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A Basic Ignatian Concept

Some Reflections on Obedience

KARL RAHNER, S.J.

The German original of this article: "Eine ignatianische Grundhaltung", appeared in *Stimmen der Zeit*, 158 (1955-6), 253-267. The present translation was made collectively under the direction of Joseph P. Vetz, S.J., and the supervision of Gustave Weigel, S.J.

In contributing to a periodical which is commemorating the fourth centenary of the death of St. Ignatius, the founder of the Jesuit Order, what theme should a writer choose? If he prefers not to speak directly of the Saint himself and still wants a fitting topic, he could choose nothing better than the concept of obedience. Jesuit obedience—some like to call it *cadaver* obedience—is a well-known and even notorious tag. It is also something which is poorly understood. Ignatius stressed the importance of this virtue for members of his Society, since it is a matter of great moment for an order engaged in the active care of souls. But in reality Jesuit obedience does not differ from the obedience found in the other religious orders of the Catholic Church.

In choosing obedience for his topic this writer does not flatter himself that he is rediscovering a long neglected subject. In the last ten years, in Middle Europe alone, at least fifty books and articles have been devoted to this theme. In attempting to say something on the subject of obedience the writer is troubled by a suspicion that possibly he merely wants to be numbered among those who have had something to say on the point. Besides, in a short article like this, one can scarcely hope to say anything that is at all comprehensive or conclusive. Hence these few lines do not pretend to be more than marginal notes, and the writer is resigned to face the possible accusation that he was incapable of conceiving a livelier topic for discussion.

Various Misconceptions

Considered in its essence, obedience in religious life has nothing to do with the obedience which children owe to their parents and to others who are in authority, supposedly equipped to care for their upbringing. The reason is that this latter type of obedience has as its very aim its own eventual transcendence. By means of this training in obedience, the obedience of childhood later becomes superfluous, since the adult, having achieved liberation from the domination of blind instinctive drives, is able to command himself. On the other hand, in the case of obedience in religious life, we assume that the subject is already an adult. But we do not assume that the person who commands is necessarily more intelligent, more gifted with foresight or morally more mature than the person who obeys. If such an assumption were in order, the relationship of superior to subject would be an educational relationship. The one obeying would be a child or a man of infantile character, who is not yet responsible for his own behavior. Human nature being what it is, there are such persons even in religion. Still their percentage should not be greater than that found in other walks of life. And I suppose that, generally speaking, it is not. After all, childish persons can find too many havens to which to flee from their unfitness for life without having to seek out religion as their only refuge. One conclusion that can be drawn from these rather obvious considerations is this: Superiors should not act as if by nature or by reason of their office they are more intelligent, more clever persons, more morally steadfast, more provident and wise in the ways of the world. This may be true in individual cases, for the world is not so constructed that only the more stupid become superiors. But it should be soberly stated (for subjects, lest they demand too much of superiors, something which would be unjust and show a lack of charity; for superiors, lest they delude themselves): the higher the office, the smaller the possibility, humanly speaking, of fulfilling it as well as in the case of a man faced with a lesser post. For we may reasonably presume that the degrees of variation in mental and moral gifts among men are less than the degrees of difficulty found in the manage-

ment of various social enterprises. From this it follows that, as a rule, more important duties will unavoidably be more poorly performed than lesser ones. No judgment is passed here on any particular case. As a matter of fact, sometimes people do grow in stature in performing more difficult tasks. But for the most part, the opposite takes place. Along with the assumption of a more important responsibility comes the painful realization, felt both by the superior and those about him, that the man is far from being equipped for his task. The defective fulfillment of higher obligations cruelly lays bare the shortcomings of a man's capacities which previously escaped our attention.

Let us repeat once more: obedience in religious life is not the obedience of children. Therefore, the religious superior should not play the role of an Olympian papa. In the life of the cloister (even in orders of women) there are still to be found age-old rituals governing the etiquette of superiors, involving demands of respect from subjects, secretiveness, manifestations of superiority, appeals of superiors to a higher wisdom, displays of condescension, etc. All this should gradually be permitted to wither away. Superiors should cast a long and quiet glance at the world around them: those who are truly powerful and influential, who receive a great deal of unquestioning obedience, place no value on ceremonial of this sort. They find no need of concealing their weakness, anxiety, and insecurity behind a pompous front. Superiors should quietly admit that in certain circumstances their subjects know more than they do about the matter at hand. Given the specialization of modern life with its need for countless types of ability to cover its many areas, present-day superiors can no longer act as if they can understand any and every matter that falls under their authority. In the good old days a superior could do everything that he commanded his subject to do. He had previously done the very thing himself. He had distinguished himself (otherwise he normally would not have been made superior) and so had given proof that he understood at least as much as his subject. At least this was the rule in the past, though naturally there were exceptions to it even then. Today it is quite inevitable that what formerly was the exception should become the rule.

Every religious superior has many subjects who necessarily possess a knowledge of science, of pastoral functioning, of current affairs, which the superior (who can be a specialist himself only in a single limited field) cannot possess. He finds himself or ought to find himself, in the same position with regard to the knowledge of others as Eisenhower does with respect to the mysteries about which his atomic experts advise him. The superior, therefore, is dependent upon the information of counselors to an extent not required in the past. The advisors, usually provided for superiors by the constitutions of an order, today in many ways possess an utterly new and more urgent function than in former times when they were in practice only a democratic check on an excessively authoritarian and uncontrolled government of one individual. It would be well, therefore, if superiors would always seek the information they need in a spirit of objectivity and concreteness, for they must give commands for objective and concrete situations, no matter what be the value of obedience to an objectively erroneous command. This is not always done. A secret-cabinet policy may often be a well-intentioned means of acquiring such objective counsel, but it is not always effective. In religious life, on final analysis, there can be no real democratization of obedience, as will later be shown. But there can be objective and clearly determined methods of procedure for achieving the counsel and information needed for decision. Unfortunately this is not always the case. Once again I insist, mostly for the benefit of the secular opponent and hostile critic of religious obedience: the people in religious life realize that religious obedience is not the obedience of children. It does not presuppose children, but mature adults. And only in the measure that it can legitimately presuppose this can it be at all true to its own proper nature.

Again, religious obedience is no mere "regulation of traffic". Certainly where men live together in a community there must be order. That there be order, the power to command must be present. Not everyone can do as he pleases, and moreover, not everyone can discover for himself just what is required by the total whole. Command, however, implies obedience. When obedience is conceived merely as a rational or rationally pre-

scribed function of order for the life of a community and for the coordination of its organs and activities toward a common goal, then perhaps the pattern has been discovered which can intelligently explain civic and national obedience. But in this concept the peculiar nature of religious obedience has not been grasped, even though it cannot be denied that in religious life this aspect of obedience is also present, and necessarily so. Religious obedience is no rational and inevitable regulation of traffic, by which every sensible person submits himself to the traffic policeman, and in which a coordinating agency takes care that everything moves without friction toward the common good. At times attempts have been made to explain religious obedience in this merely rational fashion. But this explanation is too easy and cannot reach the real roots and depths of religious obedience. And yet the obedience entailed in the rational regulation of traffic and of the sensible coordination of work in a common effort is part of religious obedience, though it is not the most characteristic nor the most profound element of the evangelical counsel. For the daily functioning of obedience in religious life it ought to be noted that this element of obedience is present; yes, that it is almost identical with the superficial tasks of quotidian obedience. For day-to-day life, therefore, a certain de-mystification of obedience should quietly take place, perhaps to a greater extent than is now permitted in some parts. In the many small details of daily life, obedience is in reality nothing else than a rational method by which rational beings live together. Therefore, the superior should not try to give the impression that he stands under the immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost, but should be courageous enough to seek approval for his commands by giving reasons for them. It is incomprehensible how such an approach to mature and much-loved brothers or sisters in the Lord should be a threat to the authority of the superior, who, according to the command of Christ, should see in the authority of his office only the greater obligation to serve. This does not mean that there should be long debates and discussions over every small decree of a superior. That was the folly of the Parliaments in the past. This would be irrational and childish (although unfortunately it does occur). The

problem can be met and overcome by an appeal to higher ascetical motives. Without irritating himself or others, the subject should calmly and maturely consider the many unavoidable regulations of daily life in a religious community for what they really are: inevitable burdens of earthly life which weigh upon people in the world just as much as they do on people in religious life. Much irritation among religious persons caused by details of common life flows solely from immaturity which does not comprehend that a person does not prove his independence and personal integrity by rebelling against communal rules and regulations. And yet it still remains true: religious obedience, according to its own proper nature, is more than a merely rational regulation of traffic.

There is a third consideration which will preserve religious obedience from misconception and excess. It is not true, even in religious communities, that all initiative should take its rise from superiors. Nor should we be too quick to consider this statement a mere platitude. To comprehend it really, we must make use of metaphysics, a metaphysics which consists in pondering with wonder on the commonplace and the obvious and then drawing some conclusions. Human authority (even when exercised in God's name) must not be conceived as adequately and exclusively competent to monopolize all initiative, all effort and all personal decision. Nor does it imply that subjects are called to initiative and decision only when authority gives the signal.

One frequently gets the impression, both in religious orders and in the Church in general, that initiative, action, militancy, and the like, are indeed considered necessary and desirable in subjects, but only on condition that the go-signal be given "from above", and only in the direction which has already been unequivocally and authoritatively determined by superiors. Unconsciously and spontaneously a tendency is vigorously at work to make the subject feel that he is so built into his order or the Church that only the total structure through its hierarchy is capable of initiative; that opinion or enterprise find their legitimacy only in the express, or at least tacit, approval from authority.

Unless we wish to absolutize the community, the principle of subsidiarity has application not only between smaller and

larger societies, but also between individuals and their communities as well. Yet there can be no subordination of the individual to a community and to the authority representing it, if it tries to make the individual an exclusively dependent function of the community and its authority. We need only put the question in all simplicity: may one propose a wish to a superior, or, with due modesty, propose an alternative policy? Everyone will answer: "Obviously, yes." Hence it is unnecessary first to ask the superior whether he wants the request to be presented or the alternative proposed. Yet this request, this alternative suggestion is also initiative, in which one must take the responsibility of deciding whether it is to be presented or not. For even when with all obedience and modesty the decision is left to the superior, the suggestion alters the situation of the superior in making his decision. It broadens or narrows the field of choice. Indeed even when the subject shows the greatest discretion, the superior is "influenced", whether he likes it or not, whether or not he would have followed the suggestion on his own. In the whole world there is no autarchic human authority which is pure activity and in no way passivity. To command absolutely is proper only to the Creator who is not faced with opposing structures and unavoidable initiatives, because He Himself in the strict sense makes everything out of nothing. All other authority, even in the Church and in religious orders, is not the only determining initiative but is one force in an immense network of forces, active and passive, receiving and giving. Authority has and should have the function of directing, coordinating, overseeing, and planning the whole interplay of human initiatives. It is not, to speak strictly, even in the ideal order, so representative of God that it alone is the autarchic planner and designer of all human activity. This would be the hybris of a totalitarian system which cannot exist, and, more significantly, should not exist.

Hence, authority, even in religious orders, in practice needs, calls for, and puts to use the initiative of subjects. Even in the abstract, there can be no *absolute* ruler and director of it. Independently of authority there exist initial sparkings of forces which cannot be controlled by authority. Because this is so and cannot be otherwise, it also *should* be so. That

is to say, in no community or society, not even the Church or religious orders, *may* authority act as if all good initiatives originated from it, so that every execution of plan, command, and wish originated in authority alone. Even the most laudable initiatives of the Holy See often are only the reaction to an action which originated elsewhere, and this is important. The same is true in the case of authorities of religious orders. Subjects are not mere receivers of commands, because that is simply impossible. The aim of obedience is not to make merely passive subjects. This is not even an "asymptotic" ideal, but a chimera and the usurpation of the creative power reserved to God alone, which He can delegate to no one. Only God has "all the threads in His hand", and He has empowered no one to act in His fashion.

Consequently the superior cannot be a god in the fulfillment of his office. Not to prevent his subjects from assuming initiative is not enough for a superior. He must positively count on it, invite it; he must not be irked by it. He must, to a certain degree, recognize himself also as only *one* of the wheels in a heavenly mechanism whose ultimate and comprehensive significance is directed by one only, by God and no one else. The superior always remains something moved. In an ultimate sense, he does not know exactly to what end evolution is moving. In spite of all the authority given him, and in spite of all the supervision he is charged with, he acts in trust and ventures into the unknown. He too never knows exactly what he is doing or starting when he commands or refrains from doing so. He must remember that authority is not the only source for heavenly impulse, direction, and stimulation. He must realize that God never took on the obligation first to advise the authorities selected and authorized by Himself about God's own activity in the Church for the salvation of souls and the progress of history. The superior has no exclusive vision of the divine will with the mission to pass it on to his subjects. There is no God-given warrant for such a process of communication. Rather the superior must also be an obedient man, a hearer. The formal correctness and juridical validity of his commands does not guarantee that they are likewise ontologically guaranteed. If the subject must obey in order not to be disobedient before

God, this fact is no proof that the command given was the command which, according to God's antecedent will, should have been given. It can be the product of a permitted fault in the superior. It can proceed from dead traditionalism, from human limitations, from routine, from a shortsighted system of uniformism, from a lack of imagination, and from many other factors.

There is in the world a plurality of forces which can in no way be hierarchically subject to authority—though such forces cannot contradict authority as far as the latter succeeds in bringing them within the field of direction and command. This latter task, as has been said, can and should be only partially achieved. Hence the subject in religious life has no right simply to take refuge behind obedience, as if he could thus be free from a responsibility which he himself must bear, the responsible direction of his own personal initiative. We often hear apologies of obedience which praise this supposed advantage. It does not exist. At least not in the sense that the religious can thereby escape from the burden of personal responsibility. He himself chooses obedience; otherwise he would not be in religious life. He must then answer for the consequences of his choice.

The received command is a synthesis of elements. One is the superior's personal and original activity, the other is the external condition for that activity. This condition is constituted by the subject himself: his mode of being and action, his capacities and incapacities (perhaps culpable), his approach and attitude to the superior. This conditioning is prior to the command and makes the subject co-responsible for the command itself. Certainly the religious can often say to his own consolation that the superior has to answer for this or that decision and not the subject. But the extent of this consolation is not great. Taken as a whole, the religious cannot escape the responsibility for his own life, down to its last details. He simply hears in the command the echo of his own character and activity. There does not exist in this world a control-center of action from whose uninfluenced motion all else in existence originates. A human being cannot relinquish his personality to a representative, not even in religious life. That is in no way the purpose of obedience.

True Obedience

To provide a positive definition of religious obedience is by no means a simple matter. We could immediately and without further examination maintain that religious obedience is an abidingly vibrant obedience to God and the fulfillment of the Divine Will. But if we were to do that, we would have to determine how it is possible to know in what sense it can be said that that which is commanded is the will of God. For the fact remains that there can be commands which the subject must obey, provided that the things commanded be not sinful, but which in the objective order, are wrong, and which, in given circumstances, have been commanded with real culpability on the part of the superior. In cases of this kind it is no simple task to say why and in what sense the fulfillment of such a command could be the will of God. Nor should we over-simplify the matter by praising without qualification the "holocaust" and "renunciation" which obedience entails. For it is obvious that pure subjection to the will of another who is not God has no value as such in the realm of morality. In itself, pure dependence of self on the will of another is amoral, not to say even immoral, unless some further element be added to it.

We might add that if religious obedience is subordination of one's own will and decisions to those of another who holds the place of God and is the interpreter of the Divine Will, we must at least determine how we are to know how this other person received the divine commission to be the expositor of the will of God. This question is a difficult one; even more so than that of poverty and of the evangelical counsel to renounce the blessings of conjugal love. For these two evangelical counsels are recommended directly in the words of Holy Scripture and by Our Lord Himself. As far as these two counsels are concerned, it is always possible to fall back on this recommendation, even when we do not succeed in achieving a crystal-clear understanding of their inner meaning. In this matter it can be said that the religious is walking in the way of the Gospel. And to him who has set out on this path in unquestioning surrender, the meaning of these counsels will be more and more fully revealed. He can always say that he is imitating Christ. And hence he needs no further argu-

ment over and above the fact that the disciple does not wish to be above his master, and that love understands what it recognizes as a fundamental characteristic in the beloved Lord.

Concerning obedience, however, the problem is not as simple as all that. As a matter of fact, we see that in the days of the early Church, in which a continuous procession of ascetics and virgins was already a fact, there was as yet no mention of religious obedience. Nor can any direct affirmation of this concept be found in the pages of the Gospels. The early ascetics lived the life of solitaries, and so there was no stimulus to the evocation of a notion of obedience. And even for a long time afterwards, obedience was not praised as a third vow. The religious accepted a celibate or monastic life in any form, and obliged himself to remain in a definite community which lived such a mode of life. It is clear that we will have to proceed carefully if we are to specify the content and arguments for religious obedience.

Before we proceed in the question of the meaning of obedience precisely as it exists in a religious community, we must be clearly warned against another simplification which superficially gives a quick and easy solution to these questions. We cannot simply refer to the example of Christ. Beyond a doubt He was obedient. Obedience to His Father, according to His explanation, was the form, the driving power and the content of His life. We must by all means imitate Christ. But this is precisely the question: how do we know that in subordination of self to human authority we exercise the deepest obedience to God? Christ did not do it. Certainly the Apostle knows that there are human authorities which in some fashion take the place of God as far as we are concerned, and whose decrees ought to appear to us as the will of God. But Paul is speaking of the authorities which are not freely chosen nor created by us, but exist prior to us and prior to our will, namely parents, masters, and the civil governors. Can we extend and complete this Divine Will imposed on us by subordinating ourselves to new régimes of our own making? If we answer that religious superiors have ecclesiastical authority because they are appointed by the Church, this reply alone does not lead us to any clear-cut doctrine. Subordina-

tion to the authority of religious superiors is not imposed on men by the Church without their own free and deliberate consent as implied by the vows. Hence the question remains: why is it meritorious to submit to the authority of another, when it has not been imposed on us by God Himself? Should we not safeguard the freedom that God has entrusted to us as much as our function of personal responsibility, since, as we have already said, an absolute surrender of innate responsible freedom is in no way possible or reasonable?

Hence the argument from the Gospel in favor of religious obedience is not so simple, nor can it be proved immediately or without further examination. Our problem could be expressed succinctly in the following question: is religious obedience a concrete prolongation of obedience to the will of God, either in general, as it finds expression in the commandments of God, or in particular as it is manifested in God's direction, inspiration and providential disposition of the lives of men?

Religious obedience should by no means be considered primarily as obedience to individual commands, nor is it even the abstract notion of a general readiness to fulfill such commands. Primarily it is the permanent binding of oneself to a definite mode of life—to life with God within the framework of the Church. It involves the exclusive dedication of one's energies to those things which are the concern of the Lord and to what is pleasing to Him. We accept as a form of life the expectation of God's coming Kingdom of grace from on high. Obedience is concerned with the sacrifice and renunciation of the world's most precious goods; the renunciation of the right to erect a little world of our own as a field of freedom through the acquisition of wealth; the renunciation of the right to one's own hearth and the felt security to be found in the intimate love of another person through the conjugal bond. It is concerned with prayer, and with the testimony to God's grace which is to be found in what is commonly known as the care of souls and the apostolate. Beyond this we need no further description nor argument for this life of the evangelical counsels. Obedience is a permanent life-form giving man a God-ward orientation. It does so ecclesiologically because by it the religious manifests

the peculiar essence of the Church. It is the manifestation of God's other-worldly grace beyond the reach of earthly merit, to be accepted by faith alone in spite of all human impotence. In this manifestation the Church achieves her existential visibility and becomes historically tangible through doctrine and sacrament. This is the life to which the religious immediately and primarily pledges himself. His obedience, with reference to the individual commands which a superior may enjoin, is specified by this life-form giving it its definite religious significance. Otherwise there would be no sense to vowed obedience. It would not be a religious matter at all. It would rather be perversity to praise this kind of obedience in any other field of life; for instance, if one were to vow obedience for the better functioning of a center of chemical research in which one is employed as a research collaborator. If we suppose that a permanent vowed obligation to a religious life is of positive value in the moral order (and this is presupposed here), and if we further assume that it is proper and reasonable, though not necessary, to lead such a life in a community, then it follows that obedience to the directors of this community is justified and meaningful in the concrete pursuit of this permanent way of life.

Hence we are not trying to canonize an abstract notion of obedience as the execution of another's will as such. Such abstract obedience is due to God alone permitting no transfer to another. Beyond this case we cannot obey purely for the sake of obeying or of not doing our own will and determination. Something like this, considered abstractly in itself, would have no positive significance in the realm of morality. It would be downright absurd and perverse. The fact that this sort of thing would be "difficult" and "a perfect holocaust", hard and troublesome for him who is obedient at all times and in all things, can scarcely be itself an argument for the meaningfulness of obedience. The implied presupposition of this argument, namely that the more difficult and repugnant thing is always better and more pleasing to God, just because it is a renunciation difficult for man, cannot be the legitimate starting point of discussion.

