





STUDIES

IN
THE SPIRITUALITY OF JESUITS

**The Three Forgotten Founders
of the Society of Jesus**

*Paschase Broët
Jean Codure
Claude Jay*

JOHN W. PADBERG, S.J.

THE SEMINAR ON JESUIT SPIRITUALITY

A group of Jesuits appointed from their provinces in the United States.

The Seminar studies topics pertaining to the spiritual doctrine and practice of Jesuits, especially American Jesuits, and communicates the results to the members of the provinces. This is done in the spirit of Vatican II's recommendation that religious institutes recapture the original inspiration of their founders and adapt it to the circumstances of modern times. The Seminar welcomes reactions or comments in regard to the material that it publishes.

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THE THREE FORGOTTEN FOUNDERS
OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS

Paschase Broët (1500-1562)

Jean Codure (1508-1541)

Claude Jay (1504-1552)

John W. Padberg, S.J.

STUDIES IN THE SPIRITUALITY OF JESUITS

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For your information . . .

Some things do happen as predicted!

In the last issue of STUDIES I promised that the CD-ROM containing all the writings of St. Ignatius and the book containing the *Memoriale* and letters of Pierre Favre would soon be available. They are here and available now! Please see the advertisements in this issue of STUDIES for more details and for information on how you can order them.

The “three forgotten founders” presented in this STUDIES are not the only early Jesuits about whom it would be helpful to have several full-length treatments in English. As I mention in the article, Claude Jay does enjoy such attention in Fr. William Bangert’s joint biography of Jay and Salmerón. And Fr. Bangert also published on Nadal in his *Jerome Nadal, S.J.: Tracking the First Generation of Jesuits* (ed. Thomas M. McCoog, S.J. [Chicago: Loyola Press, 1992]). But for Juan Polanco there is no such biography, even though, as *The First Jesuits* says, he along with Ignatius and Nadal was one of “the three [who] outstrip the others by far.” Nor are there such biographies of Simão Rodrigues or Nicolás Bobadilla, who were not by any means simply naysayers or odd characters, as they are sometimes portrayed. They also made serious contributions to the foundations and activities of the Society. If we move somewhat further along in Jesuit history, there is no full biography of Claudio Aquaviva in any language, and yet he was surely the most important general except for Ignatius and also the longest-serving general in our history. It would be easy to name another ten Jesuits from the first century of the Society’s existence for whom we ought to have serious biographies. And this says nothing about the book that sometime ought to be written entitled *The Suppression, Survival, and Restoration of the Society of Jesus*. So you see that there will be enough for a younger generation of Jesuit historians to begin to tackle.

To turn from history to fiction—which has its own truth—you might want to read a recently published and extraordinary novel, *The Sparrow*, by Mary Doria Russell. To give the plot in a nutshell (or part of it), in the year 2019 a radio telescope detects extraordinarily beautiful songs from outer space. The Jesuit general sends an expedition made up of four members of the Society, two laymen and two laywomen, to reach the world from which those songs came. Forty years later one survivor returns in a desperate and disgraced condition. What happened? In a sense, this is in part science fiction but it is far, far more than that. It is a moving story of memorable people in utterly unusual circumstances, who live out the strengths and the weaknesses inherent in their very different and vividly portrayed personalities, and who in all innocence precipitate for the beings they have come to serve and for themselves a tragedy

that they could never have foreseen. And what about the Jesuits specifically? In so many ways the author gets us right, in our attitudes, our training, our activities, our spirituality. How she does this, I do not know. One of the Jesuits is the central figure in the story. He is the person who returns to earth in 2059 to answer the questions about what happened. The whole novel impels the reader to ask questions, basic questions about encountering another people, about our own assumptions, about what good and evil means—about God. But don't worry: while this novel may teach a lot, it is not didactic. Rather, it is an utterly fascinating story, a book that is hard to put down.

Finally, a request. Father George Ganss, who was the founding chairman of the Seminar on Jesuit Spirituality and the first editor of *STUDIES* is, at the age of 91, at work on his memoirs. If any of the readers of these pages have recollections, memories, documents about their relationships with George, or about other incidents that they may recall in his life and work, please send them to me here at the Institute of Jesuit Sources (of which George was also the founder). It would be especially helpful if former members of the Seminar on Jesuit Spirituality between 1969 and 1985, when George was its chairman and editor of *STUDIES*, could respond to this request. Send your own version of the story and/or any documents that you think might be useful. Both George and I will be most grateful for any help you can give.

John W. Padberg, S.J.
Editor

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The introduction places Favre's life and work in its historical setting, discusses the characteristics of spiritual autobiography, deals with the discernment of spirits in Favre's work, describes the several versions of the text of the *Memoriale*, puts in context the letters and instructions included in this volume, and tells what happened to the memory of and devotion to Favre after his death.

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Preface

This essay was inspired by the July-December 1990 issue of *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* (vol. 59, no. 118) published on the occasion of the 450th anniversary of the Society of Jesus and the 500th anniversary of St. Ignatius of Loyola's birth. To commemorate those two happy events, the journal published brief, source-documented, chronological lives of the nine companions of St. Ignatius. For every entry in that chronology, the authors, all members of the Jesuit Historical Institute in Rome, gave a meticulously researched reference or references to the relevant primary and secondary sources substantiating the entry. Fr. Mario Colpo, S.J., was the author of the *Archivum Historicum* lives of Paschase Broët and Jean Codure, and Father László Szilas, S.J., the author of the life of Claude Jay.

Many of the early Jesuits are already the subjects of detailed English-language biographies. For others no such easily available resource exists. Of the three founders dealt with in this essay, only Claude Jay has thus benefited from such a biography, *Claude Jay and Alfonso Salmerón: Two Early Jesuits* by Father William V. Bangert, S.J. Broët and Codure have thus far been neglected.

This essay on the "three forgotten founders" is not a translation of those chronological biographies by Frs. Colpo and Szilas, but it has drawn extensively on the resources therein provided as well as on those available in Fr. Bangert's book. To all three of those authors the present writer expresses his appreciation and thanks.

As a special feature of this issue of STUDIES, illustrative of the activities of these three founding Jesuits, we present in the Sources section English translations of a letter by Broët, a text from Codure's development of the *Spiritual Exercises*, and two letters by Jay.

THE THREE FORGOTTEN FOUNDERS OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS

Paschase Broët, Jean Codure, Claude Jay

Introduction

This essay briefly recounts the story of the lives and activities of three of the ten men who together were the first members of the Society of Jesus, the three who are often forgotten when we tell the story of its founding.¹

The usual answer to the question “Who founded the Society of Jesus?” is “Ignatius of Loyola.” And, of course, in so many ways that is true. The Society of Jesus owes more to Ignatius for its very life as a religious order, its structure, its “way of proceeding,” than to any of the other *primi patres*. But it is also true that in the final analysis it was ten men who first met in Paris during the years 1528 to 1536 and who joined hands and hearts in a series of activities that resulted in the Society of Jesus. Together they vowed poverty and chastity, as well as a pilgrimage and perhaps a stay in the Holy Land. Together they did apostolic work in central and northern Italy in 1537. They decided to call themselves the “Compañía de Jesús,” and offered themselves in 1538 through the Pope for the service of the universal Church. Together they deliberated on their future, and agreed in 1539 to

¹ The first “Jesuits” include more than these ten, especially Juan Polanco and Jerónimo Nadal, as John W. O’Malley, S.J., conclusively demonstrates in his excellent book *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993). But among them all, these ten are the “Founding Jesuits.”

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submit to the Pope a project for a new religious order. They received on September 27, 1540, the papal document of approval, *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae*, voted for the first general superior that same year, and pronounced for the first time their religious vows as Jesuits in 1541.

Too often, the usual answer to the question “Who were the first Jesuits?” is “Seven men: Ignatius of Loyola, Francis Xavier, Pierre Favre, Diego Laínez, Alfonso Salmerón, Simão Rodrigues, and Nicolás Bobadilla.” It is true that they were the members of a group that gathered at Montmartre on August 15, 1534, and first took the vows mentioned above. But they did so as individuals with no intention yet of becoming religious, much less of founding a new order. Before they formed that decision, three other men became part of that group of “friends in the Lord,” the result of Ignatius’s hitherto unsuccessful attempt to gather together a group of companions imbued with and sharing his vision of the loving service of Jesus Christ.

