also against them that the sinner contracts a true debt.¹³

Seen in these perspectives the meditations on the general judgment and on hell serve as excellent complements to the preceding exercises. In them we see sin made human, universal, social, eternal, carried out to its ultimate unfolding. It is the circle of evil closing upon itself, the sphere of sin flying wildly in its orbit outside the supernatural.

Would it not be possible to prolong the thought of St. Ig-

¹³ P. Galtier, *Le péché et la pénitence* (Paris, 1929), p. 44.

natus and to speak of a synthesis of the sin of the world, such as he suggests in the colloquies of the exercises of the First Week? We could avail ourselves of many texts of St. Paul. It is well known that the Apostle has a fondness for personifying sin; he speaks of its reign, he gives it servants, members, companions who follow him beyond the grave. St. Ignatius, it is true, does not evoke the same vision, but he does give sin its vital organs in the passions and in the world. By multiplying his sins the sinner imprisons himself in a network of despotic habits which enlase him with their tentacles. Sin has its place of incarnation, or at least of growth, and that place is the world. It is there that it proliferates and finds its center of crystallization in complacent public opinion. It is there that Satan builds his anti-Church, in which sins clash and form a block. This consideration forms the obvious transition between the exercises of the first and second week.

The Second Week

The essential theme of the last three weeks of the *Exercises* with their proper method of prayer, concerns Christ in His mysteries. The primacy of God's glory, established in the foundation meditation, receives new clarity by reason of the Incarnation of the Son of God and of his earthly history. *Gloria Patris, Filius vivens*. We can see the level on which St. Ignatius' thought develops. This "contemplation" is not simply a pious historical remembrance. It must be made actual and personal if one is to know intimately, love ardently, and follow faithfully the Christ who is ever alive in His Church. His Gospel is not a dead letter; it enters into the daily life of the Church. It is not only the agony of its Head that the Church shares with Him until the end of the world; it also prolongs His contemplation and pastoral action, His preaching and authority, His compassion and benevolence, His successes and setbacks, His witness and martyrdom, His death and resurrection. It is not only in the liturgical year that the Church relives all these mysteries, but also in the history of each day. And the transposition that Msgr. R. H. Benson made long ago in his book *Christ in the Church* is not without interest for anyone who wishes to make the Exercises, not with the detachment of one who retires to his tent and cuts

himself off from all reality, but with the concern of a son deeply interested in the Church, and with her present-day needs clearly before his eyes.

Upon this life of Christ in the Church is to be projected the great light of the contemplation on the Kingdom and the meditation on the Two Standards. These are Ignatian meditations *par excellence*. In no other writings does St. Ignatius show himself more original and yet more traditional. He shows his originality in transferring to the spiritual life his ideal of chivalry and his ardent desire to distinguish himself in a noble cause, in his extravagant love for the humanity of Christ, and in his flair for greater service in sacrifice—a flair which accords so well with Christ's excess of love. Ignatius shows himself the man of tradition in taking up and making his own the great idea of the two ways or the two cities, an idea developed before him by St. Augustine, St. Caesarius of Arles, St. Gregory, Paul of Aquileia, St. Beatus, and Raban Maur, and regathered by Werner Kuessenberg in his *Flores Sanctorum*.¹⁴ The theme, therefore, is not new, but the manner in which St. Ignatius uses it in his spiritual synthesis gives it new value.

The Two Standards

The meditation on the Two Standards, introduced by the contemplation of the Kingdom, is at the heart of the *Spiritual Exercises*, just as it is at the center of the Church's spirituality. It penetrates to the depths of the mystery of the Church on earth and of her paradoxical situation—in this world.

It was the master stroke of St. Augustine to have linked up, in the *De Civitate Dei*, the destiny of the human race with the principles governing the value of each man's destiny. By this confrontation he enlightened the mystery of souls and that of the church. The whole history of the Church and of each of its members is summed up in the antagonism of the two loves. "Two loves have created two cities: love of self has built the city of this world which rises up even to the contempt of God; and the love of God has built the heavenly city which rises up even to the contempt of self."

Under the symbol of the Two Standards St. Ignatius takes

¹⁴ F. Tournier, "*Les deux cités*," *Etudes* 123 (1910), p. 654.

up the synthesis of the great Bishop of Hippo. The experiences of these two converts were so much alike that it is not surprising to find a harmony between their intuitions on the level of both the interior life and the life of the Church.

In Augustine the theology of the City of God, written from the depths of his interior soul-life, gave rise to a devoted, but at the same time militant, love of the pilgrim Church, which was constantly at war with the prince of the kingdom of the world. In Ignatius we find the same burning, and yet at the same time, serene joy of battling for the Church under the banner of Christ his Commander-in-chief, a joy which we can explain only by a grace-imparted insight into the mysteries of God and the Church given him at Manresa. Augustine and Ignatius found their God, not in the blissful solitude of a merely subjective interior life, but on the battlefield of "a thousand cares for the Church"; and this "solicitude for all the Churches" (2 Cor 11:28) was the criterion by which they judged the genuineness of the various spirits.¹⁵

No less than St. Augustine, St. Ignatius sees the destiny of each individual soul as enclosed within the destiny of the Church. He links the vocation and holiness of each member to the Mystical Body at large. At the critical moment of the election, the author of the *Exercises* places before the retreatant's eyes the struggle between the two cities, in which, willingly or unwillingly, he finds himself involved. He is forced to take a stand. "Whoever is not with me is against me, and whoever does not gather disperses." He is under constraint to follow the path of the Gospel. "If anyone wishes to come after me, let him deny himself, take up his cross daily and follow me." He is compelled to make the leap toward a true holiness.

To make concrete the meditation on the Two Standards, the great scene of the temptation of Christ is perfectly suited. Within the framework of the Exercises, Christ's temptation in the desert should be shown in parallel with the temptation of our first parents in paradise, and it should be pointed out that the victory of the Redeemer over the enemy of human nature was the victory of the second Adam with the weapons of poverty and humility.

If a framework of even wider perspectives is sought, it can be found in the last chapters of St. John's Apocalypse. These

¹⁵ H. Rahner, *op. cit.* (note 8), p. 77-78.

bring out St. Ignatius' thought in all its boldness, by the description of the two enemy cities Babylon and Jerusalem.

In the course of the Church's history the reconciliation between the two cities has been frequently attempted. The city of Satan is "the great city that has dominion over the kings of the earth." (Ap 17.18) "Her sins are piled up to the skies, and God has remembered her crimes." (Ap 18.5) "The woman was dressed in purple and scarlet, and glittered with gold, precious stones and pearls. She had in her hand a gold cup full of accursed things, and the impurities of her immorality. On her forehead there was written a name that was symbolic: Mighty Babylon, mother of idolatresses and of earth's abominations." (Ap 17.4-6) It is the synagogue of Satan, in which his throne has been set up for a ceremony of false doctrines and idolatrous worship. After its fall the city becomes "the haunt of demons, and a dungeon for every foul spirit and every unclean and loathsome bird." (Ap 18.2) Its ruin has not put an end to the work of hell. Like a network this campaign extends over the whole world into which the Evil One dispatches his subordinates. Among the pre-Gnostic aeons St. Paul recognized them: "Principalities, dominations, sovereigns of the world of darkness, evil spirits spread abroad in the air." (Eph 6.12) They are all at the command of the chief, "the great dragon, the ancient serpent." (Ap 12.9) All his emissaries have received the same orders: to sow confusion and division, "to lay snares for men and bind them with chains; to tempt them to covet riches, to lead them to the empty honors of this world, and to bring them finally to overweening pride."

The vision of Jerusalem transports us to a new heaven and a new earth. It is the Jerusalem on high, our mother (Gal 4.26) which gives us true liberty, the liberty of Christ. All the splendors of creation are reunited in her. "She comes down out of heaven from God, like a bride dressed and ready to meet her husband." (Ap 21.2) "The city does not need the sun nor the moon to shine in it, for the glory of God lighted it, and the Lamb is its lamp. The heathen will walk by its light. The kings of the earth will bring their splendor to it. Its gates will never be shut by day—for there will be no night there and they will bring the splendor and the wealth

of the heathen into it. Nothing unclean will ever enter it, nor anyone who indulges in abominable practices and falsehoods, but only those who are written in the Lamb's book of life." (Ap 21.23-27) In the midst of this city stands "the sovereign and true commander, His appearance beautiful and attractive." It is the Master of the new and eternal covenant. All the allegories of the nuptials of God and humanity announced by the prophets have become reality. "He pitched his tent with men, and he will live with them. They will be his people and God Himself will be with them, and he will wipe every tear from their eyes." (Ap 21.3) To this city His Spouse, Christ too sends emissaries. St. Paul enumerates their different charisms: "He has given us some men as apostles, some as prophets, some as missionaries, some as pastors and teachers, in order to fit his people for the work of service, for building the body of Christ." (Eph 4.11-12) Their rôle is "to help all" to come to "a knowledge of the true life exemplified in the sovereign and true commander." But this beautiful Jerusalem does not let us forget that in this world the two cities are "one in body and separated in heart." It is indeed the Church in which are verified the parables of the wheat and the cockle, the wise and foolish virgins, the catch of good and bad fish. By his example and teaching Christ draws the boundaries of separation. He marks the stages of the ascending life: poverty, patience with suffering and injustices, humility of heart.

Of this threefold grace asked again and again in the colloquies to Our Lady, to the Son and to the Father, St. Ignatius gives another infallible criterion: "Each one should assure himself that he will make progress in the spiritual paths, to the extent that he divests himself of self-love, of his own will, and of his own interest." By inverting the terms slightly we have in these three words the laws of perfection in a spirituality centered in the Church. Essentially communitarian, this spirituality abolishes in all its forms that which is "one's own," the private, the individual (in the selfish sense of the word). She wishes disinterestedness, the abnegation and obedience of an apostle in whom perfect self-possession is measured by the amplitude and generosity of self-dispossession.

At this stage of the *Exercises* we can look back and see the ground we have covered: the man converted from sin has become an apostle, the service of God has become the service of the Church, obedience to Christ has become obedience to the Church. "God, Church, obedience: these now form the triad by which Ignatius measures all ethical values . . . Henceforth his purpose is to aid the souls of other men. From now on, the 'social moment' in the meditation on the Two Standards, which is at the same time the dynamic element in the picture of Christ, occupied Ignatius' whole mind, and everything else had to be subordinated to this new ideal of service."¹⁶

The Fourth Week

The fourth week³ of the *Exercises*, too often abridged in retreats, confirms this atmosphere and spirit of the Church in which the whole Ignatian prayer has developed. The contemplation of the glorious mysteries of Christ's life, into which the *contemplatio ad amorem* can fittingly be interwoven, strengthens the bond between the service of God and the service of souls. Is not this bond forged precisely by the resurrection of Christ and by His sending of the Spirit? For Christ the Head this phase marks the glorious life, the return to the Father, and the sending of the Holy Spirit as "another Consoler." For the Mystical Christ, the Church, this is the phase of the work of redemption to be pursued, the continuation of the Trinitarian missions: "As the Father sent me forth so I now send you." (Jn 20.21) It is the phase of the Apostles' mission to the world. "Go and make disciples of all the heathen." (Mt 28.19) It is especially the mystery of the Lord's presence "until He comes." "And I am with you always, to the very close of the age." (Mt 28.20) The presence of Christ in the Church is an immanence of activity. The consciousness of this presence, which the soul acquires by recalling the apparitions, especially the apparition to Mary Magdalene, "the apostle of the apostles," fixes the soul in a state of active union with the Lord.

It is noteworthy that all the "contemplations" of the fourth week correspond to those of the second. In both cases we are

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 55-56.

concerned with the Church in a state of service under command; to the call of the King corresponds the mandate and mission to the world. In the *Spiritual Exercises* the call and the carrying out of the call are the seal of this double benediction. Before His passion the Lord calls those whom He has chosen to serve Him as His friends; He gives them a definite function, and bestows on them graces and powers. He prepares and measures the resources of this apostolic mission, and adapts their mentality and activity to it. After the great test of Calvary He tells those who have been faithful to Him to go forth, spread, and multiply the treasures of His victorious grace and of His risen life. Thus, to the power of the keys promised them during His public life corresponds the mission given at the time of the apparition on Easter evening. And to the temporary experience of the Galilean ministry corresponds the command to be His witnesses to the ends of the earth. The two miraculous catches of fish, one before and one after the passion, have the same symbolic value for these "fishers of men." To the exigencies of the apostolate—"If anyone wishes to come after me"—correspond the final words of pastoral perfection: "If you love me, feed my sheep."

Thus, gradually and in a magnificent intuition of the Christian mystery, of the Paschal mystery, St. Ignatius passes from "thinking with Christ" to "thinking with the Church." To this purpose we find a series of counsels at the end of his book, the importance of which cannot be overestimated. These are the counsels "to foster the true attitude of mind we ought to have in the Church Militant," or, better and more simply, the Rules for Thinking with the Church.¹⁷ They are the exact

¹⁷ According to most authors the sources of these rules of orthodoxy are to be sought in the works of Josse Clichetove, *De veneratione sanctorum; Propugnaculum Ecclesiae; Antilutherus; Improbatio quorumdam articulorum Martini Lutheri*, and in the acts of the council which the bishops of the province of Sens held at Paris in 1528. St. Ignatius undoubtedly came to know these writings during his stay in Paris. In the redaction of the Rules, he borrowed ideas and even phrases from them. The parallelism of the texts offer conclusive proof of this. (Cf. P. Dudon, *Saint Ignatius of Loyola* [Milwaukee: Bruce, 1949] p. 457-462.)

According to chapter 38 of the *Directory*, it was only towards 1540 that the Rules for Thinking with the Church were added to the text of the *Exercises*. Nevertheless they are not just an appendix tacked on, meaningful only for the Protestantism of the sixteenth century. Like the Rules for the Discernment of Spirits, the Three Classes of Men and the Three

parallel of the rules of discernment of spirits for the exercises of the second week, and they are a marvelous illumination of the contemplations of the fourth week. They have the same spirit of "gladness and intense joy because of the great joy and glory of Christ our Lord."

The deepest meaning of the *Exercises* of the fourth week is summarized in the fourth and fifth points: "This will be to consider the divinity, which seemed to hide itself during the passion, now appearing and manifesting itself so miraculously in the most holy Resurrection in its true and most sacred effects. Consider the office of consoler that Christ our Lord exercises, and compare it with the way in which friends are wont to console each other." The rules for thinking with the Church have the same characteristics.

To quote the epistle to the Romans: Christ "has been decisively declared Son of God in his holiness of spirit, by being raised from the dead." (Rom 1.4) Christ's Church too has entered into the splendor of her glory; she too manifests her divinity; she is His spouse and our mother, and everything is said in these two words. But in the eschatological age, during which the hierarchical Church lives out its history in this world, during which the forty Paschal days are still tinged with the spirit of the forty days in the desert, the rays of light are still mixed with shadow, appearances are deceptive, the brightness of the divine splendor is hidden under earthly appearances. Having been previously shorn of all individualisms, St. Ignatius' retreatant should be "ready and prompt to obey in all things," to submit himself to a realistic discipline, to recognize the voice of his master in the accents of the hierarchy. He should possess this spiritual sense for the things of the Church, for the persons of the Church—this sympathetic knowledge which renders him sensitive to all its supernatural manifestations. First of all, in its sacramental economy, and especially in the sacrament of the Body of Christ and in the sacrament of the power of the keys. The liturgy surrounds these prayers and sacramental rites with its deep

Degrees of Humility, the Rules for Thinking with the Church are incorporated into Ignatian spirituality, giving it a wider and more profound ecclesial quality. On this point we have followed the interpretation of E. Przywara in his excellent *Deus semper maior* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1940) 3, 336-360.

and mysterious symbolism. Just as St. Ignatius desired so much that the order of exercises should follow the hours of the Church's prayer, at least for Mass and Vespers of each day, so too the true son of the Church will perform his worship in spirit and truth within this life-giving atmosphere. He will see remarkable reflections of the divine splendor in the religious life and in the excellence of virginity, "the vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity, and every vow of supererogatory perfection," the sacramentals and commandments of the Church, its theological teaching in the tradition of the ancient and modern Fathers, etc. Like the disciples of Emmaus, he should have this supernatural instinct, this spiritual sense by which to taste interiorly the sweetness of the invisible world which impregnates the whole Church, in its members and persons, in its orders and institutions.

The Church is not only the Body of Christ and His fullness, it is also the center from which the Spirit is sent forth, the living habitat of the "other Consoler." St. Ignatius emphasizes this attitude of the Lord which is particularly notable after His resurrection. We can almost say that in His nostalgia for earth, Christ wished to leave to His own the taste of that peace which He had brought into the world. The retreatant must experience this euphoria of spiritual life which is produced by the invisible missions of Christ and His Spirit. It is then that the promise made at the Last Supper is fulfilled. "If you really love me you will observe my commandments. And I will ask the Father and He will give you another Helper to be with you always. It is the Spirit of Truth. The world cannot obtain it, because it does not see it or recognize it; you can recognize it because it stays with you and is within you." (Jn 14.15-17) "The Helper, the Holy Spirit which the Father will send in my place, will teach you everything and remind you of everything I have told you." (Jn 14.26) From this great revelation St. Ignatius draws his golden rule: "Between the Spouse who is Christ our Lord, and the Church His Spouse, it is one and the same Spirit who governs and directs us for the salvation of our souls." To those who are risen with Christ this Spirit brings freedom, joy, tranquillity of conscience, charity. The asceticism of fear is certainly not excluded, but its purpose is "that one may easily advance to

filial fear which is wholly pleasing and agreeable to God our Lord, since it is inseparably associated with the love of Him." In this eighteenth rule we recognize the teaching of St. Paul in the epistles to the Galatians and Romans: "What the Spirit produces is love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness, self-control." (Gal 5.22) It is also the great tranquillity of our predestination in Christ. "It is God who guarantees us and you to Christ; he has anointed us and put his seal upon us and given us his spirit in our hearts, as his guarantee." (2 Cor 1.21-22) That is why "we ought not to speak much of predestination, looking at it from every angle." Having triumphed over the world with regard to sin, justice, and judgment, the Spirit has given us our guarantee of eternity. There is no need to retrace our steps and bring up the question of the meaning of life. The answer is already at hand, it is in the present moment of our good works. "If you love me, keep my commandments . . . My commandment is that you love one another as I have loved you." (Jn 13.34; 14.15)

By the exercises of the fourth week and by the rules which elucidate them, we are led back to our characteristic note of Ignatian spirituality—a mystique of action. In this mystique the grace of prayer transforms not only the passivities of the soul, but also its activities. The result is excellent for all apostolic workers. It is the right balance between contemplation and action, between grace of state and duty of state, between perfection of state and perfection of function, between the essential holiness of the Church and the personal holiness of its members. In these conditions the apostle can really become the pure power of God.