Our concept of obedience also explains why religious obedience has its place exclusively in a religious society approved

and sanctioned by the Church. The content of obedience must be guaranteed, if such obedience is to possess moral value. It is not enough that commands be morally indifferent. They must be morally good in their total context. The totality must represent for the Church and to the world the content of the evangelical counsels. One can vow only that which is better. Thus one cannot vow directly and as an end in itself to do something which under certain circumstances (even if not sinful) is less prudent, less good, less significant. Whence it immediately follows that the proper and essential object of religious obedience is an abiding way of life according to the evangelical counsels. For in accord with the teaching of the Church this is certainly the better thing, but in what this superiority consists will not be further explained here. Obedience is not at all to be conceived as the "heroic" (or almost foolhardy) concession of a *carte blanche* to a superior, so that the religious simply does not do his own will, either because this is always pleasing and hence its renunciation especially difficult, or because it is fraught with danger and hence to be avoided. Thus it is that obedience is always specified with reference to the constitutions of the given Order, and the superior can only command within the framework determined by the constitutions. In seeking the real essence of obedience, the most important point is missed if only the particular command of the superior is primarily and abstractly considered according to the formula: I declare myself ready to execute the command of another, if this command be not evidently immoral. This is not the case. Obedience is the acceptance of a common mode of religious life in imitation of Christ according to a constitution, which the Church has acknowledged to be a true and practical expression of a divinely oriented existence. By virtue of this acceptance and obligation the vow explicitly or implicitly includes the carrying out of the just commands of the authority necessary in any society, when they are directed to the concrete realization of the life-form of religious commitments "according to the constitutions." Such realizations cannot be determined *a priori* once and for all. Whoever, therefore, is critical of the notion of religious obedience, is really attacking the wisdom of the life of the counsels in the

Church. He is attacking, moreover, the wisdom of a life that is not primarily concerned with the tangible realizations of worldly objectives, but which through faith makes the expectation of hidden grace the ground of existence, and translates this faith into act. Without such an act, faith itself would be meaningless. This act is representative of the Church and bears the Church's witness to the world. If this mode of existence is to have meaning, then it must inspire a willingness to carry out in any given instance the concrete actions, undertakings and renunciations, which in the judgment of competent authority are deemed necessary for the concrete realization of this way of life.

This is why obedience is connected with the teaching and example of Christ who was obedient even to the death of the cross. Whoever enters into a religious community, whoever perpetually and irrevocably makes this way of life his own, chooses for himself an unforeseeable destiny. For the consequences of such an election and dedication to the community and its rationale of action cannot be foreseen in detail. And these consequences can be difficult and painful. But this gamble (considered in its formal structure) is involved in every human obligation, whereby another person with his own proper will becomes an inseparable part of one's own life. We find it in marriage, acceptance of the duties of citizenship, the responsibility of office, and so forth. Hence if the religious community and its basic ideals are justified and meaningful (which in our case we legitimately assume to be true), so too is the obligation toward all its consequences which cannot be seen in advance. A human mode of life which consists in the free subordination to something higher than itself cannot exist without this element of risk. And without such a surrender the individual will remain in his own egotism behind the defenses of his own existential anxiety, which is the surest way to destruction. But the man who gives himself to what is higher and nobler, who takes the gamble, knows that he is only doing what Christ Himself did in His obedience.

Under this aspect, that which in a given instance is irrational and indefensible but actually unavoidable really becomes the will of the Father. In this way the cross of Christ,

a crime of the Jews and the pagans, "had" to be; it was the will of the Father who had planned it, even though it came about only as the result of the shortsightedness and guilt of men. The permanent dedication to the ideal of the counsels in imitation of Christ, who was poor and self-denying, the crucified legate of God, consecrated to prayer and atonement, is lived all but exclusively in a community professing the same ideal. Hence the obedience which it entails must be regarded as the will of God, even if a particular command appears to be senseless (just as death, failure and the other tragic circumstances of human existence appear), provided of course that what is commanded is not immoral in itself. Religious obedience is thus a real participation in the cross of Christ. Nor should one protest that the irrationality of a mistaken command frees the subject from his contract, and cannot be considered as a share in Christ's mission. We must realize that religious obedience is more than a rationally accepted agreement governing "traffic-arrangements" in a common enterprise. This, of course, is included, for life in any community demands obedience, though in our case community life is directed to God. Obedience in any other society, in the event of an unwise command, would be justified only by the rational insight that such unavoidable eventualities must also be reckoned with in the original bargain. Otherwise, obedience, which is always to some degree necessary, would end, for it would be left to the discretion of the subject to obey. But in religion the imitation of Christ is practiced. There the cross of Christ is considered not merely as something inevitable, or as the misfortune of life, by and large to be evaded, but rather as the embodiment of grace and its acceptance through faith, as something which "must" be, "so that the scriptures might be fulfilled", since only "thus" can one enter into one's glory. There the command, judged unwise according to its immediate historical context, will be seen as something which in the framework of religious life is worthwhile, even desirable. This of course does not justify the superior in issuing such a command. Yet such an order can be understood in the same way as the saints in their imitation of Christ understood failure, shame, the shattering of cherished plans, martyrdom, and thousands of other unjustifiable

contingencies. They secretly longed for them as the embodiment of their faith in God's grace now reaching its perfection.

It might here be in place to recognize that morality and spontaneous moral judgment have a greater function than is ordinarily supposed. The command of a superior may be objectively sinful, and if recognized as such by the inferior it should not be put into execution. Everyone will agree that a superior, even with the best intentions, can issue an order which is objectively wrong. If one does not consider as sins only those things which are expressly labeled as such in confessional manuals, then it will be hard to deny that that which is materially false can also very often be objectively immoral. What is more, it is not easy to explain why this is not generally so. Let us offer a fictitious example. A higher superior instructs the principal of a boarding school that he must under all circumstances make the boys go to confession once a week. Let us suppose that the subordinate, in this case the principal of the boarding school, clearly realizes what the superior in his idealistic remoteness cannot comprehend, namely that such a demand will eventually prove very harmful to the spiritual life of his charges. Question: have we here merely an inept pedagogical practice, which must be "carried out" because commanded, or have we in fact an innocent but unjustified demand which, since it is actually a serious threat to the genuine spiritual development of these youths, should not be carried out by the subordinate? The very ineptness of the practice offends against moral principles. Must the subject now declare that he cannot square it with his conscience, and ask to be relieved of his office? Reading the older moralists one gets the impression that they were more concerned with such cases than we are today. Have we today become more moral, or has the principle "an order is an order" gained foothold even in such holy quarters as religious communities? Do we avoid talking about such possibilities out of fear of evils produced by the conscientious objector, and so act as if something of this kind practically never occurs? But is not the consequent evil caused to conscience greater than the utility of a frictionless functioning of external government requiring of subjects a literal obedience to commands? Even the subject has the duty in con-

science of examining the moral admissibility of what has been commanded. The just "presumption" that the command of a superior is not only subjectively but also objectively morally unobjectionable does not constitute a simple dispensation from the essential obligation of every man to attain to moral certitude respecting the moral liceity of a free action before it is undertaken. This action is no less his own and no less one for which he will be responsible, simply because it is commanded.

As a religious grows older he asks himself with a deep and secret anxiety whether he has done anything in his life which can stand judgment in God's sight. Nothing of course can so stand, except what He has given out of pure mercy. What is worthy of God comes from God's grace alone. For this very reason what one does is not indifferent. There is an absolute difference between man's potentialities when God's grace is accepted and when it is rejected. God has told us, and He is greater than the human heart, that there are deeds of selfless devotion, obedience to God's holy will and self-forgetting dedication. Yet we always discover in ourselves, if we are not stupid, naive or conceited, things which always make us afraid that there is nothing in us but open or disguised egotism. Are we sure that God's grace was ever operative in us? Such an event should have been life-transforming. Yet was there ever a moment when we did not seek ourselves, when success was not the fruit of egotism, when our love of God was not anxiety, when patient prudence was not really faintheartedness? The divine achievement of miraculous sanation takes different ways, giving us the right to hope that not everything in our life was open or covert self-seeking. Nor need painful anxiety about it be another manifestation of self-seeking or secret self-justification before God. Whoever is so concerned has made his life essentially simple and easy. We act on our own but the last and most important deed will be effected in us by God Himself operating through the bitterness of life itself. The individual can always do one thing at least. He can give himself over to something greater than himself. He can also see to it that this greater Reality be more than an ideal or a theory, which on final analysis is under his own control, and can be con-

structed according to his fancy, so that it can no longer be distinguished from the mere idols of the heart. The individual can strive to make this nobler Reality actual. This Reality must make demands on us, when we do not desire to be constrained; must act even when we do not wish it; must cause us suffering when we ourselves would rather avoid it. This happens when the greater Reality to which we dedicate ourselves becomes a tangible force of incomprehensible greatness, whose word of command is directed towards us—and we obey. This means to obey silently, and in the true sense, unquestioningly; to serve, and to submit to a demand we have not ourselves invented. When this happens we have too little time and too little interest to defend or develop our personal integrity. The self has lost its importance. We might even be so fortunate as to become a true person, who exists in so far as he forgets and sacrifices self, in so far as he obeys. But we must remember that life's good fortune is God's grace. In order to become obedient, and in transcendence lose ourselves—the only way of ever really finding ourselves—we must perhaps see nothing at all extraordinary in obedience, hardly ever think of it reflexly. We should rather think of the Reality which we serve as a matter of course. That Being is worthy of all love and service, because ultimately it is no mere cause, but *the Person*: God. Perhaps the truly obedient man is simply the lover, for whom the sacrifice of self-surrender is sweet and a blessed delight. Perhaps we should not speak so much of obedience, for it is already threatened when we praise or defend it. Either tactic is only meaningful as an encouragement for the young in order to strengthen their wills to embrace in silence a matter-of-course service of God in the Church through a life of prayer and witness. They must learn that this is meaningful even though the heart shudders and the wisdom of this world panics at the thought of losing self in the loss of freedom. The ultimate obedience, that which demands and silently takes everything, will be exacted by God alone. It is the command to die the death which overshadows every minute of our life, and more and more detaches us from ourselves. This command, to move on and to leave all, to allow ourselves in faith to be absorbed in the great silence of God, no longer to resist the all-

embracing nameless destiny which rules over us—this command comes to all men. The question, whether man obediently accepts it, is decisive for time and eternity. The whole of religious life grounded in obedience is nothing more than a rehearsal, a practical anticipation of this situation, which more and more envelopes human existence. For the religious it is the participation in the death of Christ and the life concealed in Him.

Offprints of this article are available from WOODSTOCK LETTERS.

MODERATION

Superiors and Spiritual Fathers should exercise that moderation which we know was usual with Father Ignatius and which we judge proper to the Society's Institute, namely: if they judge in the Lord that a man is making progress in prayer in the way of the Good Spirit, they shall not set down rules for him or obstruct him in any way. Rather they should encourage and strengthen him to advance in the Lord quietly and firmly. If there is someone, however, who is either making no progress at all or not as much as he should, or who is led by some illusion or error, they should try to bring him back to the true way of prayer in Christ Jesus.

JEROME NADAL

OUR OWN KIND

Since through the bounty of God we have received our own kind of vocation, grace, institute and end, everything should be regulated accordingly. And so it proves nothing, as far as we are concerned, if someone says: "This is the way the Dominicans act, or the Franciscans, and therefore we should do the same." For they have received their own grace, their own Institutes, and so have we our own, through the grace of Jesus Christ.

JEROME NADAL

Woodstock, Howard County, Maryland

JAMES J. RUDDICK, S.J.
JAMES J. HENNESEY, S.J.

Nine miles due west of the Baltimore City line, Old Court Road dips down into the narrow Patapsco River Valley, crosses the stream and the tracks of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad on the opposite bank, and climbs a steep hill to the rolling table land of the surrounding countryside. Near the tracks stand a post office, a tavern and a few other small buildings. More houses are built on the hillside and others line the road as it continues in a general southwesterly direction to the Old Frederick Road. This little settlement, bounded by the Patapsco and the Frederick Road and bisected by Old Court Road, is the village of Woodstock, Howard County, Maryland. In 1957, its inhabitants, including approximately 260 at Woodstock College on the northern or Baltimore County bank of the river, number about 500.

A Clearing in the Woods

No one seems to know who gave Woodstock its name. There is no plat of the town on record with the Commissioner of the State Land Office, and, since the place has never been incorporated, there is no clue in the legislative proceedings of the State.¹ The best source of early information is in the records of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. By November, 1831, the old main line of the B & O had been extended west from Ellicotts Mills to the Forks of the Patapsco,² approximately twenty-four miles from Pratt Street, Baltimore. About a mile short of the Forks, the tracks passed a place called Davis's Tavern, at the site of the present village of

¹ John P. Hively, Junior Archivist, Maryland State Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md. to Rev. James J. Ruddick, S.J., April 4, 1956. (Woodstock College Archives I R 9).

² Edward Hungerford, *The Story of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad 1827-1927* (New York: G. E. Putnam's Sons, 1928) I, 119.

Woodstock.³ The name "Woodstock" first appears in 1836. On May 27 of that year, a United States Post Office was opened at "Woodstock, Anne Arundel County, Maryland."⁴ The available evidence indicates, therefore, that a settlement grew up around the tracks at Woodstock within a year or so of the coming of the railroad in 1830-1831. We also know that several of the contractors who built the railroad began to put up houses and develop small factories in the area during this period.⁵ At first called simply "Davis's Tavern," perhaps after its most prominent structure, the village was dignified by the name "Woodstock" at least by 1836. The first use of the new name in official county records occurs in 1838, when it appears in three land transactions. After that, it becomes quite common in the records of Anne Arundel and later of Howard Counties.⁶

There is another somewhat enigmatic account of the naming of the town which should be mentioned. In the *Baltimore Sun* for December 13, 1908, there is a long article on Woodstock College. The author states that: "The name Woodstock had already been conferred on the straggling little hamlet by a handful of loyal Jacobites who wished to perpetuate their leader's memory."⁷ No authority is given for the assertion, nor is there any indication as to who the Jacobite leader may have been. Since there is no report of any such group in the region, it may be that the author of the article in the *Sun* is confusing Woodstock, Maryland with the estate of Woodstock, Virginia which was granted in 1687 by King James II to his loyal supporter, Captain George Brent of Woodstock, England.⁸

³ *Annual Report of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad* (1832).

⁴ Victor Gondos, Jr., Industrial Records Branch, NARS, Washington, D.C. to Rev. James J. Hennesey, April 13, 1956. (Woodstock College Archives I R 9).

⁵ Charles M. Pepper, *The Life and Times of Henry Gassaway Davis 1823-1916* (New York: The Century Co., 1920, 10 and J. D. Warfield, *The Founders of Anne Arundel and Howard Counties, Maryland* (Baltimore: Kohn & Pollock, 1905), 371.

⁶ Hively, *loc. cit.*

⁷ Margaret Brent Downing, *The Sun* (Baltimore, Md.: Sunday A.M., December 13, 1908).

⁸ Margaret Brent Downing, "The Old Catholic Chapel and Graveyard near Aquia, Stafford County, Va.," *The Catholic Historical Review*, New Series IV (1924-1925), 561-3. Captain Brent's estate is not to be confused with the town of Woodstock, Shenandoah County, Va. The

Although there seems to be no connection between our Woodstock and the English town—except the one just suggested—a note on Woodstock, Oxfordshire may be of interest. The Borough of Woodstock is located on the River Glyme, between Oxford and Chipping Norton. Its history goes back to Anglo-Saxon times, if not earlier. The name is Saxon: Wudestoc means a clearing in the woods. Alfred the Great is supposed to have lived there when he was translating Boethius' *Consolations of Philosophy*. Ethelred the Unready was another royal resident. Woodstock is listed as a demesne forest of the king in the Domesday Book and the park of Woodstock Manor was the scene of the love story of Henry II and "the fair Rosamund." A long succession of English sovereigns held court at Woodstock, which was also the residence of Edward the Black Prince and, at a later date, the prison of the Princess Elizabeth during the reign of Queen Mary Tudor. Among the courtiers who visited the Manor were Geoffrey Chaucer and St. Thomas More. After the battle of Blenheim, the Manor of Woodstock was granted to the first Duke of Marlborough and magnificent Blenheim Palace was built there for him. It was in this palace that Sir Winston Churchill was born.⁹ A further tie between Woodstock, England and Woodstock, Maryland is the fact that Woodstock Park was at one time the home of Lord Baltimore.¹⁰

Indian Times and Trails

But to return to Maryland. The earliest recorded inhabitants of the Woodstock area were the nomadic Susquehannock Indians, who lived between the Bolus—or Patapsco—and the Susquehanna Rivers.¹¹ The Susquehannocks were of Iroquois

fact that the article in the *Sun* and that in the *CHR* were both written by the distinguished historian of the Brent family suggests that there may be more to the story of the "Jacobite leader" than appears on the surface.

⁹ *Official Guide to the Borough of Woodstock* (Oxford: Alden & Co., 1951), 4 ff. For a copy of this guidebook, the authors are grateful to Dr. A. H. T. Robb-Smith, Chaucer's House, Woodstock, Oxon., whose inquiry about Woodstock, Maryland gave the initial impetus to this history.

¹⁰ "Calvert Memorabilia," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 10:273.

¹¹ Data on the Susquehannocks has been taken from J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland from the Earliest Period to the Present Day* (Baltimore: John B. Piet, 1879) I, 6 ff. and 82-97.

stock, but had separated from them after the southward migration of the tribes and were counted among the fiercest enemies of the Five Nations. Their main settlements were along the banks of the Susquehanna, but, as game grew scarce, their hunters moved about in search of it. In spring and summer, they would make visits to the salt water and these visits were usually attended by inroads on the Algonquin fishing tribes, who lived to the south of them. By the time the first white colonists arrived in 1634, the Susquehannocks were already well established in Maryland and were a terror to their neighbors. Father Andrew White mentions them in his report on conditions in America: "The Susquehanoes, a warlike nation ravage the whole territory with frequent invasions and have forced the inhabitants by the dread of danger to look for other homes."¹² Our first description of the tribe comes from Captain John Smith, who met them on his voyage up the Chesapeake Bay in 1608:

Sixty of these Sasquehannocks came to us with skins, bowes, arrows, targets, beads, swords, and tobacco pipes for presents. Such great and well-proportioned men are seldom seene, for they seemed like giants to the English, yea and to the neighbours, yet seemed of an honest and simple disposition, with much adoe restrained from adoring us like Gods. These are the strangest people of all these countries, both in language and attire; for their language, it may well become their proportions, sounding from them as from a voyce in a vault. Their attire is the skins of beares, and wolves. Some have cossacks made of beares heads and skins, that a mans head goes through the skinnes neck, and the eares of the beare fastened to his shoulders, the nose and teeth hanging down his breast, another beares face split behind him, and at the end of the nose hung a pawe; the halfe sleeves coming to the elbowes were the necks of beares, and the arms through the mouth, with pawes hanging at their noses. One had the head of a wolfe hanging in a chaine for a jewell, his tobacco-pipe three quarters of a yard long, prettily carved with a bird, a deere, or some such devise at the great end, sufficient to beat out ones brains: with bowes, arrowes, and clubs suitable to their greatness.¹³

¹² Scharf, *op. cit.*, 94. Father William McSherry's *ms.* of White's *Relatio Itineris in Marylandiam* is in the Maryland Province S.J. Archives, Woodstock College. It has been published in translation by the *Woodstock Letters* and, in 1874, by the Maryland Historical Society.

¹³ Scharf, *op. cit.*, 12. The citation is from the "Second Book" of Smith's *The General Historie of Virginia*.

On his map of Virginia—which includes Maryland—Smith pictures a Susquehannock chief. He says of him:

The calfe of (his) leg was three quarters of a yard about, and all the rest of his limbs so answerable to that proportion that he seemed the goodliest men we ever beheld. His hayre, the one side was long, the other shore close, with a ridge over his crowne like a cocks comb.¹⁴

While we may have to allow for some exaggeration in Captain Smith's account (the chief would be ten feet tall!) his description of these "first inhabitants of Woodstock" is generally confirmed by later writers, who remark upon the height, the sonorous voices, the proud and stately gait of the Susquehannocks. In 1666, George Alsop describes the Indians' battle dress:

The warlike Equipage they put themselves in is with their faces, arms and breasts confusedly painted, their hair greased with Bears oyl, and stuck thick with Swans Feathers, with a wreath or Diadem of black and white Beads upon their heads, a small Hatchet instead of a Cymetre stuck in their girts behind them, and either with Guns, or Bows and Arrows.¹⁵

The Susquehannocks lived in palisaded villages along the River which bears their name. Within the walls of the village, or *Connadago*, "the houses were low and long, built with the bark of trees, arch-wise, standing thick and confusedly together."¹⁶ In the late autumn of each year, the best hunters went off into the forests where they set up temporary camps and remained for about three months until they had killed enough game to provide for the summer months. Among the animals which they hunted were bears, elk, deer, wolves and wild turkey, while streams like the Patapsco provided shad and herring.¹⁷ In the course of these journeyings, the Indian

¹⁴ Scharf, *op. cit.*, 13. A print of Smith's map with the drawing of the Susquehannock chief faces p. 6.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, The citation is from George Alsop, *The Character of the Province of Maryland*, which has been reprinted (Cleveland: The Burrowes Brothers Co., 1902), 79. Alsop's history has also been reprinted as a Fund-Publication of the Maryland Historical Society (Baltimore: 1880).

¹⁶ Scharf, *op. cit.*, 87. The description of the Indians' settlements and methods of hunting is Alsop's (Burrowes Brothers edition, pp. 83-84).