Too seldom do those three other companions from the Paris years, Jean Codure, Paschase Broët, and Claude Jay, gain remembrance or recognition as part of that group, the ten “first fathers” of the Society of Jesus. Yet, as all the activities noted above bear witness, they, too, fully participated in the founding of the Society of Jesus.

If the Society of Jesus fundamentally received its spirituality from the charism and the activities of its first members, and if it wants to be faithful to that charism, carry on those activities, and live out that spirituality in accord with today’s needs, our knowledge of who Ignatius of Loyola and each of his nine companions were and what they did is of major importance to us.

This present study is not an exhaustive and detailed treatment of Paschase Broët, Jean Codure, and Claude Jay; this would be impossible in the limited space of an issue of *STUDIES*. Rather than three full-length portraits set against a detailed background, this essay presents a series of snapshots of these three, in order to focus our attention more explicitly on them and their activities, to deepen our appreciation of them, and to help round out in our own minds the story of the establishment of the Society of Jesus.

The essay will begin with Broët, Codure, and Jay as each of them lived before they first came under the influence of the first Paris companions of Ignatius. At that point, their lives and activities blended with the lives and activities of the whole group of friends in the Lord in Paris, on the road, and in Venice and northern Italy until they came to Rome in May 1538. There, along with all the other companions, they offered themselves to the Pope for service anywhere in the world. When Paul III took the companions at their word and began to send them on mission, their stories enter

a rhythm of travel and return. Finally, the stories of each of them will again be separate but also corporate, because they are brethren now in this new religious order.

The three could be presented in any one of several orders: by year of birth—Broët (1500), Jay (1504), Codure (1508); by year of entrance into the companionship—Jay (1535), Broët and Codure (1536); by year of death—Codure (1541) at the young age of thirty-three, having lived hardly more than a year after the establishment of the Society; Jay (1552) still young at 48, it might seem today, but beyond the normal life expectancy of the time, while Ignatius was still general of the Society and in the same year that Francis Xavier died; Broët (1562) during the term of the second general, Diego Laínez. Each arrangement has its advantages and disadvantages; but for the sake of simplicity, we shall begin by presenting them alphabetically, then go on to present them as part of the whole group of ten companions, and finally and at greatest length we shall present them as they lived out the rest of their lives in their widespread and sometimes overlapping apostolates as members of this new religious order, the Society of Jesus.

Beginnings, 1500–1537

PASCHASE BROËT (1500?–)

Paschase Broët was born in Picardy, France, in the small town of Bertrancourt, perhaps midway between the larger cities of Amiens and Arras. The year of his birth is unknown; but given his ordination to the priesthood on March 12, 1524, that year cannot have been later than 1500, for otherwise he would have been under the canonical age for ordination. He was one of five sons and daughters of a well-to-do farmer, who was prosperous enough to provide the endowment that allowed Paschase to be ordained *titulo patrimonii*, with an annual income of twenty-four Touraine gold pieces, quite enough to support him. After ordination he remained in Picardy until at least late in 1532.²

Sometime between late 1532 and 1533, Broët began university studies in Paris in the Faculty of Arts where, as usual, the major subject was philosophy. He resided at the Collège de Calvi, founded centuries before by Robert Sorbonne for humanists and artists and located near the quarters of

² All of this information on Broët, originally collected around 1625 and sent to and preserved in the Jesuit archives in Rome, was used in J. M. Prat, *Memoirs pour servir à l'histoire du père Broët et des origines de la Compagnie de Jésus en France* (Le Puy, 1885), 557–59.

the theology faculty. In the autumn of 1533, Nicolás Bobadilla took up at Calvi the post of regent of philosophy (Francis Xavier occupied a similar post at Ste.-Barbe). Three years later Broët received his licentiate of arts on March 14, 1536, the same day as Simão Rodrigues and Jean Codure received theirs. No documentary evidence has come to light that he received the master of arts degree, but he was always addressed as "Master," just as were all the other companions who had received that degree. Nor do the sources speak of theology studies in Paris, perhaps because he had sufficiently fulfilled the requirements before his ordination.

Close to the time when Broët received the licentiate, Pierre Favre directed him in the Spiritual Exercises. The result was the same as for Jay in 1535 and for Codure in 1536. On August 15, 1536, Broët and Codure bound themselves by the same vows as the other seven companions, while those still in Paris again renewed their vows. Ignatius, of course, was absent: failing health had prompted him to leave for Spain in late March or early April 1535, after confiding the group of companions to the direction of Pierre Favre.

JEAN CODURE (1508-)

Jean Codure, son of a French royal notary, was born on June 24, 1508, in Seyne, a town in the Alps, part of the present-day Département des Alpes de Haute-Provence. Records of his birth and baptism are no longer extant, having been burned by the Huguenots at some time during the religious wars of the century; but a memorial tablet later erected at his father's house gives his date of birth. Apparently the only document about Codure that survives from his birthplace is a will written by his father and dated March 17, 1541, a few months before his son, Jean, died; it left him money to pay for his university studies in Paris and elsewhere. By that time he was a member of the Society of Jesus.

Sometime between October and December 1534, Codure, a gracious and charming Provençal, with a baccalaureate in theology already in hand and already clerically tonsured, enrolled at the University of Paris. He boarded in one of the university colleges, Lisieux, near the Collège of Ste.-Barbe where Ignatius, Favre, and Xavier lived. In 1536, in order to maintain his moral life in a less-than-supportive university setting, he asked Pierre Favre, already a priest, to be his spiritual director. Favre directed him through the Spiritual Exercises. In March of that year he received the licentiate in arts. On August 15, 1536, at Montmartre, along with Paschase Broët he took the vows which Jay had pronounced the year before (1535) and the first companions two years before that (1534). Just about three

weeks after those vows, on September 14, he became a master of arts; a document dated a month later witnesses to his having attended courses in theology at the university for a year and a half. The remaining five years of Codure's short life were to be caught up completely in the founding events of the Society of Jesus in Rome and in apostolates in the nearby vicinity.

CLAUDE JAY (1504-)

Born sometime between 1500 and 1504, and most likely in the latter year, in the village of Vulliets in Savoy, near the small town of Mieussy about twenty miles from Geneva, Claude Jay came from a family with ancient roots in the region, one whose name through the years was variously spelled—Jay, Gex, Gets, and Jayz. In the Society of Jesus the name has often but incorrectly been rendered as Le Jay. He may have begun his schooling under an uncle who was a priest in a nearby village. Some twenty miles to the south was the town of Villaret, where he and Pierre Favre, a fellow Savoyard and a friend for almost his entire life, attended school together for some years under the tutelage of Pierre Veillard, a priest noted for learning and piety. Jay received there much of his education from literary through theological studies and was ordained a priest at Geneva on March 28, 1528. This was some three years after Favre, a nineteen-year-old, had left Savoy for Paris and its university. Jay, a pleasant person of medium height, blond hair, and grey eyes, settled down to running a small school in his native land.³

In 1533 Favre returned to Savoy for a visit, after having become under Ignatius's guidance "one in will and desire" with him to serve the Lord. Favre suggested to Jay that he further his studies at the University of Paris. A year later, in October 1534, Jay himself came to Paris, just a few weeks after Ignatius and his six companions had climbed Montmartre to take their vows of poverty, chastity, and pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Jay, too, enrolled at the Collège de Ste.-Barbe. Shortly thereafter, Favre directed him in the Spiritual Exercises. At the university he then continued the studies he had begun in his native Savoy and rather quickly took his licentiate examination on March 6, 1535. When the companions renewed their vows on August 15, 1535, Jay for the first time took the same vows and joined the group. He received his master of arts degree in October 1536. During the years 1535 to 1537, he also attended lectures in theology. A month later, on either November 9 or 15, 1536, he and the other eight companions in Paris set out for Venice where, as they had earlier arranged, they were to meet Ignatius and await a ship to carry them on their pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

³ William V. Bangert, *Claude Jay and Alfonso Salmerón* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1985), 5.

With Jay from 1535 and Broët and Codure from 1536, the group of ten men who were to become the *primi patres* of the Society of Jesus was now complete. They set out on their trip to Venice two months earlier than originally planned, because war had broken out once again between Francis I of France and Emperor Charles V. Although it was a longer route, they went first by way of neutral Lorraine to avoid endangering the Spaniards among them by remaining too long in French territory; their path next led them through Alsace and Metz to Basel, then through the Alpine mountains and valleys of a Protestant part of Switzerland, the Vorarlberg, the Tyrol, Merano, and Trent.