This is the secret of the holiness of the Church Militant, and the *Exercises* are an excellent initiation into this holiness.

* * * *

This explains why great men of the Church, like St. Charles Borromeo, found in the *Exercises* the best nourishment of their prayer. They discovered in them a point of contact between their personal piety and that of the entire Church. The case of the great bishop of Milan is particularly interesting.

By personal inclination and as a result of certain influences, he was led to the spirituality of the *Exercises*. But the great truths of the *Exercises* upon which he meditated became for him principles of pastoral activity. The "Counsels and Rules" which he wrote in his own hand upon the text of the Ignatian *Exercises*, as well as the measures he laid down in the *Acta Mediolanensis Ecclesiae* for the spiritual formation of his clergy, are a lasting testimony to this. "A book like the *Exercises* of St. Ignatius, which asserts and imposes itself as the wisest and most universal code of the spiritual conduct of souls, as an inexhaustible source of the deepest and most solid piety, which stirs up the soul irresistibly and guides it unflinchingly to conversion, to the highest spirituality and perfection,—such a book was to hold first place among the books preferred by our Cardinal, who reproduced so well their characteristic genius and noblest aspirations, in a word, their whole spirit."¹⁸

St. Charles Borromeo had understood the providential mission of St. Ignatius in the development of the spirituality of the Church. In the time of the counter-reformation it was not sufficiently emphasized that the reform of the hierarchy goes hand in hand with a mystical resurgence. The counter-reformation was an institutional reform tied up with personal reform. All the Saints of that time felt themselves to be in the line of the great men of the Church, and it was in this catholic belief that their spirituality acquired all its force, value and richness.

¹⁸ A. Ratti, *San Carlo e gli Esercizi di Sant'Ignazio*, in *Collection de la Bibliothèque des Exercices* (Enghien, Belgium), no. 32, p. 41. Cf. *M.H.S.J.*, p. 24.



Jesuits Still Serve the Potawatomi

Joseph S. Karol, S.J.

Every Sunday and holyday for fifteen years, a priest and a catechist have driven from St. Mary's College in the early morning and headed for the Potawatomi Indian Reservation, some twenty miles northeast of the college. There, at the wooden chapel of Our Lady of the Snows, the missionaries have given the Indians the services of the Church.

What makes this apostolate different from the others cared for by the college is the fact that it is a continuation of a work that Ours began in the seventeenth century. Father Claude Allouez opened the first mission for the Potawatomi in 1669, in the Lake Michigan country, their original home. With but two interruptions, one of them due to the suppression, Ours have worked for the Potawatomi for almost three hundred years.

The Catholic members of this tribe form one of the oldest Catholic congregations in the mid-west. They have an interesting history, not only because of their close connection with the religious and political history of America, but also because their story is the story of many tribes moved west by the government.

Background

The Potawatomi originally were united in one nation with the Ottawa and the Chippewa, the tribe of Nakomis, Iagoo and the other well-known characters of Longfellow's *Hiawatha*. This nation lived in the lower peninsula of Michigan about the time that Columbus discovered America. Then they moved to the northern peninsula of Michigan and to northern Wisconsin. One group broke from the nation and went off on their own to the south. They were called the Potawatomi, "the people of the fire"; that is, those who build a fire of their own.

When Jean Nicollet landed on the shores of Green Bay in 1634, it was the Potawatomi who met him, for they had al-

ready moved into the area. Their first contact with missionaries came in 1641 at Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan. Here representatives of the tribe who had gone to the "Soo" for the fishing, met St. Isaac Jogues, S.J. who had come up from the Huron mission at Fort Ste. Marie on Georgian Bay, to contact the tribes from the West. Father Jogues returned to tell his fellow missionaries that the Indians of the West wanted the Blackrobes to come to them. The Jesuits were planning to expand their mission activity to these tribes when the Iroquois came and destroyed the Huron mission. Those missionaries who were not martyred returned to Quebec.

The Potawatomi regularly went to the great fisheries on Lake Superior near the present site of Ashland, Wisconsin. They arrived there in 1665 to find that Father Claude Allouez had established a mission on the Lake and was preaching to Huron refugees as well as to the natives of the area.

The Potawatomi invited Father Allouez to open a mission in their country, so he turned the Lake Superior mission over to Father Marquette and went to Green Bay. There, in 1669, he opened the St. Francis Xavier Mission.

All this time however, the Potawatomi were moving south, and by the end of the seventeenth century they had pretty well occupied the shores of Lake Michigan from the present site of Manitowoc, Wisconsin around the head of the lake and up to Grand River, Michigan. They also moved south into Indiana as far as the Wabash River and into the Illinois hinterland. Their lands included what are now the sites of Milwaukee, Chicago, South Bend and Grand Rapids.

The tribe was divided into two sections. Those who lived in Wisconsin and in Illinois were called the Prairie Band; those in Michigan and Indiana were called the Forest Band. This latter group was again divided into those who lived near Lake Michigan, or the St. Joseph Band, and those who lived inland, or the Wabash Band.

Father Marquette passed through Chicago in 1673, on his way to Green Bay after he had discovered the Mississippi River. He returned to Chicago the next year and spent the winter of 1674-5 in a cabin near what is now the downtown area. In 1688, Father Allouez established the Mission of St. Joseph on the St. Joseph river, near what is now Niles, Michi-

gan. Father Allouez was said to have preached the Gospel to 100,000 Indians, and came to be known as the Apostle of the Algonquins. His Mission of St. Joseph was for the Forest Band, and it continued until the Jesuits were banished from North America in 1762.

Father Pinet, S.J., conducted the Guardian Angel Mission in Chicago from 1698 to 1702. The site of the mission is said to have been in or near the Loop, somewhere between the forks and the mouth of the Chicago River. After this mission closed, the only missionaries who contacted the Potawatomi living in the Chicago area were those who used the portage there in passing between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi valley via the Illinois River.

During the eighteenth century, the Potawatomi fought in various wars on the side of the French. They engaged in the Fox War and the French and Indian Wars, which culminated in the great battle on the Plains of Abraham at Quebec. In 1759 they and other midwestern tribes fought there under Montcalm against the British.

The Potawatomi first joined Pontiac against the English but during the Revolutionary War, the British agents incited them against the Americans. After the war, they made a peace treaty with the United States. In 1795 they ceded to the government six square miles at the mouth of the Chicago River, where today is located the heart of the great metropolis. This first sale of land was the handwriting on the wall for the tribe. Some of the Potawatomi who feared the encroachments of the white man fought under Tecumseh, but most remained loyal to their treaty with the government.

The Chicago group or Prairie Band was visited periodically in the early 1800's by the few missionaries then in the midwest, Fathers Richard, Stephen Badin and St. Cyr. In 1833 the Prairie Band ceded five million acres of land to the government for fifteen cents an acre. Between 1835 and 1837 most of them moved to their new lands in Southwestern Iowa near Council Bluffs, and to Eastern Kansas, near Kansas City.

In 1837, Father Hoecken, S.J., began to minister to the group in Kansas. The next year, Father Peter DeSmet, S.J. began his long and famous career as a missionary to the

Indians of the west, by opening a mission among the Potawatomi settled around Council Bluffs.

Meanwhile, the Forest Band of Indiana and Michigan, after the Jesuit mission at St. Joseph closed, were visited from time to time first by the priests from Vincennes, Fathers Gibault and Rivet, and then by the pioneer priests from Detroit: Fathers Reze, Stephen Badin, first priest ordained in the United States and who re-opened St. Joseph Mission, DeSeille, Boheme and finally, Father Petit. During the pastorates of Fathers DeSeille and Petit, Bishop Bruté came from Vincennes to administer Confirmation.

Father Petit's time as a pastor was a sad one, for in 1837, the year he arrived among the Potawatomi, the Indians were given lands in Kansas in exchange for those they had ceded in 1832. The next year, Father Petit accompanied the major part of the Forest Band to Kansas. Escorted by soldiers, thirty of them died on the terrible "Trail of Death" between Indiana and Kansas. After they reached the Osage River, Father Petit turned his flock over to Father Hoecken.

The Wabash group went to Sugar Creek, near present Mound City, Kansas; another, the St. Joseph or Michigan group, settled near Potawatomi Creek. Father Hoecken was with the latter group. The next spring, in March, they joined the other group at Sugar Creek and St. Mary's Mission was started there.

In five successive migrations between 1834 and 1840, over two thousand Potawatomi had arrived in the Osage River district. The majority of these were the Forest Band, but there were some of the Prairie Band among them, also.

The main Prairie Band, the group from Wisconsin and Illinois, were still in the Council Bluffs area. Some Ottawa and Chippewa were with them, and they called themselves the United Nation of the Ottawa, Chippewa and Potawatomi, for they said that they had been united in one nation before the white man came. After Father DeSmet began the mission at Council Bluffs, he left for the west, and Fathers Verreydt and Hoecken, together with Brothers Mazzella and Miles, all of the Society of Jesus, composed the staff in 1841. In that year, however, the mission was closed and the Jesuits

went to Sugar Creek. Father Hoecken visited the Prairie Band from Sugar Creek.

The Sugar Creek mission of St. Mary's prospered. There was a church that was well attended, and a school for boys. In 1841, Blessed Philippine Duchesne, then seventy-two, arrived with three other Religious of the Sacred Heart to open a school for the girls. Blessed Philippine remained only a year because of her age and ill health, and though she could not teach, happy in the thought that a life-long ambition was being fulfilled, she prayed for hours every day in the chapel. The Potawatomi called her "The woman who always prays."

The last living link with the Sugar Creek Mission died ten years ago on the Potawatomi Reservation, Mayetta, Kansas. He was Frank Jackson (Wapinummit), oldest living native Kansan before his death at 104. He was born in 1838, and was baptized at Sugar Creek in 1840, so he saw and may have known Blessed Philippine Duchesne.

In 1847, when Frank was nine years old, the Potawatomi moved north to a new reservation on the Kansas River, west of Topeka, as a result of the treaty of 1846. The mission was re-established in 1848 and became St. Mary's, Kansas. All that Frank Jackson remembered of the migration was that he had the job of carrying a pail of maple syrup for his family.

On the new reservation, the Sugar Creek group was reunited with the Prairie Band from Council Bluffs, who had also made a treaty in 1846 and moved two years later.

At St. Mary's, the Jesuits and the Religious of the Sacred Heart continued their schools. Several Jesuits devoted all of their time to visiting the families scattered over the thirty square mile reservation.

In 1867, the Potawatomi made a new treaty with the government and the reservation was broken up. Many of the Indians sold their lands at St. Mary's and moved to a new location in central Oklahoma, mostly around Shawnee. They live there today and have fine schools. The Benedictine Fathers and the Sisters of Mercy carry on the work.

The group that remained at St. Mary's moved to a new eleven mile square reservation in Jackson County that had been carved out of one corner of their old reservation.

The mission school for boys became St. Mary's College in

1869, and the girls' school became the Sacred Heart Academy. In 1879 a fire completely destroyed the boys' building, so the Jesuits bought the academy building and the Religious of the Sacred Heart left.

The Indians on the new, smaller reservation, twenty miles northeast of the college, were still cared for by the Jesuits, and especially by Father Gailland, 1848-1877. When Holy Cross Parish was built near Emmet in the 80's, the Indians attended Mass there and the pastors of the parish also said Mass in homes on the reservation. St. Joseph's Church was built at Hoyt in 1900, and this was used by the Indians living on the eastern side of the reservation.

All this time the Potawatomi had been trying to get a church of their own. When Father John A. Murphy became pastor at Emmet, he organized the building of a church. Work was begun in June 1912, and finished in October. The parishioners did most of the work. The unique name of Our Lady of the Snows was given to the building for the following reason. During the early Eighties, Mary Masquat, wife of Chief Masquat, became very ill. The Indians made a novena to the Blessed Virgin for the recovery of the sick woman. The pastor of Holy Cross Parish came often to console the sick woman and bring her Communion. Every trip involved a long journey through the heavy snows that fell that winter, so when the woman recovered, the Indians said that if they ever built a church, they would call it after St. Mary of the Snows.

The pastors of Emmet and Holton divided the care of the new church, which served as a mission church. In 1918, Father Geinitz was appointed pastor of the newly organized church at Mayetta, and was given charge of the reservation church. He did much for the parish during his sixteen years as pastor. When the church at Hoyt was closed, Father Geinitz brought the bell and the stained glass windows to Our Lady of the Snows.

When Father Geinitz retired in 1934, Bishop Johannes of Leavenworth appointed Father John J. Ryan of Holton to care for Mayetta and Our Lady of the Snows as mission churches. For a time, Father Ryan had to say Mass at all three places on Sunday and found it very difficult to care for

all the related duties. Beginning in 1936, the Sisters of Charity of Leavenworth held a two week religious summer school for the children of the parish. In 1938, the Jesuit scholastics from St. Mary's College, St. Mary's Kansas, took over this work. That year, Bishop Schulte relieved the Holton pastor of the duty of saying the third Mass at the reservation and asked the Jesuits at St. Mary's to resume the work they had started for the Potawatomi in 1669, and assist the pastor at Holton by caring for the reservation church.

Since then, there has been Mass every Sunday, followed by a catechism class for the children who cannot attend Catholic school. Forty of the parish children attend the Catholic school in Marty, South Dakota. Three members of the parish have become religious.

What of the future? The Potawatomi, especially the Catholics, have been very successful at the process of integration into the ordinary stream of American life. Work in factories during the last war has hastened this process. The government is seriously considering the closing of the reservation. If this happens, Our Lady of the Snows will change from a mission church for Indians into a parish church for all neighboring Catholics, Indians included. In truth the transition has already started.

* * *

Father Edwin J. Healy, S.J.

Chester A. Burns, S.J.

For Father Edwin J. Healy, late professor of moral theology at the Gregorian University, who died in Rome, February 22, 1957, moderation is the key-note. Immoderate eulogy would distress him. He was born for—and he lived for—higher things. And he died seeking them.

He was a man moderate in all his ways and moderate language best expresses him. He was ordinary in thought, word, and deed; and, as a result, so it would seem, moderate in conduct and bearing. He was, briefly, a typical Jesuit of the

Detroit-Chicago provincial area, remarkable mainly to those who knew him for his ordinariness. This, despite his career as an eminent Catholic moralist.

Yet his ordinariness had a distinctive quality about it, a quality too obvious to remain long hidden. Try as you might (and as he might to obscure the evidence), you could not help noting that he was a thoroughbred. St. Thomas tells us that virtue long practiced becomes relatively easy. The remark suggests the secret well-spring of Farther Healy's ordinariness. He had the quiet knack of making difficult tasks look easy; and actually in his hands they probably became so. Whatever he did, whatever he said, whatever he wrote, seemed (to the onlooker) easy; and (as such onlooker) you were ready to dismiss them lightly—until called upon to do some small similar thing yourself. Then you realized that Father Healy's ordinariness was not the commonplace matter you had thought it. He had not acquired his seemingly effortless competency by an act of wishful thinking or the use of comfortable, arm-chair methods. He *worked* to become the ordinary person he seemed to be. He had none of the "effortless superiority of the Balliol man" about him. He worked hard, constantly, cheerfully, though always with great calm and without ostentation.

Perhaps it was for this latter reason that even his habits of industry came to be taken for granted. The scholastic-theologians of his classes at West Baden who, like scholastics at all times everywhere, narrowly observed their professors and the mannerisms of each, referred to him (not without affection and admiration, and always respectfully) as a "hard-charger," often not pausing to reflect, that "hard-chargers" (hard workers, to you and me) are made, not born.

He had talent, of course, as all men created by God have and must have, without exception. What was exceptional about him was that he *worked* to develop his talents. He was not content, as many another might be, to be hailed as "a brilliant scholar," "a pleasing personality," "a popular teacher or preacher," though all these he was without visible striving. "*Qui potest majus, potest minus*," the familiar scholastic axiom, might easily explain this phenomenon. For what he aimed at chiefly was that at which St. Ignatius would have

every Jesuit aim, namely, "the acquirement of solid and perfect virtue, either with more spiritual visitations or fewer." As a result he became, with the years, both a scholar and a gentleman, and something rarer than and beyond these, yet something so ordinary as almost to be overlooked: a genuinely good religious, a virtuous and a holy man.

In view of all this, (almost, it might be said, at his whispered request), we shall not attempt to give anything like an exhaustive account of his life-story. The more salient features will suffice.

He was born in Detroit, February 19, 1897, into a family well-to-do and well known. As one of eight children, he was the only one destined to become a Jesuit, though a brother and sister were likewise to embrace the religious state. He attended the University of Detroit High School and (for two years) the University of Detroit itself. During the First World War he served in the United States Navy, attaining the rank of Ensign; and at the war's end, entered the novitiate at Florissant. After completing his juniorate studies at Florissant, he was sent to the French scholasticate in Jersey for Philosophy. He served his Regency in Cleveland, teaching two years in the high school and one year in the college. His theological studies were made at the Weston Scholasticate of the New England province, and he was ordained in Holy Rosary Church, Detroit, at the express request of Bishop Gallagher, a friend of the Healy family and Ordinary of the diocese. The year of Tertianship was spent in Cleveland; and this completed, he was sent to Rome for a biennium in moral theology, the latter event deciding his life-work and lending precision to his subsequent efforts.

Though he could not know it at the time, he had, when his *biennium* was concluded, something just short of twenty years in which to cultivate the particular field of labor assigned him by Divine Providence. The boundary lines of the field were sharply and clearly drawn. Viewed in retrospect, the work involved was of proportions so impressive as to seem to require a long life-time of years for any man to cope with. But twenty years suffices when the man in question is as serious, steadfast, studious, zealous, and untiring as was Father Edwin J. Healy. "*Consummatus in brevi, explevit tempora multa.*"

He would crowd into days, weeks, and months, work that another man, less serious, less steadfast, less studious, less zealous, less indefatigable, could not hope to spread leisurely over an equal number of years. If he held himself and his attainments lightly, he hoarded his time with the jealous concern of a miser weighing his gold. Hence, into each minute, each hour of every working-day went his concentrated efforts. But from the beginning of his teaching career, the efforts produced what they were intended to produce—results. "These, my students, my jewels are," he might justifiably have said at any time of later life, pointing them out with a pardonable pride.