¹⁷ Scharf, *op. cit.*, 7, 87 and *The Ellicott City Times* (Ellicott City, Md.: Monday, March 17, 1941), B-4.

hunters created a network of trails through the forests. Since they marched in single file, the paths were often no more than eighteen inches wide, but "they were the ordinary roads of the country, travelled by hunters, migrating bands, traders, embassies and war parties."¹⁸ One of the most important of the old Indian trails in Maryland crossed the Patapsco at the site of Woodstock. This was a road which probably connected the Potomac on the south with the Susquehanna and the Conestoga Path on the north and west.¹⁹

The Susquehannocks reigned supreme in the northern part of the colony of Maryland until the latter part of the seventeenth century. In 1661, with the help of the Maryland authorities, they carried on a successful war with the Cayugas and the Senecas, but by 1673 smallpox had reduced their effective warriors by more than half, from seven hundred to three hundred, and in the following year they were driven off to the south by the Senecas.²⁰ Scattered remnants of the tribe eventually returned to their ancestral lands on the Susquehanna, where they continued to live for about a century.²¹ By the end of the eighteenth century, there were few Indians left in the Woodstock area.²² But by that time, the white settlers had already come.

The Patuxent Ranger

Not long after 1634, occasional trappers, hunters and explorers began to push northward, up the Severn and Patuxent to the Patapsco and beyond. The initial transients were soon followed by permanent settlers whose land grants extended from Herring Creek on the south to the Patapsco on the north. In 1650, the Maryland Legislature established these northern territories as "Annarundell" County.²³ A quarter of a century later, Baltimore County was organized and its southern

¹⁸ William B. Marye, "The Old Indian Road," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 15 (1920), 108, quoting from *The Handbook of American Indians*, Bulletin 30, Bureau of American Ethnology.

¹⁹ Marye, *loc. cit.* In a series of three articles, Marye traces the path of the old Indian road and conjectures as to its ultimate destinations.

²⁰ Scharf, *op. cit.*, 96-97.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 97.

²² *Ellicott City Times*, *loc. cit.*, B-4.

²³ *Archives of Maryland* I (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883), 292.

limits set at two miles south of the Patapsco.²⁴ The natural boundary of the River was ignored in order that there might be enough ratables in the new county to support its administration. The area which we now know as Woodstock was thus included in Baltimore County. This arrangement lasted for fifty years, but the southern bank of the Patapsco was returned to Anne Arundel in 1727 at the request of the region's plantation owners. The reasons given for their request provide us with an interesting commentary on conditions in the Patapsco Valley in the early 1700's. One point made was that the Baltimore County seat at Joppa was so situated that even moderate rains made the rivers and creeks of the section impassable. The second reason alleged was that the land south of the Patapsco was so worn out that many settlers were moving into the virgin territories to the north. Baltimore County should now be able to manage its own finances without the contributions of the southern plantations.²⁵

The first settler of the Woodstock area was Thomas Brown, who was appointed Ranger of the Patuxent region in 1692. His duties were to survey the land and to keep an eye on Indian activities.²⁶ Brown surveyed about thirty tracts along the Patuxent and sometime after 1692 established a plantation called Ranter's Ridge, running roughly southwest from what is now Woodstock. His cabin on this property was the only white habitation in the country until 1701, when Charles Carroll's 10,000 acre manor of Doughoregan was surveyed.²⁷ The boundaries of Doughoregan are given as extending "from the Patuxent by a blind path to Thomas Brown's plantation and to four Indian cabins and thence to some oaks."²⁸

Thomas Brown's son Joshua inherited Ranter's Ridge and disposed of it in three parcels. The upper part of the ridge was sold about 1740 to John Dorsey for his son Nathan. This was Nathan's homestead, Waverly. In 1786, Waverly became the property of Colonel John Eager Howard, who was elected Governor of Maryland two years later. It was afterwards the residence of his son, George Howard, also a Governor of

²⁴ *Ibid.*, XV (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1896), 39.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, XXXVI (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1916), 594.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, VIII (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1890), 339.

²⁷ Warfield, *op. cit.*, 164 ff.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 336.

Maryland.²⁹ Also about 1740, a second portion of Ranter's Ridge was sold to Thomas Davis, Sr. for his son Robert. Except for several years in the early eighteenth century, Davis's Manor remained in the possession of the same family until about 1950. Finally, the third tract of Thomas Brown's original grant was purchased by a namesake, Benjamin Brown. This latter estate, called Goodfellowship, is on the Old Court Road and is still in the possession of descendants of Benjamin Brown.³⁰ With the passage of the years, the tiny cabin has been enlarged by a frame addition and supplemented by the usual outbuildings of a Maryland plantation—granary, milk house and barns—but the present mansion still encloses Thomas Brown's original rectangular stone house.³¹ Standing on an eminence in the fields to the southeast of Goodfellowship is another Brown family home, Mount Pleasant. Part of this home still retains the woodwork and highly polished floors of the early building.

Development of the Maryland Piedmont

From the beginning, Maryland was a one crop Province. Although Indian corn and wheat were raised for domestic consumption, the only article which the colonists exported in any great quantity was tobacco. The settlers of the Patapsco Valley followed this trend and there is no reason to suppose that Thomas Brown and his successors on Ranter's Ridge were any exception. At the same time, the needs of the economy dictated the early development of roads in the area. Tobacco was commonly brought down to Elkridge Landing or to Balti-

²⁹ Heinrich Ewald Bucholz, *Governors of Maryland from the Revolution to the Year 1908* (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Co., 1908), 26-31 and 114-118. Colonel John Eager Howard (1752-1827) was the fifth Governor of the State (1788-1791). His son, George Howard (1789-1846) was the twenty-second Governor (1831-1833). "Goodfellowship" was made over to Christopher Randall in 1728. His son Roger joined with Joshua Brown in selling it to Benjamin Brown. Randall's property ran to the river and was secured to him for the annual payment of 21 shillings on the feast of the Annunciation and on that of St. Michael.

³⁰ Much of the information on Davis and Brown land holdings in the Woodstock area was supplied by Mrs. Frank deSales Brown of "Mount Pleasant." Mrs. Brown is a daughter of William Davis, one of the descendants of Robert Davis.

³¹ Pepper, *op. cit.*, 6. Information on "Goodfellowship" was supplied by Mrs. William Howard Brown, Sr., the present holder of the estate.

more on a series of rolling roads. The dried leaves were packed tightly in hogsheads and these hogsheads were then rolled over and over again, by hand, to the port. Narrower bridle paths connected the various plantations and settlements. The only road of any considerable importance was the old one which led from Baltimore to the German colony at Fredericktown. This road passed over "Ranter's Ridge" and the plantations there were thus located on the first main highway to the west.³² The Woodstock planters also had good connections to the north. In 1730-1731, Old Court Road from Gwynns Falls to the Patapsco was laid out on the bed of the old Indian trail. Near the present location of Pikesville, this road joined the Court Road to Joppa, which was at that time one of the most thriving of the Chesapeake Bay ports.³³

The first notable change in the tobacco economy of the Maryland piedmont came with the arrival of the Quaker Ellicott brothers who purchased lands and mill sites on the lower Patapsco in 1772. Within a few years, they had built several grain mills, and, as trade began to prosper, they were able to persuade the wealthy planters of the vicinity to add corn and wheat to their output. Charles Carroll of Doughoregan Manor was one of the first to see the wisdom of the idea. To further their plans, the Ellicott Brothers built a road from Baltimore through Ellicotts Mills to Doughoregan. The road was soon extended to Frederick and it became a public highway in 1792. A dozen years later, this road was authorized by the Maryland Legislature as the Baltimore-Frederick Turnpike and by 1821 it joined the National Road at Cumberland in western Maryland. The new highway bypassed Ranter's Ridge, but the farms in that area were linked to it by connecting roads.³⁴

While all this road-building was going on, the plantations

³² The developing economy of the Patapsco Valley Region is described in Martha E. Tyson, *A Brief Account of the Settlement of Ellicott's Mills*, Fund-Publication No. 4, Maryland Historical Society (Baltimore: John Murphy, 1871). As early as 1755, there was some kind of road between Baltimore and Frederick.

³³ Marye, *loc. cit.*, 228.

³⁴ Tyson, *op. cit.* and George R. Stewart, *U.S. 40 Cross Section of the United States of America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1953). Stewart gives the history of the Frederick Pike and its connection with the National Road, which later became Route 40.

up on "Ranter's Ridge" had developed to a point where they could compare favorably with the best in the entire piedmont. Governor Howard's Waverly is said to have rivalled even Doughoregan. Lumbering garden trucks carried produce three times a week to Baltimore, and the fact that much of the heavy farm labor was done by slaves enabled the prosperous landowners to enjoy a certain measure of social life.³⁵ Nearly all the families of the region—the Dorseys, the Browns, the Davises and others—were related to one another. Family gatherings, featuring a dance, a card party and a grand dinner, were frequent occurrences. For added diversion, there would be horseback parties, sledding parties, and perhaps skating on the Patapsco. The larger original holdings had been subdivided among succeeding heirs who located on adjoining tracts and the social life of the country planters was centered in these small communities of relatives.³⁶

The quiet life of the Patapsco Valley was twice interrupted by war. Although no battles of the Revolution or of the War of 1812 were fought in the immediate vicinity, the rolls of the Maryland Line carry the names of many Browns, Dorseys and Davises. Colonel John Eager Howard, who purchased Waverly in 1786, was a trooper in the famous Maryland Flying Camp and saw service at Cowpens and at the Battle of White Plains. Four of his sons fought in the second war against the British. During the Revolution, Vachel Dorsey lost a leg while in the colonial army and Captain Samuel Brown, the owner of Goodfellowship, was an officer in the Elk Ridge Militia. During the War of 1812, we find the names of Lieutenant John Riggs Brown and of Caleb Davis among the defenders of Baltimore. Maryland's proportionate contribution in terms of men was greater in these early wars than that of any of the other states, and the planters on

³⁵ Warfield, *op. cit.*, 518-519. A favorite at the large family dinners was "Maryland Biscuits," made as follows: "A section of tree was firmly and permanently placed in a corner of the kitchen and the dough placed upon it and usually hammered or beaten until both the dough and the block were blistered. Then the latter was fashioned into round, chubby shapes, like unto small, flattened oranges, pierced with a fork and placed in a dutch oven with live coals above and underneath, whence they came forth golden in color. These were not raised with baking powder, nor as hard as stone, but light, beautiful and wholesome." (*Ibid.*)

³⁶ *Ibid.*

Ranter's Ridge helped materially to swell the ranks of the Free State's forces.³⁷

The Coming of the Railroad

Once America's independence was secure, the country began to push westward. New York's Erie Canal and a projected railroad through Pennsylvania challenged Maryland's National Road. The worried financiers of Baltimore realized that some dramatic action was needed to avert the threat to their city's growing prosperity. So was born the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, which was incorporated by the Maryland Legislature on February 26, 1827.³⁸ With the building of the railroad, the history of Woodstock as a village begins.

Plans for the B & O called for a line with two or more sets of rails which would run along the narrow valley of the Patapsco to Ellicotts Mills and then, following the course of the river, through Anne Arundel County and on to Frederick.³⁹ By the summer of 1829, the tracks had reached Ellicotts Mills. The railroad's directors announced that trains would not run past that point until the entire line to Frederick was completed. Feverish activity characterized the effort. There were accidents, as once when a high bank of earth caved in and killed four workmen, and there were brawls. Liquor was sold freely and cheaply—whiskey was three cents a glass—and riots were the order of the day. Some of the contractors solved the problem by hiring German teetotalers from York County, Pennsylvania, but violence continued to flare up in the valley. On one occasion, a sheriff's posse was summoned to quiet the disturbances. A contemporary account tells us that the sheriff had no trouble in recruiting volunteer deputies, but he did have trouble in keeping them under control, "for, having come out to see a fight, they did not want to be disappointed."⁴⁰

Labor troubles reached a climax in the summer of 1831, when serious riots occurred at Sykes Mills, the present Sykesville. The rioting strikers were finally pacified, but not until

³⁷ Pepper, *op. cit.*, 6; Warfield, *op. cit.*, 490-491; Bucholz, *op. cit.*, 26-31.

³⁸ Hungerford, *op. cit.*, I, 3-27.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 10 and 25.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 65-67.

Brigadier General Steuart and over a hundred militiamen had been despatched to the scene. They came by train and so Woodstock, which was on the route, witnessed what was probably the first troop movement by rail in history.⁴¹

In one way or another, the problems of securing workmen and materials were overcome and by the autumn of 1831 a double track had been laid to the Forks of the Patapsco, twenty-four miles out from Pratt Street and a mile above Davis's Tavern at the site of Woodstock. The line to Frederick was at last completed in December, 1831 and regular service began after that. All transportation of passengers on the new road was by steam locomotive, an innovation which had been introduced in the summer of 1830. The first engine, Peter Cooper's *Tom Thumb*, was an odd looking contraption, something like a modern handcar with a vertical boiler added. It weighed about a ton. A second engine, the three-and-a-half ton *York*, was put in service in 1831 and it was joined by the *Atlantic* in 1832. Two years later, five small locomotives—all with upright boilers—were hauling freight and passengers past Woodstock to the west.⁴²

The Village of Woodstock

The actual work of building the roadbed of the Baltimore and Ohio had been let out to various contractors. Two of these men were most prominent in the area around Woodstock, Peter Gorman and Caleb Davis. Gorman's section of the work ended at a place on the river just below Goodfellowship. It is probable that his workmen's shacks provided the nucleus around which the village of Woodstock grew. Peter Gorman married a daughter of John Riggs Brown. He later leased some property near the tracks and he and his family settled in a stone house built against the hillside. This house, which was just back of the old railroad station, was torn down some twenty-five years ago when the State widened Old Court Road. It was the birthplace of Gorman's son, United States Senator Arthur Pue Gorman (1839-1906), who was long a power in Maryland politics.⁴³

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 116-124.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 109 and 143.

⁴³ For two unfavorable treatments of the career of Senator Gorman,

The second builder of the railroad around Woodstock was a member of a family long resident in the section, Caleb Davis. Caleb had been for some time a merchant in Baltimore, but he moved back to the family farm in 1830 and invested heavily in factories and houses along the route of the railroad. His wife was another daughter of John Riggs Brown and one of his sons, Henry Gassaway Davis (1823-1916), was for a number of years a Senator from West Virginia. Henry Davis was born in Baltimore, but he grew up in Woodstock and received his education in the free country schools of the county.⁴⁴

It does not seem that the village ever amounted to very much. No early map shows more than a dozen or so buildings in the little hollow back of the tracks. The United States Post Office was started in 1836, and four years later Peter Gorman and Henry G. Childress were granted retailer's licenses, but otherwise the official records are a blank.⁴⁵ In 1837, financial panic swept the nation and brought disaster to the commercial dreams of Caleb Davis. The valley was long plagued by serious floods; that of July 24, 1860 finally destroyed any usefulness the Patapsco might have had as a waterway.⁴⁶ One exception to the general commercial decline was the granite industry. The B & O had taken steps in 1848 to acquire land for a station at Woodstock and for many years granite from the quarries of the neighborhood was shipped

see Paul Winchester, *Men of Maryland Since the Civil War*, Sketches of United States Senator Arthur Pue Gorman and His Contemporaries and Successors and Their Connection with Public Affairs (Baltimore: Maryland County Press Syndicate, 1923), Vol. 1 and Frank Richardson Kent, *The Story of Maryland Politics* (Baltimore: Thomas & Evans, 1911). A more definitive approach is that of John R. Lambert, *Arthur Pue Gorman* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953). Lambert evaluates the works of Winchester and Kent rather severely.

⁴⁴ Senator Davis' biography has been written by Charles M. Pepper (*op. cit.*) Various printed sources give Woodstock as his birthplace. But in a letter to Henry Hall, business manager, *New York Tribune*, Dec. 31, 1895, the Senator's private Secretary, Charles S. Robb states definitely that Mr. Davis was born November 16, 1823 at Baltimore. Writing in *Harper's Weekly*, *n.d.* (1904?), pp. 1206-1207, Melville Davison Post says, "Henry G. Davis was born in Baltimore (and not in Woodstock, Maryland, as the newspaper sketches give it)." Information on Senator Davis was graciously supplied by Charles Shetler, Curator, West Virginia Collection, West Virginia University Library, Morgantown, W. Va. in a letter to Rev. James J. Hennesey, S.J., April 19, 1956. (Woodstock College Archives, I R 9). The Davis papers are on deposit in the West Virginia University Library.

⁴⁵ Hively, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁶ *Ellicott City Times*, *loc. cit.*, I-6.

to Baltimore and other cities from the Woodstock loading platform.⁴⁷

Apart from the now insignificant granite quarries, the countryside around Woodstock has maintained an almost purely agricultural economy. Wheat and corn are grown and Howard County supplies the entire world with wormseed oil—described by the *Ellicott City Times* as “a vermifuge for man and beast.”⁴⁸ The area has been fairly prosperous. By 1838, the northern part of Anne Arundel County had been given its own organization as the Howard District and in 1851 it became a separate county.⁴⁹ In luxuriant turn-of-the-century prose, local historian J. D. Warfield describes Howard County:

Bordered by the rocky profiles of the Patapsco on the north and by the rich levels of the Patuxent on the south, this gem, set in a frame of rushing, tragic waters, with a lustre as brilliant as the patriotic career of the Revolutionary hero for whom it was named, now adorns the glittering diadem of Queen Henrietta Maria's crown.⁵⁰

The village of Woodstock is located in the Third—or Cross District of Howard County, which is at present (1957) represented in the Maryland House of Delegates by a member of the Brown family of Goodfellowship.⁵¹

Civil War

The tension generated by the breakup of the Union in 1861 was nowhere more keenly felt than in the border states. Maryland soldiers fought in both Federal and Confederate armies. Pro-Southern sentiment ran particularly high in the slave-holding country areas, and among them Woodstock made its contribution to the Army of Northern Virginia. In the post-war years, the town's leading citizen was Brigadier General James Rawlings Herbert, a veteran of the Valley

⁴⁷ Hively, *loc. cit.* and *The Jeffersonian*, vol. 21, no. 46.

⁴⁸ *Ellicott City Times*, *loc. cit.*, E-5.

⁴⁹ Warfield, *op. cit.*, 36 and 522.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 337.

⁵¹ Howard County's Third District is called the “Cross” District on an old hand-drawn map in the Woodstock College Archives (I R 7). Mr. W. Howard Brown, Jr. of the House of Delegates very kindly supplied much of the background material on his family.

campaigns and a wounded hero of Gettysburg.⁵² During the war itself, Union soldiers and supplies moved continually along the main line of the Baltimore and Ohio, a fact which made the railroad a major target for marauding bands of Confederate cavalry. Large Southern armies were in the vicinity on several occasions. General Robert E. Lee occupied Frederick in September, 1862, before marching on to Antietam. Not quite a year later, Major General J. E. B. Stuart's ill-fated excursion before Gettysburg took him to Hood's Mills, a few miles above Woodstock on the Patapsco. While Stuart's troopers were tearing up the tracks at Hood's Mills, a detachment under Fitzhugh Lee made a vain attempt to burn the bridge at Sykesville.⁵³ Finally, in July, 1864, Lieutenant General Jubal A. Early led his II Corps east from the Monocacy in a desperate attack which brought him within sight of the National Capital. On Early's northern flank, Brigadier General Bradley Johnson's cavalry reached the outskirts of Baltimore and ranged up and down the Patapsco Valley, destroying highway and railroad bridges.⁵⁴ The Confederate soldiers, many of them Marylanders, were operating in friendly territory. This was especially true of the country east of the Monocacy.⁵⁵ An instance of the co-operation which the invaders could expect occurred at Woodstock on one occasion. Colonel Herbert's Maryland Regiment was in the vicinity, bogged down for lack of transport. The Woodstock farmers rallied to his assistance and supplied enough wagons to enable Herbert and his men to rejoin the main body of the Confederate Army. The Federal authorities naturally took a dim view of such proceedings and Beale Cavey, who had

⁵² General Herbert lived in the large house at the end of Cavey's Lane. He is mentioned several times in Douglas Southall Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944), III, as a lieutenant colonel commanding Maryland units in the Confederate Army. The General also served as Colonel of the Fifth Regiment, Maryland National Guard, Police Commissioner and Commanding General, Maryland Militia. (Warfield, *op. cit.*, 159 and 364).

⁵³ Freeman, *op. cit.*, III, 51-72. Stuart rode through Hood's Mills on his way to Gettysburg. The one day delay (June 29, 1863) at Hood's Mills and Sykesville was a costly one for the South. The cavalry was not ready for action at Gettysburg until July 3.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 559 ff. General Johnson was a Marylander.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 560.

recruited the rolling stock, had to hide out for a time in the wilderness known as Soldier's Delight.⁵⁶

Post-War Years

Eight months after General Early's withdrawal from the Washington front, Appomattox ended the Civil War. For a place like Woodstock, 1865 marked the end of an era. The slaves were freed and the old southern plantations became country farms. The tiny village on the bank of the Patapsco looked then pretty much as it does today. In 1871, an English visitor sent home this description of it:

The river is like the Hodder at Stonyhurst, and it flows through the hollows of high wooded hills, wild and picturesque. The Baltimore and Ohio railroad runs along its winding course; and, at a distance of twenty-three miles from Baltimore, but only sixteen miles in a straight line, the little village of Woodstock nestles in a crevice between two hills. Indeed, a poorer apology for a village, or a feebler aspirant for municipal dignities could scarcely be imagined: for its sum total of constituents is a railway station, a post office, a few shanties and a county bridge over the Patapsco.⁵⁷

A Canadian visitor in 1873 was somewhat more kindly disposed. He remarks that:

The hills on either side of the river are abrupt and in many places precipitous, crowned with cedar groves, or woods of oak, maple, hickory, the tulip poplar, the gum, the fragrant sassafrass and the more humble dogwood whose profuse white flowers in the full blossom of spring are in striking contrast with the crimson blossoms of the Judas tree, and whose blood red berries in the glow of an Indian summer show even brighter than the brilliant hues of our American forests in autumn.⁵⁸

As for the sluggish Patapsco, it has probably never been more lyrically described than by the same writer:

⁵⁶ "Soldier's Delight" is a huge tract in the "Great Barrens," just above the new Liberty Dam. An account of its history will be found in "Soldier's Delight Hundred in Baltimore County," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 1-144 ff. The story of Beale Cavey and his help to Colonel Herbert was told to Rev. James J. Ruddick, S.J. by Beale Cavey's grandson, Mr. John Herbert Cavey of Woodstock.

