

# STUDIES

## in the Spirituality of Jesuits



**The Kamikaze Factor:  
Choosing Jesuit Ministries**  
by  
**Joseph F. Conwell, S.J.**

Published by the American Assistancy Seminar on Jesuit Spirituality,  
especially for American Jesuits working out their *aggiornamento*  
in the spirit of Vatican Council II

## THE AMERICAN ASSISTANCY SEMINAR ON JESUIT SPIRITUALITY

consists of a group of Jesuits from various provinces who are listed below. The members were appointed by the Fathers Provincial of the United States.

The Purpose of the Seminar is to study topics pertaining to the spiritual doctrine and practice of Jesuits, especially American Jesuits, and to communicate the results to the members of the Assistancy. The hope is that this will lead to further discussion among all American Jesuits--in private, or in small groups, or in community meetings. All this is done in the spirit of Vatican Council II's recommendation to religious institutes to recapture the original charismatic inspiration of their founders and to adapt it to the changed circumstances of modern times. The members of the Seminar welcome reactions or comments in regard to the topics they publish.

To achieve these purposes, especially amid today's pluralistic cultures, the Seminar must focus its direct attention sharply, frankly, and specifically on the problems, interests, and opportunities of the Jesuits of the United States. However, many of these interests are common also to Jesuits of other regions, or to other priests, religious men or women, or lay men or women. Hence the studies of the Seminar, while meant especially for American Jesuits, are not exclusively for them. Others who may find them helpful are cordially welcome to read them.

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# THE KAMIKAZE FACTOR: CHOOSING JESUIT MINISTRIES

by

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## Introduction

### A. The Problematic

The kamikaze pilots of World War II were Japanese pilots whose sole mission was a suicidal crash dive of an explosives-laden plane to destroy a target. *Kami* in Japanese means "spirits, the gods, more-than-human realities which pervade the universe," and *kaze* means "wind" or "breath." The pilots felt themselves to be men driven by the Spirit Wind or Divine Breath and so they feared not even death. They resembled, in some vague way at least, those Spirit-filled men like Isaiah and Jeremiah and Ezekiel who acted out what the Spirit breathed within them regardless of the consequences.

Decision making in the Jesuit tradition means letting the Spirit breathe within, moving the way the Divine Wind blows, allowing oneself to be driven by the Breath of God the way John the Baptist and Jesus were driven into the desert by the power of the Spirit.

Decision making also always involves death, not suicide as in the case of the kamikaze pilots, but death to whatever is not chosen, just as it means life for whatever is chosen. Thus, to choose to expand a work means a new kind of life for that work as well as death to the advantages of being small. To drop a language requirement in a school, or to double an existing requirement, implies both death and life to some values either good or bad or indifferent. To choose always means movement and direction, but it also means setting aside something that might have been chosen. The choice should always be a Spirit-driven choice, a choice made under the power and direction of the Spirit who

. . . over the bent  
World broods with warm breast and with ah! bright wings.<sup>1</sup>

In an earlier issue of *Studies*<sup>2</sup> this year Dominic Maruca describes the angels as conceived at the University of Paris in Ignatius' day. The angel was powerful in intellect, dynamic in the use of will. Absorbed in constant adoration, the angel was ready for any mission, a creature of extraordinary decisiveness. The kamikaze mentality envisioned in this study imitates this angelic single-mindedness. It has nothing to do with suicide, but it does have a great deal to do with a) openness to the Breath of the Spirit, b) decisiveness in going where the Divine Wind blows, c) fearlessness in the face of the death demanded by every choice.

There are more forces at work in us than the Holy Spirit. Contemporary life is so filled with disturbing and stimulating elements that we are daily called to apply the rules for discerning between good and evil spirits both in our personal lives and in the events of history which help to shape those lives as we carry out the duty recalled by Vatican II of "scrutinizing the signs of the times and interpreting them in the light of the gospel."<sup>3</sup> Six months before that decree issued on December 7, 1965, and long before the decrees of the 32nd General Congregation and the letters and talks of Father General which have kept us stirred up in more recent times, the 31st General Congregation issued a decree that was one of the most disturbing and stimulating and challenging of our day. Charging that the principal reason why the hard work we do does not always produce the results we might expect was "our failure adequately to adapt our ministries to the changed conditions of our time," the decree called for each province to set up a commission for promoting the better choice of ministries:

The task of this commission will be, after careful study, to advise on an overall review of ministries. This will involve making suggestions as to which ought to be kept or dropped and which ought to be renewed or begun for the first time.<sup>4</sup>

The call was met not only by a trusting hopefulness on the part of some, but by panic, anger, anxiety, resentment, fear, and vengeful hope on the part of others. If our parishes and missions, our various social apostolates and educational institutions, our retreat houses and publications, and all our other works were to be evaluated, then they were in danger of being given up.



## 1. The "Classicist" Reaction

To some this meant the rejection of their lifelong labor. They had found the will of God in the command of their superiors and had dedicated their lives to fulfilling that command, whether it was by teaching Latin in a high school, or serving on a mission somewhere, or writing a book about English literature. Operating from this mind-set, there was no need to search further. Their work was priestly work. To question its apostolic value was to question obedience itself. To spend time evaluating meant to take time from work for which there was not enough time already. For them it was psychologically impossible to think of an evaluation of ministries or of the possibility of real changes taking place. To the Jesuit of the classical mold essences embodied the truth. What was true once was true forever. There was no need for a decision, for the decision had already been made in the assignment made by the superior.

John Fowles, in *The French Lieutenant's Woman*, speaks of Darwin as upsetting the ladder of nature, the *scala naturae* of Linnaeus, which had maintained that a new species could not enter our world: *nulla species nova*. That explains, he writes, the Linnaean obsession to classify and name, to fossilize whatever exists. It was a foredoomed attempt to stabilize and fix a world in continuous flux.<sup>5</sup> To fossilize is a danger inherent to the classical mind.

A sociologist like Peter L. Berger can write extensively about the ills and misfortunes that groups and institutions are heir to. Even if they begin with a new and exciting charism, they eventually organize themselves according to efficiency patterns that can degenerate into a bureaucratic morass. It is possible to find oneself a living fossil. The fact that it is a common danger does not lessen the pain of the experience.

Ignatius had a Darwinian mind, one which could create a religious order so new that its right to be called a religious order was both challenged and denied. Yet he produced a group of men of whom Linnaeus would have been proud. Ignatius picked up Latin and Greek and the other accouterments of a classical education as he would a tool; it was the best instrument at hand for developing a fully alive Christian man. Had he lived in another age or

another culture, he would have chosen whatever was the best instrument at hand in that age or that culture. Many of his followers, however, became wedded to the classical education, not as one model, but as the correct model.

Bernard Lonergan in an earlier issue of *Studies* wrote of the Renaissance Jesuits:

If we can be proud of our predecessors, we must also note that they took on the coloring of their age and shared its limitations. . . . the culture of the time was classicist. It was conceived not empirically but normatively, not as the meanings and values inherent in a given way of life, but as the right set of meanings and values that were to be accepted and respected if one was not to be a plebeian, a foreigner, a native, a barbarian. Classicist philosophy was the one perennial philosophy. Classicist art was the set of immortal classics. Classicist laws and structures were the deposit of the wisdom and prudence of mankind. This classicist outlook was a great protector of good manners and a great support of good morals, but it had one enormous drawback. It included a built-in incapacity to grasp the need for change and to effect the necessary adaptations.<sup>6</sup>

It was precisely this incapacity which was being challenged by the 31st General Congregation, and the result was astonishment, confusion, and a deep and abiding pain.

## 2. The "Existentialist" Reaction

Besides the Jesuits of a classical mentality, there were other Jesuits who did not look upon themselves as cast in the classical mold. To them the call to evaluate ministries meant that we could finally be rid of forms of work that impeded mobility and swallowed up manpower, and we could get down to the business of meeting needs wherever we found them. They were often accused of wanting change for the sake of change, and sometimes it was true. They were tired of working off old stencils and wanted some new ones. Somewhat a prey to Madison Avenue's sloganeering that what is new is good and what is old is out of date and ineffective, this "existentialist" mentality tended to despise the "essentialist" mind that finds essences eternal and maintains that what was effective once should continue to be effective. Enamored of change, they, too, found no need for a decision. The decision,

in their minds, had already been made. They saw institutions as ineffective, as too big, too impersonal, too secular, too much in a rut. There was need only for action: Close them and get moving on something new, something relevant to the contemporary world. Paradoxically, the classical mind had triumphed again. If the one group refused to acknowledge the possibility of a corpse where once there had been a living body--"if it was alive once it should still be alive"--the second group did not believe in the power or promise or possibilities of the resurrection--"what is dead is dead." There could really be nothing new in their world either, only something different.

It was an upsetting time for emotional attachments and vested interests. In an atmosphere of personal commitment and dedication to task there were not always present the indifference and openness-to-anything that is an essential condition for communal discernment. We were not used to communal discernment; not everyone understood it, and many were suspicious of it. As a body we simply were not ready for the kind of reflection and decision making required to respond to the challenge of the Congregation.

### 3. A Calmer View

There were, of course, calmer heads with more of a historical mentality who were willing to reflect that life is a continuous flow of ending and beginning, of dying and starting anew, that decisions have to be made over and over again as the data change, that yesterday's decision may have to be modified tomorrow, that human experience is filled with contingencies and nothing is eternal but God, that ministries are means and their evaluation a necessary and continuing process so that if means do not work they should be either remodeled or discarded and new means adopted to accomplish better the work at hand. They, too, were sometimes accused of wanting change for the sake of change, but this charge was false in their case. For them the decision had not yet been made, or better still, they saw decision making as an ongoing process. It was simply a matter of applying the principles the Congregation had stated earlier:

The norms for renewal of our ministries are found in the Constitutions themselves . . . the greater service of God, the more universal good, the more pressing need, the great importance of

a future good and special care of<sup>7</sup> those significant ministries for which we have special talent.

### B. The Intent of This Paper

This paper intends to address those norms and the discernment needed to apply them. With the passage of time some decisions have had to be made, and the evidence of dwindling manpower has established clearly that we cannot bank on outmoded ways of choosing fields of labor and distributing personnel. In these circumstances we long for the magic formula that would solve all our problems, that would point the way infallibly toward the work we should do, that would effectively remove all need for *choice*. But that would leave the conclusion an anticlimax, for choice is the key moment in the decision-making process, and to a Jesuit that word "choice" already suggests the answer: There is need for discernment, for listening to the Holy Spirit, for prayer, for openness to the word of God revealed in human events, for fearlessness and decisiveness.

The purpose of this paper is not to come up with a magic formula for choosing ministries, since there is none, but to open up the topic, to situate it in the context of four hundred years of living Jesuit tradition, to locate some formulas in their historical contexts so that they cease to be slogans and become intelligible principles of action. Perhaps much rubbish can be cleared away and many fears eliminated, fears of either contradicting our long tradition or of being bogged down in it.

What the Congregation called for was an action/reflection model for discernment: act, reflect, discern; or, to put it another way: Reflect on your action and discern where God is calling you and leading you. What we intend to do here is to mull over some of the action/reflection models for discernment regarding ministries found in the lives of Ignatius and his companions which led (I) to the establishment of the Society, and (II) to the structure which they gave the Society. Then we can (III) reflect on the norms for choosing ministries as set down in the *Constitutions* and (IV) see some of their applications in the 31st and 32nd General Congregations. This may help us understand our own situation better and provide some sense of direction and some norms for evaluating our own experiences as we go about

the task of reviewing the apostolic life of our provinces.

## PART I. DISCERNMENT AND CHOICE AS THE SOCIETY STARTED ON ITS WAY

### A. Individual: Ignatius Himself

In the earliest stages of his conversion on his sickbed at Loyola, Ignatius dreamed of doing great deeds of worldly valor in the service of a certain lady, but these alternated with dreams of serving God, of imitating the saints and "of going to Jerusalem, barefoot and eating nothing but herbs."<sup>8</sup> "Great deeds" and "service," these were the key ideas and the common elements in the movements he experienced. The worldly thoughts left him sad and the others happy.<sup>9</sup> This was his first experience in discernment. It ended in a decision, and that decision led to other decisions. In the true kamikaze spirit he yielded to the Divine Breath. Great deeds in the service of God won out. "All he wanted to do was to go to Jerusalem as soon as he recovered."<sup>10</sup> At the same time, the worldly spirit died in him. Never again did he yield in any way to those movements of the flesh which had plagued him before.<sup>11</sup>

His visit to Navarrete was an excuse to leave the house. The pilgrimage to Montserrat was simply a first stop on the real pilgrimage, for before reaching Montserrat he bought the pilgrim's clothing "he had decided to wear when he went to Jerusalem."<sup>12</sup> After leaving Montserrat he stopped for a few days at Manresa to avoid being recognized and to write some notes.<sup>13</sup> The few days stretched into weeks. There the Exercises were born and his mind was illumined in such a way that nothing he learned in the rest of his life equaled what he received at that one time.<sup>14</sup> It is extraordinary that in the profound experiences of Manresa, involving indifference and detachment and seeking the divine will, nothing shook his determination to go to Jerusalem. When he arrived in the Holy City, "his firm intention was to remain in Jerusalem continually visiting the holy places, and, in addition to this devotion, he also planned to help souls."<sup>15</sup> Yet it very shortly became clear that "it was not Our Lord's will that he remain in those holy places."<sup>16</sup> He does not say that he had made a mistake, that he should not have gone to

Jerusalem, but that the Lord did not want him to remain there. With the other pilgrims he returned to Venice. At this point in his story he tells us: "After the pilgrim realized it was not God's will that he remain in Jerusalem, he continually pondered within himself what he ought to do."<sup>17</sup> The action had been taken; reflection followed. The decision to go to Jerusalem had been carried out, but the decision to remain there had not been confirmed by God. His discernment: "At last he inclined more to study for some time so he would be able to help souls, and he decided to go to Barcelona."<sup>18</sup>

Are we to conclude that his first discernment was faulty, that the decision to go to Jerusalem was a bad one? or the decision to stay? Certainly not the decision to go, for he was filled with many consolations both on the way and while he was there. As for the decision to stay, non-confirmation by God of a decision need not indicate so much a faulty process as the limitations of the human mind and heart in seeking the divine will. The core of the discernment process is not the decision itself but the attitude of indifference in which the decision is made, an attitude of openness, of readiness for anything whatsoever. If the decision is not confirmed, the person is still open to the divine presence and action, well disposed to find God's will when he chooses to reveal it. The importance of the confirmed decision lies not so much in the specific determination as in the fact that it points the way, the direction in which God is leading. Because it only points the way, a discerned decision is always open to modification, revision, and further determination along the direction God has pointed out. Discernment is a slow process. God reveals himself not so much directly as through persons and events -- gradually, therefore, and over a period of time, continually opening up horizons unsuspected before.

Suppose we look at the direction in which God was leading Ignatius. The decision to go to Jerusalem began as a search for self-perfection. Along the way he sought out people who could help him by speaking to him of God. But at Manresa and later in Barcelona he found no one "who could help him as much as he wished"<sup>19</sup> except for one woman in Manresa. As a result, "he completely lost this eagerness to seek out spiritual persons."<sup>20</sup> The tables were turned, however, and people began to seek *him* out.<sup>21</sup> And thus

began what was to become the primary work of the Society, spiritual conversation. By the time he reached Jerusalem he not only intended to visit the holy places, as was common knowledge, but he also planned to help souls, although he had said nothing to anyone about this.<sup>22</sup> During the process of months of decision making the Lord had enlarged his view of the meaning of divine service.