For from the fall of 1939, when he began his teaching career as professor of moral theology at West Baden to the day of his death at the Gregorian in 1957, he formed uncounted classes of Jesuit theologians, as well as scholastics of other religious orders and aspirants to the diocesan priesthood, in the indispensable elements, the fundamentals, that is, of the Church's moral teaching. Just how many thousands of young priests he thus instructed, is a question we may leave to the statisticians to determine; but it is certain they were many.

Clearly, the office assigned him by obedience was no sinecure. The responsibility was great and the labor involved, heavy and demanding. But he never faltered. His life-work was his life, and he neither asked for, nor had he time for, any other. And in both his life-work and his life he was happy; for he was doing God's will, something sad-sounding, as of a far-off bell tolling, to many ears, and as little listened to, but always dear to him, as dear as home itself. In fact, once having left "home, father, mother, brother, and sister," it was the one home his heart spontaneously turned to, the only one he honestly and even heroically cherished. Humanly speaking, that is to say, weighed in the scale of instinctual tendencies, this was not easy: he had no more natural love of living in foreign lands and making his home there than the next man. But when obedience expressed itself he conformed quickly, with no ostentation, to "that which was commanded." Neither by facial expression, word, nor gesture did he ever betray that he had personal preferences, not to say objections,

in matters of this kind. He had schooled himself to look beyond limited horizons when God spoke within his heart. Hence, in whatever countries of the world he lived and travelled (and they were many), in each he found God's will as clearly made manifest as if an angel had spoken. For from the moment obedience ordered, there, wherever it was, was his home and his homeland. He was no sight-seeing cosmopolitan; just a generous Jesuit doing God's will from the heart.

It is a relatively easy matter to sift the record of twenty years of devoted labor and record one's personal impressions of them in a greater or lesser number of paragraphs and pages. But the devout living of such years is not so simple. Father Healy's twenty years of priestly ministry may have been, and, most probably, were, in the main, simple; for he was not one to clutter life needlessly. Yet the ministry itself was exacting, arduous, and characterized by a scrupulously-persistent practice of "the greater abnegation and continual mortification" so prized by St. Ignatius and stressed by him. In matters spiritual, as in matters moral, Father Healy was no trifler. Life, though full of healthy laughter for him, was itself no laughing matter.

In this he showed himself an Ignatian Jesuit. His asceticism was unmodernized, with apologies to no one. Though not displaying themselves as such on the surface, it was in abnegation and mortification that his life, like a good tree, was rooted. His work came almost by way of an aftermath. His teaching, guidance of souls, administering posts of responsibility in the Society and out of it, his writing of books, living in lands not naturally congenial, his giving of conferences, retreats, the hearing of confessions up to and beyond the exhaustion-point, his preaching, extensive business and spiritual correspondence, parlor-counselling of souls in distress: these and other priestly ministrations to himself alone known, were, without exception, each and all, incidental to and consequent upon this deeper vitality within him—his interior life, his life in union with God. The rest, beautiful and wonderful for the eye to gaze upon, were no more than the fountain-waters of his soul leaping up and dancing in the sun.

His "manner of living as to external things" was, as all the world could see, "ordinary," but interiorly it was different.

There was something there you could only guess at. Always and everywhere popular without sacrifice of principle, he was at the same time respected and acknowledgedly revered by his closest friends. The external marks of virtue were there for all to see: what escaped the eye was the inner something visible to no eye but One.

For his soul, like the soul of any man who seeks to give himself generously to God, was solitary. He made no attempt to communicate to others what of its nature is incommunicable—his inmost self. No one, not the most cherished of relatives and friends, ventured to intrude on, much less invade, the sanctuary of his soul. This, from the earliest days of religious life, he held sacred, and sacred he kept it to the end. Those who knew him best, knew that there was much about him they did not know; knew, or certainly suspected, that what they did not know was the best within him. His soul was God's and his trysting-place, and, as such, he kept it sacred and secret.

Even with death the sacredness and secrecy remain. For to date, no disclosures of intimacies with God privately enjoyed by him have come to light. As far as common knowledge goes, Father Healy kept no diaries revealing his soul's ardors. In matters personal, St. Ignatius was not more taciturn than he. But beneath the glass top of the dresser in his room at West Baden might be seen a little holy card of dubious artistic design (for he was not aesthetically discriminating) bearing tidings of great joy, whose brief message may with good reason be taken to suggest something of what the interior movements of his soul must have been like. Doubtless, he meant it for a reminder and a rejoinder if ever he should tend to slump when tensions grew strong or to cry out in pain under burdens too heavy to bear. "Smile at God," the short sentence runs, "in loving acceptance of whatever He sends into your life and you will merit to have the radiantly smiling Christ gaze on you with special love throughout eternity."

Whether the wording is his or the effusion of some warm-hearted simple-souled author of name unknown, the sentiment expressed epitomizes Father Healy and unveils him. In child-like fashion (for he seems to have had the heart of a little child in his dealings with God) he smiled at God each day as

he began his work and at frequent intervals thereafter, and God, not to be outdone in common courtesy, smiled back. Then, working, watching, and praying, he expectantly looked forward to the joys of the world to come where Christ with welcoming smile awaits us.

In passing, it is significant that Father Healy should have singled out the "smiling Christ" as his special object of inspiration: he was always smiling himself. And his smile was the smile of one who smiles easily, a warm, friendly smile coming from the heart. All of which suggests his ordinariness revealing itself again and connoting the extraordinary in the matter of "solid and perfect virtue"; telling too of his soul's secret held sacred and kept so to the end. In small things as in great, his ways were the ways of the thoroughbred.

The rough outlines of his priestly career may be quickly drawn. After two years of apprenticeship, so to call them, one year spent as socius to the provincial and the other as professor of ethics at Loyola University, Chicago, he entered upon what was to be his life-work, at West Baden College, on the opening of that institution in 1939. Except for a one-year interim (1944-1945) of teaching at St. Mary of the Lake Seminary, Mundelein, Illinois, the Chicago Archdiocesan seminary taught by Ours, and a four or five months' residence in Rome (1949-1950) when he served as a member of the Commission for the Revision of the *Ratio*, his life for the next thirteen years was confined almost exclusively to West Baden. Here, as professor of moral theology and dean of the Theologate, he settled down manfully to work and buried himself in books, until the time of his departure for Rome in 1952.

He was during this period strictly a home-body, as indeed, he always had been and would be. He rarely left West Baden except when duty or necessity required it. In the summer months, he either taught in one of our colleges or gave conferences and retreats to lay-persons, priests, and nuns—or (quite often) did both. The remainder of the time, which was the major part, was devoted to the teaching of his classes, to conferences with the theologians, and the writing of his lucid, popular, highly reliable and readable books. This was the period of high-noon in his life as a professional moralist. In richness of result they were never to be sur-

passed. During this time his talents came to full maturity. Call it a secluded life if you will, uneventful and unexciting; it was a full life and an apostolic one, this life of the thirteen hidden years at West Baden.

But the end was approaching, little as he or anyone else could suspect it. Fifteen of the twenty years entrusted him by God in the priestly ministry had profitably passed; now just five were left him to bring his labors to conclusion. The circle was coming to full stop, and soon. It was appropriate therefore, though not what might be called agreeable to the "natural man" (what little there was left of it in him) that these last five years should be spent in Rome, the Center and Capital City of Catholic Christendom.

To Rome, then, in the year 1952, he was sent and to Rome he went, departing without fanfare. Arriving in Rome, he assumed the duties of professor of moral theology at the world-famous Gregorian University. If this more-or-less abrupt change-over from West Baden to Rome was made by him to look easy, it was not because it was so. After all, he *did* have a heart and heart-strings, and the heart will cry out in moments of stress, even if in vain. True, the Gregorian was no more than West Baden all over again. Or was it? For what a difference! The subject-matter of his teaching was the same, but his classes, unlike the more homogeneous ones to which he had been accustomed, constituted now what can only be called a heterogeneous mixed multitude, a Catholic and ecclesiastical League of Nations, numbering not infrequently upward of a thousand students.

Nevertheless, as at West Baden and at Mundelein when suddenly summoned there, he went his way in Rome, once he had settled himself at the Gregorian, just as he had always done before, serene, cheerful, studious, exact—and undaunted. Truth, after all, is the same whether professed before a hundred or a thousand; and whether the listeners be "Parthians, Medes, Elamites, inhabitants of Mesopotamia, Cappadocia, and Asia," with a generous sprinkling of Italians, French, Germans, and some serious, truth-seeking Americans thrown in for good measure. Such seemed his unruffled attitude; for he did not ruffle readily. And, as at West Baden and at Mundelein, his teaching met with wide and, in so far as any

teacher can hope for such an un hoped for thing, universal applause. In fact, some Gregorian-trained students have said that of all the professors at the Gregorian (and the number runs high), there was none more popular than Father Healy, and few, if any, as much so. Without in any manner trying subtly to influence others, he drew all men to himself. Virtue went out from him and came back in the form of admiration, affection, and esteem accorded to only a limited number. Yes, he was a thoroughbred, and his students, whether perceiving it formally or not, sensed it and acted towards him accordingly. He may have been the only one who did not know it, but there was, it is reported, a well known secret running rampant in Rome to the effect that it was hoped (and by many expected) that he would be the Gregorian's next Rector.

As the years passed, his fame as a moralist grew. Gradually he came to be known as the FAMOUS Father Healy, the GOOD, GOOD man (*il FAMOSO Padre Healy, il uomo EXCELLENTE*), the American Jesuit of the Gregorian; and if not the last word in matters moral in Rome, certainly an authority to be referred—and deferred—to. As such, he was *THE* Moral Theologian of the Sacred Penitentiary Apostolic, an ecclesiastical body specializing in perplexing moral problems. Abstracting from considerations of the precise manner of functioning of this body, its purpose and official jurisdiction, it was he who, with one of the Roman Cardinals presiding, served in the role of Moral-Theologian-in-Charge, a one man Court of Appeals, so to speak, the result of whose deliberations on moot questions were expected to be (and were) expert, decisive, and final. The last question of every conference, after the particular subject-matter of the day had been discussed at some length, being, "*Quid dicit Pater Theologus,*" put it squarely up to Father Healy to render decision; which he always did, to the satisfaction of all.

Engaged then in such labors; leading, too, his religious life more devoutly than ever; acting as confessor to the seminarians of the American College in Rome; giving conferences and retreats to lay-persons, nuns, and priests, at home and abroad, when some lull in his work permitted; serving as consultant in countless cases of confused consciences by letter and person-to-person contact: thus were the last five years of his life

spent. And then, just as God had planned it from eternity, the end came. It came quietly and without preamble of serious sickness (unless a persistently annoying sore throat be considered serious), with no clamor or confusion, and causing trouble to no one. All of which was in keeping with his "ordinary" manner of living and characteristic of him. It was as simple as that. He was just three days over his sixtieth birthday and half-way on in his thirty-eighth year in the Society. Not an old man surely, nor yet one guilelessly young, but a man sturdy and at full maturity of powers with the quiet wisdom of a sage.

Death came in the dim dawn of the morning of February 22, 1957. It occurred, apparently, as far as can be ascertained, some time shortly after his customary hour of rising at five. Stricken by a heart-attack, he died, as we say, we who know so little of such things, suddenly. He had no time to prepare; but then, what need had he of hurried formal preparation whose life itself was preparation unqualified? He received no Last Sacraments; he who had instructed so many thousands in the nature and necessity of these same and trained his students in the correct manner of administering them. On the face of it, there would seem to be an injustice lurking somewhere, a sort of oversight on the part of Him who watches with Fatherly concern over the birds of the air and to Whom the hairs of our heads are numbered. But we are "foolish and slow of heart" if we entertain such thoughts. Actually, there was no injustice—not the slightest—and no oversight. God was there to see to it that his good friend Father Healy died as he had lived. He did not take him by surprise. The only surprise there might conceivably have been would have come with the shock of great joy that must inevitably accompany that first sudden sight, rendering the soul speechless and incredulous, of "what things God has prepared for them that love Him."

Thus passed from our midst one loved and revered as few men in our day are, one held in honor and the highest esteem; a man looked to as a beacon-light is looked to—for guidance and direction—and as such, shedding light on everyone and everything but himself. It would be easy (for it would be a snare of the Evil One) to strike a melodramatic

pose and bemoan his untimely passing; but it would be no less easy to fancy him looking down from heaven upon us just as we were in the act of doing so, and asking with his quizzical little smile: "Did you not know that I must be about my Father's business?" Which, rightly, would halt us in our folly as persons being questioned good-humoredly, yet in all seriousness: "Are you also without understanding?"

At any rate, it is more in keeping with the reverence his memory calls for that we honor him for what he was: a man, a priest, a Jesuit, of modesty and "charity unfeigned," of "solid and perfect virtue," one whose life, moderately brief, was, despite its brevity, "full of days," crowned with achievements, and "ordinary," as the manner of all of us "as to external things" is intended to be. As such may he rest in peace.

Note on His Published Works

We have here neither the space required nor have we the competency to pass learned judgment on the merits of his published works. Only formally trained moralists are properly prepared to judge moralists. Still, over matters as plebeian as popularity they exert no control. The common man, untroubled by the small theological wars and rumors of war circulating among experts, knows in a manner satisfactory to himself both what he likes and what is suited to him. The Church's *Imprimatur* is all the assurance he asks where matters pertaining to faith and morals are involved.

In the case of Father Healy's books, the common man has given evidence of a personal hearty approval. Thus, *Moral Guidance* is in its twelfth printing, *Marriage Guidance* in its fifth, *Christian Guidance* in its fourth, while *Medical Ethics*, already translated into Italian and French, is ready for a second printing, though published just recently in English. Clearly, his books have been a popular success.

In view of this and weighing their intrinsic merits, it does not appear rash to state that, both at the moment and for years to come, Father Healy's books are and will be the "popular classics" in their respective fields; fields largely neglected, incidentally, so far as treatment in the vernacular and in language intelligible to the layman was concerned, until Father Healy took it upon himself to remedy the neglect.

Though widely used and consulted, they must not be confused with "best-sellers." They are not that type of literature; in fact, not literature at all. Admittedly, they are not poetry nor even light nor serious fiction. They deal with facts, not fancies. As the cobbler must stick to his last,

the moralist must adhere to theological principles in dealing with moral problems. He may not, must not romanticize them. That, if it must be done, is for others to do. Father Healy was no poet and his books are not poetry, epic, lyric, or dramatic. They do not pretend to be. They are starkly realistic, as unadorned as a mathematical diagram.

But let someone try to imitate them in their own "genre." Then, slowly or suddenly, as the case may be, will it begin to dawn on the still unsuspecting what uncommon talent, not to call it something greater, he possessed, of making difficult tasks look easy. It was precisely in this, his faculty of making both himself and his achievements seem ordinary when actually neither he nor they really were so that he was, wholly unknown to himself, "*facile princeps*," "*il FAMOSO Padre Healy, il uomo EXCELLENTE.*"

Gabriel A. Zema

Anthony De Maria, S.J.

Early Years

As we learn from a diary which he sedulously kept for many years, Father Gabriel Archangel Zema was born on July 29, 1891 in a little village of Arno, in the Province of Calabria in southern Italy. He was a "Calabrese" in the full sense of the word, sharing with them their vigor, determination, and its less attractive cousin, hard-headedness.

The parents of Father Zema, Matteo and Caterina, were blessed with seven children, five boys and two girls, though two of the boys died in infancy. The family was poor, and Don Matteo, with his eldest son, Demetrio, left Italy in 1897, to seek his fortune in the far-away fairyland they called America. Three years later, the wife and three other children came to join them. Gabriel was one of the group. We are told by Gabriel himself that the voyage across the Atlantic was a rough one and came near costing him his life. The little fellow fell deathly ill and no one seemed to know the cause. They were actually making preparations to bury him at sea. But the Lord had other plans for him, and almost miraculously he got well again. Long, long afterwards, when the fright was over and the secret could be let out, one of his sisters revealed that probably the "serious illness" was no more than an upset stomach caused by drinking a whole bottle of rich, heady Marsala wine which his mother had hidden away, to be used only in the event of sickness. "A little wine is good for the stomach," but not a whole quart for a small child of eight!

The Zema family, like so many thousands of their fellow countrymen of those days, settled in the lower East Side of New York. They lived in a tenement house not far from old St. Patrick's Cathedral, on Mott and Prince Streets. The Third Avenue El rattled by only a block away; the Bowery

was next door. These immigrants were, for the most part, of peasant stock, poor, illiterate, unskilled laborers; but they were strong of body and warm of heart and willing to work. They huddled together in colonies for mutual help and because they were ignorant of the English language and ways. Moreover, they were not always properly understood or kindly received, even by their fellow-Catholics. Being members of St. Patrick's Parish, they were allowed to attend services there, but not upstairs with the more fortunate and better dressed, but in the basement of the church. Many resented this. These foreigners, it is true, came from small, poor villages. They were certainly not unacquainted with poverty and class distinction, but it was a new and harsh experience to learn that poor clothes and foreign ways did not permit you to kneel in the same pews with the richer and better dressed. To make matters worse, Protestant agents were always present with offers of financial help and open churches to entice these poor people. Some succumbed to the siren call of those offering material help, but most remained faithful to their Faith and to their beloved Madonna.

This state of affairs lasted for many years. Finally, in 1891, the Society of Jesus was appealed to for help, and Father Nicholas Russo, an eminent theologian and author, and at the time Rector of Boston College, was sent to take care of this neglected flock. From the very start, the odds were frightfully against him. The abject poverty, the indifference and, above all, the hurt pride of the immigrants made the attempt a veritable nightmare. But Father Russo was a fearless fighter, and besides, this was God's fight. He rented a small store, on Elizabeth Street, near the present Church of Our Lady of Loreto. Assisted by two or three zealous men, he cleaned and painted the store, built a small altar, and there initiated the marvelous apostolate that was to reap such a rich harvest and last until his saintly death in April, 1902.

Once they saw the courage and Christlike charity of Father Russo, his countrymen flocked to him in great numbers. His eloquence in a language they all understood, soon attracted crowds too big to be accommodated in the tiny chapel. They needed a bigger church. Father Russo went about begging from his friends and borrowing where he could until he had

enough to build a small church and a school, on a plot of land on Elizabeth near Bleecker Street. He called it the Mission of Our Lady of Loreto. From this tiny Mission were to come numerous candidates to the Society, among them, Fathers Dominic Cirigliano, Santo Catalano, the two Zemas, Gabriel and Demetrio, Anthony Russo-Alesi, Carmine Benanti, Mariano Ilardi, Salvatore Fugarino and others.

