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Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits

Saint Ignatius as Fund-Raiser

Thomas H. Clancy, S.J.

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THE SEMINAR ON JESUIT SPIRITUALITY

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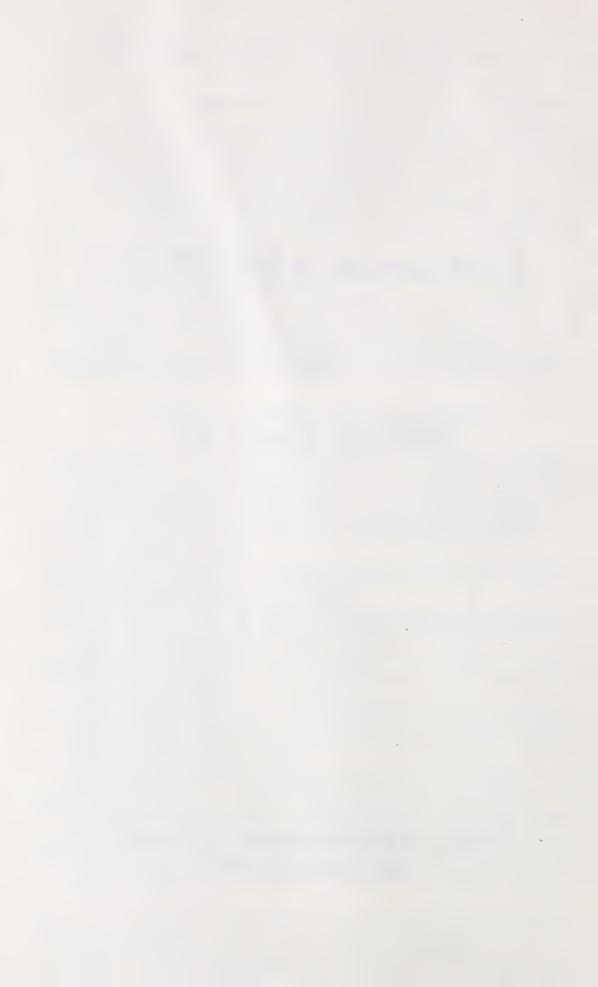
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Saint Ignatius as Fund-Raiser



Thomas H. Clancy, S.J.

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For your information . . .

Who paid for the Counter-Reformation? For many years I have asked that question of students when we were dealing with that period in history. Not to worry; the students surely were not Marxists, convinced that material concerns and economic structures were at the base of all phenomena, including religion. Rather, as a matter of fact, the thought that the Reformation or the Catholic Reform (not really a *Counter-Reformation* even if the term was useful to get attention) cost someone somewhere something and involved a great deal of money and property had hardly ever entered the heads of most of my auditors.

Jesuits might ask who paid for the founding of the Society of Jesus. Who provided the material goods and the money needed by those first ten founding Jesuits? How did the Society acquire the financial resources needed to support a body of men that grew to about a thousand members in fifteen years, from the 1540 foundation to the death of St. Ignatius in 1556? Similar questions could be asked about any period and any place in Jesuit history. Among the most interesting such periods would be that of the Restoration, where we started from perilously close to zero in numbers and resources, and among such places would be the United States, where the Society grew enormously in both ways almost from the time of American independence.

The financial history of the Society of Jesus has never been written and perhaps could not be written, given the great decentralization of such resources in provinces and houses scattered all over the world. But somebody had to find those resources. We owe a great debt to the generosity of our friends and benefactors through the years who provided the funds we needed. We owe an equal debt to the Jesuits among us who sought out and asked for those funds and who continue to do so today. The first such Jesuit fund-raiser was Ignatius himself. This issue of *Studies* will tell about him in that role. It may surprise us.

We may be equally surprised by another way of looking at St. Ignatius. It comes in a new book by William Meissner, S.J., entitled *Ignatius of Loyola: The Psychology of a Saint* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992). Father Meissner, a member of the New York Province, is a psychi-

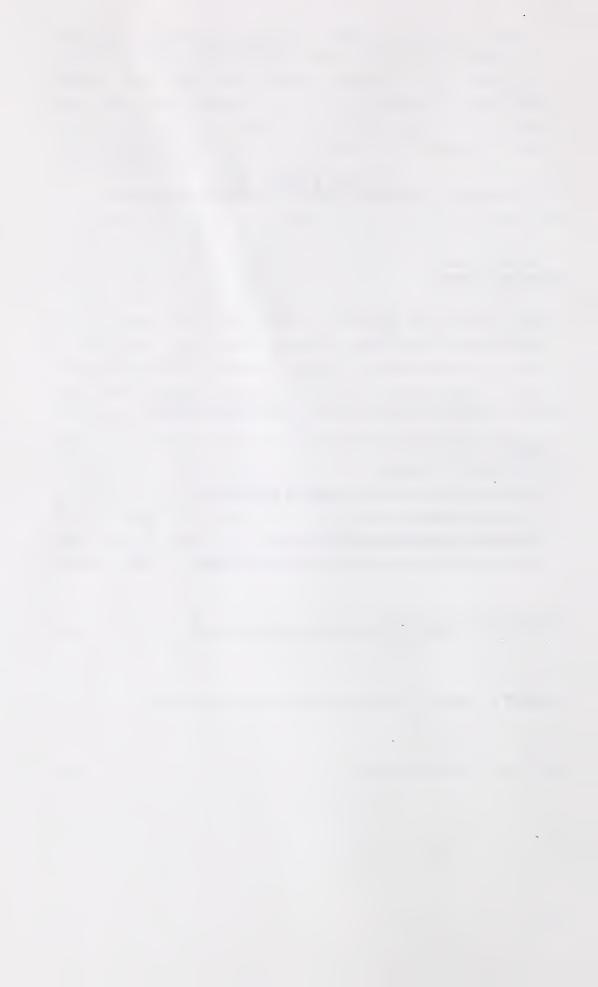
atrist and a psychoanalyst engaged in teaching, research, and clinical practice. In what is both a biography and a psychoanalytic study, Fr. Meissner asks questions and advances hypotheses that are challenging and at times disconcerting, but invariably enlightening. The author tries to elucidate the constant interplay among human needs and drives and religious experience and spiritual motivations in the making of the man and the saint who is Ignatius of Loyola.

Among the great benefactors of Ignatius in the years following his conversion were several women. They cared for him in his illnesses, fed and clothed him, helped him regularly with money for his travels and during his studies, and prayed for him devotedly. In regard not only to him but to others as well, they led very generous lives. That term, Generous Lives, is also the title of another new book, the subtitle of which is American Catholic Women Today (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1992). Over a period of five years, the author, Jane Redmont, interviewed more than one hundred American Catholic women all over the United States, ranging in age from their teens to their nineties. In ten chapters, preceded by a prologue by the author, women speak in great detail and in depth for and about themselves; alternating with these chapters are ten others in which other women offer their comments and the author sets down her clear-headed and warm-hearted reflections. The book is eminently worth reading and pondering. Men will perhaps gain even more from it than will women, especially Jesuits, whose apostolates are increasingly shared by such generous women and whose own lives are also so often enriched by them.

John W. Padberg, S.J. Editor

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Saint Ignatius as Fund-Raiser

Introduction

An Undiscovered Ignatius

Ordinarily we think of the life of Ignatius as roughly divided into four periods:

- 1. Up until the age of thirty, during the years 1491 to 1521, he was a child, a youth, a courtier. This part of his life is covered in the first five paragraphs of Chapter 1 of his autobiography.¹
- 2. The pilgrim years, 1521 to 1524. While Ignatius was between thirty and thirty-three years of age, he experienced a con-

¹ For the complete text of this work, see, among other translations, "The Autobiography," *Ignatius of Loyola: The* Spiritual Exercises and Selected Works, ed. George E. Ganss, S.J., and trans. Parmananda Divarkar, S.J. (New York and Mahwah, N.J.: Paulist Press, 1991), 68–111.

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version and spent some time in Manresa and Jerusalem. This period is treated in Chapters 1 to 5 of his autobiography.

- 3. The student years, 1524 to 1537. Between his thirty-third and forty-sixth years, he studied in Barcelona, Alcalá, Salamanca, and Paris, as he narrates in Chapters 6 to 10 of his autobiography.
- 4. During the years 1538 to 1556, during his forty-seventh to sixty-fifth years, Ignatius founded the Society of Jesus and served in Rome as its general. His autobiography treats this period in the first part of Chapter 11.

It has often been pointed out that few of the biographies of the saint delve very deeply into this fourth period. Once the biographers get Ignatius to Rome, they become historians of the early Society. One exception is André Ravier, S.J. In 1973 he published his *Chroniques de Saint Ignace*, which gives a detailed account of events in each year of Ignatius's life insofar as we know them. Whereas events of the years 1491 to 1538 take up 23 pages, the last seventeen years take up 195 pages.²

Actually, the fourth period should be cut in half. From 1538 to 1546 Ignatius was a priest active in the apostolate as well as (for most of these years) general of the Society. The latter task did not take up much of his time, since there were only a small number of Jesuits, during most of those years fewer than two hundred. True, they were spread out all over the world in India, Portugal, Germany, France, and various parts of Italy. At the end of 1542, when he had been managing things for over three years, Ignatius wrote to Favre that he had sent out over 250 letters to all parts of the world.³ But that could not have taken too much of his time, for it averages out to fewer than two letters per week.

² His narrative of the last third of Ignatius's life, *Ignace de Loyola fonde la Compagnie de Jésus* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1973), was published in 1974. It is now translated into English as *Ignatius Loyola and the Founding of the Society of Jesus* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1987).

³ William J. Young, S.J., ed. and trans., *Letters of St. Ignatius of Loyola* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1959), 64. This is letter no. 98. Note that we do not have all these 250 letters.

