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STUDIES

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Toward Understanding the Jesuit Brothers' Vocation,

Especially as Described

in the Papal and Jesuit Documents

by

George E. Ganss, S.J.



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

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THE AMERICAN ASSISTANCY SEMINAR ON JESUIT SPIRITUALITY

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

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

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

THE MEMBERS OF THE SEMINAR ARE:

- Joseph A. Appleyard, S.J., Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts 02167. 617-969-0100
- Thomas H. Clancy, S.J., Loyola University, 6363 St. Charles Avenue, New Orleans, Louisiana 70118. 504-865-2752
- Francis X. Cleary, S.J., Department of Theology, Saint Louis University, 3634 Lindell Blvd., St. Louis, MO 63108. 314-658-2868
- Philip C. Fischer, S.J., Secretary of the Assistancy Seminar, Fusz Memorial, 3700 West Pine Blvd., St. Louis, Missouri 63108. 314-652-3700
- George E. Ganss, S.J., Chairman of the Assistancy Seminar and Editor of its *Studies*. His address is: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, Fusz Memorial, 3700 West Pine Blvd., St. Louis, Missouri 63108. 314-652-5737
- Howard J. Gray, S.J., Weston School of Theology, 3 Phillips Place, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138. 617-492-1960
- Robert J. Henle, S.J., St. Louis University, 221 North Grand Blvd., St. Louis, Missouri 63108. 314-658-3067
- Peter J. Henriot, S.J., Center of Concern, 3700 13th St. N.E., Washington, D.C. 20017. 202-635-2757
- Edwin J. McDermott, S.J., University of San Francisco, Golden Gate at Parker Avenue, San Francisco, California 94117. 415-666-0600
- John W. O'Malley, S.J., Weston School of Theology, 3 Phillips Place, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138. 617-492-1960
- Paul V. Robb, S.J., Institute for Spiritual Leadership, 4909 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60615. 312-373-7953

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Fusz Memorial, St. Louis University
3700 West Pine Boulevard
St. Louis, Missouri 63108

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TOWARD UNDERSTANDING THE JESUIT BROTHERS' VOCATION,
ESPECIALLY AS DESCRIBED
IN THE PAPAL AND JESUIT DOCUMENTS

by

George E. Ganss, S.J.
The American Assistancy Seminar
Fusz Memorial, St. Louis University
3700 West Pine Boulevard
St. Louis, Missouri 63108

Introduction

The occasion prompting this present study is a request made by a national committee of Jesuit brothers, representatives from all the ten provinces of the United States, who met at Milford, Ohio, December 13-15, 1979. As a result of their discussions about the nature of their vocation, they composed a statement of fourteen paragraphs which were published in the *National Jesuit News* for February, 1980, page 11; and two of these are the following:

The brother's vocation is Christlike in every respect. He shares in the priesthood of Christ in every way except for that which requires sacerdotal ordination [(Decree 7, the Brothers, of the 31st General Congregation, nos. 1, 3; also, Decree 8, of the 32nd General Congregation, nos. 1, 2)]. . . .

The committee has noted that there exists a confusion among Jesuits concerning the change in lifestyle and work of brothers in recent years (see Father General's Talk to Brothers, Oct. 31, 1978). To address this lack of clarity, the committee recommends that the American Assistancy Seminar on Jesuit Spirituality be asked to investigate the theology of the Brother's vocation and to publish their findings in the *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*.

This study is presented, therefore, in a manner frankly and also reverently exploratory, as merely a start toward fulfilling that request.

The study is presented, too, in the spirit of Vatican Council II about renewal of the Church and about religious institutes' adapting the charisms of their founders to the changed circumstances of modern times. This spirit has resulted in the exciting times in which we are now living, hopeful but also often difficult. There is a climate of exploratory ideas in theology and of proposals for practice which are fresh, creative, and promising,

but often too are honestly controverted by persons of good will, or incomplete and as yet untested by time. They cannot be treated conclusively in any one paper, book, or year. In many cases discussion for decades will probably be necessary before a core of thought emerges which is well rounded off and wins fairly common acceptance.

This phenomenon is disconcerting to some and unpleasant to live in. But it should not be too discouraging to anyone. The same phenomenon has been present throughout the Church's whole history. It has been largely through the clash of opinions--often for decades before and after general councils--that she has, under the provident guidance of the Holy Spirit, both preserved the revelation entrusted to her by Christ and developed it as well as clarified it. What always emerged with a little time was still the same essential core of her doctrine but now better understood, stripped of obsolete cultural conditioning, made more effectively operative in the new circumstances, and ready for still further development in the future.

The paragraphs quoted just above from the brothers' committee repeat a request made already in 1966 by the 31st General Congregation in its Decree 7, The Brothers, "to propound the theology of the vocation of the religious who is not destined for the priesthood in the Society."¹ Since then many attempts to fulfill that request have been made in Rome and elsewhere, but none has yet won fairly common acceptance. This suggests that the task called for in the decree is something too vast to be brought to a conclusion in these times of continually expanding knowledge. To write "the theology" of virtually any topic, many think, cannot be successfully done at present. It seems to connote a definitive treatment which synthesizes everything knowable about the topic and scarcely leaves it open to further development. In this way it challenges non-acceptance at every step. What is possible, however, is to write some theological reflections on the topic as presently known and to indicate some of the lines along which future development and discoveries are likely to occur.

In these circumstances, therefore, this essay is strictly limited in its scope. It confines itself to exploring what the Jesuit brothers' vocation or way of life has been up to the present, and views both it and

1 The footnotes are on pages 54-63, below.

treatises about it as open to further developments in the future. In other words, this study aims to show, largely from historical study, how the vocation of the Jesuit brothers arose; how both the vocation itself and the terminology describing it were gradually molded, especially in the papal documents of approval and the *Constitutions* of St. Ignatius; how it evolved further still in the decrees of the 31st and 32nd General Congregations (1965-1966 and 1974-1975), and in the subsequent implementation of their decrees under the guidance and encouragement of Father General Pedro Arrupe--all in a development which promises to go forward long into the future.

All this four-century evolution within the Society of Jesus has been parallel, era by era and step by step, to similar currents of thought and practice in the Church at large as she was moving onward within God's slowly unfolding plan of salvation. Many of the forces functioning in this past will remain operative in the decades ahead and should receive attention in discussions about adaptation to our present era. Our hope is that the elements gathered here will serve as one basis for informed discussion of the developments yet to come. Inevitably, however, such dialogue involves many areas where experiences and opinions differ widely. Hence the present writer thinks it better not to enter into them in any detail, but to leave them to other writers experienced and competent in those areas.

PART I. THE VOCATION OF THE JESUIT BROTHERS, "TEMPORAL COADJUTORS," IN THE PAPAL DOCUMENTS AND ST. IGNATIUS' CONSTITUTIONS

A. St. Ignatius as a Founder

St. Ignatius is a man of remarkable characteristics whom God raised up at one point in the history of salvation and slowly formed for his destined work: the founding of the Society of Jesus as a religious institute at once priestly, apostolic, and especially devoted to the pope as vicar of Christ on earth. God slowly led Ignatius to an outlook or world view marvelously stimulating for both personal spiritual development and apostolic activity. His habitual endeavor became that of making all his activities result in praise to God greater than He would have received without them. Hence when options confronted Ignatius, he habitually made his choices by his criterion: Which option is likely to lead to greater

glory to God? Ignatius spontaneously projected that outlook into everything he did, said, or wrote. In his *Spiritual Exercises* he applied it toward aiding an individual to discern how he or she can best fulfill God's will for himself or herself. In his efforts to found and organize the Society of Jesus and to write its *Constitutions*, he was applying that outlook to the government and inspiration of an apostolic religious institute.² Both his *Exercises* and his *Constitutions* spring from his one outlook and are manuals toward discerning which option is likely to lead, in the long run, to greater glory to God from oneself and one's fellow men.

Several further character traits of Ignatius ought to be kept in mind as background for the present investigation. First, from the beginning of his life of fervor he was convinced that God by his unusual graces was leading him along a special way. "During the first two years of his conversion" he conversed with other spiritual persons, but among them he found "scarcely one or two whose spirit or way of life were in harmony with his own."³ Second, from that early time, too, he had, even amid the abuses and turmoil all too evident in the Church of his era, his strong determination of adhering to Catholic tradition and ecclesiastical authority--that attitude which he later expressed in his Rules "Toward Acquiring the Genuine Attitude Which We Ought to Maintain in the Church Militant."⁴ Third, he had a theological outlook which had been molded by his study of Peter Lombard and St. Thomas Aquinas whom he especially admired.⁵ Fourth, his ecclesiology, as is clear from his letter of February 23, 1553, to Emperor Claude of Abyssinia, drew much from the Council of Florence (1438-1455), which he quotes with approval: "We define that the Apostolic See and the Roman Pontiff have the primacy over the whole world, and that he is the successor of St. Peter, the true vicar of Christ, and the head of the whole Church." Finally, that same letter (as well as other sources) shows that he thought of the Church as Christ's Mystical Body, and that in a manner reminiscent of St. Thomas: ". . . anyone who is not united with the body of the Church will not receive from Christ our Lord, who is its head, the influx of grace which gives life to his soul and disposes him for beatitude."⁶

Although Ignatius clearly took much from the past, he also took constant account of his own interior experience and the emerging circumstances of his

own day. His originality consisted largely in this, that whatever he borrowed he also transformed by adapting it to his own apostolic ends. All these character traits were prominently operative as he shaped his concept of the brothers in his new institute and his legislation about them.

B. The Genesis of Ignatius' Concept of the "Coadjutors'" Vocation

Religious communities composed of both priests and brothers were very familiar to Ignatius. He had seen such communities of the Benedictines at Montserrat and of the Dominicans and Franciscans at Paris, Rome, and elsewhere. Also, with Polanco he studied the constitutions of these orders when he was composing his own Constitutions from 1546 to 1550. But in the earlier period of his work as founder, from the bull *Regimini* of 1540 to 1546, he formed his concept of the non-ordained members for his own institute not merely from his knowledge of previous models, but also impressively from his own experiences in his efforts to devise means more effective for his priestly objectives amid emerging needs and opportunities.

All the ten companions named in the bull *Regimini* of 1540 were "priests, masters of arts, graduates of the [prestigious] University of Paris, and trained in theological studies for many years"⁷ and now approved as an order with the canonical structure of "clerics regular."⁸ After their profession of solemn vows on April 22, 1541, they were the "members" (*socii*) or the "professed" (*professi*). Such "professed" members, as a group, were long considered by Ignatius as "the Society," as we can see from a reply he gave to Polanco as late as 1547 or 1548⁹ and from the terminology which was left to stand unchanged even in the bull of 1550, *Exposcit debitum*, [6]: "Since all the members should be priests, . . ."¹⁰ Here "members" is used in a very restricted or technical meaning which corresponds to the "fourth and most precise meaning of the term" Society in *Cons*, [511].

However, in the Society during its earliest period from 1540 to 1546 there were also novices and scholastics aspiring to membership as "professed," but not yet thought of as a separate "grade." Some were youths whom the professed were recruiting, such as Francisco de Estrada, with them from 1538, and six others in 1539 or 1540. Others were adults, such as Didacus de Hozes, Bachelor of Theology, the priest Didacus de Eguía and his brother

Stephen, the priest Antonio Arias, the Master of Arts Miguel Landivar, the priests Laurencio García, Matteo Pascual and, in Rome after 1539, other priests such as Didacus de Cáceres, Pedro Codacio, Antonio de Estrada, and Antonio de Araoz. Outside of Rome, too, was the priest Jerónimo Doménech, who had associated himself with Favre and Laynez and vowed to serve Christ "as the other companions serve him." The domestic tasks were carried out by all in the house, who often took turns.

But difficulties arose because their priestly and apostolic work rapidly increased. It would have been natural for them to bring into the house helpers to free them from the domestic work; and by 1541 there seem to have been in the house (1) the professed, (2) the non-professed (that is, novices and scholastics) and (3) "those who minister" or serve. Further, from 1540 to 1546 some laymen and priests offered themselves to help the Society or some one of its priests, much as the lay "converts" (*conversi*), also called "lay brothers" (*fratres laici*)¹¹ and sometimes "the unlettered" in the Middle Ages, had offered themselves to live as monks taking care of the temporal tasks and thus leaving the choir monks freer for their studies and liturgical services. A notable example is the priest Francisco Zapata. He wrote that "of his own free will and with great satisfaction he had elected to live and die in the Society in the status of a coadjutor of it, in whatsoever way the Society or its superior would determine the coadjutors to be." Others too, fit persons, wanted to place themselves under the Society's control.¹²

Ignatius expected his professed members to be priests rather remarkable for their learning or holiness of life, carefully selected like the other companions he had found at Paris, long tested, and capable of carrying out well missions which the Holy See might entrust to them. He soon realized that such persons could not be found in sufficient numbers to meet the growing need for apostolic workers which confronted him. But he also saw many priests and laymen who from their great devotion offered themselves, not to enter the Society, but to help (*ayudar*) it. This providential opportunity would leave the few professed members freer for their own proper work.¹³

C. The Expression of This Concept in Legal Documents

1. In *Exponi nobis* (1546), the Papal "Brief of the Coadjutors"

Ignatius was now faced with the need of describing the life and duties of these helpers in a way which would be acceptable to the Holy See, without falling into the embarrassing situation of requesting so soon a change in the Society's canonical structure which had been so recently approved in the bull of 1540, *Regimini*. Beyond doubt this need made it necessary for Ignatius to engage in consultations; but until recently we had no concrete sample or knowledge of them. However; in or near 1949 Father John M. March found in a sixteenth-century curial cardinal's library¹⁴ a document entitled "For the Society of Jesus." It may have been a request by Ignatius for counsel or, perhaps more probably, a cautious memorandum about various possibilities which Ignatius was weighing and among which the Holy See might choose. In the sixteenth century the Holy See was tending toward describing the lay members of clerical institutes, not by the centuries-old terms *conversi* or "lay brothers," but by a word more descriptive of their function, "coadjutors" to the priests to help them in their priestly tasks.¹⁵ Also, the Church was tending then toward permitting to these helpers not "solemn" vows, but "simple" vows less firm but more flexible for the Church's purpose in the emerging political and social circumstances.¹⁶

The document found by March reveals that Ignatius was considering-- or perhaps petitioning--that in the Society there might be besides the professed also a new group, the "helpers" or coadjutors both priestly and lay. The document further reveals that he was in doubt about the kind of vows they should have, or even if they should perhaps live in the Society without vows. The document¹⁷ reads:

[1] Professed./ Priestly coadjutors for spiritual ministry./
Lay coadjutors for domestic ministry.

1^o Whether it is expedient that the spiritual coadjutors, after a year and a half of their experiences and probations, for their greater devotion, abnegation, and merit before God, can be permitted to make three simple vows for the entire time that the Society judges it profitable to be helped by them in spiritual ministry, without their being admitted to probation.

2^o Or whether it is expedient that such coadjutors, after their experiences and probations, should make two simple vows of chastity and poverty, and observe a voluntary obedience, while retaining the right to leave or to enter another religious institute.

3^o Or whether it is expedient that such coadjutors should live in poverty, chastity, and obedience as long as they remain in the Society, while they retain the right to leave at their will and the Society likewise retains the right to order them to leave. However, this third option seems rather less spiritual and less firm.

We request your Lordly Reverence, for greater divine glory, to deign to investigate whether any one of these three options is opportune, or even any other which your Lordly Reverence, acting as if a matter of your own were in question, will judge to be better.