In like manner, the decision to go to Barcelona moved along the direction that had opened up to him as he journeyed to Jerusalem. When he learned there what he could he was advised to go to Alcalá.<sup>23</sup> There "it seemed they were closing the door to him to help souls,"<sup>24</sup> so he went to Salamanca. The same thing happened there "so that he could not help his neighbor insofar as he was able."<sup>25</sup> The result was that "he decided to go to Paris to study."<sup>26</sup>

God confirmed his decisions by deepening his desires for helping souls even in the midst of opposition and persecution. Although the experiences in Jerusalem, Alcalá, and Salamanca thwarted his intentions, they only served to strengthen his determination. Through self-knowledge and an understanding of the world in which he lived and wanted to work, God was leading him, slowly, not only to Paris, but to an awareness of the necessity of becoming a priest in order to do that work. Years later these experiences would have a profound effect on the establishment of an order of men essentially made up of priests.

Another discernment process growing out of these same experiences is that concerning poverty. His earliest desire was to go to Jerusalem "bare-foot and eating nothing but herbs."<sup>27</sup> At Montserrat he rid himself of his worldly clothing and dressed in pilgrim's garb.<sup>28</sup> He begged in Manresa.<sup>29</sup> At Barcelona "he persuaded the master of the ship to carry him free, as he had no money,"<sup>30</sup> and felt scruples about having to take some biscuits on board for food.<sup>31</sup> He begged his way from then on, and he was still begging when he came to Paris. There he discerned that begging daily was incompatible with serious study, and he decided to take a couple of months off each year, not to work like a modern college student, but to beg enough to sustain himself for the coming year.<sup>32</sup> All of these experiences regarding poverty would have their impact on the writing of the *Constitutions* years later when

he distinguished between the poverty of the professed and the houses of formation.

Another discernment process at this time is rooted in Ignatius' attitude toward ecclesiastical authority. Although he left Loyola without sharing his intentions with anyone, at Montserrat he confided his decision to a confessor.<sup>33</sup> At Manresa he placed himself in the hands of a director.<sup>34</sup> Like all good pilgrims he received the blessing of the pope on his pilgrimage.<sup>35</sup> He presented letters of recommendation to the Franciscan guardian in Jerusalem before any attempt to "help souls" there.<sup>36</sup> Although he resisted, to the extent he legitimately could, the Franciscan provincial's attempt to make him leave, he consented to go when he learned of the provincial's power to compel him to do so under pain of excommunication and showed such reverence for his authority that he did not ask to see the bulls empowering to excommunicate even when they were offered to him.<sup>37</sup> At Alcalá and Salamanca he accepted the decisions of ecclesiastical authorities insofar as they applied locally, and decided to move on when they blocked him from doing good.<sup>38</sup> It was becoming clear that local Church authorities were too restrictive; to be free to do what he had in mind it would be necessary to place himself directly in the hands of the head of the universal Church. Again, the implications for later years could hardly be imagined at the time!

In all of these experiences Ignatius had left himself open to the breathing of the Spirit of God within him. Through his decisions he had plunged to a thousand deaths, but he was now more fully alive than ever.

#### B. Communal: The Early Companions

Action/reflection/discernment. Ignatius was not moving in a world of eternal essences where one could easily determine what course of action to take following the priorities of some eternal value system. He lived in a world of historical contingencies where he discovered the will of God through the changing pattern of events. He had visited Jerusalem in 1523. For ten years he reflected on that action. His desire to help souls, to preach in poverty, had not lessened, nor his desire to return to Jerusalem. He must have reflected that if the Franciscans would turn back one uneducated pilgrim, they might accept a band of well-trained priests. By 1534 he



had gathered around himself in Paris a group of young men who, individually and at first unknown to the others, had been instilled with that same desire to go to the Holy Land.<sup>39</sup> At Montmartre they expressed that desire in a vow. They wanted to serve the Lord in poverty and chastity by spending their lives working for either the faithful or for infidels, which they would do by going to the Holy Land, and if they could not get to the Holy Land or found it impossible to stay there, they would present themselves to the pope to go wherever he might send them.<sup>40</sup>

What is not clear in the vow is whether they intended to spend the rest of their lives in the Holy Land or remain there for a time only, whether they would return only if they found it impossible to stay, or whether they would make another decision about staying or returning.<sup>41</sup> It is not likely that the intent was to stay for a short time only, but if, as a matter of fact, that was their intent, it would mean that the main content of the vow was to present themselves to the pope and that the pilgrimage to Jerusalem was just a preparatory step to this more permanent disposition of their lives.

There is some evidence that they were not yet decided as to whether to stay in the Holy Land even if they got there, although they were more inclined to stay than to return.<sup>42</sup> When we reflect on that fact and also on the whole conditional aspect of the vow in the first place, we see that we are face to face with a discernment open at all times to the confirming or nonconfirming activity of God even as they set about fulfilling the vow with all vigor and determination. We have a great example here of how Ignatius and the early companions understood discernment and decisions reached through discernment as always open to further refinement and even radical modification and change.

What was clear to them was that they wanted to follow in the footsteps of Jesus. In the contemplation on the Incarnation in the Spiritual Exercises, Ignatius presents a vision of the whole world in need of the love of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, but the perspective gradually narrows to a focus on Nazareth where the Incarnation takes place. In the Call of the King Ignatius sees Christ invite all to come with him, and in the Two Standards he sees Jesus standing in a great plain around Jerusalem calling all his followers around him and then sending them out to all parts of the

world. Where to work? With Jesus in the land where he worked himself, or with Jesus the risen Lord, working in the Church throughout the whole wide world? In any case, their desire was to be with Jesus, following in his footsteps, even laying down their lives. Their attraction in prayer was to the very land where Jesus walked, to do there what he did. They had discerned God's will, and the way they articulated that discernment was in terms of the land where Jesus had lived and worked and died.

But, if that choice was not confirmed by God, either because they could not go to the Holy Land, or once arrived were not given permission to stay, or found that they really could not do any profitable work for the Lord in that place, then the decision was to go to the rest of the world, to be with Jesus where he is today, to follow in his footsteps, serving the poor in hospitals and elsewhere, teaching the rudiments of the faith to children, moving on from one place to another wherever there might be need of word or sacraments, and to do this they would seek him out in his vicar on earth.

To go to the pope was not a consolation prize in case the trip to the Holy Land failed to materialize, but an enlargement of their perspective, a more profound vision and articulation of God's will already discerned for them. Later, in the *Constitutions* themselves, Ignatius was to write that since they were from a variety of countries they did not know where they should go.<sup>43</sup> This does not mean simply that they could not make up their minds and so decided to go to the pope to make up their minds for them. A rather trifling thing to see the pope about! They were accustomed to praying and discerning together and following the decision of the majority.<sup>44</sup> It should have been easy for them to choose a country, whether everyone knew the language or not. Rather, Ignatius' remark implies an awareness on their part that it was not in their competence to choose where they should go. They *needed* the pope, not to make a decision, because they had often done that, but *por no errar in via Domini*, in order not to err in the way of the Lord. Ignatius had often enough been accused of error in the way of the Lord because of his lack of education. They were now educated, the way he had *not* been before, but they still needed to be *authorized*, and they needed to be authorized by someone who could send them anywhere since their desire was to follow Christ throughout the whole world. They needed the *pope*.

The language of the *Constitutions* suggests that the choice was not between Jerusalem and some place else, but between Jerusalem and being scattered abroad over the face of the earth: "The intention of the fourth vow pertaining to the pope was not to designate a particular place but to have the members distributed throughout the various parts of the world."<sup>45</sup> It may well be, however, that this language reflects the actual experience of Ignatius rather than the original intent of the vow at Montmartre, which may well have supposed that the pope would send them all to the same place. The companions seem to have been caught off guard when the pope actually began sending them on individual missions to various places. They suddenly called a meeting and asked themselves some very serious questions as though they had just come to a new understanding of what their vow really meant in practice.

At any rate, the decision where they were to go to preach was an ecclesial problem demanding an ecclesial decision, not a group problem which could be met by a group decision. If they were not to go to the Holy Land, then their mission was to the whole world, to the universal Church; and, "to avoid erring in the path of the Lord," it was to the head of the universal Church that they would go in order to make sure that they went to labor in the right places "seeking the greater glory of God our Lord and the greater aid of souls."<sup>46</sup>

The original discernment was simply not confirmed. They could not go to Jerusalem. After more than a year in Venice and other cities, Ignatius finally went to the pope in November of 1538 and offered the group to his service.<sup>47</sup> The pope accepted them. Their own understanding of what God called them to do in his service had been purified. It was not to Jerusalem that he invited them, but to Rome. The vision at La Storta in late 1537 had not deterred Ignatius from seeking Jerusalem, but "I will be propitious to you in Rome" now took on a deeper meaning.<sup>48</sup>

In Ignatius' first discernment about Jerusalem, the decision to stay was not confirmed. Now even the decision to go was not confirmed. Had some mistake been made in the process? Not at all. They had even reflected ahead of time what they should do in that situation and had discerned an alternative.

From a literal following of Jesus which was based on a dream of reliving the past, they were ready to move to a broader following of Jesus based on present realities. None of their decisions had been wasted. Now that God had revealed himself, further discernment was in order. The companions had listened to the Divine Wind not only blowing a gale but rustling gently in the leaves, and that Wind had led them without fear through many deaths to a much richer and fuller life.

### C. Organizational: Founding an Order

Finding the will of God is one thing. Implementing it in the contingent order of history is another. More reflection, more discernment, more decisions are needed. With the decision to offer themselves to the pope the Society was not yet born. An event of history shook the pilgrim priests<sup>49</sup> into a new awareness. In 1539 the pope decided to send some of their number to various places in Italy. They suddenly realized that their little band was about to be scattered. They needed to reflect on the meaning of the pope's decision and action. Another decision had to be made, a further step taken. They held a meeting over a period of days at which the action known as the *Deliberatio primorum patrum*<sup>50</sup> took place which resulted in the Society of Jesus. This is the way discernment proceeds: a first action clarifies the need for a second, and a second for a third, and so on. The process is always open.

The question faced them: Should they remain united even though they were about to break up? The answer in prayer was affirmative, for God himself had created the union of friendship they experienced, and concern for one another would make for greater apostolic efficacy and strength.<sup>51</sup> Should they, then, take a vow of obedience to one of their number? Again the answer in prayer was in the affirmative, for the vow of obedience was necessary if they were to fulfill better and more exactly their desires to do the divine will in all things, and it would preserve their union and provide better for other spiritual and temporal things.<sup>52</sup>

In their decisions they were moving along the same lines as before only becoming more aware of what lay along that path. The point is that the first and most fundamental vow of the companions was to go where the pope

told them, and it was for the better carrying out of that vow that the Society of Jesus was formed. Ignatius later calls that vow "our principle and chief foundation," (*nuestro principio y principal fundamento*).<sup>53</sup> One's mind immediately leaps to the *Spiritual Exercises* and its First Principle and Foundation which speaks of the necessity of indifference or total openness to the divine will and concludes: "Our one desire and choice should be what is more conducive to the end for which we are created."<sup>54</sup> The conclusion of their discernment was that the best way to serve the Lord throughout the world was to put themselves at the service of his vicar on earth. To be faithful to that vocation meant that they should establish themselves as a religious order. It would take a lot of the kamikaze spirit to face the death that would be required if they let themselves be driven by the Spirit of God breathing within them.

## PART II. DISCERNMENT AND CHOICE AS THE SOCIETY STRUCTURED ITSELF

### A. The Formula of the Institute, 1539-1550

It must have been a shock to the first companions to discover that they were about to establish a new religious order. Had they been endowed with a classical mind-set, there would have been no decision to make. It would already have been clear that the religious life and their own way of life were utterly incompatible. Not only that, but like most things ecclesiastical in those days, religious orders had fallen upon bad times and were widely held in disrepute. Up to now they had avoided all semblance of a religious order. Starting a new one was hard to imagine. Yet in the following days of their deliberations of 1539 the first fathers put together a document in Five Chapters (*Quinque Capitula*) describing the new religious institute which was so revolutionary as to provoke attacks from all directions, including charges that it was not a religious institute at all. Without choir, without habit, without prescribed penances and long prayers, how could they be styled religious? That same summer of 1539, however, Paul III gave verbal approval,<sup>55</sup> followed in 1540 by the bull *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae* giving formal approbation.<sup>56</sup> Ten years later, in 1550, taking into account the lived expe-

riences of the early Jesuits, Julius III reconfirmed the Society by the bull *Exposcit debitum*.<sup>57</sup> The Five Chapters which appear first in a document called *Prima instituti summa* of 1539 are found again almost word for word in each of the papal bulls.<sup>58</sup> We shall limit ourselves to seeing what this "Formula of the Institute," as each document is called, has to say about the purpose and ministries of the Society, and then we shall examine one intimation of evolution in the thought of the first fathers necessitated by their deciding to form a religious order.

Even the basic Formula of the Institute, that which is most fundamental and unchangeable without papal authorization, was affected by the action/reflection/discernment pattern, as can be seen by the following scheme of the purpose of the new Society:

<u>Prima</u> (1539)	<u>Regimini</u> (1540)	<u>Exposcit</u> (1550)
the progress of souls in Christian life and doctrine and the propagation of the faith	the progress of souls in Christian life and doctrine and the propagation of the faith	the defense and propagation of the faith and the progress of souls in Christian life and doctrine

The original intent of the companions to work amongst the faithful or infidels is seen in the first two formulas, but the actual state of affairs ten years later is reflected in the final formula by a change of order and emphasis. Nadal explains the new formula: "the defense of the faith against heretics; its propagation in relation to infidels; the salvation and perfection of the neighbor in relation to everyone."<sup>59</sup> The needs of the Counter Reformation were making themselves felt and were modifying the plans of the first Jesuits.

We see the same sort of development when it comes to the means, the ministries, designed to achieve the above ends, especially in the expansion of the ministry of the word, the administration of the sacraments, and works of charity as can be seen in the following scheme:

<u>Prima</u> (1539)	<u>Regimini</u> (1540)	<u>Exposcit</u> (1550)
	public preaching and	public preaching, lecturing and any other form of
the ministry of the word,	the ministry of the word,	the ministry of the word,
spiritual exercises	spiritual exercises	spiritual exercises
and works of charity,	and works of charity,	
and in particular the instruction of children and unlettered persons in Christianity.	and in particular the instruction of children and unlettered persons in Christianity,	and the instruction of children and unlettered persons in Christianity, <sup>60</sup>
	the spiritual consolation of the faithful through the hearing of confessions.	the spiritual consolation of the faithful through the hearing of confessions
		and in the administering of the other sacraments,
		reconciling the estranged,
		assisting and serving those in prisons and hospitals,
		and other works of charity as will seem expedient for the glory of God and the common good.

Finally, there is a gradual evolution in thought and practice that manifests a growth in the awareness of the need for a certain amount or kind of stability in the body of men called to be ready to go anywhere in the world. The *Prima instituti summa* of 1539 accepts the principle of providing for the education of scholastics as future members of the apostolic group, but it says nothing of houses or colleges. *Regimini* in 1540 explicitly mentions colleges for the training of scholastics. Ten years later *Exposcit debitum* speaks of houses, colleges, and churches. The pilgrimage seems to be developing some permanent way stations, not to make the pilgrimage easier or more

convenient, but to make it more effective. We shall look at this development more thoroughly in studying the evolution of the Constitutions.

### B. The Constitutions, 1550-1556

The Society of Jesus did not spring out of Ignatius' mind full grown like Athena from the mind of Zeus. The next steps in the discernment process occur in the writing of the Constitutions which evolved over a period of years out of many experiences both in Rome and in the field.<sup>61</sup> What we want to see is the continuity of experience, the continuity of direction in which God leads the Company.