He was also occupied in writing the Constitutions, but he made little progress before 1547.

He had numerous dealings with the Pope and the officials of the papal curia, but that could not have taken too much time either. What did he do during these nine years? He taught catechism,4 he worked among the poor, he worked among the Jews and Muslims in Rome, and, finally, he established the House of St. Martha for prostitutes. In his early years in Rome, he also directed various people in the Spiritual Exercises, but gradually he withdrew from this work, leaving it to other Jesuits who worked under his supervision.5

What did the other Jesuits do during this period? Some were students at Paris, Louvain, Coimbra, and, towards the end, in Spain. The formed Jesuits were living, as Nadal later exhorted them to live, "with one foot in the air." They were on the road defending the faith in Germany, preaching in various parts of Italy, reforming convents, bringing the Christian faith to India, accompanying nuncios, and serving in various missions given to them by the Pope. They also taught catechism to children in the streets and directed people in the Spiritual Exercises. None of them were pastors and only a very few were occupied with schools.

It would have been impossible to issue a catalog for the Society during these years. There were only fourteen houses in the whole Society before 1547. There were three residences in Italy, five in Spain, and two in Portugal, in addition to houses of study in Louvain, Cologne, Paris, and Goa. This last was a col-

⁴ It was March 9, 1549, before Ignatius gave up teaching catechism in Rome (André Ravier, Les Chroniques: Saint Ignace de Loyola [Nouvelle Librairie de France, 1973], 117; hereafter this work will be cited as Chroniques).

⁵ These various activities Cándido Dalmases treats in chap. 12 of his Ignatius of Loyola: Founder of the Jesuits, trans. Jerome Aixala, S.J. (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1985).

lege, but not many Jesuits taught there.⁶ And houses were simply bases of operations, places Jesuits worked out of for a limited period of time. In such circumstances it would have been impossible to ask a Jesuit, "Where are you stationed?" Theirs was "a faith lived out of doors." The house of most Jesuits was the open road.⁷

There were many advantages to this way of life. It was the ideal of the founding Fathers: a small group of reformed priests ready to go anywhere in the world on orders from the Roman Pontiff. The great majority of them were priests. Most of them knew one another and a good number had been formed by Ignatius himself. It was only in 1546 that the bull *Exponi nobis* gave the Society permission to accept spiritual and temporal coadjutors.

Another great advantage was that the early Jesuits were able to live in apostolic poverty. The most casual reader of St. Ignatius's *Spiritual Exercises* is struck by the importance of poverty as the first step towards a serious Christian life. Those working in Europe were sustained by alms or by the ecclesiastical dignitaries they served. The few working on the missions were financed by the temporal power in whose territory they worked.

It was a hard life, but a simple and beautiful one. No wonder that it has such an attraction for Jesuits of our times. But it was gradually coming to an end in the mid-1540s. Why? Because the Society was a victim of its own success. It began to attract more candidates. One of the great recruiting devices was the letters Xavier wrote from Asia, which were promptly copied and printed all over Europe.⁸

⁶ Ibid., 301f.

⁷ John W. O'Malley, S.J., "To Travel to Any Part of the World: Jerónimo Nadal and the Jesuit Vocation," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 16, No. 2 (March 1984), and Gregory I. Carlson, S.J., "'A Faith Lived Out of Doors': Ongoing Formation of Jesuits Today," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 16, No. 4 (Sept. 1984). Some of this ground is covered by John W. O'Malley S.J., in "How the Jesuits Changed: 1540-1546," *America* 27 (July 1991): 28-32.

⁸ M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J., trans., The Letters and Instructions of Francis

One of the earliest recruits to be inspired by reading these letters was Jerome Nadal. Already in 1535, when they were both students in Paris, Ignatius had made an unsuccessful attempt to recruit him as a member of his band of students. Ten years later, in 1545, he was ill at ease in Majorca, suffering from depression and discouragement, when a letter from Xavier fell into his hands. He records his own reaction after reading it: "At those words I began to wake up as it were from a long sleep, and found myself stirred to the depths of my soul. . . . I banged the table with my hand, exclaiming, 'Nunc hoc aliquid'-Now this is something!"9 By the end of the year, he was in Rome seeking admission into the Society.

The other Fathers inspired imitators. In Germany Favre recruited Canisius. In Portugal candidates flocked to the Society. Slowly at first and then with accelerating speed, the Society grew. More novices meant more colleges. In 1548 a college opened in Messina to educate boys as well as Jesuits. From that point on, colleges multiplied in Italy, Spain, Rome, Portugal, France, and Germany.

There is no need to tell once again the oft repeated story of how the colleges became the principal apostolate of the Society.10 It was a development that Ignatius welcomed. But not all Jesuits of future generations were convinced that it was a move in the right direction. As one illustrious delegate to the Sixth General Congregation in 1608 complained, "the Society's colleges have become caves and whirlpools swallowing her men."11

Xavier, with introduction by the translator (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1992).

⁹ James Brodrick, S.J., Origins of the Jesuits (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1986), 202.

¹⁰ Pedro Leturia, S.J., "Why the Society of Jesus Became a Teaching Order," Jesuit Educational Quarterly 4 (1941): 31-54. There is a revised version (in Spanish) in Leturia's Estudios Ignacianos (Rome, 1956). See also O'Malley, "To Travel to Any Part."

¹¹ See George Ganss's digest of the articles of Fr. L. Lukacs in Wood-

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Because the colleges occupied an important part of the last nine years of Ignatius's life, the years 1547 to 1556, his fifty-sixth to sixty-fifth years, might be classified as the fifth period of the founder's life: Ignatius and finances. Now colleges required money. Thus Ignatius became a fund-raiser. The new commitment to schools also froze a certain number of Jesuits in one place for at least a year at a time. The Society's increase in numbers also made Ignatius a man tied to his desk for this last period of his life.

During this time he had the advantage of a real secretariat in the modern sense of the term. He had a skilled secretary in the person of Polanco, copyists (who, of course, did their work by hand), and a register with summaries of letters received and sent. The correspondence was sorted and sent by the best routes. And finally his staff maintained well-ordered files.¹³ Polanco probably helped Ignatius pen the Secretary of the Society's job description as it appears in the Constitutions:

[T]he general obviously ought to have one person who . . . should be his memory and hands for everything which he must write and handle, and finally for all the affairs of his office. This person should take on the general's own person and imagine that he carries on his own shoulders the general's own burden (except for his authority). 14

stock Letters 91 (April 1962): 123-66. Also see my Introduction to Jesuit Life (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1976), 129, 324.

¹² Dominique Bertrand, S.J., *La Politique de Saint Ignace* (Paris, 1985), 217. Hereafter this book will be cited as *Politique*. There were about forty-seven colleges established in Ignatius's lifetime.

¹³ Dominique Bertrand, S.J., "La Correspondance de saint Ignace: une manière de conduire les affaires," *Christus*, No. 141 (Jan. 1989), 85.

¹⁴ Ignatius of Loyola, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, ed. and trans. George E. Ganss, S.J. (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970), [800]. The following paragraph treats the matter of making resumés of letters received and replying to them according to the directions of the general. Hereafter this volume will be cited as *Constitutions*.

We can see the immediate change in the volume of his correspondence. Up to the end of 1546, we have 234 letters written or dictated by Ignatius. In the next nine years, we have 6,581, which constitute over ninety-six percent of his total correspondence. Juan Polanco's advent to the office of secretary in 1547 has something to do with this. But the complexity of the Society's affairs with the increasing numbers and the problems of financing the colleges was the major cause of this explosion of correspondence.

We have to pause here to say something about the historical significance of the correspondence of Ignatius. Why, one might ask, has the correspondence of Ignatius's later years been neglected by the biographers of Ignatius as well as by the editors and translators of his correspondence? For example, in English we have the excellent collection of Fr. William Young. He prints 231 letters in all. Of them, 55 (24 percent) were written before 1548 and 176 (76 percent) were written in the final eight years of his life. Thus 24 percent of the collection consists of letters from the years when he wrote 3.5 percent of his letters, and 76 percent covers the remaining years, which produced over 95.5 percent of his letters. 15 Why the disproportion? One reason is that the early letters give more biographical detail about Ignatius. They also contain a greater proportion of spiritual letters.

We observe the same proportion in the various biographies about Ignatius. We have to be frank. Most Jesuits are much more

¹⁵ We should note that Young devotes more attention to the later letters than do most modern editions. In Obras Completas de San Ignacio de Loyola, ed. Ignacio Iparraguirre, S.J., and Cándido Dalmases, S.J. (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1977), Fr. Iparraguirre published 155 letters, 41 (26%) written before 1548 and 114 (74%) after. In what follows we give references wherever possible to Young's collection or to the work of Hugo Rahner, Ignatius' Letters to Women (New York: Herder and Herder, 1960). The originals can easily be found in Epistolæ et Instructiones, 12 vols., Monumenta Ignatiana, Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu (Madrid, 1903-11; reprinted, Rome, 1964-68). This collection is hereafter abbreviated as Epp., followed by volume and page number.

attracted to Ignatius the courtier-turned-pilgrim than they are to Ignatius the bureaucrat and/or fund-raiser. We want to see Ignatius as a person rather than in his professional functions. Great Ignatian scholars, such as Pedro Leturia and Hugo Rahner, have concentrated on the first three periods of Ignatius's life.16

Economics has been classified as "the dull science" and economic history as the most boring of the daughters of Clio. Most people are interested in their personal finances, but supremely indifferent as to how they fit into the big picture. Still, once the Society of Jesus became involved in schools, finances loomed large in the concerns of St. Ignatius. In the Society today a growing proportion of Jesuits have the responsibility of paying bills, keeping bread on the table, and managing finances.