[2] That the superior general of the Society of Jesus currently in office may be permitted to grant to those priestly coadjutors whom it has found fit and who have vowed poverty and chastity the same favors and faculties which it grants to the others; [and also that this same permission may be possessed by]

[3] vicars or superiors both provincial and local with the power of substituting vicars for themselves, and of admitting to probation, but not to profession, which may be made only in Rome.

[4] That they may be permitted to accept churches with their residences, and establish houses with an oratory or chapel, in any place, but on condition that such houses and churches, in accordance with our profession, do not have any fixed revenues.

[5] That these coadjutors as also others who have the Society's simple vow[s] may with the permission of the superior general be promoted to all sacred orders, including the priesthood.

[6] That such coadjutors, whether priestly or lay, may share in all the good works and merits of the Society.

In paragraph [1] of this document, three possible arrangements were proposed: (1) three simple vows binding the coadjutors only as long as they remain in the Society; (2) two simple vows of poverty and chastity plus voluntary obedience as long as they remain; and (3) no vows, but voluntary observance of the three counsels as long as they remain. What was actually chosen was something midway between (1) and (3): three simple vows, with two of them being perpetual but with the obedience obligatory only as long as they remain.¹⁸

This choice appears in the brief *Exponi nobis* of June 5, 1546, addressed by Pope Paul III to the general and members of the Society. It is often called the "Brief of the Coadjutors." Without changing the structure of the Society so recently established in *Regimini* of 1540, it granted to Ignatius permission to receive spiritual and temporal coadjutors into the Society.¹⁹ The sections chiefly relevant here read as follows.

Beloved sons, health and apostolic blessing.

[1]. Recently you caused an explanation to be made to us, to the effect that because of a lack of collaborators you have need of persons to help (*coadjuvent*) you both in spiritual matters and in temporal matters and your household occupations. Hence you made humble supplication to us to grant the permission and authority to make use of . . . [such coadjutors]

[2]. Consequently, moved by these requests and in virtue of our apostolic authority, we by this present letter grant you permission and authority .

--to make use in the future of priests to help you in spiritual matters, and lay persons to help you in temporal matters and your domestic occupations;

--and these coadjutors, whether priests or lay men, after completing the experiences and probations required by your Constitutions may, for their greater devotion and merit, pronounce the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience in such a way that they are obliged to observe them for as long a time as you, beloved Son, the General, and those who will be general in accordance with passing time, will judge it wise to make use of them in a spiritual or temporal ministry, and not longer;²⁰ and therefore these coadjutors will not be obliged to pronounce a solemn profession or be otherwise admitted to it;

--and these coadjutors themselves, with your permission, beloved General, may if they are otherwise fit be promoted to all sacred orders, including the priesthood;

--also they, one and all, are to share and have full joy in all the good works and merits of the Society, just as the professed of that aforementioned Society share and have full joy in them; . . .

2. In Ignatius' *General Examen* (ca. 1546): Helpers of the Society

The papal brief *Exponi nobis* had the force of constitutive law for the Society. It added spiritual and temporal coadjutors to the Jesuit institute as described in *Regimini* of 1540; and in 1550 this addition was confirmed in the second papal Formula of the Institute, *Exposcit debitum*, [6(9)].²¹ Thus it was from the Holy See that Ignatius received the distinction of members into the professed and their coadjutors; and as he proceeded with the task of elaborating his own Constitutions he naturally followed this arrangement and terminology of the Holy See.

The addition received from *Exponi nobis* appeared already in the first draft of the General Examen (text *a*) which Ignatius completed perhaps as early as 1546. There he states²² that (1) some candidates are admitted to become professed members with solemn vows, (2) others to become spiritual

or temporal coadjutors with simple vows, and (3) others to become scholastics with simple vows plus the promise to enter the Society after completing their studies, if it admits them then. Thus there were introduced into Jesuit legal documents three groups, referred to (for example in *Cons*, [10, 13, 541]) by Spanish words such as *suertes* (kinds) or *grados* (grades), translated into Latin in 1558 by *classes* and *gradus*. The basis of the distinction of members was clearly that of the diverse functions characteristic of each group in the sixteenth-century circumstances, and not the worth of persons which is judged according to some worldly standard. To set up social classes equivalent to nobles and peasants was far from Ignatius' thought. He lived, however, in an era when class distinctions were common and he probably did not feel the aversions to them which are ordinary today. It is important to notice that both the priestly and the temporal coadjutors are in one class or grade, not two separate ones.

Both the brief of 1546 and the bull of 1550 confined their treatment to the basic legal essentials. They said little about details of the coadjutors' daily lives and occupations, spiritual motivation and inspiration, formation, and the like. The work of spelling out such details was now to engage Ignatius from 1546 until his death in 1556.

Till 1546, as mentioned above on page 5, he had considered the professed members as "the Society." He never fully dropped or revoked this terminology (as can be seen from *Exposcit debitum*, [6] of 1550). Rather, he absorbed it into two more comprehensive ways of speaking: (1) membership in various senses of the term and especially (2) his concept of the Society as a body in which many members cooperate by exercising different functions. Both ways of speaking will appear in his *Constitutions*,²³ sketchily in text A of 1550 and clearly in text B of 1556, [511]:

The Society, . . . in the most comprehensive sense of the term, includes all . . . under obedience to the superior general, . . . even the novices,

In the second and less universal sense, the Society includes not only the professed and formed coadjutors but also approved scholastics. For the body of the Society is composed of these three kinds of parts or members.

In the third and more precise sense, the Society is comprised of the professed and formed coadjutors. . . .

The fourth and most precise meaning of this name, the Society, comprehends only the professed, . . . the principal members, some

of whom . . . have active and passive voice in the election of the superior general and other such matters.

This will be treated more fully below.

To trace further the intricate details of growth in Ignatius' legislative thought on coadjutors is unnecessary and impractical in the present space. It has been done in masterful fashion by Father Antonio de Aldama, and also by Father Gervais Dumeige.²⁴ Pages 431-433 of *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 67 (1969) contain a condensed summary in English of Aldama's article, from which we quote the following:

THE IMAGE OF THE COADJUTOR IN THE IGNATIAN LEGISLATION

The following would seem to be the figure of the coadjutor to be derived from this Ignatian legislation. St. Ignatius did not intend the distinction between the professed and the coadjutor after the manner of a distinction of rights founded on the diversities in personal qualities. The sense of the distinction is indicated by the name itself, "coadjutor." This concept of "adjutant" or "helper" appears from the beginning, in the brief of approbation, in the Constitutions, and in other documents. The coadjutors, then, are assigned their own specific area of work within the Society. One may say that they have their own particular vocation within the general vocation of the Society. In fact, St. Ignatius uses the term "vocation" when speaking of the coadjutors.

From this concept there are derived the other characteristics of the coadjutors: (1) The qualifications they must have: they must have the qualifications necessary to enable them to aid the Society. In the case of the spiritual coadjutors, they must have an education and be trained to help the Society in the apostolic ministry; the temporal coadjutors must be able to aid the Society in temporal matters. (2) Their juridical status: the coadjutors, as they are auxiliaries, are less firmly bound to the body of the Society than the professed; and, if their continued presence is harmful, they may thus more easily be separated from it. In regard to the government of the Society, the offices of rector and procurator are reserved to the coadjutors . . . , they may take part in general congregations. . . . But the overall administration of the Society is entrusted to those who belong to the Society in the "most proper" sense, not to their auxiliaries. (3) The vows: those of the coadjutors are simple, public, conditioned; yet some of them may be allowed to take solemn vows, "for their devotion and for their personal qualifications."

If one asks in what matters the coadjutors aid the professed, the answer is: primarily by freeing them from certain occupations which, although necessary, are less proper to the Society, either because less spiritual or more restricting, such as housekeeping, the duties of rector, procurator, college teacher, etc. Then in those spiritual ministries which demand less preparation or more permanent assignment to one place.

3. Ayuda and Coadjutor in Ignatius' Vocabulary

In the earlier religious institutes, the lay members who cared for the temporalities to free the priests more for choir duties and studies were designated by terms such as brothers, lay brothers, and *conversi*, persons converted (from life in the world) but not ordained. Among the institutes of clerics regular arising in the sixteenth century such as the Theatines (founded in 1524) or the Barnabites (1530) a new terminology was arising to designate these lay members, more descriptive of their work as collaborator in the institutes' apostolic work: "coadjutors."²⁵

The terms "coadjutors," "spiritual coadjutors," and "temporal coadjutors," as we saw above, were taken into Jesuit usage from the documents of the Holy See, especially *Exponi nobis* and *Exposcit debitum*. A coadjutor, however, means a "co-helper"; and probably Ignatius accepted the term all the more willingly because it harmonized so naturally and well with his personal usages of the related Spanish words *ayuda* (help) and *ayudar* (to help). It is important at this point in our study to call attention to these personal usages. He habitually conceives of these members of his Society as "helpers" (*coadjutores*) to "aid" (*ayudar*) the Society in its aim of striving to help (*ayudar*) souls, in order thus to give to God the service and help which He has freely decided to accept from men in effecting His plan of salvation. In the eyes or viewpoint of God which Ignatius made his own, to give such service or help to God and men is work of great dignity and worth.

Ayudar (as verb) or *ayuda* (as noun) is one of the words prominent among those which Ignatius uses, especially in the *Exercises* and *Constitutions*, with nuances or overtones far beyond those of other persons in ordinary speech. As the late Ignacio Iparraguirre, so expert in Ignatius' texts and thought, has pointed out,²⁶ this word occurs some 269 times in the *Constitutions*; and other nouns or verbs used as frequently as that hardly amount to ten. This is no mere statistical curiosity, for it springs from and reflects his profoundly theological world view. Furthermore, our grasping this fact is in turn a means of gaining a new insight into the depth of his spirituality. For him the central concept or the root idea is this: A Jesuit should help those whom God desires him to help, and he in turn needs God's help if he is to do this successfully.

When Ignatius wants to state the end of the Society, he naturally and spontaneously expresses it in terms of *ayuda*. The end is to procure the spiritual development not only of the members, "but also . . . to labor strenuously in giving aid (*ayudar*) toward the salvation and perfection of the souls of their fellowmen" (*Examen*, [3]; see also *Cons*, [156, 446, 613]). In his concept, the professed no less than the spiritual or temporal coadjutors are "helpers" of the Society. They are members of the body of the Society (*Cons*, [511]); and since in his concept as in St. Paul's members are to aid the body as a whole, the professed are "to aid the Society." He states this explicitly in *Examen*, [13] (quoted below on page 17) and in *Cons*, [148] (quoted below on page 23). Beyond this, it is implicit in his whole manner of writing. For example, in *Cons*, [516-521] he lengthily describes the qualities of those to be admitted to final vows as "the professed." Then he proceeds to state in *Cons*, [522] (*italics supplied by us*):

To be admitted among the formed coadjutors, a subject should *likewise* have given satisfaction in regard to his life and good example and *his ability to aid the Society*, either in spiritual matters by his learning or in exterior matters without the learning, each one according to what God has communicated to him.

When seen from the viewpoint of worldly persons, to be a helper can connote one's being a second-class citizen, a menial, a servant rather than a boss, and one subject to humiliations. But "in the eyes of God" (*Cons*, [13])--the supernatural viewpoint which Ignatius made his own--to be a helper of the Society in its efforts to serve God and men is a dignity and a privilege meaningful for time and eternity.

4. In *Exposcit debitum* (1550), the Papal Bull and Formula of the Institute

In the bull of Pope Paul III which approved the Society in 1540, *Regimini*, there was naturally no mention of coadjutors; the idea of Jesuit coadjutor lay brothers had not yet arisen. All the members of the Society were priests or scholastics in training to become priests and professed. After nearly ten years Ignatius requested of Pope Julius III a new bull to take into account the experiences since 1540. The revisions of the first bull were slight but the additions considerable. Through them the provisions of the brief of 1546, *Exponi nobis*, were incorporated into this

new Formula of the Institute, pretty much in the same terms used in the brief. *Exposcit* is the Formula of the Institute still in force today. Since it is a papal document, changes in its provisions can be made only by the Holy Father or with his permission. A general congregation of the Society has authority to explain the provisions but not to alter them. The items most relevant to our present study appear in these citations:

[2]. Sometime ago our predecessor . . . Paul III received information about his beloved sons Ignatius of Loyola . . . [and his nine companions] . . . priests Our predecessor approved . . . their Institute. . . . A little later . . . he granted to that Society authority . . . to receive coadjutors, both spiritual coadjutors to help in spiritual matters and lay coadjutors to give aid in temporal and domestic functions. (After completing their tests required according to the Constitutions of this Society, these coadjutors were to be allowed, for their greater devotion and merit, to pronounce the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, not as solemn vows but as vows by which they would be bound for whatever time the superior general of the aforementioned Society should see fit to employ them in spiritual or temporal services; and they were to share in all the good works performed in the said Society and in all the merits, equally with those who pronounced the solemn profession in the same Society.)

[6]. [9]. . . . Moreover, some persons will be admitted to become coadjutors either for spiritual or temporal concerns or to become scholastics. After sufficient probations and the time specified in the Constitutions, these too should, for their greater devotion and merit, pronounce their vows. But their vows will not be solemn (except in the case of some who with permission from the superior general will be able to make three solemn vows of this kind because of their devotion and personal worth). Instead, they will be vows by which these persons are bound as long as the superior general thinks that they should be retained in the Society, as will be explained more fully in the Constitutions. But these coadjutors and scholastics too should be admitted into this militia of Jesus Christ only after they have been diligently examined and found suitable for that same end of the Society. . . .

These citations are the basic ecclesiastical law about the coadjutors, laws which Ignatius further explained and determined in his Constitutions of the Society of Jesus. Thus his determinations were approved with the Constitutions by General Congregation I in 1558.

5. In the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus (1550, 1556)

Ignatius composed his *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* chiefly

between 1546 and 1550, and he added slight revisions from 1550 to his death in 1556.

Naturally, therefore, it is in the Constitutions as he left them in 1556 that we find his fully matured concept of the Jesuit brothers' way of life or vocation in its practical and legal details and in its inspiring spiritual beauty. He has elaborated many further details of the brothers' life and work; and he has worked into a comprehensive synthesis the results of his spiritual thinking, his experience, and his adjustment of his charismatic ideas to legal structures and requirements, so that they could flourish within the existing ecclesiastical law which was necessary to preserve them even though it sometimes perhaps constrained them.

In these years of his maturity he thinks of the Society (*Compañía, Societas*) as an organized group, fundamentally priestly, deeply devoted to Christ and completely at his service to build up his Church. It shows this in its eager and loyal readiness to serve him under and through his vicar the pope.²⁷ He conceives the Society chiefly as a body²⁸ (*cuervo*) with the general as its head (*cabeza*) and with its members (*miembros*) all charitably cooperating (*Cons*, [671]) toward its one end, greater praise or glory to God, by devoting themselves intensively to their own spiritual development and the apostolic help of their fellow men (*Cons*, [3]). These members are divided, according to their characteristic functions and not their social standing, into four²⁹ chief groups or classes (Spanish *suertes*, Latin *classes*): the professed, the coadjutors spiritual and temporal, those in formation to become either professed or formed coadjutors, and the "indifferent," those admitted as still undetermined with regard to their classification and still in training.³⁰ In this thinking he was clearly influenced by St. Paul's concept of the Church as Christ's body, an idea which was prominent in his and his companions' thought.³¹ An instance in point is his letter of May 23, 1556, to a young Jesuit tempted to abandon his studies because of his eagerness for works of charity and humility. In words reminiscent of 1 Cor. 12:12-26, Ignatius wrote to him: "In a body not all the members are eyes, or ears, or hands, or feet; and just as each member has its own function and contents itself with it, so is it in the body of the Society. Not all can be educated, and not all priests, but each one should content himself with the function which

pertains to him through the will and judgment of the superior, who will have to render to God our Lord an account of all those in his charge."³²

Ignatius' *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* are indeed religious law but also something much more: an inspirational document communicating his outlook on life which has seeped into all the text and can be savored as one reads. Often, however, any passage of his needs to be interpreted by light drawn from inside or outside his text, for three main reasons. First, he rarely presents his comprehensive concept of any one topic in any one place, and therefore what he says there must be completed or nuanced by what he says elsewhere. Second, his spiritual outlook and its theological basis were so deeply a part of himself that elements of them slipped casually from his pen into almost any of his phrases and can easily be missed unless attention is called to them. Third, like all other classics, with Scripture itself included, they are culturally conditioned so that many statements or precepts, which were prudent and wise as means to his ends in his own era, are less applicable in another and today require the updating called for by Vatican Council II.