The vow to be at the disposal of the vicar of Christ is the heart of Part VII of the *Constitutions*, and Part VII is the heart of the *Constitutions*. Much of this paper will concentrate on the main aspects of Part VII. It is the oldest part of the Constitutions,<sup>62</sup> and the first part written down, although not in its present form. According to the editors of the *Monumenta Historica*, Part VII vies with Part IV for the honor of being the first part of the *Constitutions* to be completed and given its final form.<sup>63</sup> Certainly it contains some of the oldest documents of the Society, revealing the core of what the Society is really all about, the sending of men to work in the vineyard of the Lord wherever they may be needed.

### C. The Evolution of Part VII of the Constitutions

In 1544-1545 the core of what will become Part VII appears in two documents. In six short chapters the *Constitutiones circa missiones*<sup>64</sup> developed one fundamental theme, the missions coming from the pope, and dealt with the fourth vow of the professed to go wherever he might send them. The *Declarationes circa missiones*<sup>65</sup> was a sort of appendix in five brief chapters about missions coming from the superior general as a sort of vicar of the pope (since it would be asking too much to have the pope sending everyone).

The next step in the evolution of Part VII awaited the arrival in 1547 of John Polanco as secretary of the Society and collaborator with Ignatius in the writing of the Constitutions. As they began their work together Polanco researched the rules of other religious orders and drew up some problems called *Dubia*<sup>66</sup> for Ignatius' consideration and another work called the



*Industriae.*<sup>67</sup>

By 1550 Ignatius and Polanco had produced a text of the Constitutions known in the Monumenta as text *a*.<sup>68</sup> If we compare the *Constitutiones circa missiones* and the *Declarationes circa missiones* with Part VII of text *a*, we see that great changes have taken place.<sup>69</sup> In the earlier documents the situation of the companions is one of almost perpetual motion; there is no mention of a stable and determined residence, not because there was none, for from the beginning there had been one in Rome, but because the plan of Ignatius and his companions was that they were to be persons who had been sent.<sup>70</sup> In text *a*, however, although much remains from the original documents, the perpetual motion of the companions is gone, and having a stable residence seems to be at least as normal a part of life as being constantly on the road.

One might feel that there is room for dissatisfaction about these changes in Part VII, for how can permanent residence be reconciled with missions? What has happened to the dream of Montmartre expressed in the fourth vow? Whether they went to the Holy Land or to some other part of the world, the model they had in mind at Montmartre was the mission of the apostles when Jesus sent them out two by two to go to the towns and villages he was about to visit, preaching and healing and casting out demons, shaking the dust off their feet if no one would hear them. They were to go, moreover, the way the apostles went, on foot and without money or food for the journey. In the *Constitutions* Ignatius says that the fourth vow was made "in conformity with their intention to travel throughout the world and, when they could not find the desired spiritual fruit in one region, to pass on to another and another, ever intent on seeking the greater glory of God our Lord and the greater aid of souls."<sup>71</sup> Furthermore, in the original plan even as expressed in the *Constitutions*, it was thought that two or three months would be long enough to finish a mission given by the pope.<sup>72</sup>

Has the scholastic dryness of Polanco compromised and destroyed the boldness and daring of Ignatius' original vision of men going out to all parts of the globe? Instead of a completely mobile Society, two kinds of mission seem to be envisioned, one which sends a man to go and be on the move, and another by which he stays in the same place.<sup>73</sup> If we accept the

charge that Polanco has basically changed the Constitutions, and if in our search for principles of choosing ministries we are to return to the spirit of our founder as Vatican II suggests, ought we to begin to think in terms of sloughing off our stable residences and institutions and of returning to short-term troubleshooting missions for the Lord after the manner of the first companions?

To return to greater mobility is very attractive to some Jesuits, and so they would be inclined to be dissatisfied about the changes incorporated into Part VII. But there is another way of reading our texts.

First of all, the text does not really speak of two kinds of mission but of two ways of distributing members of the Society: "the distribution of the members of the Society in the vineyard of the Lord is partly in missions to various places where the Society has no residence, and partly in places where it has a permanent residence."<sup>74</sup> A mission seems to imply a going and a coming back or a going someplace else, a being constantly on the move. It suggests a particular job to be done within a short period of time. Strictly speaking, "mission" refers to the act of sending, just as "lectio" means the act of reading, and "monitio" the act of admonishing.<sup>75</sup> But Ignatius also says that when one is sent (*imbiado*) he should be informed of his mission (*missi6n*), which obviously means his being sent, and should also be informed of its purpose (*a qu6 effecto*), so that he can better understand, fulfill, and carry out his mission (*entender, cumplir y efectuar su missi6n*), which suggests more than simply being sent but also the task he has been given to do.<sup>76</sup> That was the original conception, that the companions would be sent somewhere by the pope, that there would be a journey involved, a pilgrimage, and a job to be done. The complaint against the text would be not so much that there are two kinds of mission, one less flexible than the other, but that there are those who are sent according to the original intent of the companions, and there are those who are not sent but reside in houses.

Let us consider that complaint. A radical change, indeed, does seem to have taken place in the development of Part VII from its original core of the *Constituciones circa misiones* and *Declaraciones circa misiones* to text *a* of Ignatius and Polanco. Some of the language of the text is Polanco's, but he is not to be charged with the shift in Part VII from a mission docu-

ment to a mission-and-residence document. What is far more important to our discussion than the language is the fact that Ignatius was not a man to cling without reason to his own ideas. He always left them open to be modified by others, and especially by the concrete events of history, or to put it another way, in every discernment or decision he looked for confirmation or nonconfirmation from the Lord. Just as the original discernment at Montmartre for the companions to go to Jerusalem had not been confirmed, so the discernment to go throughout the world preaching in poverty to faithful and infidel alike wherever the pope might send them was not strictly confirmed according to the original terms in which it was conceived. History, and God is Lord of history, had decreed otherwise. What was confirmed was the desire a) to seek and find and do the will of God, and b) to know that will more clearly under obedience to the head of the universal Church.

Already in May-June of 1539, shortly after the determination of the first companions to become a religious order, a document called *Conclusiones septem sociorum* or *Determinationes Societatis* shows that in their ongoing discernment the companions were moving away from the literal barefoot imitation of the apostles: "houses or churches will be accepted as residences."<sup>77</sup> It is one thing to move on if the gospel is not accepted, quite another to stay when it is received. A church or house as a base of operations was seen as a good thing. The *Prima instituti summa* of 1539 says nothing of houses or colleges, but it does accept the principle of providing for scholastics.<sup>78</sup> *Regimini* in 1540 explicitly mentions colleges for the training of scholastics.<sup>79</sup> The Constitutions of 1541 take houses and churches for granted.<sup>80</sup> A bull of Paul III in 1541 gifts the Society with the church of Maria della Strada.<sup>81</sup> *Fundación de collegio* of 1541, which contains a section entitled *Fundación de casa*,<sup>82</sup> and later documents in 1544 and 1546<sup>83</sup> are concerned only with the problem of the education of scholastics who had not yet completed their theological studies.

There were nine such houses by 1544.<sup>84</sup> They were for Jesuits only, but the scholastics attended a local university and were not taught by Jesuits. By 1543, however, Xavier had established a college at Goa in India where Jesuits were teaching humanities and Christian doctrine to both Indians and Portuguese. Ignatius liked what Francis was doing and thought the school in

Goa might be a model for similar schools in Europe.<sup>85</sup> In 1545 Francis Borgia, as Duke of Gandía, endowed a college in Gandía for Jesuits taught by Jesuits. In 1547, with a bull from Paul III, it was opened also to non-Jesuits.<sup>86</sup> In 1548, in response to the petition of the citizens of Messina, Ignatius "sent a college,"<sup>87</sup> and the first college mainly for lay students taught by Jesuits was opened in that city.<sup>88</sup> Permission came from Paul III the next year for founding a university there.<sup>89</sup> The *Constitutata et annotata* of 1544-1549<sup>90</sup> mentions houses and colleges,<sup>91</sup> churches and houses,<sup>92</sup> and the bull of Paul III, *Licet debitum*, of 1549<sup>93</sup> refers to houses, churches, and colleges.<sup>94</sup> Palermo asked for a college in 1549,<sup>95</sup> and plans were set in motion for the founding of the Roman College which did not take place until 1551.<sup>96</sup> The final Formula of the Institute, *Exposcit debitum* of Julius III, speaks of houses, churches, and colleges.<sup>97</sup> It was some years before Part IV of the Constitutions dealing with colleges and universities reached its final shape (and even then it fit only somewhat clumsily into the other parts), but by 1550 when text *a* was finished Ignatius recognized through the process of action/reflection/discernment that in fact he did have a company of men who were called to be both mobile and stable, mobile in themselves but with long-term work to be done in certain places. They could not only go anywhere; they could stay anywhere.

A radical new idea had been introduced, that of residence, but has a radical change taken place in the spirit and thrust of Part VII? Or is it another example of the remarkable adaptability of Ignatius and the early Society? The discernment to found colleges opened up a whole new vision of what it meant to serve the Lord in the Church universal. It distinguished clearly between what was fundamental and what was accidental in the life of the Company, between what was the end and what were the means.

Is it not significant that Ignatius chose to put the idea of permanent residence into the same section as mission? The ideal of the companions was to be scattered abroad in whatever parts of the world where they might serve the greater glory of God and the greater good of souls. Mission was the means, mission by the pope, and by the superior general in place of the pope, mission by those delegated by the superior general, the provincial and

even the local superior, all of whom for Ignatius stood in the place of God.<sup>98</sup> It is true that for the very earliest Jesuits to be sent was far more normal than to reside, and this was in accordance with what Ignatius called "the first characteristic of the Society, which is to travel."<sup>99</sup> The first mission in 1539 was that of Broët and Rodrigues to Siena. Favre and Laynez went to Parma and Piacenza, Bobadilla to Naples, Jay to Bagnoregio and Brescia, Xavier to the Indies. Each of them came back and was sent again on other missions, except for Xavier, who kept constantly on the move in the Far East in precise fulfillment of the original idealistic notion of the means to accomplish that which they most desired, to do the will of God.

Travel was not fun in those days. It was not the sort of travel that is the prerogative of the privileged classes today. Who of us would not be delighted to be sent by the pope to Afghanistan or Timbuktu on a two or three month mission (vacation?) and then return? In those days they walked, although sometimes they went on horseback, and when they went by ship many died before reaching their destination. To establish residences for men called to that kind of travel made about as much sense as to found a penitential order and then establish houses where penitential exercises were not a part of daily life.

For Ignatius, however, every aspect of religious life was approached as a means rather than as something sought for itself. Travel was a means. But to be on the road was not the only means. Early in the life of the Society it became evident that houses were necessary, residences where men might prepare for mission, where they might live in order to carry out the mission or the work they had been sent to do. To work in the vineyard of the Lord was the main point, wherever one might be needed. Nadal speaks of the houses as camps from which soldiers would sally forth to do battle with the enemy.<sup>100</sup> (A school, in fact, was not simply an institution for teaching boys but a center from which to evangelize a whole city or countryside.) Sometimes in explaining the Constitutions Nadal would get more caught up with the idea of houses than with that of mission. In one exhortation he gets carried away with enthusiasm when describing our houses and says that there is one house we can all take great consolation in, namely, a mission to various parts of the world, "so that the whole world is our house."<sup>101</sup>

The barefoot beggars, the pilgrim priests, were being domesticated by the Spirit Breath within them, but it was a domestication, and a death, that would bear much fruit.

The movement from mobility to stability, of course, should not be considered as a movement from the imperfect to the perfect. After the manner of Ignatius, mobility and stability are only means for getting things done. Both are open for constant evaluation and the possibility of change. Neither should be despised in itself, nor should they be cherished except as means.

#### D. Later Texts of the Constitutions

If Part VII has grown from a mission document to a mission-and-residence document, it is not to remain there for long. The discernment process continues; concepts are refined, as well as the language in which to express them. Growth still goes on. It might be helpful at this point to compare the language of text *a* (1550), text A (1551), and text B (1556) in the way each presents the opening paragraph of Part VII of the Constitutions:

Text <i>a</i> (1550)	Text A (1551)	Text B (1556)
As the sixth part treats of the personal life of the members of the Society, so the seventh treats of their relationship to their neighbor, outside the Society.	As the sixth part treats of the personal life of the members of the Society, so the seventh treats of their relationship to their neighbor, which is the proper end of our institute, namely,	As the sixth part treats of the personal life of the members of the Society, so the seventh treats of their relationship to their neighbor, which is the proper end of our institute, namely,
And because the distribution of the members of the Society in the vineyard of Christ	the distribution of the members of the Society in the vineyard of Christ,	the distribution of the members of the Society in the vineyard of Christ to labor in that part of it and in that work to which they have been commissioned
is partly in missions to various places where the Society has no residence	partly in being sent to various places where there is no residence	

Text <i>a</i> (1550)	Text A (1551)	Text B (1556)
and partly in places where it has a fixed residence, we shall treat first of the missions, which are of three kinds: the first, being sent by his holiness	either by order of the supreme vicar of Christ	be it by being sent by order of the supreme vicar of Christ our Lord to this or that place,
to one or the other particular place;		
the second, being sent by the superior general;	or of their own superior	be it by their superiors in the Society who also stand in the place of his divine majesty,
the third, each determining for himself where he should work in the vineyard of Christ,	or by determining each for himself where to work,	be it by determining for themselves where and in what work they should labor,
provided he has been commissioned to do that,	provided the commission to do that,	provided they have been commissioned to go where they judge the greater service of God our Lord and the good of souls can be accomplished,
like one who is sent to the Indies, etc.;		
three chapters will be given to these three kinds of mission;		
and then the fourth chapter will be given to places where there is a residence.	and partly in those places where the Society has a fixed residence.	be it to labor by not going anywhere but by residing permanently ( <i>firme ac continuate</i> ) in places where there is hope of much fruit for the divine service and glory.
	Each of these ways will be treated by itself.	

The more prolix but prosaic outline of text *a* has been summarized in text A but transformed in text B. The reactions of the fathers in Rome to the text must have stimulated Ignatius to produce a reading much more expressive of the Call of the King in the Exercises. No longer is emphasis upon being *sent* but upon *laboring* ("labor with me"). Text *a* makes a sharp distinction between those who are sent and those who stay at home. Text A modifies that somewhat but still reflects two different kinds of service, mobile and immobile. Text B, on the other hand, recognizing that the whole point is to make real again in this world not the poverty of the apostles nor their travels but the fruitfulness of their labors, accepting the world of reality in which some things are stable and some are always on the move, speaks of four ways of serving the Lord. Three are by being sent and one is by living more permanently in a single place where there is "hope of much fruit for the divine service and glory," but all are ways of serving the Lord. In each of them the companions are commissioned (*comettida*) to a particular work. Through action/reflection/discernment the discussion on manpower distribution has moved from a mission document (*Constitutiones circa missiones*) to a mission-and-residence document (text *a*), to a service document (text B). Where we began at Loyola, the service of the Lord, is where we also end. Discernment has gone, not full circle, but in a powerfully thrusting forward spiral, and been profoundly clarified in the process. In the process, too, the kamikaze spirit leading to death produced new life through the power of the Divine Breath which captured the minds and hearts of Ignatius and his companions.

### PART III. DISCERNMENT AND CHOICE AS THE SOCIETY BEGAN ITS WORK

In the quiet days before Vatican II there was little to discern. An occasional status change might interrupt a man's life. Otherwise he did his job confident that God had called him to it through his superior. The changes brought by Vatican II have disrupted the tranquillity of dedicated men. Many would prefer decrees on the part of the superior to the inefficiency of discernment, which takes time from work already designated as the



will of God.