A good proportion of the letters Ignatius sent and received during the last nine years of his life concern money and finances. It might be helpful, therefore, to look at this aspect of Ignatius's life as revealed in the letters he sent and received. I was introduced to this side of Ignatius by Fr. Bertrand's La Politique de Saint Ignace, the most thorough treatment yet of Ignatius's correspondence.

But first we should emphasize again a point we have touched on above. Neither Ignatius nor the early Jesuits had to beg for the missions. The chief colonizing powers of the sixteenth century, Spain and Portugal, considered the propagation of the faith part of their responsibilities. It was their duty to recruit missionaries, provide them transportation to the mission countries, and see to their sustenance once they had arrived. The privileges and obligations of the kings of Spain and Portugal were grouped under the term Patronato Real (in Portuguese, Padroado). 17 Later on, the kings of France saw their duties and privileges in the same light. What struck the missionaries first was the

¹⁶ But Hugo Rahner's last major work on Ignatius, cited above, St. Ignatius Loyola: Letters to Women, first published in 1956, contains many letters from Ignatius's fifth period.

¹⁷ See The New Catholic Encyclopedia, s.v. "Patronato Real."

disadvantages of the system, as is apparent in the letters of Francis Xavier. One mission field which the Catholic kings of Europe did not claim was Japan. But even there the Jesuit missionary efforts were sustained by their share of the profits from the "Black Ship," which plied annually between that island and the mainland and allowed the Portuguese to carry on trade. 18

It was not until the early nineteenth century, when most of the colonial empires of the Catholic powers of Europe were a matter of history, that Pauline Jaricot founded in Lyons the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. Thence dates the appeals to Catholic-school children to contribute their pennies to save the pagan babies. Incidentally, it was missionaries in the United States of America that first benefitted from the contributions of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith.

As for the care of elderly and infirm Jesuits, another appeal we make today to our friends, the question rarely arose in Ignatius's time, because there were precious few elderly Jesuits. There were a good number who were infirm, but they were cared for in the colleges.

Of the 6,815 letters written by Ignatius, only 142 are mainly concerned with finances or contracts.19 But 658 others deal with questions of property transactions, financial foundations, the collection of rents due to Jesuits, and appeals for funds to support Jesuit works, especially the Roman College. The author of this essay makes no pretence of having sifted through every letter Ignatius wrote. The statistics above are gathered from the work of Dominique Bertrand and the excellent dissertation of Thomas Lucas, S.J.²⁰

¹⁸ C. R. Boxer, The Christian Century in Japan: 1549-1650 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 93ff.

¹⁹ Bertrand, Politique, 73.

²⁰ "The Vineyard at the Crossroads: The Urban Vision of St. Ignatius" (unpublished doctoral dissertation presented at the Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, Cal., 1991). For his thesis, which the author has graciously let me examine, Fr. Lucas has compiled an Urban Mission Sample

According to the Second Vatican Council, religious are to look to two sources in reforming themselves. The first is the charism of the founder, the second the signs of the times. Accordingly, in the first part of this paper we will investigate how St. Ignatius went about the business of raising money for the colleges. In the second part we shall see how these Ignatian practices can be applied today.

Part I: Ignatian Principles of Fund-Raising

The First Ignatian Principle of Fund-Raising:

Believe in the value of the work,

in this case, the schools.

e know that Ignatius had some firm ideas about education, most of them the fruit of his own experience. He made little academic progress in the schools of Spain. When he got to Paris, he began all over again. He believed he found the right system in Paris, one based on a firm grounding in the humanities and on repetitions and disputations. He was able to write to his brother, Martín García, approving the latter's plans to send his son to Paris. "Nor do I think that you will find anywhere in Europe greater advantages than here at Paris. . . . [H]e will be able to accomplish here in four years what it would take him six to do elsewhere—even more. . . . "21 Sixteen years later, when he had the chance to plan his own school, he prescribed that it follow the *modus parisiensis*, the method of Paris. 22 Of course, the Jesuits adapted this method in the light of their ongoing experience.

Base that is helpful in seeking out letters with financial implications.

²¹ Young, Letters, 5f.

²² Gabriel Codina Mir, S.J., Aux Sources de la Pédagogie des Jésuites: Le "Modus Parisiensis" (Rome, 1968).

Here we see a man convinced of the value of solid universi-:y studies. He recommended to Francis Borgia that his sons get a good education.²³ He himself chose to begin his converted life by spending several years wandering around the world as a pilgrim. He did not recommend the same for young Jesuits, though there was a brief pilgrimage experience prescribed for the novices, after which they went to school, starting with the study of the liberal arts.

In May 1547 Ignatius wrote Lainez a very eloquent letter defending humanistic studies.24 It was because of his convictions about the importance of literary studies that Jesuits were the first clerics who taught the humanities and liberal arts, though it was common in the Middle Ages for clerics to teach philosophy, theology, canon law, and the higher studies.

It was largely because he was dissatisfied with the education available to the new recruits who were flocking to the Society that the Jesuits became involved in the education business in the first place. Ignatius states this plainly early on in Part 4 of the Constitutions, which treats of schools. Because he could not find men both good and learned who had the energy to pursue Jesuit goals, he made the great sacrifices demanded by his commitment to education. 25

Ignatius was betting on the future. He saw education as the best hope for the Church and the world. In his view, colleges did more good than preachers, as he explained to some friends at Naples who were willing to sponsor a college, but who were more enthusiastic about supporting a Jesuit preacher. Ignatius wrote to them on Sept. 12, 1551, telling them that in his experience colleges produced a more lasting effect on the population. The good example of the students affected not only their parents but the whole city.26 Colleges then were not simply to produce

²³ Young, Letters, 107.

²⁴ Ibid., 132-37.

²⁵ Constitutions, [308]; ibid., p. 173nn; Bertrand, Politique, 241f.

²⁶ Epp. III, 646-48.

educated men but committed Christians. He wrote to Borgia telling him to remind the Emperor that, if he spent on Jesuit colleges a fraction of the money he paid for soldiers, Germany would be closer to religious unity.²⁷

Ignatius's commitment to education, then, was serious and it was not made lightly. But once it was made, he threw himself into the work with all his soul. It really began in February 1548 when he called together all the Jesuits of the house in Rome, including the cook, and put the following questions to them: First, are you willing to go to Sicily? Second, if you are willing, are you prepared to work there in any capacity, even as a cook? Third, if you go as a student, are you willing to study any subject under any teacher assigned? Fourth, if you go to teach, are you willing to teach any subject assigned, even one which you have never studied, for example, Hebrew?²⁸

The Jesuits were given three days to answer these questions in writing.²⁹ Those chosen were some of the most able in the Society at the time. They included Jerome Nadal, André des Freux, Peter Canisius, and seven others. Four of them were priests. Among the ten there were eight different countries represented. Before they left Rome Ignatius gathered the group together to underline in an even-graver manner the importance of the work at Messina. He emphasized that no other work started up to that time was more important than the one they were about to begin, not even the apostolates at Padua or Coimbra.

It is true that not all of Ignatius's enthusiasm for the new college was purely educational. He saw Sicily as the key to the Mediterranean, and he still hoped to get Jesuits into Africa, Greece, and the Holy Land. But it is noteworthy that the means

²⁷ Ibid., IX, 614 (Sept. 14, 1555). See Bertrand, *Politique*, 205ff., where the author points out that the antimilitarism of Ignatius is not sufficiently appreciated.

²⁸ Epp. II, 50. See also ibid., I, 707-9; Bertrand, Politique, 24f.

²⁹ Canisius's reply is given in James Brodrick's *Peter Canisius* (Baltimore, 1950; reprinted at Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1962), 108.

he chose was a college. He also allowed these men to choose their own superior; they selected Nadal.30 The words of Ignatius to Ribadeneira when he sent him later to work in the Messina school are well known: "Pedro, another ten years and we shall see great things in the Society. I shall not see them myself, but you will."31

We even have a kind of case statement for schools in a letter Ignatius wrote to an unknown Jesuit who was apparently being primed to approach a potential benefactor of the Roman College, soon to become the chief cause for which Ignatius begged in his later years. He touches all bases, but the main argument is the good that will flow from the expected gift. The Roman College will educate students from all over Europe who will return to their own countries as faithful workers for the Church. Some will go to spread the faith in pagan lands. "Thus this college will be a never-failing nursery of ministers of this Apostolic See for the service of holy Church and the good of souls."32

Perhaps the most convincing testimony of the value Ignatius placed on schools is the sacrifices he made for them. There was, first of all, the sacrifice in large part of the mobility he prized so highly. We also know how committed he was to poverty. He first envisioned the Society as a strictly mendicant order. But he compromised when he realized that one could not maintain schools by alms. He learned that from his own experience as a student. Thus he allowed the colleges to have fixed incomes. 33

³⁰ Codina Mir, Aux Sources, 262ff.

³¹ Fontes Narrativi de S. Ignatio de Loyola . . . , ed. Cándido de Dalmases, S.J., 4 vols., Monumenta Ignatiana, Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu (Rome, 1951) 2:351.

³² Young, Letters, 437. There were several such letters. See another to Antonio de Araoz of Dec. 1, 1551 (Epp. IV, 5-11), translated in Ganss, ed., Ignatius of Loyola, 362-65.