⁵⁷ "Woodstock College," *Letters and Notices* (Roehampton, England: Typog. S. Josephi, 1871) VII, 50-51.

⁵⁸ Arthur E. Jones, S.J., "Woodstock—Its Surroundings and Associations," *THE WOODSTOCK LETTERS* (Woodstock: Woodstock College Press, 1873) II, 44.

The serpentine course of the Patapsco, so far down beneath us that the noise of its waters as they dash over the rocks at the ford is toned down to a gentle murmur, the vista between the hills whose rough contour is softened by the woodlands on their slopes, the strip of fertile meadow at the margin of the stream, the island with its rank growth of reeds and willows, the stream itself silvered by the distance and the play of light, the pearly mist hanging veil-like midway down the valley, and the haze at the horizon which, with more than artist's skill heightens the atmospheric perspective, the stark piers of the broken bridge, suggestive of scenes of violence amidst one of peace and beauty, such is the rough outline of a charming picture.⁵⁹

As a final touch to the picture of Woodstock in mid-nineteenth century, we may add a last line from the same Canadian pen:

The unpretending hamlet of Woodstock, consisting of scarcely half a dozen houses, nestles snugly in a fold of the hills halfway up the southern slope, seemingly unconscious that it lies within a score of miles of one of the great centres of American civilization.⁶⁰

The College

A great event took place in the sleepy village in the late 1860's. On September 23, 1869, Woodstock College of Baltimore County opened its doors as the first permanent scholasticate of the Society of Jesus in North America. The College is built on a high bluff overlooking the town from the north. Although it is located in the town of Granite,⁶¹ the presence of such a large institution has necessarily affected the history of the village across the river which serves as its post office address. Men like Brother Theodore Vorbrinck, who for over forty years supervised the College farm, and the late Brother Charlie Abram were familiar figures in the countryside, and did much to gain the goodwill of the neighbors. One instance of the warm welcome given the Jesuits occurred three months after the opening of the College, when seventy-five farmers of the region gathered to raise the roof of the first barn on the property.⁶² These good relations between the Jesuits on the

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁶¹ Actually Granite has no more legal claim to existence than does Woodstock. Properly speaking, the College is located in no smaller circumscription than the Second District of Baltimore County.

⁶² Patrick J. Dooley, S.J., *Woodstock and Its Makers* (Woodstock: Woodstock College Press, 1927), 45.

hill and the people of the valley have continued through the years.

Woodstock College's greatest contribution to the local area has been the part that its faculty and Scholastics played in the development of the Catholic life of the section. Before 1869, the nearest Catholic Church was the chapel at Doughoregan Manor. The Jesuits immediately set about remedying this situation and, within ten years, they had opened churches at Harrisonville, Elysville and Poplar Springs. Catechism missions were established at Woodstock, Granite, Marriottsville, Elysville, Dorsey's Run and Sykesville. Closer to home, the College Chapel was opened to the laity in October, 1869 and served as a parish church until the Church of the Holy Ghost (now St. Alphonsus') was opened in 1887.⁶³ In recent years, the Jesuit pastor of St. Alphonsus has also acted as chaplain of the sanatorium at Henryton.

"The More Things Change"

Apart from the presence of the College, Woodstock has not changed very much in the years since the Civil War. Electrification has come, and tractors to the farms. Old Court Road—the ancient Indian highway—has been straightened somewhat and paved. Old Frederick Road is now the more prosaic Route 99. A railroad station built during the 80's was torn down in 1951.⁶⁴ One year before that, the B & O had discontinued passenger service over the old main line. It was just 120 years since Woodstock had first seen the *Tom Thumb*, the *York* and the *Atlantic*. The flight to suburbia has not yet affected the village to any great degree. There are new houses along Old Court and a few late-Victorian homes on the hillside to the right of the village, but that is all. The Patapsco still flows through the valley. Generally it is brown and peaceful, although still capable of an occasional rampage.⁶⁵ Fifty

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 235 ff.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 193. According to Fr. Dooley, a telegraph station was installed at Woodstock in 1889 at the request of Mrs. General William Tecumseh Sherman, who had taken a home in the area to be on hand for the ordination that summer of her son, Fr. Thomas Ewing Sherman, S.J. The railroad station, again according to Fr. Dooley, followed soon after. Other accounts say that the station was built in 1883 at a cost of \$7000. (*The Jeffersonian* [Towson, Md.] vol. 21, no. 46).

⁶⁵ A flood in the summer of 1956 reached the floor of the Woodstock

or a hundred years ago, floods on the river were a disastrous affair. Acres of debris piled up at every bend. One flood left a wheelbarrow hanging twenty feet up in the branches of a tree. Woodstock's wooden bridge was swept away at least three times and had to be replaced by an iron structure. Whole sections of the railroad were often completely washed out.⁶⁶ At such times, the only way to cross the river was by flat-bottomed scow or perhaps on Jim Cavey's granite wagon, once the waters had abated. There was also a swaying foot bridge just above the town, at the place now called People's Beach.⁶⁷ The recent creation of a state park in the Patapsco Valley and the erection of Baltimore City's new Liberty Dam on the North Branch of the river will, it is hoped, help to control the floods which have done so much damage in past years.

Epilogue

Such is the history of Woodstock, Howard County, Maryland. In capsule form, it is the history of the development of the Maryland piedmont, from the time of the Susquehannocks and the coming of the Patuxent Ranger down to the present. Woodstock had its share in the Revolution and in the War of 1812. It was even more intimately involved in the War between the States. The story of Woodstock is part of the history of American railroading and of the National Road to the west. The new Patapsco State Parkway—if it ever materializes—will travel through country which has been a part of the American scene almost from our earliest days.

bridge and inundated the meadow on the north bank.

⁶⁶ Jones, *art. cit.*, 52.

⁶⁷ Dooley, *op. cit.*, 41. The foot bridge appears on a map drawn in 1872 by Father Arthur Jones, S.J. (Woodstock College Archives I L 7.1 b).

Table-Reading During the Retreat

GREGORY FOOTE, S.J.

The reading at table in a religious community during the annual retreat can be a great help or a not inconsiderable hindrance to the success of the Spiritual Exercises. There can be reading so heavy as to tire the earnest exercitant. There can be selections so scatter-shot as to dissipate his concentration. There can be matter apparently following the scheme of the Exercises, yet so foreign to their spirit as to dilute their powerful effect. St. Ignatius tells the exercitant in the sixth addition,¹

"I should not think of things that give pleasure and joy, as the glory of heaven, the Resurrection, etc., (when) I wish to feel pain, sorrow, and tears for my sins, (for) every consideration promoting joy and happiness will impede it. I should rather keep in mind that I want to be sorry and feel pain. Hence it would be better not to call to mind death and judgment." (#78)¹

This wise counsel of the Saint refers, as it stands, to the exercises of the First Week, that is, from the start of the meditation on sin until the start of the meditation on the Kingdom of Christ, ushering in the new mood of the Second Week. The book of the Exercises is at pains to have the exercitant follow the mood, thought, and spirit of each meditation as it comes. The second addition brings this out: "When I wake up, I will not permit my thoughts to roam at random, but will turn my mind at once to the subject I am about to contemplate." (#74)

Again in the first note following the Nativity contemplations, we find another reminder of the necessity of staying in the mood of the retreat as it proceeds, step by step: "Throughout this Week and the subsequent Weeks, I ought to read only the mystery that I am immediately to contem-

¹ All translations taken from the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius translated by Louis J. Puhl, S.J.

plate. Hence I should not read any mystery that is not to be used on that day or at that hour, lest the consideration of one mystery interfere with the contemplation of the other." (#127)

Finally, in the fourth Nativity note the above quoted sixth addition is adapted for the Second Week: "The sixth will be to call to mind frequently the mysteries of the life of Christ our Lord from the Incarnation to the place or mystery I am contemplating." (#130)

The plain conclusion from all of this is that the exercitant ought always to follow the retreat as it comes but never to anticipate what is to come later, not even the very next exercise.² What is allowed is that he look backwards, thus satisfying his mind and heart in the possession and enjoyment of what he has gained so far in the progressive experience of his thought and prayer.

We perhaps wonder from time to time why the Exercises of St. Ignatius don't seem to come up with the results that formerly made them such an outstanding success. They do not seem to be producing all that they could. All of us know, even without the assistance of the many available "arguments from authority," that the Exercises are as potent for good now as they ever were. If they are not living up to their past and not achieving their potential, the difference must be accounted for somewhere. Among the contributing causes (leaving aside the obvious requirement of holiness and experience in the one who gives the Exercises) must we not include inept choice in the selection of table-reading?

There is a difference between adaptation and departure. The Exercises have adaptation written right into them. Few of us can say that we have given the Exercises for thirty days to a single retreatant in some secluded place and where the succession of meditations was not rigidly plotted out weeks (or years) in advance. But those of us with the time to devote

² There would seem to be two reasons for not anticipating: first, lest one fail to reap all the fruit at the place where he is; second, that in ideal conditions only the one giving the Exercises will know what the "next" exercise will be, since this depends entirely on his judgment of the present state of the exercitant. Cf. #4, 17.

to the annual retreats of religious communities can still say truthfully that we are giving the Spiritual Exercises.

Departure is another thing. And is it not a departure to be careless in the selection of table-reading during the retreat? Surely it goes against the plan of the Exercises to allow reading at table that anticipates the meditations. It is still worse to distract the mind and heart of the exercitant with reading that bears only a remote connection with the spirit of the retreat at any given meal. Would it not be preferable to take all the meals in silence rather than burden the mind and annoy the spirit of the exercitant with a multitude of considerations irrelevant to the psychology of the Exercises?

Why, we might ask, has the important element of table-reading been somewhat neglected? One reason, no doubt, is that some superiors may feel that certain important documents must be read to their subjects, and the retreat is the time when they will be at their receptive and docile best. Another reason is that not all retreats are the Exercises. Perhaps when the Jesuit appears on the scene, he does not make it clear enough that the retreat he will give is so planned as to be highly dependent on the most apt use of creatures, including reading, for the next eight days.

A certain Jesuit, formerly connected with the spiritual development of young religious, referred to the Ignatian Exercises as a series of spiritual squeeze-plays. But to work the squeeze play, the minds and bodies of the manager, coaches, batter, and runner must all be intent on one thing only.

Perhaps another reason for the incomplete realization of the potential of the Exercises is that we are in the "pre-fab" age. The retreat, too, may become stereotyped and utterly predictable. When the retreat takes on the look of the lecture course, well-planned and never changed, who would not infer that the added religious information gained from listening at table will actually supplement the work of the eight days?

What Ignatius does is try to clear a path for the Holy Spirit to enter by. Has not the exercitant himself sufficiently cluttered the landscape without our blocking the way with pious extras and clouding the atmosphere with unnecessary con-

siderations? We can more justly expect the Holy Spirit to descend when the sky is clear and the entrance open.

A more careful attention to the table-reading may mean choosing several selections from many different books for one eight-day retreat. This is added work, but for those who have cultivated the habit of listening to what they hear, it is a *conditio sine qua non* of their getting what Ignatius intends.

Physician, cure thyself. The *tantum-quantum* and the *magis* of the Foundation can be applied to the reading at table just as well as to any other creature.

The danger involved in inappropriate table-reading during the retreat does not appear at once. It is subtle. It is the trap of using a good at the wrong time or in the wrong way. Ordinarily, we do not view table-reading as an indifferent thing, achieving its communicated good from the good it subserves. Rather, we tend to take for granted the selection of good reading, at least as a habitual situation. That is why table-reading can mask a typically Ignatian danger, just as, for instance, the danger we are more ready to recognize in indiscreet devotions, long prayers, overdoses of vocal prayer, injurious bodily penances, overloaded curricula, record-breaking enrollments, and so many other things. But in a retreat, even more so than at other times, we must be discerning to select from the good only that which is more conducive to the end proposed; even more so in the retreat because the Exercises are more than a prayerful consideration of the truth we live by; they are themselves a training period in which we are constantly applying the attitudes and habits we desire to carry into our daily life. The *tantum-quantum* and the *magis* are universal, and it is according to their greater or lesser application to all matters where we are free to choose, that we judge the vigor of our spiritual life.

We are generally very careful to remind our retreatants that they have not come to a series of sermons, but are entering on a course of spiritual self-activity. We tell them that this is not a time to catch up on back correspondence, not a time to make up spiritual reading that was lost during the past year, nor, worse, a time to get in some extra study. We tell them it is God's time and no place for special little side-projects that will detract from the all-important goal. We

sincerely hope that the religious making the retreat are not using their "free time" to prepare classes for the coming semester and that summer house-cleaning in the convent does not coincide with the annual retreat. We tell them that the retreat is a time to seek God and live, and that all other activity, eating, sleeping, walking, reading, thinking, working, or writing, or anything else is to be used or not used according to its connection with the goal of the eight days. The retreat is no time to excel as Marthas, but the one time of the year when they should choose with Mary the better part, knowing that but one thing is necessary. And until they can all repeat it in their sleep, we do not cease to insist that "it is not much knowledge that fills and satisfies the soul, but the intimate understanding and relish of truth." (#2)

About all these things we are careful, but not nearly so anxious about the table-reading. It is clear that the exercitant who destroys his own silence, interior or exterior, is working against the success of his own retreat. But a book unwisely selected (or allowed) for table-reading has much the same destructive power. Even subject matter pertaining to the same Week can be out of place if it is thrust upon the attention of the exercitant on the wrong day. This is especially true in the First and Second Weeks. The introduction at table of such topics as sin, sorrow, punishment, and the like, before the exercitant has left the consideration of the Foundation, is to prevent the latter from sinking in. In the Second Week, moralizing or lesson-drawing studies of the Gospels, tending arbitrarily to channel the interior movements of the exercitant, can leave scanty footing for the true movements of grace.

Of the four Weeks in the Exercises, it would seem to be the First that calls for the most rigid selection of reading. There the spirit of the Exercises is, perhaps, the most exacting. That this part of the retreat will prove something of a work-out seems hinted at clearly enough in the third note after the Nativity contemplations where we read, "If the exercitant is old or weak, or even when strong, if he has come from the First Week rather exhausted, it should be noted that in this Second Week it would be better, at least at times, not to rise at midnight." (#129) The only other Week that would com-

pare to the First in intensity would be the Third, but even there it is mitigated in this sense, at least, that contemplation has taken the place of meditation. Iparraguirre mentions this precisely: "Less time is usually required for the exposition of subjects which are concrete and appealing to the sensibility, such as the Passion."³

All in all, it is in the Third Week that there should be the least problem about selecting the table-reading. In any Week the chief norm will be to avoid any anticipation of the coming exercises. In the Fourth Week the problem ought not be much greater, if only for the reason that it occupies only one day in the great majority of eight-day retreats. Of course, the underlying principle for the whole retreat is to choose what best subserves the aim of the Exercises and the actual needs of the retreatants. For example, where the retreatants are relatively young and making a thirty-day retreat, and where there are four periods of prayer plus a conference daily (rather than three and a conference), it might not be out of place at all to devote all the table-reading to (non-moralizing) hagiography.

To return to the First Week in the eight-day retreat. Since there must necessarily be a great deal of telescoping (or omission) in this shortened form of the Exercises, the selection of reading could be made to fill in those notable elements not fully treated for lack of time. This would be neither anticipating nor distracting.

The shift of mood on entering the Second Week is considerable. It takes many adjectives to describe it. Let us say that, in general, it is characterized by expansion, freedom, generosity, and enthusiasm. Knowing what he has done, Ignatius gives us some very illuminating help in the matter of reading for the Second Week. In the second note after the meditation on the Kingdom, he says, "During the Second Week and thereafter, it will be very profitable to read some passages from the *Following of Christ*, or from the Gospels, and from the *Lives of the Saints*." (#100)

³ *A Key to the Study of the Spiritual Exercises*, Ignacio Iparraguirre, S.J., tr. J. Chianese, S.J., Hibernian Press, Calcutta, 1955, p. 17.

It will be easy enough to find fitting chapters from the *Imitation* and there are, indeed, many lists in circulation with just such leads. As for the Gospels, here again, following rather than anticipating should be the norm. As for the *Lives of the Saints*, Ignatius knew personally how much they challenged him, how they inspired and encouraged him, how they gave him consolation at seeing the devoted love that others had shown toward his King and Lord. May they do no less for His followers today!

As a final consideration, let us turn to a point merely mentioned above, namely that it would be better to have no reading at table at all at certain meals rather than to have poor reading, not in line with the psychology of the Exercises. This suggestion need not be viewed as outlandish. Ignatius speaks of reading as something that can be used or laid aside, nor does he even consider table-reading in the book of the Exercises. For him the retreat is primarily a time of prayer, discernment, and resolution. When he does mention reading at all, it is only as a means to *further* his end. Every retreatant must find himself at certain meals wishing to be left un-bothered by even the best of reading.

But even here, it need not be a question of all or none. There is every reason to believe that at certain times the very best arrangement would be to have reading for a part of the meal and then to finish in silence. Obviously this would be the case when there is only one good selection available but not long enough to fill out a whole meal.

There is another and much more valuable reason in favor of introducing such a practice. If it happens that the thoughts proposed in the reading appeal to the mind and touch the heart of the listeners (the purpose of the reading) then this reading can be a powerful stimulus, a practical help, and a needed training toward prayer. The active recollection achieved at this point of the meal can be abused by plunging directly from a fruitful topic into a new subject, and the grace of the moment is lost. Certainly the earnest exercitant in his own private reading does not lay down one selection only to turn immediately to another. How many of us have not wished to be left in peace at that point during a meal where a particularly appealing passage has just been concluded?

At such a time, is that not a moment of grace when the reader announces, "The end of the selection"? We have been led to a point where a very peaceful and fruitful form of recollection could take over. The spade-work has been done; all the heart asks is to be left alone. This is one of those times when outside help amounts to a hindrance. What Ignatius says with a view to the Election has its bearing here also. "But while one is engaged in the Spiritual Exercises, it is more suitable and much better that the Creator and Lord in person communicate Himself to the devout soul, . . . that He inflame it with love of Himself, and dispose it. . . ." (#15)

Ignatius makes no mention of table-reading. But where he speaks about eating at all, he is concerned that some consideration or reflection occupy the mind.

"While one is eating, let him imagine he sees Christ our Lord and His disciples at table, and consider how He eats and drinks, how He looks, how he speaks, and then strive to imitate Him. . . . While eating one may also occupy himself with some other consideration, either of the life of the saints, or of some pious reflection, or of a spiritual work he has on hand." (#214, 215)

These are suggestions the exercitant ought to try during the retreat so that, having experienced their fruits, he will have added motive for carrying them into his daily life whenever the body is being refreshed. This tends to confirm our belief that the primary purpose of table-reading is not the gathering of more religious information, good as this is in itself. Rather, the Saint is trying to train us (see that we understand and value the motives) to pray always, to find God in all things, to be contemplative in all our action.

Father Peter Masten Dunn

JOHN B. MCGLOIN, S.J.

Father Peter Masten Dunne, ever a model of geniality, was admittedly in good form as he rose to introduce the main speaker at his Golden Jubilee dinner which was being held in the spacious Phelan Hall on the campus of the University of San Francisco. It was Sunday, July 22, 1957 and over one hundred of the brethren had journeyed from all over the northern part of the California Province to honor a scholar, an exemplary priest, and a thoroughly respected religious of the Society. Father Dunne had wanted Doctor John Donald Hicks to be his special guest that night for, as chairman of the History Department of the University of California, Doctor Hicks had formed a close friendship with Father Dunne, his "opposite number" at USF. The Jubilarian's introduction of Doctor Hicks is quoteworthy because of its studied nonchalance: "Stand up now, John, and tell the Fathers how much you have enjoyed all this fine food!" And stand up Doctor Hicks did but, after a few droll pleasantries which are his trademark in class and everywhere else, he remarked how very unusual it was for the son of a Methodist minister to eulogize a Jesuit Jubilarian. "However," he added, "It now behooves me in such a gathering of the clergy to show my earlier and solidly Protestant training by offering a text as a preface to my remarks. I do so, and it is 2 Timothy, 2:15: 'Carefully study to present thyself approved unto God, a workman that needs not to be ashamed, rightly handling the word of truth.'" And then, with a quiet eloquence which illustrated his sincerity, this outstanding American historian delivered a touching tribute to the fine qualities of Peter Masten Dunne, Golden Jubilarian and priest of the Society of Jesus. "He is a man of complete integrity," said John Hicks, "And that is why he is respected by those of us who know him from outside Roman Catholi-

cism, but who admire him for all that he represents in solid scholarship and for his never failing urbanity and gentility."