It was while the Mission was still young that the Zemas came to settle there. Young Gabriel Zema, like his brothers, Demetrio and Ernest before him, attended Loreto School from which he graduated in 1906. For seventeen years, he was to be most intimately associated with the Mission. As for countless others, so for Gabriel the small school yard of the Mission was the whole of creation. Here, he played and studied and worked. Here, he could be found at almost any hour of day and night. The beloved statues of the Sacred Heart and of the Madonna watched over their work and play. The warm friendship and charity of the Padres were the constant subject of conversation at the family supper table. These must have been among the happiest years Gabriel spent on earth.

Although Father Nicholas Russo died two years after young Gabriel came to the Mission, he must have known this remarkable man and been influenced by his eloquent preaching and saintly example. But the man who was to exercise the greatest influence on his life was Father William H. Walsh, who succeeded Father Russo as Jesuit Superior of the Mission in 1902. This priest was to dedicate more than sixteen years of his life to the welfare of the Italians of the Lower East Side. A man of many talents, a lover of art and music, an aristocrat and a perfectionist (at times even to annoyance) he showed himself not only a true shepherd but a father and friend as well. The children loved him; the older folks revered and respected him.

As soon as Father Walsh became Superior of the Mission, he set about counteracting the harm being done by Protestant proselytizers. They had lured some of the Italians with their settlement houses and summer camps—all free. Father Walsh would do the same. He opened up the Barat Settlement on Christie Street near Houston Street, in one of the most congested and crime-ridden sections of the city. He opened a

summer camp for the boys at Monroe and another for the girls at Monmouth Beach on the Jersey Shore. He offered scholarships to boys desiring to go to High School or College. It was in this way that Gabriel was able to enter St. Francis Xavier High School in New York City in the Fall of 1906. He was not a brilliant student but a plugger, so he did well in his studies. It was while making a retreat during his third year at Xavier that young Gabriel felt that God was calling him to the religious life and the priesthood. It seemed to be the only great ambition of his life. But he was to wait more than seven years after graduation from High School before he could answer the call of the Master, due to the stubborn refusal of his father to give permission.

These years of waiting and uncertainty were long and even unhappy ones for the eager aspirant, but they were not wasted years. Gabriel was never known to loaf, and so from 1910 to 1917, he taught school, worked for the Jesuit weekly *America*, directed the Boys' Camp at Monroe, New York, was moderator of several parish organizations, and served as Father Walsh's right hand man in many ways. His ability, zeal and determination were clearly noticeable even in those early days.

In the summer of 1917, shortly after the United States entered the World War, Gabriel Zema was ordered to report to his local draft board. "It was the most trying time of my life" he wrote in his diary. He had already waited seven years to realize his heart's desire. Now his vocation was in danger. "I stormed heaven for guidance and help" he wrote. Heaven was propitious to him. His draft board found him several pounds too light and an inch too short. From now on, he would be known as "Shorty." He was humbled, but happy, because his vocation had been saved.

Entrance into Society: Saint Andrew

The rejection by the draft board came early in August. Gabriel at once applied for admission to the Novitiate. Meanwhile, he and a friend went to spend a couple of weeks of vacation in Canada. They visited the Shrine of St. Joseph in Montreal and of St. Anne in Quebec. While his friend, Nick, prayed that he might find a good wife, Gabriel begged God, so he tells us in the diary, to accept him into the Society. On

his return home, he found a letter from the Provincial telling him to report at St. Andrew-on-Hudson, on September 7th, to begin his novitiate.

On the morning of September 7th, Gabriel quietly left Seven Springs, Monroe, where he had been Director of the Boys' Camp that summer, and walked to the little Church of the Sacred Heart in the village of Monroe. There he heard Mass and received Holy Communion. Then, he went by train to Newburgh and on to Poughkeepsie, arriving at St. Andrew's late in the afternoon. His first act of devotion was to stop at Della Strada Chapel near the entrance to the grounds, where he knelt and kissed the floor, pleading with our Lady to keep him in the Society of her Son until death. That she heard his prayer we all know, and we know also that few have been more grateful for their vocation and more loyal to the Society than Father Gabriel Zema.

Brother Zema was a happy novice. He had found the road to the Novitiate long and difficult. His father's stubborn stand against his vocation had been painful and distressing. The father was to be bitterly resentful almost to the day he died. It was only when he was a very old man and about to meet his Maker that he conceded God's right to take back the son He had sent him.

When Brother Zema began his novitiate he was already twenty-six years old. As he was always sensitive about his shortness of stature, he was now ill at ease with lads freshly out of High School. The trying monotony of the Noviceship must have been hard to bear. But he had a fine sense of humor; he loved to hear a joke, and tell one. His diary is full of amusing anecdotes. This one related in his diary is typical of many others. He tells us that one day he accidentally broke a glass. He went to the Socius to report the tragedy and ask for a punishment to fit the crime. Instead of the usual culpa, he and another culprit were sent on a begging expedition. When they arrived at their destination, they found no one home, but were received instead by a vicious-looking dog ready to tear them to pieces. The two beggars didn't know what to do. They looked inside the house and their hearts beat with joy, for there on the mantelpiece they spied three fine looking pies. But the dog was also there blocking their way. They finally

decided to go to a neighbor and phone the Socius for instructions. They received a shocking reply: "Don't tease the dog, don't touch the pies, and come home at once." They returned, disappointed and hungry.

All who knew Father Zema agree that he was a fine religious. He took his vocation seriously. Retreat time was for him a time of spiritual planting and harvesting. After his first long retreat, in October 1917, he wrote in his spiritual diary: "*Vidi Dominum*. I know myself so much better now. There's lots of work ahead." But he was never afraid of work, even when it meant self-abnegation and humbling of self. To those who did not know him well, Father Zema might have appeared over-sensitive and proud. In reality, he was sincere, and while the "*Ama nesciri*" of Kempis may not have been easy for him, neither was he guilty of the vain boast of the Pharisee that he was not like other men.

Like a true Jesuit novice, Brother Gabriel had a tender devotion to our Lady. On the first anniversary of his entrance into the Society, he wrote in his diary: "I pronounced my first vows to-day privately. I again offered myself to our Lady, dedicating myself to her without reservations." Resolutions such as this are found in the spiritual notes of every novice. For Gabriel, older and perhaps somewhat wiser than his fellow novices, these words bore a deeper and richer meaning. His love of Mary was to inspire and sustain him during the many years he was to serve her Divine Son.

Period of Training

If the Noviceship was a time of peace and great happiness for Father Zema, the same cannot be said of the years of his Juniorate. No matter who was to blame, those two years were marked by frustration and bitterness. "My whole Juniorate" he wrote in his diary, "was vinegar and gall." He didn't excuse himself from part of the blame. He was now twenty-eight years of age and had not been in the classroom since 1910. He tells us that he found the classes dull, the teachers unable to awake in him any interest for either poetry or rhetoric. He hated study and dreaded the thought of having to teach. Nor did it help in the least to have among his teachers one who plied him with sarcasm and ridicule because he was somewhat

slow of wit. "It would have helped" he wrote in his diary, "if this teacher had joined a bit of gentleness to his scorching severity." Gabriel benefited greatly from this bitter experience. He who was such a disappointing pupil was to be a patient, sympathetic and beloved teacher. He had learned that gentleness and patience in the classroom, the pulpit or the confessional, would win more souls than sarcasm or outbursts of anger.

In September 1921, Mr. Zema began his course of philosophy. The new Philosophate being built at Weston, Massachusetts, was not yet ready, so for three months All Souls' Chapel at St. Andrew was turned into a classroom. But in December the parting came. It was difficult to say good-bye to St. Andrew's. For a while, at least, the monotony of the Novitiate and the bitterness of the Juniorate were forgotten in the pain and sorrow of leaving. After all, it was here that the Society of Jesus had welcomed him; here that he had seen the Lord and learned to walk in His footsteps. And it was here that he had vowed to be ever true to Mary and to his vocation. Now he must go. For the first time he felt the sting of that rule which tells us that it is according to our vocation to travel to various places and to live in any part of the world.

Mr. Zema spent the first two years of philosophy in Weston, the third in Woodstock, Maryland. About this period we know little. Even his diary has nothing of note to tell us. He conducted a class for those wishing to learn Italian. He directed the Dante Academy. He was faithful in his study of philosophy, but he was not particularly devoted to it. When his course of philosophy was completed, Mr. Zema was sent to teach at Regis High School in New York City. He was to spend in all seventeen years at Regis, two as a scholastic and fifteen as a priest. His name was to be indelibly linked with Regis. He was a veritable dynamo, seemingly tireless. During his regency, besides his regular duties as teacher, he took upon himself many other assignments. The Regis Library, the Guard of Honor, and, above all, the Regis Alumni Association owe more to him than to anyone else. His zeal, patience and charity won for him countless friends. Long, long afterwards, when his boys had grown up and were successful business men, lawyers, judges, doctors, priests, religious, they were to write back to

him and tell him how much his guidance and friendship had helped them. "You were the best teacher I ever had" wrote one lad, now a priest. "No one helped me with my moral and religious problems as much as you did" wrote another. And still another wrote that "Your patience and friendly interest in me while I was a student at Regis helped me to avoid many grave pitfalls and helped to steer me into the seminary." The litany of praise is endless. The number of those whom he had helped is legion.

In 1923, Mr. Zema went back to Woodstock to begin his theological studies. The long-desired goal of his ordination to the Sacred Priesthood was drawing nearer. The vision of that blessed day inspired and sustained him in every difficulty. After the turmoil and distractions of a busy regency, he settled down to the quiet monotony of the classroom once again. He became just another figure in that long black line that marched silently in and out of chapel, classroom and dining room, day after day. Nothing extraordinary is recorded of him while at Woodstock. He corresponded with the boys he had taught at Regis, guiding them by remote control. Letter-writing was to be one of his many apostolates, and among his belongings when he died were found hundreds of letters he had received from friends and relatives. They reveal the boundless zeal and charity of this tireless man and the great sense of gratitude and affection which his great army of friends had for him. He opened his heart to all. He treasured the friendship and respect of all. But as these letters reveal, most precious of all were the friendship and loyalty of his beloved Father William Walsh, S.J., of Miss Louise Rossi, his teacher at the Mission School of our Lady of Loreto, and of his Jesuit brother, Demetrio, and his two sisters, Theresa and Rose. He was, of course, devoted to his saintly mother, who departed this life in July, 1943, and never ceased to pray for his alienated father. It was one of the happiest days of Father Zema's life when he learned that shortly before his death in 1944, he had repented his stubborn objection to Gabriel's vocation and made his peace with God. Many sorrows cast their shadows on his life, but he was in shadow and sunshine always a cheerful servant, a generous son of the Society and a faithful friend to all.

Finally the day of days arrived, and Father Zema was ordained by Archbishop Michael Curley of Baltimore in the Woodstock College Chapel, on June 23, 1929. I don't suppose anyone has ever adequately grasped the rich beauty and deep significance of Ordination, especially at Woodstock. It defies description. For the newly-ordained and for his family and friends, Ordination day is indeed the "*Haec est dies quam fecit Dominus.*" On the occasion of his first Vows Brother Zema had written in his diary that he was deeply moved with gratitude to God and could not restrain his tears of joy.

The years from his ordination to his death must have gone by very fast for Father Zema. He himself was always in a hurry. He was never able to catch up with the things he wanted to do. In 1930 he was sent to Rome for his Tertianship. He was delighted as it gave him a chance to see with his own eyes all the glory that was Rome. He had an opportunity to visit Florence, the birthplace of his beloved Dante. He went down to see his humble birthplace, Arno, nestling in the rugged mountains of Calabria, where he celebrated Mass in the little church in which he had been baptized forty years before. He looked up members of his father's family still living in Arno, and no doubt, tried in vain to convince them that the streets of New York were not paved with gold. This stay in Italy, moreover, gave him an opportunity to tighten his hold on the Italian language, for while he never spoke Italian fluently it did help him immensely with his parlor duty at Nativity Parish, where he was stationed for three years, and in giving retreats to nuns who understood only Italian.

Priestly Activity

His Tertianship over, Father Zema's first assignment as a priest was to Nativity Parish, on the Lower East Side of New York. In those days, the Parish was predominantly Italian with a goodly sprinkling of Irish and Central Europeans. Having grown up on the East Side himself, Father "Gabe" knew the problems that tortured these people. Poverty, ignorance and indifference were prevalent. The depression was on. It was a difficult field to work in, but Father Zema, young and full of zeal, threw himself into the work with all his energy. He loved his fellow Italians; he defended them against calum-

niators and proselytizers; he sought to help them in every way. He revamped the activities of the Barat Settlement, founded many years before by Father Walsh, to offset the lure of Protestant Settlement Houses. He organized the Bellarmine Club for young men attending High School and College, and trained them to learn, love and defend their precious Catholic Faith. Thirty years after, the names of Father Dominic Cirigliano, who was the most loved of Nativity Pastors and of Father Zema, one of its most energetic curates, are held in benediction by thousands of former parishioners. They both did a remarkable job in protecting and strengthening the faith of their flock.

Father Zema spent only three years at Nativity Parish. After a year at Brooklyn Prep as Student Counselor, he returned to Regis, where he was to stay for fifteen years as teacher, moderator of several organizations, and where he was to endear himself to hundreds of Regis Graduates as the Moderator of the Regis Alumni Association. Father Zema brought much interest and energy with him, and the Regis Alumni Association became one of the most dynamic groups of its kind. He was not the first or the only one to see in an Alumni Association a great potential for good, especially to their school, but he talked and wrote about this, and several articles he published were instrumental in giving many moribund Alumni groups a needed shot in the arm. It was, therefore, to the great regret of all that in 1950, because of failing health, superiors removed him from his Alumni work and appointed him a member of the Jesuit Mission and Retreat Band. He was to do much good in this new field of labor. Searching through his letters, I came across numerous instances where people wrote to thank him for the help and inspiration they had received from sermons he preached or retreats he gave. With every passing year he could more truly make his own those words of St. Paul: "I have made myself all things to all men, that I might win all for Christ."

Early in 1948, Father Zema suffered one of the greatest losses of his life; his brother Father Demetrio Zema died, after only a short illness. A truly exquisite and Christ-like friendship had always existed between these two brothers. Mutual love and respect kept them very close to each other. When

therefore, Father Demetrio died in February of 1948, it was a severe blow to his younger priest-brother. Hundreds of letters expressing sympathy poured in from all parts of the country and from abroad, where Demetrio had studied and made many friends. Thirteen years later, on the same day, February 1st, his other brother, Ernest, died suddenly of a heart attack. This, too, was a severe blow to him, and it can be said that Gabriel never really fully recovered from this shock. Sorrow was building the bridge from which he was soon to pass over to the other side of the Valley.

But there were many happy days in Father Gabriel's life, and perhaps one of the happiest was the 25th anniversary of his ordination to the Sacred Priesthood. For that occasion, celebrated in June 1954, his friends rallied from everywhere. They were genuinely proud of their Father "Gabe." They poured their praise lavishly on him and he was extremely happy for their friendship and for their expression of gratitude. He had always been a priest after the heart and spirit of Christ. He had been the embodiment of what a Jesuit should be. He had been an understanding friend, a patient teacher, a gentle confessor. His admirers from all over wrote or told him these things. There were many other pleasant compliments, but we will conclude with the brief eulogy of his then Superior at Inisfada, Father Michael Clark.

"As you look back," Father Clark reminded him, "over your twenty-five years of priestly life, you have every right to take a just pride in your priestly activities. Yours has been a truly edifying and zealous life as a priest and as a Jesuit. And it can justly be said of you: 'Well done, good and faithful servant.'" All present must have seen in these words a just appraisal of a life completely dedicated to his religious vocation.

Five years more were given to Father Zema. These were spent in semi-retirement on Welfare Island, on New York's East River, where he assisted Father Joseph McGowan, the Chaplain of Coler Memorial Hospital. These years were interrupted several times by visits to the hospital for various ailments. Early in July of 1959, Father began to complain of severe pains in the stomach and back. It was an old complaint. This time he was taken to St. Vincent's Hospital in New York

City. He received the best of medical care; he constantly praised the doctors and nurses who took care of him. His courage and good humor never left him, even when pain caused him to wince and medication made him drowsy. He had suffered much, but the end came quietly and quickly. Shortly after noon, on August 12th, the Master called him, and he who like Zaccheus was little of stature, but great of heart and soul, opened his eyes to see His merciful Lord and to hear Him say: "This day is salvation come to you, because you have been a true son of Ignatius."

Brother Michael J. Walsh

William J. Hoar, S.J.

At St. Peter's Preparatory School in Jersey City, with the approach of the Novena of Grace in 1962, some of us looked toward St. Francis Xavier with a quizzical eye. Fr. Daniel Hart had to be rushed to the hospital in 1960 just as he was about to give the opening Novena service. He died March 9. In 1961 Fr. John Hooper died on March 18, after finishing his strenuous share of the Novena work, without apparent warning of impending death. But the greatest shock to the Community and people was the unexpected death of an even younger Jesuit, our beloved Sacristan, Bro. Michael J. Walsh. At the age of forty-four, after only one week in St. Francis Hospital, Jersey City, Brother died in the early morning of March 9, 1961, assisted during the last few days by his older brother, Fr. Maurice Walsh, priest of the New York Archdiocese.

Michael Walsh was born September 5, 1916, in lower Manhattan in a neighborhood called Chelsea, of Irish immigrant parents, Daniel and Ellen Duggan Walsh.¹ His father earned his living on the waterfront. As a child he was easy going, generous and good-natured, preferring to lose a game rather than fight or argue over it. In the way of food and material things he was readily satisfied. He was obedient and serene, and caused his parents not the faintest anxiety.

He attended St. Columba's School, being taught in the lower grades by the Sisters of Charity and in the upper grades by the Christian Brothers. He enrolled in Haaren High School, taking a business course. He would walk the five miles from home to school and back, partly because he enjoyed walking and partly to save the expense to his family—it was the time of the Depression. After school he did clerical work at St.

¹ For the story of Brother's life before entering the Society, we are indebted to his sister, Julia (Mrs. Edward Murphy).

Columba's Rectory, where, too, he spent much of his free time. On leaving high school, he held a fine position as secretary with a Fifth Avenue luggage firm. He liked his work and was highly regarded, but he gave it up to act as sexton and sacristan at St. Columba's from 1935 to 1937.

Novitiate at Wernersville

His heart was set upon the religious life and, in September 1937, he became a Coadjutor Brother postulant at the Wernersville Novitiate. It was out of humility that he chose to be a Brother. Priests, he considered, were glorified and rewarded by saying Mass; he wanted to serve God in his own humble way, without glory. After the first vows he was assigned to secretarial and library work at Wernersville. Three years later he was transferred to St. Andrew-on-Hudson with the same assignment.