Simão Rodrigues, forty years after the event, in the account of the origin and progress of the Society that he wrote in 1577 for the general, Everard Mercurian, gives a vivid account of the journey. Even though “they were so happy that their feet didn’t seem to be touching the ground at all,” the five Spanish-speaking and four French-speaking travelers had to be careful whenever they encountered hostile soldiers of both sides. So they had a stock answer in one or the other language: “Students of Paris on pilgrimage to St. Nicholas du Port,” a French shrine, or “Spanish gentlemen on pilgrimage to Loreto,” both correct, even if they did not state their ultimate destination. At Metz the citizens thought they had flown in, because the dangers were too great by land; by the time they reached Basel, they were “half-dead . . . and almost undone by the rigors of cold and snow.” Near Constance they got into a vigorous debate on religion with the local Protestant pastor, a former Catholic priest, who at one point invited them to dinner, an invitation that they refused, saying, “What do you take us for?” After their separate meals, all began to debate so ardently that the pastor lost his temper and threatened to have all nine of them thrown into jail the next morning. Fortunately, the heat of argument abated overnight.

Finally, they arrived in Venice on January 8, 1537, where “with great delight of soul they found Ignatius awaiting them.”⁴

⁴ Simão Rodrigues, “De origine et progressu Societatis Iesu,” in *Epistolæ PP. Paschasis Broëti, Claudii Jaji, Joannis Codurii, et Simonis Rodericii*, vol. 24 of *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu* (Madrid, 1903, reprinted 1971), 451–517. The incident described here and many others are set forth on pp. 462–74. Hereafter this source is referred to as *MonBroët* and the Monumenta series as MHSI.

Venice and Rome, 1537–1538

While they awaited a ship bound for the Holy Land, the eleven set to work in two Venetian hospitals, SS. John and Paul and the Incurables.⁵ Day and night it was their job to “take care of the beggars, make the beds, sweep the building, get rid of the dirt, wash the dishes of the sick, prepare the corpses, dig the graves and bury the dead.”⁶ There was as yet no preaching apostolate; they did not know Italian and only three of the group were priests, Favre, Broët, and Jay.

In March 1537 the whole group went to Rome—all except Ignatius, who worried that he would receive a hostile reception there—to request from Pope Paul III, permission for the Jerusalem journey. They were very well received. The Pope had them discuss theology in his presence at Castel Sant’Angelo, and gave them the requisite pilgrimage license. He was so impressed that he also gave the priests among them permission to preach and hear confessions anywhere without having to request faculties from the local bishop; those who were not yet priests he permitted to be ordained when they wished, under whatever “title” they wished, at any time of the year, by any bishop they chose. Granting all of these permissions at once was an extraordinary departure from the usual canonical rules and procedures.

Between June 10 and 24 all the nonpriests, Ignatius among them—with the exception of Salmerón, who had not yet attained even the absolutely minimum age of twenty-three—were ordained to minor orders, subdiaconate, diaconate, and priesthood under the titles of “voluntary poverty” and “adequate knowledge.” They all decided that before offering their first Masses they would prepare themselves by three months of solitude, contemplation, and penance. At the end of July, they left Venice itself in groups of two or three chosen by lot. Broët and Bobadilla went to Verona, Codure and Hozes to Treviso, Jay and Rodrigues to Bassano. When Rodrigues fell seriously ill there, Ignatius rushed from Vicenza to be at his side. At this same time Favre and Laínez were carrying on their ministry at Vicenza, Xavier and Salmerón at Monselice near Padua.

⁵ Now eleven, because Ignatius in Venice had received into the companionship Diego Hozes, a priest from Andalusia in Spain. Worn out from his labors, he died at the hospital for the poor in Padua in May 1538, just an hour after he had preached in the public square on the gospel verse “Watch and pray.” He was the first of this little group to go to his reward.

⁶ Rodrigues, in *MonBroët*, 474.

Near the end of September 1537, earlier than originally planned, all eleven regrouped at Vicenza. Five of the newly ordained celebrated their first Masses there or in the vicinity—all, that is, except Ignatius, who still hoped to celebrate it in Bethlehem, and Rodrigues, who did so a few weeks later in Ferrara. Then they decided to occupy the remaining months before the hoped-for Jerusalem pilgrimage in carrying on a variety of apostolates and giving the Spiritual Exercises in the nearby university towns in northern Italy, perhaps with the hope that new recruits might join them, a hope that was not to be fulfilled.

BROËT went with Salmerón to Siena, except for a brief time when they were both at Monselice, where Salmerón spent another two weeks preparing for his ordination. Then for better than six months, until April 1538, the two of them worked in Siena. First, the local archbishop had these unknown priests examined in theology, then he had them preach in his chapel, and eventually allowed them to preach in the principal squares, hear confessions, and teach catechism to large numbers of children—all to his satisfaction and joy. From this period survives a physical description of Broët: “a well-built man, handsome, with an attractive reddish beard and a splendid profile.”⁷

In April 1538 Broët responded to Ignatius’s request that the whole group come to Rome; and so, in company with Xavier, Jay, and Bobadilla, who had joined him in Siena, he arrived in Rome during Holy Week. For almost a year, until the next spring of 1539, Broët was involved in a wide variety of apostolic works there, and had a share in all the trials, tribulations, and successes of the whole group.

CODURE and Hozes went to Padua in October 1537, where they met a chilly first reception, to say the least. The auxiliary bishop of the diocese, suspicious of these new priests, clapped them into prison overnight. They were happy to be there for the sake of the Lord, and the next morning they were released with all the faculties they needed to preach and carry on their “customary ministries.” This they did until March 1538, preaching in the churches of the city and in the public squares, urging confession and Communion, teaching catechism, working in the hospitals, begging from door to door, and living in the poorhouse.⁸ When Hozes died in March, Rodrigues came from Ferrara to help Codure, who fell seriously ill soon

⁷ *MonBroët*, 197.

⁸ Juan de Polanco, S.J., *Vita Ignatii Loyolæ et rerum Societatis Iesu historia*, 6 vols., MHSI (Madrid, 1894–98), 1:62 and *Fontes Narrativi de S. Ignatio de Loyola et de Societatis Iesu initiis*, 4 vols., MHSI (Rome: 1960), 3:90, 92. These two works are subsequently referred to as *Chronicon* and *FN*.

afterwards. A wealthy cleric took care of him and a well-to-do widow gave Rodrigues a place to stay. In the spring, at Ignatius's request, they arrived in Rome on April 21, 1538.

From May to September 1538, Codure spent most of his time as a confessor and a catechist, but unlike the others, he apparently did not engage in preaching. As a member of the group, he was among those accused of heresy and finally vindicated in the formal process demanded by Ignatius. But Codure encountered an additional problem. One of his women penitents was caught in an illicit relation with a man.⁹ Perhaps cases like this prompted Ignatius to recommend that the group not work with women unless their social condition demanded it.

JAY and Rodrigues went to Ferrara in that initial dispersal of the group in the autumn of 1537. They worked there until April 1538, where the Este dynasty maintained one of the most brilliant, beautiful, and dubious (in every sense) Renaissance courts. Duke Ercole, a Catholic of his time, was the son of Alfonso I and Lucrezia Borgia, the daughter of Pope Alexander VI. His wife, Renée, daughter of King Louis XII of France, was a proponent of Protestant ideas. While still at home in France, she had received spiritual direction from John Calvin, who used to visit her regularly. Vittoria Colonna, the widowed marchesa of Pescara, who was one of the great poets of Italy and a convinced Christian humanist, was now at that court too. When Jay and Rodrigues arrived, Duchess Renée's entourage was in prison for reasons that were religious, to be sure, but mostly political. Bernardo Ochino, at that time the most celebrated preacher in Italy and a future vicar-general of the new Capuchin order, arrived a month after the two companions. Later he was to apostatize and become a Protestant.

Jay and Rodrigues went to lodge at a poor city hospice. The account of their reception is worth the telling.