On almost every page of his *Constitutions* something turns up which reveals afresh that he had one overall and inspiring end, greater praise or glory to God in this world and the next, and that he saw everything else as means to this end. Spontaneously he puts this end before his reader with varying nuances and he relates his other ideas or precepts as practical devices toward achieving it. For example, praise of God and service to him mutually entail each other, and hence in Ignatius' vocabulary the two terms overlap and are almost interchangeable with only the nuances differing. Thus he is continually showing his readers how they can make their lives and their detailed daily activities meaningful for time and eternity.

The substance of his concept of the temporal coadjutor or lay brother is contained in a few paragraphs of his *General Examen* and *Constitutions*. Therefore we shall present that concept by quoting these paragraphs, thus giving Ignatius' own words and flavor. We shall italicize and designate by capital letters enclosed in square brackets some words or phrases on which we shall comment below. The reader should remember, too, that Ignatius treats all the coadjutors, priestly and lay, as one class or grade.

6. Relevant Citations, with Commentary

a. From the *General Examen*

The *First and General Examen* was composed in about 1546 to give to an applicant deliberating about the Society a "first" but official explanation of what the Society and its manner of life are, and also some help to the examiner or counselor who is conversing with him. Ignatius begins this document with a clear statement of the Society's end, to which he views everything else as means. This end is the hub around which everything else revolves:

[3]. The end of this Society is to devote itself with God's grace not only to the salvation and perfection [i.e., development] of our own souls, but also to labor strenuously in giving aid toward the salvation and perfection of the souls of their fellow-men.

[4]. To achieve this end more effectively, the three vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity are taken in the Society. . . .

[8]. In other respects, for sound reasons and *with attention always paid to the greater service of God*, in regard to what is exterior the manner of living is ordinary. . . .

[10]. The persons who are received into this Society considered as a whole are of four classes, in view of the end which the Society pursues. . . .

[12]. First, some are received to make the profession in the Society with four solemn vows. . . . All of them must be priests before their profession.

[13]. The second class consists of those who are received to become coadjutors in the service of God and *to aid the Society* in either spiritual or temporal matters [A]. After their experiences and probations these are to take three simple vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity, without taking the fourth vow of obedience to the pope or any other solemn vow. *They should be content with their grade* [B], knowing that in the eyes of our Creator and Lord those gain *greater merit* who *with greater charity* give help and service to all persons *through love of His Divine Majesty* [C], whether they serve in matters of greater moment or in others more lowly and humble.

A. It is clear here that Ignatius considers all the coadjutors, priestly and lay, as one class or grade, and that their vocation is "to aid the Society" toward its supreme end, praise or glory to God in this world and the next, and toward all the intermediate ends by which it is attained, such as one's own spiritual development and apostolic

service of the Church and of the neighbor (*Cons*, [3]), and all the details of daily living such as those indicated below in *Constitutions*, [149].

B. They should be *content* . . .: Interior peace and contentment in the service of God is something important and prominent among the experiences which Ignatius wanted all those he spiritually directed to have.³³ In *Cons*, [250], he states that the novices should "take special care . . . to preserve themselves in peace and true humility of their souls." Here and in the paragraphs we shall cite below about the brothers he repeats this idea many times as a sort of key idea or root for the interior joy they would have in their genuinely significant lives. A deep but quiet happiness arises from awareness that one is fulfilling God's will according to the abilities and opportunities given him, and that his activities are in God's eyes significant for time and eternity. Ignatius wanted all his Jesuits, whether ordained or unordained, whether professed or coadjutors, to be chiefly intent on serving God as best they can with the personalities and other gifts they have through his providence, rather than in vain desires about what might have been or is. This becomes clearer in *Constitutions*, [112-113], quoted just below. This attitude is based on the "indifference" (*SpEx*, [23]) which Ignatius regarded so highly and expected in all candidates and members--that is, that they should withhold choices, among options, and even their desires to the extent possible, until they get evidence as to which option is likely to lead to greater glory to God. In the founder's view this pertained also to the grade a Jesuit has received in the Society. Ignatius' hope was that he would accept it as God's will and in it serve God in peace of soul. This humility would be the root of many virtues.

C. "In the eyes of our Creator . . . those gain *greater merit* who *with greater charity* give help . . . *through love* of His Divine Majesty." All these italicized phrases are important factors in the theological doctrines prominent in the spiritual outlook by which Ignatius inspired and motivated himself and his followers. Some works or activities may well be more important or valuable than others when considered in themselves and in the abstract, or sometimes even when judged by the criteria of this world. But for the individual person what counts most is, not what he is doing, but that he is doing it for the love of God and in

conformity with His will. He can serve Him by the right use of his intellectual gifts or education; and he can also serve Him equally well by his hands when he puts them to work for the love of God and of the neighbor. In Ignatius' view, the individual can and should "find God in all things." All these matters will hopefully become clearer in section C below on the Highlights of Spiritual Theology in Ignatius' concept of a Jesuit brother.

[112]. To give a better understanding to each one of these coadjutors, what was touched on earlier should be further explained, namely, that both spiritual coadjutors and temporal coadjutors are received into this Society. *The spiritual coadjutors are priests and possess a sufficiency of learning to help in spiritual matters. The temporal coadjutors do not receive sacred orders and, whether they possess learning or not, can help in the necessary external matters [D].*

D. "The temporal coadjutors . . . help in . . . external matters": At least in practice, these word, virtually quoted from the papal brief *Exponi nobis*, have sometimes been taken to mean "exclusively" in temporal affairs, rather than "ordinarily" or "chiefly" but not exclusively in them. Which did Ignatius truly mean?

There is strong evidence to show that he meant "ordinarily" or "chiefly," and not "exclusively"; further, that this meaning is the only one valid in practice for today. In 1546 or 1547 Polanco, troubled by the restrictive and vague wording in *Exponi nobis*, [1], expressed his difficulties to Ignatius: Some priests have talent also for temporal affairs and some lay coadjutors can teach (*leer*, give lectures or classes). Ignatius indicated that the designations were taken from what more generally occurs;³⁴ and he explicitly states this in *Cons*, [114] (to be cited just below).

For application in practice today, this interpretation is the only one legally valid since the 31st General Congregation of 1965-1966. The legislative force of Ignatius' words comes, not from the fact that he wrote them, but from their approval by General Congregation I in 1558. Later Congregations can repeat, authoritatively explain, or annul enactments of preceding Congregations. General Congregation XXXI in 1966 legislated that the coadjutor brothers may perform any of the tasks which priests ordinarily perform, including administrative offices, apart from those requiring priesthood and the jurisdiction which the Church gives only to priests.³⁵

[113]. It is more characteristic of [E] the spiritual coadjutors to aid the Society by hearing confessions, giving exhortations, and teaching Christian doctrine or other branches of study. The same favors may be given to them as to the professed for the aid of souls.

[114]. It is more characteristic of the temporal coadjutors to exercise themselves in all the low and humble services which are enjoined upon them, although *they may be employed in more important matters* [E] *in accordance with the talent God gave them*. [F]. They should believe that *by aiding the Society* in order that it may the better attend to the salvation of souls, they are serving the same Lord of all, since they are giving this aid *out of love* and reverence *for His Divine Self*. They ought therefore to be prompt in carrying out the tasks given to them, completely and with all possible *humility and charity*. By this they both *merit their own full reward* and *share in all the good works* which God our Lord deigns to work through the entire Society *for His greater service and praise*; and they also share in the indulgences and privileges granted by the Apostolic See to the professed for the good of their souls.

E. "Although they may be employed in more important matters . . .": This statement of Ignatius definitively confirms the interpretation given in D just above.

F. "In accordance with the talent God gave them": This is Ignatius' important criterion to be used by a brother or a superior in processes of discernment prior to assignment of a brother to a rather permanent employment.³⁶

G. "They both *merit their own full reward* and *share in all the good works* which" God works "through *the entire Society* for His greater . . . praise": The Society's prime works are the priestly apostolic ministries, of which some (such as consecrating the Eucharist or administering penance) require holy orders and others (such as spiritual conversation, almsgiving, or household employments) do not. But these latter, which are performed by ordained priests or by brothers, are directed toward the priestly ministries. By performing them the brothers both (1) free the ordained priests and the scholastics for their directly priestly works or studies and also (2) directly further the Church's and the Society's apostolic goals. Hence to the brothers too is attributable any greater success achieved and the further reward from God, ultimately proportionally greater joy in the beatific vision.

[115]. Nevertheless, *in their conversations* [H] they ought to try to further the greater interior progress of their neighbors,

to explain what they know, and to stimulate those whom they can to do good, since our Lord has given care of his neighbor to everyone [Eccli. 17:12].

H. "In their conversations": Conversations with the neighbor were one of the chief ministries which the early Jesuits, priests and brothers alike, exercised in their efforts to achieve the apostolic goals of the Society. This ministry is well described by Father Thomas Clancy in his *The Conversational Word of God*.³⁷

[116]. If someone has been trained and *examined to become* [I] a spiritual coadjutor, he ought to devote himself to the spiritual matters which are appropriate and suitable to his first vocation and not to seek, directly or indirectly, through himself or someone else, to inaugurate or attempt some change from his vocation to another, namely, from that of a spiritual coadjutor to that of a professed or scholastic or temporal coadjutor. Instead, he should with all humility and obedience proceed to make his way along the same path, which was shown to him by Him who knows no change and to whom no change is possible.

[117]. In the same manner, if someone has been *examined* and trained *to become* [I] a temporal coadjutor, he ought to devote himself in everything to the things which are appropriate and suitable to his first vocation and not to seek in one way or another to pass forward from the grade of temporal coadjutor to that of a spiritual coadjutor or a scholastic or a professed. Neither *ought he*, even if he does remain in the same grade, *to seek more learning* [J] than he had when he entered. But he ought with much humility to persevere in giving service in everything to his Creator and Lord in his first vocation and to endeavor to grow in the abnegation of himself and in the pursuit of the genuine virtues.

[118]. Such coadjutors should also be asked whether, as something characteristic of their vocation, they will be content and at peace to serve their Creator and Lord in low and humble offices and ministries, of whatever kind they may be, for the benefit of the house and the Society; and whether they will be ready to spend all the days of their lives in those occupations, believing that in this they are serving and praising their Creator and Lord, by doing all things for His divine love and reverence.

I. ". . . *examined to become* a spiritual coadjutor" ([116]) or "a temporal coadjutor" ([117]), he should devote himself to the "things characteristic of and suitable to his first vocation": It should be remembered that these three paragraphs, [116, 117, and 118] are in the *Examen* intended to give prospective candidates a first but authoritative explanation of the Society's Institute. Ignatius' purpose in them is to

make provision for the contentment and spiritual peace (as described above in B) of the young Jesuit throughout his formation and then later life. But he did not definitively close off, in an appropriate case, further discernment or representation to the superior which is in accordance with his concept of obedience (*Cons*, [547-550]) and representation ([92, 131, 543, 627]). In practice, especially since Vatican Council II and the 31st General Congregation, cases of such discernment have been seen more frequently than in the early Society. This new practice is fully legitimate and Ignatian, especially in the modern circumstances so changed from his. What is important in such a change, whether of brother to scholastic or scholastic to brother, is that there be a process of genuine discernment: Which procedure is likely to result in the long run to greater praise of God?

J. "Neither *ought he . . . to seek more learning* than he had when he entered": The spiritual peace and contentment treated above in B on [13] and about to be mentioned again just below in [118] is Ignatius' goal which controls his thought as he addresses this explanation to an applicant and devises the question given in [118]. In the sixteenth century, if an applicant for admission as a brother was thinking of acquiring further learning than he had, it would be regarded as a sign that he was aspiring to the priesthood; and this aspiration would not promote interior peace and contentment with his own vocation to humbler works, but could be interiorly disturbing, especially for one who was perhaps moving toward something above his abilities.

In these circumstances, we see that Ignatius' statement is delicately phrased and suggests that in about 1547 when he first wrote it in the Examen for applicants, he conceived it more as spiritual counsel than as law binding all the members of the Society; he wrote "he ought not to seek to acquire" rather than more legalistically, "he shall not acquire."³⁸ Be that as it may, accidents of interpretation occurred such as are frequent in history. As decades and centuries passed, the phrase was taken more and more as law, and this brought, too, steadily increasing stringency of interpretation. By 1616 the phrase had become number 14 of the Common Rules heard by all at table every month: "Let no one of those admitted for domestic service learn either to read or write, or if he have

any knowledge of letters, acquire more; and let no one teach him, without leave of the General; . . ." After about three centuries it gradually became clear that this interpretation was preventing the brothers from keeping abreast of advancing culture whether secular or spiritual, and from acquiring formation proper for their lives and tasks in the modern world; also, that it was the cause of considerable malaise and justified complaint. Hence General Congregation XXVII in 1923 took a great step forward by abrogating this Rule 14 of the Common Rules. And, more positively, General Congregation XXXI in 1966 decreed that spiritual, doctrinal, and technical formation truly adequate for today should be given to the brothers (Decree 7, no. 7). Further details of this legal history will be given below in Part II, B, 1. Here it suffices to notice that Ignatius' statement can still stand as sound spiritual counsel for some particular cases. But if it is interpreted as law it is no longer in force.

b. From the Constitutions

[148]. To speak in particular of those who are admitted to become coadjutors in temporal or external matters, it is presupposed that they should *not be more numerous* than is necessary [K] to aid the Society in occupations which the other members could not fulfill without detriment to the greater service of God [A]. In regard to their souls these applicants ought to be men of good conscience, peaceful, docile, lovers of virtue and perfection, inclined to devotion, edifying for those inside and outside the house, content with the lot of Martha in the Society, well-disposed toward its Institute, and *eager to help it* for the glory of God our Lord.

[149]-A. Such are ordinarily, in large houses, the occupations of a cook, steward, buyer, doorkeeper, infirmarian, launderer, gardener, and alms-gatherer in a place where the members live on alms; and there could be others of this kind [L]. But according to the more or fewer members in the houses or colleges, and to the greater or lesser requirements in the offices, there might or might not be need to assign full-time persons to all of these occupations. Consequently this matter should be left to the one in charge of the others.

K. "They should *not be more numerous* than is necessary to aid the Society" . . .: Since the works of the Society as a clerical institute are predominantly priestly, it would be somewhat anomalous if the lay coadjutors would outnumber the priests and scholastics. This was far more a possibility or even likelihood in Ignatius' day than in our own,

since in the sixteenth century perhaps less than 10% of the population had education equivalent to that of ten-year-olds in modern America or Europe.³⁹ Many of the brothers in Ignatius' day could not write or read.