It is true that discernment is sometimes a slow and painful process: a tentative step here, a probing step there, a struggling through the darkness until finally the path is illumined before the discernor--for a time, and then the process begins again. Sometimes years are involved in determining the way of forward movement, of growth, of new directions which complement and fulfill the old direction. Action/reflection/discernment: a never-ending cycle, for God's will is not static and there is constant need of review, of evaluation, of reform, of renewal, of applying over and over again the principles Ignatius has set down in the Constitutions. It is time for us to study the norms to be used in making choices. Later we shall also reflect on the application of those norms in the 31st and 32nd General Congregations.

It should be noted, first of all, that most of the principles that come glibly to our tongues, like "the more universal the good, the more it is divine," are drawn from the Declarations in Part VII, chapter 2, which deal with missions by the superior general or by one receiving authority from him. There are, of course, no principles of selection set down in chapter 1 for the vicar of Christ. That would be unseemly. Besides, charged with the universal care of the Church, he is supposed to *know* where a man should be sent. But the superior has to have some norms for sending, for he is besieged on all sides with requests for men.

Already in the *Declarationes circa missiones* Ignatius had made the distinction between spiritual benefits that were more of a limited or personal or local concern than of a general or common or universal concern (*más propios espirituales cómodos que mucho communes y uniuersales*).<sup>102</sup> He prefers the common and universal concerns to those which are somewhat personal to a particular bishop or prince or limited to a particular area. I take this to mean that he prefers renewing a diocese or reforming a monastery to being confessor to a prince or bishop, or being spiritual director of some nuns, or accepting a parish because a pastor happens to be needed.

The superior is faced with a multiplicity of decisions, choices he must make: regarding the place to send someone, the purpose for sending, the person or persons to send, the manner of sending (with or without a variety of aids), and the length of time the assignment should last. In all of these

decisions he has to keep in mind the greater service of God and the universal good. There are lots of things to keep in balance, to weigh one against another. Sometimes the decisions will be obvious to one who gives careful thought to the matter. But for many decisions more than light is needed, more than logic, more than clarity of thought. *Sentir* is needed, sensitivity to the Breath of the Spirit, the sense of "just rightness" in the Lord that is beyond logic. This is the fruit of much prayer. Sometimes there are so many conflicting elements that it is wise for the superior to ask the community to pray as well so that the Lord may not only enlighten him but lead him to that sensitivity in the Spirit and give him strength to face without fear the death every decision brings. He should discuss the problem with others of a discerning mind. Then he should make the decision or decisions "as he will judge to be expedient for greater glory to God."<sup>103</sup> This is what it means to be driven by the Breath of God.

A. The Greater Service of God and the More Universal Good [622]

For the sake of clarity and emphasis Ignatius has, in his *Constitutions*, a habit of compounding words and phrases which mean the same thing, words and phrases which shed light on each other because they view the same thing from different perspectives.<sup>104</sup> The greater service of God and the more universal good<sup>105</sup> are simply the same reality perceived as directed both toward God and toward the world. They constitute the norm or norms the superior is to use at all times in making decisions. The Society is not called to do all that needs to be done or even all that it is capable of doing, but only that which is "greater" or "more." Even there choices need to be made, for the vineyard of the Lord is vast and the needs are many and great. In his discernment all the superior can do is search, not for the greatest good--only the pope can know that--but for the greater good.

The norms that follow spell out more in detail the meaning of the greater service of God and the more universal good. To be more explicit, the greater service of God is to be found where there is greater need, where greater fruit can be reaped from the works we do, and where we have a greater debt to people. The more universal good, on the other hand, is to be found in work for those persons and places who will be a source of influence and

impact on others. Finally, the greater service of God is found in undoing evil, in laboring where the enemy has already sown cockle, and this will be joined to the more universal good if it is an important place that will have an impact on others.

B. Greater Need [622, a]

The problem here is couched directly in terms of missions, only indirectly in terms of ministries. The works, the means, the ministries had already been established in the Formula of the Institute. There is no question here of choosing amongst them, of prioritizing the works. Nor is the question directly one of the assignment a man is to be given: of teaching in a university, or working in a parish, or founding a college, or preaching in the streets, or debating with Protestants, or reforming the clergy, or doing something else. The assignment or ministry depends upon the sender, upon his perception of need, and sometimes on the perception of the one who has been sent. The possibilities are limited only by the talents of the one sent. Ignatius knew the qualifications and talents of his men. The first problem for discernment is not whom to send or what work to be done, but where to send. The first explicitation of the greater service of God is in terms of greater need: Send men to that place where there is greater need, all other things being equal.

There are two problems here: (1) greater need; (2) all things being equal.

First of all, regarding need. Since the place, after all, is really people, to what people should men be sent is another way of phrasing the question. And the answer is: to those who are found to be in greater need than others, regardless of what that need might be.

Secondly, with regard to the phrase "all other things being equal." The glory of God being equal? The quality of need being equal? The progress of souls being equal? The impact on others being equal? The debt we owe them being equal? What if some of these things are unequal? The superior seems involved in such delicate balancing that there seems no possibility for reaching a decision. I think that what Ignatius is saying (the

phrase is not found in the *Industria*) is that things in real life are basically unequal, and the first inequality to look for is that of need. If there is inequality of need, meet the greater need. The need might exist, the text says, because no one else is working that part of the vineyard, or because of the wretched condition of the people and the danger of their eternal damnation.<sup>106</sup>

According to this norm of "greater need," the place to send a man is determined by the needs of the people. The needs of people, of course, define and determine the kind of work to be done. Although here we are primarily and directly concerned with the norm a superior uses in sending someone to a particular place, we are simultaneously and indirectly concerned with the choice of ministries. To send someone to a place is to choose a ministry, for the superior sends to do a work that will satisfy a need. The overriding norm for choosing this work rather than that is the greater service of God, and the first way to discover what that might be is to apply the norm of greater need. If there is a greater need of preachers than of confessors, then send preachers. If there is greater need of teachers than of ecclesiastical diplomats, then send teachers.

Nevertheless, as Aicardo points out, the norm of greater need was rather useless all by itself; there were so many places which were in greater need than other places, more than the Society could possibly satisfy.<sup>107</sup> The letters of Ignatius to bishops and nobles and city governments give ample proof of that. Amongst those places with "greater needs" the superior had to discern where the Society would produce more fruit. Only one driven by the Spirit could dare to make those choices.

### C. Greater Fruit [622, b]

The second norm the superior is to use in discerning the greater service of God is "where the greater fruit will probably be reaped through the means which the Society uses." It is worthwhile noting here that the Society does not look simply to the greater fruit, but to that greater fruit which is consonant with the means used by the Society. Perhaps what a place really needs is a monastery, a group of contemplatives, a new bishop. These the Society cannot provide.

Dr. Ortiz one time tried to persuade Ignatius to have one of the professed accept a benefice so that the proceeds could go to support one of the colleges. Ignatius replied that, if it should sometime happen to be for the greater universal profit of the Church that all benefices come into the hands of religious and if it was certain that they would not be badly affected by this, nevertheless, since in divine providence there are many ways of bringing about the reform of the universal Church, it would be safer and more proper for us to go the way of poverty, following the example Christ has given us. Other religious could serve the greater glory of God by accepting ecclesiastical dignities as a normal thing, the governing of nuns (*gubernatio monacharum*), and the care of parishes.<sup>109</sup> Who can challenge the great fruit a bishop might be able to produce for the service of God and the good of the universal Church? The problem with all three of these works is that they tend to destroy the Society's mobility or poverty in a way that educational institutions, for example, would not.<sup>110</sup>

The text expands on how to discern where the greater fruit might be reaped. The example given is of greater openness on the part of the people, of their being better disposed. The greater openness and better disposition can be judged in two ways. The first is by the greater devotion and desire of the people, which is partly, at least, manifested by the way they insist on our coming to help them. Thus, Ignatius responded to pleas from the Courts of Lisbon and Madrid, from Francis Borgia as Duke of Gandía, and from the city of Cologne, staunch citadel of orthodoxy in the besieged country of Germany.<sup>111</sup>

The second way to judge openness and disposition is by the quality of the persons in question, that they are the kind who can make great progress and not lose what they receive from us. Xavier saw an opening like this in China and Japan.<sup>112</sup> The genius of the people was open to Christianity, their longing for truth deep and abiding.

It should also be recalled here that text B goes beyond text *a* of the Constitutions when it speaks of residences and gives the reason for their existence--that "there is hope of much fruit for the divine service and glory." Apparently Ignatius and his first companions discerned that the greater fruit sometimes was to be found not in their barefoot wandering but

in having their work sink roots.

D. Greater Indebtedness, Equal Fruit [622, c]

At this point the present Declaration pauses for a moment and adds a norm for discernment. Suppose you have a place, it says, where our indebtedness is greater, where we owe something to the people; granted that the fruit would be equal, we ought to prefer that place to another where our indebtedness is not so great or none at all. It gives the examples of a place where there is a house or college of the Society, or where some of our men have been studying and people have been supporting them. These are examples; there might be other ways of being indebted.

The important point here is that the greater service of God is found in meeting the needs of people to whom we are already more indebted, provided these people have at least equal potential with the people in other places. To understand the examples correctly, we have to realize that there is question here not so much of expanding the work of a house or college, but of sending some men, perhaps for a space of two or three months, precisely to serve the spiritual needs of those who have made the work of the house or college possible through their financial support. Thus, Barcelona, a city to which he owed much, stood near the top of his list of preferences.<sup>113</sup>

In this respect it is interesting to compare the text as it stands with its obvious source in the *Industria*. Polanco is listing a variety of people from whom greater fruit might be expected, and in that list he includes: "Since the good of this Society is wholly ordered to the common good, where there are colleges or houses which belong to it, it seems that for their growth it would be proper, other things being equal, that there should be someone to work in the vineyard of the Lord."<sup>114</sup> The language of Polanco looks to the good of the house or college (which one hopes is also to the good of the people); the language of the final text is concerned with our indebtedness to people, not to the growth of our own works.<sup>115</sup> It is not enough that there be a house or college there; the question is, do we owe the people something?

E. Greater Impact [622, d, e]

We come now to the second overriding principle which can really be reduced to the first: the more universal good. Surely the more universal the good, the more it is to the greater service of God, for it is here that the famous maxim is introduced: the more universal the good is, the more it is divine. Remember that we are dealing with place here, with the people to whom, rather than with what or why. We are not talking about that which is done as a more universal thing or about its being done for a more universal reason. We are talking about having the good affect more people more profoundly, about the good's getting into more places. All the way along, the superior is to be looking for inequalities, for what will tip the balance in favor of one thing rather than another. Preference is to be given to those persons who are going to have a greater impact on others, and therefore preference is given to the places where those persons are. Rimini, for example, was preferred by Ignatius to Garfagnana even though the latter was larger, because Rimini was a port which opened the way to Slavic countries.<sup>116</sup> A school was started in Florence rather than in Pisa because there was greater opportunity for preaching and hearing confessions and because there were more poor boys in Florence who could not pay for their education and could not have gone to Pisa.<sup>117</sup>

The text gives some examples, but they are only examples: the apostolate to important and public persons--the big-name people, whether lay or cleric--is to be regarded as more important than that to persons who hold no public office. To touch one public person is to touch many other people, whereas one's impact on ordinary people might end with them. The approach sounds a bit snobbish, but it is saying: If you have a choice, and if you can't serve both, do something for the person who is going to have an impact on someone else. And so the text also mentions people of considerable learning or considerable authority in the community, because they will have greater impact. In like manner, it is better to send someone to the larger nations, because there will be greater impact; to the larger or more important cities, because there will be greater impact; to the universities, because a lot of people go there who might be brought into the work of labor-

ing in the vineyard themselves.

F. Where Cockle Has Been Sown [622, f]

The final "norm" given is not really a new one but a refinement of where one might expect to find the greater service of God and the more universal good, a place of greater need or where greater fruit is expected, not because the door is open, but where the door has been slammed shut with a vengeance, where the enemy has sown cockle, especially where the Society has been attacked; a place, in other words, where positive harm has been done to people, and especially if it is an important place that would have a lot of impact on other places and people. There we ought to work even harder, the text says. It is important to go not only where we are welcome but where we encounter the evil one on his own turf.

When the companions were being calumniated in Rome, Ignatius insisted that no one leave the city until the calumnies were disproved.<sup>118</sup> In 1553 he sent two of his top men, Borgia and Nadal, to overcome calumnies about the Society that were circulating in Portugal.<sup>119</sup> He also sent some of his best men to Germany where those disaffected from the Church of Rome were beginning to poke fun at the companions by calling them "Jesuits."<sup>120</sup>

In the Rules for the Discernment of Spirits, Ignatius is as interested in the movements of the evil spirit as he is of the good. Agitation can be a sign of an important and fruitful area to explore. In like manner, Ignatius speaks of sending men both where we are welcome and where we are hated or persecuted. What is most important about this norm is that it reflects not on the good effects of the missioning on others, but on the fact that something is happening to us. The opposition to our work suggests an area where the enemy of our human nature, to use Ignatius' term, is frightened of our presence. An appropriate response is in order here just as it is in our personal lives when we are attacked by temptation or fear or frustrated by some obstacle to growth. We need to reflect on those actions which cause the enemy disturbance in order to discern what the Spirit's breath is whispering, and what sort of death we must face in order to bring life.



### G. Summary of Norms [622, a-f]

In discerning how to distribute men in the vineyard of the Lord, the superior should always keep in mind the greater service of God and the more universal good of souls. To determine the greater service and more universal good, he should look first to where there is greater need.

Since there are many places where the need is greater than in other places, the superior should next consider where the greater fruit might be produced among those places. Greater fruit might be expected in a place that is really well disposed or in one that is positively indisposed, that is, where damage has been done both to the people and to the Society.

With regard to well-disposed places where profit to souls can be expected, it may be because the people are open and eager or because they are of high quality that great progress can be expected.

Where the hope for progress is the same, if the Society already has some indebtedness to the people, that place is to be preferred.

Preference should also be given to those who through their progress will have a greater impact on others, for example, important people and the larger nations, cities, and universities, especially if they happen to be places where positive damage has already been done and the Society has been hurt.<sup>121</sup>

### H. Purpose of the Work [623]

Those who are dissatisfied with the Society's works tend to want to meet any need they encounter and become impatient with institutional foot-dragging impeding their efforts. But it is not enough to consider the point of view of the places which are in need of help, that is, the gravity of the needs and the expectation of greater fruit. The point of view of the Society must also be considered, namely, the purpose of the work, whether it is to convert the heathen or renew a diocese or feed the hungry. The *kind* of work that is envisaged will provide motives for choosing *where* men should be sent. The section of the *Constitutions* we are now considering is a sort of commentary on the phrase "through the means the Society uses." The Society does not do everything. It does not supply canons to cathedrals, for example, or

establish houses of contemplatives or provide doctors and dentists for jungle villages. These are some of the kinds of needs--and there are even greater ones--which the Society does not choose to meet.

The point of view of the Society not only eliminates some works but provides a sort of hierarchy within the means it uses. Not that Ignatius says: Retreat houses are better than soup kitchens, and missions are better than parishes, and schools are better than anything. No. Rather he indicates preferences between opposites when both cannot be done simultaneously. Preference does not mean that the opposite is rejected, but it does suggest that which is *more* characteristic of our work and *more* proper to the Society.

Preference implies inequality. The preferences Ignatius has because of the inequalities he judges to exist can be seen at a glance in the following scheme:

*If one cannot do both simultaneously, and all else is equal,*

<u>prefer</u>	<u>to</u>	<u>exception</u>
benefits for soul	benefits for body	
greater perfection	less perfection	
more good	less good	
more urgent	less urgent and postponable	
especially incumbent on Society and no others to attend to them	Others do have care and method of providing	
safer for the worker	more dangerous	
easier, more quickly done	more difficult, takes longer	
more universal good, extends to more people, e.g., preaching, lecturing	more individual good e.g., confessions, Exercises	unless circumstances suggest otherwise
last longer, of more lasting value	less durable, help occasionally and for a while.	