³³ This created difficulties for the professed Fathers, who were not supposed to live on returns from endowments. At the end of his long life, during which he had founded numerous colleges in Germany, Peter Canisius, who was professed of the four vows, wrote to Fr. General Aquaviva confessing his faults. The first one mentioned is that he lived

The Second Ignatian Principle for Fund-Raising: Let your light shine.

gnatius knew that the business of fund-raising was not simply asking people for money. First, one had to lay down a barrage of publicity. During World War II and after, members of the other armed forces chided the Marines for being publicity hounds. "For every Marine fighting in battle, there are two other Marines taking his picture." Later on, something similar was said of various missionary congregations. But Ignatius was firmly convinced of the value of publicity. True, a good deed will shine in this naughty world, but people need first to hear of it.

The primary means of publicity was, of course, the good works of the Jesuits themselves and the favorable comments they inspired in those who witnessed them or heard of them by word of mouth. But this circle of witnesses was not large enough for Ignatius. He wanted others to hear of our good works. For this the best means was letters. In the Constitutions the matter of letters is principally treated in Part 8, which prescribes aids to the union of hearts. Two obstacles to this union are mentioned by Ignatius: (1) Jesuits live in divers regions of the world, and (2) Jesuits are learned men who enjoy the favor of princes and other important persons.³⁴

Ignatius viewed letters as one of the chief means to union of hearts; in the Constitutions ([673–76]), he sums up the practice that he had already employed since his election as general in 1541. The very next year (1542) he scolded Pierre Favre for not following his instructions precisely. He directed Favre to write a

in colleges: "I have lived in colleges like a non-professed father, receiving, through the indulgence of superiors, many comforts that ill became a religious man vowed to poverty" (Brodrick, Canisius, 815).

³⁴ Constitutions, [655f.].

principal letter to Rome every two weeks. It was to contain only edifying matters and such material as could be shown to others without embarrassment. This letter was to be written carefully, then corrected for grammar and style, polished, and then copied over in final form. Other news items "especially of the sick, business matters, and even some words of exhortation," besides things which were not edifying, were to be put in a second letter for Ignatius's eyes only. Ignatius warned Favre that future failures in this matter would draw down upon him a command under obedience to follow the proper procedures. 35

He had even more trouble with Bobadilla, who wrote him in 1543 that he did not have time in the midst of his important apostolic work to follow Ignatius's complicated instructions or even to read the letters Ignatius sent him. He went on to criticize the style and form of Ignatius's letters. Ignatius was not pleased, though he took Bobadilla's strictures humbly. He explained, "Many friends and acquaintances who know that we have letters from some of the Society wish to see them and find a great delight in them. If we don't show the letters when they ask, we estrange them; if we show them a disorderly letter, they are disedified."36

It is plain from these sources that letters in those days were not private missives. It was regarded as an offense not to share a letter which related news. Ignatius wanted news he could use. We have already seen him tell Favre to save some of his spiritual reflections for the second letter. Some years later he wrote to Fr. Gaspar Berze in India instructing him to include in his letters something about the geography, flora, and fauna of the Far East and the length of days there, because persons of importance in Rome want to know such things. "[T]hey would like information

³⁵ Young, Letters, 62-64. The second letter was called a hijuela, literally meaning "drainage canal." See Lucas, "Vineyard," 176 n. 370.

³⁶ Young, Letters, 75.

about anything that appears extraordinary, such as unknown animals and plants, their size and so forth."³⁷

It is evident from these and many other sources, such as Polanco's instructions on how to write to Rome,³⁸ that Ignatius appreciated the value of publicity. He wanted to keep the Jesuits in the public eye. He constantly asked the Jesuits, "What do the people think of us?"³⁹ In the early part of his Roman career, this publicity helped to open doors and increase esteem for the Society. In the later years they were used to get potential donors interested in founding a college.

Another great benefit of publicity was the increase in vocations. That increase was inspired in part by the letters of Xavier. It made the increase of colleges necessary and it taught Ignatius a lesson he would never forget.

He had known very early in his converted life that it was necessary to let one's light shine before men. He never liked false humility. In his critique of the Theatine way of life, written in 1536, he suggested that members of this group had to get out more. They should preach in public and work among the clergy, bury the dead, and offer Mass in public. [I]f they were thus to serve our Lord in pious works, the people would feel more inclined to support them with great charity."

We have to remember that letters to specific individuals were a comparatively new thing in the sixteenth century. First of all, there was a rapid increase in literacy in the sixteenth century. That was a necessary precondition for writing and reading letters.

³⁷ Ibid., 325f. He had earlier written Xavier in the same sense. Cardinal Marcello Cervini (later known as Pope Marcellus II) wanted to know about the climate and skies of the Indies (*Epp.* V, 165, no. 3521).

³⁸ Epp. I, 542-49.

³⁹ See Bertrand, *Politique*, 298; *Epp*. I, 545.

⁴⁰ See his letter to Teresa Rejadell (Young, Letters, 21).

⁴¹ Ibid., 30f. See Georges Bottereau's article on this letter in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 44:139-52. The letter was probably never sent.

When we read what the Constitutions say about letters, we are struck by the fact that most of the passages are restrictive. 42 But the presupposition of these restrictions is that letters were written and received by Jesuits in the various stages of formation. Ignatius himself urged his sons to keep in touch with their families.⁴³ Ignatius himself did not follow this rule very faithfully. Of course, he was not a boy when he left home. For ten years he did not communicate with his family. Then he wrote to his brother, Martín García, in 1532.44 In all, we know of seven letters he wrote to his family.

But, as we have seen, Ignatius was convinced of the importance of letters. Whence came Ignatius's preference for this form of communication? It would seem that he learned it from merchants. They had the same sort of problems that faced Ignatius. They needed to maintain central control of enterprises that spread across national boundaries. They had to be apprised of political events, war news, travel and transport conditions, just as the Iesuits did. We will return to this commercial model further on.

Letters were the second means of propaganda. Books were the third. Most of what the Constitutions say about writing books is unenthusiastic, if not negative. But here again the presupposition of the cautions is that Jesuits would write things that would find their way into print. Once more we see an evolution in Ignatius's attitude. In 1547 Alfonso Salmerón, one of the first companions, was asked for permission to publish one of his sermons. He turned down the request. "My principal reason for this decision is because it seems foreign to our institute to direct our efforts to the publication of books, a work to be done by men of superior gifts." Jesuits were called, he said, to help souls, and the publication of

⁴² Constitutions, [60, 246].

⁴³ See, e.g., *Epp.* VIII, 551.

⁴⁴ Epp. I, 77ff.; Young, Letters, 5f.

books can be "an obstacle to, and—at times—a distraction from works of a higher form of charity." 45

But in 1547 the new emphasis on schools changed all that. For one thing, Jesuits had to assemble libraries and write text-books. Towards the end of his life, Ignatius was busy trying to set up a printing press in the Roman College. By 1640 the Jesuit jubilee book, *Imago primi sæculi*, published in Antwerp to commemorate the centennial of the Society of Jesus' approval, listed writing as the twelfth and last work of the Society, pronouncing it a most fruitful labor, because books take little time and last forever. "The goal of our authors is to make men better and more learned." Another service printed books afforded was to honor benefactors and attract financial patrons of the Society. This tradition lived on in *Edifying and Curious Letters, Jesuit Relations*, and many other series on the missions of the Society. **

The Third Ignatian Principle of Fund-Raising: Know your clients and be patient with their moral failings.

t Arévalo before his conversion, Ignatius "acquired that delicate courtesy that he never lost." This period in Ignatius's life left traces in the terminology of the Spiritual Exercises, especially in the meditation on the Kingdom ([94]). Ignatius clearly saw the vanity of the noble life. He uses the word

⁴⁵ William V. Bangert, S.J., Claude Jay and Alphonso Salmerón (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1985), 188.

⁴⁶ Epp. XI, nos. 6420, 6592; XII, nos. 6651, 6632.

⁴⁷ Imago, 695.

⁴⁸ Art and drama were other means of Jesuit propaganda which we cannot treat in this brief article.

⁴⁹ H. Rahner, Letters to Women, 4. See also pp. 27-37.

"vanities" to sum up his life before his conversion. "[H]e was a man given over to the vanities of the world with a great and vain desire to win honor."50 Later on he forbade arms or instruments of vanity from being kept in Jesuit houses.⁵¹ In his student days he wrote to his brother about the vanity of amassing riches.⁵²

Still, he was able to see some good qualities in nobles. They wanted to distinguish themselves by their civility, politeness, and liberality; and Ignatius tried to appeal to these qualities. Indeed, he wanted the Jesuits to exemplify all three. They had to communicate with gentle folk in a manner these latter expected. Ignatius told his sons repeatedly, "Don't exasperate our friends, especially our quality friends."53

Ignatius was not a flatterer, but on the other hand he did not demand that benefactors of the Society be people of exemplary life. Both of the popes who were most generous to the Society in the sixteenth century, Paul III and Gregory XIII, had fathered illegitimate children in their early days. Julius III, who founded the Germanicum and confirmed the Society's Institute in 1550 with the bull Exposcit debitum, was a pleasure-loving pontiff who was so infatuated with a teenage urchin that he made him a cardinal.

In Spain a worldly prelate, Don Juan de Cordoba, had a mistress and six children. A woman friendly to the Jesuits approached him with the request that he give the Society a house. He replied that he needed to know more about them. Fr. Francisco de Villanueva visited him, "and the prelate was won over and converted, but not from his sinful life." He gave the Jesuits his mistress's house. Some of the pious people of Cordoba were scandalized. "The Jesuits," they said, "carried Baal together with the Ark of the Lord." But Ignatius did not hesitate to thank the

⁵⁰ "Autobiography," ¶1.

⁵¹ Constitutions, [266].

⁵² Young, Letters, 7.