Life's Work at St. Peter's

But all of this was a prelude and a preparation for his seventeen arduous years of service at St. Peter's on Grand Street. Concerning this period, we turn first to the tribute paid Brother by his first Rector at St. Peter's, Rev. Vincent J. Hart, S. J.:

Brother Walsh came to St. Peter's as a young Brother from St. Andrew and continued till his death to be a truly dedicated follower of St. Alphonsus Rodriguez. He had many points of excellence not the least of which was his devotion to the sanctuary at St. Peter's. He was prayerfully attentive to our dear Lord and the Blessed Sacrament and meticulous in keeping the altar and the church as a fitting tribute to his Sacramental Lord. He had the rare gift in a man of decorating the altar with distinction and of arranging the flowers with a truly artistic touch.

He was a zealous worker. In my five years of association with him he never whimpered, was never too busy, was never late and never failed in performing the arduous duties of a very busy church.

We have had few Brothers in the Province in the last fifty years who were as skillful as Brother Walsh in handling and training altar boys. He gave to each boy the love of our dear Lord in the sanctuary which he himself had so abundantly.

Brother Walsh's contribution to the community at St. Peter's was a varied one. With Brother Burke, he willingly volunteered to do any household chore in any emergency. He added to the religious spirit

of St. Peter's not a little by the manner of his willingness to serve table, take care of the phone, entertain visitors, run parties in the parochial school, supervise the cafeteria—all in addition to his long hours of consecrated work.

Brother Walsh was respected by the parishioners at St. Peter's and by the people of Jersey City who came to the old or to the new Church. I have a feeling a great number of people in Jersey loved St. Peter's the more because Brother Walsh was always available.

He was, in very truth, a Brother after the heart of St. Ignatius.

Brother Claude Birch, contemporary to Brother Walsh at Wernersville, recalls his quick adjustment to religious life, his lively sense of humor and rugged good health; that he was systematic and efficient in his work and had the knack of enlisting cooperation from the rest of the Brothers. As Brother Birch put it, "Everyone pitched in and helped him cheerfully because it was a pleasure to work with Brother Walsh."

Every age group at St. Peter's experienced the same pleasure in working with Brother Walsh, those directly under his charge, the ushers, Sanctuary Society and altar boys, as well as parishioners and friends called upon in emergencies and for special projects. Consciously or not, they observed that he sought their help, not to be boss, but to be free to work harder and more efficiently himself.

In personal appearance and characteristics, Brother "Mike" was tall and of soldierly bearing, sharp-featured, with black hair well turned to grey, a "black" Irishman with ready laughter, and a big wide heart for anyone in distress. Perpetually in motion, he had a bustling dignity that was never officious. Because he was so friendly and sympathetic, he knew more people and more about their needs and ills than most parish priests.

If mottoes were carved on Jesuits' tombstones, Brother Walsh's should be *Totus ad laborem*, not for any unfinished business, but for his driving spirit in life. I knew Brother more than half his earthly life, and if he could not picture himself as *insignis* (a Hero in the Society), he wanted and did "give it all he had" from the day he entered.

A mother, with the steady light and power of quiet, invincible faith, and three devoted sisters, idolized and inspired

Brother Walsh's workaday life from the stage wings. But two or three persons probably gave a certain direction to his choice of vocation and its energetic, unselfish fulfillment. In matters of religious principle, Brother often cited his Novice-Master, Father John V. McEvoy, for his sincere and broad charity. Then it seems obvious that Brother should have given early consideration to following in his brother's footsteps, for Father Maurice Walsh was in the Seminary during Mike's years of decision, during which he chose a business course in High School and spent two years as quasi-Sacristan, his ultimate life's work. As his sister said, he decided that he could give himself entirely to God without the glory and the spiritual responsibility of the priesthood.

Another Maurice, of saintly memory, Brother Burke, had more influence than anyone else on Brother Walsh in his years at St. Peter's. To "Mike," Brother Burke was companion and counsellor, exemplar and patron saint, and after Brother Burke's death, he assumed all he could of his dear friend's unlisted apostolic labors and charities. This drew him closer to an unusual apostle of the sea, Mario Violini, protégé of Cardinal Pizzardo, and benefactor of every needy Religious Community in the ports of call of the American Export Line. All his salary goes to charity and he has transmitted an incredible amount from generous America to the poor and needy of Italy and even to India. To Mario, Brothers Burke and Walsh were as blood brothers, and he, in turn, a man of like heart and mind.

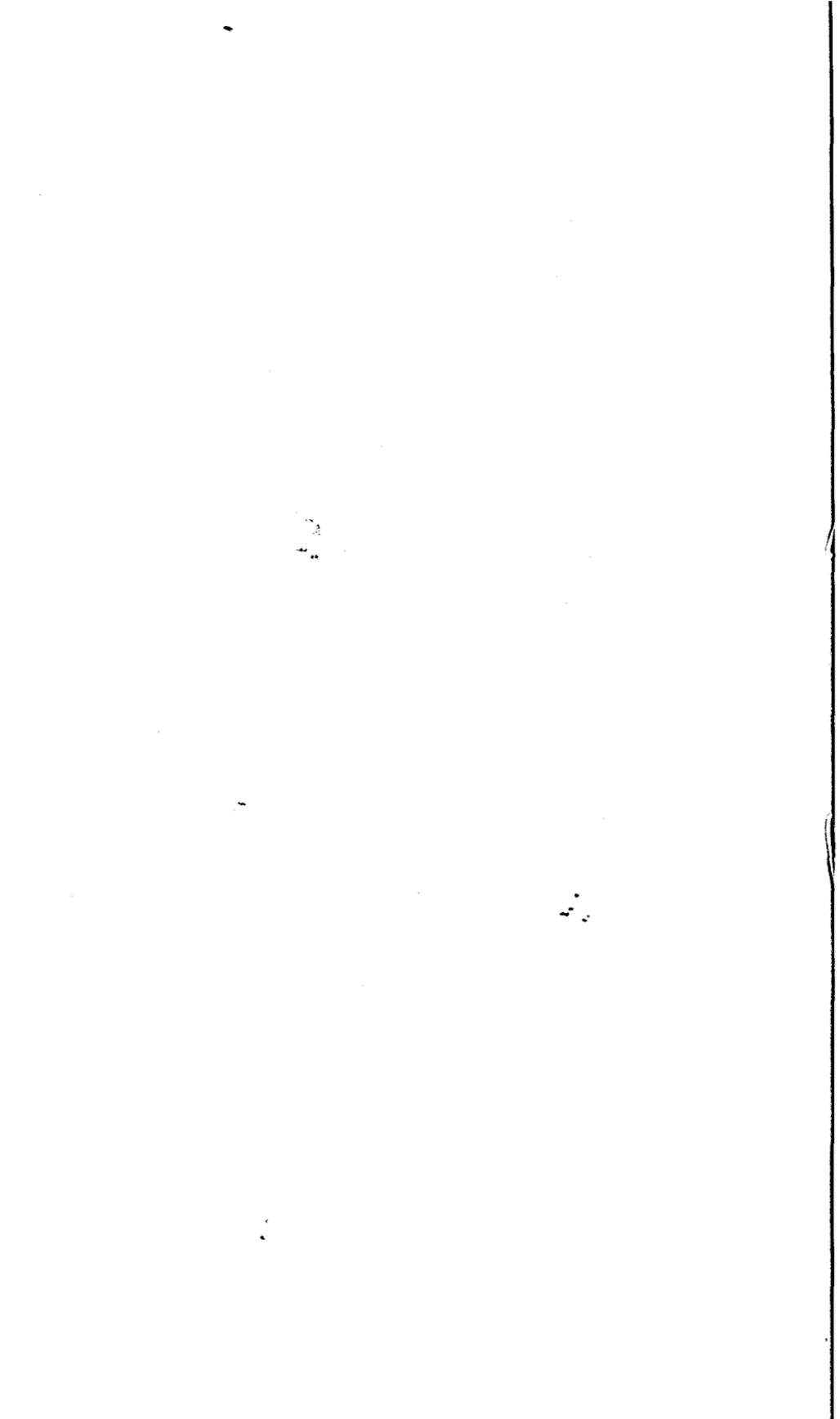
Brother Walsh's friends, especially contemporaries among the Brothers, wondered at the suddenness of his death. Sometime in his youth, Mike Walsh had his nose broken and it never did receive the special attention it should have, probably because he himself underestimated its seriousness. As a result he was constantly subject to extensive hemorrhaging even from head colds. The man who cared for Brother's room said that for two years or more Brother's pillow and bed-linen were frequently blood-stained. And it is a fact that he was always alarmingly pale, and often went about his work with packing to stop the nosebleed.

There are of course occupational hazards in every work or profession. The demolition and replacement of St. Peter's

Civil War Church took three years, cost \$400,000, and incidentally contributed to the death of Brother Walsh. While Church services were held in the Parish Hall, Brother had to make endless trips back and forth each day from the Rectory to the School in all sorts of weather. The new Church was opened for Christmas and dedicated in January, 1961, but some work was still to be done on it. Escaping steam filled the stairwell leading from the Rectory to the Sacristy for several days. The windows had to be left open though it was still winter.

Working in these conditions brought on an unusually heavy cold and a nosebleed that Brother could not stop. Our house doctor gave him first aid and told him he must get to the hospital immediately. At St. Francis Hospital the bleeding was brought under control, but unfortunately Brother had aspirated some of the blood, causing a fatal type of pneumonia. Delirium ensued and still we could hardly believe that he would not recover. The end came suddenly a week after he entered the hospital.

The people of St. Peter's filled the new Church in eloquent tribute of grief and affection at his Funeral Mass, and again for his anniversary. Too long to quote are the letters of condolence which His Eminence Cardinal Pizzardo sent to Brother Walsh's mother and to Father Morris, Rector of St. Peter's. The poor of his diocese of Albano, had been beneficiaries of many charitable clothes' collections, etc. from Brothers Burke and Walsh. There is a good argument *ex convenientia* that God will find in Heaven a busy intercessory task for both of these Brothers, so devoted to His service on earth, and another argument *ex caritate* that we remember them.



Father James U. Conwell

James E. Murphy, S.J.

When Father James U. Conwell died of cancer in Spokane, Washington, on July 12, 1960, Alaska lost one of her most active and hard-working missionaries. Yet Father Conwell seldom sloshed through tundra or fought his way to lonely outposts as the other missionaries: his days as a missionary were spent almost entirely behind a desk. But in his desk work he was just as earnest and devoted, and just as invaluable for the Alaska missions. He was—as he so aptly called himself—Alaska's "desk missionary." And his work was doubtless just as acceptable to God, Who called him after only twelve years in Alaska, in the forty-seventh year of his life.

James Urban Conwell was born in the small northeastern Washington town of Chewelah, July 30, 1912, to James and Gertrude (O'Malley) Conwell. His father died in 1918, and the following summer Mrs. Conwell moved with her young family to Spokane, some sixty miles to the south. James had attended his first year of school while still in Chewelah, and spent his next seven years of grade school in Catholic schools in Spokane. His first close contact with the Society came with his enrollment at Gonzaga High School in the fall of 1926. It was during these next four years, as he watched his Jesuit teachers at first hand, that the desire to be one of them became ever more strong.

His wish was realized as he walked through the door of Sacred Heart Novitiate, Los Gatos, California, on July 15, 1930, a short month after his high school graduation. The following summer his peculiar knack for getting into the midst of historic moves first showed itself. He learned that he was going to head northward, along with eleven other pioneer Novices, to found the Novitiate for the newly formed Oregon Province. The spot that the Superiors picked for the new Novitiate was near Sheridan, Oregon, a small, sleepy town about fifty miles southwest of Portland. This new place

had been a farm, and a farm it remained when its twelve new tenants arrived on July 29, 1931. The only change on the premises was the addition of a frame bungalow hastily thrown up to provide a roof over the heads of the pioneers. The "Twelve Apostles" (as they came to be called) could see immediately that there was more than a little work ahead of them on this new frontier. Chopping and hauling wood, prune picking and drying, and heavy-duty field work all became the order of the day for the next twelve months.

With Vows, the rough first year at the "outpost" came to an end. As there were no classrooms or teachers at Sheridan yet, Mister Conwell and the other new Juniors had to be on the move again. So they climbed into the back of a dilapidated truck for a five-hundred mile trek halfway across the spacious Province, this time to Mt. St. Michael's Philosophate in Spokane. The new building at Sheridan was ready a year later, so Bro. Conwell headed back in the summer of 1933 for his second year Juniorate—and his last as a pioneer.

After a hectic but happy first four years, Conwell finally came to a halt at Mt. St. Michael's for three years of philosophy, 1934-1937. For his regency he came back to his old Alma Mater, Gonzaga High School, from 1937-1940. He took his theology at Alma College, near his starting point of some ten years earlier. He was beadle during his second year theology, and was selected for the Defense of Dogmatic Theology. He was ordained priest by Archbishop J. J. Mitty in San Francisco on June 12, 1943.

At the end of theology, in 1944, Father Conwell found himself on the other side of his Juniorate desk, as he was assigned to teach Latin and Greek at Sheridan during the school year of 1944-1945. He spent the next year in tertianship at Port Townsend, Washington.

The pivot point of his life came at the end of tertianship when he learned that he was to be Chancellor to the Bishop at Juneau, Alaska. Arriving at the great Northland, he assumed his post as secretary under Bishop Walter Fitzgerald, S. J. A year later, the Bishop died, and Father Conwell stayed on with the new Vicar, Bishop Francis D. Gleeson, S. J.

The next five years were interesting and busy ones for Father Conwell. It was during this time that he firmly

established himself as a desk missionary, and became the man behind the scenes in the great drama of Alaskan missionary activity. With the exception of one year (1949) spent in Portland at the Oregon Province Headquarters, he was at his desk in Juneau, handling all the bookwork for Bishop Gleeson in his directing of the Vicariate.

In 1951, Father Conwell's ability for getting in on the pioneer moves again came to the fore. It was then that the southeastern part of the Vicariate of Alaska was raised to the rank of diocese. On October 3, 1951, Bishop Gleeson consecrated Fr. Dermot O'Flanagan as Bishop, and installed him in the new Diocese of Juneau soon after. For Father Conwell, the division of the Vicariate meant "many headaches and much packing." Bishop Gleeson's headquarters had to be moved northward to the new residence at Fairbanks, while the new Bishop took over the old place at Juneau. But despite the complicated job of moving, Father Conwell was well pleased with the long-awaited change and Juneau's new Bishop. He reveals his mind—and a clear insight into the cheerful side of his character—in a letter to someone in the "outside world" written at this time: "We were all very happy at Bishop O'Flanagan's appointment. He is a real Alaskan, having been pastor of Anchorage for eighteen years, so he understands Alaska and the problems of its people. He's a splendid man—has all the good qualities of a native-born Irishman and none of the faults of the same!"

Fairbanks, a distance of some 750 miles northwest of Juneau, remained Father Conwell's home until 1958, the longest time he spent at one place in all his years in the Society. And it was here that he accomplished most of his apostolic work. At Fairbanks he was living in the real north country, where he could have closer contact with the needs of the missionaries and their flocks. Though his work forced him to remain strictly a desk missionary, Father was able to devote more of his time to helping others. Much of this time he spent working with the young people of Fairbanks and helping them with their various problems.

Another activity that took up much of his time at Fairbanks, and throughout all his days as a desk missionary, was untangling bad marriages and striving to prevent divorces. As

Chancellor, it was part of his job to handle the endless paper work connected with these marriage difficulties. In many of his letters he mentioned that marriage cases persisted in forming the greater part of the problems that he met with in that northern corner of the world. But on the other hand, he found real relief in working with the Eskimos and Indians, and was consoled by the fact that they are free of many of the troubles that the white man possesses. "Fortunately," he writes, "the Eskimos are not sufficiently 'advanced' to get into too many of these difficulties."

In the winter of 1955, Father Conwell sat in on a meeting of various missionaries whom Bishop Gleeson had called together to discuss the opening of a new mission station at Copper Valley. At this meeting, they decided that historic Holy Cross Mission, founded in 1888 on the Yukon River in southwest Alaska, was too remote and inaccessible for modern needs, so the new mission of Copper Center would take its place. Copper is located nearer the heart of Alaska, and can be reached by highway—a luxury as well as a necessity in Alaska. Thus Father Conwell, finding himself once more in the middle of an historic change, witnessed the veritable close of the era of the "dogsled apostles," and the ushering in of the new age of the "truckrollers."

As the building operations got under way, he remained at his desk in the Chancery Office. And there he stayed for three more years. During this time Father John Buchanan, assisted by another courageous missionary, Father James Spils, was in charge of the complicated process of constructing a large, sturdy mission. But it was becoming increasingly obvious that the two men were getting swamped under their burdens. By 1958, Bishop Gleeson realized that something must be done, yet he knew that the Vicariate was hard-pressed for priests and there were none to spare. So the Bishop had to compromise, and in the process double the work of his own right hand man. On July 1, 1958, Father Conwell took over as superior of Copper Valley, and at the same time kept his job of Chancellor to the Bishop.

Father's hours were now more occupied than ever before. To his regular load of work as Chancellor were added the manifold tasks of running a full-sized mission complete with

its own grade school and high school. He was faced with the job of organizing not just on a day to day basis, but also with an eye upon the distant horizon.

However, Father Conwell was at his new post for only a short time when he began to cope with problems other than those of organization. One morning at Mass his server noticed Father was shaking badly. His condition grew steadily worse during the morning, so he was to be rushed by car to the nearest hospital, either in Anchorage, 194 miles away, or in Fairbanks, some 250 miles. In either case it was a long ride over a rough mountain road. A few miles from the mission Father asked if he could come back to pick up his breviary which he had forgotten. This proved very providential, for at his arrival he learned that a bush pilot was warming up a plane for him at an airfield just ten miles away. Thus began a painful flight, and a much more painful bout with sickness for Father Conwell.

The trouble was diagnosed in Seattle in July, 1958. He had cancer in one of his kidneys. The malignant kidney was removed, and after recuperating for a brief time, Father returned in the first half of September to continue his work at his Copper Valley desk.

As those near him at Copper soon found out, Father's illness had not at all restricted his ability to work and get things done. One of the Scholastics who served under him at this time remarked how Father's desk was perpetually in a state of turmoil. Yet, when some information was asked of him, he would reach into the conglomeration and immediately flip out the answer. This was typical of Father Conwell, the man with the messy desk and the well-ordered mind. And this orderly mind, along with his determination, helped to bring more order into the lives of those living at the flourishing mission. The remarkable effects were felt and mentioned not only by the Jesuit Regents and the Sisters of St. Anne, but even by the lay apostle teachers and workers, who had come to play an important role in Copper Valley School. His successor, Father Frank Fallert, observed how his own job had been made easier due to the fine organization instilled by Father Conwell.