If everything can be done simultaneously, well and good, but if not, then works with certain characteristics are to be preferred to other works.

The preferences provide the discerning superior with new norms or motives for sending men to one place rather than another, norms which did not appear in the discussion on *where*. Two old norms do appear in the list: (1) that which will do more good or produce more fruit, and (2) that which will be more universal, or have greater impact on a larger number of people. The new norms indicate the Society's point of view or preferences:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| a) <u>regarding the works themselves</u> | b) <u>regarding the relation to the worker</u> |
| 1) spiritual                             | 1) more incumbent on Society                   |
| 2) greater perfection                    | 2) safer                                       |
| 3) urgent                                | 3) easier                                      |
| 4) longer lasting                        |  |

Spiritual works are to be preferred to corporal works if both cannot be done simultaneously. The first time Laynez and Salmerón went to Trent they divided their time between the affairs of the Council and working with the poor, but in the succeeding times they went the work of the Council absorbed all their time.<sup>122</sup> In chapter 4 of Part VII Ignatius has this same sort of hierarchy when indicating ways in which those residing in houses or colleges "can help their fellowmen." After talking about good Christian example, prayer, Mass, the sacraments, the word of God, spiritual conversation, counselling, and the Spiritual Exercises, he writes: "The members will also occupy themselves in corporal works of mercy to the extent that the more important spiritual activities permit and their own energies allow."<sup>123</sup> The vertical is more important to Ignatius than the horizontal: getting men in touch with God, the source of all good; putting that kind of order into life is more important than ordering the temporal, a limited good which can easily be distorted by our inordinate affections and self-centeredness. This preference on the part of Ignatius is deeply rooted in the *Spiritual Exercises*, especially the First Principle and Foundation, the Call of the King, the Two Standards, the Three Classes of Men, and the Three Degrees of Humility. It is seen in his eagerness after Manresa "to help souls," and is part of the Society's spiritual heritage, our particularness, our identity. No doubt it is this preference which made the early companions choose to establish a religious order composed primarily of priests.

Urgency is also a norm, and it was the urgency of the matter that sent Broët and Salmerón to Ireland and Scotland and Canisius to Germany.<sup>124</sup>

Another preference is for that which lasts longer, which has more last-value. We are not talking about a work that takes longer to do before it produces fruit, but an enduring work with enduring fruit. Such a work is to be preferred to one which is less durable or only occasional or of short duration. On this principle the establishment of schools and other permanent residences made sense, and these became more important than transitory works of charity. They met a need that called for a permanent ministry even if the "missionaries" were basically transient. From the point of view of the relation of the work to the worker, those works are to be preferred which are especially incumbent on the Society, and in particular when there are no others around to attend to them, as opposed to those that others do have a care for and can provide for. We have reflected above on work as a function of place. The place and its people have a need, and we choose a work which will meet that need. Now we are called to consider a work that we are especially equipped to do. There is a need not only for the work but for *us* to do it. Preaching, for example, is one of our works. In the time of Ignatius other priests would preach during Lent and Advent, so the Jesuits began to preach the rest of the year.<sup>125</sup> It was on these grounds, too, that the schools won out again. There was a profound need for them, and the early Jesuits, well educated as they were, were the most likely schoolmasters.

If the works are of equal importance, urgency, and need, it is better to choose a work in which the apostle will be safer. But, as Ignatius wrote to Fathers Diego Miró and Luis Gonçalves da Câmara, "If all we look for is safety, we couldn't live or deal with people."<sup>126</sup> None of the great works of the early Society would have taken place if the fathers had not been willing to take risks.<sup>127</sup>

Again, if the works are of equal importance, urgency, and need, it is better to choose an easier one that can be quickly dispatched than to pick some work that is more difficult and takes a longer time before any fruit is produced. Ignatius does not choose the harder for the sake of the harder. The Jesuit kamikaze is not bent on suicide. *Agere contra* is a principle for

handling the rebelliousness of one's own nature, not a norm for choosing ministries. Listening to the Spirit of God is what is called for.

#### I. Whom to Send [624]

In a lengthy Declaration Ignatius considers *who* it is who should be sent on a particular task. There is no need to outline the whole Declaration here. The choice of ministries might depend on the persons available, for the remarks can be summarized as follows: Send the man or men more suitable for the task, although in the final analysis the choice is to be made under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

In his early days Ignatius had preferred to be alone so that he would rely only on God and not on anyone else.<sup>128</sup> Now he prefers to send two or more together, letting the personal gifts and limitations of one complement and balance the personal gifts and limitations of the other. Ignatius had learned that his brothers, too, were God's gifts and that to rely on them was to rely on God.

One caution regarding whom to send might be kept in mind here, a caution taken from the earlier chapter about missions by the pope, that in choosing someone to send, the superior should keep in mind the greater universal good and also the minimum damage done to other works undertaken for the glory of God. To send the best might be too destructive of another work.

#### J. Manner of Sending [625]

In view of the discussions on poverty today, the following norm is worthwhile for us to reflect on. Keeping in mind the task to be done, the persons to be served, and the ones being sent, the superior should choose carefully the manner of travel so that that, too, will contribute to the glory of God: "whether he will send them in the manner of the poor, so that they would go on foot and without money, or with better facilities. . . ."

#### K. Longer Missions [626]

When the assignment is likely to take longer than the usual two or three

months, the superior has to balance all the elements of the venture with the opportunities available in other places and with the Society's obligation of undertaking these other works as well as with the Society's resources for providing for the other works. Good planning also suggests that the superior should weigh the possibilities there are for accidents that could destroy the efficiency of the work.

The problem of longer missions, of course, once more brings us to the question of the establishment of schools. After a flurry of founding colleges Ignatius learned to insist on a proper endowment before he would continue a college or establish a new one. He also learned that he had to have a suitable number of properly trained teachers. He was concerned about the commitment involved in longer missions and from earlier mistakes learned not only to protect the viability of the work but not to accept a work unless the Society was ready to make a long-term commitment of manpower--not the same man or men, but a constant supply of at least a minimal number. He was learning to listen ever more carefully to the Spirit within him and to discern more precisely which way the Divine Wind was blowing.

#### PART IV. DISCERNMENT AND CHOICE IN THE SOCIETY'S WORKS TODAY

As we come to our own times we recall the problematic with which we began: the reluctance on the part of some to question the will of God already discerned and accepted, the eagerness on the part of others to question everything of the past and to reject it, the generation gap we have all experienced, the breakdown of fraternal unity and mutual support, the judging and condemning and not understanding, the attempt on the part of some to build bridges and to heal wounds, the willingness of a few to listen to the Spirit and to be driven by the Divine Wind.

In this chapter there will be no attempt, as might be expected, to proceed through the norms for choosing ministries step by step, greater need, greater fruit, greater impact, and so forth, although they will not be neglected. Rather it seems important to see what we can learn from the two Congregations which have governed our lives in recent years. For us the

Congregations' decrees complement and are a commentary on the *Constitutions*. This is very much in the spirit of Ignatius. Law tends to become codified, but he did not really intend this to happen with the *Constitutions*. He intended them as an open book and continually modified them while he lived. They were not finished when he died, nor did he intend that they ever be finished. He supposed that they would be constantly updated by the General Congregations through the action/reflection/discernment process. Since the Society, however, did choose to preserve the *Constitutions* as he wrote them, what the *Constitutions* were to Ignatius and his companions, the ever-changing decrees of the General Congregations, especially those of the 31st and 32nd, are to us.

A. The Papal Mission to Combat Atheism:  
Positive Response to a Negative Mission

The reflections of Ignatius and his first companions on how to be faithful to their vocation to serve Christ in his vicar on earth forced the little Company to become a religious order. Some four hundred years later the 31st General Congregation was still pondering the same question: how the Society might be "faithful to its own vocation."<sup>129</sup>

Of all the papal missions given to the 31st General Congregation, one in particular, that to combat atheism, can help us to recapture and to situate ourselves in the experience of the early companions. There are certain parallels worth noting between their experience and ours.

The first companions were certainly stimulated by the papal commands which, by having them go to various parts of Italy, began to break up the little band. They seem also to have been considerably confused by a sudden realization of the implications of their vow to obey those commands. Had they anticipated being dispersed? Or had they expected to be sent *as a group* to some remote part of the world for the glory of God and the help of souls? Whatever the expectations, they quickly gathered together for the *Deliberation of the First Fathers* which resulted in the birth of the Society.

In the same way, the mission to combat atheism was a stimulus for much of the soul-searching within the Society which is leading to its rebirth and

renewal. But just as those first companions may have been a bit confused by the implications of the papal commands scattering them to various places and thus threatening the unity of the group, so the Society in 1965 found the charge, the "mission," to combat atheism a confusing thing. What was atheism? Where was it to be found? What could we do about it? At least the 31st General Congregation became very conscious of the profound dichotomy between faith and real life in our contemporary culture. The Congregation, following the lead of Vatican II, asked the Society to return to its roots and to follow the practice of the first companions: reflect on actions taken, discern where the Lord is calling. After eight years of action, of false starts and disappointments and frustrations throughout the Society, the 32nd General Congregation did precisely that. It reflected on the experiences of the intervening years and asked its first question: "What is it to be a Jesuit today?"<sup>130</sup> Today to be at the service of Christ and his Church under the leadership of his vicar on earth means, it said, "the service of the faith, of which the promotion of justice is an absolute requirement."<sup>131</sup>

Although much of the language of GC 32 concerns justice, it must be remembered that our primary mission today is "service of the *faith*." The Congregation's approach to atheism was much more profound, much more positive, much more radical than that of the various commissions on atheism established after the 31st General Congregation. The 32nd did not merely "combat" atheism, but set up a whole program for spreading and increasing the faith in our times in terms of the Formula of the Institute: "the defense and propagation of the faith, and the progress of souls in Christian life and doctrine." In reflecting on our mission today, the 32nd General Congregation began with atheism and the pope's reminder that the Society was always "at the heart of ideological battles and social conflicts, wherever the crying needs of mankind encountered the perennial message of the gospel."<sup>132</sup> It reflected on the millions "suffering from poverty and hunger, from the unjust distribution of wealth and resources and from the consequences of racial, social, and political discrimination."<sup>133</sup> It saw problems, not simply as "social and technological, but personal and spiritual."<sup>134</sup> It recognized the difficulties facing evangelization: "gradual erosion of traditional values, and gradual diminution of reliance on the power of traditional



symbols,"<sup>135</sup> "false images of God which prop up and give an aura of legitimacy to unjust social structures."<sup>136</sup> It acknowledged that even "the framework within which we have preached the Gospel is now perceived as being inextricably linked to an unacceptable social order."<sup>137</sup> The sad thing, it said, is that "it is now within human power to make the world more just--but we do not really want to."<sup>138</sup>

We ourselves have become victims, we ourselves are part of the problem. Atheism is an all-pervasive force in contemporary life, attacking society at its core. At their deepest depths, today's problems, whether economic or political or social, are problems of faith, for they stem from ways of viewing human life and human destiny which are directly opposed to the Good News of Jesus and are founded on the denial of God:

What is at stake here is the fruitfulness of all our apostolic endeavors, and notably of any coherent attempt to combat atheism. The injustice that racks our world in so many forms is, in fact, a denial of God in practice, for it denies the dignity of the human person, the image of God, the brother or sister of Christ. The cult of money, progress, prestige and power has as its fruit the sin of institutionalized injustice condemned by the Synod of 1971, and it leads to the enslavement not only of the oppressed, but of the oppressor as well--and to death.<sup>139</sup>

#### B. The Formula of the Institute and GC 32's "Our Mission Today"

In that very practical context where our whole apostolate is at stake, it will be helpful to return to the Formula of the Institute, the document which outlines our basic apostolate. The Formula is not a theoretical document. It was written in very precise historical circumstances and tells us what the early companions driven by the Spirit did in those circumstances. In seeking a review of ministries GC 31 was asking that we determine what the Formula of the Institute means for us today in our own very precise historical circumstances. GC 32 tries to do that in its document Our Mission Today. It is useful to compare the two documents:

#### Formula of the Institute

##### Purpose:

Defense and propagation of faith  
and progress of souls  
in Christian life and doctrine

#### GC 32: Our Mission Today

##### Mission:

Service of the faith  
of which the promotion of justice  
is an absolute requirement

GC 32 has not changed the Formula but has been more precise about what it means in our times. The language of the Formula assumes a Society trying to have a salutary effect on a world torn apart by heresy, where the Church, although primary, is under attack; a world lacking in unity, where vast parts of the earth have not yet been evangelized. "Defense and propagation of the faith" concerns work with non-Catholics: heretics and infidels. On an equal level, "progress of souls" concerns work with Catholics. The language reflects the sixteenth century, not the world immediately after Vatican II where "heretic" becomes "separated brother" in the Decree on Ecumenism,<sup>140</sup> and the faithful followers of non-Christian religions are looked upon with love and concern and admiration in the Declaration of the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions.<sup>141</sup>

The language, on the other hand, of the 32nd General Congregation reveals a Society immersed in a world straining for unity despite its plurality, where the Church is just another voice not always recognized, but where the cries of the poor and the oppressed and the dispossessed are beginning to be heard all over the globe. The "service of the faith" in GC 32 concerns work with both Catholics and non-Catholics, with supporting and strengthening believers (Catholic and non-Catholic Christians) and preaching the gospel to unbelievers. "The promotion of justice" does not stand on an equal level as another purpose but is a refinement of what "service of the faith" means.

Ignatius opposed spiritual works to the corporal works of mercy and preferred the first if both could not be done simultaneously. "Service of the faith" and "the promotion of justice" are not to be opposed in that manner, for the second is an absolute requirement of the first and goes far beyond the corporal works of mercy. We cannot choose "service of the faith" over against "the promotion of justice," but we must remember both that the promotion of justice has to be in the context of faith and that the faith will not be served if justice is not promoted. The promotion of justice makes more explicit for our times what has always been part of our concern. As the Congregation says, the mission to serve the faith and promote justice has always been the mission of the Society "in one form or another."<sup>142</sup>

Although it is true that our purpose has not changed, there is more than change of language here, putting old categories of thought in new forms. The Paulists were founded to make converts, but after Vatican II, when convert making was no longer quite so popular in view of the Council's statement on ecumenism, the Paulists moved from convert making to the ecumenical field. They were on the same path toward the unity of the Church, but entirely new vistas had opened up along the road, and their way of articulating in action their concern for the unity of Christ's body was entirely new and different. The Society of Jesus has always been concerned about following Jesus in the service of the Father under the banner of the cross, but our way of articulating that concern today in action is far different from the way Ignatius and his first companions articulated it.

We cannot here work our way through four hundred years of action, reflection, and discernment, to follow the growth of the Society from the days of the Formula to the present time. But we can reflect and compare our times with those times to discover the radical changes called for in our ways of operating. A major difference of outlook, for example, between the Tridentine world and the world after Vatican II is seen in the concern in the Formula for the "progress of souls," a profound concern for personal growth and sanctification, for what they called "saving souls," and the concern in the Congregation for the social dimensions of life, where personal growth, where even the gospel, cannot be envisaged apart from a passion for justice, and where "Christian salvation consists in an undivided love of the Father and of the neighbor and of justice."<sup>143</sup> As the Congregation states very clearly, Ignatius and his companions "were moved to a searching consideration of the world of their own time in order to discover its need."<sup>144</sup> In like manner the Congregation speaks of the new meaning and urgency given our mission "in the light of the needs and aspirations of the men and women of our time";<sup>145</sup> of reassessing our methods, attitudes, and institutions "with a view to adapting them to the new needs of the times";<sup>146</sup> of our sharing in the blindness and injustice of our age, of our own need to be evangelized, of our need to know how to meet Christ as he works in the world of today, the world to which we are sent and whose "needs and aspirations are an appeal to the Gospel which it is our mission to proclaim."<sup>147</sup>

Let us compare again the Formula and Our Mission Today to see the means each proposes for the Society to use. (Here no correlation is intended between one column and the other.)