The care of the hospice was in the hands of a shrewish old woman who permitted no one to get into bed with any clothes on. . . . She insisted that each resident take off all his clothes . . . in her presence, so that if any were found to be full of sores or showed other signs of disease, they could be shunted elsewhere. . . . Those who were in good condition . . . got into bed. Our two brethren, to whom a single bed had been assigned, had to undress and stand naked before the eyes of this old woman. In this most difficult of situations they handled themselves with as delicate modesty as possible.¹⁰

⁹ FN, 1:498.

¹⁰ Rodrigues, in *MonBroët*, 495–96, as quoted in Bangert, *Jay and Salmerón*, 23.

Jay and Rodrigues began to preach. News of them got about. Vittoria Colonna rescued them from the hospice and got them lodging at another house for the poor, one that was still simple but more suitable. When she eventually returned to Rome, she became one of the great benefactors of Ignatius at the House of Saint Martha that he had established as a refuge for prostitutes who were trying to reform their lives. As the two companions became known in the city, Duke Ercole listened to their sermons, confessed to Jay, received Communion from him, and promised to finance their voyage to the Holy Land. Then in the spring of 1538, when Hozes died at Padua, Rodrigues went there to help Codure, and Bobadilla left Xavier in Bologna to help Jay in Ferrara. Soon, however, all of them were on their way to Rome. There, from April until November 18, 1538, when the governor of Rome gave them the official document that Ignatius had insisted upon, thus vindicating them all of the calumnious charges against them, heresy included, they passed troubled yet fruitful months in the apostolate.¹¹

Missions from the Pope, 1539

Not a week later, between November 18 and 23, 1538, after being cleared of all suspicion, the ten companions offered themselves to the Pope, ready to be sent anywhere in the world. It had become obvious to them that the pilgrimage to Jerusalem did not lie in their future. Up to this point, they had pronounced no vows and had no intentions to found a religious order. Their offering of themselves was the fulfillment of the decision at Montmartre to put themselves at the disposition of the Pope as a more certain way of discovering where in this whole wide world God wished them to labor. The first place the Pope sent them officially was to the schools in Rome to teach catechism. But soon after that, another task thrust itself upon them. Cold and famine together, from Christmas almost to May 1539, brought the city its worst winter in forty years. The companions took on the work of housing and feeding the huddled, frozen poor. They begged provisions and sheltered four hundred in their own house and another two thousand in buildings in other parts of the city. And on

¹¹ During all that time, they were all fully occupied in Rome. Ignatius wrote in a letter that "there have never failed to be two or three sermons on each feast. Likewise two instructions in theology, other fathers being occupied in hearing confessions or in giving the Spiritual Exercises" (see Hugo Rahner, S.J., Letter to Isabel Roser, December 19, 1538, in *Ignatius of Loyola: Letters to Women*, trans. Kathleen Pond and A. H. Weetman [Edinburgh and London: 1960], 273).

Christmas day, Ignatius finally celebrated his first Mass in the Chapel of the Manger in the Basilica of St. Mary Major.

BROËT was the first to receive a mission from the Pope. In March 1539 Paul III (through Cardinal Carafa) ordered him to go to Siena to settle a controversy raging in a convent of Benedictine religious women. He was to go when he judged best and take along as his companion whomever he thought best. This, along with other "missions" given to the companions, formed the background of "the deliberation of the first fathers" through the spring and early summer of 1539, resulting in the decision of the companions to establish a religious order.¹² The handwritten account of those meetings is still preserved in the archives of the Society in Rome, penned either by Codure, Favre, or perhaps Antonio Strada.¹³ Only after April 15, when the companions decided to take a vow of obedience to one of themselves as superior and after Broët had signed that declaration and the promise to become a member of the future institute, did he and Rodrigues leave for Siena, taking with them a young recruit, Francesco Strada, destined to be one of the brilliant early Jesuits.¹⁴ While the remaining companions were continuing their deliberations, the Pope instructed them to choose two of their members as assistants for the new papal legate of Parma and Piacenza. They choose Favre and Láinez.

CODURE, on June 24, 1539, the very day that the companions concluded their three months of deliberation, went to Velletri to preach daily for three weeks. He then came back to Rome and stayed there until Advent, when he went to Tivoli to hear confessions and "to preach in a

¹² For an English translation of the text of the "Deliberation," see Jules J. Toner, S.J., "The Deliberation That Started the Jesuits," in *STUDIES IN THE SPIRITUALITY OF JESUITS* 6, no. 4 (June 1974.)

¹³ Since arriving in Rome, the group of ten had welcomed into their company seven new companions, all except one a Spaniard. They were Diego de Cáceres, the two Strada brothers, Antonio and Francesco, the two Eguía brothers, Diego and Esteban, Antonio Araoz, who was a nephew of Ignatius, and Bartolomeu Ferrão, a Portuguese. All of these seem to have participated in the deliberation; but only the ten original members of the group and, curiously, Cáceres, signed the April 15, 1539, document stating that it was right to vow obedience to a superior and that they offered themselves to enter "this same Company if it is confirmed by the Pope, the Lord so willing." In making this offering, however, they did not as yet intend to bind themselves by vow. Cáceres had taken no vows, was ordained a priest in 1541 or 1542, but broke definitively with the Society in 1542. He later had a rather checkered career as a secret agent and possibly a double agent of the king of Navarre, Francis I.

¹⁴ *MonBroët*, 417f.

gracious and pithy manner on the streets, in the churches, and in the squares of the city” (ibid.).

JAY worked with great success during the last half of 1538 especially at the national church of the French in Rome, San Luigi dei Francesi, and later also at the church of Sant’Angelo in Pescaria. In addition, of course, he took part in all the other apostolates of the group and in the deliberations held during the spring of 1539. He continued his work in Rome until March of 1540, when he received a mission from the Pope to go to Bagnorea, a very small town about fifty miles north of Rome. The place was riven by blood feuds, “yes, even among some clerics and canons, which have their roots in murders and other acts of violence that feed the spirit of discord.”¹⁵ The same letter gives a good description of the kind of works included among the “customary ministries” of the Society.

On Palm Sunday . . . I delivered my first sermon. I then kept at the work of preaching for several days. . . . Each day my audience grew. . . . They came to confession, first the city’s rulers and then the greater portion of the citizens. So great have been the crowds, which increase daily, that there is not enough time in the day to take care of them all. And at present I cannot get away from the church until the middle of the night.

Then there are the children . . . with their lively interest in learning the commandments, the Creed and other rudiments of Christian doctrine. (ibid.)

After Bagnorea, it was Brescia, where Francesco Strada was already at work. To this city, among the first in Italy to listen with favor to Lutheran teachings, Ignatius sent Jay, a trained theologian, in the fall of 1540, so that he could assist Strada.

The Society of Jesus, 1540–

In 1540, later than expected after the deliberations of 1539, the Society of Jesus came into being as a religious order. After the discussions of the spring of that year had successfully ended, the companions had commissioned Ignatius to bring together the results of the meeting in what came to be known as the “Five Chapters” or the “First Sketch of the Institute of the Society of Jesus” (“Prima Societatis Iesu Instituti summa”). He finished this by the end of June or the beginning of July 1539 and gave it to Cardinal Contarini for presentation to the Pope. Contarini was a layman and one of the most distinguished and influential reform-minded cardinals at the papal

¹⁵ Ibid., 266, quoted in Bangert, *Jay and Salmerón*, 38.

court, a man whom Paul III deeply trusted. He had made the Spiritual Exercises under Ignatius at Venice and greatly admired him. After receiving the document, Paul III turned it over to his official theologian, Thomas Badia, a Dominican, who passed a favorable judgment upon it. On September 2 Contarini read the "Sketch" and Badia's opinion to the Pope. Paul verbally approved it and ordered the necessary official documents to be drawn up. Because of the unusual characteristics of this new Society, a year of discussion and delay elapsed before these documents were ready. Ignatius had recourse to prayer and exerted whatever influence he could bring to bear. Letters flowed into Rome and the papal court from the cities of northern Italy where these "reformed priests" were working. To cite but one instance, from Ferrara, where Jay had labored, Duke Ercole d'Este wrote to Ignatius to tell him that he was commending the group to his brother, Cardinal Ippolito d'Este (the builder of the famous Villa d'Este at Tivoli). Finally, on September 27, 1540, Pope Paul III signed the document *Regimini militantis Ecclesiæ*, making of this companionship a canonically established religious order. Only Ignatius, Codure, and Salmerón were in Rome on that date. The others were "on mission."