Concern that the proportion of brothers was growing too large actually existed in the early Society. In 1558 General Congregation I expressed concern that the *Constitutions* recommended a small number and the practice was different. In 1615-1616 General Congregation VIII decreed that brothers should not constitute more than one fourth the number of Jesuits in a college. General Congregation IX in 1645-1646 even decreed that until practice could be brought into conformity with this decree, more brothers should not be admitted; rather, servants could be hired.⁴⁰ In the Province of Andalusia, Spain, 41% of the Jesuits in 1675 were brothers, and 45% in the Province of Sardinia. Statistics seem to show that the brothers constituted about 31% of the Society in the 1600s, 25% in the 1700s before the suppression in 1773, 28% in 1850, 27% in 1900, 16% in 1968.⁴¹

In general, we observe, when we consider the total numbers who have entered the Society since 1556, that as education became more and more universal, the percentage of those who entered as brothers decreased and the percentage of those entering to become priests increased. The decrease in brothers has accelerated greatly since 1900, as the statistics given below on page 61 show. In our modern circumstances so greatly changed from Ignatius', his prescription no longer has applicability.

There is also another reason which may have influenced him in writing this statement in the 1540s: the constitutions and practice of other clerical religious institutes. The Constitutions of the Dominicans, for example, state that "Our order was instituted principally for preaching and for the salvation of souls"; and this aim greatly influenced its organizational form. "The Preachers were the first among religious orders to suppress manual labor, the necessary work of the house being relegated to lay brothers called *conversi*, whose number was limited according to the needs of each conventus."⁴² The Dominicans' practice in this matter or even their Constitutions may well have suggested to Polanco or Ignatius the inclusion of this statement about numbers in *Cons*, [148]. They certainly drew some ideas from the Dominican Constitutions.

L. Here Ignatius enumerates concrete samples of what he means by

"temporal" or "external" matters. When a brother--or a priest or scholastic too--performs such tasks for the love of God, they are of immense value for time and eternity. And Ignatius hopes that his brothers will "in those occupations" . . . "be serving and praising their Creator and Lord, by doing all things for His divine love and reverence" (*Cons*, [118], above). His characteristic doctrine that "God is to be found in all things" applies also to these tasks, as will appear more clearly below in section B, 4. All that was said above in G on merit is also applicable here.

[150]. If some applicant is perceived to have such a disposition that he is unlikely to remain satisfied while serving in external matters, because an inclination for study or the priesthood can be observed in him, it would not be wise to admit him to become a temporal coadjutor if he does not appear to have the ability to advance as far as it would be necessary [M].

M. Such a case might easily occur in a candidate who might desire to be a priest but have doubts about his abilities to succeed in the necessary studies. It would be more practical to admit him as a scholastic to try the studies. If he should find them too difficult, he could then after counsel and proper permission transfer to the coadjutors and from then on have peace of soul.

7. Highlights of Spiritual Theology in Ignatius' Concept

Woven into the passages quoted above which reveal Ignatius' basic concept of the Jesuit brothers' vocation are also many of the inspiring principles characteristic of his spiritual theology. Spontaneously he slipped these principles, in scattered fashion according to occasions, into all his writings, sometimes with clues to his theological sources. Often these principles seem to be based on and similar to teachings of St. Thomas Aquinas, whom he greatly admired (*Cons*, [464]). All this can be exemplified by a few sample highlights of his spiritual theology as applied in his thinking about the vocation of the Jesuit brothers.

a. Religious Vocation as Complete Consecration of One's Whole Self to God

The heart of the religious vocation, in the opinion of many competent writers,⁴³ consists in a person's total and irrevocable consecration of himself or herself to God through love. That this was Ignatius' concept

can be gleaned from his *Spiritual Exercises*. In [234], for example, he suggests to the exercitant, often one who has elected the religious state, to say in love: "Take, Lord, and receive *all* my liberty, my memory, my intellect, and all my will--*all* that I have and possess. You gave it to me. Lord, I return it to you." In his *Constitutions* he expressed this same idea more clearly, almost in passing, in two paragraphs which he wrote for the novices, whether priests or brothers (*Cons*, [282, 283]):

[282]. It will be very specially helpful to perform with all possible devotion the tasks in which humility and charity are practiced more; and, to speak in general, the more one binds himself to God our Lord and shows himself more generous toward His Divine Majesty[T], the more will he find God more generous toward himself. . . .

For Ignatius, in a Jesuit whether priest or brother, all the tasks here in view should proceed from love of God or charity, as we saw from *Constitutions*, [13, 118], cited above. Charity is the greatest virtue of the spiritual life (1 Cor. 13:13); and about it St. Thomas Aquinas observes (*Summa theol.*, 2-2, q. 17, a. 6, ad 3): "Charity makes us tend toward God, by uniting our affections to him, so that we live, not for ourselves but for God." That Ignatius regarded the vows of religious life as means to this total dedication is clear from the Declaration he wrote about the passage just quoted above, [282]:

[283]-T. To bind oneself more to God our Lord and to show oneself generous toward Him *is to consecrate oneself completely and irrevocably to His service, as those do who dedicate themselves to Him by vow* (italics supplied).

b. Finding God in All Things

Ignatius had a contemplative spirit; he loved to think about God. His intimate friend Jerónimo Nadal, the one among his early companions who best knew St. Thomas' *Summa theologiae*, said of him:

We know that Father Ignatius received from God the singular grace to enjoy freely the contemplation of the Trinity and to rest in it. . . . Father Ignatius enjoyed this kind of prayer by reason of a great privilege and in a most singular manner, and this besides, that *in all things, actions, and conversations* he contemplated the presence of God and he had a feeling of spiritual things, so that even in action he was at the same time a contemplative (a thing which he used to express by saying: God must be found in all things).⁴⁴

"To seek" or "to find God in all things" became an important principle in Ignatius' apostolic spirituality. With slight variations he reiterated the idea and spelled out details of its application: in his letters, in spiritual direction, in the *Exercises* and *Constitutions*;⁴⁵ and obviously it applies to the brothers and their tasks. Examples follow.

In the Contemplation to Gain Love, at the climax of the *Spiritual Exercises*, he proposes to the retreatant ([235]) to observe

how God dwells in creatures, in the elements giving them being, in the plants vegetating, in the animals feeling in them, in men giving them to understand; and so in me, giving me being, animating me, giving me sensation and making me to understand; likewise making a temple of me, being created to the likeness and image of His Divine Majesty; . . .

In a letter of June 1, 1551 he wrote to Antonio Brandão, a scholastic priest:

In view of the purpose of our studies, the scholastics cannot devote themselves to long meditations. Over and above [the prescribed exercises] . . . they can exercise themselves in seeking the presence of our Lord in all things--for example, in conversing with someone, in walking, looking, tasting, hearing, thinking, and in everything that they do, since it is true that his Divine Majesty is in all things by his presence, power, and essence. . . .⁴⁶

It is obvious that if God can be found in walking, looking, and the other activities just mentioned here, he can likewise be sought and found in any of the activities performed by the temporal coadjutors, such as the "more important matters" mentioned above in *Cons* [114], and also the "lowly and humble" offices and ministries of [13, 114, 118], or the exemplifications in [148] as those of a cook, buyer, infirmarian, and the like.

To "find God in all things" is an integral part of capital importance in Ignatius' spirituality; and this whole concept of apostolic spirituality has abundant foundation in the theology of St. Thomas, from which he may have drawn it or deepened his understanding of it--for example, in his studies in Paris or Vicenza, or in conversations with Nadal in Rome. It can be briefly described thus. One serves or pleases God or merits increase of ability to praise God in heaven--each of these interlocking phrases entails the other--sometimes by focusing attention on him in prayer and at other times by other activities performed for love of God. These activities can become prayer, at least in a wider sense of the term, as St. Thomas writes about Rom. 1:18:⁴⁷ ". . . as long as a person is acting in heart, speech, or work in such a manner that one is tending toward God,

one is praying; and thus one who is directing one's whole life toward God is praying always." Ignatius similarly writes: "In the midst of actions and studies, the mind can be lifted to God; and by means of this directing everything to the divine service, everything is prayer."⁴⁸

In his treatise on contemplative life and active life St. Thomas states (*Summa Theologiae*, 2-2, q. 182, a.3) that the works flowing from the active [interior] life sometimes hinder the act of contemplation; but one can remain a contemplative person, one in the unitive stage of spiritual growth whose dominant inclination is toward contemplation of God, even while one is engaged in apostolic activities. And such a person, he states a little above (in a.2) may "merit more by the works of the active life than another by the works of the contemplative life; for example, if through divine love . . . he consents to be withdrawn from the sweetness of divine contemplation for a time" in order to perform deeds of charity for his neighbor. Ignatius writes similarly:⁴⁹ ". . . the distracting occupations undertaken for his greater service, in conformity with His divine will . . . can be, not only the equivalent of the union and recollection of uninterrupted contemplation, but even more acceptable, proceeding as they do from a more active and vigorous charity." Similar texts can be found in abundance.⁵⁰

c. The Theological Doctrine of Supernatural Merit

The texts cited above--and many others too--make clear that the doctrine of supernatural merit played an important role in Ignatius' concept of a Jesuit's vocation. There is question of the doctrine as it had sprung from statements of Christ and his apostles⁵¹ and had been developed by the Fathers and theologians, especially St. Thomas.⁵² Then during the most active period of Ignatius' life it was clarified and expressed anew by the definitions of Trent in 1547--the very year when he and Polanco began their serious work on the *Constitutions*. This doctrine is an important element in the structure of his spiritual doctrine, as it also was in the teaching of the Church and in the interests of the era.

The doctrine, compressed to its core chiefly relevant for present purposes and space, can be stated as follows. A person consecrated to God by baptism, and therefore possessing the supernatural life bestowed through

it, can increase the vitality or power of that life by the good deeds he or she freely performs with the aid of God's actual graces and by the sacraments he fruitfully receives. By all these activities he merits a proportionately greater ability to know God face to face through eternity, to love Him with love proportioned to his knowledge, and to be completely happy by knowing, loving, and praising the beloved triune God--who in turn is thus sharing his own happiness with his faithful and generous creature. In other words, such a person freely and even generously fulfills in richer degree the function which God created him to perform through eternity and is happy by doing it. This is the doctrine which was clarified by the solemn definition of the Council of Trent on January 13, 1547, epitomized in its Canon 32:

If anyone says that, by the good works he performs through the grace of God . . . , the justified man does not truly merit an increase of grace, life everlasting, . . . and even an increase of glory: let him be anathema.⁵³

That rich theological doctrine of grace and merit, too, underlies the many statements by which Ignatius encourages his Jesuits, whether scholastics, brothers, or priests, to serve God in interior peace and contentment, such as

[13]. . . . knowing that in the eyes of our Creator and Lord those *gain greater merit* who *with greater charity* give help and service to all persons *through love of His Divine Majesty*, whether they serve in matters of greater moment or in others more lowly and humble (italics supplied).

Seen in the light of this doctrine, all the daily activities of a Jesuit brother become meaningful for time and eternity. Whether they be those of a house treasurer or teacher or musician or minister or cook or maintenance man, when he performs them through love of God or obedience they bring increased vitality to his supernatural life here and increased ability to be happy hereafter.

d. Charity and Brotherhood

Genuine charity, consisting of love of God and of one's neighbor for His sake, is another key idea in Ignatius' ideal of the Jesuit brothers' life. He wanted the temporal coadjutors, like the scholastics, spiritual coadjutors, and professed, to cooperate under obedience in fraternal teamwork for the Society's goals. This ideal stands out in one beautiful paragraph of his *Constitutions* in Part 8, chapter 1, Aids toward the Union of Hearts ([671]):

[671]. The chief bond to cement the union of the members among themselves and with their head is, on both sides, the love of God our Lord. For when the superior and the subjects are closely united to His Divine and Supreme Goodness, they will very easily be united among themselves, through that same love which will descend from the Divine Goodness and spread to all other men, and particularly into the body of the Society. Thus from both sides charity will come to further this union between superiors and subjects, and in general all goodness and virtues through which one proceeds in conformity with the spirit. Consequently there will also come total contempt of temporal things, in regard to which self-love, the chief enemy of this union and universal good, frequently induces disorder.

Still another great help can be found in uniformity, both interior uniformity of doctrine, judgments, and wills, as far as this is possible, and exterior uniformity in respect to clothing, ceremonies of the Mass, and other such matters, to the extent that the different qualities of persons, places, and the like, permit.

Today during the progressive implementation of the decrees of the 31st and 32nd General Congregations, that paragraph can be a rich source of further development of brotherhood and supportive spirit among all Jesuits in one integrated community life.

PART II. THE BROTHERS' LIFE OR VOCATION AFTER IGNATIUS, 1556-1981

A Historical Sketch through Four Centuries

A. Their Life and Formation

No comprehensive history of the Jesuit brothers' vocation, considered as a way of living out their consecration according to the Society's Institute, has yet been written. Here we must content ourselves with a few streams of development in key areas.

1. Some Statistics

At Ignatius' death in 1556 the brothers numbered roughly 25% of the Society. For example, in the University of Messina were 28 Jesuits, of whom 8 were priests, 5 scholastics, 7 novices, and 8 temporal coadjutors; in the community of the college in Palermo were 34, of whom 8 were priests, 7 scholastics, 10 novices, and 9 temporal coadjutors.⁵⁴ Their level of book learning was low and a goodly number could not read or write, but their

morale as a group was high. The practicing and fervent Catholics of the day highly esteemed religious as persons consecrated to God.⁵⁵ The brothers brought this esteem with them when they entered religious life and continued to be encouraged by it. The level of education brought into the novitiate with brothers grew slowly through the centuries. But the percentage of brothers, with fluctuations in various provinces or areas, remained substantially the same until about 1930,⁵⁶ when a rapid decline in numbers set in--contemporaneously with an unprecedented expansion in North America and Europe of attendance in secondary schools and universities. In summary fashion, the percentages of brothers were: from 1600 through 1699, 30.9%; 1700 through 1773, 24.5%; 1814 through 1899, 27.7%; 1900 to 1968, 27.6% descending gradually to 15.9%.

Those statistics make amply clear that from 1556 to 1900 the brothers constantly comprised approximately 24% to 30% of the Society's membership. Only God knows--or needs to know--how much of the good accomplished through these centuries would have been left unachieved if the help of these devoted brothers had been lacking. Impelled by love of God and their fellow men, they accompanied the priests on missions throughout Europe or the rest of the world, built or helped to build the churches and schools and other buildings, ran farms and taught aborigines how to farm, built reductions like those in Paraguay, befriended and catechized the children and usually also the adults, cooked the meals, maintained the buildings, and practiced many arts. Some of them too were artists of renown, such as the painter Brother Andrea Pozzo in Rome, and some were musicians among the Indians of the Americas. By activities such as these and by their devotion they led satisfying lives made meaningful by their religious spirit for time and eternity.

2. Community Life

In the communities of Ignatius' day, such as those at Messina or Palermo mentioned above, there were no rules of division requiring priests, scholastics, and brothers to live and recreate apart in separated groups. It is only human and natural that because of age or common interests some would tend on occasions to feel more at ease in small groups of similar companions: priests with priests because of their ministerial or intellectual

interests, brothers with brothers to discuss their manual tasks, or scholastics with scholastics in discussing their studies. The rules or directives, however, tended to minimize rather than further this.

With the passing of generations, however, changes gradually came. All the novices were trained in a common house, a novitiate. The 6th General Congregation in 1608 approved a practice that the junior scholastics to preserve their first fervor should, for two years after their vows, live as a group separated from other Jesuits.⁵⁷ In time, by steps difficult to trace, the fathers, brothers, and other scholastics came under similar legislation, which is summarized in the *Epitome Instituti Societatis Iesu*.⁵⁸ In houses of formation, and in others too except small communities, priests, scholastics, and brothers lived in strictly separated groups. Often permissions thought ordinary for priests or scholastics were thought of as extraordinary for brothers; and by our twentieth century class-consciousness was rising among many brothers who felt themselves to be "second-class citizens." In 1956 a good start and good precedent for progress in remedying this malaise was made by the 30th General Congregation's decrees.⁵⁹ Even so, by the beginning of the 31st General Congregation in 1965, the postulata showed that many brothers still felt themselves in a class not properly integrated into the Society's life.