Formula of the Institute

Means:

public preaching  
lecturing  
any other ministry of word of God  
spiritual exercises  
education of children and unlettered  
in Christianity  
spiritual consolation of faithful  
hearing confessions  
other sacraments  
reconciling estranged  
serving in prisons  
serving in hospitals  
any other work of charity

GC 32: Our Mission Today

Means:

involvement with the world 84-85  
collaboration with others 86  
changing unjust social structures 89  
solidarity with the poor 96-99  
inculturation 102-105  
spiritual exercises 106-107  
theological reflection 108-109  
social work 108-109  
education 108-109  
mass media 108-109  
action/reflection/discernment model  
for review and evaluation of  
ministries 124-127  
international cooperation 130

The Formula presents a list of ministries the early Jesuits used in defending and propagating the faith and in helping people to grow in their life in Christ. The Congregation does not reject those ministries but rather assumes them and presents guidelines for action and means better calculated, in view of the needs of today's world, to achieve the service of faith, which includes the promotion of justice. Thus, through action/reflection/discernment GC 32 has brought our ministries into an entirely new focus in an entirely new context.

C. Norms for Choosing Ministries:

The Greater Service of God and the More Universal Good

The fathers at GC 31 had recalled the norms written by Ignatius in the *Constitutions*. They did not apply the norms and make the choices, but they called for the establishment of commissions on the better choice of ministries which would reflect and make recommendations to the provincials. Re-

flecting on the Society's call to serve the universal Church, reflecting on Vatican II's decree on the Church in the Modern World, and enriched, no doubt, by the reflections of the aforesaid commissions on ministries over a period of years, GC 32 moved from service of God to service of man, fully convinced that the first can exist only in the second: "There is no genuine conversion to the love of God without conversion to the love of neighbor and, therefore, to the demands of justice."<sup>148</sup> Applying the norms recalled by GC 31, GC 32 made a choice. It is a broad choice which needs to be refined by innumerable other choices. It is a choice which perhaps only points a direction, but it is a choice: the deliberate choice not merely to meet needs we see but to go out and discover what the need of the world really is:

For the greater glory of God and salvation of men, Ignatius desired that his companions go wherever there was hope of the more universal good; go to those who have been abandoned; go to those who are in greatest need. But where is the greatest need today? Where are we to locate this hope for the more universal good?<sup>149</sup>

The Congregation answered its own question by a demand for systemic and structural change on all levels:

It is becoming more and more evident that the structures of society are among the principal formative influences in our world, shaping people's ideas and feelings, shaping their most intimate desires and aspirations; in a word, shaping mankind itself. The struggle to transform these structures in the interest of the spiritual and material liberation of fellow human beings is intimately connected to the work of evangelization.<sup>150</sup>

GC 31 had reflected on the fact that today the conditions of society are profoundly changed, that the members of the Society are affected by this transformation and are aware of new experiences in their lives.<sup>151</sup>

GC 32 took a further step and demanded reflection on the transformation and its causes:

Our faith in Christ Jesus and our mission to proclaim the Gospel demand of us a commitment to promote justice and to enter into solidarity with the voiceless and the powerless. This commitment will move us seriously to verse ourselves in the complex problems which they face in their lives, then to identify and assume our own responsibilities to society....We cannot be excused from making the most rigorous possible political and social analysis of our situation....Nothing can excuse us, either, from undertaking a searching discernment into our situation

from the pastoral and apostolic point of view. From analysis and discernment will come committed action; from the experience of action will come insight into how to proceed further.<sup>152</sup>

Even so, when the Congregation calls us to change structures as part of the work of evangelization, it says:

This is not to say, of course, that we can ever afford to neglect the direct apostolate to individuals, to those who are victims of the injustice of social structures as well as to those who bear some responsibility or influence over them.

From this point of view the desire for the more universal good is perfectly compatible with the determination to serve the most afflicted for the sake of the Gospel.<sup>153</sup>

Apparently we are called not only to change structures but to come to the aid of those who are bruised and bleeding by reason of the structures which need to be changed. Some of our work is to attack the root of the problem, while some is to treat the symptoms which indicate a problem is there. Some is to be groundwork; some is to be patchwork. Some is to relieve the pain, some to remove the cause of the pain.

What is clear is that although some of our men can be engaged in the direct apostolate to the poor in what we used to call "the corporal works of mercy," the same or other men should be involved in the far more difficult and long-range work of changing the social structures which bring about a need for these works. Because of the wide range of our ministries, our mobility and instant availability, the Society is aptly fit for that kind of work whereas not all others are. As the Congregation says, "We have access to skills and power which most people do not have."<sup>154</sup> It is a work, however, which cannot be done in isolation from the poor, and that is a temptation to which scholars of the Society are prone. The Congregation goes on:

It will therefore be necessary for a larger number of us to share more closely the lot of families who are of modest means, who make up the majority of every country, and who are often poor and oppressed.<sup>155</sup>

Thus, while addressing today's needs on both the levels of oppressive structures and the oppressed, the Congregation has clearly introduced a radical change by its emphasis on the promotion of justice, not as one apostolic area among others, but as "the concern of our whole life and a dimension of all our apostolic endeavors."<sup>156</sup> To see that the promotion of justice is

an integral part of the service of the faith and the preaching of the gospel means that the preaching is going to be different, and that the lecturing, the giving of the Spiritual Exercises, and all other forms of the word are going to be transformed. The same is true for education, for the administration of the sacraments. Today they all include conscientization. The works of charity are not rejected but amplified and transformed in a whole new way by introducing the changing of structures which bring about a need for those works.

#### D. Means to Do Faith and Justice

How, then, do we go about the work of changing structures? The Congregation particularizes the means we are to use to do faith and justice and presents guidelines for concerted action by outlining again the works Father General had earlier set down as in his mind having priority, and comments: "The importance of these means rests in the fact that, in touching its most profound needs, they permit a more universal service to humankind."<sup>157</sup> The means are: (1) research and theological reflection; (2) conscientization of those who can bring about social change; (3) the work of formation in every sphere of education; (4) communication and in particular the communications media.

##### 1. Research and Theological Reflection

Theology used to be concerned with the meaning of revealed truths and their interrelationships. Today we are no longer concerned simply with learning and understanding doctrines and reflecting on their richness, but in applying the gospel to contemporary problems in human living. There are structures of all kinds which need to be changed, and there are deprived people of all kinds who need to be served. Think of women and the structures that deprive them of freedom both within and outside the Church. Think of prisoners, of the voteless, the propertyless. Think of the problems of ecology, of health and health services. Think of financial structures and military structures that bind human freedom and destroy human life. All these are theological problems, but they all have a basis in other disciplines as well. To deal with them realistically will require not only in-

terdisciplinary dialogue but a concrete experience of the problems themselves:

If we have the patience and the humility and the courage to walk with the poor, we will learn from what they have to teach us what we can do to help them. Without this arduous journey, our efforts for the poor will have an effect just the opposite from what we intend, we will only hinder them from getting a hearing for their real wants and from acquiring the means of taking charge of their own destiny, personal and collective.<sup>158</sup>

When we confront the problem of changing structures we are basically engaged in an area which Ignatius characterized as one where cockle has already been sown. He was speaking of a place; we are dealing with whole attitudes of mind and established institutions. We can learn much from those who have lived and worked where cockle has been sown, behind the Iron Curtain, in China, in Latin America, in order to deal with cockle wherever it has been sown. We can learn from the lives and actions of those who have been martyred recently in Africa or Latin America. We should carefully distinguish, however, between the hatred that comes to us because of the gospel and the rejection experienced because of our own mistakes. The one can teach us something about the way to "life" while the other warns us of the way to "death" not only for ourselves but especially for the people we may have attempted to serve.

## 2. Conscientization

There is need for the conscientization of those who can bring about social change, and for a special place to be given to the service of the deprived and oppressed. The documents, we are told by the delegates, are deficient in expressing the full mind of the 32nd General Congregation. They clearly stress economic poverty. They would have equally stressed political oppression and the deprivation of social rights had such language not been detrimental to the Society behind the Iron Curtain. There is little economic poverty (or economic wealth) in the fully Communist countries. When the documents spoke of poverty they meant the deprivation of anything whatsoever that makes human life rich and full and satisfying and conducive to human growth. The wealthy are also deprived. We need, in fact, a new apostolate



to the wealthy and the powerful because they are the ones who, in collaboration with the poor, can bring about change. It cannot, however, be an apostolate which subtly reinforces their commitment to "the good life" for themselves and their families, but must be one which is aimed at *metanoia*, a genuine conversion to concern for those who are deprived. It is this sort of conversion which is most likely to eliminate from the lives of the rich their own deprivations.

Conscientization is the work of all Jesuits whether in parishes, retreat houses, educational institutions, houses of formation, hospitals, prisons, provincial curias, or whatever. We are called to alert ourselves and others to the needs of the deprived and the oppressed not only wherever they are but wherever we may be. To wander through the world barefoot and begging may no longer be the means, but to preach the Good News, to proclaim freedom for the poor and the captive both by word and by deed throughout the world under the direction of the head of the universal Church is still what the Society is called to do.

### 3. The Work of Formation in Every Sphere of Education

Just as all our work is supposed to be a promoting of justice, so is all of our work some form of education. The work of education, in other words, is not limited to educational institutions. Education universalizes and makes better grounded the work of conscientization described above. It means more than merely trying to make everyone we labor with alert to the possibilities of living and working for others; it also means giving them a solid basis for doing so and teaching them how to do so. The Congregation calls attention to that part of the *Constitutions* which speaks of working with those who can have greater impact on others so that the work has a way of multiplying.

Greater impact. That is one of the norms for choosing ministries. The question is: Where is greater impact to be found today? The answers may not be the same as in the time of St. Ignatius. Will the big-name people have greater impact? Not necessarily. We are looking for those who will have more influence on other people, more of the right kind of influence. Who are they? Movie stars? Politicians? Professional people? The wealthy

countries? The big cities? The universities? We have to weigh all that all over again.

To influence the *universal* Church or seek the *universal* good, perhaps today one goes to the United Nations, or to the World Bank, or to the International Meeting on Population Control, or to the Ford Foundation, or to the board meeting of General Motors, or to the Brookings Institution, or to the National Council of Catholic Bishops, or works for HEW. Or perhaps the best way to influence the really influential would be to work with César Chavez and the United Farmworkers, or with Ralph Nader, or in Hollywood, or producing TV shows, or in Santa Barbara with the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions working on a new constitution for the United States. Or maybe none of those. Perhaps the really radical work today is to be done with families, in parishes, in schools. In other words, we need to reevaluate the centers of influence, to determine the leverage points in contemporary society for the changing of structures, in order to be able to make choices about the distribution of our manpower in the vineyard of the Lord.

Perhaps the question today is not so much whom to work *for* as whom to work *with*. The multiplying effect sought by Ignatius is likely to be found when we work, as the Congregation urges us to do, in

closer collaboration with other members of the local churches, Christians of other denominations, believers of other religions, and all who hunger and thirst after justice; in short, with all who strive to make a world fit for men and women to live in, a world where brotherhood opens the way for the recognition and acceptance of Christ our Brother and God our Father.<sup>159</sup>

Even GC 31 had recommended cooperation not only with the hierarchy but with other religions, with lay people, with our separated brethren, with non-Christians, with nonbelievers. GC 32 tells us to become aware of the social, political, and economic problems which exist all around us so as to "see how to preach the Gospel better and how to work better with others in our own particular way without seeking to duplicate or compete with their strengths in the struggle to promote justice."<sup>160</sup>

#### 4. Communication and in Particular the Communications Media

The mark of the educated man used to be *eloquentia*. We have to make

sure that we ourselves are communicating to those with whom we deal, but especially these days we need to consider the immense possibilities of having impact on those we cannot see through contemporary means of communicating, of "humanizing the social climate--attitudes and behavior--where we are engaged."<sup>161</sup> Our failure to develop in this area is a good sign of how we isolate ourselves from the contemporary world.

In this connection we also need to reflect on the statement in *Our Mission Today* that "all the major problems of our time have an international dimension."<sup>162</sup> It continues:

All Jesuits, but especially those who belong to the affluent world, should endeavor to work with those who form public opinion, as well as with international organizations, to promote justice among all peoples.<sup>163</sup>

To be a missionary in a foreign country is not necessarily to be involved in an international apostolate. The work may have no impact beyond the local church. To set up a program in an underdeveloped country that will affect the lives of people in many different underdeveloped countries, that is part of the international apostolate. To raise the consciousness of people anywhere to an awareness of the injustices perpetrated by multinational corporations in Latin America, that is part of the international apostolate.

If we think back on all that has been written above and add an international dimension--some way in which people all over the globe, or over a generous part of it, are involved--all horizons are expanded. *Greater need* on the international level may divert manpower from a very serious province need. *Greater fruit* may be gained in working for the reform of the international monetary system than in trying to bring about changes in structures affecting the lives of migrant workers in a particular part of the country. A professor may have *greater impact* internationally teaching agronomy in an underdeveloped country than teaching theology in one of our American universities. The principle of the *more universal good* might very easily cause much local pain as we face the days of diminishing manpower.

#### Final Reflections and Conclusion

As this paper began, so may it also end: There is no secret to the choice of ministries except prayer and discernment, both on the part of the

superior and on the part of the one who is about to be sent. The 32nd General Congregation does not hesitate to challenge us, "even if this should shake up our settled habits or stretch horizons sometimes all too limited."<sup>164</sup> "It is the characteristic of this Society to travel" is not a joke, but a fundamental statement about the profound difference between the Society of Jesus and other religious orders up to the time of Ignatius. Geographic mobility seems to be a prerequisite to ideological mobility. God called Abram to go out from his native country because he wanted him to become Abraham, the father of many nations. God wanted a new thing on the earth, a new vision, a new reality, a new creation. In like manner we are called to travel out of our own world, out of ourselves, out of our particular personal mind-set, out of our institutional mind-set, out of our set ways, our complacency, our comfortable nest, and into the cold, sharp Wind of the Spirit that can drive us to that death which means a richer life for ourselves and for the world. If we are called to instant availability, to instant movement from one place to another, that can only be an exterior sign of an interior mobility so sensitive to the breathing of the Holy Spirit as never to be shattered by the need to change, to adapt, to move with the times and the needs of the people, the cries and the distress of God's little ones.

Movement and change are often distressing, sometimes exhilarating. Some Jesuits are distressed by Father General's constant call, as in his final talk to the Procurators, to move more rapidly. They find it contradictory to be fully committed to a work and open to having that work changed or abandoned, and they prefer commitment. They find it confusing to be constantly questioning the value of works whose value was established long ago by obedience. They are puzzled and wonder what they are expected to do. They do not seem to understand that it is all right to be puzzled, all right to be always searching, and that this does not lessen commitment. Others find it exhilarating to be committed and detached at the same time, thoroughly dedicated to what they are doing but open to any change that is a response to the Spirit Wind blowing where it will. They find a certain peace in the confusion because they experience themselves part of a process in which extreme sensitivity to the slightest Breath of the Spirit is re-

quired. They are not afraid of the death involved, because they think always in terms of the new and better life which is the result.