⁵³ Bertrand, Politique, 197.

lady who petitioned the gift and seems to have been unperturbed by the gossip.⁵⁴

Guillaume du Prat, bishop of Clermont, was the founder of the first Jesuit college in France. Ignatius wrote to France that people were saying that the Jesuits' patron was not exactly a model prelate. He recommended discerning charity towards the bishop.⁵⁵ What was this *discreta caritas*? We can see something of it in a letter that Ignatius wrote to Polanco in 1547. The latter had been criticizing certain influential persons of Florence, including the duke and duchess of that place. He had reminded the duchess that "from the sweat of the poor God gives you much, that it might be well used and not wasted."⁵⁶ Ignatius told him that nothing would be accomplished by such attacks. First, he must win the love and affection of the persons he is trying to help. Thus he will establish his credit and authority with them. Then he will be able to help them change their lives.⁵⁷

That was the burden too of Favre's famous letter on how to deal with German Protestants. Asked by Laínez for advice on how to deal with heretics, Favre replied with a letter which was often reprinted in the first century of the Society. The first two points set the tone for the whole letter.

- 1. If we would help the heretics of this age we must be careful to regard them with love, to love them in deed and in truth, and to banish from our souls any thought that might lessen our love and esteem for them.
- 2. It is necessary to win their good will so that they will love us and readily confide in us. This can be done by speaking familiarly with them on subjects about which we agree and by avoiding

⁵⁴ H. Rahner, *Letters to Women*, 384–87. I recall hearing an address in the 1960s by Dr. Benjamin Mays, a pioneer in the Civil Rights movement. He was an ordained clergyman and the longtime president of Morehouse College in Atlanta, with plenty of experience in fund-raising. "There's only one thing wrong with tainted money," he said; "'tain't enough of it."

⁵⁵ Epp. XI, 168; Bertrand, Politique, 529.

⁵⁶ Lucas, "Vineyard," 194.

⁵⁷ Young, Letters, 114.

points of discussion that might give rise to argument. . . . We must first seek to establish concord by dwelling on what unites us, rather than on matters which give rise to conflicting opinions.⁵⁸

Fr. Charmot sees this also as the first principle of Jesuit education. First win the love and affection of your students. Only then will you accomplish any good.59

But to get back to Florence. Lainez was sent there to repair the damage Polanco had done. Ignatius instructed the Jesuits in that region, where he was desirous of starting a Jesuit college, not to get on the duchess's nerves, because she was the prime prospect to be the founder of the college. The college was indeed started, but on a very inadequate basis. It seems that the duchess preferred gambling to philanthropy.60

Ignatius realized that in many instances heavenly success depended on human favor. In a classic letter of July 18, 1549, he scolded Juan Álvarez for thinking differently.

You seem to hold that the use of natural helps or resources, and taking advantage of the favor of man, for ends that are good and acceptable to our Lord, is to bend the knee to Baal. Rather, it would seem that the man who thinks that it is not good to make use of such helps or to employ this talent along with others which God has given him, under the impression that mingling such helps with the higher ones of grace produces a ferment or evil concoction has not learned well to order all things to God's glory

⁵⁸ Beati Petri Fabri . . . , Epistolæ, Memoriale et Processus, Fabri Monumenta, vol. 48 of Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu (Madrid, 1914), 400. There is a useful translation of the whole letter in Mary Purcell's The Quiet Companion (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1970), 163-65. This was St. Ignatius's famous rule of going in by our neighbor's door, so that we may come out by our own. See pp. 26-28 of my Conversational Word of God (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1978).

⁵⁹ F. Charmot, La Pédagogie des Jésuites (Paris, 1951), 353ff.

⁶⁰ Epp. IV, 77. The dealings of Ignatius with Duchess Eleanora and her husband, Duke Cosimo de' Medici, are recounted in H. Rahner, Letters to Women, 93-107.

and to find a profit in and with all these things for the ultimate end, which is God's honor and glory.⁶¹

The whole letter is worth reading. It goes on to apply the necessary distinctions, but the appreciation of natural means runs throughout.

Ignatius insisted that we had to do favors for our actual or potential benefactors in order to get them involved in our work. He often admonished his sons not to promise what they could not deliver. But the Jesuits were to make every accommodation possible to do what their patrons asked. Thus Ignatius was very upset when he heard that Diego Miró and Luís Gonçálves da Câmara had turned down the request of King John II of Portugal to be his confessors. He rejected the reason they gave.

I do not think your security of soul is relevant, because if all we looked for in our vocation was to walk safely, and if to get away from danger we had to sacrifice the good of souls, we should not be living and associating with our neighbor. But according to our vocation, we associate with all . . . and if we advance with a pure and upright intention, seeking not our own interests but those of Jesus Christ, He Himself in his infinite goodness will be our protection. 62

Ignatius from his days as a courtier knew many of the noble families of Europe. He knew who was linked to whom by marriage and other relationships. This along with his gifts of persuasion made him valued as an intermediary in the settling of family feuds and even in reconciling husbands and wives. The only time he left Rome in the last nine years of his life was to attempt to reconcile Joanna of Aragon and her husband, Ascanio Colonna. He was not wholly successful. But his success in settling feuds gave rise to a tradition in the old Society. The estab-

⁶¹ Young, Letters, 192.

⁶² Ibid., 284.

⁶³ H. Rahner, Letters to Women, 129f., 141-45; Young, Letters, 274-78.

lishing of peace between feuding families was always a priority in the missions Jesuits preached in various towns. 64

Most of the benefactors of the Jesuits in Ignatius's day were women. It all started with Inés Pascual in Barcelona. It continued with Isabel Roser and concluded with the noble ladies he knew in his last years. In 1553 a Jesuit wrote from Modena that if the Jesuits left the city the only ones who would mourn their departure would be thirty or forty women. 65 Ribadeneira wrote:

Among all the virtues that our Father possessed was one by which he was especially distinguished: the virtue of gratitude. In that he was simply wonderful. It was of the utmost importance to him that he should as far as possible equal in generosity and even surpass his pious admirers and the benefactors of the Society. He kept them informed of its progress, he visited them, helped them in whatever way he could; he even undertook for them special commissions, which were quite against his inclinations, merely in order to please them.66

The special permissions he got for them were usually dispensations, indulgences, and various rescripts from Rome. That meant that he had to sit in halls or waiting rooms of various curial offices until his turn came to see the appropriate officials. In 1549 Polanco wrote to the Fathers in Sicily about the trouble Ignatius took to do favors requested by Leonora Osorio. On one occasion at least, Ignatius excused himself from running errands around Rome, saying that it was Mardi Gras, "and then we never go into the streets, so as not to come in contact with all the buffooneries."67

Of course, there were some services which these ladies requested which Ignatius could not perform and some advice they gave that he could not take. In 1553 he received a letter from a friend in Modena complaining that Fr. Viola took too many medi-

⁶⁴ Bertrand, Politique, 188f.

⁶⁵ H. Rahner, Letters to Women, 208.

⁶⁶ See ibid., 170.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 16.

cines. He politely differed with her and explained his reactions in a courteous letter. Another noble lady from Spain advised Ignatius that too many "new Christians," that is, persons with Jewish blood, were being admitted to the Society in Spain. Ignatius ignored her advice, but managed to retain her friendship and support.⁶⁸

When proposing reasons for founding a college, Ignatius was not above appealing to the less noble instincts of prospective donors. In the "case statement" we referred to above, he started out with the noblest motives, such as the greater glory of God and the good that would result. He pointed to the personal spiritual benefits which would accrue: Masses and prayers would be offered for the donor. He also appealed to the pride of ownership: the college would be his; he could get advice on educational or spiritual matters. He also appealed to the desire for lasting fame: "If he were thinking of leaving a monument to himself after finishing his days, it is evident that this work is quite to his purpose. It would be a great and lasting ornament to his whole family. . . . "⁶⁹

Ignatius often wrote to his female benefactors that they should consider the Society wholly theirs. They sometimes took him literally. One notes the imperious tone that Princess Juana, whom he had admitted to the Society in 1555, took when she told Ignatius that she did not want Francis Borgia or Antonio Araoz moved from Spain. She told Ignatius to make her their superior. In the cool letter she wrote to Ignatius with these requests, she closes with an ominous sentence: "I do not want to ask this again."

⁶⁸ Ibid., 326, 389.

⁶⁹ Young, Letters, 439.

⁷⁰ H. Rahner, Letters to Women, 50, 59, 221, 241.

⁷¹ Ibid., 62.

The Fourth Principle of Ignatian Fund-Raising: Manage your assets carefully.

e mentioned above the likelihood that Ignatius's ideas on correspondence came from merchants. He was a nobleman in an age when the nobility did not engage in trade and usually had a contempt for those who did. This contempt was reinforced in the spiritual writings of the desert fathers with which he was familiar. Medieval and early modern preachers thought that trade was perilous to the soul.72

But Ignatius had some good experiences with businessmen during his pilgrim and student years. While he was a student in Paris, he made an annual trip to Flanders, at that time a busy commercial center. There he met with good success in his first sortie into the field of fund-raising.⁷³ The result was that he had enough money for a whole year of studies.

While deploring the goals of merchants, Ignatius was impressed with their efficiency and their willingness to work. In his letter to the scholastics of Coimbra, he refers to the merchants' drive for profit: "Do not ever permit the children of this world to show greater care and solicitude for the things of time than you show for those of eternity. It should bring a blush to your cheek to see them run to death more unhesitatingly than you to life."74

In another general instruction of 1547, he invoked again the example of merchants to stir up Jesuit zeal:

⁷² See, e.g., the marginal note on Rev. 18:9 in the first Catholic translation of the New Testament into English: "Kings and merchants are most encombered and droned in the pleasures of this world: whose whole life and traficke is (if they be not exceeding vertuous) to find a varietie of earthly pleasures" (Rheims New Testament [1582]).

^{73 &}quot;Autobiography," chap. 8.

⁷⁴ Young, Letters, 123.