In the spring of 1959, Father went back to Seattle for a check-up on his condition, and discovered that the cancer had

not been contained, but had spread to his other kidney. He knew then that this would inevitably lead to his death.

That God's will might be done, whether for better or worse, Bishop Gleeson authorized a novena, which was spread throughout the whole of Alaska, the Oregon Province, and to the various lay apostles who had since returned to their homes in the States. The novena began July 30, 1959—Father Conwell's birthday—and ended on the first Friday of August.

It soon became apparent what God's will would be. With the aid of his brother, Father Joseph Conwell of Gonzaga University, he returned briefly to Alaska. He returned not to stay, but rather to straighten out his books and close up his affairs.

Father then moved to Spokane, where he could be close to his mother, a sister, and his priest brother. But by no means did he waste his few remaining days, for as long as he was able, he lent a helping hand in the office work at Gonzaga University. And like Father Dan Lord, who happily travelled the same road to his death some five years earlier, Father Conwell kept up his correspondence to the end, bringing aid to the souls of others and helping them to solve their problems.

He would not spare himself, but neither would time, and before long time took its course. Soon he was bed-ridden except for saying Mass, but after awhile this too was beyond his strength. With permission from Rome, Christmas of 1959 found him celebrating Mass while sitting down. By the middle of May Father was permanently confined to bed, and from then on he began to fail rapidly. In the afternoon of July 11, his mother sensed a rapid turn for the worse. His brother anointed him the next morning, and soon after, at about 6:00 a.m., he passed quietly to his eternal rest.

Father James Conwell did not spend a great many years on this earth, but the time that was allotted to him he used profitably. His life was characterized by a strange combination of front-lines activity and behind-the-scenes work, all of which he himself summed up when he called himself the "desk missionary." With his ability to organize and his dedication to the job God had given him, he accomplished a great deal for the Alaska missions and their people.

Books of Interest to Ours

JESUITS IN CHINA

Generation of Giants. By *George H. Dunne, S.J.* Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1962. Pp. 389. \$5.75.

A benevolent Providence or a unique convection of circumstances has provided this reviewer with the challenge of presenting to bibliophiles, world-outlook thinkers and anxious seekers of deeper perspectives a significant segment of the theology of history, an exciting apostolic drama of the China that was, and a trenchant insight into a problem that is as ever old and as ever new as christendom itself. The reviewer has been familiar with the author and with his chef d'oeuvre both here and in China for a quarter of a century.

Frequently a writer researches his project and then from some antecedent, essentialistic framework proceeds to structure his facts and opinions in some fluid sequence. Not so with Father Dunne's *Generation of Giants*. Years of walking in the footsteps of these Giants in China, more years of intense research at the University of Chicago, and mellowing months of sharpening final perspectives from the study of Roman archives have wonderfully prepared the author to write the quasi-definitive condensed history of the Jesuit missionaries in China in the last decades of the Ming dynasty, 1575-1700. More extensive data on this period will be uncovered by the march of scholarship but such data will have to polarize around this scholarly work.

A pedestrian outline of the contents of this study would be equivalent to a demeaning book report. The élan, the integrating factor, the challenge of this work wells up from the historical facts themselves and from the vision of those Giants who created this history. The dynamic, existential meaning of universalism, accommodation, Christian leaven and inter-cultural sublimation is presented by Father Dunne with a high degree of subjectivity and empathy, with a colorful felicity of expression, and with restrained satire in treating those situations when lilliputians so often hampered the work of these Giants.

The prologue and epilogue of this work are relatively priceless. They might, indeed should, form the guidelines for Peace Corps orientation and that inter-cultural understanding so desperately needed in today's world.

JOHN J. O'FARRELL, S.J.

PHILOSOPHIA PERENNIS IN THE MARKETPLACE

The Integrating Mind. By *William F. Lynch, S.J.* New York: Sheed and Ward, 1962. Pp. 181. \$3.95.

Reading Father Lynch's book, I was constantly reminded of Chesterton's great myth of the men who set about fixing the lamp post by sitting down to a philosophical discussion on the nature of light. If that procedure seemed paradoxical to the leisurely Chestertonian age, it is no less

than exasperating to our gin-and-aspirin civilization. And yet, it is right; it must be done.

Long ago when we studied metaphysics, we used to dream of the day when we should bring our true philosophy into the marketplace, when we should apply the eternal principles of metaphysics to the warped practical world. We grow old, and the "professional" philosophers go on telling us it is impossible, but Father Lynch (like the Marines) has been doing the job. Even more than *Christ and Apollo*, this is a philosophical book. It is built on the doctrine of the analogy of being, and the analogy of being is, by all odds, the grandest of those metaphysical truths which need to be shouted in the marketplace. Aristotelians and Thomists (and so, Catholic intellectuals) must realize that they can contribute nothing to the intellectual dialogue outside of the framework of the analogy of being. We simply have no honest right posing, as we sometimes do, as terribly interested in the idealistic, or existential, or pragmatic metaphysics. We are dualists. We are analogists. Our theology, our art, our education (when it is not merely big-business), our sociology, science, and all the rest—it is built on a metaphysic of analogy and it is high time for our intellectuals to realize that this is the world-view, above everything else, that we may contribute to modern thought.

Father Lynch offers us here a series of essays brilliantly analyzing the "contraries" which stem from being and non-being and confront thought or mind wherever it attempts to integrate its experience. All of man's experience is rooted in change—in the confusing aspect of "the many" in one form or another. Thus, time-eternity, freedom-law, individual-community, finite-infinite are, with the aid of Plato's *Parmenides*, masterfully grasped as "contraries," not contradictories. Moreover, the author is eminently successful in the practical demonstration of his thesis that these contraries are constantly active in world affairs, and that the mind must not attempt, in these conflicts, to seek univocal solutions. There is no absolute accept-and-reject course to be followed in these matters. A Christian has the task of going to God through the immensely entangling ways of time and space. He must accept the contrary and all of teeming life with it, with a fully inward and joyous realization that he is thus only accepting himself as God made him, and accepting God's world of myriad change and confusion as he experiences it.

In essay after essay Father Lynch surveys the practical problems of the modern intellectual world and subjects them to this metaphysical principle of analogy. Our American democratic ideal *vs* totalitarianism, our acceptance of law *vs* our passion for liberty, our independence *vs* community rights, our education, and finally, our sanctification as free, loving beings in absolute surrender to an infinite loving God—these become rich and exciting explorations in the light of the Christian analogy.

This is a strong book. It seems to me to be better, in essence, than *Christ and Apollo*, insofar as Father Lynch is surer and richer in his grasp of analogy than he is in his analysis of metaphor. This is strange,

since metaphor is the supreme literary manifestation of this very Parmenidean doctrine of contraries. It is strange too in the light of Father Lynch's deep and lasting concern for literature and the drama. But he is essentially a philosopher, and the essays on "The American Adam" and "Theology and Human Sensibility" in this book are outstanding.

Father Lynch is an expert in this "image industry" of selling the Word, and no doubt knows his audience, but I was one reader who felt the lack of clear progression of thought in the book. The appendix (in an entirely different style) no doubt marks the author's deepest penetration into the thought of Plato, and the foundation for the book, but it is not placed or expounded in such a way as to be much direct help to a reader who is not disposed to grant the inevitable metaphysical principle of the contrary. No doubt, the synthetic approach has its advantages, too. At any rate, it is a heartening experience to read the *philosophia perennis* so freshly and forcefully written in this full spirited engagement with every phase of the modern intellectual debate.

LEONARD A. WATERS, S.J.

JUSTLY CELEBRATED

The Bible, Word of God in Words of Men. By Jean Levie, S.J. Translated by S. H. Treman. New York: Kenedy, 1962. Pp. x-323. \$7.50.

Branded by an influential Roman monsignor as a "tremendously subversive" book ("tremendamente eversivo," see A. Romeo, "L'enciclica 'Divino afflante Spiritu' e le 'opiniones novae,'" *Divinitas* 4 [1960] 385-456, especially p. 144, n. 130), the justly celebrated volume of Père Jean Levie (*La Bible, parole humaine et message de Dieu*) appears now in English dress. It is noteworthy that the English translation bears a Westminster (London) *imprimatur* (dated 14 July 1961), which is explained on the back of the frontispiece as a "declaration that a book or pamphlet is considered to be free from doctrinal or moral error." This significant fact should come as a surprise to the Roman monsignor.

In the recent public attack on the Jesuits of the Pontifical Biblical Institute by Romeo, Levie was made out to be the teacher of one of its young Spanish professors (*op. cit.*, p. 395). That his influence was pernicious was supposed to be shown by various quotations from the book—wrenched, to be sure, from their context. The Biblical Institute, in its public reply to Romeo, juxtaposed the monsignor's accusations and the original statements of Levie (see "Pontificium Institutum Biblicum et recens libellus R.mi D.ni A. Romeo," *Verbum domini* 39 [1961] 3-17), that the truth might appear.

A summary of significant reviews of this book has already been presented by the reviewer in a report on the Roman Scriptural controversy (*Theological Studies* 22 [1961] 435, n. 10)—a summary reproduced by the publisher on the book-jacket. It is by no means a complete survey of estimates, but it does substantiate the judgment that this book is "justly celebrated."

Levie is a New Testament exegete, professor emeritus at the Collège

Philosophique et Théologique S. J. de Louvain (Eegenhoven, Belgium). He has been a contemporary of many of the events and developments of the modern Catholic biblical movement and writes out of his long experience. The chief merit of his book lies in the contribution which it makes to the understanding of the *changes* in modern Catholic exegesis. For he tries to give a much-needed historical perspective to the new developments and to show how the great archeological developments of the last century opened up previously unknown areas of influence on both the Old Testament and the New Testament. On the other hand, he tries to account for a more profound understanding of the nature of inspiration and its bearing on exegesis. Part I deals with the progress in history and biblical exegesis 1850-1960. In it he sketches the course of the great excavations, the trends in liberal Protestant and Catholic exegesis as a result of them, the effect of the encyclical of Leo XIII (*Providentissimus Deus*), and finally the liberating effect of the positively orientated encyclical of Pius XII (*Divino afflante Spiritu*). In Part II Levie takes up the effect of all this on inspiration and Catholic exegesis today. The book attempts to answer many of the questions which educated Catholics have today about the Bible and the progress of biblical science. It is a "must" for priests ordained before 1950, for it attempts to explain in what the changes introduced by the encyclical of Pius XII (1943) consist. The end of Part I is especially valuable, since it is an extended commentary on the encyclical of Pius XII and tries to point out in greater detail the reasons for the positions assumed in it.

The general perspective adopted by Levie is well founded; however, there are times when even better examples from modern discoveries could have been chosen to attain his purpose. But his exposé retains its validity none the less. The translator has produced in general a readable English text. It is unfortunate, however, that someone acquainted with the English terminology of the archeological discoveries and other biblical expressions did not tidy up the English text. In many cases the French spelling of topographical or personal names has been retained (e.g., Beth Sames for Beth Shemesh on p. 19; Dježěr on p. 18, 93; Boghaz-Keui on p. 88, n. 24; Yeshoue on p. 98; etc., etc.). There is also a host of typographical errors in the book, a careless neglect of German Umlauts, and occasionally wrong translations (e.g., on p. 151 read "The philological study of the text" instead of "The philosophical study. . ."). These are, however, minor points which probably will not distract the ordinary reader, but this should be pointed out in case the book may be cited without consultation of the original.

JOSEPH A. FITZMYER, S.J.

CATHOLICS IN THE REVOLUTION

Catholics and the American Revolution. By Charles H. Metzger, S.J.
Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1962. Pp. xii—306. \$5.00.

Father Metzger's long-awaited analysis of the role of American Catholics in the Revolutionary War is an impressive book. It is a realistic study, written in the conviction that only honest history can provide a

true basis for accurate understanding of the forces that contributed to the shaping of the nation. In terms which are vivid and yet measured and always meticulously documented, the author depicts the suspicion-charged atmosphere of fear, hatred and persecution in which the Catholics of British North America lived prior to 1774. He then sketches the story of the Quebec Act and the violent anti-Catholic reaction to it in the Atlantic colonies. The official attitude of the Continental Congress veered in the direction of tolerance once the war had begun and the desirability of enlisting the help of the Canadians, French and Spanish was realized, but even this law of necessity was not enough to convert all, or even most, of the bigots who abounded in the colonies. Only an occasional individual like George Washington stands out by contrast against the general background of intolerance, especially on the part of the Protestant clergy. Others like John Adams adopted an ambivalent attitude and still others maintained a discreet silence, but there was little in the politico-religious climate of the new nation to compel the loyalty of its Catholic citizens.

Two chapters are devoted to the only substantial Catholic communities in the thirteen colonies, those in Maryland and Pennsylvania. The sad fate of religious toleration in Maryland after its auspicious beginnings is narrated, and the happier picture in Pennsylvania explained. In this connection, Father Metzger has made good use of the virtually untapped resources in the archives of the Maryland Province, which are housed at Woodstock College. His omission of any mention of the Catholic settlement at Conewago is surprising. Catholicism was introduced to that area of Pennsylvania several decades before the Revolution, and the section is still nearly one-hundred per cent Catholic.

The sixth chapter considers the state of public opinion at the beginning of the war, and lays special stress on the religious motives which played a part that has been strangely neglected by many historians. The heroic tradition tells us that the Revolution was a crusade for civil liberties. It neglects the fact that in many quarters the struggle was known as "the Presbyterian War." Father Metzger's narrative supplies a much-needed corrective here, in the final section of his book which deals with the setting of the conflict.

Five chapters discuss the actual participation of Catholics in the war. The author points out that they represented an infinitesimal fraction of the total colonial population, being some 25,000 out of 2,000,000 to 2,500,000. He warns against the fallacy of counting all Irish names as Catholic. The record of both Marylanders and Pennsylvanians was good. Despite the good reasons which they might have had for lack of enthusiasm for the rebellion, Catholics in both colonies contributed their proportionate share to the American forces, and a fair number, particularly in Pennsylvania, achieved high positions. Among the more cosmopolitan Pennsylvanians there were also a certain number of Tories, although the story of the Catholic Tory regiments in the British army is a rather pathetic one.

By way of conclusion Father Metzger recalls that intolerance towards Catholics was a dominant theme in American colonial history. This attitude was quickened by the passage of the Quebec Act and fostered by the religious motivation for rebellion felt in many quarters. Nevertheless, while some Catholics, especially in and around Philadelphia, sided with the crown, the vast majority of Catholic Americans cast their lot with the rebels. Their descendants have no apologies to make for their record.

JAMES J. HENNESEY, S.J.

FOR THE CONFESSOR

Confession and Pastoral Psychology. *By Andreas Snoeck, S.J.* Translated by Theodore Zuydwijk, S.J. Westminster: Newman Press, 1961. Pp. vi-183. \$3.50.

In the dark confines of the confessional, the human soul is for a moment brought into confrontation with the profound reality of sin. That confrontation sometimes arouses powerful reactions of shame and guilt, as well as a host of other soul-searching emotions. Consequently the confessor is often presented with a situation in which he cannot avoid the strong emotional elements that dominate the confession. To a certain extent, this is applicable to every confession.

The psychology of the confessional remains relatively undeveloped, but Father Snoeck has made a considerable contribution by bringing into focus the interplay between the psychological, the theological, and the more strictly sacramental aspects of the sacrament of Penance. The structure of his consideration is provided by the Council of Trent, and within that framework he provides a fresh and meaningful insight into the nature of the sacrament and the function of the minister. There is much material in the consideration of the task of the confessor which would reward the mature reflection of every priest.

The latter half of the book is given over to an extensive analysis of the scrupulous penitent and his pastoral care. Here again there are many worthwhile insights, but the approach seems to be dominated by a conception of scrupulosity based on the ideas of Janet and earlier analytic attitudes toward obsessions. Although the whole matter of obsessive-compulsive behavior is subject to considerable dispute, there are still certain generally accepted points that can be made. Scrupulosity is an obsessive-compulsive trait. Such traits are not uncommon in normal persons and may in fact be highly prized, particularly where attention to detail and extraordinary dedication to a task are required. The difference between the normal and the abnormal is that the abnormal is unable to control and direct this element of his personality structure. Where the obsessive-compulsive trait is under control, we are more likely to regard the penitent as having a tender conscience; where it is not, we will likely regard him as scrupulous.

The neurotic compulsive suffers from a lack of mature definition of his own self-image. Consequently, the vague, the unstructured, the general, in whatever context they confront him, are a source of anxiety. He flees

the anxiety by immersing himself in the concrete, the particular and the detailed. Most of all, he flees the nuanced flexibility of relations with other people. It is easy to understand how such a person would tend to be driven to resolve the indecision and lack of objective determination that characterises the moral order. He seeks to reduce the flexibility of prudential judgment to clear-cut, mathematical norms—which is impossible.

One way of understanding this situation regards the compulsive as an essentially dependent person who was unable, or was not permitted, to achieve the secure independence of the mature person. If he is able to establish a relationship with another person in which the other person is cast in the role of a strong and independent figure upon whom the compulsive can lean for psychological support, then that relationship is in effect reinforcing the original defect upon which the scrupulous behavior rests. If the confessor accepts the responsibility for the scrupulous penitent's moral decisions and imposes on him strict obedience, as Father Snoeck suggests, the confessor is equivalently placing the penitent in a position of dependence. Such a maneuver may assuage the penitent's immediate anxiety, but it would seem to do so at the risk of impeding therapeutic progress as well as of limiting the confessor's effectiveness.

W. W. MEISSNER, S.J.

FRANCE AND THE CHURCH

Religious History of Modern France. By *Adrien Dansette*. Translated by John Dingle. New York: Herder and Herder, 1961. Pp. xi-363; xiv-467. \$16.50.

On May 4, 1789 the three estates of France marched with their Most Christian king in solemn procession to invoke the blessing of God upon the newly opened Estates General. With this religious act—the final appearance in history of the power and wealth of the ancient Gallican Church—this account of the fate of religion in modern France begins. It is a tumultuous history, a series of controversies unmatched in the history of any other modern nation. On the central issue, whether the Church could adapt to the century or must bend the century to its traditional forms, the lines of battle were clearly drawn, but any detailed analysis is soon engulfed in the melee of ideas produced by the notoriously fecund and individualistic Gallic mind. Amid the welter of interacting and shifting issues, theological, moral, political, and social, Dansette retains firm control over his subject. It cannot be denied that he is partisan; nor is he sparing in his judgments. Yet disagreement does not exclude understanding, a faculty which he exercises so unreservedly that many readers brought up on the traditional Catholic demonology will be startled to find some of their classic villains credited with good intentions. In dealing with an inflammable subject Dansette is distinguished by the frankness and honesty of his approach.