When Father Dunne had gone to the altar in St. Ignatius Church of the University campus that morning to offer his solemn Mass of Jubilee, his "Introibo" had been heard with considerably mixed emotions on the part of many who so loved and respected him. Many knew that Father Dunne had submitted to imperative surgery several months before, and that his stomach had been removed in an attempt to stem the progress of a malignant condition which had suddenly manifested itself. A few days later, he who had always been so strong and in such excellent health, had been prepared for death by his Father Rector and, when told that he was to be anointed, he had remarked quite simply: "So I am now going to receive this wonderful Sacrament! Thank you, Father Rector." But Father Dunne made a comeback and, though doctors called it almost miraculous, there he was singing his Mass of Golden Jubilee in San Francisco's beautiful St. Ignatius Church. It was my appreciated privilege to have preached the sermon on that day, and I thought that Father Peter would be pleased if I selected a text closer to home than usual. The warm words of Peter to Our Lord at the scene of the Transfiguration came to mind and so my remarks about this other Peter found their inspiration in Matthew 17:4: "And Peter, turning, said to Jesus: Lord, it is good for us to be here." The three tabernacles which Peter wished built on the Mount of Transfiguration seemed to provide a natural development, and so mention was made of how Father Peter Masten Dunne had built in his fifty years a tabernacle of outstanding scholarship, a tabernacle of a singularly dedicated Jesuit life, and a tabernacle of a truly priestly life modelled after that of the High Priest, Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. As I spoke that morning, I knew that Father Dunne was yet building another tabernacle, and events were to prove that it was to be his finest: It was that of his complete and serene acceptance of the will of God in the matter of his going forth from this world as a victim of incurable cancer. Many others shared my unspoken thoughts of that day.

Peter Masten Dunne was born in San Jose, California, on April 16, 1889. He was the only boy among six children, and

all his five sisters, one a Sister of the Holy Names, survive him. There was both wealth and property in the Dunne family, and a modern map of California lists a Dunneville near Hollister which was named after his grandfather who held large ranch acreage in the area. It was both desired and expected, especially on the Masten or maternal side of the family, that Peter Dunne, to the manner born, would to the same manner live. As had his father before him, he entered Santa Clara College after preliminary schooling in San Jose and then (on July 20, 1906) though not entirely to the liking of all in the family, Peter Dunne entered the Novitiate at Los Gatos. He once told of the events of that Friday afternoon when two young men emerged from the fine old ancestral home on The Alameda in San Jose. With him was his closest personal friend, Eugene Ivancovich, who died in 1951 after a fruitful priestly apostolate in the Society. On the old red cars, without benefit of parents, the two newest recruits rode over to Los Gatos that afternoon and together they walked up the hill to the Sacred Heart Novitiate which, by 1906, had greeted such as they for eighteen years. Together they paused momentarily at the front door, completed a pact already arrived at as each placed a finger on the doorbell and thus, together, they entered upon religious life. The usual training of the Society followed and Father Dunne used occasionally to reminisce on those happy years when he was, to use his own expression, "a young and very happy Jesuit." His five years of teaching saw him at St. Ignatius High School in San Francisco and at his own Santa Clara College and, during his stay as a regent in San Francisco, he began his career of writing under circumstances which he later included in a published autobiographical sketch:

The first time I wrote for publication was during my first year teaching in San Francisco. It was 1915, the year of the Panama-Pacific Exposition. I was intrigued by the Chinese exhibit of the then infant republic and described it in an article which I sent to *America*. It was rejected and an unsympathetic superior said that this would teach me a lesson. I suppose that he thought that I was being too ambitious for a young Jesuit. I remember vividly my, perhaps pardonable, satisfaction when, in the early summer of 1919, I first broke into the pages of *America*. It was while at our summer camp by Manresa looking out over the curving



FATHER PETER MASTEN DUNNE

beaches of Monterey Bay, there where Irvin Cobb said Neptune spilt his blueing pot. We were sitting under cypress trees after lunch amidst the tents when the day's mail was delivered. The week's issue of *America* was there. I had been waiting for it. Would it have my article? Eagerly I reached for it; I got it first and saw my first published effort. . . . This was for me a good moment.

Off to theology in Hastings, England, went Mr. Dunne in 1919. He was to tell later how very much he appreciated the privilege of living in a cosmopolitan Jesuit community which had, as its nucleus, the exiled Jesuits of France but which included representatives of twenty-three different nationalities. Father Dunne considered these years as quite precious in both his intellectual and spiritual formation; although he had always liked the study of history, it was during these years of formation at Hastings that he studied diligently in the field of ecclesiastical history as well as in the other disciplines and he thus recorded his recollections of the values received:

As a scholastic I came gradually to form the opinion that history, as I saw it taught in some of our colleges out in the west, was not taught properly. . . . Too much of only one side was given: the whole truth was not spoken, especially where the Church entered in. . . . At Hastings, I did my best through the reading of the finest Catholic historians and through conferences with learned and mature men of our Society to shape my opinions correctly according to the spirit of the Society and of the Church. Whenever I had the opportunity I conferred with my professors at Hastings and with Fathers Joseph Rickaby, Lucas, Thurston and Pollen of the English Province as well as with Fathers Delehaye and Peeters of the Bollandists and with others such as Father d'Herbigny, under whom I made a retreat in Brussels. I thought a great deal about these matters of the right presentation of history and could see my ideas taking shape. . . . Moreover, I foresaw that, when I should return to the classroom and endeavor to actualize my ideals in this matter, I should meet with a good deal of criticism from others. . . . I prepared for this criticism that I was sure would come by endeavoring to deepen my interior life through a close union with Our Lord Jesus Christ.

Those who later lived with Father Peter Dunne will bear witness to the undeniable fact that this union to which he referred was evident, and that it bore abundant fruit in the priestliness and devotion which he brought to his life. On August 24, 1921,

Peter Dunne was raised to priesthood by Bishop Peter Amigo of Southwark. At the successful conclusion of his theological studies, he returned to the United States and made his Tertianship in Cleveland with Father Burrowes as his instructor. Final Profession was made in 1925, and now Peter Dunne was ready for his finest years, and, as he remarked during his last few months of suffering, they were years of vibrant health and productivity for which he was completely grateful to Almighty God.

A brief bout with editorial work on the *America* staff is thus interestingly described by Father Dunne:

Editorial work on the staff of *America* (1924-1925) engaged my literary energies, even though by the indulgence of Editor Father Richard Tierney, I was able to take some courses in History in the graduate school of Columbia University. I slugged away at book reviews, turned out an occasional article, and helped in editing the *Catholic Mind*. Once Father Francis Talbot and I both agreed to write an article for the Christmas number. Our Colleagues would choose the better for publication. Frank Talbot won, of course. I was and have since remained unable to reach the luster of his golden pen. Nor is that all—I was a no-good journalist and a worse proof-reader. I was let out after a year.

Father Dunne returned to Santa Clara to teach history and, after one year, he was changed to the Juniorate at Los Gatos. There he spent four years which he would later call almost idyllic for he loved the peaceful and orderly atmosphere which there surrounded him, and he found ample opportunity to enrich his own mind with further historical readings while passing on some of those same riches to the young Jesuits in his classes. Many a Father who is active now in the California and Oregon Provinces of the Society will recall the decidedly good influence which Father Dunne had on the intellectual formation of his generation. He was not given to idle boasting, but, in later years Father Dunne was legitimately proud of the number of his former Jesuit pupils who told him that his views on history and on the integral presentation of historical truth had marked a treasured milestone in their intellectual formation. Later on he freely admitted that at times he had probably over-stressed the frailties of ecclesiastics in presenting the history of the Reformation, but he just as freely asserted that his mistake,

if it was such, was made out of an excess of zeal for the truth. Few would doubt this who listened to him then or later on. However this may have been at the time, in 1930, Father Dunne was changed from Los Gatos to the then St. Ignatius College in San Francisco (which in a few months changed its name to the University of San Francisco) and, in the already published account mentioned above, he has this to say about the matter: "Criticism, I feel, of my presentation of Reformation history was responsible for the move from Los Gatos." He continues in outlining the next important step in his career:

I had by now given up hope of satisfying the old ambition of achieving the doctor's degree in history. But in 1932 my provincial Superior, Father Zacheus Maher, desired that I become a doctor . . . I went to my old friend, Herbert Eugene Bolton, to guide me in the historical field . . . I was Bolton's fourth Jesuit student and being the most recent, I was a Benjamin at forty-five. He sent Father Jacobson and me down to Mexico to inspect old documents and to breathe an ancient atmosphere. We did both. After my companion left for home, I went far into the mission country, rode out over wild trails on horseback, pierced deep into Jesuitland.

The first of Father Dunne's numerous books had been a modest biography of the foundress of the San Francisco house of the Helpers of the Holy Souls. He had been asked by the religious to do this for them and he had complied: all of his later writings, however, were to fall into the more professional type of the trained historian. Thus, in 1940, six years after he had won the doctorate in history at Berkeley, and while actively engaged in an amazingly exacting teaching load at USF, Father Dunne published his *Pioneer Blackrobes on the West Coast*. This was followed, in 1944, by *Pioneer Jesuits in Northern Mexico*. In 1945, as a result of a sabbatical year which he spent in visiting all the countries of Latin America, he published his controversial *A Padre Views South America*. In collaboration with Father John Francis Bannon of St. Louis University, Father Dunne published a textbook in 1947 which was entitled: *Latin America: An Historical Survey*. The next year saw his prolific and scholarly pen issuing *Early Jesuit Missions in Tarahuma*. In 1951, Father Dunne had still another volume ready which he entitled: *Andres Perez de Ribas, Pioneer Blackrobe of the West Coast*.

The next volume he considered his best written, and others have found in its pages a mature exposition of its subject matter which mark it as a really superior work; this was his *Blackrobes in Lower California*. Finally, in 1955, Father Dunne published *Jacopo Sedlmayr, Missionary, Frontiersman, Historian*. At the time of his death, there were two unpublished manuscripts, one of which he had entitled *Northward the Padre*. This volume is a collection of the important by-products of his research, and one which will perhaps be published as a posthumous tribute to its author. Additionally, a critical edition of the letters of an early Jesuit missionary was partially prepared for the press while Father Dunne was supposedly on the convalescent list after his operation of early 1956. All in all, especially when one adds the total figure of over fifty articles contributed to various historical magazines and a positive abundance of book reviews, and when one adds the heavy class schedule maintained by Father Dunne for many years, it is a scholarly record of which one may be proud.

Yet Father Peter Dunne was not just a scholar. With his love of God and of men redeemed by Christ, he would have found a life of scholarship alone not completely satisfactory. He once remarked to a younger colleague in his history department and in the priesthood: "We must always remember that we are not just historians, Father. Occasionally there are confessions to be heard, and there are sermons to be preached, and we are wrong if we separate ourselves completely from these priestly privileges." And so it was with him for, as usual, when a belief or a conviction was enunciated by Peter Dunne, it was invariably followed up by consistent action. Past and present Father Ministers in San Francisco will concur in the assertion that Father Peter Dunne was very high up on the list of generous men, the special delight of our ministers, of course, and indeed he could be called upon—and was—in any emergency, and could be counted on to deliver with unruffled serenity. Time and again he mounted the pulpit in St. Ignatius Church as a last minute substitute, and he was never found wanting in a message couched, occasionally, in memorable aphorisms, for Father Peter Dunne was a phrasemaker par excellence. His legion of former

students, both in the Society and out of it, can testify to this fact from listening to his colorful English in the classroom.

If Father Peter Dunne will be remembered as a teacher of men, and this, among other things, I think, is what will cause him to be remembered longer than most of us, it will be in a broader sense than is usually attached to the phrase. One who endeavors to sum up the activities of his very busy life is struck with the thought that, along with the formal teaching of more than a quarter of a century in the classrooms of USF, Father Dunne was a teacher in many other respects as well. He probably did not give any special thought to the matter, for his was a singularly unselfish and uncomplicated life, and he was not at all self-conscious in the sense of taking himself or his work too seriously. Reflection will convince one, though, that Father Dunne taught not only through his books, his learned articles, and his many public appearances on the lecture platform in San Francisco and vicinity, but he also taught the members of his own religious community by the example of dedicated and industrious life which, in some of its features, at least, put him in a class by himself. For many years he rose well before five o'clock and, before that bewitching hour, was on his daily walk from Ignatian Heights to the Motherhouse of the Holy Family Sisters at Hayes and Fillmore Streets (a distance of about fifteen city blocks) to offer Mass at exactly five-thirty a.m. The Sisters knew that Father Peter would be there and he always was—so much so that it was a saying among the nuns that they could set their clocks by the exact regularity of his appearance on the altar. On Sundays, for many years he would vary the routine by offering the 8:30 Mass in St. Ignatius Church and his sermons at this Mass consistently attracted a good number of auditors. It was noticed, though, that he was in the confessional well before six o'clock on Sundays and that he remained there until time for his own Mass. Incidentally, any of the Fathers who took Father Peter's place in that same confessional must certainly have noticed that a little shelf in it invariably contained a history book or two and they would be correct in suspecting that not a minute was wasted if there were a dearth of penitents. One could multiply examples of the same kind of industriousness and of fidelity to priestly and religious

duties, but it is felt that the pattern has now been fairly well indicated: a cheerful and even sprightly service was always and ever the contribution of Father Peter Dunne to the many works of the Society in San Francisco. He taught the younger men by his example of an industrious, productive, and well-balanced life and was always encouraging if they approached him with questions or with requests for guidance in any field with which he felt conversant. And so, in retrospect, it is not exactly surprising that this outstanding teacher of men was destined to teach his greatest lesson in the manner in which he prepared himself for death. I well remember the nonchalant manner in which he told me, as a confrere in the history department of the University, that he was going to the hospital for a few days for some "minor surgery." The "minor surgery" proved to be a critical operation involving the removal of his whole stomach in an endeavor to halt the progress of an hitherto unsuspected cancerous growth in the area. A partial recovery resulted, as already indicated, but those close to Father Peter knew that he was never really well from the day of the surgery until his death almost a year later. Eating became quite a task and was always followed by a period of active discomfort, and thus it was that he began to be missed from the recreation room after dinner in the evening. This was especially noticed for Father Dunne had always enjoyed recreation with the community and he felt his inability to be with the Fathers during this last year of his life. But the strength of will which he showed all throughout these months was demonstrated in his desire to return to the classroom as soon as possible, and this he did for the summer session of 1956. He wished a full schedule for the fall semester and it took almost executive action on the part of a dean to persuade him that the time had now come for him to ease up a bit and leave some of the heavier burdens to younger men in the department. He finally acquiesced but then accepted a teaching chore at the Burlingame Novitiate of the Sisters of Mercy and, twice each week, he went there to teach European history to the younger nuns. It was evident, though, to those of the brethren and to many who watched from outside the cloister that Father Peter was building his fourth tabernacle—that of suffering and of an

uncomplaining acceptance of the will of God in his regard—and that he was, perhaps without knowing it, teaching his finest lesson to many who paused to watch and lingered to admire this completely devoted man. He now drove to his daily Mass instead of walking, but he was there each morning at the usual early hour and he was pleased when, last November, he completed a full quarter of a century as chaplain at his beloved Motherhouse. He missed no classes, even though it must have required almost superhuman effort to fulfill his teaching obligations, and those of his students who suspected or knew more than the others concerning his condition expressed their admiration at his determination to explain the material and to answer the questions involved in his various history courses. He remarked to a Jesuit friend that he thought he had learned much from his sickness for, as he said, "Previously, I have not known ill health at all and now, for the first time, I am learning what other people have had to put up with for so long a period of their lives. This is good for me, and I have a fine teacher—Almighty God!"

The University of San Francisco had rejoiced with Father Dunne when, in December, 1955, he was elected President of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, an honor which his richly productive career of scholarship had brought to him and to his University. With characteristic forethought Father Dunne had written his presidential address to be delivered at the University of Oregon in Eugene in December before submitting to surgery in February, 1956. When he was prepared for death after his operation—a preparation which happily proved premature—he told me that "If I can't make it, you will find my address all written out and on my desk, and you can go to Eugene and read it for me!" It is good to record here that he was able to go to Eugene, despite physical handicaps that would have completely discouraged another man, and there, with characteristic distinction and under poignant circumstances which were not lost on his auditors, Father Dunne read what he knew full well was to be his valedictory in matters historical. In less than three weeks, he was dead, and it would appear that he had saved at least a part of himself for this final appearance. It was not vanity but a statement of simple fact

that led him to say to a confrere on his return: "I think that I never received more spontaneous applause than I did after this talk. This pleased me!" For this address he had returned to his favorite field of historical research, that of the Reformation, and he had entitled it "The Renaissance and the Reformation, A Study in Objectivity: Legends Black and White." A Jesuit from another province who heard him said afterwards that the circumstances under which Father Dunne had given his address as well as the masterful presentation of his subject had combined to make him feel completely proud to be associated professionally with such a scholar and such a Jesuit.

Before going to Eugene in Christmas Week, 1956, Father Dunne had offered his three Christmas Masses at the Holy Family Motherhouse in San Francisco; despite great distress which had always accompanied his celebration of the Holy Sacrifice since his surgery, he had insisted on following the immemorial convent routine by singing the first Mass and following it with his two other low Masses. There was hardly any breakfast afterwards, for he had arrived at a state when physical nourishment of all but the simplest kind was almost an impossibility. His Christmas dinner with his married sister and her family consisted only of tea and soup, and he practically subsisted on such things from this time to the end, a few weeks later. On his return to San Francisco after his appearance at Eugene, Oregon, he reentered St. Mary's Hospital according to the prearranged plan: entering the room in the company of Fathers Rector and Minister, he turned to them and thanked them for their kindness to him and said, quite simply: "I shall not leave this room alive. This is the will of God for me, Fathers, and I accept it with great love." And completely accept it he did—as he had from the very beginning of his illness. In a previous stay in the hospital before Christmas, and after he had been fully informed of the fatal nature of his illness, he had chatted almost nonchalantly with a Jesuit confrere and remarked, again with a simplicity which was born of conviction and sincerity, "After all, life is changed and not taken away. I had not expected to go this way, but it is this way which God has chosen for me. We have the truths of the spiritual life to

strengthen and console us in this hour: we have faith, hope and charity and we need no more." He weakened quickly after his return to the hospital, and I shall not soon forget a visit which it was my privilege to pay him several days before his death; he was in evident and great distress and he admitted that there was "now no longer discomfort but real pain" but, in the midst of it all, he remarked very simply: "It will be good to see God!" He well knew, as did his doctors, that it would not be long before that end would come which was to be his beginning. And when death came on Tuesday morning, January 15, 1957, the soul of a Jesuit priest who surely loved God went forth to see God. One felt a certain amount of human sorrow but one rejoiced at the precious memories of the last year of Father Peter's life, as well as those which one could think of from former years of close association. He had remarked once that he didn't think that he had many friends, but the extent to which he was wrong was demonstrated in the constant flow of those who visited St. Ignatius Church for his wake and who assisted at the low Mass of Requiem which Father Rector, William J. Tobin, offered for the eternal repose of his soul on January 17th, 1957. Prominent among the mourners was that same Professor Hicks who had so appropriately eulogized him on the occasion mentioned above. In Sacramento the Senate and Assembly of the state of California adopted a resolution of sympathy on the passing of "this exceptional historian". An embossed resolution of the Board of Supervisors of San Francisco, introduced by the President of the Board who is among the legion of Father Dunne's former students, deserves partial quotation here because it is put so aptly:

WHEREAS the impact of the loss visited on the community by the death of Father Dunne is one which will touch not only the members of the faith to whose needs he administered, but all San Franciscans, regardless of creed, who reaped the benefits of his lifetime spent in unselfish devotion to the welfare of his fellow citizens,

WHEREAS the passing of Father Dunne takes from the community a citizen whose character and competence were of marked superiority and takes from the University of San Francisco an outstanding scholar, and a distinguished representative of this City,

WHEREAS the deep sorrow felt by those legions from all walks of life who were privileged to know, admire, respect and love Father Peter Masten Dunne during his lifetime will be tempered by the recollection of his unselfish productive career which brought great honor, renown and distinction to San Francisco and which may well serve as an inspiration to those who follow in his footsteps,

RESOLVED that the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco does hereby adjourn its meeting of this day out of respect to his cherished memory.

It may, perhaps, be allowed to finish this sketch with another reference to Professor Hicks: in a letter to Father Dunne which he has given permission to quote and which Father Peter seems to have read just a few hours before his death, these thoughtful and appropriate words are found:

Who am I to tell one who was never faint of heart how to meet the afflictions that come to mortal man? So I shan't try. But permit me to say this, dear Peter, that come what may, your immortality will not be confined alone to the next world. For you have invested your life in others. In them and in those who learn from them and from their successors, you will be with this world while time lasts. What a splendid legacy you will leave! I salute you!

If these lines of sincere affection and respect for the life and character of Peter Masten Dunne, priest of the Society of Jesus, have proved anything at all, they may, perhaps, be summed up as a conviction that his life was a fulfillment of those words chosen by the same Professor Hicks for his "text" at the Jubilee banquet already mentioned:

"Carefully study to present thyself approved unto God, a workman that needs not to be ashamed, rightly handling the word of truth."

These inspired words of St. Paul seem to sum up adequately the truly distinguished career of Peter Masten Dunne, scholar, teacher of men, and priest of the Society of Jesus.

Father George McAnaney

FR. JOSEPH E. O'NEILL, S.J.

Father George McAnaney was a man about whose life and character it is difficult to write at length. The reason for this is not that there was anything over which one would prefer to pass or that there was anything in his nature impossible to understand and explain. The reason lies in the plain fact that he was a simple man, an average Jesuit, who led an average, normal life, who never did anything in any way unusual, outstanding, or particularly brilliant. There were no high lights in his life, no sparkling years of dramatic activity to hold the interest. He was a good teacher who patiently and conscientiously taught high school for the three years of his regency and for eleven years as a priest. On the surface, at least, it was an uneventful, humdrum existence. But a Jesuit does not live wholly upon the surface, and the drama of Father McAnaney was played out very quietly, unheard, almost unseen, and certainly without fanfare and adulation of any kind.