It appears to me that worldly merchants and business men should make us blush in that in pursuing their miserable interests they show such care and concern for keeping their records in order to make a better profit of meaningless wealth, while we in the pursuit of things of the Spirit aimed at our own salvation and that of our neighbor and the divine honor and glory take such little pains to write when we know that by this means we could be greatly helped.⁷⁵

Here we see Ignatius trying to make Jesuits emulate the energy and enterprise of merchants rather than indulging in long prayers and senseless mortifications.

In the next instruction he urged the Jesuits in the field to learn from merchants a sure way of sending and receiving mail. The early Jesuits sometimes referred to each other as "merchants." Zealous Jesuits were called "good merchants"; 76 others were referred to as "bad merchants."

Jesuits had to be merchants and bankers, men knowledgeable about money and exchange rates, in order to conduct schools. Sometimes in the modern Society we sigh for the days when Jesuit schools were fully endowed and we did not have to collect tuition.⁷⁸ But we know that in Ignatius's time and long

⁷⁵ Epp. I, 537.

⁷⁶ Epp. I, 542, 549.

This terminology persisted among the English Jesuits well into the seventeenth century. One of their earliest martyrs, St. Edmund Campion, came on the English mission in 1580 disguised as "a merchant of pearls." Jesuits also referred to their houses as "factories," in the old sense of a place where factors (i.e., agents, salesmen, merchants) worked.

⁷⁸ But even in the old Society we did have to collect room and board from boarding students in the residential schools. See, e.g., the financial worries of the rector of the English Jesuit College of St. Omers in the early eighteenth century, as described in *The Letter Book of Lewis Sabran S.J.*, ed. Geoffrey Holt, S.J., vol. 62, Publications of the Catholic Record Society (St. Albans, 1971). The first exception to the rule that tuition (*minervale*) could not be collected was granted to the Jesuits of St. Louis University. On this dispensation all the schools of the Society depended until the Thirty-first and Thirty-second general congregations. See Gilbert

after many of the college endowments were not sufficient to allay fears of hunger and hardship on the part of the Jesuit staff as well as the students.⁷⁹ We should also recall that all students and the vast majority of faculty in schools of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were expected to lead hard and austere lives, not far removed from the subsistence level.

But the administrators of even fully endowed colleges did not simply sit back and collect the endowment revenues. Most of the endowments were tied to land and its produce. A typical college received a piece of land from a patron, either lay or clerical. Many times the land was taken away from another ecclesiastic or group of religious. The rent and owner's share of the produce of the land had to be collected from the peasants that worked it.80 Jesuits then typically had to sell the grain or whatever the land produced. It must have seemed passing strange to the peasants that part of their crop was taken in order that boys could be taught Latin.

There is no study I know of on the business practices of the early Jesuits.81 One of the few times I was in the general archives of the Society in the Roman Curia, I saw a lay researcher studying the elaborate maps stored there, some of them in color, recording old Jesuit farm holdings in Italy. The sale of produce involved the

Garraghan, Jesuits of the Middle United States (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1983) I:303-8.

⁷⁹ See David Knight, S.J., "St. Ignatius' Ideal of Poverty," Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits 4, No. 1 (Jan. 1972): 16f., 24f.

⁸⁰ This was not always the job of the Jesuits. In case someone else was in charge of collections, the Constitutions ([556]) specify that the Jesuits should make sure he did his duty.

⁸¹ Thomas McCoog, S.J., has done a good deal of work on the finances of the English province in its first century of existence. See his two articles on the finances of the English Jesuit mission and province: "The Finances of the English Province of the Society of Jesus in the Seventeenth Century: Introduction," Recusant History 18, No. 1 (1986): 14-33, and "'The Slightest Suspicion of Avarice': The Finances of the English Jesuit Mission" 19, No. 2 (1989): 103-23.

Jesuits in trade and commerce. Jesuits had to know about international exchange. This is a subject that often occurs in Ignatius's letters, perhaps because Juan Polanco, in addition to being the secretary of the Society, was also its treasurer.82

Nor is there a monograph on Ignatius's attitude towards money, though there are the elements of one in Bertrand.83 As in most other things, there is an evolution in Ignatius's attitudes about money. When he left Barcelona for the Holy Land, he was paralyzed with indecision about whether to buy enough biscuit to sustain himself during the voyage. He had begged passage on a ship, but the captain had told him he would have to bring enough food for his needs. It was his practice at this time not to store up anything, and he wondered whether buying the biscuit would be a failure in hope. He had to consult his confessor.84

Later on, after he had decided that an education was necessary if he was to help souls, he used to beg enough money during vacations to sustain him during the year. Another turning point was his famous letter of 1536 to Carafa about the Theatines.85 He saw clearly then that, if a group of devoted religious served the people of God, they would be supported by alms. This was his great insight. He saw money as a creature to be used according to the principles of the Foundation.

As we saw above, money was not a problem in the early years of the Society. But once Ignatius got the idea of starting colleges, then money became a sine qua non. To found colleges Ignatius needed great sums of money. The money was there, but it was being wasted in wars and conspicuous consumption. He wanted to put the riches of the Church to good use. Certainly, he carefully husbanded the money he had, he squeezed every pen-

⁸² See Bertrand, Politique, 254ff.

⁸³ See ibid., Part 2, chap. 5, "Les Chevaliers du Commerce et de la Finance," 251-92.

^{84 &}quot;Autobiography," ¶36.

⁸⁵ Epp. I, 114-18; Young, Letters, 28-31.

ny, he drove hard bargains and insisted on his rights. Not that he was a miser-he was more like a gambling addict cutting all other expenses to the bone so as to be able to indulge his passion, which was colleges, especially the ones in Rome.

He saw the colleges resting on three solid bases. His letter to Jean Pelletier, S.J., the rector of the new college in Ferrara, is divided into three parts, which are announced in the opening paragraph:

There are three objectives you should keep in mind. One is the preservation and increase of the Society in spirit, learning, and numbers. The second is that we should look to the edification of the city and seek spiritual fruit in it. The third is to consolidate and increase the temporalities of the new college, so that our Lord will be better served in the first and second objectives.86

A college is like a three-legged stool. The three legs are spirituality, the apostolate, finances. If any one fails, the stool collapses.

The sponge that soaked up most of the funds at his disposal was the Roman College and, later, the German College. He found more donors for these in Spain and Portugal than he did in Italy. This involved him in international exchange, not an easy matter in the days before multinational banks. In one letter he gives instructions to Borgia on how to smuggle money from Spain to Rome in bags of sugar.87 In other cases he arranged exchanges of credit with Roman merchants. He writes jubilantly to Ribadeneira on April 14, 1556, "We have managed to pay our debts [in Rome] without the money leaving Spain. God be praised."88

The Jesuits had the reputation of being good managers of their resources. Their friends asked them for advice about investments. A gentleman from Padua approached Fr. John Baptist Tavono for help. Tavono in turn wrote to Rome. Ignatius wrote that he could get him seven, eight, or nine percent on safe invest-

⁸⁶ Epp. III, 542-50, no. 1899 (June 13, 1551); Young, Letters, 244.

⁸⁷ Epp. X, 124ff., no. 5902 (Nov. 14, 1555).

⁸⁸ Epp. XI, 254, no. 6372.

ments and twelve percent on risky ones. In another letter he suggested that Tavono invite the gentleman to make the Spiritual Exercises. There he will get an even higher return on his investment. The plain inference is that he should make a gift to the Society.89

Ignatius was constantly reminding Jesuits to encourage rulers to support the Roman College and to inquire whether they knew of any abandoned monasteries that could be given to the Society to help found a college. As we said above, he hated to see the wealth of the Church lie idle or fall into secular hands. Naturally, witnessing a Franciscan convent or a Benedictine abbey being handed over to the Jesuits to support a college did not endear us to these and other religious orders.

It is true that Ignatius wanted to avoid even the appearance of avarice,90 but by that he meant that all of the funds entrusted to the Society should be used to help souls and not to raise the Jesuit standard of living. He was never rich. He always wanted more money and complained of his debts and the anxiety he felt about having so many mouths to feed.91

Sometimes Ignatius ordered novices and scholastics out into the streets of Rome to beg. Usually they were led by a lay brother, and they were often accompanied by a grave Father or two. It is a commonplace among fund-raisers that people can always find a reason not to give to a charity. In an instruction of 1554, Ignatius explained how the men he sent out to beg should reply to those who gave various excuses. If they asked about the name of the Society, the suggested reply was that the Pope gave us that name. If they said that Jesuits were fat, they were to reply that even fat people had to eat. If they remarked about how healthy the young Jesuits looked, they were to say that they wanted to

⁸⁹ Epp. VI, 630f., 484, nos. 4389, 4276. Later on, after the death of Ignatius, the popes outlawed such high interest rates.

⁹⁰ Constitutions, [816].

⁹¹ Young, Letters, 357.

use their good health in the service of God. If asked why they were begging, they were to answer that money was badly needed and that Jesuit Fathers had always begged. The beggars were instructed on the routes to take through the streets of Rome and

told to visit the houses of cardinals friendly to the Society.92

How did the Jesuits acquire their competence in matters of finance? There were few books to guide them. It seems that they sought the counsel of men experienced in the field. They exchanged notes with other Jesuits. Finally, they learned by doing. Ignatius was surely an effective financial administrator, as we can see by his letters. And he gets better as he gets older. "Ignatius the mystic was, at the same time, Ignatius the hard-nosed business man; while his soul soared, his feet never left the ground."93 Jesuits also seem to have developed a fellow feeling for merchants as the years passed. Perhaps it was because a good number of their urban clientele came from the merchant class. It is surely true that Jesuit moral theologians were more liberal on the question of lending money at interest than their contemporaries.44

The Fifth Principle of Ignatian Fund-Raising: Honor your friends and show them your gratitude.

e can be brief on this last point, since we have already seen the way Ignatius took care of the requests of his benefactors. Also the elements of an Ignatian theology of gratitude are already available in Hugo Rahner's edition of

⁹² Epp. XII, 656-58.