3. The Spiritual Formation and Life of the Brothers

During their novitiate the brothers made the Exercises, received instructions on the Society's life and rules and on Christian doctrine. From then on the spiritual training and care of the coadjutor brothers from Ignatius' days onward was carried on largely by means of instructions or conferences (usually weekly), rules, devotional practices, and meetings with the spiritual father. This spiritual care or formation has been well described⁶⁰ by the late Father Ignacio Iparraguirre, the expert on Ignatian texts, the *Exercises*, and their history.

a. Instructions and Sets of Rules

The instructions drew their ideas chiefly from the *Exercises*, the accumulating sets of rules which stemmed from the *Constitutions*, and the general outlook on spirituality in the successive eras. These instructions

repeated over and over again the selfsame concepts and words; and thus they gave a very unified formation to all the brothers. In 1563 Nadal gave an instruction "On Temporal Coadjutors."⁶¹ It is a typical instruction of the time to brothers and exemplifies the norms of spirituality by which they were guided in the weekly conferences they heard in that era and long afterward.

The rules were formulated and accumulated gradually, usually in clusters or sets for various groups of persons, from the days of Ignatius onward. Prominent among them were the successive sets of the "Rules of the Summary" and the "Common Rules," which received various revisions until they reached the set form of 1608 which then remained virtually unchanged until the 27th General Congregation in 1923.⁶² The Rules of Modesty, which Ignatius had promulgated in Rome for the professed house and the Roman College, were incorporated by Mercurian into his "Book of Rules" (*Libellus regularum*) of 1580, which was republished, slightly revised, by Aquaviva in 1582. Sets of rules for particular offices or groups gradually appeared, too, such as those of the rector, or the scholastics, or the cook, or the buyer.⁶³ In 1593 Aquaviva sent out his Instruction VIII, "For the Temporal Coadjutors, in accordance with the Deputation of the 5th General Congregation" (1593-1594).⁶⁴ A collection entitled "The Rules of the Temporal Coadjutors" was drawn up by a deputation of the 6th General Congregation in 1608 and published by Aquaviva in 1609.⁶⁵ Then these Rules too remained virtually unchanged for three centuries until the 27th General Congregation in 1923.

The Rules of the Summary and the Common Rules were read at table every month, and they and the other sets of rules formed the basis of instructions by novice masters and others, rather than the *Constitutions*, which by comparison remained pretty much merely a big book in the library. The Rules of the Brothers drew especially from the *General Examen*, [114-120] and *Constitutions*, [344-345]; but the *Constitutions* themselves were available only in Spanish and Latin texts and were not much read by the brothers, especially in non-Spanish-speaking lands.

This ensemble of rule booklets, instructions, and devotional practices was a natural growth from the idea of spirituality prevailing in the latter half of the sixteenth century and onward. Among the faithful there was a high, even excessive esteem of religious life, and a brother entering it,

even in its lowest grade, was regarded as one elevated to a sublime state free from many worldly dangers. This took place, too, in a social order where class distinctions between peasants and nobles were taken for granted. Beyond doubt human difficulties and disagreements occasionally arose. Yet the brothers could and did feel the sublimity of their vocation without being resentful at its being a state lower than the priesthood.

In this environment it was easy for the instructors to bring them to understand the importance and dignity of their vocation. Nadal, for example, does this in 1563 by five considerations pointing out: (1) the great value of a life dedicated to the exclusive service of God, (2) the merit of work done in it for love of God, (3) the help given to the Society by the brothers, (4) their share in the merits, graces, and indulgences of the Society, and (5) the good they could do to their neighbors, by their example and by spiritual conversations.⁶⁶ Aquaviva's Instruction contains very similar ideas.⁶⁷ Both documents echo *Constitutions*, [110, 114, 115]. To attain this outlook and esteem of their vocation, the brothers were urged to have "purity of intention," that is, to have and cultivate a supernatural view of life, so that they would be "content and at peace" (*Cons*, [118]). Usually too the brothers received a weekly instruction, had meetings with a spiritual director, received "points for meditations" every evening, and daily read (or heard read) from a spiritual book.

Such instruction through sets of rules and practices was common to the spirituality of the time, among people of the lower class and also among others more educated or spiritually advanced, for example, in the convents of religious women. It continued, too, well into the twentieth century. But one difficulty with it, especially among the Jesuit brothers, was that, although it was effective, it did not change and develop commensurately with the growing education and cultural atmosphere of the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. To many it seemed too paternalistically imposed from above on minors; it did not sufficiently encourage self development and education. As the twentieth century advanced, spirituality became more imbued with modern advances in Scriptural, doctrinal, and liturgical theology; and considerable unrest over the traditional training had developed by the time Vatican Council II opened in 1961, or the 31st General Congregation of the Society in 1965. Updating was

called for--and came, as we shall see below.

B. The Society's Legislation on the Brothers

With the substantial values of the brothers' vocation taken for granted as known, the legislation in the Society's earlier general congregations took up problems of secondary importance which arose from their daily lives, the mores of the era, and the like: such as their dress, especially their use of the biretta,⁶⁸ their number,⁶⁹ formation,⁷⁰ and some abuses in practice.⁷¹ The quarrel over the use of the biretta dragged on for nearly a century from 1558 and created misunderstanding and hard feeling between the priests and brothers. The biretta had become a symbol of priestly learning and religious consecration. The brothers, rightly proud of their vocation, thought that unless they were allowed to use it, they would not be recognized as genuine religious.

During the four centuries after Ignatius' death one means which the Church used to pull herself together from the disorganization preceding the Reformation was a growing body of laws and insistence on them. This was naturally reflected in the Society's legislation, which in accord with the spirit of the times tended to use literal interpretation of Ignatius' *Constitutions* without sufficient attention (in our modern viewpoint) to the meaning or value which their single phrases had for him in the contexts of his writings and of his era. In the *Constitutions* he mingled principles of lasting value with their practical applications in his era which in time became obsolete. But later legislators, with their reverence for earlier rules and laws, were insufficiently aware of this. As a result, principles and practical applications in a given era became confused, and what was originally an application came to be elevated into a law or principle of permanent value in itself, something to be preserved at almost any inconvenience.⁷² Sometimes, too, what Ignatius had considered a means came to be regarded as an end in itself. Eventually this brought on the reaction and call for updating characteristic of our era of Vatican Council II.

1. The Rule Not to Acquire More Learning

All this can be aptly illustrated from Ignatius' statement in the *General Examen*, [117], that, for contentment and interior peace, one

examined to become a temporal coadjutor ought not "to seek more learning than he had when he entered."

Gonçalves da Câmara, writing close to 1573 in his *Memoriale*, recounts that a certain brother Juan de Alba, who had entered as illiterate, learned how to read and write and then read and tried to explain matters above his ability in Isaias. Gonçalves thought that it was on this occasion that Ignatius "issued the common rule that no coadjutor should be taught to read or write without permission of the superior."⁷³ Here Ignatius' emphasis may well have been more on the need for permission according to cases than on the prohibition of the learning. But the content of the thought is similar to what Ignatius in 1556 wrote into *Examen*, [117]: "Neither ought he . . . to seek more learning than he had when he entered."

In wording similar more to that reported by da Câmara than of Ignatius, the thought appeared in a set of Common Rules issued by Laynez in 1560, and then as Common Rule 14 in a reedition of Mercurian in 1580. It thus remained as Common Rule 14 in the finalized edition of 1616.⁷⁴ It reads:

Let no one of those who are admitted for domestic service learn either to read or write, or if he have any knowledge of letters, acquire more: and let no one teach him without leave of the General; but it shall be sufficient for him to serve Christ our Lord with holy simplicity and humility.

In 1580, *General Examen*, [117] was given as the evidence for the thought in this text.⁷⁵ The Rule of 1580, however, now has stringent additions not found in Ignatius' text. These stringencies were further increased in the set of Rules of the Temporal Coadjutors which were composed by a deputation of General Congregation VI in 1608 and promulgated in 1609. Rule 10 reads:⁷⁶

They must not keep, or read any book, of any kind whatever, without leave of the Superior; and it is with his judgment it rests to assign them those which he thinks most suitable for their spiritual profit.

These two rules, Common Rule 14 and Rule of the Brothers 10, remained unchanged until General Congregation XXVII in 1923, and spiritual fathers and superiors guided the brothers to live religiously according to them. Meanwhile, however, literacy and secondary education in Europe and America were growing more widely, especially from about 1850 and with immense acceleration after 1900. Hence in the early twentieth century many--priests

no less than brothers--increasingly felt that these rules treated the brothers too much as minors and inhibited them from development characteristic of contemporary lay persons in the same occupations or trades. Hence general congregations and fathers general began to make changes, cautiously at first because of their reverence for the traditional laws of the Institute but with increasing boldness as time went on.

After historical decree 10 of General Congregation 27 in 1923,⁷⁷ Rule 14 was dropped from the Common Rules; but its content was incorporated into Rule 10 of the Temporal Coadjutors, now verbally changed and given a new number, 15:⁷⁸

15. They will read or retain no book or periodicals without the superior's permission, whose part it will be to assign those books which he judges more expedient for their spiritual profit or better performance of their work. And without permission of the provincial let them not acquire more learning than they had when they entered; but let them think that it is enough to serve Christ our Lord in holy simplicity and humility.

This rule lasted for twenty-five years until General Congregation XXX in 1957--years when great transformations were occurring in Catholic doctrinal, spiritual, university, and seminary life. Hitherto, as was indicated above, spiritual training had been achieved through rules, instructions, books such as lives of the saints, the *Practice of Christian Perfection* by Rodriguez, other books now classified as "secondary sources." But during those years the interest was shifting in Catholic universities and in seminaries to "primary sources" and growing very strong.⁷⁹ The encyclical *Aeterni Patris* of Leo XIII in 1878 had generated great interest in St. Thomas, and spirituality was coming to be based more and more on dogmatic theology. Books like those of Abbot Marmion became popular, and there was interest in the doctrine of the mystical body and in the liturgical movement, slowly growing in spite of considerable reluctance in Rome and opposition elsewhere. After Pius XII's *Divino afflante Spiritu* in 1945, Catholic biblical studies made rapid progress and spirituality too became more Scriptural. The knowledge explosion was well under way which, beginning in 1961, was to produce the new spirit of doctrinal and liturgical piety in the documents of Vatican Council II.

These movements increased rather than decreased the feeling among Jesuits that further changes ought to come in the rules and life and training

of the brothers. Hence when General Congregation XXX opened in 1957, "a very great number of requests (*postulata*) asked the Congregation to revise the Rules of the Temporal Coadjutors, and specifically, to remove the prohibition, in Rule 15, blocking the brothers from acquiring more learning than they had when they entered."⁸⁰ The Congregation cited and approved a statement by Father General Janssens in a letter on the brothers that by the words of *Examen* [117] the Institute does not intend to keep the brothers illiterate and peasant-like, but only to close the door to human or worldly ambition.⁸¹ Then the Congregation abrogated Rule 15 of the brothers. In its place came decree 41, §§3,4, that they should receive education and training befitting modern times and their state.⁸²

Congregation XXX also deputed the general to make a revision of the Rules of the Temporal Coadjutors. He named a committee of experts who thoroughly recast the previous rules. Father General Janssens promulgated them on October 30, 1959.⁸³ Here the revision was far more than the verbal retouchings of earlier days. These new rules reveal a fresh Scriptural and theological tenor of thought, a spirit which we today with hindsight can recognize as an early forerunner in the Society of the life pulsating in the documents of Vatican Council II. Rule 1 brings out that the brothers and priests are members of the Society and thus have the same end as it, service of Christ and the Church under his vicar the pope. Rule 2 presents the Church as Christ's Mystical Body in which various members have different functions. So in the Society, the priests serve especially by sacramental and allied ministries, and the coadjutor brothers likewise help the Society, especially in temporal and exterior occupations. The content of the former restrictive Rule 15 is replaced by Rules 14, 15, and 16. In them the terse legalistic style of the former rule is much subdued, though a trace of its content remains.

14. All are diligently to acquire a more perfect acquaintance with and experience in the regular household duties. In addition, those whom Superiors have selected to learn some particular trade or craft, should so perfect themselves in it to the best of their ability that, by always setting as their goal the greater glory of God, Our Creator and Lord, they will be as good as, or better than, competent layworkers, and give as much edification to others by their professional skill as by the example of their life.

15. Moreover, since the Society's greater good and their own require it, all should be keen to secure that level of culture and

general education, even in what concerns non-religious subjects, which is shared by the majority of their contemporaries and is in keeping with their particular state of life; above all, they should learn to speak and write their own language correctly.

16. They shall make use only of those books, periodicals and newspapers which are available to them in their community library or recreation room, or for which permission is granted in individual cases by the Spiritual Father or the Superior, either to complete their spiritual development or general education, or to meet the requirements of their trade or office. They shall also be on their guard against wasting time in reading what deals with worthless or quite trivial topics.

C. The Brothers' Vocation according to the 31st and 32nd General Congregations

On January 25, 1959, Pope John XXIII announced his decision to convoke Vatican Council II. Immediately discussions about *aggiornamento* filled the air; and after four years of exhaustive preparation the Council opened on October 11, 1962. On October 5, 1964, Father General Janssens died and dates were soon set for provincial congregations and then the 31st General Congregation to elect his successor. Throughout the Society community meetings and discussions with a view to composing proposals and requests (*postulata*) were held on a scale vastly more widespread than ever before. When the Congregation opened on May 4, 1965, its delegates found, from provincial congregations and individuals, over 2,000 such *postulata*, a number far above that of any previous occasion. Many of these dealt with the life of the brothers.

1. Discussions Before and During the 31st General Congregation

Ideas and hopes voiced often in these requests⁸⁴ ran in this vein: That a proper practical esteem of the brothers would become operative through genuinely fraternal cooperation among all Jesuits, whether priests or brothers; that this would be manifested socially in a fitting equality of common life and through suppression of any undue discrimination; that a wider range of activities should be entrusted to the brothers, especially in the apostolate; that better training should be open to them in theology, spirituality, and their fields of work whether intellectual or manual; and that the existing legislation about the temporal coadjutors should be profoundly revised.

Many brothers were serving God well and helping the Society by manual works and should be encouraged to continue in them. But others seemed able for higher work, for example, in education, art, administration, or the like and should with adequate formation pursue it. Some in the past have regarded the vocation of priests in the Society as apostolic and of the brothers as contemplative. Such an outlook is not adequate or correct. Both priests and brothers help the Society towards its apostolic end, and their respective vocations are equally apostolic. There were, too, protests against abuses. Fathers were often allowed privileges rarely granted to the brothers, who were required by rules of division to live and recreate by themselves in a kind of ghetto. Some fathers disdained the brothers as members of an inferior class whose proper function was manual, even menial, work; and more than a few brothers felt humiliated, "second-class citizens." Such attitudes did nothing to promote the Society's union or the brothers' joy in their vocation or esteem of it.