The surface facts are quickly told. He was born on May 7, 1909, of parents of Irish extraction, and he grew up in Yonkers, New York. After the usual grammar school training he went to Fordham Preparatory School from which he graduated in 1928. A month later, on the eve of the Feast of St. Ignatius, he entered the Novitiate of St. Andrew-on-Hudson, received his first vows at the usual time, made the usual Juniorate studies and spent the usual three years of philosophy at Woodstock. After the three years of teaching in St. Peter's High School, he made the usual four years of theology at Woodstock, with ordination to the priesthood taking place at the usual time. This was followed by Tertianship at Auriesville, after which came his rather brief period of priestly activity. It consisted mainly in teaching high

school—at Xavier from 1943 to 1947, at St. Peter's from 1947 to 1950, and at Fordham from 1950 to 1954. There was a year as assistant student counsellor which was broken by frequent trips to the hospital, and during the entire period from 1943 to 1956, when he died, there were occasional calls, confessions, sermons, and the like, the usual activity of the average Jesuit. But in all that he did he was not outstanding in any way, nor was there anything particularly notable about the form of his ministry. He was not a preacher, a writer, an official. He was simply a good teacher, quiet, conscientious, and faithful.

So much for the surface facts. They are few and entirely unexciting. It is easy enough to write them down, and they are easier to read or hear. But reading or hearing them is not enough. Who can say that they present a full or even a true picture of the essential man? Who can decide that they reveal the unique quality of the spirit? Who can weigh the virtues and the faults of any man, and take it upon himself to announce the degree of merit? Who, in a word, can ever evaluate the goodness, the life of grace in any other soul, and strictly and fairly draw the lines of portraiture about the inner man itself? I believe that this can never be done fully and justly for any man, by any man. One can only go back in memory, reflect, and offer the version one knows. I happen to think the following estimate is a true one, and yet I know it is incomplete. Father McAnaney was my friend; I knew him well, perhaps better than most. But I do not profess to special insight and if I err in any way, it is entirely owing to human fallibility.

What were the dominant traits of Father McAnaney? I think I can say with certainty that George McAnaney had as his characteristic trait a quiet, unassuming steadfastness in the Faith that sprang straight from a simple love of Christ and His Blessed Mother, a love that was absolutely unshakable and absolutely without human respect.

Secondly, he had an unaffected humility that was based on a true knowledge of himself in relation to God. It was strong, unfailing, and it left him calmly unenvious of the talents and the successes of others. I believe I can say, again with certainty, that he never had a moment of unhappiness or even

of normal, grumbling discontent at the glitter and the gleam of the lives of those about him. He did not consider himself talented and he did not brood about it. He ambitioned no offices and coveted no honors. But this was not the supine indifference of intellectual or physical sloth; it was the ready acceptance of the Will of God in a simple and childlike way.

There are some people to whom the gift of Faith comes with difficulty, who must fight to accept and keep the pearl of great price. They are the natural sceptics, the doubters by instinct and temperament, the men who believe but who do so slowly, and almost with reluctance. There are others, however, in whom the will to believe rises as smoothly and easily as the silent stream that welled up over the cold rocks of the grotto of Lourdes where there had been no water a moment before. George McAnaney had such a will to believe. He had a mind naturally devout, and he stayed that way as long as he lived, completely unaware that he was presenting, to all who had eyes to see, a charming picture of simple and unaffected devotion to Christ and Mary that was as unobtrusive but as pervasive and wholesome as the very air he breathed.

In temperament he was slow and mild, but he could be aroused to indignant and even eloquent protest wherever and whenever he thought goodness was in peril. He had a genuine concern for the spiritual welfare of others but he was no officious meddler, no heavy footed intruder on the privacies of his neighbor. He did not look for faults in others and, in fact, he claimed to be unable to see them, including those that seem so obvious and irritating in the daily give-and-take of religious life. He was pleasant, affable and well liked, with the gift of making friends easily and retaining them once they were made. He had what I do not hesitate to describe as a good face, of the sort that clearly reflects the blessed quality of the soul living the life of grace.

He enjoyed life but he did not feel that God was obligated to sustain him in perpetual euphoria. That he loved God was evident, and in his unassuming way he was faithful almost to the point of scrupulosity in the matter of the vows and all the other obligations and duties of our state of life.

He was asked to bear two crosses. The first was the malignant disease that forced the life from him slowly but in-

exorably, like a great weight that cannot be shaken off or put down even for a moment, and that eventually must crush the bearer to death. He knew he had this disease and he knew he could not live long, but he accepted the fact with patience and with resignation. The other cross, as it seems to me, consisted in this, that in spite of his fatal disease, he looked well, even healthy in fact. Appearances, as usual, were deceptive. Inevitably, he was forced to cut down on his teaching and finally to give it up entirely, along with other jobs as well. It was quite easy for others, unaware of the pressure of his ever increasing illness, to make the mistaken judgment that here was a man either unwilling to work as hard as he could or, quite simply, a hypochondriac, not quite so ill as he thought. He knew this too, and he accepted it. But it hurt, and he felt deeply the fact that he could no longer go on teaching, student counselling, or hearing confessions. The feeling that he was useless was strong, but he accepted the pain of it in a way that was not very far from the heroic. It was not an easy way to live and it was truly a living death, a kind of slow martyrdom, inescapable and inevitable. The final months in the hospital were a period of progressive decline with the fact of death an ever more certain and almost visible reality. A room in a hospital was the setting for the quiet little battleground upon which he fought to the end his own particular fight, and won.

I think it sufficient tribute to say that Father George McAnaney was a typical Jesuit, who died as he had lived—courageously, steadfastly, and wholly in Christ.

Brother Claude Ramaz, S.J.

JAMES J. LYNCH, S.J.

On Fordham Road at Bathgate Avenue there is an imposing building which, like its nearest neighbor, Kohlmann Hall, could easily seem to passers-by to be part of Fordham University. These two buildings are an enduring monument to Brother Claude Ramaz, apostle of devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

The *Messenger* building is large enough to provide storage space for the business records and relics of many years; and, if Brother Ramaz had had his way, the collection would have remained complete and ever-growing. He was strongly inclined to preserve them all, lest any error in them be discovered some day; and so all justice could at least be fulfilled. Not so with personal records and reminiscences. There is almost nothing left of him in writing, with the exception of jubilee tributes.

Claude Ramaz was born on November 27, 1868, in Lyons, France. His father, Joseph Ramaz, was a silk weaver, a craft that suffered very much because of war with Germany. Before the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 broke out, Joseph Ramaz decided to emigrate to America.

When Claude was four, his father died and his mother returned to France. Conditions were still bad in Europe, and though she was a skilled seamstress, Claude's mother found it difficult to make ends meet. At the end of two years, just before mother and son returned once more to America, Claude remembered being in a Corpus Christi procession, wearing a surplice and carrying a candle. And he remembered religious brothers giving out candy to the children after the ceremonies were concluded.

If Brother knew he was a Catholic at the time, he was to forget it during the years to follow. Both his father and mother did not practice their Faith. In fact, when his mother

found out that brothers conducted the school, she withdrew Claude to save him from religious training. He remembered that she once said to him: "It is better to be a good civilian than a bad ecclesiastic."

After six years in America, the two returned to France, found working conditions there intolerable and, after six months, returned once more to America and rented furnished rooms in Union City, New Jersey. He was now twelve years old. One day he was at the window watching some boys at play with religious brothers. He said to his mother: "We're Protestants, aren't we?" His mother replied in a plaintive voice, "No, we're Catholics."

As a boy of thirteen, Claude, anxious to help his mother, obtained a job in a silk mill, issuing spools of silk to the weavers. His mother had instructed the employer that Claude was not to sweep the floor. When he was seventeen, he was made foreman of the spool department. By this time, their combined earnings had made it possible for them to buy a house of their own.

On Claude's eighteenth birthday, his mother died. After a period of mourning, he rented out the spare rooms in his house. In going through his mother's papers, he found his own baptismal certificate, which showed that he had been baptized at the cathedral town of Chazelles-sur-Lyon. He did not know whether the Abbé Ramaz there was a relative of his. It seems likely, since the town of Chazelles was twenty-three miles from Lyons, and the interest of this priest would explain both the fact of the baptism and the journey to Chazelles.

The discovery of the certificate must have made a deep impression on him. With him, when he found it, was one of the roomers, Audigier by name, a man of thirty-two, who had become a good friend and adviser. He instructed Claude in what it meant to be a Catholic, and gave him a life of St. Ignatius to read. He also made it his business to obtain the prayers of some pious old women who had said they thought Claude looked like one of the seminarians at the nearby Passionist monastery.

Claude began to attend Mass regularly, and was confirmed by Bishop Wiggers. He also began to meditate on the reflec-



BROTHER CLAUDE RAMAZ

tions aroused by reading the life of St. Ignatius. It was not long before his salvation seemed to him the most important thing in the world. He felt he would go to China, if that were necessary. The idea of a vocation was thus being formed; and his friend Audigier did everything he could to urge Claude to settle the matter. Claude decided to become a Jesuit Brother.

What Brother Ramaz thought of his kind friend Audigier is beautifully expressed in a letter which Brother wrote for publication in the March-April issue of the *Jesuit Seminary News* in 1948 on the occasion of his sixtieth jubilee as a member of the Society of Jesus. The excerpt will also serve as an example of Brother's literary style, which was cultured and courteous as well as deeply spiritual. The letter reads, in part:

As a commemoration of my Diamond Jubilee—sixty years as a Jesuit Brother—you wished me to tell you something of myself which may be of interest to our many friends who are readers of our *Jesuit Seminary News*.

I am afraid that I have nothing startling to say, except, perhaps that through the mercy and goodness of God it has been my privilege to spend over fifty-four of these sixty years in helping the Fathers to promote the devotion to the Sacred Heart through the Apostleship of Prayer and the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*. This has been a most consoling work in which I could never have taken part had I remained in the world. Now that I am nearing the end of my sojourn in this vale of tears and recall our Lord's promise, that those who promote the devotion to his Sacred Heart will have their names written in His Heart, never to be effaced, it is a source of great consolation, as you can well imagine.

The thought came to me of becoming a Brother when I was in my nineteenth year. My father died when I was four and my mother when I was eighteen. This left me alone as I had no relatives in this country. I was rather ambitious and animated by a strong desire to improve my condition in life. My mother left me some little property, and I have some recollection—my memory is somewhat failing me now—that with the savings I could make, I would probably have \$10,000 by the time I reached thirty, and could then start some enterprise and settle down in life. But Divine Providence intervened and changed my plans through the medium of a devout friend, a well-instructed Catholic, who was able to expound in a forcible manner the inestimable benefit of a vocation to the religious life, of living for God alone.

I was further impressed by reading the life of St. Ignatius, and wished that he was alive so I could ask him what to do. I began to

realize more and more the need of taking the best and surest means to save my soul, and that the most certain and direct way for me was the religious life, through the dedication of my entire being to God by the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. I realized this so vividly that I would, I think, have gone to the ends of the earth to become a religious.

Up to the present God gave me nearly eighty years of life. He extended me the extraordinary privilege of spending sixty of those years in his holy service as a Jesuit Brother. When I realize that time is given to us by God to work out our salvation and to merit for life everlasting, then nothing would pain me more at present than to look back over the years and see that I had done little or nothing for eternity, which probably would have been the case if I had not heeded the inspiration God in his goodness and mercy gave me sixty years ago.

There are many young men today who are favored as I was but do not heed the call or put it off. To them I would say: Do not delay; act promptly and with courage. The Sacred Heart of Jesus may not say to you a second time: 'Come, follow Me.'

Another indication of his enduring appreciation of his friend's spiritual guidance is seen in the fact that when Brother was preparing to take his final vows on the second of February, 1899, his renunciation assigned \$500 to Audigier, who had returned to France. This enabled Audigier to return to America with his wife, in accordance with her wishes. This seems to have been his last contact with Audigier.

On Thanksgiving Day of 1877, he went to the College of St. Francis Xavier in Manhattan to see the Provincial. He was referred to Fordham; on arriving there he was told to go to St. Ignatius Loyola, at Eighty-Fourth Street. At this last place, a man from whom he asked street directions turned out to be an ex-Brother. Discovering Claude's intentions, he advised him against the step, warning him that Brothers were mere servants of the priests. Claude paid no attention to him and obtained the interview he sought. His petition was granted and he was told to report to the novitiate at Frederick, Maryland, on the eve of the Feast of St. Joseph, March 19, 1888. This he did, and remembered how, during the Long Retreat, he wept tears of joy and consolation while he was sweeping the corridors.

After completing his novitiate, Brother Ramaz spent a year at Frederick as painter and bookbinder; then three more

years as infirmarian. Then the Provincial, Father Pardow, who had made his tertianship at Paray-le-Monial and who had been spiritual father of the Brothers at Frederick before his appointment as Provincial, asked Brother if he would like an assignment to the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*. Brother begged to be excused from answering, wishing to leave the matter entirely in the hands of superiors. The rector at Frederick, Father John O'Rourke, hated to lose such a good Brother, but was to be reunited with him later as editor of the *Messenger*.

On January 27, 1894, Brother Ramaz was appointed to the *Messenger*, which at that time was published in Philadelphia, and he began his long career of dealing with printers and other tradesmen, procuring office supplies, managing the office workers and taking care of all matters pertaining to circulation and advertising.

The Apostleship of Prayer was founded in 1844 by Father Gautrelet at the Jesuit scholasticate at Vals in France. In 1861 Father Ramiere started the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* as the organ of the Apostleship of Prayer. In 1866 the American *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* was inaugurated by Father Benedict Sestini at Woodstock. He continued to edit each issue until 1885, when he was succeeded by Father Dewey. Father Wynne became Editor in 1891 and welcomed Brother Ramaz as an assistant in 1894. During August of that year, the office was moved from Philadelphia to two houses opposite Xavier High School at sixteenth street in Manhattan, New York City. The magazine was published there until January, 1906, when the office was moved to 801 West 181st Street, New York City, where it remained until the end of 1922. Since 1923 it has been issued from its own permanent building, designed by Brother Ramaz, on ground purchased from Fordham University at 515 East Fordham Road, the Bronx, New York.

It was while the offices were at 181st Street that Mother Cabrini, now sainted, used to come in in order to obtain innumerable Sacred Heart badges and other Apostleship supplies. There was one office worker, Miss Josephine Weldon, whom she used to surprise by approaching from the rear, putting her hands over Josephine's eyes and saying: "Guess

who it is!" Josephine always knew and always remembered the holy nun who was so joyous of heart. Brother himself spoke to the saint only a few times.

Under the editorship of Father Wynne, Brother Ramaz saw many changes take place. In 1897 the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* became a magazine of general Catholic interest. The articles and departments concerned with the Apostleship of Prayer were published in a separate volume called the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart Supplement*. In 1902 the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* became *The Messenger*, and the *Supplement* regained its proper title, being henceforth known as the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*. In 1909 *The Messenger* ceased publication and was replaced by *America*, under the editorship of Father Wynne. In 1906, Father Anthony Maas was appointed Director of the Apostleship and Associate Editor of the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, until he became rector of Woodstock in 1907. Father John O'Rourke, Superior of the Community since 1907, became Editor of the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* from 1907 until 1911. Then, after a short period as vice-rector of Brooklyn College, he returned to the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* from 1913-1917.

Under Father O'Rourke, Brother Ramaz's efforts were rewarded with wonderful results. Father O'Rourke was a great preacher and a great spiritual writer for the *Messenger* audience. His books, *Under the Sanctuary Lamp*, *On the Hills with Our Lord*, and *Fountains of the Saviour*, are still on the active shelves of our libraries. He had very little interest in business details, and had the greatest confidence in Brother Ramaz.

However, Brother Ramaz had to devise little stratagems occasionally to win his point. For instance, a great deal of the mail used to be sent out with the help of school girls. Brother learned of a new machine which would address, stamp and seal mail very efficiently. Father O'Rourke considered the cost prohibitive, but allowed Brother to apply for the machine on approval. Brother knew he could not induce the Editor to come and watch the machine in operation. So he instructed his helpers: "In ten minutes, Father O'Rourke will pass by here. Have everything in readiness and, when I

give a signal, start the machine." He gave the signal, and Father O'Rourke stopped to watch, as anticipated. After a short time Brother said to him: "That is the machine I was telling you about. What do you think of it?" And the satisfying reply was: "Wonderful! Wonderful! Do we have the money to pay for it?" And Brother assured him that there were sufficient funds on hand. And so that matter, and many another like it, was settled.

Brother Ramaz thought that illustrations would help to increase the circulation of the magazine. Father O'Rourke gave him permission to arrange for some, but no money. There would be no need to pay young school girls. Brother Ramaz did not have young school girls in mind; but if that was his only recourse, he would begin that way. So the first illustrations were markedly unprofessional; but a beginning had been made.

The *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* was to become a pioneer in many forms of color printing. Long before other Catholic magazines followed the same path, the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* was using as many as six different types of color reproduction in one issue. This development was only begun under Father O'Rourke, but the popularity of *Messenger* covers, frontispieces and color inserts for many years was due to the enterprising genius of Brother Ramaz. The beauty and simplicity of appeal in the many fine pictures it has given its readers is one of its outstanding achievements. Consecration pictures of the Sacred Heart hang in hundreds of thousands of homes today, partly because Brother Ramaz had a wise sense of what would appeal to simple Catholic people and a French sense of economy in making the price right. His idea was to reach as many homes as possible. There was no marketing strategy that he did not somehow use to advantage. His first aim was to make the magazine itself colorful and appealing; his second was to get others interested in promoting its sale; and, finally, he realized that only by employing all the labor-saving devices of modern business would he be able to keep its standards high and its price low. His advice to a Spanish Jesuit who consulted him on the best means of promoting the *Mensajero del Sagrada Corazon* was this: "Make it good; make it cheap; make it known."

In 1911 the *Messenger* appeared with the cover and frontispiece printed in four colors. It was something never before tried in Catholic periodicals. Another innovation appeared in the golden jubilee issue of January, 1916. Some of the illustrations were printed in rotogravure and others in full-color offset. Both techniques were new in the printing field.

In order to increase the circulation of the *Messenger*, Brother Ramaz thought that there would be nothing better to use than the services of present subscribers. When a subscription expired, Brother was not content with merely sending a form for renewal. He would send five or ten subscription blanks, suggesting that the reader renew his own subscription and spread the devotion to the Sacred Heart by getting others to take the *Messenger*. As an added incentive, Brother conceived the idea of giving premiums for those who would get a certain number of subscriptions.

An even greater indication of Brother's success in business management is seen in the following figures: In 1907, before the time of Father O'Rourke, the circulation was 28,000. In 1908, when Father O'Rourke became superior, it rose to 50,000. In 1909: 83,500; 1910: 115,000; 1911: 150,000; 1912: 180,500; 1913: 200,000; 1914: 250,000; 1915: 280,000; 1920: 360,000. This was the maximum circulation ever reached by the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*. It decreased afterwards as raises in price became necessary due to wars and the depression.

The phenomenal advance in circulation which began in 1908 was due not only to the excellence of Father O'Rourke's spiritual writings (he wrote a good portion of the magazine, using various pseudonyms), but also to schemes conceived and carried out by Brother Ramaz. When he devised a League Emblem and a Promoter's Cross, the office was jammed with long lines of applicants and huge boxes of mailed requests.

The progress begun under Father O'Rourke continued under the long regime of Father Mullaly, from 1917 to 1941. By 1919, the financial situation was such that Brother Ramaz saw that a special building could be financed without the burden of any debt and that the project would be to the great

advantage of the work. He proposed the idea to superiors, including the Visitor of the American Provinces, the Very Rev. Norbert De Boynes.

Father De Boynes was to remember Brother Ramaz so well that, more than thirty years later, he wrote a most friendly note to Brother when he heard about the operation Brother had to undergo at St. Francis Hospital in Poughkeepsie in 1953. He mentioned how he had had to undergo a similar operation which had proved completely successful in his case, and he was sure God would grant the same favor to Brother Ramaz.

Brother Ramaz always attributed to Father De Boynes a great measure of credit for having interceded at Rome so effectively in favor of a *Messenger* printing plant and never forgot him in his prayers.

When Brother was informed that all the necessary permissions had been granted, he made a tour of inspection of large printing plants in New York and Philadelphia. From the Curtis Publishing Company he obtained much invaluable help. Then he explained the entire printing and distribution process to architects, and the building, completed in 1923, has ever since been a complete editorial, production and management unit. The first floor houses the presses, bindery and mailing equipment. The second main floor is used for executive offices and a clerical staff. A mezzanine serves as the national office of the Apostleship of Prayer.

Brother Ramaz wanted the latest and the best in machinery. He smilingly told the Catholic president of the R. Hoe Company that his firm had built many presses that were doing the devil's work, and that he should now do his very best to make one that would do God's work. He worked with representatives of the company in the designing of a special press which would print the magazine complete, with the exception of cover and frontispiece. It could produce a 144-page magazine at the rate of one copy a second. It required only four operators and three paper handlers. Eleven feet high and forty feet long, the Hoe Company pronounced it the best of its kind at the time. The press was in continuous operation until 1954.

He engaged the Meisel Company of Boston to design a press

that would produce monthly leaflets complete in sets of three forty-four page booklets, ready for shipment as they left the press. This machine still produces two million leaflets a month, and could produce millions more, if required. It is the only press of its kind.