Ignatius himself must have experienced a sense of exhilaration when, early in his years in Rome as an "immobile missionary,"<sup>165</sup> he began to establish houses and colleges of a more permanent nature, but he did not have to face in his lifetime the distressing problem of the reevaluation of institutions. The only mention of phasing out institutions in the *Constitutions* concerns the alienation or dissolution of colleges, which can be done only by the superior general and the general congregation.<sup>166</sup>

Phasing out does not seem to be as easy as phasing in. The same norms we have been discussing might very well apply. But once a permanent institution has been established, it is not practical to abandon it simply because something else might manifest a *greater need*, or promise a *more universal good* or *greater fruit*, or make a *greater impact*. The principle of *greater indebtedness* also comes into play (which, however, supposes that the fruit is at least equal), and the principle of *longer-lasting value*, and the question of how much damage is done if the work is abandoned. There seems little point, however, in continuing to do something of little value simply because some people want it and we owe them considerable devotion as long-term benefactors, especially when other people are hurting deeply and very much in need of our services.

By opting for structural change as the focus of our work, the 32nd General Congregation does not touch the question whether certain works should be abandoned and new ones undertaken. That answer depends on whether a work is an apt instrument either for bringing about structural change or for healing the wounds of those hurt by those structures which need changing. What is really being underlined is the need for the transformation of our works from within. We are being called to confront and answer without fear whether our traditional activities can be so transformed as to become apt instruments either for structural change or for healing. Should there be any Jesuit activities which merely foster or try to exploit minimal possibilities for good in those very structures which have proven largely harmful and which we are called to transform, we cannot support them any longer. Useful and fruitful at one time, they can only divide our forces in the

present day. We have reached a crossroads in history and we cannot march off in opposite directions at one and the same time.

Transformation from within is not easy to effect. It is frequently difficult even to imagine what it entails beyond the fact that it implies and demands a new orientation. It does not mean that an apple is to be changed into an orange through some inner dynamic. An apple can only be and become apple, more fully apple, firmer, larger, sweeter, juicier, more pleasing to the eye. We are looking for something like the transformation of the human person through baptism, a transformation which makes one more fully human by a new orientation, a deeper relationship to the divine. We have long seen the need of transforming the giving of the Spiritual Exercises by new stresses on social sin and social awareness that more fully develop what is already contained in them, a far more important renewal than thinking up new programs or new promotional gimmicks. A parish, for example, not unlike an autistic child who needs to be opened up to the excitement of involvement with others, is more likely to be transformed by reaching out in ecumenical dialogue than by concentrating on self-centered and autistic community building.

Father General's *Men for Others* gives some idea of the kind of transformation needed. It seems simple enough to teach Latin and chemistry and English literature and history and sociology in a success-oriented world, but how does one do it in order to create a service-oriented society based on the gospel values presented in the meditation on the Two Standards, a world where the primary consideration is not the profit motive but serving the real needs of all the people? A system which benefits the "benefactor" through tax write-offs and actually makes him richer through "giving" has to be worked over thoroughly before it approaches the gospel ideal of losing one's life in order to find it. In a society that thrives on competition, where superstars are salaried beyond presidents, all the energy that goes into the constant frenzy to be "number one" has to be transformed if we are to form a society in which "the first among you will be servant of all." Competition is an instrument we have used, and used well, in our schools, but to what extent is it any longer serviceable in a world which cries out for compassion and concern and cooperation? It is obvious that the creativ-

ity required for the transformation process can come only through the Holy Wind that drives men without fear through death to a profoundly richer life.

We have been called to a new and rigorous discipline. Having returned themselves to the earlier action/reflection/discernment model of the first fathers, the fathers of the Congregation called on all the members of the Society to do the same in their own lives,<sup>167</sup> and said to the provinces regarding a review of their apostolates:

What is required is not so much a research program as a process of reflection and evaluation inspired by the Ignatian tradition of spiritual discernment, in which the primary stress is on prayer and the effort to attain "indifference," that is, an apostolic readiness for anything.<sup>168</sup>

The language of the Congregation as well as the whole process of the action/reflection/discernment model challenges any sense of complacency in what we are already doing. Indeed, the choice is not between complacency and reform: improving our work here and updating ourselves there and adapting new methods someplace else to fit the changes which have taken place in society, to exploit and get the most out of the present system. For Ignatius the choice is never between a non-good and a good, but between that which is good and that which is better. The choice is between reform as just described and genuine renewal: between (1) adapting ourselves to the exigencies of the present structures of society in order to serve the needs those structures create, and (2) working for systemic change, for the eradication of oppressive structures which bring injustice to many people, for the radical rearrangement of essential elements in society to make it recover its basic identity as a human family.<sup>169</sup> There is no point in trying to create a museum piece, an idealized replica of society in some bygone age. In a radically evolving world we are, perforce, embarked on a pilgrimage into the unknown.

The kamikaze spirit, after all, means simply: to be a contemplative, and a contemplative likewise in action. As Segundo Galilea puts it, "The Christian committed to liberation becomes a contemplative to the extent that he grasps what God wishes for his fellow men and makes that the decisive motive for his commitment."<sup>170</sup>

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ABBREVIATIONS Used in the Footnotes

<i>Autobiog</i>	The <i>Autobiography</i> of St. Ignatius
CIS	Centrum Ignatianum Spiritualitatis, Rome
<i>Cons</i>	<i>The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus</i>
<i>ConsMHSJ</i>	<i>Constitutiones Societatis Iesu</i> , the 4 volumes in the series of the Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu
<i>ConsSJComm</i>	<i>The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus. Translated, with an Introduction and a Commentary</i> , by George E. Ganss, S.J.
<i>DocsGC31&amp;32</i>	<i>Documents of the 31st and 32nd General Congregations of the Society of Jesus</i>
<i>EpitInstSJ</i>	<i>Societatis Iesu Constitutiones et Epitome Instituti</i>
<i>EppIgn</i>	<i>S. Ignatii Epistolae et Instructiones</i> , in MHSJ
<i>FN</i>	<i>Fontes narrativi de Sancto Ignatio</i> , 4 volumes in MHSJ
IJS	The Institute of Jesuit Sources
MHSJ	Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu
<i>MonNad</i>	<i>Epistolae Hieronymi Nadal</i> , 6 volumes in MHSJ
<i>Obras</i>	<i>Obras completas de san Ignacio</i>
<i>PolCompl</i>	<i>Polanci complementa</i> , 2 volumes in MHSJ
<i>SpEx</i>	The <i>Spiritual Exercises</i> of St. Ignatius of Loyola

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Gerard Manley Hopkins, S.J., "God's Grandeur" (found in almost any collection of his poems).
- 2 Dominic Maruca, S.J., "Our Personal Witness as a Power toward Evangelizing Our Culture," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*, XI, 2 (March, 1979), 11.
- 3 The Church Today, no. 4, in *The Documents of Vatican II*, ed. W. Abbott, S.J., pp. 201-202.
- 4 *DocsGC31&32*, no. 381 of GC 31. (Here, as below, the reference number is the boldface marginal number in the edition listed in the bibliography above.)
- 5 John Fowles, *The French Lieutenant's Woman*, (New York, 1970), p. 45.
- 6 Bernard J. F. Lonergan, S.J., "The Response of the Jesuit, as Priest and Apostle, in the Modern World," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*, II, 3 (September, 1970), 105.
- 7 *DocsGC31&32*, no. 365 of GC 31.
- 8 *Autobiography*, no. 1; in O'Callaghan-Olin, page 24. Here and below, the first number is the paragraph number found in the *Autobiografía* as printed in Iparraguirre, *Obras Completas de S. Ignacio de Loyola*; the second number is the page number found in *The Autobiography of St. Ignatius Loyola* translated by Joseph F. O'Callaghan and edited by John C. Olin. Unfortunately this excellent translation omitted the paragraph numbering which makes for easy references to the Spanish text and other translations.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Ibid., no. 9; p. 24 in O'Callaghan.
- 11 Ibid., no. 10; pp. 24-25.
- 12 Ibid., no. 16; p. 31.
- 13 Ibid., no. 18; p. 32
- 14 Ibid., no. 30; pp. 39-40.
- 15 Ibid., no. 45; p. 49.
- 16 Ibid., no. 47; p. 50.
- 17 Ibid., no. 50; p. 54.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Ibid., no. 37; p. 43
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Ibid., no. 42-43; pp. 47-48.
- 22 Ibid., no. 45; p. 49.

- 23 Ibid., no. 56; p. 60.
- 24 Ibid., no. 63; p. 65.
- 25 Ibid., no. 70; p. 70.
- 26 Ibid., no. 71; p. 71.
- 27 Ibid., no. 8; p. 24.
- 28 Ibid., no. 18; p. 32.
- 29 Ibid., no. 19; p. 33.
- 30 Ibid., no. 35; p. 42.
- 31 Ibid., no. 36; p. 42.
- 32 Ibid., no. 73, 76; pp. 73-75.
- 33 Ibid., no. 17; pp. 31-32.
- 34 Ibid., no. 22ff; pp. 34-35ff.
- 35 Ibid., no. 40; p. 46.
- 36 Ibid., no. 45; p. 49.
- 37 Ibid., nos. 46-47; p. 50.
- 38 Ibid., no. 59, 63, 70-71; pp. 63, 65, 70-71.
- 39 Pedro de Leturia, S.I., "El voto de San Ignacio en Montmartre," *Estudios Ignacianos*, II, p. 408.
- 40 A thorough treatment of the various apparently conflicting testimonies of the companions can be found in Pedro de Leturia, S.I., op. cit., I., "Jerusalen y Roma en los designios de San Ignacio de Loyola," pp. 181-200. See also Georg Schurhammer, S.J., *Francis Xavier, His Life, His Times*, Vol. I, pp. 210-212.
- 41 Leturia, op. cit., pp. 188-193.
- 42 Ibid., p. 192.
- 43 *Cons*, [605]. The full text reads, in Ganss' translation: "The intention of the fourth vow pertaining to the pope was not to designate a particular place but to have the members distributed throughout the various parts of the world. For those who first united to form the Society were from different provinces and realms and did not know into which regions they were to go, whether among the faithful or the unbelievers; and therefore, to avoid erring in the path of the Lord, they made that promise or vow in order that His Holiness might distribute them for greater glory to God. They did this in conformity with their intention to travel throughout the world and, when they could not find the desired spiritual fruit in one region, to pass on to another and another, ever intent on seeking the greater glory of God our Lord and the greater aid of souls."
- 44 See Schurhammer, op. cit., I, pp. 210-212.
- 45 *Cons*, [605].

- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Schurhammer, op. cit., pp. 439-440.
- 48 Leturia, op. cit., p. 198, states that from the moment of La Storta Ignatius' all-absorbing ideal shifted from Jerusalem to Rome and the offering of the group to the pope. It should be noted, however, that Leturia himself (op. cit., "Importancia del año 1538 en el cumplimiento del 'voto de Montmartre,'" pp. 201-221) places the period for the fulfillment of the vow from May, 1537, to more or less May, 1538, and Schurhammer (op. cit., pp. 435-440) maintains that even a year after La Storta the companions were still yearning to go to the Holy Land. It was only after the decision of November 18, 1538, exonerating the companions from charges brought against them in Rome that Ignatius went to the pope and offered the group to his service. Paul III had known nothing about this part of the vow at Montmartre, but at a disputation in his presence shortly after the November 18 decision he had said to them: "Why do you have such a great desire to go to Jerusalem? Italy is a true and excellent Jerusalem if you wish to reap a harvest in God's Church!" That was the final stimulus they needed to turn from Jerusalem to Rome.
- 49 See Schurhammer, op. cit., I, p. 440.
- 50 The Latin text is found in *ConsMHSJ*, I, pp. 1-7. A variety of English translations is available: Dominic Maruca, S.J., "The Deliberation of Our First Fathers," *Woodstock Letters*, XCV (1966); John C. Futrell, S.J., *Making an Apostolic Community of Love*, pp. 188-194; Jules J. Toner, S.J., "The Deliberation That Started the Jesuits," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* VI, 4 (June, 1974), 179-212.
- 51 Ibid., p. 3 (3); Futrell, pp. 189-190.
- 52 Ibid., p. 7 (8); Futrell, p. 193.
- 53 *ConsMHSJ*, I, "Declaraciones circa misiones," c. 1, ad 1, p. 162.
- 54 *SpEx.*, [23].
- 55 Letter of Cardinal Contarini to Ignatius, September 3, 1539, *ConsMHSJ*, I, pp. 21-22.
- 56 *ConsMHSJ*, I, pp. 24-32. For an English translation, see John C. Olin, *The Catholic Reformation: Savanarola to Ignatius Loyola* (New York, 1969) pp. 203-208.
- 57 *ConsMHSJ*, I, pp. 373-383. For an English translation, see *ConsSJComm*, pp. 63-73.
- 58 *ConsMHSJ*, I, pp. 14-21. An English translation of the actual five chapters (pp. 16-20) is found in Appendix III of the *Autobiography* as translated by O'Callaghan, op. cit., pp. 106-109.
- 59 *MonNad*, IV, 173.
- 60 *ConsMHSJ*, I, p. 304; *Cons*, [528].
- 61 The Constitutions flow out of and are modeled on the experience of Ignatius and his companions. Part VII describes the breakup, the dispersal,

the sending out of companions into the vineyard of the Lord. The Examen and the first six parts parallel the life of the new Society with the companions' earlier experiences before the dispersal: the Examen with the desire to serve the Lord, Part I with experiences in joining the group, Part II with the experience of losing some of those who joined Ignatius in the beginning, Part III with their spiritual training, Part IV with their studies, Part V with final incorporation into the group, Part VI with their manner of life. And after Part VII come the later experiences: Part VIII and the problem of union of hearts discussed in the *Deliberatio primorum patrum*; Part IX and the role of the superior general to whom all owe obedience: and Part X and how to preserve the Society in well-being and make it grow, the task Ignatius had for the rest of his life. It is Part VII that fulfills the vow; it is Part VII to which everything leads and from which everything flows, and the heart of everything is the service of the Church under the authority of the Vicar of Christ wherever he might choose to send the members of the Society.

- 62 *ConsMHSJ*, II, "Prolegomena," c. 3, a. 5, p. lx.
- 63 *ConsMHSJ*, II, *ibid.*, c. 3, a. 8, #6, p. lxxii. See *ibid.*, I, "Prolegomena," c. 1, a. 9, #2, p. lxxxiii.
- 64 *ConsMHSJ*, I, pp. 159-162.
- 65 *ConsMHSJ*, I, pp. 162-164.
- 66 *ConsMHSJ*, I, "Sex Dubiorum Series," pp. 268-355. For author and contents, *ibid.*, "Prolegomena," c. 2, a. 15, pp. clxviii-cxcix. For their relation to the Constitutions, *ibid.*, II, "Prolegomena," c. 8, a. 2, #2, pp. clxxi-clxxiv.
- 67 *PolCompl*, II, "Industriae," Ser. I, pp. 725-775, Ser. II, pp. 776-807. "Industriae" are means that one employs to gain an end, here the end of the Society. In view of the collaboration of the two men, the *Industriae* often reflect the mind and the writings of Ignatius as known by Polanco, so that even when the *Industriae* have an obvious influence on the Constitutions it is not always clear that Polanco is influencing Ignatius without having previously been influenced by him. See *ibid.*, viii-ix, and *ConsMHSJ*, II "Prolegomena," c. 8, a. 2, #3-5, pp. clxxiv-cxc. See also François Roustang's introduction to *Constitutions de la Compagnie de Jésus*, II, p. 28, where he argues that the genetic structure of the *Industriae* and of the Constitutions is the sort of thing one would expect from a mind like that of Ignatius.
- The first series of the *Industriae* is divided into twelve parts which more than likely become the basis for the division of the Constitutions into the ten parts mentioned above. See *ConsMHSJ*, II, "Prolegomena," c. 8, a. 2, 5d, pp. clxxxviii-cxc.
- 68 Text *a* was a compilation of already existing documents which Ignatius and Polanco pulled together in order to prepare a copy of the Constitutions to present to the fathers gathered in Rome for the jubilee year. A few months after finishing text *a* they managed to turn out text A. It was this text A which was presented to the fathers. After receiving their comments they reworked the text and turned out text B, which was

called the Autograph by the 1st General Congregation. Like the two preceding texts it is written in Spanish. By 1558, with a few corrections, it was published in Latin and is known in that language as text C. The 5th General Congregation asked for a new Spanish text which would be both faithful to the Autograph (which was beginning to wear out) and would be checked against the Latin of text C. The result was text D in 1594. A new Latin version approved by the 4th General Congregation took the place of text C as the authentic text of the Constitutions, but text D still stands as a text to be preserved with reverence and to be used for explaining the Latin version. It should be noted that much of what is in the Constitutions in text *a* is put into the Declarations in the other texts. Since Constitutions and Declarations are of equal authority, there is no need to point out constantly that what is in the Constitutions in text *a* is a Declaration in one of the other texts. The Constitutions were meant to be brief, to contain the essentials. The Declarations are explanations, primarily intended for superiors, as Fr. de Aldama points out (*Repartiéndose en la viña de Cristo*, pp. 73, 75), making the text clearer, balancing the thrust of one idea with that of another which should not be lost, etc.