In the ten weeks of the first session the Congregation tackled these complex problems vigorously but did not have enough time to solve them well. During the fourteen-month interval before the second session opened, the delegates gathered still more ideas in their respective provinces and their thought grew more mature. Also, a questionnaire was sent to the brothers and brought over 125 written replies from all over the world. Shortly after the second session opened on September 8, 1966, new discussions and draftings appeared, which revealed that the whole topic was seen in better perspective. One good analysis finds in the new documents four key streams of thought:⁸⁵ (1) There is but one vocation of priests and brothers, completely religious and apostolic, the consecration of the person's whole self to God in the Society; (2) greater union of the two groups is needed; the brothers should be integrated more fully into the Society's community life and government; (3) there is no reason to stress virtues such as humility or poverty more for brothers than for priests; (4) assignment of priests or brothers to offices should of course be controlled by superiors, but the only limit in assigning them should be that which requires priesthood. Humiliation is felt by brothers, not from employment in manual tasks (since they are dignified when done for God), but from being compelled to fulfill them without proper formation or without sufficient confidence

and responsibility given to them by superiors.

2. Decree 7, The Brothers (1966)

In this climate of opinions a final draft of a decree was composed, debated and slightly amended by the whole assembly, and then approved by the voting on October 12, 1966. It is decree 7 in the official collection.

That decree is now the Society's law presently in force about the Jesuit brothers. With the force of authoritative interpretation of the *Constitutions* and their application to modern circumstances, it is the authentic description of the Jesuit brother's vocation or way of life today. It was destined to receive, from 1966 until the present writing in 1981, some further clarifications, interpretations, or emphases (to be treated below), but not abrogations. Its complete text is available to all who are interested.⁸⁶ We shall not attempt to analyze it here; but by means of a few citations from its successive sections let it speak for itself on a few key issues already mentioned above.

1. The Congregation hopes that "all the members of the Society, . . . enjoying one and the same vocation apart from the priesthood, may together . . . dedicate themselves totally to the mission of the Church.

2. . . . the whole life of a brother must be called apostolic by reason of the specific consecration which they make to God through vows in the body of the Society. But beyond that, the brothers have a full share in the special apostolic nature of the Society, . . .

3. Those offices and functions of the brothers which are described in the Institute . . . are to be performed in a spirit of cooperation It is by works such as these that . . . the dedication of scholastics to their studies, and especially the mobility and freedom of priests in the ministries are more perfectly maintained. Such offices are to be committed to the brothers with the fullest possible responsibility.

Furthermore . . . administrative offices may be given them, even in our communities and with respect to other Jesuits, always excluding, of course, the power of jurisdiction.⁸⁷

4. Moreover, . . . brothers properly undertake those tasks for which they may have a God-given talent. Among such tasks are teaching, practicing the liberal and technical arts, laboring in the fields of science and in whatever other areas their work . . . may prove useful in attaining the end of the Society.

5. Since the Society wishes that the brothers be brought into both the social and liturgical life of the community . . . , fraternal

union and communication are to be fostered more and more. . . .

6. To this end the following will also be conducive: (a) the avoidance of every social distinction in community life; (b) the sharing . . . of all Jesuits in common domestic tasks, . . . (c) progressive participation on the part of the brothers in consultations; [and] (d) . . . in congregations.

7. The formation of brothers. . . . That they may fulfill their duties . . . more perfectly . . . , their formation is to be spiritual, doctrinal, and technical, even confirmed with suitable degrees. . . .

The Congregation also entrusted to Father General the establishment of a committee of experts to advise and help him on various aspects of the execution and application of this decree. For, although it did not alter the nature of a Jesuit brother's vocation according to the Society's Institute (except in the details already given), it did open the way to far-reaching changes in the manner of living it out.

3. The World Congress of Jesuit Brothers, May 20-30, 1970

The work of implementing the decree began. As was the case with other such work amid the windstorm of differing viewpoints in the postconciliar era, for some it went too fast, for others too slow. Father General Pedro Arrupe continually showed his great interest in it. He appointed a commission of experts, composed of nine fathers and twelve brothers. It met frequently, decided that the brothers themselves should play the principal part, and stimulated provincial and regional meetings throughout the world. The brothers of the American Assistancy held their meeting at Santa Clara, California, in 1969 and produced a small book of background papers and resolutions. From all these worldwide meetings arose a desire for a world congress of Jesuit brothers, which Father Arrupe convoked for May 20-30, 1970, at Villa Cavalletti, near Rome. Its purpose was to study the implementation of Decree 7; but spontaneously it went farther and dealt with all the problems of the brothers about things social, canonical, occupational, and psychological.⁸⁸ A small mountain of multicopied pages in many languages was produced: questionnaires and their syntheses, studies by experts, and after the Congress 300-page dossiers of *Acta* in various tongues.⁸⁹ Experts read papers which were discussed in small language groups, and a set of 39 conclusions⁹⁰ was formulated at the end of the Congress.

An excellent fraternal and charitable spirit pervaded the sessions and innumerable constructive ideas were advanced. As was only natural, however, especially in that postconciliar era, some of the proposals or desires or conclusions expressed were loosely phrased, or somewhat unrealistic because they did not incorporate sufficient historical knowledge of the way legal structures have slowly developed or changed in the Church, or of what is or is not within the Society's power to change, or of what the Holy See is likely to approve or disapprove in the present era. For example,⁹¹ some opinions stated simply that the Society should be neither a clerical order nor a lay order but a "clerical-lay order" (a classification which does not fit into the categories of canon law or Vatican Council II). Or, many thought that, since the apostolic religious vocation in the Society is one for priests and brothers, the vows too should be, not solemn for the professed and simple for the coadjutors, but identical for all and with the vow of special obedience to the pope permitted to all; and that the next General Congregation should tackle these matters. In general, there was much stress on the one Jesuit vocation as religious and apostolic but by comparison little about the Society's structure as a clerical institute in the sense of the ordained priesthood. In an intervention of May 28, 1970, Father Arrupe expressed his willingness to do all he could about the many excellent ideas emerging from the Congress, but he also pointed out that many of the changes requested were beyond the competence of himself or of a General Congregation; they could come only if the Holy Father approved; and they would require extensive further study by experts.⁹²

4. Discussions Before and During the 32nd General Congregation

The results and hopes of the World Congress of May, 1970, were admirably synthesized in the report⁹³ made to the Congregation of Procurators which opened on September 27 of that same year. Shortly later the extensive preparations for the 32nd General Congregation began. Pope Paul VI expressed his interest in them and his hopes in a letter of September 13, 1973, sent to Father General and through him to the whole Society.⁹⁴ As the preparatory studies from task forces came in and later the postulata from the provincial congregations, they too contained many requests for the abolition of grades and for measures similar to those expressed in the

paragraph immediately above. In his opening address to the Congregation on December 3, 1974, Pope Paul VI stressed, among other things, the priestly character of the Society as described by the Formula of the Institute:

You are likewise priests: this, too, is an essential character of the Society, without forgetting the ancient and established tradition of enlisting the help of Brothers who are not in Sacred Orders, and who have always had an honored and effective role in the Society. . . . Effectively, the sacerdotal character is required by your dedication to the active life--we repeat--*pleno sensu*. It is from the charism of the Order of priesthood . . . that there principally springs the apostolic character of the mission to which, as Jesuits, you are deputed. . . . You are priests who serve or minister the grace of God through the sacraments; . . . , especially with the celebration of the Eucharist.⁹⁵

The Holy Father also praised the effort to attain two goals, a balanced *aggiornamento* and simultaneously fidelity to "your fundamental rule or *Formula Instituti*."⁹⁶ He also instructed his Secretary of State to write that a proposal to extend to all Jesuits, even to those not priests, the fourth vow of special obedience to the pope "seems to present grave difficulties which would impede the approval necessary on the part of the Holy See."⁹⁷

Since many of the requests from the provinces called for abolishing the grades among Jesuits and permitting the fourth solemn vow to the brothers, the Congregation found itself caught between loyalty to the Holy Father and loyalty to its constituency at home which had sent it the *postulata*. The 31st Congregation had already tackled the modern problems connected with the grades and decided after lengthy debate that "(a) the grade of spiritual coadjutor was not to be here and now suppressed . . . ; (b) . . . a commission was to be established which was to investigate the whole question of the grade of spiritual coadjutor. . . ." Whereas the question in the 31st Congregation had been chiefly the difference in grade between the professed priests and the spiritual coadjutors,⁹⁸ in the 32nd Congregation it included also the difference in grade between the Society's priestly and lay members. Thirty-seven provincial congregations had asked that all Jesuits, those not priests included, should be admitted to the four solemn vows.⁹⁹

In this dilemma the Congregation thought of St. Ignatius' teaching about representation (in *Constitutions*, [131, 292, 543, 627] and in his

Letter on Obedience), to the effect that if after prayerful thought a Jesuit still has an opinion different from his superior on something to be done, he may, while retaining his willingness to obey, represent the matter to the superior. The Congregation reasoned that this would apply also to representation to the Holy Father; and it voted to treat the question of the grades. After much discussion a straw vote made clear that the Congregation was tending toward making such a representation, to the effect that it "favored the suppression of grades so that all Jesuits would pronounce the same four vows, in the conviction that thus the priestly character of the Society can and must be preserved."¹⁰⁰

The Congregation informed the Holy Father of this. He replied by a letter of February 15, 1975, that it was contrary to his will and that the Congregation should take no further action on the matter. The Congregation soon concluded the whole matter by voting that "the General Congregation, in the name of the whole Society, accepted the decision of His Holiness obediently and faithfully."¹⁰¹

The 32nd General Congregation gave fresh orientations and emphases to the Society for all its apostolates. Reflecting on the Formula of the Institute and applying it to the circumstances of our times, it affirmed in its Decree 2, *Jesuits Today*, that to be a genuine member of the Society today is "to engage, under the standard of the cross, in the crucial struggle of our time: the struggle for faith and that struggle for justice which it includes." This entails proclaiming Christ's gospel in lands where he is not yet known and counteracting the growing secularism and atheism in countries once Christian.¹⁰² Jesuits should carry on all this work, too, in "a companionship that is . . . 'religious, apostolic, sacerdotal, and bound to the Roman Pontiff by a special bond of love and service'"; in a local community which is an expression of "worldwide brotherhood."¹⁰³ Decree 4, *Our Mission Today*, spelled this out in many details.

In Decree 8, *Grades in the Society of Jesus*, the Congregation again laid "very great stress on promoting the unity of vocation of the entire body of the Society"; and it urged "that the participation of the temporal coadjutors in the life and apostolic activity of the Society be further promoted, fulfilling the recommendations of the 31st General Congregation completely," especially in regard to Decree 7, nos. 2, 3, and

4.¹⁰⁴ The brothers, therefore, may and should take part in all the Society's apostolic activities stemming from these new orientations.

5. Developments since the 32nd General Congregation

The 32nd General Congregation ended on March 7, 1975. Throughout the Society since then there have been steady efforts to implement the decrees and spirit of these last two Congregations. Conversations, meetings of communities, superiors, groups of brothers or of priests or of both, writing of papers, and the like have abounded in all provinces. The brothers have come to feel increasingly the unity of their vocation with the priests and scholastics, with all of them cooperating more effectively toward the Society's goals. Former social discriminations in community life have been lessened, new ministries and educational opportunities provided or discovered, past hurts or injustices healed, and reconciliations effected--though assuredly further efforts should continue along all these lines. These efforts, too, have been and are strongly influenced by the forces set in motion by Vatican II. One such force important to mention here is the Council's observation that humankind has now substituted "a dynamic and more evolutionary concept of nature for a static one," thus revealing "new problems calling for a new endeavor of analysis and synthesis."¹⁰⁵ Clearly the work of developing the new visions of the Council and last two Jesuit Congregations will go forward far into the future--including the applications to the brothers.

6. Guidance about the Brothers from Father General

The encouragement and guidance of Father General Pedro Arrupe have been conspicuous in this work of implementing the Council and Jesuit Congregations in regard to the Jesuit brothers. Many of his pronouncements about the brothers have become public. When we remember that his ideas have been formed in no small measure from his conversations with Jesuits from all over the world, we see that they are concrete reflections and documentation of the worldwide thought currents producing the developments mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

On the feast of the Jesuit brother St. Alphonsus Rodriguez, Sunday afternoon October 31, 1976, a group of about a hundred brothers from many

countries who were then living in Jesuit houses in or near Rome met in the Society's Curia. Some forty priests concelebrated the liturgy. The rest of the meeting was social and friendly. Father Arrupe seized the occasion to speak informally but strongly for more than an hour about his vision of the brothers' role and vocation in the Society today. The Press and Information Service located in the Jesuit Curia published highlights of his address in its *News and Features* for December 9, 1976, pages 345-349.¹⁰⁶ From these pages, presenting still more points which he took up, we select the following citations.

Unity of Vocation The 31st General Congregation . . . had spoken of the unity of vocation in the Society. To comprehend this, he remarked, "there must be a supernatural spirit that is very profound and that responds to the *Constitutions* in understanding that we are all equal before God." According to the grace given each of us, he added, "we have only one vocation in the Society, one apostolic vocation alone; we all work through one priestly body that has a priestly purpose." As for the rest, "each will be holy if he is faithful to his vocation. . . . That which has value, which is worthwhile, is charity, is union with God, is doing the will of God."

What Can a Brother Do? On the question of the activities or tasks that are open to brothers in the Society, Father General was emphatic: The Society today, he insisted, "has truly recognized and wishes to recognize that the brother can do everything that is not essentially dependent on priestly ordination." What does this mean? "He cannot say Mass. He cannot hear confessions. But he can do practically everything else, everything."

An Exception for Now He then spoke briefly of one notable exception to this general rule: "The only thing, and this depends on positive legislation of the Holy See, is that he cannot be a superior." Father General then reminded his hearers that this is a rule "not only in the Society, but also in other clerical orders."

What Kind of Formation? When he took up the question of formation and training for young brothers in the Society, Father General began by stating the basic principle of the Society: "When a student, a young man with a priestly vocation, comes to the Society, we wish to develop as far as possible his whole personality so as to make him a priest who can serve the Church in the best possible way. After that he will be engaged in many ways: being a professor of theology; toiling on the missions; doing a worker's job; doing humble tasks such as helping in the kitchen or cleaning a motor. . . ." In all these jobs, Father General stressed, "there is no question of greatness

or smallness; everything is service of God." He then extended this principle to the life and work of brothers: "Likewise, when a young man comes along who does not have a priestly vocation but wishes to be a brother, the Society ought always, but above all today, to develop his personal qualities to the utmost in order to make this person, in his lay state within the Society, capable of performing the greatest possible service in one or another job."

What Job?

What service should a brother be prepared to undertake? Father General said bluntly; "I don't know. He may be a cook, he may be a receptionist, he may be a vice president of Fordham University. Which is the highest and which is the lowest of these offices? Highest and lowest are human measurements. What matters is the love of God." He then continued by noting a similarity in the experience of priests in the Society. Today a father may be a Provincial or President, and tomorrow go to some isolated spot to work in a poor parish, as so many have done even at a great age. Why? God wills it. And the same criteria apply to the brothers. The work in itself means nothing; it is the will of God that gives security, tranquillity, huge joy." . . .

Toward the end of his talk, Father General touched briefly on a number of examples of what he identified as "zeal not according to knowledge." . . . The Formula of the Institute, in speaking about the very matter of distribution of different offices, warns against people who have zeal, but a zeal that is "not according to knowledge." To make his remarks clearer he offered these examples:

A Vocation in Itself

The view that the work of a brother or the role of a brother is that of a "minus habens" (one less qualified) is, in Father General's judgment, "zeal that is completely against knowledge, absolutely false." . . . "A person is a brother not because he lacks something, but because he has a vocation."

Mistaken Advice

A second mistaken notion is concern for advancement for the sake of advancement. Worry about whether a post is high or low . . . "is completely mistaken." Real work is done "where and as the Society and the Church call." A similar mistake is to encourage a brother to take on a post, however apostolic it may be, for which he has not been trained or for which he does not have the necessary qualifications. . . .