He equipped the entire building with similar foresight, efficiency, and economy of design. As the famous Father Campbell said of him:

"His perfect knowledge of all the details of press work, the reproduction of pictures and the various qualities of paper, together with his alertness in availing himself of all of the most recent devices to expedite the work and diminish the amount of hand labor, as well as his shrewdness in devising means and methods to increase the circulation of the *Messenger*, are commonly regarded as the chief factor, after the blessing of God, of the remarkable progress made."

In the summers of 1925 and 1929, Brother Ramaz visited Europe. As he passed through his native Lyons, he inquired for people named Ramaz. He found only a rather unfriendly baker. Brother asked him if the Ramaz family were good Catholics and received a curt affirmative reply. Then he continued on his Holy Year pilgrimage to Rome, where he had the honor of an interview with Father General Wlodimir Ledochowski.

During the course of the second trip he was present at the beatification of his namesake and exemplar in spreading devotion to the Sacred Heart, Blessed Claude de la Colombiere. While in Europe Brother Ramaz was able to secure many of the pictures which have since appeared in the *Messenger*.

In 1941, on the occasion of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the *Messenger*, the Editor, Father Stephen L. J. O'Beirne, S.J., paid a sincere tribute to the work of Brother Ramaz in spreading the devotion to the Sacred Heart:

"But there is one whose name cannot be thus passed over in any account of the *Messenger* and its makers. For forty-eight years, through numerous changes of editors, policies, locations and methods, he has been a faithful and efficient member of the staff. More than to any other merely human factor, credit for the success of the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* is due to the splendid technical knowledge, the diligent

supervision and the tireless zeal for God's glory of Brother Claude Ramaz, S.J."

In 1948, the occasion of his sixtieth anniversary in the Society drew from Father General the following testimony of esteem and paternal affection:

"Six decades will have passed on March 19, 1948, since the day when, a young man of twenty, you entered our Society at Frederick, Maryland. From that sanctuary of prayer and probation you went forth after six years to the great work for which God had prepared you. You were assigned by obedience to the Apostleship of Prayer and the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*. And now as you complete sixty precious years as a son of Ignatius, you can look back upon fifty-four years during which you have been continuously and intimately associated with the spread of devotion to the Sacred Heart in the wide expanse of the United States.

"It is said that just as the modern and efficient printing plant in which the publications of the Apostleship of Prayer have been printed during these past twenty-five years was in great part the result of your planning and supervision, so, too, the remarkable growth in the circulation of the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, its continued improvement as a vehicle of inspiration for the Apostleship of Prayer, has been owing in large measure to your mastery of business details and the technical processes of printing.

"Since Our Lord Jesus Christ Himself has deigned to entrust to Our Society the most blessed work of establishing, developing and propagating devotion to his Most Sacred Heart and, since He has promised saving graces to all of Ours who will strive to gratify this desire of his (Epit. 851), it is consoling to contemplate the rich reward that you, dear Brother, will receive from the Divine Master. But in the name of the Society, too, I wish to assure you today of her abiding and sincere gratitude for your sixty years of quiet, efficient devotion to work and generous religious observance. I am happy to apply sixty Masses for your intention, with the fervent prayer that through the intercession of Our Blessed Mother and your patrons, Saint Joseph and Saint Alphonsus, 'the Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of Mercies and God of all Consolation' may fill your soul with his love and ineffable peace.

"I commend myself to your good prayers.

Sincerely in Our Lord,

(Signed) John B. Janssens, S.J."

The anniversary was celebrated at the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* with domestic pomp and circumstance, and Brother's reply to all the congratulations will give another

instance of his great felicity of expression and simple dignity. He said:

I am glad to have the opportunity of expressing publicly my sentiments of profound gratitude to Superiors for all they have done to make this commemoration of my sixty years in the Society most pleasant and most happy.

First to Very Rev. Father General for his Paternity's generous and gracious gift of sixty Masses, and for his most consoling letter, which was read to you.

Then to Father Superior and Father Minister, who have been most solicitous and spared no effort to make this day a memorable one for me. I do not know of anything they could have done and have not done.

The outpouring of the goodness of heart and charity as expressed by the comforting words spoken by Father Rector, Father Superior and Father McGratty relative to my endeavors during the years gone by rejuvenated and filled my soul with joy. It was like listening to the recording angels reading from the Book of Life.

My heart goes out also to the Fathers and Brothers of our little Community, and to all our guests: the Fathers and Brothers who are here with us this evening and who came to help me celebrate the occasion and to rejoice with me.

That his thoughtfulness for others went beyond the four walls of the Messenger building and beyond the list of subscribers is touchingly shown in a letter he wrote to a pastor in Bergenfield, New Jersey, during that same year, 1948:

Dear Father McGuirk:

There is an old lady in the parish, a fallen-away Catholic whom I knew some sixty years ago, before I became a Jesuit Brother. About fifty years ago she married a non-Catholic. I do not think she has received the Sacraments since. I enclose her name and address. The poor soul is now about eighty-six years old, hence not far from the end. I visited them a few times, years ago, in the hope that I might be of some spiritual help, but to no avail. Father Hillock also tried. The husband died about twelve years ago. Now that she is getting nearer the end and the husband has passed away, she may be more amenable to the grace of God.

If you do not know of her, you will be glad, dear Father, that I sent these few lines in the event that something can be done for this poor soul. Meanwhile my humble prayers go up to God for her.

In 1946, it was thought advisable to relieve Brother of the chief responsibility for business management and to introduce a successor who would have the advantage of Brother's

instruction and advice. When Father Faulkner was appointed, it was to their mutual advantage. The Father came to the highest esteem of Brother's methods and continued using them. And the Brother found the Father most patient and consoling when he most needed spiritual help.

In 1935 an operation had been necessary for the removal of one of Brother's eyes. Ever since the operation, a nervous temperament made his strict conscience tend toward scrupulosity. This condition worsened as the years passed and he was constantly in need of spiritual reassurance. Father Faulkner was perpetually patient and most kind, and never wearied of saying the necessary words as often as Brother appealed to him.

During Brother's last years at the *Messenger*, he would worry very much about whether lights were turned off at night, whether faucets were dripping, whether doors were locked and whether, in years past, all postal regulations had been strictly complied with to the letter of the law. He would get up in the middle of the night to check on such points as these, until superiors decided it would be a relief for him to be sent elsewhere. He spent his last years in tranquil happiness at St. Andrew-on-Hudson, Poughkeepsie, New York.

When the news of his change of status reached the far corners of the earth, many missionaries, priests, Brothers and Sisters felt about him as did Father Reith in the Philippine Islands, who wrote him the following letter.

Dear Brother, P.C.

"What is the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* without Brother Ramaz?" That is what they are all saying, and the echo of it has reached this other side of the world and is being sent back to you. What is the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* without Brother Ramaz?" and I might add for you, "What is Brother Ramaz without the Sacred Heart?" You have so long been associated with the *Messenger* and the Sacred Heart has so long been associated with you, that it just seems that one can't get along without the other.

And now they tell me that you are running away from the *Messenger* in order to get closer and nearer to the Heart of Our Lord. So be it. I am sure that you have merited, labored for and won the right to a very close place, near and dear to the Heart of Our Lord. Under the circumstances that you have already been called away from the work that has been so dear to you through

all the years, I can only pray that it will not be too long when the great invitation will come to you to "Behold the Heart."

I think I have some personal obligations that I ought to straighten out with you before you are engulfed in the eternal love of the Heart. More than twenty years ago, I landed on the floor of the *Messenger* and told you, not in so many words, that I was about to take over the equipment and staff of the *Messenger* in order to get a fledgling *Jesuit Missions* on its feet. I went down into the pressroom and I took over the big folder to fold our little propaganda sheets; I took the addresser (and stole names from the files of the *Messenger*) in order to get JM out to the people. I used the office girls to make stencils; I begged money from them; I stole gifts for the missions from the prizes of the *Messenger*. I used up the time of the artist; I knocked Father Mullaly on his iron breastplate and asked for this and that; and every time I got into a jam or a difficulty, or needed this or that, I would be shouting, "Where's Brother Ramaz—" And that went on for some years; and even after I got over here, it did not stop. If I used the name of Brother Ramaz, I could get copies of the *Messenger*, I could get pictures, I could get prizes, I could get rosaries with missing beads or crosses, I could get a beautiful letter and, I am sure, even more beautiful prayers.

Well, Brother, I'm only trying to tell you how grateful I am for all the grand things you have done for me, and I hope and pray from your high place in heaven you will put out that long, charitable arm of yours and keep urging me along and making me a bit dearer to your old Friend, the Sacred Heart. You are included in my Masses, Brother, and ever will be. God bless you, love you, take you to Himself.

Brother Ramaz gave generously to missionaries and others, always with general or particular permission. A letter from him to the Editor will show how carefully he kept his accounts, and how he wished to have his books in order before closing them. In 1954 he wrote to Father Moore:

When I was at the office, you kindly continued a permission I had from previous superiors to send the *Messenger* to the following:

To Dr. Freeda, foot doctor, who treated me free.

Brother Albertinus, General of the Sacred Heart Brothers at one time, and friend of the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*.

Sister Loretto Bernard, Administrator, St. Vincent's Hospital, and former employee of the *Messenger*.

Sister Callista, nonagenarian and friend of the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*.

Shrub Oak Caretaker who was very kind to Kohlmann Hall Brothers on occasion of a visit years ago.

I am most grateful for having had the privilege of sending these complimentary copies to these various addresses in the past, but there is no longer any reason for me to do so.

During his latter years he was a wonderfully kind-looking old man, short and slightly stooped in stature, with a full head of gray hair. He dressed always in wrinkled black, and wore an old pair of shoes mercifully cut out here and there to accommodate his poor old feet, worn out from his eternal walking about the plant all day long, ever present yet always unobtrusive. He was always busy, always available.

No one who had any dealings with him could fail to note his quick intelligence, his unfailing courtesy, his ready wit and sly humor. Towards priests, he always acted with reverence and respect, with a dignified humility that was never obsequious. The *Messenger* workers loved him. He conducted all matters with dispatch and quiet efficiency. Visitors to the plant, whether they came on business or merely to inspect, found him completely at their service during the time of their interest.

Despite the multiplicity of details that engaged his attention, he was always rigidly exact in the performance of his spiritual duties and gave a perfect example of religious modesty and diligence.

During all his years in the Society, he faithfully observed a practice which testifies to his constant humility and charity. "Twice a day," he said to one Father, "during the two examinations of conscience, I thank God that he has called me to the Society of Jesus, and that as a Brother in the Society—which was the best for me."

In the case of one whose whole life in the Society had been spent in promoting devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, we might expect, even in this life, a great share in the peace of Christ. But Brother Claude always worried about whether he had fulfilled his duties as perfectly as he should. Nothing could reassure him. His clearness of vision in business matters, his firmness of decision, his understanding of human nature, his tact in dealing with people, his refinement and graciousness, his wisdom and charity, were gifts given him by God not for his own satisfaction and complacency, but for the service of others. His religious superiors, and all

those who worked with him and dealt with him, had a supreme confidence in him and an esteem for him that amounted to reverence. His judgment upon himself was so severe as to be a real cross, to be carried unto the bitter end.

His sufferings were not the result of his own sins, but the result of his intense love of God and his desire to serve God perfectly. His sufferings were a trial which gave great meaning to his daily Morning Offering. He offered all this for others. He lived the Apostleship of Prayer.

He died in the peace of the Lord on February 13, 1956. May his great soul rest in peace.

DAILY EXERCISE

After the Exercises have been made, prayer is directed and preserved and increased by perseverance in it and in the ministries of one's vocation. Especially the purgative way is daily exercised in the examination of conscience and in the practice of abnegation and mortification and the desire of opprobrium and suffering for Christ. It is also found in obedience, not only of execution and will but also of the understanding. It is practiced too in sacramental Confession and the ordinary exercises similar to those of the First Week, as of death and final judgment, the secret judgments and permissions of God, the misery of sinners, the vanity of the world, and similar matters.

The illuminative and unitive ways are practiced daily in the meditations to which time is ordinarily given, and for others in saying the Hours of Our Lady and the Rosary; in other mental prayer also according to direction, as well as the time of Mass and Communion. And briefly, in all the exercises peace and quiet and devotion should be found; for all should be directed towards the fire of charity and zeal for souls lest they be lost. And thus in everything one should find God Our Lord and his way of praying.

JEROME NADAL

Books of Interest to Ours

MASTERFUL THEOLOGICAL STATEMENT

The Image of God in Man according to Cyril of Alexandria. *By Walter J. Burghardt, S.J.* (Studies in Christian Antiquity, edited by Johannes Quasten, no. 14). Woodstock College, Woodstock, Maryland; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press, 1957. Pp. xvi-194.

Father Burghardt's monograph on Cyril's thought promises to open up an entirely new approach to patristic theology. For, focussing on Cyril's doctrine of the divine image, the work is nothing less than a phenomenological study of Cyril's teaching on the meaning of the Atonement. The author's approach is thoroughly scientific as well as openminded; and thus the study is not only a patristic contribution in its own right; it is also a theological statement with important implications for our own day.

Cyril of Alexandria's productive life is usually divided into three periods: the early period of his episcopate (A. D. 412-428), during which he wrote his great work on the Trinity and a vast amount of biblical exegesis; the Christological Period (428-431), made famous by his works against Nestorius; and finally, the last period (431-444), during which he wrote a number of Apologetic treatises, the *Contra Iulianum* and a number of other great homilies and letters. Burghardt covers Cyril's entire prolific output, although Cyril's most important works, for the viewpoint of this study, come in the first, or exegetical period. And one of the most valuable features of the book is the author's way of summarizing, at every important stage, the growth of patristic theology before the time of Cyril.

After developing Cyril's doctrine on the meaning of 'image and likeness' (*selem* and *d'mut*, Gen. 1:26), the dissertation advances through the various facets that must be grasped in order to appreciate what Cyril meant by the image of God in man before and after Sin, before and after the Recapitulation of Christ's act of Atonement. The first man (and woman, by participation) possessed the image of God in his powers of freedom and dominion, and, more especially in his holiness and incorruptibility. In this he was an image of the divine Archetype. By sin man lost only those facets of the image which were

due to the indwelling of the Spirit, holiness, incorruptibility and kinship with God; and he suffered a diminution in the perfection of his psychological freedom as well as in his power of dominion over the beasts of the earth. Whether one should say that the divine image was 'lost' or merely 'overlaid' and 'blurred,' destroyed completely or merely disfigured, is (in Burghardt's view of Cyril) merely a question of terminology. Actually Cyril reflects both streams of the earlier tradition. In any case, the complete state of pristine perfection ceased to be present, although distinctions must be made with regard to each aspect of the image. And, it would seem, Adam did not forfeit the gift of divine adoption; for adoptive sonship is the unique privilege of those who have been incorporated into Christ in virtue of the Atonement. Thus, for Burghardt, Cyril's image theology becomes a complete soteriology. The meaning of the Recapitulation in Christ is that the image of God (liberty, holiness and incorruptibility, *eleutheria*, *hagiasmos* and *aphtharsia*) is restored, even enhanced by the Incarnation. For in the restoration of the image, the features of Christ Himself are stamped upon the Christian, in a way that even Adam did not experience. The archetypal analogy of Cyril is now complete: woman an image of man, man an image of God; but now, by God's own redemptive act, man is restored in the image of Christ.

Cyril's image theology cannot, of course, be completely understood apart from the tradition that preceded him; and, for this reason, Burghardt's book is doubly valuable in setting Cyril's work within its historical context. Thus the book can be strongly recommended as a solid introduction to Greek patristic theology in general and as an initiation into the very difficult avenues of patristic theological speculation. How far Cyril's approach was original is not perhaps a meaningful question; in any case, his profound and extensive analysis of the implications of the *kerygma* became the matrix for much of later theological thought. At the same time, with his dynamic concept of *hagiasmos* and his Christocentric view of the restoration of the image, Cyril might well be a source of inspiration for modern theology. For Cyril's image theology does not stress the negative; it looks to the future and to the progressive development of man by increasing participation in the new, divine image of God gained through Christ.

One further point should be made. Cyrillic theology is a difficult and sometimes very forbidding field; the patristic terminology is very often obscure and the concrete doctrinal context in which many of the works were written is now very often irrecoverable. But under the author's light touch all seems somehow easier and accessible to all; again, the Greek is everywhere translated and the more abstruse points are handled at the foot of the page. In this way the most difficult areas of Cyril's thought can be readily grasped. And, it is to be hoped, by Father Burghardt's masterly exposition Cyril's doctrine can more and more become the permanent acquisition of modern theology.

HERBERT MUSURILLO, S.J.

BRILLIANT AND BALANCED

Joyce and Aquinas. Yale Studies in English. By William T. Noon, S.J.
New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957. \$3.75.

Every reader of James Joyce's *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* is aware he based his theory of literature upon St. Thomas' enumeration of the two constituents of beauty. Occasional references in Joyce's later works have led the academic critics to suspect that Thomistic ideas were deeper and more widespread than appeared to the general reader, and many very acute investigations have been directed towards unearthing them. But none of these critics had the wide and profound knowledge of the whole range of Thomistic thought and of the orientation and ethos of Jesuit education which are required of the scholar who would write the definitive study of this central element in the work of the pioneering genius who boasted of a "strength steeled in the school of old Aquinas." The task seemed providentially to have been reserved for the hand of a Jesuit, of a Jesuit with broad and accurate learning and a keen, sensitive intelligence. Such a hand it has found. Father Noon's book, like Father Gardiner's study of the last phases of the mediaeval mystery plays, which was printed in the same series of Yale studies, supplies a real need and supplies it perfectly. Every scholar of twentieth century literature will receive it with gratitude, to which we Jesuits will add a justifiable family pride.

Instead of expatiating on the sureness with which Father Noon has picked his way through the uncertain jungle of mediaeval and modern aesthetics, or on the freshness and charm with which he presents a rather forbidding subject, this review may close with a rapid summary of the contents of *Joyce and Aquinas*, so that teachers who are interested in aesthetical problems, or students who regard Joyce as incomprehensible when not a purveyor of cynical nastiness, may decide what the book may have for them.

Father Noon begins by enquiring when and where Joyce made his first real acquaintance with St. Thomas, and answers that it was not under his Jesuit teachers in school and university, but in independent reading at the Bibliothèque Nationale during his first years of exile. He next shows Joyce accepting the notion of reality as beauty which is expounded in the *Summa* and then applying it with serious distortions in an endeavor to explain the cognitive and affective elements in the aesthetic experience. The genesis and distinguishing property of the aesthetic or rather creative act Joyce then relates to the Thomistic *claritas*. Coming to closer grips with Joyce's masterpieces, the operation of the creative imagination upon the comic aspect of life, when this aspect is viewed in a Thomistic attitude or framework, is shown to be the key to *Ulysses*. Going with Joyce deeper still into the working of the creative imagination, Father Noon reveals a Sabellian Trinitarianism behind the discussion of Shakespeare and his relation to Hamlet, the fascinating and baffling discussion which may be the keystone to *Ulysses*. The analogy between literary and divine creation which follows

this is far from being the jejune treatise which unhappy experience may have led us to expect; and, crowning surprise, the punning portmanteau dialect of *Finnegan's Wake* is found to have a very direct relation to the etymological argumentation of mediaeval scholasticism.

All of us teachers know the feeling which comes once in many a blue semester when the perfect theme, the really brilliant essay, the luminous and balanced book report turns up among the heart breaking fumbles. Such a feeling came to this reviewer when he sat down to Father Noon's book. How to grade it? *Praeclare*, *optime*, and *A plus* have been used too often on creditable work which is after all not quite what was wished for. So when Father Noon's book takes its place beside Father Gardiner's on that special shelf, one can only relapse into silent gratitude, or at most sigh, "Ah, yes, that's it!"

JOSEPH A. SLATTERY, S.J.

PROFOUND AND PERSONAL

Insight. A Study of Human Understanding. By Bernard J. F. Lonergan, S.J. New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. Pp. xxx-785. \$10.00.

This monumental work is the fruit of many years of preparation and composition by a distinguished Canadian professor of theology now teaching at the Gregorian University. Though it is far from a perfect book, it is undeniably a great book. What the author has attempted to do is no less than to lead the reader through a grand tour of the human mind at work in its characteristic activity of insight on all levels and in all its main fields of application, as it is driven on relentlessly by the dynamism of its unrestricted desire to know.

This daring attempt to produce a modern *Summa* of the life of the mind comprises in broad outline first a phenomenology or description of human knowledge as an activity within the knower; then a critique of its claims to objectivity, which grounds in turn a theory of dialectical development of human thought both in the individual and in society; next a metaphysics of "proportionate being" (being as accessible to human experience); an ethics; a natural theology; and finally, a theory of the role of belief in human knowledge as an introduction to the supernatural dimension of knowledge through divine revelation. Quite a large order! And it makes proportionately exacting demands on the reader by its consistently dense, though rarely obscure style, and the wide range of background material it presumes the reader to be familiar with, from modern mathematics to psychiatry and philosophy of history.

The phenomenological section unfolds the essential structure of the dynamism of human knowledge as it moves upwards from sense presentation, through insight into relevant form, to the unconditional affirmation of objectivity in judgment. Insight into the basic realism of judgment is next achieved by studying the privileged instances of the knower's act of self-affirmation as knower. This in turn brings to light

the deep underlying dynamism of the source of all human knowledge, the unrestricted natural desire to know being.