⁹³ Lucas, "Vineyard," 214f.

⁹⁴ Bertrand, Politique, 251. This is borne out by James Brodrick's The Economic Morals of the Jesuits (Oxford, 1934), which is a defence of the Society's teaching on financial matters.

Ignatius's letters to women. 95 He speaks in the first place of "the ascetic link between poverty and gratitude" and speaks of Ignatius's "helpless gratitude" and "imperishable gratitude."

There are three classic Ignatian texts of gratitude. The first is the Contemplation for Obtaining Love of God in the Spiritual Exercises. This is a long prayer of thanksgiving. The fruit of the exercise is "an intimate knowledge of the many blessings received, that filled with gratitude for all I might love and serve the Divine Majesty" ([233]). The first point of the *Examen* is "to give thanks to God our Lord for the favors received" ([43]). Gratitude is also a powerful theme in Ignatius's "Spiritual Diary."

The second text is in Ignatius's letter of March 18, 1542, to Simão Rodrigues. He is instructing him on how grateful he should be to King John III of Portugal, who at the time was in difficulty with the Pope.

It seems to me in the light of the Divine Goodness, although others may think differently, that ingratitude is the most abominable of sins and that it should be detested in the sight of our Creator and Lord by all of His creatures who are capable of enjoying His divine and everlasting glory. For it is a forgetting of the graces, benefits, and blessings received. As such it is the cause, beginning, and origin of all sins and misfortunes. On the contrary, the grateful acknowledgment of blessings and gifts received is loved and esteemed not only on earth but in heaven. 97

Ignatius then goes on to tell Rodrigues how he is obliged to help settle the quarrel between King John and the Pope. Ignatius is plainly in John's corner, and he quotes a cardinal who praises the devotion of the King to the Church and contrasts it with that of the Italians and the English Henry VIII.

A similar text is found in a letter Ignatius gave to a group of Jesuits leaving Rome in 1555:

⁹⁵ See pp. 169-72 and passim.

⁹⁶ See Iparraguirre and Dalmases, *Obras Completas*, index s.v. "Agradecimiento."

⁹⁷ Young, Letters, 55.

When I judge it in comparison with God's goodness, ingratitude is a characteristic which, in the eyes of our Creator and Lord and in those of his creatures who are worthy to receive divine and eternal glory, is most to be abhorred. It is the greatest of all imaginable sins, for it is the disregard of the blessings, graces, and gifts that we have received; it is the foundation, origin and source of all sins and of all evil. On the other hand, how loved and honoured in heaven is gratitude for all the blessings and gifts we have received!98

All this is spelled out in the first chapter of Part 4 of the Constitutions, which deals with the colleges of the Society. This chapter is devoted to the obligation we have to pray for our benefactors and the ceremonies by which we are to honor them and their descendants. Every Jesuit priest is obligated to offer at least one Mass a month for our benefactors. We no longer give our benefactors a blessed candle bearing their family crest; but, if we are to be true to our heritage, we have to show them the honor they deserve. One of the reasons that Ignatius was a successful fund-raiser was that he followed his own regulations and showed a sincere gratitude to all those whose benefactions enabled the Jesuits to do what they were founded to do, help souls.

Part II: . . . and Those Principles Today

ardinal William Allen, a friend of Fr. Aquaviva, once quoted St. Augustine as saying that two things are necessary for the spread of the kingdom of God, money and a contempt for money.99 He added that God had given him the second, but not the first. Many things have changed in the world since the sixteenth century, but Augustine's (or Allen's) dictum still remains true. It is up to us to find a way to practice Jesuit poverty in a new milieu.

⁹⁸ H. Rahner, Letters to Women, 171. The original is in Gonçalves da Câmara, "Memoriale," Fontes Narrativi de S. Ignatio de Loyola . . . , Monumenta Ignatiana, Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu (Rome, 1943) I:742.

⁹⁹ I have not been able to find this quotation in Augustine.

What Ignatius taught in his first principle remains applicable today. Only today we beg not only for schools but for the missions, retired Jesuits, parishes, retreat houses, publications, the Gregorian University, refugees, the Jesuit Volunteer Corps, and innumerable other causes. Recent history proves that with few exceptions those works not blessed with a fund-raising director do not last long. Now we have to be convinced of the value not only of schools but of many other Jesuit ministries. If we cannot communicate to the population we are serving our commitment to and enthusiasm for our work, then the work will die. There has probably never been a time in the history of the Society when a greater proportion of Jesuits have been engaged in begging, and the proportion can only increase as our numbers decrease.

The second Ignatian principle of letting our light shine is even more true today than it was in Ignatius's time. We live in an age of communication. Personal contacts and letters are still effective; but, if we hope to involve a large public in our works, we have to master the mysteries of bulk mail, publish attractive magazines, produce eye-catching appeals and interesting newsletters. Jesuits have to be present to the people who read newspapers, watch television, and go to films. We have to tell the world about the work we are doing and get people involved.

Leaving aside the third principle for a moment, let us go on to the fourth, managing our assets. Today this is not a matter of choice. Everyone who begs has to render an account of his or her stewardship. The time is not long past when precious few Jesuits knew anything about the finances of the institution in which they served. Now one can inspect the yearly report of most Jesuit enterprises. If one belongs to a professional organization such as the National Catholic Development Council, one is required to publish an annual account of the receipts, expenses, and disbursements. In most cases a vote of a board or a council principally composed of non-Jesuits is necessary to approve the annual budget and most extraordinary expenditures.

The fifth principle of Ignatian fund-raising also retains its value. Anyone who begs today will find himself running errands just as Ignatius did, although they are of a different sort. Fundraisers find themselves writing letters and making phone calls to assist in getting the children of benefactors into the high school, college, or professional school of their choice. They are expected to help in marriage cases, visit donors in the hospital, and attend wakes, weddings, and funerals. Supporters of Jesuit works feel easier about pouring out their troubles and triumphs to the person to whom their checks are directed.

Perhaps the greatest adjustment is needed in the third principle: Know your clients and be patient with their moral failings. Since Ignatius's time there have been a great number of social and political changes in the world. Not all of them spring from Christian roots. Our attitude towards the rich and the powerful owes something to Enlightenment thought and in some cases to socialist philosophy. In our predominantly Anglo-Saxon culture, we are uneasy with the informal connections which are more tolerated in the Latin world in which Ignatius lived. We are less tolerant of nepotism. We find it easier to denounce the rich and the powerful.

In an ideal world our fund-raising would be more democratic. A drive for ten million dollars would be met by a million people giving us ten dollars each, or even by a hundred thousand giving us a hundred dollars each. But that almost never happens. We have to live and serve God in the real world. And in that world we cannot do without big donors who give four-, five-, six-, or even seven-figure gifts.

Granted, today the funds we beg come from a broader spectrum than they did in Ignatius's day; still, we must not forget that the peasant class contributed, though unwillingly in most cases, to the revenue collected by our endowed schools, as we have noted above. We have also noted that some of the gifts we accepted in Ignatius's day caused scandal among the faithful. The

scandal would be immeasurably greater today. Public opinion is a much greater force now, and we have to take that into account.

Still, I think the Ignatian discreta caritas deserves consideration on our part. After all, we are followers of a Lord who loved sinners, not all of them poor. In his classic article "The Ministry of Fund-Raising," Fr. Paul Reinert tells the story of an outstanding business leader who was led to a better life after he became involved in philanthropy. He concludes his account with these words: "It appears that this acquired habit of generous giving has won for him the grace to embrace a much more God-centered religious life than would ever have seemed possible."

In the same article Fr. Reinert lists four qualities necessary for the successful fund-raiser: commitment to and enthusiasm for the cause, unselfishness, and humility. "Asking for money from someone whose wealth has made him or her arrogant or cynical is frequently an heroic act." But he points out that the sacrifice is worthwhile, because the fund-raiser is really helping the donor "to enter a new life, a life filled with new happiness and self-ful-fillment." ¹⁰⁰

Timothy Healy, S.J., also emphasized humility in his 1991 address to the National Catholic Development Conference.

We all learned in our youth the haunting beauty of Christ's image "Unless the grain of wheat falling into the ground die, itself alone remains: but if it die, it brings forth fruit a hundred-fold." There is a kind of dying in any sort of fund-raising. Each time we beg we died to our sense of self-sufficiency, the proud boast that "I am the captain of my soul, I am the master of my fate." Our precious and interior conviction of independence is violated by asking someone else for money, and that is a form of death, sometimes a deeply painful one. . . . There is a wisdom, serious, painful, but profound in beggary. ¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Paul Reinert, S.J, "The Ministry of Fund-Raising," *Human Development* 10 (1989): 37-40.

¹⁰¹ Timothy Healy, S.J., "Why Should a Believing Person Take Comfort in Being a Beggar?" *Dimensions* (National Catholic Development Conference) 26 (Jan. 1992): 12-14.

St. Ignatius does not speak much of the humility needed by the fund-raiser, but I think it is implicit in his life. Like most successful fund-raisers, Ignatius usually got someone else to do the actual asking for him. But he felt an enormous gratitude to those who responded. There is an organic link between gratitude and humility. Hugo Rahner speaks of Ignatius's "helpless gratitude." 102

But when all is said and done, it remains difficult for most Jesuits to think of Ignatius as a fund-raiser or even particularly interested in money. But he was. One only has to read his letters. We still have not appreciated how much our founder found God in the details. 103

¹⁰² Letters to Women, 170.