To Be Ready for Anything

Still another example of "zeal not according to knowledge" . . . is to seek for vocations "by presenting the works of a brother without speaking of some of their traditional offices as if this would break a taboo!" . . . The mistake is this, he explained: "We have no vocations, so we . . . present the vocation only partially; 'You, young man, can become part of the Society and also become

an engineer, an architect, a painter, a professor.' Nothing is said about becoming a receptionist, a cook, etc. Yet a brother's vocation, like a priest's, is to do the work that the Society gives you after a long period of preparation and discernment." "The man who says 'I am entering the Society only to teach mathematics' does not enter the Society. No conditions! The indispensable thing is indifference before the will of God."

Brothers and Priesthood Counseling of a brother to receive priestly ordination when he does not have a true motivation for ordination is yet another example, in Father General's eyes, of "zeal not according to knowledge." "The essential point in becoming a priest is to have a vocation. Without such a vocation, priestly ordination has no meaning. To place the idea of priesthood in the mind of someone who does not have a vocation is a great mistake. It can rob a man of true tranquillity and peace and hinder his continuing in his real vocation. If a brother feels he has such a vocation, he should go to the spiritual father or someone. The Society will never stand in the way of a person who wishes to do God's will."

Vocations in the Future Finally, Father General had two further observations that were meant more for priests in the Society and for the entire membership. "The Society, today more than ever before, recognizes the potential of the apostolic work of brothers, of their collaboration in the apostolate. They are true members of the Society and they desire to offer a new and developed collaboration. Perhaps we priests do not understand this whole matter and do not have this conviction. It may be because, individually or personally, we have found some difficulties with a certain person in the past. . . . Alright, but the Society, all the Society, the true Society, when it thinks before God and when it thinks the way it ought to think, with the mind of St. Ignatius, wishes truly, not just to preserve, but to develop the image of our brothers."

One final word occurred to Father General about promoting vocations to the life of a Jesuit brother. . . . "One can understand this [low number] as coming about in part because of changes and adjustments in the world, etc. But it may be in part because we do not have an understanding of the brothers' vocation." Then he added: "Perhaps another reason for the lack of vocations is that young men do not see Jesuits as content or having courage, etc. If, instead, they see men who are content, joyful, or (to use today's word) 'fulfilled,' then young men will want to come to us. . . ."

Two years later in a similar meeting, October 31, 1978, Father Arrupe again shared with the brothers in Rome his views about the importance which the role of the brothers has in the life and work of the Society.¹⁰⁷ "Their contribution, both to community life and that of the apostolate,

is irreplaceable."¹⁰⁸ It involves (1) *koinonia*, communion, sharing of everything twenty-four hours a day by priests and brothers which gives stability and intensity "to the apostolic community of the Society and to its specific priestly mission"; (2) *diakonia*, service, the will of priests and brothers to be of service to one another through which "every Jesuit should be and should consider himself a *coadjutor* of the Church and of the world, living the mysticism of the *coadjutant*"; it is this which "will eliminate in our communities the least trace of class distinction"; and (3) *kerygma*, a proclamation, by example, of Christ and his gospel to those both inside and outside the Society. Such proclamation brings "maximum vigor and joy to the apostolate."¹⁰⁹ A few weeks later Father Arrupe communicated the substance of this talk to all the major superiors in the Society, hoping that it would reach also the priests, brothers, and scholastics.¹¹⁰

Some Concluding Reflections

It is obvious that Father Arrupe's affirmations just presented well catch and reflect many important elements, such as these: (1) the essential charism or tenor of thought about the brothers' vocation found in the sixteenth-century papal documents and St. Ignatius' *Constitutions*; (2) the spirit of Vatican Council II; (3) many directives to the Society from Popes Paul VI, John Paul I, and John Paul II; and (4) the spirit of the 31st and 32nd General Congregations of the Society; the unity of vocation of priests and brothers to help the Society to achieve the goals of its institute which is at once "religious, apostolic, priestly, and united with the Roman Pontiff by a special bond of love and service."¹¹¹ Father Arrupe's pronouncements present that ancient charism, too, with a freshness which adjusts its details to our contemporary mentalities and circumstances. Thus they reflect the strong influence on Father General's and the Society's thinking from the forces of renewal functioning so vigorously in the post-conciliar era. There is sound reason to suppose, then, that these developments of the Jesuit brothers' vocation will continue to go forward by steps parallel to those of the Church as she adjusts herself amid the thought currents of our times.

What the Jesuit brother's vocation has been in its past and still is at

present can now be compactly summarized as follows. Understood as a way of living, his vocation begins with his response through love to God's invitation, by consecrating his whole self through his vows totally and irrevocably to God. Thereafter his vocation consists in his living out that consecration, day by day through the rest of his life, according to the Society's Formula of the Institute and its explanatory *Constitutions*. According to these documents, the Society is a priestly institute carrying on Christ's work, chiefly by celebration of the Eucharist, penance, and other sacraments and by preaching the word of God, but also by innumerable other ministries necessary to accomplish those basic tasks more effectively. For Jesuit priests or brothers, to help the Society and one another toward achieving all these goals is a noble privilege, one vocation held in common; and to give that help in any and all the activities or ministries except those requiring ordination is the specific vocation of the Jesuit brother. Living according to the spirit of this vocation, he performs all his daily activities because of his love of God. He makes them acts of service to God and he grows in awareness that they are meaningful for time and eternity. These activities, too, are not only religious and apostolic, but also priestly, for two reasons. First, he is directing them all to the priestly end of the Society; and second, in these efforts toward building up the Mystical Body of Christ he is exercising the priesthood of all the faithful. For this Body as a whole is a "holy priesthood that offers the spiritual sacrifices which Jesus Christ has made acceptable to God" (1 Peter 2:5). Sacrifices are gifts testifying worship and love of God; and the Jesuit brother's tasks or ministries are such gifts, spiritual sacrifices. The brother, aware that he is functioning within the Mystical Body, can indeed draw encouragement from God's words: "You are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a consecrated nation, a people set apart to sing the praises of God who called you out of the darkness into his wonderful light" (1 Peter 2:9).

What this vocation will develop into with God's help and guidance is a matter for many further discussions and prayers. Some help toward discerning the lines of development can be given through a few examples of the postconciliar thought currents, already strong, amid which that development will take place. Investigation and thought are expanding in

three areas especially relevant to our topic: ministry, growing involvement of the laity in the Church's mission, and awareness of individual differences and needs in responding to God's graces. The studies about ministry deal largely with the respective roles of the ordained and non-ordained; and this naturally has a bearing on the ministries opening up to brothers. There are studies, too, about the ordained priesthood and its relation to the priesthood of all believers. All this leads thought into the growing role of the laity in the Church's apostolic activities; and the relation between this and the number of vocations to the brotherhood, sisterhood, and priesthood is one factor, among many others, which needs to be explored. During the growing awareness of individual differences and needs, the spiritual life is in many cases being based not nearly as much as formerly on devotional practices, but more on updated studies of Scripture, theological doctrine or even speculation, and personal experiences in responding to and finding the Lord. Some priests, sisters, and lay persons feel themselves called to prophetic witness, and some brothers too feel similarly called.

Beyond the three areas just mentioned, significant developments are also taking place in still other fields. The Society of Jesus, for example, is searching for better ways, more varied and better suited to the varying personalities and abilities of its individual members, to carry on its mission of the service of faith and the promotion of justice; and since the brothers too share this mission they must further explore their manner of participation. Calling for clarification, also, are opportunities and problems of formation for younger brothers, and of continuing education for older brothers. But treatment of topics such as these is left by the present writer to others competent and experienced in these many areas. For, as has been already indicated, the present essay is intended not as a conclusion but rather as a springboard for further investigations and discussions.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOOTNOTES

<i>AHSJ</i>	<i>Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu</i>
<i>CathEnc</i>	<i>The Catholic Encyclopedia</i>
<i>Colld</i>	<i>Collectio decretorum Congregationum Generalium Societatis Iesu XXVII-XXX</i>
<i>Cons</i>	<i>The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus</i>
<i>ConsMHSJ</i>	<i>Constitutiones Societatis Iesu</i> , the four volumes in the series of the <i>Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu</i>
<i>ConsSJComm</i>	<i>The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus. Translated, with an Introduction and a Commentary</i> , by George E. Ganss, S.J.
<i>DDC</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de Droite Canonique</i>
<i>DeGuiJes</i>	DeGuibert, <i>The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice</i>
<i>DocsGC31&32</i>	<i>Documents of the 31st and 32nd General Congregations of the Society of Jesus</i>
<i>EppIgn</i>	<i>S. Ignatii Epistolae et Instructiones</i> , 12 volumes in MHSJ
<i>FN</i>	<i>Fontes narrativi de Sancto Ignatio</i> , 4 volumes in MHSJ
<i>IJS</i>	The Institute of Jesuit Sources
<i>InstSJ</i>	<i>Institutum Societatis Iesu</i> . 3 volumes, Florence, 1892-1893
<i>LettersIgn</i>	<i>Letters of St. Ignatius</i> , translated by W. J. Young, S.J.
<i>MHSJ</i>	<i>Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu</i>
<i>MonNad</i>	<i>Epistolae Hieronymi Nadal</i> , 6 volumes in MHSJ
<i>NCathEnc</i>	<i>The New Catholic Encyclopedia</i>
<i>SpEx</i>	<i>The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola</i>

FOOTNOTES

- 1 *DocsGC31&32*, p. 93. The request of the 31st General Congregation stems from the similar request in *Ecclesiae sanctae*, II, 16, § 2, the Motu Proprio of Paul VI on implementing the decree on the Renewal of Religious Life, *Perfectae caritatis*.
- 2 For a more extended treatment of St. Ignatius' world view, see *ConsSJComm*, pp. 7-33 (compressed and in some details updated in *Jesuit Religious Life Today* [St. Louis: IJS, 1977], pp. 17-20); also, ch. 1 in *DeGuiJes*, pp. 21-73.
- 3 Ribadeneyra, *De Actis*, 14, in *FN*, II, 327-328, and cited in *DeGuiJes*, p. 162.
- 4 *SpEx*, [352-370].
- 5 *Cons*, [464, 466]; see also *ConsSJComm*, pp. 18, 219, and index s.v. Thomas Aquinas.
- 6 *NCathEnc*, VI, 690 has a brief overview of St. Thomas' ecclesiology, s.v. Church, II, Theology of.
- 7 *Regimini*, in *ConsMHSJ*, I, 24-32, and repeated in *Exposcit*, [2], *ibid.*, 373-374; English from *ConsSJComm*, p. 64.
- 8 "Clerics regular": From about 350 A.D. onward many forms of religious institutes evolved in the Church, among which the "clerics regular" arose as the latest form shortly before Ignatius. A sketch of this historical background is helpful, or even necessary, to understand in depth the evolution of Ignatius' thinking, terminology, and legislation about the brothers in his order.

Already in the New Testament there is evidence that the Church was hierarchically organized from her earliest days. As the decades passed the distinction between the official teaching or governing group and the group taught or governed grew more prominent. The two groups were named respectively as "the clerics" (*clerici*) already by Cyprian (d. 258) and "the laics" (*laici*) by Tertullian (d. 225?). Ever since then these two groups have continued to exist in the Church's doctrine, structure, and law; they are clearly recognized in the canon law of today (see, e.g., canons 108 and 682). During these many centuries the religious institutes have been, with fluctuations in different eras, predominantly lay or predominantly clerical. In the canon law still in force today (1981), all religious institutes are either clerical or lay; there is no other category. A clerical institute is one in which the majority of its members are or are destined to become priests; and all other institutes are lay institutes (canons 488, 4^o and 491, § 1; also Vatican II, *The Church*, no. 43); that is, their members are technically classified as lay religious men or women (*religiosi* or *religiosae*) but also genuine religious. Most clerical institutes of men contain also some members called "lay members" or "lay brothers." There are also institutes exclusively or principally of brothers, e.g., the Brothers of the Christian Schools or the Brothers of Mary.

In the earlier centuries of monasticism from about 350 onwards, almost all of the monks and all the nuns remained members of the laity. But some of the monks added to their religious consecration the reception of holy orders. Thus they became able to celebrate the Eucharist and other sacraments for the others and to supplement the work of the diocesan clergy. Some bishops, such as St. Augustine, organized their clerics into monasteries, and thus religious life directly clerical arose, with rules adjusted to the various groups. In this way arose priests living under a rule, canons regular (*NCathEnc*, II, 289), such as the Premonstratensians founded in 1120 by St. Norbert. The Carthusians, founded in 1084, were comprised of choir monks and lay brothers who cared for the material needs of the monastery (*ibid.*, III, 166-167). This terminology became common in many institutes of men, and institutes of women too had choir sisters and lay sisters (*ibid.*, IX, 93).

The Dominicans and Franciscans, "mendicant orders," were orders chiefly of priests, but with them the *conversi* or lay brothers (a term common since the 11th century [*ibid.*, VIII, 575]) became an integral part of the structure of the institutes (*ibid.*, X, 610; IV, 285). New needs of the Church, especially lack of fervor among the clergy and laity, brought on a new form of religious life, that of apostolic priests who took on also a religious rule and hence were called "clerics regular" (*clerici regulares*). The Theatines, founded in 1524, were the first such order. Other groups soon followed, e.g., the Clerics of Good Jesus in 1526, the Barnabites in 1530, and the Jesuits, papally approved in 1540.

- 9 *ConsMHSJ*, I, 328.
- 10 Formula of the Institute, *Exposit* of 1550, in *ConsSJComm*, p. 70.
- 11 By Ignatius' era the term "lay" or "lay brother" was a heritage of the past in common usage, in canonical documents and also ordinary speech. Ignatius most frequently designated the brothers of his order as "temporal coadjutors," but occasionally he used the terminology of the age and referred to them as *legos*, *seglares*, the lay members (see, e.g., the Spanish text of *Cons*, [80]; *ConsMHSJ*, I, 171, n. 2; 313, 338; and fn. 34 below). From Ignatius' time onward, in the Society as in other institutes, the term lay or lay brother has been a frequently used way of referring to the brothers. Its thrust as a canonical term is to distinguish the brothers or sisters from the priests. But it has a weakness, too. Especially for those unacquainted with canonical language, it fails to distinguish these religious from the rest of the laity; and it does not indicate that to their baptismal consecration they have added the further consecration of their religious vows--as Vatican II has pointed out in *The Church*, no. 44. Hence many brothers today are uncomfortable with the term "lay brother" and prefer simply "brother."
- 12 Antonio de Aldama, S.J., "De coadjutoribus Societatis Iesu in mente et praxi S. Ignatii," *AHSJ*, XXXVIII (1969), 389-430, esp. here 392-393; also Gervais Dumeige, "On the Mind of St. Ignatius and the Later Historical Evolution on the Question of Grades in the Society of Jesus" (Washington: Jesuit Conference, 1970), 39 pp.

- 13 Aldama, op. cit., p. 397.
- 14 It is published in *AHSJ*, XVIII (1949), 122-124.
- 15 See *Dictionnaire de droite canonique*, s.v. *Convers*, IV, col. 584.
- 16 "Solemn" and "simple" vows: In the Code of Canon Law of 1918, vows are distinguished as private, a promise to God made by a person within his or her heart, and public, those officially recognized by the Church through her legitimate representative and made in accordance with her laws (canon 1308, § 1). These basic procedures stem from the early eras of religious life, but the names were clarified only after many centuries.

Questions arose. If someone unfaithfully to a public vow of virginity (e.g., a vow manifested by religious profession in a monastery or convent) contracted marriage, was the marriage null and void, or only illicit? Popes and councils came to hold that the simple promise of virginity rendered a marriage illicit, but the vow or consecration to God manifested by entrance into the religious institute made it invalid (*DDC*, IV, cols. 182-183).