It was now time to draw up constitutions and to elect the new superior general of the Society of Jesus. Up to the present, each had taken a turn, a week at a time, as head of the group. Only six of the first ten could easily be on hand for these important matters—Broët, Codure, Jay, Laínez, Salmerón, and Ignatius himself. Among those away from Rome on "missions" from the Pope, Favre had already started on his six years of apostolic journeying across Europe, Xavier was on his way to India, Rodrigues was overwhelmed with work and honors from the King in Lisbon, Bobadilla was preaching in Naples and its environs and then in Calabria. When Ignatius in September 1540 asked Bobadilla to return to Rome from his "mission" there, he replied that such a request had to come from the Pope.

Three of the four absent brethren had left behind signed and sealed ballots for the election of the general and delegated to the six available in or around Rome their proxies in the preparation of the first constitutions. Bobadilla, the nonparticipating member, said that "as far as the constitutions go, there will be time in the future to consider the matter and to draw them up." On March 4, 1541, the six in Rome, in their own names and in the names of the absent members, signed a document drawn up by Codure, entrusting to Ignatius and Codure the tasks of studying the documents already adopted, of interpreting them, of letting the others know about questions that arose, and of writing the first draft of the *Constitutions*. Within a week the two of them set to work; and by the end of the month

or the beginning of April, the *Constitutions of 1541* were completed, approved, and signed by the six.

Next came the election of the general. On April 8, 1541, after three days of prayer, they unanimously chose Ignatius. Bobadilla either had not sent a ballot or it had not arrived in time. Ignatius himself had voted, “excluding myself . . . for the one who will receive a majority of votes for that office.” Now that the choice had fallen upon him, he declined the position and requested a new election. On April 13 the second balloting produced the same result. Ignatius again demurred. At this point, Laínez rose and said that “if the person elected persisted in evading the responsibility which, from all the evidence, the Lord imposed upon him, he [Laínez] too would withdraw from the Society of Jesus, for he did not feel disposed to obey a superior who was not selected by God.”¹⁶ Ignatius then asked to be allowed to consult his Franciscan confessor. Only after the response from the confessor arrived did Ignatius accept the position on April 19.

Three days later, on April 22, the six companions in Rome went to the Basilica of St. Paul outside the Walls; there, for the first time, at a Mass celebrated by Ignatius, they pronounced their vows as members of the Society of Jesus. Then they embraced each other “with no lack of devotion, feeling and tears.”¹⁷ After that they visited other “stational churches” of Rome. Along the way, Codure sang and wept.¹⁸ Ribadeneira, who was present for the occasion and who prepared a meal for them that evening, was struck by Codure’s extraordinary happiness. “He could in no way keep it inside himself, so that it simply bubbled out of him.”¹⁹ Four months later, Codure was dead.

Everywhere in the World, 1541–1562

While the activities that went into papal approval of the Society and the election of the General were taking place, the companions occupied themselves individually in the variety of missions

¹⁶ Niccolò Orlandini, S.J., *Historia Societatis Iesu*, part 1 (Rome, 1614), 74, §8, quoted in André Ravier, *Ignatius of Loyola and the Founding of the Society of Jesus*, trans. Maura Daly, Joan Daly, and Carson Daly (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1987), 115.

¹⁷ *FN*, 1:22.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 4:370f. and Pietro Tacchi Venturi, *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia*, 3 vols. (Rome: La Civiltà Cattolica, 1950–51), 2, part 2: 14.

¹⁹ Pedro Ribadeneira, S.J., *Vita Ignatii Loyolæ*, vol. 4 of *FN*, vol. 93 of *MHSI* (Rome, 1572), book 3, chap. 1, §8 (p. 371).

confided to them as noted earlier in this account. Some of those tasks took several of the men far away from Rome for a long time, Xavier permanently to Asia. Some involved tasks close to Rome, upon the accomplishment of which the companions returned to the city. Ignatius stayed in Rome almost all of the time. Of the three men with whom this study is concerned, Codure was originally in 1540 to go as a member of a mission to a far-distant land, Ireland. Broët took his place when that mission finally got underway in 1541. Jay went to Faenza a few weeks after the vows at St. Paul's and, after six months there, to Germany for four years. Now that these three companions were being dispersed "into the vineyard of Christ our Lord," it is time to take up their separate stories again.²⁰

JEAN CODURE, 1540-1541

As early as March 1540, at the request of Robert Wauchope, a Scotsman appointed archbishop of Armagh and primate of Ireland but prevented from ever going there because of Henry VIII's break with Rome and his assertion of supremacy over the church in his domain, Pope Paul III decided to send a fact-finding and spiritual mission to Ireland. (Wauchope earlier studied in Paris and since 1526 was teaching at the university during the time the companions were there.) The Pope appointed as nuncios Codure and a priest from Arezzo, Francisco Marsuppini, who was both a canon and a civil lawyer. This was to be the first time that one of the companions would be sent on a mission outside Italy. A rough draft of the brief setting forth the tasks and giving the requisite faculties for the Irish mission still exists, but the mission itself was put off for the time being.²¹

Another mission soon followed with momentous consequences for the Society and the Church. The Pope asked that two men go to Portugal and India, but left it to the companions to decide who should go. After giving it much thought and prayer, they chose Rodrigues and Bobadilla. In the event, it was Rodrigues and Xavier who went to Portugal; later Xavier set off alone for the Indies and his extraordinary evangelizing career. Because these missions took some of the companions so far from Rome, Codure was asked to draw up the document mentioned earlier that gave the six residents in Rome or nearby the right to make decisions relating to the Society and its prospective constitutions.

²⁰ "Into the vineyard of the Lord" is part of the title of Part VII of the *Constitutions*, which deals with the apostolic activities of the members of the Society.

²¹ *MonBroët*, 421-23.

During the months of 1540 while the brethren waited for the Society to be canonically established, Codure seems to have taken on the job of secretary for the group in place of the departed Xavier, who had earlier carried out those responsibilities. Codure also had a reputation for being an excellent confessor, and the Pope chose him to act as such for Margaret of Austria, natural daughter of Emperor Charles V and now young wife of the Pope's grandson, Ottavio Farnese. It was a formidable task. She was in every sense of the word a great woman, with a strong will, an ardent temperament, and a natural aptitude for ruling; and the Pope was clearly devoted to her and to his grandson.

In early 1541 a new attempt took place to set on foot the mission to Ireland. This time the two men appointed were Salmerón and again Codure. A new papal brief was drawn up, new letters of recommendation were written to Cardinal Beaton, primate of Scotland, to James V, its king, and to the princes and people of Ireland. Scotland entered into the plans because in that country they would try to learn what they could about the situation and, depending upon the information garnered, sail on to Ireland.

Meanwhile, as secretary for the Society, Codure worked with Ignatius not only on the draft of the *Constitutions of 1541* but he also prepared two other draft documents, the first on the question of the poverty of professed houses and the second on "colleges," that is, residences for young Jesuits who were to be university students.²² Both of them influenced the work on the later text by Ignatius.

Another work is attributed to him. He is in all likelihood the author of a series of pages that more fully develop the *Spiritual Exercises*, this time not for the director but for the person making the Exercises. It is the very first such work ever written. Later Ignatius gathered up and arranged these notes, corrected them somewhat, and wrote at the top of each page, "Notebooks of Master John."²³

On August 29, 1541, as Ignatius was on the way to celebrate Mass at the church of San Pietro in Montorio, he suddenly stopped at the Ponte Sisto and in some agitation said to his companion, John Baptist Viola, a new

²² *Constitutiones Societatis Iesu*, in *Monumenta Constitutionum prævia*, vol. 1, 3rd ser., of *Monumenta Ignatiana*, vol. 63 of MHSI (Rome, 1934-38), 61-65 and 49-60.

²³ The original text is in *Exercitia Spiritualia*, vol. 1, 2nd ser., of *Monumenta Ignatiana*, vol. 100 of MHSI (Rome, 1969), 518-90. See also on the question of authorship the article by Cándido de Dalmases in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 37 (1968): 145-51. The work has also been attributed to Polanco, in part because his name, too, was John (Juan), but it is almost certainly from the hand of Codure.

recruit, "Jean Codure has just died."²⁴ It was true. After only a brief illness, he was the first of the ten companion-founders of the Society of Jesus to pass from the scene.