- 69 In text *a* the *Constituciones* has become chapter 1. Chapter 2 consists of the *Declaraciones* plus the principles the superior is to follow in the choice of missions or ministries, which are for the most part drawn from Polanco's seventh *Industria*. This fact does not necessarily imply, however, that the *Industria* is the original source. This chapter 2 might now be looked upon as pretty much equal in importance to chapter 1. To these two basic chapters two others were now added. Chapter 3 was drawn from the seventh *Industria* and set down some guidelines for a sort of self-mission when the official mission did not keep a man busy enough. This seems to be more a concern of Polanco than of Ignatius, for it appears in the *Industriae* (*PolCompl*, II, "Industriae," ser. 1, 7a, 3 #4), but not in the *Declaraciones circa misiones*. The chapter does, however, shed some light on the problem of whether the principles of choosing missions and the principles of choosing ministries are the same. The present text says that the man is to consider reasons for and against the expansion of his work, praying about them and keeping his will indifferent, and then to go wherever he judges it is more expedient for the glory of God. Text *a*, however, had an additional clause that might be helpful to us: "using the method of discernment outlined for the superior to use in sending someone to one place rather than another" (*ConsMHSJ*, II, P. VII, c. 3, #1, p. 222). Strictly speaking, the problem under consideration is still one of going to another place or other places in order to keep busy in the Lord. Oddly enough, it had already been treated in the chapter on papal missions where Polanco's concern brought about the addition of two paragraphs in text *a*, (*ibid.*, c. 1, #6-7, p. 213), which are joined into one paragraph in the present text (*Cons*, [616]). The first is concerned with going to other places (the problem of mission), the second concerned with taking on other works (the problem of ministries). The latter ends with words which are no longer in our text: "but this will be treated in the third part more extensively." In a

footnote the editors of the Monumenta point out the difficulties in the clause (*ConsMHSJ*, II, p. 213, fn. 12). It cannot mean Part III, which does not treat of these matters and obviously does not come after Part VII. Polanco must have had chapter 3 of Part VII in mind, but treats the matter only very briefly as the norms had already been considered in great detail in chapter 2. Perhaps the original intent was to put them in chapter 3. The confusion, however, does suggest that only one set of norms exists, whether for choosing missions or choosing ministries, and that they are now to be found in chapter 2 of Part VII. Chapter 4 indicated what a man residing in one of our houses or colleges could do to help his neighbor. In putting the text together Polanco first began to follow the threefold division of the seventh *Industria*, namely, the three kinds of missions in the Society, but marginal notes and other corrections in the manuscript show that he changed the division of the work into two parts: (1) first three chapters: missions to places where the Society has no residence; and (2) a fourth chapter concerned with places where the Society has residences (*ConsMHSJ*, II, pp. 209-210; for interpretation of critical apparatus, see de Aldama, *op. cit.*, p. 6, fn. 12). The material of chapter 4 is not found in the seventh *Industria*. Much of it can be gathered from other writings of Ignatius and perhaps from Polanco's verbose explanations in both the sixth *Industria* and the fifth *Industria* of Series Two.

- 70 *ConsMHSJ*, II, "Prolegomena," c. 3, a. 9, pp. lxiii-lxxiv.
- 71 *Cons*, [605]; the same passage is found in text *a*, *ConsMHSJ*, II, p. 211.
- 72 *ConsMHSJ*, I, "Constitutiones circa missiones," cap. 5, p. 161, retained in the contemporary text of the *Constitutions*, [615].
- 73 *Constitutions de la Compagnie de J sus*, II, introduction by Fran ois Roustang, S.J., pp. 88-94.
- 74 *ConsMHSJ*, II, pp. 209-210.
- 75 *Ibid.*, p. lxxiv.
- 76 *Ibid.*, I, "Constitutiones circa missiones," cap. 4, p. 161.
- 77 *ConsMHSJ*, I, p. 13 (15).
- 78 *Ibid.*, p. 19 (5).
- 79 *Ibid.*, p. 29 (6).
- 80 *Ibid.*, pp. 33-48 *passim*.
- 81 *Ibid.*, *Sacrosancte Romane Ecclesie*, pp. 69-77.
- 82 *Ibid.*, pp. 48-65.
- 83 *Ibid.*, "Para fundar colegios," probably 1544, pp. 49-65; "Constitutiones Scholasticorum," 1546, pp. 174-178.
- 84 Allan P. Farrell, *The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education*, p. 21. His reference is to Polanco's *Chronicon*, I, p. 147.
- 85 *Ibid.*, p. 16. His reference is to *Scripta de Sancto Ignatio*, p. 118.



- 86 George E. Ganss, *Saint Ignatius' Idea of a Jesuit University*, pp. 21-22.
- 87 See Farrell, op. cit., p. 27.
- 88 Farrell, op. cit., pp. 26-27; Ganss, op. cit., p. 22.
- 89 Ganss, op. cit., p. 23.
- 90 *ConsMHSJ*, I, pp. 186-219.
- 91 Ibid., p. 187 #4.
- 92 Ibid., p. 192 #25.
- 93 Ibid., pp. 356-371.
- 94 Ibid., p. 365 (15).
- 95 Farrell, op. cit., pp. 40-42.
- 96 Ibid., p. 65.
- 97 *Cons*, pp. 69-70 (5).
- 98 At first the pope was the only one with the power to "mission." The faculty of sending Jesuits to work amongst the faithful was granted to the general *viva voce* by Paul III probably in 1543. The power to send to work with infidels was granted by Paul III in the bull *Licet debitum*, dated October 18, 1549. See *ConsMHSJ*, II, p. 215, fn. 2. The general, on the other hand, can exercise his authority of sending through provincials and local superiors: *ConsMHSJ*, II, text *a*, c. 2, p. 215, retained in *Cons*, [620]. See the remarks of de Aldama, op. cit., p. 82, that through this sort of delegation the fourth vow is far from otiose.
- 99 *Cons*, [626].
- 100 *MonNad*, V, p. 470. Aldama calls our attention to the fact that in text *a* Polanco had written: "nuestro instituto primero que era discuir..." and that Ignatius changed "que era" to one of his gerundives: "siendo." In the official Latin version Polanco translated this as "cum sit," which is open to two meanings: (a) temporal: "which is," the equivalent of "que es," present, as opposed to "que era," past, or (b) causal: "since it is." In either case it is clear that for Ignatius the original intention to be on the move had not been changed by the mere fact of residences. There might be stable residences, but there are no stable Jesuits. See de Aldama, op. cit., pp. 124-125.
- 101 Miguel Nicolau, S.I., *Pláticas espirituales del P. Jerónimo Nadal, S.I., en Coimbra (1561)*, p. 89. Nadal had dreamed of a time when the Society might have residences all over the world. When that time arrives there will be nowhere else to go. Any Jesuit world traveler has some sense that to some extent that time has more or less arrived today. Of course, there is a big difference between a stable residence of the Society and a stable residency in that residence. GC 32 points out that for us community is not limited to the local group; we belong to a province, and, indeed, to the whole Society (*DocsGC31&32*, GC 32, no. 117). "This demands of all of us a high degree of availability and a real apostolic mobility in the service of the universal Church" (GC 32, no. 118). The

letter of Father General on availability leaves no doubt what it means for a Jesuit to be a man "available for mission," (Letter on Apostolic Availability, October 19, 1977). Ignatius thought of mission as the act of sending someone to a place where there was no residence of the Society. It is not strange, however, that in a Society where there are residences everywhere the ideal of mission and the commitment to mission should live on. There can be a development in terminology as well as in purpose. If later ages wish to speak of a "mission" to a residence, there is really no problem.

- 102 *ConsMHSJ*, I, p. 163. The phrase was used in texts *a* and A, changed by Ignatius' hand in text B to a much more obscure reading which has since been retained: "más sus propias 'obligaciones' espirituales 'cerca sus obejas, o otros cómodos no tanto inmediatos', que las communes o vniuersales" (ibid., II, p. 570). The sense seems to be much the same. *Cons*, [588] rules out the curacy of souls and the regular charge of women.
- 103 *Cons*, [618].
- 104 See Calveras, José, S.I., *Directorio y Documentos de San Ignacio de Loyola*, Barcelona, 1944, p. 30.
- 105 In the *Industriae*--most of what follows in Part VII, chapter 2, is drawn from Polanco's seventh *Industria*--Polanco sometimes uses the word "general," sometimes the word "universal." The texts Ignatius and Polanco produced together always employ "universal." It is a word of larger scope. The "general" good might cover a diocese, but the "universal" good seeps into all aspects of life and tends to spread beyond a limited area. According to de Aldama, Polanco prefers the term *bien universal* and Ignatius *provecho espiritual de las animas*, but they mean the same thing (Aldama, op. cit., p. 87). The universal good always is concerned with the growth of people in the life of Christ. De Aldama makes the incredible remark that *bien universal* refers to no more than the spiritual progress of souls, and that to extend it to the *bien integral* of man would be to falsify the thought of Ignatius and the intent of the Constitutions! It is hard to imagine a dualism as rigid as this in one who not only preached and heard confessions and taught catechism, but helped the poor and tried to find a roof for the sick and the dying and organized a home for prostitutes and visited those in prison while working on the Constitutions.
- 106 *Cons*, [622, a].
- 107 José Manuel Aicardo, *Comentario a las Constituciones de la Compañía de Jesús*, III, p. 755.
- 108 1546, *Epp.I*, pp. 354-356, *Obras*, p. 667.
- 109 *Scholia*, p. 178.
- 110 Ecclesiastical dignities not only involve benefices but require more personal stability, in the monastic sense of the term, than Ignatius is willing to grant. A bishop has a more permanent bond to his diocese than a teacher has to a school. The governance of nuns meant the guidance and direction and responsibility for a whole monastery, and was a

far cry from the spiritual direction of sisters in our contemporary world. A monastery to be well governed and directed would require a long-term commitment on the part of the man sent. Also, not only did parishes involve benefices (which made them undesirable), but serious care of souls could not be done by pastors who were changed very frequently. Moreover, all these concerns represent local problems, and the Society was to be concerned with that which is more universal.

- 111 Aicardo, op.cit., III, p. 758.
- 112 Ibid.
- 113 Ibid., p. 782.
- 114 *PolCompl*, II, "Industriae," ser. I, 7a, 2. #9, p. 755.
- 115 The final text even leaves out entirely one suggestion from the *Industria*, to put men where there might be hope of establishing a foundation, i.e., where someone would put up the money for a house or college (op. cit., # 10, p. 755). Perhaps Ignatius does not want to live on hope alone, or already has too many places, or is interested primarily in the needs of the people and only secondarily in the solid financial endowment which he always insists upon.
- 116 Aicardo, op. cit., III, p. 791.
- 117 Ibid., p. 792.
- 118 Ibid., p. 808.
- 119 Ibid.
- 120 Ibid.
- 121 Aicardo states that there are five norms given in the text for recognizing where to send workers in the vineyard of the Lord: (1) greater need, (2) greater fruit, (3) greater debt, (4) greater impact, (5) where cockle has been sown (III,698). He says that the first three can be reduced to the fourth (III, 791), which suggests that the Society would have greater impact if men were sent where there is greater need or where greater fruit will be produced or where there is a greater indebtedness to the people. The text as presented by Ganss gives the appearance of six norms: (a) greater need, (b) greater fruit, (c) greater debt, (d) greater impact, (e) greater potential, (f) where cockle has been sown (*Cons*, [622 a-f]). To my own way of reading the text, "greater impact" and "greater potential" seem to be only further expansions on "greater fruit," for they are concerned with persons and places where greater good might be expected. "Greater debt," on the other hand, supposes equal fruit. It is not clear that "greater need" can be reduced to "greater fruit" or "greater impact." In fact, "greater need" seems to be a first step in eliminating from the superior's attention lesser needs. The supposition then seems to be: Granted the same fruit or impact, meet the need that is greater; granted equal need, choose that place which will produce more fruit or have greater impact. "Where cockle has been sown" might involve greater need because harm has already been done, or it might involve greater impact because of the influence it will have on

other places. Once again, the greater service of God and the more universal good of souls are two different ways of saying the same thing; spelling them out a little: The greater service of God is found in meeting greater need or producing greater fruit or serving those to whom we are more indebted; the more universal good of souls is found wherever there might be greater impact or influence on more people; and a place where the two clearly meet is that disadvantaged place where cockle has been sown if it is a place of significance and influence.

- 122 Aicardo, op. cit., III, p. 820.
- 123 *Cons*, [650].
- 124 Aicardo, op. cit., III, p. 829.
- 125 *Ibid.*, p. 832.
- 126 *Ibid.*, p. 833.
- 127 *Ibid.*, p. 834.
- 128 *Autobiog*, no. 8; p.41.
- 129 *DocsGC31&32*, marginal no. 1 of GC 31.
- 130 *Ibid.*, no. 11 of GC 32.
- 131 *Ibid.*, no. 47.
- 132 *Ibid.*, no. 68.
- 133 *Ibid.*, no. 69.
- 134 *Ibid.*, no. 70.
- 135 *Ibid.*, no. 74.
- 136 *Ibid.*, no. 75.
- 137 *Ibid.*
- 138 *Ibid.*, no. 76.
- 139 *Ibid.*, no. 78.
- 140 *The Documents of Vatican II*, ed. Abbott; pp. 340-366.
- 141 *Ibid.*, pp. 660-668.
- 142 *DocsGC31&32*, no. 49 of GC 32.
- 143 *Ibid.*, no. 77.
- 144 *Ibid.*, no. 63.
- 145 *Ibid.*, no. 49.
- 146 *Ibid.*, no. 58.
- 147 *Ibid.*, no. 72.
- 148 *Ibid.*, no. 77.
- 149 *Ibid.*, no. 88.

- 150 Ibid., no. 89.
- 151 *DocsGC31&32*, no. 11 of GC 31.
- 152 *DocsGC31&32*, nos. 91 and 93 of GC 32.
- 153 Ibid., nos. 89-90.
- 154 Ibid., no. 98.
- 155 Ibid.
- 156 Ibid., no. 96.
- 157 Ibid., no. 108.
- 158 Ibid., no. 99.
- 159 Ibid., no. 86.
- 160 Ibid., no. 92.
- 161 Ibid., no. 109.
- 162 Ibid., no. 130.
- 163 Ibid.
- 164 Ibid., no. 118.
- 165 André Ravier, S.J., *Ignace de Loyola fonde la Compagnie de Jésus* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1974), p. 415.
- 166 *Cons*, [322, 743]. Ignatius did reevaluate the colleges in 1553 and established norms for founding them or keeping them open (see Farrell, *op. cit.*, p. 101).
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