By the end of the twelfth century this doctrine and terminology were fairly well established, though controversies and obscurities have endured till now. The medieval canonists applied the term "solemn" to acts where something was required under pain of nullity. By the sixteenth century, St. Thomas Aquinas' opinion was common among canonists and theologians: By a solemn vow a person "is consecrated to God in some state of holiness either through the reception of orders or by profession of a definite Rule" (see *AHSJ*, XXXVIII, 409), pretty much like a chalice which by consecration is withdrawn from any other use than that of the altar. If therefore he or she would after a solemn vow of virginity attempt marriage, the marriage contract would be invalid. If he or she after a simple vow of virginity married, his act would be sinful but the marriage would be valid. A solemn vow binds far more firmly than a simple vow, and for dispensation it requires a far more serious reason.

In the orders of the West the essential vows of religious institutes were solemn up to the early sixteenth century. But in 1521 Leo X approved of a third order of nuns with simple vows (*CathEnc*, XII, 752); and in subsequent centuries congregations of simple vows multiplied greatly among men and women.

Some modern reference books make statements about St. Ignatius' use of solemn vows which are obscurely worded and easily misinterpreted, such as "he inaugurated simple profession" (see, e.g., *DDC*, IV, col. 584; *NCathEnc*, XII, 292), or "introduced simple vows for some of the members." He did, probably in consultations with the Holy See, make new and original uses of simple vows; but he was not the first to use them.

It seems probable that the distinction between solemn and simple vows will be dropped in the expected new code of canon law.

- 17 The Document, in Italian, is in *AHSJ* XVIII (1949), 123. A Latin translation is in *AHSJ*, XXXVIII (1969), 398-399.

- 18 See Aldama, *AHSJ*, *ibid.*, 399.
- 19 The complete text is in *ConsMHSJ*, I, 170-173.
- 20 About this arrangement Polanco wrote a marginal observation; "Although one gathers from this that they can be dismissed, this ought to be explained" (*ConsMHSJ*, I, 172, n. 5).
- 21 In *ConsMHSJ*, I, 373-383; English in *ConsSJComm*, p. 71. The relevant passages in English are cited below on p. 14.
- 22 *ConsMHSJ*, II, 10, 12.
- 23 *Ibid.*, II, 492, 494.
- 24 See the references in fn. 12 above.
- 25 See *DDC*, IV, col. 584, s.v. *Convers*.
- 26 Iparraguirre, *Vocabulario de Ejercicios Espirituales: Ensayo de hermenéutica Ignaciana* (Rome: Centrum Ignatianum Spiritualitatis, 1972), pp. 27, 29.
- 27 See *ConsSJComm*, fn. 3 on p. 76 for many references.
- 28 See *ConsSJComm*, pp. 122-123, fn. 10; *Cons*, [135, 136, 137, 233, 322, 510, 511, 512, 712, 820, 821].
- 29 See esp. *Cons*, [10, 11, 15, 511].
- 30 Sometimes Ignatius numbers the groups, often referred to as "grades" (*gradus*), as three; see, e.g., *Cons*, [511], "For the body of the Society is composed of these three kinds of members," i.e., the professed, the coadjutors spiritual and temporal, the scholastics.
- 31 See *ConsSJComm*, p. 347, fn. 8; p. 122, fn. 10.
- 32 *EppIgn*, XI, 437-438.
- 33 See, e.g., *SpEx*, [150, 304, 333]; *Cons*, [250, 443, 489, 593, 661].
- 34 See *ConsMHSJ*, I, 171, n. 2; 313, 338; also Aldama in *AHSJ*, 38 (1969), 46, 406; José E. Benitez, *Coadjutores temporales* (Quito, 1969), p. 70. This is a printed excerpt from a dissertation at the Gregorian University, Rome.
- 35 In Decree 7, The Brothers, no. 3, in *DocsGC31&32*, p. 91.
- 36 On this criterion, see Benitez, p. 48.
- 37 T. H. Clancy, S.J., *The Conversational Word of God: A Commentary on the Doctrine of St. Ignatius . . .* (St. Louis: IJS, 1978).
- 38 See Benitez, pp. 94, 95.
- 39 See *ConsSJComm*, p. 89, fn. 3; p. 129, fn. 2.
- 40 See *InstSJ*, II, 181, 339, 359.
- 41 See Benitez, pp. 7-9, and fn. 56 below.
- 42 P. Mandonnet, O.P., in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XII, 356.
- 43 Canon Jacques Le Clercq has written three beautiful and moving chapters on religious life as total consecration to God, in *The Religious Vocation*

(New York, 1954), pp. 7-59. Vatican II also states that by the vows of religion the Christian "consecrates himself wholly to God, his supreme love" (On the Church, no. 44).

- 44 *MonNad*, IV, 651-652; Conwell, *Contemplation in Action* (Spokane: Gonzaga University, 1957), p. 27.
- 45 See *DeGuiJes*, pp. 74-108, and index, s.v. Finding God.
- 46 *EppIgn*, III, 510; *LettersIgn*, pp. 240-241; Stierli in Wulf (ed.), *Ignatius . . . ; His Personality . . .*, p. 145.
- 47 *Commentary on Romans*, ch. 1, lect. 5, cited in *ConsSJComm*, p. 183-184.
- 48 *EppIgn*, VI, 91.
- 49 *EppIgn*, IV, 127; *LettersIgn*, p. 255.
- 50 E.g. in Stierli, "Ignatian Prayer: Seeking God in All Things," in Wulf (ed.), pp. 135-163, esp. 145-160; Giuliani, trans. Young, *Finding God in All Things*, pp. 3-24.
- 51 For example, in texts such as these: "Whoever gives to one of these little ones even a cup of cold water . . . he shall not lose his reward" (Matt. 10:42); ". . . lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust consumes . . . (Matt. 6:19-20); ". . . each shall receive his wages according to his labor" (1 Cor. 3:8). See also Matt. 25:35; John 10:10. The doctrine appears also in numerous Fathers of the Church.
- 52 In his *Summa theologiae*, I-II, Q. 114, esp. a. 2, and elsewhere.
- 53 Translation from *The Church Teaches*, no. 606; see also nos. 567, 573.
- 54 Lukács, in *AHSJ*, XXIX (1960), 240; also in Clancy, *Introduction to Jesuit Life*, pp. 302-303.
- 55 Iparraguirre, "Spiritual Formation of Temporal Coadjutors in the Old Society," in the dossier stored in the Jesuit Curia, Rome, *Congr. FF. CC.*, 1970, pp. 1-8. It is published in Spanish in *Congreso Internacional de Hermanos: Villa Cavalletti (Roma), 23-30 Mayo, 1970* (Rome: Centrum Ignatianum Spiritualitatis, 1971), pp. 230-239 (hereafter abbreviated as *Congreso . . . de Hermanos, 1970*).
- 56 Statistical tables showing the number of brothers in the Society from 1599 to 1968 have been prepared by Benitez and are shown in the box on page 61, below.
- 57 See *InstSJ*, II, 294, 550.
- 58 *Societatis Iesu Constitutiones et Epitome Instituti* (Rome: 1924 and 1962), 284, §3 (drawn from an Ordination of a General) and 285, §§1, 2 (drawn from *Colld*, 83, on p. 40).
- 59 See *Colld*, [296-300], on pp. 282-284.
- 60 In a background paper for the World Congress of Brothers, published in *Congreso . . . de Hermanos, 1970*, pp. 230-239.
- 61 In *MonNad*, IV, 452-454.

- 62 The official text of the Rules of the Summary (*Summarium Constitutionum*) is in *InstSJ*, III, 3-91; and the text of the Common Rules (*Regulae communes*) is *ibid.*, 7-10. Since these rules were read at table every month, there have been many vernacular editions in all the major languages. Brief histories of these Rules can be found in *Jesuit Religious Life Today*, pp. 89-90 for the Rules of the Summary and pp. 99-100 for the Common Rules. See also Coemans, *Breves notitiae de Instituto, historia*. . . . (1937), nos. 80, 83; 84, 92; 96, 1, b; 103; and Coemans, *Introductio in studium Instituti* . . . (1937), nos. 77, 125, 137-156.
- 63 Virtually all these rules in their matured form of 1608 or 1609 are printed in *InstSJ*, III, 3-157. An English translation of them is found in *Rules of the Society of Jesus* (Roehampton: Manresa Press, 1894) of which a later edition appeared in 1929 and incorporated the changes introduced by General Congregation XXVII in 1923.
- 64 In *InstSJ*, III, 355-356
- 65 The official text (1609) of these Rules of the Temporal Coadjutors is in *InstSJ*, III, 25-26.
- 66 *MonNad*, IV, 452-454. See also Iparraguirre in *Congreso . . . de Hermanos, 1970*, p. 232.
- 67 In *InstSJ*, III, 355-356.
- 68 See in *InstSJ*, II, decree 95 of Gen. Cong. I (1558), p. 177; decree 22 of Gen. Cong. III (1573), p. 224; decree 30 of Gen. Cong. VI (1608), p. 303; decrees 24 & 27 of Gen. Cong. VII (1615), pp. 325, 327; decree 44 of Gen. Cong. XXII (1853), p. 495.
- 69 See decree 103 of Gen. Cong. I (1558), *ibid.*, p. 181; decree 82, no. 3 of Gen. Cong. VII (1615), p. 339; decree 60, no. 2 of Gen. Cong. VIII (1645), p. 359.
- 70 Gen. Cong. XVIII (1755), decr. 23, no. 7, *ibid.*, p. 445.
- 71 Gen. Cong. XII (1682), decr. 42, *ibid.*, p. 399; XVI (1730), decr. 9, p. 427; Instr. 8 of Aquaviva, no. 5, in *InstSJ*, III, p. 356.
- 72 On this see Charles de Melo, S.J., in *Congreso . . . de Hermanos, 1970*, pp. 159-163.
- 73 *FN*, I, 719; see also 715; Benitez, p. 136.
- 74 The Latin text of these Common Rules is in *InstSJ*, III, 10-13; the English translation of them is from *Rules of the Society of Jesus* (Roehampton, 1894), pp. 24-35. On the date 1616, see *ConsMHSJ*, IV, 3*.
- 75 See *InstSJ*, III, 10.
- 76 Latin in *InstSJ*, III, 26; English from edition of Roehampton, 1894, p. 85; in the edition of 1929, p. 73.
- 77 In *Collectio decretorum Congregationum Generalium S.I. (XXVII-XXX [1923-1957])* (Rome, 1961), [33] on p. 164 (hereafter abbreviated *Coll'd*).
- 78 The Latin is in *Regulae Societatis Iesu* (Romae, 1932), p. 66; the translation is mine.
- 79 On this shift to primary sources, see Ganss, "Ignatian Research and

THE PERCENTAGE OF BROTHERS IN THE SOCIETY OF JESUS, 1599-1968¹
(The Tables to Which Footnote 56 Refers)

Year	Province	Priests	Bros.	Schols.	Total	% of the whole
1599	Poland	148	138	146	432	31.9%
1609	Toulouse	84	58	88	230	25.2%
1621	Naples	232	221	143	596	37.0%
1626	Western Sicily	137	145	83	365	39.7%
1626	Eastern Sicily	107	123	66	325	37.8%
1628	Portugal	256	162	216	634	25.5%
1635	Venice	152	113	102	367	30.8%
1636	Bohemia	221	144	269	624	22.9%
1642	Upper Germany	340	140	120	600	23.3%
1649	New Reg. Quito	101	82	31	214	38.3%
1655	Austria	390	270	340	1,000	27.0%
1675	Andalusia	202	212	99	513	41.3%
1693	Sardinia	73	97	45	215	45.1% ²
1700s						24.5%

IN THE RESTORED SOCIETY³

Year	Priests	Bros.	Schols.	Total	% of the whole
1820	503	482	322	1,037	24.6%
1830	727	777	633	2,137	29.6%
1840	1,432	1,045	1,008	3,485	28.9%
1850	2,230	1,088	1,282	4,600	27.9%
1860	2,939	2,159	2,046	7,144	28.6%
1870	3,896	2,417	2,551	8,837	28.9%
1880	4,859	2,865	2,797	10,521	26.7%
1890	5,661	3,637	3,482	12,780	27.2%

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Year	Priests	Bros.	Schols.	Total	% of the whole
1900	6,526	4,603	3,944	15,073	26.2%
1910	7,851	4,385	4,060	16,296	24.9%
1920	8,454	4,809	3,982	17,245	31.1%
1930	9,817	6,906	4,719	21,678	21.8%
1940	12,146	8,933	5,214	26,293	19.8%
1950	15,162	10,013	5,404	30,579	17.7%
1960	18,508	10,378	5,801	34,687	16.7%
1968	20,958	8,263	5,541	34,762	15.9%

1 These tables are from Benitez, *Coadjutores Temporales*, pp. 7-9.

2 See Goetstouwers, *Synopsis Historiae Societatis Iesu* (1914).

3 Azzolini, "Prospectus numericus S.I., 1814-1832," *AHSJ*, II, 90-92.

- Dialogue with the Contemporary Mind," in *Woodstock Letters*, XCIII (1964), 141-164, esp. 148-155,
- 80 Historical decree 13, [296] in *Colla*, p. 282.
- 81 In *Acta Romana S.I.*, XI (1948), 522.
- 82 *Colla*, [386] on p. 320.
- 83 In *Acta Romana S.I.*, XIII (1959), 628-637.
- 84 See, e.g., the multicopied *Nuntius Congregationis Generalis XXXI*, No. 16 (July 15, 1965), p. 7; also, *DocsGC31&32*, p. 25.
- 85 By Iparraguirre in the *Nuntius Congregationis Generalis XXXI*, no. 25 (Oct. 1, 1966), p. 4.
- 86 In *DocsGC31&32*, pp. 90-93.
- 87 This technical canonical term means the authority to govern others spiritually in the Church. The Church gives it only to priests, with a few rare exceptions. See *NCathEnc*, VIII, 61-63, s.v. Jurisdiction.
- 88 See his Letter to the Whole Society of June 29, 1970, in *Acta Romana, S.I.*, XV (1970), 567-570; also in *Congreso . . . de Hermanos, 1970*, pp. 255-258.
- 89 The dossier in Spanish has been published as *Congreso . . . de Hermanos, 1970*. For full reference, see fn. 55 above.
- 90 They are in *Congreso . . . de Hermanos, 1970*, pp. 242-246.
- 91 See *ibid.*, 34, 35.
- 92 Father Arrupe's intervention is found *ibid.*, pp. 240-241.
- 93 The Spanish text is *ibid.*, pp. 259-262.
- 94 The text is in *Acta Romana S.I.*, XVI (1974), 11-15; in English on pp. 16-19. See also *DocsGC31&32*, p. 521.
- 95 *DocsGC31&32*, pp. 525-526.
- 96 *Ibid.*, p. 530.
- 97 *Ibid.*, pp. 537-538.
- 98 *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 24, 88.
- 99 *Ibid.*, p. 373.
- 100 *Ibid.*, p. 374.
- 101 *Ibid.*, p. 375.
- 102 *Ibid.*, pp. 401, 402.
- 103 *Ibid.*, pp. 406, 304.
- 104 *Ibid.*, p. 461.
- 105 The Church in the Modern World, no. 5.
- 106 The pages of *News and Features* are numbered cumulatively throughout the whole year.
- 107 The whole address is in P. Arrupe, S.J., *Challenge to Religious Life*;

Selected Letters and Addresses--I (St. Louis; Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1979), pp. 279-293.

108 Ibid., pp. 281-282.

109 Ibid., pp. 283-286.

110 See *ibid.*, p. 279.

111 *DocsGC31&32*, p. 524.

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