CLAUDE JAY, 1541-1552

In early May 1541, less than a month after Ignatius had been elected superior general of the Society, Cardinal Pio di Carpi, bishop of Faenza and a friend of the Society, urgently requested that Jay be sent to his diocese to carry out the same kind of evangelizing activities that he had already performed at Bagnorea and Brescia. When Ignatius and Jay parted, it was the last time they were to see each other in this life, just as was the case in 1540 when Ignatius bade farewell to Xavier. Jay's six months in Faenza involved the usual ministries of the Society, besides what was also to become an ordinary activity of the early Jesuits, the setting up of a confraternity or sodality of lay people for specific religious purposes. In this case it was the *Compagnia di comunicanti*, who banded together for the frequent reception of Holy Communion and for the succor of the poor and the sick.

Germany

In December 1541 Jay received the order to go to Germany, a land that was to be the scene of his most important ministries. Several prelates, including Cardinal Contarini, had drawn up plans to try to remedy the desperate condition of Catholicism there, reeling in the face of Protestant successes. They basically involved sending a group of well-trained priests who would travel from city to city to strengthen Catholic resolve and to oppose Protestant teaching. Pope Paul III adopted the plans, appointed Bishop (later Cardinal) Morone as nuncio, and Archbishop Wauchope and three Jesuits, Jay, Bobadilla, and Favre, as his companions. They arrived in Speyer in January 1542. Morone assigned Jay to Bavaria and the lands through which the Danube flowed, Bobadilla to Hungary, and Favre to Speyer, Mainz, and the Rhineland.²⁵

In April 1542 Jay undertook his activities in Regensburg, a city bitterly divided, on the verge of apostasy; the city officials were helping Lutheranism take root there among the middle class, while the Anabaptists

²⁴ FN, 4:373.

²⁵ For an extensive account of Favre's circumstances and work there, see the recently published *Spiritual Writings of Pierre Favre*, trans. Edmond Murphy, S.J., and Martin L. Palmer, S.J., ed., John W. Padberg, S.J. (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996).

appealed to the laborers. Jay heard confessions, gave the Spiritual Exercises, engaged in spiritual direction, began to learn German, preached extensively, and gave public lectures (obviously in Latin) on Sacred Scripture. This was a regimen that he would follow everywhere he labored. At times his life was in danger. When some Protestants seemed ready to throw him into the Danube, he remarked coolly, "One can go to heaven just as easily by water as by land."²⁶ Although the duke of Bavaria tried to force the officials to favor Catholicism, Regensburg was a "free city," and the senate there finally forced Jay and Wauchope out in March 1543, a little less than a year after he arrived.

Next to Ingolstradt he went, where, in addition to his usual work, he began in the summer of 1543 to lecture on theology at the university. John Eck, the great Catholic champion against the Reformers at the university, had died earlier that year, so Jay was pressed into service as a university professor to help preserve its Catholic identity.

Success in his lectures brought an order from Rome to go to the help of Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, the new bishop of Augsburg, later to be a cardinal, a man who became an ardent admirer of Favre, Canisius, Jay, and the Jesuits in general. Together Jay and Truchsess became for the next decade extraordinarily effective agents in reforming Catholicism and stemming Protestant advances. It cannot be said clearly enough that the Society of Jesus was *not founded* to "fight Protestantism." But in the course of the years leading up to Trent, at the council itself, and in the decades after the council, individual Jesuits and the Society as a whole were drawn into the fray by the needs of the Church and the requests of the papacy and episcopacy. Jay was one of the first to respond to those needs and those requests.

From Ingolstadt to Eichstätt to Dillingen to Salzburg for a synod to prepare for the imperial diet at Worms in March 1545—Jay was at the call of the bishops involved in all these affairs. At Worms, Jay's growing reputation and favor among the Catholics had a counterpoint in the comments of one of the Calvinist ministers at the meeting. He noted that after a full day's work, Jay often stayed through the night with the sick; then he added:

At Worms and elsewhere the first members of the recent sect of Jesuits seduced many people from the holy Gospel. . . . One in particular, who led a hypocritical life, was night and day in either the churches or the hospital. He ate, drank, and slept little, did not boast of his achievements, as is usual among those knaves. In the eyes of several he made a fine impression, and thereby induced them, to the eternal loss of their souls, to come back to

²⁶ *MonBroët*, 276.

popish idolatry. This was the achievement of this contemptuous, hypocritical blackguard and others of that tonsured rabble.²⁷

Early in 1545 Jay presented to the newly named Cardinal Truchsess a personal gift, *Speculum præsulis* (The image of a bishop), a book he had put together from Scripture, the Fathers of the Church, and several church councils, setting forth the qualities of an ideal bishop. Truchsess was delighted.

At the Diet of Worms itself he served as advisor to Truchsess and preached to good effect in the presence of the emperor, Charles V, and his court. But perhaps the happiest event for Jay at Worms was his first meeting with the young Jesuit Peter Canisius, who had been recruited by Favre and who was to carry on the work of Favre and Jay in German-speaking lands for another generation. Other requests for his help came from Eichstätt, Milan, and, finally, from Ignatius himself, who asked Jay to try to bring back to the Church Bernardo Ochino, the former Capuchin vicar general who had become a Protestant. Ignatius's letter to Jay is interesting.

Speak to him [Ochino] and tell him that we are prepared to help him in every way possible in a spirit of complete charity. . . . You might tell him that everything can be set in order: and you might offer your help to bring about a favorable resolution of the affair here in Rome. If he is afraid, assure him of the Society's aid. . . . In his natural concern for his person and his problems, he can be sure that we and he are of one mind.²⁸

It came to naught: Jay was already at Trent representing Bishop Truchsess, and Ochino stayed a Protestant until his death with the Anabaptists in 1564.

Education

But before Jay went to Trent, he wrote several letters that helped to change for the next centuries, right up to our time, the apostolates of the Society, the individual and community lives of its members, and the way its spirituality was lived out in the midst of those apostolates. In those letters of late 1544 and early 1545, Jay pointed out to Ignatius, indeed persuaded him, that the needs of the Church required Jesuits to become educators and, if they did so, to conduct schools. To put this in context, it is necessary briefly

²⁷ J. Janssen, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang der Mittelalters* (Freiburg in Breisgau: Herder, 1896–1925), 8:221, quoted in Bangert, *Jay and Salmerón*, 57.

²⁸ St. Ignatius of Loyola, *Epistolæ et instructiones*, 12 vols., Monumenta Ignatiana, MHSI (Rome, 1903–1911), 1:343, quoted in Bangert, *Jay and Salmerón*, 61. Hereafter the letters of Ignatius are cited as *Epplgn*.

to return to 1541 and then to move forward to the years 1545 to 1548. The *Constitutions of 1541* decided that the scholastics were to do their studies at already established universities, and that in the Jesuit residences set up for them (called “colleges” in accord with the usage then current), there were to be no classes or lectures. By 1544 there were such colleges or residences at seven universities, Alcalá, Coimbra, Cologne, Louvain, Padua, Paris, and Valencia. But the lectures at the University of Padua, for example, were quite unsatisfactory. So Laínez advised Ignatius to change the 1541 directive. The latter complied, and then Jesuits themselves began holding classes in their own residences or colleges, teaching the courses that had been found inadequate elsewhere. By 1544 Francis Borgia, then duke of Gandía, offered to found a college there at which Jesuit professors would teach Jesuit scholastics primarily, but also some lay students recently converted from Islam. By 1547 the superior at Gandía admitted to the classes some of the ordinary citizens of the town. In 1548 Ignatius accepted the invitation to open a school in Messina, Sicily, especially for the benefit of lay students.²⁹ But even before all those steps, Jay had written three important letters to Ignatius in 1544 and 1545, reflecting in particular his experiences while teaching at Ingolstadt in 1543 and 44. He found the state of education there and, to judge from other accounts, in other parts of Germany so decadent that there seemed little hope for a learned defense of the faith or of the Church. At Ingolstadt he found theology just about dead and buried; scripture studies were totally extinct; students in those disciplines were almost nonexistent. Catholic life in Germany was in general in a serious state of disintegration.