¹⁰³ See Lucas, "Vineyard," the seventh chapter of which is entitled "God in the Details."



SOURCES

Luis de la Puente, S.J.

Baltasar Álvarez on Joining Virtue with Letters

Father Álvarez (1533–80) was one of the great spiritual directors of the early Society, having guided St. Teresa of Ávila, among others. He was her confessor for six years and, in her words, was the "one who has done me the most good." He entered the Society in 1555 and served at various times as master of novices, rector, tertian instructor, visitor in the Province of Aragon, and, for a brief time before his death, as provincial of Toledo. This is a brief portion of a longer extract from his Life, written by his disciple Luis de la Puente (1554–1624). The translation is by Martin E. Palmer, S.J., of the Institute of Jesuit Sources.

In Salamanca especially, he strove to get the scholastics to join religion with their studies.

For this, he tried in his talks to convince them of some very important truths. Chief among these was the supreme importance of joining spirit with letters, virtue with learning. He used to tell them that these two things were like the two trees planted by God in the middle of Paradise: the tree of life and the tree of knowledge. They are like the two luminaries, the greater and the lesser, which shed their light on the whole world. They are the twofold garments in which the valiant woman clad the members of her household against the cold of the snows, namely, against wickedness and against ignorance. They are also the double spirit that Elisha begged from Elijah at the time of his departure, which St. Bernard calls understanding and settled will. They are

like the Church's two Testaments: the New and the Old, law and grace; and like the two wheels that bear the chariot of God's glory, in which stood the Spirit of life. They are like the two sisters Martha and Mary, who helped each other and dwelt together in the same house. And just as Martha asked for help from her sister Mary, so letters, which get distracted with thinking about many things, need the spirit's help. And in fact the spirit does help letters in many respects.

First of all, the spirit confers authority on letters. As St. Gregory says, if people despise someone's life, they will also despise his teaching. Conversely, if they respect his life, they will likewise hold his teaching in high regard. Second, the Spirit gives life to letters; for, as St. Paul says, the letter alone kills, but the Spirit gives life. Knowledge alone puffs up, but charity builds up. And

woe to that knowledge, says St. Augustine, which does not have charity as its master! This is why David said to our Lord, "Teach me goodness and discipline and knowledge" (Ps. 119:66). And the saint says elsewhere, "Love knowledge, but place charity first." Third, the spirit gives letters the power to persuade people that what they teach is possible. Teaching that is heard, but not seen in practice, appears very difficult; but when seen in practice it appears easy. This is why St. Paul said to Timothy, "Take heed to yourself and to teaching; for in doing this you will save both yourself and the others" (1 Tim. 4:16). Fourth, the spirit gives to letters constancy and perseverance in teaching; for when the spirit fails, the flesh tires and faints.

From this he adduced another consideration on which he laid great stress. The spirit is a great help for growth in letters. First, it purifies one's conscience from faults, so that God, who is the giver of knowledge, may bestow it upon the soul that is clean. He

used to say that a religious wishing to penetrate the Holy Scriptures should work harder at removing his sins than at consulting commentaries, harder at uprooting passions than at paging through codices. For purity of life, as Cassian declares, opens the eye that beholds God. And if God is not hidden to the eye, neither will the things of God, or the secrets of his histories.

He also strove to urge upon them the practice of prayer as a means to knowledge. He said that one knows no less through prayer than through study-speaking as one who himself had experience of the knowledge given him by God through prayer, as stated above. For this purpose he sometimes recounted the story told by Cassian about the abbot Theodore, who achieved more knowledge through purity of heart than by much reading and study. Once, having studied a passage of Scripture and failed to understand it, he turned to prayer and eventually grasped it perfectly.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Editor:

This letter concerns the renewal of guidelines for a kind of prayer each Jesuit is called to by rule, that is, his "yearly Spiritual Exercises for eight successive days."

It is occasioned by the article on Jesuit prayer (Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits 24, No. 1 [January 1992]), in which Fr. Houdek gives a clear summary of the background and text of the Thirty-first General Congregation's decree on the daily personal prayer of Jesuits. His conclusion sounds both accurate and fair: "[GC 31] urges the adaptation of our rule of an hour's prayer so that each Jesuit, guided by his superior, takes into account his particular circumstances and needs, in the light of discerning love: . . . a truly admirable compromise" (p. 14).

This conclusion, together with the decree itself, reminded me of questions I have had for more than ten years. It has touched my work as well as my personal life, since for some years I have been secretary for the retreat apostolate in my province.

Here is the background to my questions. That background includes two important experiences and a currently operative set of guidelines which deal with our annual eight-day retreats. First, in 1972 I made a third thirty-day retreat, my first directed one. For the next two years I felt no need to

follow up that profound experience with eight-day retreats. There was nothing significant to integrate or discern about; a retreat would simply be spiritual frosting, I felt. Since I was working at the province curia at the time, it was a simple matter for me to request an exemption from my provincial. He readily granted it both years.

Then came the decrees of the Thirty-second General Congregation, and I was glad to have the opportunity for a retreat of conversion and integration.

A second experience came some years later when Fr. Gilles Cusson came to our province and gave a week-long seminar on the Spiritual Exercises, particularly on retreats in daily life. In that seminar Fr. Cusson said it was his conviction (and occasional practice) that the nineteenth-annotation variety of retreat could sometimes suffice for a Jesuit's yearly retreat. It made such sense to some of us who heard him explain his reasons and tell of his experience. So a number of Jesuits made such a retreat on their own-and then applied for a validation, which they received. Faced with a new and significant question, however, the provincial brought it up to Fr. General Arrupe. The answer of Fr. Arrupe confirmed the practice under certain conditions. His response was published for the whole Society in Acta Romana 18, No. 1 (1980): 380.

Now, concerning the official guidelines for our yearly retreats, as far as I know they remain what GC 31 decreed (D. 14, n. 16), with the addition of recommendations from GC 32 (D. 11, n. 42) and the above directives of Fr. Arrupe. When I read these guidelines, I see that the Society has come a long way from the rigid norms of the 1950s and earlier. But perhaps not far enough. The decreed norms on daily personal prayer have rightly gone much further, I believe, and perhaps the ones on the annual retreat should go at least as far. Let me explain.

As Fr. Houdek points out in his article, the guidelines on personal prayer arrive at "an admirable compromise [between] the vision of Ignatius and the tradition of Borgia." But the decree on the yearly retreat makes no mention (or use?) of Ignatius's own vision or practice regarding retreats that formed Jesuits repeat on a yearly basis. A return to the spirit of our founder would call for giving greater weight also in this matter to Ignatius's basic principles.

Since neither Ignatius nor his practice is mentioned in the norms which GC 31 gives for the yearly retreat, those norms presumably are based simply on post-Ignatian traditions. And some of the details (for example, the eight days) were apparently agreed on only by successive general congregations. So I ask the following questions about renewing Jesuits' yearly

retreats, with a renewal paralleling that of their daily personal prayer:

- ▶ 1. As a Jesuit's personal prayer is to be subject to the "guidance of his [local] superior," cannot his annual retreat also be under the same guidance? The provincial is much too busy to be able to dialogue with all in the province wishing to make individualized retreats, even though he is to check on them at visitation time.
- ▶ 2. Would it not be better to make the norms for a formed Jesuit's annual or periodic retreat—its frequency, length, and other details—the same as those for daily personal prayer, that is, his "discerning love . . . [according to] his particular circumstances and needs?" Hence, one would be free to make adaptations—for example, make a longer or shorter retreat, occasionally skip a year's retreat, or not use the "method of St. Ignatius"—without going to the provincial.

In conclusion, I would ask if it is not the time to consider from a fresh perspective our understanding and use of periodic repetitions of the Exercises by Jesuits. Automatic, yearly repetitions made out of obligation to a detailed rule are not the way to fulfill post-Vatican II renewal. It was perhaps necessary in 1965 to go slowly in adapting Jesuits' personal use of the Exercises—one member of GC 31 told me that many of its delegates had "despaired" of the Exercises because of how they had been

made and given in the previous decade. But that is no longer true. And the younger generations of Jesuits I know rightly seek deeper spiritual meaning and freedom in their periodic use of the Exercises for personal and apostolic renewal.

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Editor:

This is to thank you (and the author!) for the two contributions of Charles Shelton, "Reflections on the Mental Health of Jesuits" (Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits 23, No. 4 [September 1991]) and "Toward Healthy Jesuit Community Living" (Studies 24, No. 4 [September 1992]). In both I sensed a great affection for brother Jesuits and a deep awareness of so many of the hurts we experience in our Jesuit life together. At the same time I am grateful for the challenges that both pieces present to us to do something about our hurts so as to live lives that are more free and more happy. I am particularly grateful for the suggestions that Shelton proposes for enriching our lives in community.

Although Shelton writes out of the American Jesuit experience, I feel that he touches on the reality of Jesuit life beyond the confines of the United States. So I have made use of his reflections in a retreat to a large community of Jesuits in our province and for a day of recollection with an international community of scholastics, and I intend to do the same with our international tertianship community.

Going beyond our relationships with one another, I am convinced that another sign of Jesuit individual and community health is our ability to work and live with others (especially with our lay collaborators). I am more and more convinced that among ourselves "generous hospitality is rightly considered one of the first and most effective causes of mutual union in the Society" (Statutes on Poverty, no. 27 and Coll. decr. 213 S1). In our day, I believe, we are challenged to extend this hospitality to others who share our spirit and work. Is it fear that prevents us from being open to others, perhaps appealing to an exaggerated need for privacy? I wonder if Shelton would agree with me.

Thank you for the service you are doing for all of us.

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