From here the author moves into the most original and controversial phase of his dialectic. In virtue of the principle that human understanding must be isomorphic in general structure to what it can know by direct experience, he proceeds to deduce "by anticipation" from the structure of human knowledge both the notion of being and the general metaphysical structure of proportionate being. Thus to the unrestricted desire to know corresponds the notion of being as the totality of all there is to be known. To the three levels of cognitive acts correspond in the objects of experience a principle of concrete individual duality or potency, left behind as the "empirical residue" after insight, a principle of form grasped by insight, and a principle of act or existence affirmed in judgment. This rudimentary metaphysics leads us directly to the necessity of a supreme self-explanatory cause, and lays bare the basic structure of all proofs for the existence of God. "If reality is completely intelligible, then God exists. But reality is completely intelligible. Therefore God exists."

The author's descriptive analysis is the fruit of a profound, personal re-thinking of the essential elements of the Aristotelian-Thomistic theory of knowledge completed by judicious borrowing from Maréchal and other moderns. The main deficiency we find in it is its failure to provide an adequate explanation of the judgment of contingent existence with respect to beings distinct from the knower. The considerably more original and daring analysis of the metaphysical implications of human knowledge, especially the dialectic from knowledge to being, is much harder to evaluate. It does raise serious misgivings and leaves many difficulties unanswered. Yet, all things considered, the author's approach is so profoundly rooted in the springs of tradition as well as in rigorous personal reflection, and his case so carefully constructed and impressively reasoned, that I feel it is only fair to register at least a provisional affirmative vote in his favor. Only the sifting process of prolonged critical reflection and discussion will permit, it seems to me, a definitive judgment on this difficult, profound, but richly instructive work.

W. NORRIS CLARKE, S.J.

SOMBER PICTURE

Priestly Existence. By Rev. Michael Pfliegler. Translated from the German by Francis P. Dinneen, S.J. Westminster: Newman, 1957. Pp. xv-425. \$6.00.

Priestly Existence in the words of the author proposes "... to explain the modes of priestly existence from the data of the priestly experience itself, from the experience of tension, the necessary and unavoidable tension between the vocation to be a priest and the fact that such a vocation is given to a man who lives in this world." In this sentence from the foreword of the book the author summarizes the pur-

pose and method of his work and sets the tone which will pervade the entire book. He does not intend to sketch the general picture of the priestly ideal, but wishes to present an outline of the existential condition in which the diocesan priest actually lives. To this end the author makes extensive use of novels about the priesthood, which he feels are "... deeply grounded in real life," and from which there emerges a graphic picture of the priest's life from seminary to the final priestly type.

The nuclear theme of the book might be expressed in the triad: tension-crisis-type. The newly ordained priest, fresh from the idealism of the seminary, is faced with the manifold tensions involved in being a priest in the world. This context of tensions eventually produces a crisis, a time for decision, a time to decide how to react to these tensions. According to the decision made there will emerge a priestly type: the escapist, the saintly priest, the activist, to mention only a few. Around this theme Fr. Pfliegler has painted a word-picture of what he feels to be the actual priestly existence. It is an exceedingly somber picture, but nonetheless powerful, borrowing as it does the power of the popular novel.

This reviewer would, however, question the verisimilitude of this picture of the priestly existence, especially as a picture of the diocesan priest in this country. Perhaps the self-dramatization of the Curé in *Diary of a Country Priest* is a common phenomenon on the European scene; perhaps the anti-clericalism in *The Power and The Glory* is far more real in France and Italy than the American observer would expect. In any event, they are not the rule on the American scene. Tensions, it is true, exist in any priestly life; yet they are only a part of the total picture of that life, as experience with many American diocesan priests abundantly illustrates.

Furthermore, tension and crisis are not, as this book would seem to imply, the keynote of the priestly life considered theoretically. On the contrary, the keynote is the note of joy and security: joy over the marvelous fact that the priest is associated with the Incarnate Word in the work of salvation, in the task of re-incarnating the Word among men and in men through the administration of the sacraments and the preaching office; security in the realization that it is not the priest alone who must perform this superhuman task, but Christ as well who is one with him as the Father and the Son are one and who will be with him until the consummation of the world.

Fr. Pfliegler's approach to the priestly life is, in this reviewer's opinion, too negative, too much of a spirituality that consists in being on the defensive against the inroads of the world on the priestly ideal. Such a spirituality can and often does turn the servant of God in on himself to the extent that his efficacy is impaired. The priest must, on the contrary, be orientated to what is outside his personal problems, to Christ, the priestly ideal, and to the apostolate in which Christ's work is to be accomplished. The priest should realize that he is a living

affirmation of God's will to unite men to Himself in grace and glory, an affirmation which contemporary society is looking for. Thus the world is not a power to be feared like some monster which is poised to pounce upon the timid idealist; it is rather the arena into which the priest can confidently step to perform the momentous task that brought the Son of God into the human context. Tensions will arise, as they did for the sinless Christ who was in solidarity with sinful humanity, but they will be subsumed in the larger, more important context of God's salvific purpose. In this context they will not loom so large, nor will they destroy the joy and security that should be so characteristic of the priestly existence.

R. M. BARLOW, S.J.

THEORY AND PRACTICE OF KERYGMATICS

The Art of Teaching Christian Doctrine. By Johannes Hofinger, S.J.

Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1957.

Pp. vii-278. \$3.50.

What is the Good News and how should it be proclaimed? These questions are the object of this lucid and inspiring inquiry into the theory and practice of kerygmatics. Right at the start Father Hofinger seeks out and highlights the essence of the Christian message, the Mystery of Christ, so often lost midst the preoccupation with all the doctrines and commandments which the catechist feels must be covered. Having clarified the goal, the author shows how the hearer is first to be initiated into the mystery of Christ through Bible history. Thus on the individual level is reduplicated the progressive historical revelation of Christ made by God on the social level. Simultaneously, this knowledge is to be deepened by sacramentally living out the mysteries through intelligent participation in the liturgy. Finally, as the learner matures, his knowledge is to be structured and unified by catechism. Biblical and liturgical knowledge without catechism would be disorganized. Catechetical knowledge without the first two is devitalized knowledge without appreciation or real assimilation.

The traditional order of presenting Christian doctrine (God, the object of faith, demanding our duties in the commandments and precepts, accomplished by grace from the sacraments and prayer) has the advantage of clarity. However, this order (faith, commandments, means of grace) makes obligation the underlying theme of the Christian message. The author proposes a slight change by making a twofold division: God's gift to us (faith and the sacraments), and our gift to God (prayer and commandments). The change in order is slight, but it makes for a fundamental reorientation. The focus is now on value, not obligation; and emphasis on Love with reciprocal love replaces the highlighting of duty and the means to accomplish duty.

Part III of the book is an admirable proof that Father Hofinger is not merely theorizing. Here he undertakes to outline concretely thirty dogmatic and moral instructions, indicating the essential points of the

Christian message and how they illuminate the one central message: the Mystery of Christ. Each includes specific liturgical, biblical and catechetical hints for the teacher, together with the precise goal and particular viewpoint of the instruction and a doctrinal summary of its content. Of great help to the preacher would be a use of this section in conjunction with an appendix which lists apt kerygmatic topics suggested by the Sunday gospels of the year.

The final section treats the spiritual and intellectual formation of Christ's heralds. The sublimity of a vocation which demands such close union with Christ is persuasively demonstrated, as well as the necessity of cultivating the specifically kerymatic virtue of fidelity to the Christian message. Fidelity implies a complete unselfishness complemented by the winning personality of Christ which must shine through the personality of the herald. Next, separate chapters are devoted to the peculiar emphases in the function and formation of catechists from the ranks of laymen, sisters, and priests. In a final very interesting chapter the author modestly and with eminent realism indicates how in the formation of the seminarian a kerygmatic approach can orientate and enrich the presentation of scholastic theology, even within the framework of current textbooks and course divisions. Besides the previously mentioned sermon appendix, there are appendices containing sample lessons from kerygmatically orientated catechisms and a similarly orientated three day retreat. As finishing touches, the book is indexed and there is a bibliography for each topic treated. A couple of typographical errors which the next printing should easily correct are slight blemishes on Father Hofinger's surpassingly readable and timely study.

EDWARD V. STEVENS, S.J.

KEEPER OF THE SANCTUARY

El Apostol de Nuestra Señora: Biografia del Padre Salvador M. Garcidueñas, S.J. *By Antonio Dragon, S.J.* Mexico: Buena Prensa, 1956. Pp. 149.

A man who truly lived the interior life . . . a Jesuit after the heart of St. Ignatius . . . a man solely occupied in the things of God: Mass, confessions, missions, the poor and the children—thus the life of Father Salvador Garcidueñas is summarized. Some fifty-six testimonies were gathered by the author from people who had known and lived with Father Garcidueñas. He lived no less a heroic life during the Calles persecutions than Father Pro, his contemporary. Unlike Father Pro, however, Father Garcidueñas stayed in one place throughout the persecutions. He had been assigned to the Sanctuary of Our Lady of the Angels, and there he stayed to the end of his life. He managed somehow to escape the soldiers who were supposed to stop his activities in the town of Los Angeles. He was forced to go into hiding when the Sanctuary was occupied by the soldiers, but he hid in his room within the Sanctuary, and continued his active ministry.

Like the famous Curé of Ars, Father Garcidueñas reformed the town of Los Angeles. The witnesses to his heroic life speak of his gift of reading the hearts of his penitents. He is even said to have exercised bilocation on several occasions to save souls. But above all, they speak of his kindness, his love of poverty, his mortified life, not the least of which was his silent suffering for ten years of a cancerous wound on his shoulder blades, ultimately reaching his lungs, and causing his death. To the end, when he was reduced to mere skin and bones, Father Garcidueñas was active in his spiritual labors. The people kept asking for him, especially for confessions. When he could do nothing else but hear confessions a laybrother was assigned to carry him back and forth to the confessional.

In this Spanish translation of Father Dragon's book, the same simple style that marked his famous life of Father Pro is once more in evidence. Father Dragon for the most part has allowed the witnesses to the life of Father Garcidueñas to tell the story of the Superior of the Jesuits in hiding in Los Angeles, and to give the account of his devotion to duty as the holy keeper of the Sanctuary of Our Lady of the Angels.

M. J. CASALS, S.J.

DEEPENING THE FAITH

The Year and Our Children: Planning the Family Activities for Christian Feasts and Seasons. By Mary Reed Newland. New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons, 1956. Pp. xi-328. \$3.95.

As Mrs. Newland reflects on her own religious education, she realizes how meager it was. Many of Ours probably feel the same way about their own. Our formal training was, for the most part, limited to learning the catechism, with little or no application to the world around us. But times have changed. The layman is taking his proper place in the Church, and his children are receiving both at home and in school that type of education which prepares them to live their entire lives in Christ.

An ever-increasing number of books are being offered to the layman to deepen his Faith. And, as Mrs. Newland tells us, by reading, praying, and thinking about the Faith, he is better prepared to teach his children. Mary Reed Newland, mother of seven children, has made her own contribution to the literature of the laity. *We and Our Children*, which appeared in 1954, has the sub-title *Molding the Child in Christian Living*. Here she mentioned a few of the family customs of the Liturgical Year, and left us with a desire to learn how the Newlands live the entire years. *The Year and Our Children* has amply satisfied that desire.

Beginning with Advent and the making of the Advent Wreath and ending with November and Mass on Thanksgiving, Mrs. Newland shows how all of creation is a symbol pointing back to God the Creator. "All things are yours, and you are Christ's, and Christ is God's." The author's children are filled with Christ; they find Him everywhere. Their baptismal candles are decorated with symbols of the Trinity, Redemp-

tion, etc., and of their patron saints. Each year on the anniversary of the child's Baptism the candle is lighted. Many projects, like the making of Mary Shrines and preparing a puppet show for the feast of St. Nicholas, become wonderful methods of education. Then there are the various blessings for fields, homes, etc., given by the lay priest.

The book contains a long list of liturgical symbols, and an excellent bibliography for parents and children.

Christian parents will find the book invaluable and well worth keeping for future reference. And Ours might find helpful suggestions for class or parish projects.

THOMAS H. CONNOLLY, S.J.

LOGIC COMES ALIVE

The Elements of Logic. By Vincent Edward Smith. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1957. Pp. xiii-298. \$3.50.

One might easily disagree with the proposed contents of a course in logic, but not at all that a course is needed. If for no other reason, logic must often supply for an imperfect grasp of the English language and the natural logic inherent in it. (Why Johnny can't read—or write, or reason—may well have a common cause.) Yet a highly formalized course in logic can (and too often does, I fear) cause grave misunderstandings about the nature of the judgment, for example, or of philosophical method. Logic seems in one sense to be too difficult to be taught first and yet too important to leave until last.

Dr. Smith's *Elements of Logic* is a fresh attempt "to make logic come more alive." The over-all emphasis is clearly that logic is not just a subject to be learned but a habit of straight thinking to be acquired. And the stress on a case-history method puts logic back into a context of real issues and problems. The author has not always, perhaps, used the case histories to the best advantage. A more valuable, though admittedly more difficult, procedure would be to present the cases, not merely as illustrations of the text, but as the raw material from which the student would derive principles and conclusions by induction and analysis. Be that as it may, the student will surely profit from the case work, and more from the guided awareness that even great men do extend conclusions beyond the premises. (On the other hand there is equal need of cautioning the student that William James, to cite but one usual instance, is not to be dismissed on the basis of one bad conversion. Would that "adversaries" could be so easily handled!)

This reviewer, of course, cannot vouch for the fact that the text, as presented, will accomplish all that its author planned and hoped for. But his purpose, namely to foster a dialectical exchange between student and teacher, seems unassailable. Not all (as he himself realizes) will agree with the deletions and de-emphases which considerations of space have forced upon him. Others may judge that some logical dead wood still remains and will prefer to expand those sections of the text that

the author has treated summarily, such as the various kinds of arguments or the special questions dealing with statistical reasoning and truth functions. My own preference makes me regret the omission of a more formal consideration of the various kinds of propositions—particularly the occultly compound—since I know from experience how little awareness there can be of what an English sentence is saying, especially when it does not say it directly.

But reservations and personal preferences aside, Dr. Smith's book is well worth a serious consideration by teachers of logic who, somehow or other, must simultaneously manage an introduction to philosophy and give some notion of philosophical method, but who all too often find student interest fast draining from all four corners of the square of opposition.

H. R. BURNS, S.J.

ENRICHING THE GUIDANCE FIELD

The Casework Relationship. By *Felix P. Biestek, S.J.* Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1957. Pp. vii-149. \$3.00.

As the director of field work and associate professor of casework in the School of Social Work at Chicago's Loyola University, Father Biestek has a unique vantage point to see both the essential importance of smooth casework relationship and the difficulty frequently met in mastering this technique. This book is his attempt to help meet that difficulty, by providing for the novice (and veteran) social worker a conceptual analysis of the casework relationship.

The author divides his discussion into two parts: the *essence* of such a relationship, and the *principles* governing it. In the first part, after a brief discussion of previous descriptions and quasi-definitions, he proposes the following formula: the casework relationship is the dynamic interaction of attitudes and emotions between the caseworker and the client, with the purpose of helping the client achieve a better adjustment between himself and his environment. The burden of the book lies in an amplification and discussion of this definition.

Seven basic human needs of people with psychosocial problems are listed as the pegs upon which the relationship hangs. These are: the client's need to be treated as an individual, to express his feelings, to get sympathetic response to his problems, to be recognized as a person of worth, to be free from having judgment passed on him, to make his own choices and decisions, to have his secrets kept confidential. These needs form the first direction of the dynamic interaction between client and caseworker. The second direction comes from the caseworker's sensitive understanding and appropriate response to these needs. The third direction is found in the client's awareness of the caseworker's response to his needs. This tri-directional interaction forms the basis of discussion of the seven "principles" which correspond to the above-mentioned needs of the client. Each principle receives clear and thoughtful treatment in a separate chapter of the book.

As Father Biestek points out in his introduction, such a conceptual analysis cannot replace the intuitive approach to casework in the classroom and in field practices. Nor does it attempt to do so. Its aim, rather, is to enrich such an approach and to help the caseworker make an accurate diagnosis of faulty relationships.

While this book is obviously intended primarily for social workers and social service students, it is suggested that student counsellors, priests in Cana work and other forms of counselling and all who have more than passing interest in the field of guidance will find much here that is both stimulating and helpful.

PAUL D. CAMPBELL, S.J.

WORK OF EXPERIENCE

The Cross of Jesus. Vol. I. *By Louis Chardon, O.P.* Translated by Richard T. Murphy, O.P. St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1957. Pp. v-304. \$4.25.

This work of a seventeenth century Dominican master of novices and director of souls is a compendium of spiritual doctrine on the suffering and purification which are necessary for growth in holiness. Father Chardon published this after many years of experience in dealing with souls on their way to perfection. It is his masterpiece, and we are fortunate that it has not been left unknown any longer. For the problem of suffering is an ever-present one and any soul that is striving to live closer to God must come to grips with it. And where find an answer but in Christ, Who voluntarily came to earth to do just that: suffer and die?

Father Chardon's treatise is divided into three parts, the first two of which are included in this first volume. The first part is on the relationship of grace and the mystical body to the problem of suffering. Father Chardon shows clearly that the inevitable effect of grace in Christ, Mary, and the members of the mystical body is the cross. Throughout these chapters, a reader familiar with the dogmatic tracts on the Incarnation, Redemption, and Mariology, will find them succinctly and forcefully woven into the writing. But at no time is the unfamiliar reader left confused or bewildered by technical terms. The second section treats, although the author does not explicitly state it, with the three stages of perfection. Here he stresses the phenomena of consolation and desolation. Perhaps this could be taken as a digression. Indeed the Introduction states that some critics have so termed it; still, it cannot but bring much enlightenment and encouragement to the reader.

A word of commendation should be given to the translator. There are not a few rhetorical flourishes, which must have been difficult to render into readable and idiomatic English from Father Chardon's seventeenth century French. But the task has been accomplished very successfully, and the entire book reads as if it had been written today, in English.

JOSEPH A. LATELLA, S.J.

AFFECTIVE PRAYER

The Virtue of Love. By Paul DeJaegher, S.J. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1955. Pp. xi-176. \$3.00.

This book, following *The Virtue of Trust* and *One With Jesus* by the same author, presents a series of Ignatian contemplations of the life of Christ. Between these contemplations the author injects short essays on difficult virtues such as the spirit of faith and spiritual fervor. Both the meditations and essays manifest profound familiarity with affective prayer and deliberate awareness of God's presence in our daily lives.

ARTHUR S. O'BRIEN, S.J.

CHURCH IN CHINA

Martyrs in China. By Jean Monsterleet, S.J. Translated by Antonia Pakenham. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1956. Pp. 288. \$3.75.

It is rare that we find a book which, though written some years previously, affords a clear insight into the ever-changing news of the day. *Martyrs in China* is such a book. For, in addition to accomplishing its purpose of presenting graphically the story of the Catholic Church in China during the first years of Communist rule, it enables the reader to understand the meaning of many of the recent news items emanating from Red China concerning the relations of the Catholic Church to the Communist State.

Father Monsterleet, who during his fourteen years in China worked in both a country parish and in Tsinku University, is eminently qualified to describe the plight of the Church in China. He writes not as an historian, but as a priest and missionary describing events which he either witnessed himself or heard from his fellow missionaries in exile. In so doing, however, he does make clear the pattern of Communist persecution and the aims of Communism in the world today.

The story of the Communist attempt to force the Church to endorse the Movement for Triple Autonomy in organization, finances and apostolate is traced as it affected both clergy and laity. The Government's attacks on the Church's educational system, the Catholic Action Movement, particularly the Legion of Mary, and the orphanages and other charitable works of the Church, all parts of a more fundamental attack—the attack on the mind, are described and illustrated by examples.

Perhaps the most impressive element in the book is the general picture of the heroism of the suffering Church in China. The modern history of the Chinese Church contains many lessons for us. Nor may we learn only from the martyrs and near-martyrs. There were some who succumbed to the pressure of persecution. The Marxist ideal in education, as proposed by Chiang Nan-Hsiang, namely that, "All teachers must be so steeped in Marxism that they reach a point where they are promoting the Communist ideal, no matter what subject they are teaching," certainly offers us matter for reflection.

Ours may find this work somewhat episodic. That it is a translation, too, is at times quite evident. *Martyrs in China* remains, however, an inspiring study of a great people and their priests who have endured and are enduring the new martyrdom of the mind. Their story, as told by Father Monsterleet, makes it possible for us to follow with new understanding and sympathy our fellow members of the Mystical Body in their struggle against the Empire of Mao Tse-Tung.

ROBERT T. RUSH, S.J.

SCHOLARY AND PRACTICAL

The Eucharistic Prayer. A Study of the Canon Missae. *By J. A. Jungmann, S.J.* Translated by Robert L. Batley. Chicago: Fides Publications, 1956. Pp. vi-55.

Four lectures on the Mass originally presented in a study week for priests of both zones in Germany are offered here in English. The approach is simple: it is as though the second method of prayer were applied to a few pithy expressions of the Canon by one who is at once a master of the history of the liturgy and a catechist acutely aware of the problems of men. For example, the phrase *unde et memores* is singled out. How is remembrance, thankful remembrance, related to the actual offering, to *offerimus*? Father Jungmann uncovers the original uses of the phrase, its echoes in other parts of the Mass, and the causes for shifts in emphasis through the centuries. Yet as one acutely touched by today's problems, he straightway suggests where present emphases fail to meet present needs. It is the prayer of one intent on finding fruit. The audience of the original lectures was an added spur toward practicality. Hence when singing and processions, vestments and architecture are discussed, it is not idly but with point. The interest of laymen in the liturgy is an accepted fact and to them much writing about the liturgy is directed. It is cause for joy then that their pastors too are given solid food by such lectures as these. Some religious and lay people will find them within reach and fruitful.

W. SUCHAN, S.J.