Jay sent this gloomy assessment to Ignatius on November 14, 1544. Ignatius replied on December 11. Jay in turn answered by way of a letter to Salmerón in Rome on January 21, 1545.³⁰ In the letter of November Jay told Ignatius that he had recommended to several German bishops that they set up university colleges or residences for poor boys on the way to becoming diocesan priests. Ignatius replied by counseling Jay to ask the bishops to set up such residences for Jesuit scholastics, some of whom would be sent there

²⁹ The story of all these steps can be found in great detail in a fine article by Ladislaus Lukács, S.J., “De origine collegiorum externorum deque controversiis circa paupertatem obortis, 1539–1608,” *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 29 (1960). George E. Ganss, S.J., published in English a digest of the above article, “The Origin of Jesuit Colleges and the Controversies about Their Poverty, 1539–1608,” *Woodstock Letters* 91 (1962).

³⁰ The two letters of Jay, November 14, 1544, and January 21, 1545, are in *MonBroët*, 281–91; the reply from Ignatius of December 11, 1544, is lost, but its central ideas are clear from Jay’s response in January 1545.

from outside Germany. Those places would be spiritual and intellectual centers for church renewal.

Jay than took the idea further. First, he noted that the bishops were not going to be eager to found colleges for other than diocesan students. Second, he reiterated his earlier suggestion to the bishops that they set up university residences for diocesan students. Third, to put this into effect, the Society should send Jesuits to run the bishops' colleges and to teach in the universities. They should be men both learned and spiritual. Both qualities were important because "a person no matter how good, if not very learned, is of little account here" in Germany (289). Fourth, a way might be found to have Jesuit scholastics also reside in these colleges as examples to the other students and as incentives to Jesuit vocations. Fifth, even though a salary went with a university professorship, thus implying some kind of a stable commitment, a Jesuit who was teaching in a university could simply refuse the money and in that way retain the Society's practice of poverty. Lastly, Jay asked that all available information about the foundation of Jesuit university residences or colleges be sent to him. All this correspondence became part of the context within which the Society finally took on "the work of the schools," with Ignatius vigorously promoting the project once the decision to do so had been made. However, five years elapsed before the first contingent of Jesuit leaders arrived at Ingolstadt and eleven years before a Jesuit college was established there.

The Council of Trent

On December 13, 1545, a solemn Mass of the Holy Spirit opened the Council of Trent. Even though such a council had long been desired, in the years after 1537 it had been postponed several times. At first the official attendance was very sparse, only three papal legates, one cardinal, four archbishops, twenty-one bishops, five generals of orders, and one official deputy, Claude Jay, sent by Cardinal Truchsess, the bishop of Augsburg. Diego Laínez and Alfonso Salmerón took part as papal theologians. The council, though hindered by long interruptions, postponements, and changes of location, lasted officially for eighteen years, from 1545 to 1563. Jay took part during the very important and fruitful first period until August 1547. Even though he was there for only those two years, it would take many a page to recount the details of his participation in the formal debates, the lengthy informal discussions, and the fashioning of the conciliar decrees.³¹

³¹ The actual text of Jay's many interventions in the council debates can be found in that extraordinary set of volumes *Councilium tridentinum diariorum, actorum, epistolarum, tractatum, nova collectio*, cited with volume and page numbers in Bangert, *Jay*

Suffice it to say here that, though Jay was not as prominent and important at the council as Laínez or Salmerón, every one of the subjects with which he dealt was, nonetheless, important in establishing for the next four centuries the doctrine and practice of a Church that was both renewed and changed.

His first speech in February 1546 had Scripture and tradition as its theme. Regarding the latter, he made a distinction that threaded its way all through this and later debates, between the traditions that are of the faith and the traditions that are merely ceremonial in nature. This distinction seems clear to us now, but the fuzziness that then surrounded the concept of tradition sometimes led to extravagant claims on the Catholic side and justifiable skepticism and scandal among the Reformers. A month later, on the same subject he again distinguished between the gospel message (*Evangelium*) as such and the two ways in which it is carried from generation to generation, the written Scriptures and the traditions. On original sin he spoke at least four times and brought his learning to bear on the question of justification. On this latter subject even the council participants revealed much uncertainty and many differences of opinion. Jay joined Laínez and Salmerón in rejecting the ambiguity of a theory of double justification, while standing fast for both the absolute necessity of God's grace and the free involvement or cooperation of the human person in his or her own salvation. If the decree finally adopted at Trent had been the clear teaching of the Church in the decades before Luther and the other Reformers began asking their questions and propounding their theories, the history of the Church might have been much different.

On the sacraments the council was more united right from the beginning than it was on justification, and from the beginning quickly dealt with that subject. Before the actual decree was debated, a list of thirty-five supposed errors taken from the works of several of the most prominent Reformers was prepared and read out. Jay criticized the accuracy of the text of the first such error, which reported the Lutherans as saying, "There is no true baptism in the Roman church." Falling back on his experience of dealing with Protestant doctrine, Jay pointed out that in the cited text the Lutherans did not say this.³² Rather, they said that there was no sincerity in the conferral of baptism in the Roman church. If the Reformers were going to be cited, Jay insisted, it should be done accurately and verifiably. Jay spoke, too, on the education and formation of clergy and he opposed the demand that preachers take an oath to avoid heresy or controverted ques-

and Salmerón, simply as CT.

³² CT, 5:836, 935 in Bangert, *Jay and Salmerón*, 84.

tions in their preaching. And finally, regarding the obligation of bishops to reside in their dioceses, Jay was adamant on the obligation of episcopal residence. On this delicate issue the differences in the council were sharp and the comments angry. Too many prelates took the revenues of their dioceses or accumulated several benefices, paying no attention to their responsibilities as bishops. It was all too easy to get a dispensation from Rome, and Rome, especially the cardinals and the papal court, profited from selling such dispensations. Jay proposed severe punishment for bishops who did not fulfill their obligation. But the papal bureaucrats in the council were not to be moved so easily, and this reform could be promulgated only much later, toward the end of the council in 1562–63.

The Bishopric

Meanwhile, in the midst of all this conciliar work, Jay was thrust into a situation that from September 1546 into January 1547 worried and distressed him to distraction. Ferdinand, the king of the Romans, brother of and later successor to Charles V as emperor, offered Jay the See of Trieste. By the time the offer was made, Jay had heard rumors of it and learned that Nicolás Bobadilla had earlier refused the same offer. Jay, too, refused it.³³ The bishop of Ljubljana (Laibach), the capital of present-day Slovenia, who was the agent of the King, persisted with his importunities and gave Jay no peace for several months. This was understandable. Trieste was the link between the north of Italy and the lands of the Slovenes and Croats on the one hand and the Empire on the other; along the road joining them flowed not only goods but ideas, especially the ideas of the Reformers.

Ferdinand wanted a good bishop in Trieste and saw such a man in Jay. He had seen him at work at Worms the previous year and was quite impressed. Jay, in turn, could not personally conceive of taking on such a responsibility, and he was just as much distressed at what it might do to the membership and reputation of this very new and unusual Society of Jesus. At one point Jay wrote to Ignatius: "The day that his Lordship [of Ljubljana] . . . arrived here in Venice from Trent, he nearly drowned in the Adriatic Sea; and the following day he tried to drown me in the sea of episcopal grandeur. Praise be to God, both of us escaped the tempest!"³⁴ Jay also wrote to Ferdinand and, in December 1546, to Pope Paul III urging strong arguments against appointing a Jesuit to be bishop.

³³ This brief account of Jay and the bishopric of Trieste is taken substantially from John W. Padberg, S.J., "Ignatius, the Popes, and Realistic Reverence," *STUDIES IN THE SPIRITUALITY OF JESUITS* 25, no. 3 (May 1993): 22–24.

³⁴ *MonBroët*, 317.