In a brief review one can point out only a few of the many issues and events treated in such a wide-ranging work. The destruction of the old ecclesiastical structure in the revolutionary period and the failure of

the substitute constitutional church and the various enlightened cults are chronicled. After the Concordat development proceeded along two separate lines: firstly, the restoration of the ecclesiastical structure, recruitment of a new clergy and reorganization of institutions; secondly, the search for the proper role of the Church in the new society created by the Revolution. Progress in the first was steady but failure was the usual result of the solutions proposed to the latter problem. The more notable of these attempts, the ideas of La Mennais, the harmony of the early Second Republic, the *ralliement* of Leo XIII, and the opposition they encountered are all fully discussed. Dansette calls attention to the influence of events on the attitude of the social classes toward religion, the return to the Church of the aristocracy after the exile, of the middle classes after 1848, and of part of the intellectual elite in the early twentieth century, and the opposite current of de-Christianization among urban workers and peasants under the Third Republic. The Catholic response to the social problem from the first awakening in *Ere Nouvelle* to the work of Marc Sangnier is the subject of several chapters. Nor are changing trends in the devotional life of the faithful forgotten. The second *ralliement* of Pius XI and the condemnation of *Action Française* bring to a close the period of religious history dominated by the struggle of the Church with the nineteenth century, and at this point Dansette concludes his narrative. Developments among French Protestants are dealt with only summarily.

A reliable index has been provided but documentation and bibliography have been dispensed with. The absence of the latter is especially regrettable as so rich a subject will surely lead many readers to seek more information. The book has received a most readable translation and misprints are at a minimum. A few chronological errors, however, may cause confusion, such as assigning Darboy's commentary on the Syllabus to 1863 (I, 302) and the change in the formula of the investiture bulls by Pius X to 1902 (II, 211).

In a work of such scope the treatment of individual events and issues must, of course, be brief and Dansette was wise to attempt an analysis rather than a chronology. He has succeeded in providing the student with an excellent introduction to a broad and complicated subject and in furnishing the general reader with the means of understanding the contemporary religious scene in the light of its rich past.

FREDERICK J. O'BRIEN, S.J.

AN OUTSTANDING BOOK

Themes of the Bible. *By Jacques Guillet, S.J.* Translated by Albert J. LaMothe, Jr. Notre Dame: Fides Publishers Association, 1960. Pp. 279. \$6.95.

The Old Testament milieu is so far removed from our times that even a competent translation limps in trying to convey to a reader of the twentieth century an adequate meaning of its words, phrases and themes. They are simply a world of their own. What is needed is a re-creation by scripture scholars of the Hebraic milieu to be used as a guide in the

reading of the Bible. Father Guillet's book is exactly this, and a successful one. In his Forward he calls his book "an attempt, rather than a finished work, to grasp through the history of a few words and a few images, the richness of the religion of Israel." This is a very modest appraisal of an outstanding contribution to the development of biblical theology.

Although the themes developed in the book do not cover the entire Bible they do represent a sizable cross-section. An enumeration of the chapter headings—Themes of the Exodus: The March through the Desert; Grace, Justice and Truth: The Basic Vocabulary; Grace, Justice and Truth: Evolution of the Vocabulary; Themes of Sin; Themes of Damnation; Themes of Hope; The Breath of Yahweh—shows that unity is not a predominant feature of the work. However, within each chapter the treatment is comprehensive without also being too erudite for any reader with only a little familiarity with the Bible. The two chapters on Grace, Justice and Truth are remarkably concise, considering the fact that they include the prophets' (Amos and Micheas, Osee, Isaias, Jeremias), the Psalms' and the New Testament's use of these words. Among other things, the two chapters stress the fact that "in the union of God and His people, Israel has nothing to offer to the husband who comes to take it. All its riches are but gifts. This is not yet grace in the sense of St. Paul, for the secret of the promised gift remains impossible even to guess at."

A short review cannot do justice to Father Guillet's book. Evidence of its solid scholarship and popularity is the fact that its French original has had three editions since 1952 and has also been translated into German and Italian; the English translation by Mr. LaMothe reads very well. Although the last two chapters, Themes of Hope and The Breath of Yahweh, are rather hard-going, still all the effort and time put into a reflective reading of *Themes of the Bible* are well spent. Especially do we say this of the last chapter, The Breath of Yahweh.

JOSE V. AQUINO, S.J.

A GUIDE TO THE BIBLE

Understanding the Bible. By Ignatius Hunt, O.S.B. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1962. Pp. xiv-207. \$3.95.

If it is true that in the shadow of the great strides of Catholic scriptural scholarship some faithful Catholics have become suspicious and bewildered about "what is happening to the Bible," this small volume should allay their suspicions.

It can be recommended even to one who does not often study the scriptures; it assures him that the Bible has not changed, and neither has the Church's attitude toward it. Today, as always, the Bible is a sacred library of the inspired Word of God, written down by men to tell us God's plan of salvation and to lead us to heaven.

Although Father Hunt covers a great deal from Genesis to the Apocalypse, he takes nothing for granted: epistle means letter, the 13th century is the 1200's. He explains the common doctrine on inspiration,

skipping over fresher insights into its significance. He defines inerrancy, historicity, literary form. These are the familiar stepping stones to the Bible. Once there, Father Hunt samples recent interpretations of popular difficulties. He proposes that the first chapters of Genesis reflect the ideal relationship of man to God. The life spans of the patriarchs are a narrative device showing that in earlier times sin had less of a hold on men, for long life was God's blessing on good men. The sun incident in Joshua is probably no more than the recording of an hyperbolized story. Jonah and the whale is a clever satire on the narrowness of postexilic Judaism.

It is the meaning of historicity in the Bible that is the theme holding these twenty-seven chapters together. The longest chapter is devoted to the Qumran scrolls, an un hoped-for boon to Biblical scholars which, far from compromising the uniqueness of Christianity, underscores its remarkable superiority over other religions.

For a person who comes to the Bible with questions and difficulties, this guided tour is a helpful preliminary to understanding. It adequately clears away common prejudices: Biblical narratives move closer to the needs of man. And if it guides readers to the suggested readings, it will ultimately lead him to an understanding of the Bible itself.

RALPH W. DENGLER, S. J.

BUBER AND CHRISTIANITY

Martin Buber and Christianity. By Hans Urs von Balthasar. Translated by Alexander Dru. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1961. Pp. 127. \$3.00.

In this short and stimulating dialogue with the great Jewish philosopher, Martin Buber, Dr. von Balthasar is at once sympathetic and critical. He credits Buber's profound insight into the meaning and mission of Israel, but debits his failure to see Christianity as the full flowering of that mission.

Ranging over a wide number of Buber's books that give his early and developed thought on Israel, von Balthasar extracts two principles that Buber holds as fundamental to Judaism: the Prophetic and the Sacramental.

For Buber the Jew is a prophet of the east at the secular court of the accomplished west. He represents charism as opposed to the dry institutionalism of the western technocratic state. The *polis* and religion are irreconcilable and Jewish thought has always sought a way out of the dilemma: this thrust marks the movement of Jewish thought from the naive utopianism of Marx to the sophisticated phenomenology of Scheler to the personalism of Buber himself. For Buber the ideal period of the Old Testament is that of the Judges and, for the modern Jew, postexilic messianism is a bad dream.

For Abraham and for Moses the root of hope was the promised land; for the prophets the root of religion was the Holy Land. It was a sacrament, a present grace, a gift from God that demanded all man's attention and care. Buber feels that the modern Jew must forsake the sheer

intellectuality that is his form of *déracinement* and once more return to the Land. The Land is a present sacrament, that is, there is no need to look to some vague future fulfillment; now is the day of the Lord. Von Balthasar notes that this tends to identify the natural with the supernatural in a way that degrades the latter if it elevates the former. The same sort of ideal sacramentalism is found in the vitalism of Bergson. It tends to make time eternal and ignores the development of Israel's history toward the Christ, Who transcended both the Land and the Temple, Who would rise beyond time to judge the men and the land. The utopian socialism of good men is not only not the answer to the human tragedy; it is beneath human destiny in Christ. For Buber Christianity is here hopelessly trapped by the eschatological-incarnational dilemma.

Jews and Christians are united by their common election by God. Israel will always be the holy root, but it will only find its future by being regrafted to the Gentile olive shoot. Israel's mission may well be to safeguard the natural order, but that mission is subordinate to bringing all things into Christ.

The book contains many flashes of brilliance that this review cannot capture. It is regrettable that the gems, and sometimes even the thread of discourse, are lost frequently in a too loose, rambling presentation. As a result it is sometimes impossible to distinguish the thought of Buber from the commentary of von Balthasar.

JOHN M. PHELAN, S.J.

RELIGIOUS VOCATIONS

Religious Vocation: An Unnecessary Mystery. *By Richard Butler, O.P.*
Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1961. Pp. xiii-167. \$4.00.

Father Butler's explanation of religious vocation begins with an analysis of the objective nature of vocation. Objectively speaking, all Christians are invited (by the antecedent will of God, prescinding from the concrete order) not merely to the practice of the counsels, but to their practice in religious life, as the better and safer means of realizing the universal Christian vocation to perfection. In the concrete order, however, it is a fact that God moves some and not others to accept this invitation, an acceptance which consists in an intense act of the virtue of religion. Whether a given individual is in fact being so moved by God is something to be determined indirectly, from the presence or absence of the classic signs—freedom from impediments, right intention, and suitability. But, insists Father Butler, this grace will be neither "rare" nor "extraordinary." Because the religious life is objectively the better and safer means for achieving perfection, religious vocation must be considered to be something normal to the economy of salvation and not something merely for the few.

It is hard to see how the reader who is not conversant with scholastic philosophy and theology will be able to follow, let alone control, Father Butler's analysis of the objective nature of vocation, conducted as it is in the rarified atmosphere of the Divine knowledge and will, and this

in starkly technical fashion. Moreover, there is a real danger, and one which is only intensified by one disproportionate amount of attention given to the universal objective invitation, that the average reader will fail to appreciate the true purport of an objective analysis of this kind. From the deceptive simplicities of objective analysis to personal conclusions in the concrete order, the step can be a short and not always prudent one.

Equally unfortunate is Father Butler's shift from an emphasis on the *qualitative normalcy* of vocation to an emphasis on *quantitative normalcy*. If there is any mystery to religious vocation, surely it lies precisely in this area of relative frequency of vocation. A respectful silence on the matter would have been much preferable to the constantly recurring insistence upon such undefined, relative—and therefore easily misleading—expressions as “not rare,” “not an exceptional grace reserved to a privileged few.” This defect is only heightened by Father Butler's failure throughout a major part of the book to see discernment of vocation as a separate and legitimate problem in its own right, concern for which by no means implies adherence to attractionist theories of vocation. It is these two themes—the *quantitative normalcy* of vocation and the *facility of discernment* of vocation—which seem to emerge as Father Butler's real message. And it is this message which seems to account for the contrast he is at pains to establish between the “modern” approach to vocation and the “traditional” approach of the early Church and St. Thomas.

To establish this contrast Father Butler turns first to “the primary source of early Christian history,” Acts 5:32-35 [sic], from which he concludes that “what is noteworthy is that the primitive Christian observed the evangelical counsels as a matter of course, with a responsibility gravely binding and accepted. . . . Surely no one of these first followers of Christ hesitated over the stumbling block of religious vocation, wondering whether they were called to observe the counsels or not.” Such a view is apparently unconcerned by the fact that Acts gives no indication that the practice of the other two counsels was similarly widespread even in the Jerusalem community, or by the absence of even a community of goods in the presumably equally primitive Pauline communities. It also overlooks the indications in I Corinthians 7:1-38 that the decision to practice the counsels was no more “a matter of course” for the primitive Christian than it is for the Christian today.

St. Thomas is also claimed to have held this “traditional” view with which the “modern” approach is supposed to conflict: “The insinuation of the moderns that one should subject himself to deep self-analysis (even the canned psychoanalysis of prepared tests today) [sic], and prolonged deliberation over whether or not one has ‘the call,’ represents a definite departure from the sound teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas that no one should delay, or even deliberate over, a simple resolve to enter religious life. In fact, he says, don't seek advice except from those who will encourage you!” To present these views thus stripped of the precise purport with which they were originally proposed in a definite polemical

context by St. Thomas is a distortion. In particular, Father Butler has failed to keep in mind that, whereas throughout his writings on the religious life St. Thomas presupposes that the case is one in which the individual, under the impetus of grace, has already made a genuine *propositum religionis*, contemporary writers on vocation quite legitimately have moved the question back a step further and have focused their attention upon the question of how we are to determine whether or not in any given case a genuine *propositum religionis* has in fact been made. Certainly the directives of the Holy See in the past decade, with their insistence upon a careful screening of religious candidates, have amply justified this contemporary concern.

It should be added that, useful though a study of the implications inherent in current vocation semantics would be, these same directives made Father Butler's lengthy attempt to establish the illegitimacy of the term "religious vocation" obsolete before it was ever written.

To the extent that it offers little of diagnostic value, is likely to overawe the uninitiated and mislead the impressionable, this work, for all its good intentions, cannot be recommended with any enthusiasm to vocational counsellors or candidates.

JAMES G. MCCANN, S.J.

A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION

Freedom, Grace, and Destiny. By Romano Guardini. New York: Pantheon Books, 1961. Pp. 251. \$4.00.

In this work Monsignor Guardini presents his analysis of the three basic themes of Christian existence. His approach is concrete, analytic, and existential. By this methodology he hopes to offset a division which has divided post-Thomistic thinking into specialized categories. He feels that philosophy today has exhausted this approach and should return to a synthetic spirit as exemplified in the Christian wisdom of Augustine and Thomas.

With this as a prologue he goes on to examine three basic themes of a total Christian life. Each essay is highly personal and highly condensed, and for that reason each has a wealth of suggestive insights. He first begins with an analysis of man's experience (a phenomenology) followed by an interpretation made in the light of philosophy and theology.

In his essay on freedom he explores man's unique position as the being capable of responsible action, action which involves an intelligent response and responsibility. We find a concrete analysis or a phenomenology of freedom described, rather than a scholastic analysis of its causality. Especially interesting are his brief remarks on artistic or creative freedom.

The second essay is on grace, especially as it is related to human freedom as presented in the first essay. The third treats the last key theme which structures Christian existence: destiny. Here again the essay is suggestive and condensed, as for example, his treatment of destiny as it is related to the psychologists' idea of man's *Umwelt* (the individual's personal milieu) and the surrounding cosmos.

As far as we know this is the first translation of one of Guardini's

strictly philosophical works. We can only hope that other works of his, like *Versuch einer Philosophie des Lebendig-Konkreten, Welt und Person*, and especially his work on the religious thought of Dostoyevsky, find a translator to make this side of his versatile personality better known to English-speaking readers.

GERARD F. WALDORF, S.J.

THE PSALMS

Herder's Commentary on the Psalms. Edited by Edmund Kalt. Translated by Bernard Fritz, O.S.B. Westminster: Newman Press, 1961. Pp. 559. \$6.75.

Father Fritz, of Assumption Abbey, North Dakota, has provided a readable translation of Herder's standard, though somewhat dated (1935), devotional commentary on the Psalms. The original editor and authors set themselves the task of "emphasizing the supernatural and the divine in the psalms and making them fruitful for the Christian life." This goal has been accomplished well in the general introduction and individual commentaries, so that the Psalms, illuminated and complemented by the New Testament, emerge as truly Christian prayers.

Regrettably, the English text used is that of the Douay version, though in a number of places, e.g. Ps 67:24, it is clear that the original German commentary was directed to a better vernacular translation.

The book fills a lacuna in American devotional literature and will prove useful for sermon material and meditative reading. There is a short topical index, mostly listing Christian ascetical references.

FREDERICK A. HOMANN, S.J.

STUDIES AND UNION WITH GOD

The Love of Learning and the Desire for God, A study of Monastic Culture. By Dom Jean Leclercq, O.S.B. Translated by Catherine Misrahi. New York: Fordham University Press, 1960. Pp. x-415. \$5.50.

The problem of the place of human learning in a life consecrated to achieving union with God is a perennial one. It is something of a surprise, perhaps, to learn that this problem arose even in the contemplative milieu of medieval Benedictine monasticism. Why it arose and how medieval Benedictinism maintained the balance between studies and the contemplative vocation have been examined by Dom Leclercq, whose life's work has centered on the culture and spirituality of medieval monasticism. This resulting volume has been properly characterized as a "splendid synthesis of monastic civilization."

Members of contemporary apostolic congregations—in which the "problem of studies" is of a different nature than it was for medieval Benedictinism—will find Dom Leclercq's work perhaps of greatest value as a study of a spiritual civilization. For in the course of exposing the sources and achievements of this civilization Dom Leclercq also presents us with a fine introduction to the great themes of medieval monastic spirituality and to the literary genres through which these themes received expression. And to whatever extent the spirituality of con-

temporary apostolic congregations is tributary to monastic spirituality, such an introduction is a thing of no small value.

Certainly relevant for any contemporary religious community is the conviction out of which Dom Leclercq's re-creation of medieval monastic civilization has sprung—the conviction that “if the great ideas of the past are to remain young and vital, each generation must, in turn, think them through and rediscover them in their pristine newness.”

JAMES G. McCANN, S.J.

REFERENCE BOOK

Dogma for the Layman. By *Thomas J. Higgins, S.J.* Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1961. Pp. v-218. \$3.95.

Because of the increased interest in Catholic belief among educated men in this country, Father Higgins prepared this book for the serious reader who wants more than just a catechism knowledge of the Faith. He makes no pretensions that he is writing a definitive or grandiose work, but he does here present a summary of the theological synthesis in seven clear, uncluttered and smoothly-flowing chapters. Each point of dogma is unfolded, the sources of the doctrine are pointed out (“Denzinger” is explained in the introduction and references are then made to it throughout), the historical context is mentioned when necessary, and the opinions of theologians are noted. A clear distinction is always made between what is defined and what is merely the opinion of theologians. Scripture is used judiciously, and not so much as strict proofs of dogmas as illustrations in inspired language of the pronouncements of the Church. All these definitions, scriptural texts and theological reasonings are neatly worked into a very polished, readable work. In no place is there the sharp cutting of polemic or controversy, but always the direct exposition and exposition of the dogmas of the Church.

Dogma for the Layman is not a work for the expert who is looking for new syntheses and speculation; nor is it for the layman who is uneducated in his Faith. But for the intelligent Catholic or non-Catholic it is a book which will shed great light on the truths of Catholicism. A place should be reserved for it on the reference shelf of any college theology class and also in the library of any educated man who wants a solid, sane and sober summary of the dogmas of the Church. As a quick reference book on any subject in Catholic theology it is hard to beat.

JAMES H. BREININGER, S.J.

ACTION IN WORSHIP

The Whole Man at Worship. By *Hélène Lubienska de Lenval.* Translated by Rachel Attwater. New York: Descles Co., 1961. Pp. 86. \$1.95.

This brief work is a translation of *La Liturgie du Geste* by Mrs. Lubienska de Lenval who as a disciple of Maria Montessori has continued and improved the latter's pedagogical discoveries. It is an exploratory effort to deepen personal piety by restoring the natural prayer-function to the liturgical actions of the body.

Along with Saint Benedict the author considers “the liturgy according

to its origins, as the 'work of God', a divine invasion of human life and the liturgical action as the quickening of man by the hand of God," so that the liturgy of action will signify the visible signs of the invisible Presence (p. 10).

In light of this broad definition of liturgical action she considers the liturgical actions of Christ and the liturgical actions in the Old Testament. Then, drawing on a great variety of religious rites, she exemplifies the meaning of some concrete liturgical actions. The final chapter of the book deals with the unity of mind and bodily action which is required for totally human worship.

Although she presents interesting insights revealing the meaning of the concrete, human actions of Christ and of some liturgical actions of the Old Testament, at times she seems to hold a fundamentalist view of Scripture. And as is evident from the brevity of the book, her treatment is incomplete. This often results in unproven generalizations.

Nevertheless these essays are worth reading for the simple reason that they expose us to the problem of the relationship of body and mind in liturgical prayer and point to many sources which must be considered in clarifying and answering this question. Since men do express themselves by action as well as by word, the question of the meaningfulness and the naturalness of liturgical action must be asked. These brief pages will focus our attention on the complex problems of solving the present confusion.

ROBERT J. HEYER, S.J.

A STUDY OF SYMBOLISM

Images and Symbols. By Mircea Eliade. Translated by Philip Mairet. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961. Pp. 189. \$3.50.

This translation, nine years after the original French edition, of Eliade's *Images et Symboles* attests the growing popularity of his work. It is the sixth major work of Eliade to appear in English. It is itself a resume of certain of his writings prior to 1952. He describes the contemporary rediscovery of symbols, of their function and importance. The science which is best capable of examining religious symbols, Eliade calls the History of Religions. The term is open to some confusion: the historian of religions must not only be concerned with scholarly monographs on individual religions; he must also look for the modalities of being represented by certain symbols common to many religions. A symbol has a cluster of meanings which form a discernable pattern. Subsequent chapters examine some of these patterns.

Thus, the symbolism of the centre (the World Axis, the Cosmic Tree, the mountain, temple or house) represents man's abhorrence of disintegration, his desire for immortality; it points toward an absolute reality toward which he strives. Eliade's study of Indian symbolism of Time and Eternity leads him to conclude, "The myth takes man out of his own time—his individual, chronological, 'historic' time—and projects him, symbolically at least, into the Great Time, into a paradoxical instant which cannot be measured because it does not consist of duration." Time-myths are instruments of knowledge; they make men aware of the

unreality of what is passing. Eliade's third symbolism is that of knots (the 'God who binds'). While he maintains that there is an uniform religious significance to the symbolism of knots, namely, the desire of all men to be free of his situation of finite bondage, nevertheless Eliade is hard put to square this theory with the full morphology of binding-myths which he describes. He admits this difficulty and traces it to the fact that pure archetypes or patterns are often obscured because of the particular historical 'realisations' or 'activations' in which they are found. The chapter on the symbolism of shells (pearls, oysters, snails) is more successful in showing that these objects symbolize the power of life, its fertility, its transcendent aspect.

Eliade's final chapter treats of aquatic symbolism, with particular reference to Christian Baptism. This leads to an analysis of the special role of Christianity in the History of Religions: Christianity has a structure similar to the symbolic archetypes; yet it does not emphasize the archetype, but stresses the privileged intervention of the divine Power in history. Thus, the historical event as such (and not merely as an 'occasion') becomes an hierophany.

The immense erudition of this book cannot be summarized here; nor can Eliade's frequent remarks on method. His language at times seems to obscure the distinction between a temporal sequence and a mode of being, between a mode of being and a mode of knowledge. At any rate, the question of method remains the crux in his attempt to organize the vast data of religious symbols into meaningful and convincing patterns.

GEORGE C. MCCAULEY, S.J.

ASCETICAL SEMINAR

Problems in Jesuit Asceticism. Alma: Alma College, 1961. Pp. 202. \$2.00.

This is a compilation of the second group meeting on Jesuit spirituality held at Alma College. It stems from a seminar of theologians and priests under the direction of Father Joseph Wall. Six different papers were read at this seminar and each was followed by three commentators, then by discussion and questions from the floor. All this is reproduced here in the mimeographed proceedings.

The papers dealt with: 1) The Value of Obedience in an Apostolic Order, 2) The Degrees of Obedience, 3) The Practice of Obedience, 4) The Moral Structure of Obedience, 5) Criticism and Obedience, 6) Psychology and Obedience.

This interchange of ideas between scholastics and priests has an openness and vitality that is probably not possible in any written treatise on the subject. Specific problems are clarified and diversity of opinion is honestly recognized and met. That this group-discussion approach to common problems of Jesuit spirituality is alive and interesting seems proved by the fact that this second session arose from questions raised in the first seminar in 1960, which dealt with general problems of Jesuit asceticism. It is only hoped that these two sessions are followed by others, and that the idea itself spreads to other houses of the Society.

GERARD F. WALDORF, S.J.

RELIGIOUS AND MENTAL ILLNESS

Mental Illness and the Religious Life. By Richard P. Vaughan, S.J.
Milwaukee: Bruce, 1962. Pp. xiv-198. \$4.00.

Father Vaughan's little book is a welcome addition to the expanding literature dealing with psychological problems of religious life. His objective is conservative, namely, to make religious, and especially religious superiors, aware of the patterns of disturbance which can manifest themselves in religious life. The objective is accomplished in a clear and easy style, which is accurate without becoming technical.

The substance of the book consists of a descriptive catalogue of mental illnesses with special attention to symptoms as they manifest themselves in religious life. This approach can be useful and informative for the intended audience, but the prospective reader should not look for much in the line of understanding the dynamics of such abnormal behavior. There are many points which are well made, but no reader should mistake Father Vaughan's clear statement of them as exhausting the complexity of the problems on which they touch.

The basic message of this book deserves warm applause and recommendation: the reluctance of many religious to seek psychiatric help when it is needed must yield to the more prudent course of taking the necessary means. If Father Vaughan's work brings about a sensitivity to the problem of mental illness and a realization that psychiatry in many cases offers not only the best, but the only, solution, his effort will have been well rewarded.

W. W. MEISSNER, S.J.

SALVATION AND THE CHURCH

The Wide World, My Parish. By Yves Congar, O.P. Translated by Donald Attwater. Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1961. Pp. xi-188. \$4.50.

In this admirable little book Father Congar gathers many reflections that touch in one way or another upon the idea of Salvation. The Church is considered as the first-fruits of an objective salvation already achieved; she is the leaven, the seed-force, the part standing for the whole world. St. Augustine's understanding of freedom (for and from, *ad* and *ab*) is applied to the meaning of salvation. The last things are discussed in relation to salvation: Heaven, Hell, Purgatory, the Resurrection of the Body. Some sixty pages are devoted to an examination of the dictum in ecclesiology, *extra ecclesiam nulla salus*. These discussions bring to the surface several profound problems which the author approaches with wisdom and optimism: What of the unbaptized who die before the dawn of reason? Is our broadening knowledge of psychology forcing us to conclude that man has not the freedom to attain salvation? How does our universe figure in the world to come?

This book is an effort to substitute the theological for the imaginative, especially with regard to the last things, which lend themselves so readily to flights of fancy. Certainly retreat masters can profit much from a reading of this work; so can all those who would add to their own understanding of *De Novissimis* and *De Ecclesia* the warm, broadening

reflections of a great theologian. Perhaps it is the fact that the book originally appeared as a series of articles that explains some needless repetition of ideas.

EUGENE J. BARBER, S.J.

A CONTROVERSIAL THEORY

The Just Wage. By Michael Fogarty. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1961. Pp. 309. 30/- net.

As far back as 1955, Michael Fogarty, Professor of Industrial Relations in the University of Wales, had published his ideas on a wage plan involving family allowances. A controversy on this challenge to the more usual interpretation of the scholastic wage theory was carried on in the pages of *Social Order* from 1955 through 1958. Those acquainted with the problem will welcome Professor Fogarty's *The Just Wage*.

Situating the discussion in the context of present British wages, the basic principles of a just wage system (equal and maximum pay for equal ability, status maintenance) are discussed in Part I, with the application of these principles discussed in Part II. Despite the constant reference to the British system, American readers will find valuable material in these chapters. The discussions of fringe benefits, co-responsibility, the source and management of welfare plans, and the concept of a family living wage are very pertinent to the American scene of advancing welfare programs. Of particular interest is the author's presentation of the ideal welfare state as an educational state (zealously honoring the principle of subsidiarity) as opposed to what is termed an executive state.

The chapter on the family living wage is very concrete, spelling out the author's family allowance plan in dollars and cents as well as in pounds and shillings. An honest understanding of this chapter may well shake the almost dogmatic certainty sometimes claimed for the more usual interpretation of the family wage according to scholastic theory. Throughout the book Professor Fogarty tries to bring the wage theory "from cloud-cuckoo-land into the realm of practical possibility" without sacrificing principles. His effort is enjoyable, penetrating, and extremely worthwhile.

THOMAS H. O'GORMAN, S.J.

THE CHURCH'S SOCIAL MIND

The Church and Social Justice. Jean-Yves Calvez, S.J. and Jacques Perrin, S.J. Translated by J. R. Kirwan. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1961. Pp. 466. \$7.50.

Fathers Calvez and Perrin have done Catholics a great service by synthesizing in one book the social teachings of the Popes over the past eighty years. This work is particularly valuable for the access it gives to the statements of Pius XII on the social question that are found in the many speeches and letters of the nineteen years of his pontificate.

The first chapter presents a justification of the Church's intervention in the social question. The authors then go on to show that revelation—not philosophy—is the source of the Church's teachings even on the social

question. The core of the book begins with the chapter on the relationship between the person and society: it is only through being part of society that man can reach his full development. A treatment of justice follows, which is at once eminently profound and eminently practical. Social justice is "the general norm of the life of the entire social body . . ." (p. 151). The relation between justice and charity is then taken up.

In the following chapters the authors examine the foundations of economic society, the socio-economic forms (the market, the enterprise, and the relationship between national and international economies), the role of the state in the development of the economy, and the role that the Church has played in trying to eliminate class conflict. In the concluding chapters the question of trade unionism and the Church's plan for society are discussed.

What is perhaps most significant in the book is the authors' constant effort not merely to repeat the words of the various pontiffs, but to penetrate and analyze the meaning of these words. They succeed very well in this, although in striving for a deeper understanding of the Church's position on some questions, they occasionally attribute a somewhat overly technical meaning to the words of the Popes.

Father John Cronin, S.S., writes that "as a deep discussion of Catholic social principles, (this book) could be used in Theological seminaries and our graduate schools of economics." We might add that it can also be used by high school and college teachers who want to give their students an understanding and love of the Church's teachings on these questions in a somewhat more simplified form.

H. PAUL LE MAIRE, S.J.

ETHICS IN MODERN AMERICA

Modern Ethical Theories. By James V. McGlynn, S.J., and Jules J. Toner, S.J. Milwaukee: Bruce, 1962. Pp. 167. \$4.00 (cloth); \$2.25 (paper).

An outgrowth of the authors' classroom lectures at the University of Detroit, this book presents in summary fashion the fundamentals of those theories of general ethics which dominate the American scene. An introductory chapter discusses the data and problems which give rise to any such ethical system and suggests the relations a viable ethics has with other philosophical problems. The next three chapters provide historical perspective with discussions of some classical systems: the Moral Sense School of Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, and Hume, the Ethical Formalism of Kant, and the Utilitarianism of Bentham and J. S. Mill. They are accurate in proportion to their brevity (fifteen pages being the average) and well organized. Contemporary ethicists of influence are represented in chapters on Naturalism (Dewey), Analytical Philosophy (C. E. Moore, A. J. Ayer, C. L. Stevenson), Existentialism (Sartre, de Beauvoir) and Psychoanalysis (Freud, Fromm). Succinct evaluations close each chapter. In keeping with the scope of the book there is no mention made, for example, of the phenomenological ethics of Scheler and von Hildebrand. A concluding chapter sketches the authors' ideas of how

the basis of an ethics should be structured, and, not surprisingly, we get the fundamentals of Thomistic doctrine.

These essays focus attention on the critical problems of philosophical ethics and provide a useful starting point for discussion and reading in the undergraduate classroom. Admittedly they are no substitute for reading the original philosophers or even the standard commentaries, but they will encourage and prepare the student for these more ambitious tasks.

It would, incidentally, be a splendid contribution to the current philosophical enterprise if Fathers McGlynn and Toner were to continue the work they have begun and do for ethics what James Collins did for natural theology with his monograph *God in Modern Philosophy*. In any case the present book is a useful addition to pedagogic literature. It has both a topical and nominal index, and the footnote citations of original sources give indications for wider reading.

FREDERICK A. HOMANN, S.J.

TOWARDS A SENSE OF COMMUNITY

Prayers for Meditation. By *Hugo Rahner and Karl Rahner*. New York: Herder and Herder, 1962. Pp. 71. \$1.75.

As the foreword indicates, the purpose of this little book is to renew the sense of community worship during the time of retreat. The prayers contained in this volume follow the outline of the Spiritual Exercises; their content and spirit seem to respond very well to Father General's encouragement (in his recent letter on the liturgy) that our use of the Exercises be "illuminated and permeated by the liturgical life of the Church."

The retreatant (and retreat director) who is seeking to approach the Exercises from a more sacramental point of view will find much food for his thought and prayer here. Emphasis is placed upon the Eucharist as the center of our life in the community of the Church. The prayer on "The Imitation of Christ" is notable for its insistence on our inner union with Christ as the key to such imitation; meditation on this prayer would be a helpful antidote to a more externalistic interpretation of the exercises of the Second Week. Though the use of this book need not be confined to a retreat, this renowned brother-Jesuit team has made a rich contribution to our understanding of and cooperation with the work of the Spiritual Exercises in the building of the Body of Christ.

JOHN GALLEN, S.J.

SCREENING AND TRAINING

Selection and Incorporation of Candidates for the Religious Life. By *Basil Frison, C.M.F., J.C.D.* Milwaukee: Bruce, 1962. Pp. xi-186. \$5.75.

Father Frison's book is primarily a juridical commentary on articles 31-34 of the General Statutes of the Sacred Congregation of Religious approved by the Apostolic Constitution *Sedes Sapientiae*, a doctrinal and disciplinary instruction issued on May 31, 1956 and concerned with the

training of the religious clergy. Articles 31-34 deal with fostering vocations to the clerical religious state, the examination of candidates, and their admission to the noviceship, vows, and orders. Father Frison gives special attention to certitude about chastity and the utility of psychological testing. To interpret the norms of *Sedes Sapientiae*, frequent reference is made to more recent documents of the Holy See, especially the private Instruction *Religiosorum Institutio* addressed to religious superiors by the Sacred Congregation of Religious on Feb. 2, 1961. Father Frison's statements are also heavily documented by references to the writings of canonists and moralists which are listed in his ten-page, multilingual bibliography.

Although religious clergy are the direct subjects of *Sedes Sapientiae*, many of its norms can be applied to the diocesan clergy and to lay religious. In addition to the present work, the author plans to publish a separate commentary on each of the titles of the General Statutes of *Sedes Sapientiae*.

LOUIS E. NIZNIK, S.J.

A LITURGICAL APPROACH

Towards the Center of Christian Living. By *Johannes Pinsk*. New York: Herder and Herder, 1961. Pp. 262. \$4.50.

The decisive event in Sacred History and therefore of the Christian message and life is Christ's death-resurrection. Ultimately it is the Paschal Mystery that gives meaning to the Christian faith. And in the present it is the ever-deepening insertion into this mystery that is the source of all Christian growth. In this book Dr. Pinsk, a distinguished theologian and liturgical scholar, presents a fuller appreciation of this centrality of the Paschal Mystery as the source and essence of the whole Christian life.

He first considers the meaning of the Lord's death-resurrection as the source of the Christian's new life and as the continuing fact in the Church to which he is called to give witness. Next, by relating them to the central mystery of the resurrection Pinsk throws light on the inner meaning of the other mysteries of Christ's life as presented by the Church in her liturgical year: Pentecost, Advent, Incarnation, Epiphany, the Mystery of the Cross. By centering these in Christ's resurrection the unity and relevance of these mysteries as celebrated by the Church are made evident.

The last three chapters focus on some apparent difficulties. In a long chapter entitled "Problems of a Christian" the author offers a clear and enlightening explanation of five problems basic to Christian spirituality: 1) objective versus subjective piety, 2) the apparent conflict between individual and communal worship, 3) the necessary relation of the sacred and the secular, 4) Christian morality versus moralism, and 5) the true meaning of liturgy. Again each question is considered from the center of Christian existence, the resurrection of Christ. The final chapter is an excellent development of the notion of Christian freedom in the light of the resurrection.

This book is a fine, integrated development of the essential Christian spiritual life. Ours should find it interesting and filled with new insights into the fulness of life in Christ.

ROBERT J. HEYER, S.J.

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AMONG OUR REVIEWERS

Father Joseph A. Fitzmyer (Maryland Province) teaches the New Testament at Woodstock College, Maryland.

Father James J. Hennesey (New York Province) teaches history at Loyola Seminary, Shrub Oak, New York.

Father W. W. Meissner (Buffalo Province) recently published *The Annotated Bibliography in Religion and Psychology*.

Father John J. O'Farrell (California Province), a veteran of the China mission, now teaches at Loyola University, Los Angeles.

Father Leonard A. Waters (Wisconsin Province) teaches English in the Juniorate at Jesuit College, St. Bonifacius, Minnesota.