As the prospect of becoming a bishop loomed ever more menacingly, Jay wrote again to Ignatius: "With all my heart I beg you to deign to block such a command of obedience being given to me. . . . I can say without fear of contradiction that, if holy obedience did not tie me to Trent, I would be wholeheartedly set on fleeing some place where no command to take a bishopric would ever find me."³⁵

Ignatius had reasons enough to be concerned about bishoprics and the Society. In Portugal in 1543 the King had wanted to make Rodrigues bishop of Coimbra. In 1546 he proposed Favre as patriarch of Ethiopia. In 1545 Laínez had been proposed for the diocese of Ljubljana. Now Jay was on the list and Broët was also in the process of turning down a preliminary offer to be named a bishop. So for good reason Ignatius also intervened in this matter. He addressed a four-point memorandum to King Ferdinand, showing how the acceptance of ecclesiastical dignities would be a death blow to the new Society.³⁶

Ignatius, however, did not content himself with writing letters. He personally visited three of the most influential curial cardinals and the Pope's personal secretary. He also went in person to Paul III himself and explained the situation at length. The Pope reacted in a kindly manner and praised the Society, but added that he had already committed himself to the appointment and that his decision was surely from the Holy Spirit. At the end of the meeting, Paul III quoted a verse from Proverbs 21, "The heart of the king is in the hand of the Lord." He said that he would pray about the matter and recommended that Ignatius do the same.³⁷

In this perilous situation Ignatius prayed and he had others pray too. But he also employed every human means and every available influence. He went back to the cardinals, especially Cardinal Pio di Carpi, the first and only "official protector" of the Society. After hearing Ignatius, Carpi wrote to King Ferdinand, but his letter bore no fruit. Ignatius also induced the viceroy of Sicily to get the Emperor's secretary to bring up the question with the Pope. This was a curious situation. The Emperor's representative was taking Ignatius's side against the desires of the representative of the King of the Romans, the Emperor's brother and eventual successor. In the case of the imperial ambassador, Ignatius also had in his camp the ambassador's wife, Leonor de Osorio, whom he called "my spiritual daughter in the

³⁵ *EppIgn*, 1:450–53. See also William Young, S.J., *Letters of St. Ignatius of Loyola* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1959), 111–13.

³⁶ *MonBroët*, 326.

³⁷ *EppIgn*, 1:460–67.

Lord.”³⁸ The secretary did so, but he had no better results; the Pope’s mind remained unchanged. In the few days before the consistory at which the appointment was to be announced publicly, Ignatius went around by day and night to visit the cardinals who were in Rome at the time to urge them to persuade the Pope not to go through with the appointment. He managed to see all but two of the cardinals, but he could persuade only about half of them to his viewpoint. The evening before the consistory, December 9, 1546, desperate for any last help that he might be able to obtain, Ignatius went to Madama, Margaret of Austria, whose confessor Codure had earlier been, and for whom Ignatius himself now filled that role. Ignatius asked her to write a note to His Holiness, her grandfather-in-law, urging him to delay the affair until the viceroy could write to King Ferdinand. Family influence worked. Paul III acceded to Margaret’s request. Having gained some time, Ignatius then persuaded the viceroy, Margaret, and Cardinal Pio di Carpi to write to King Ferdinand, and Ignatius added his own letter to the barrage. In addition, he communicated with the Jesuits at Trent, asking them also to write to the King. At this point Ferdinand capitulated; on January 4, 1547, he revoked his previous instructions that his ambassador push in every way to have Jay appointed to Trieste. Ignatius had earlier received unofficial news of this, and in a letter of December 22, 1546, he wrote, “More by divine grace than by human diligence, though efforts have not been wanting on our part with God’s help, a stop has been put to this matter for the time being and we are hopeful for the future.” But perhaps the royal ambassador should have the last word. Already on December 11, 1546, he had written to Ferdinand, “Your Majesty may believe me when I say that there have been more rumors and more negotiations about this bishopric than if it had been the election of a pope.”³⁹

Now that the “question of a bishopric” was out of the way, Jay experienced a great joy and a serious problem. Early in March 1547, Peter Canisius arrived at Trent to serve as theologian for Cardinal Truchsess, whom Jay was representing as deputy. It was a joy for the two of them to be together, and Canisius markedly contributed to the great reputation enjoyed by the three Jesuits already there, Jay, Laínez, and Salmerón. But “there” was not long to be the city of Trent. On March 10, terrified by the plague, probably typhus, that had appeared in the city, the majority of the council voted to move to Bologna, and the legate of the Pope who presided at the Council, Cardinal del Monte, agreed. A minority of the bishops, all from the imperial lands, denied that the plague had reached epidemic

³⁸ Rahner, *Letters to Women*, 435.

³⁹ Tacchi Venturi, *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù*, 2, part 2: 101.

proportions and vigorously protested the move to Bologna. The Emperor was furious that the council, supposed to help heal the religious divisions in the empire, was leaving one of his cities. Jay and Canisius were caught in the middle. The problem was that they were at the council representing a German bishop; but they were bound by a special vow to go where the Pope would send them. Now, in the person of the president of the council, he was sending them to Bologna. Because Laínez and Salmerón were personal representatives of the Pope and thus had no ties with the empire, they left immediately for Italy. Jay and Codure had to persuade two cardinals, Madruzzo, the bishop of Trent, and Truchsess, the bishop of Augsburg, to allow them to leave Trent and follow the council to Bologna.

At Trent Jay had been the deputy of a bishop. But because the group of imperial bishops stayed at Trent, the conciliar officials in Bologna admitted him only as a "plain theologian." Nonetheless, in the few months until August 1547, he again participated as the council dealt with a large number of particular questions regarding the sacraments. In that brief time he spoke on contrition for sin, indulgences, purgatory, prayers for the dead, marriage, and the sacrifice of the Mass. His final intervention, on August 6, 1547, was devoted to the last-named subject. Less than a week later he was gone from the council and in Ferrara.

Ferrara

In the spring of 1547, a highly placed cleric and friend of Ercole d'Este, the duke of Ferrara, had reproved his manner of life. To put it in the mildest of terms, as one biographer of Jay did somewhat prudishly in the last century, the duke's "religion was not always the norm of his conduct."⁴⁰ Ercole asked the friend to recommend a spiritual guide. The friend wrote to Ignatius, who seconded the idea, in part because of what the duke had done to recommend the Jesuits in 1540, after he had become acquainted with Jay in 1537 and 1538. The friend thought that Jay would be most apt for several reasons, including his ability to speak French (in view of the Protestant sympathies of Ercole's French-speaking wife, Renée), his piety and learning, and the good reputation he had acquired in fending off the bishopric of Trieste. The duke wrote to the Pope through Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, another grandson of the Pope. Farnese gave the order to send Jay to Ferrara; and thus it was done, despite the protests of two other cardinals, Cervini and Truchsess. Ignatius himself wrote to Jay with high words of praise for Duke Ercole:

⁴⁰ Jean-Marie Prat, S.J., *Le Père Claude le Jay, un des premiers compagnons de s. Ignace de Loyola* (Lyon, 1874), 272, quoted in Bangert, *Jay and Salmerón*, 101.

I can say in all truth that there is no prince or lord who has shown us as much goodwill as the duke of Ferrara, or has contributed more efficaciously to the strength of our enterprise and the formation of our Society. Therefore there is no one toward whom we have greater obligations. . . . I most insistently recommend that in all situations where the duke will ask your assistance for God's glory you strive to prove by your work the desire which we, you and all of us, have of performing that service to which we are obliged.⁴¹

With all of the above circumstances as a background, Jay might well have expected a warm reception. Such was not to be the case at first, however.

The heart of a prince is changeable. For whatever reasons, from August 1547 to the spring of 1548, Ercole showed himself quite aloof. Jay had been in Ferrara ten days before the duke even deigned to receive him. In the next months the duke gave Jay only some cases of conscience to solve. He would plan to attend Jay's increasingly popular sermons in Ferrara, and then would change his plans. Jay wondered why he was there and whether he should stay. Then, at Easter, Ercole changed again, and he regularly sought Jay out for confession and Communion and with increasing frequency presented questions to him that seemingly intertwined morals and politics. Like so many Renaissance princes, Ercole could be decisive and ruthless. Once he decided to wage a war, it would be an all-out war. A decree of July 2, 1549, prescribed as the regular penalty for blasphemy three years of exile and a hole pierced in the tongue. Four additional blasphemies resulted in the amputation of the offender's tongue. For sodomy, the penalty was the gallows, cremation of the miscreant's body, and confiscation of his property. Arming people for private vendettas or impeding people from fulfilling their Easter obligation to receive the Sacraments were also punished severely. A year later Jay wrote to Ercole, "I experience the deepest consolation in Christ when I think about the praiseworthy provisions that Your Excellency has set down against indecency, blasphemy, and cruelty."⁴² On questions of crime and punishment, even so gentle and gracious a person as Jay saw no need to challenge the savage assumptions that went unquestioned during that age. For two years Jay's popularity and influence in Ferrara grew apace, both with the duke and with the citizenry. But with Princess Renée there was no progress. As she had for many years, she continued to entertain guarded but real Protestant sympathies.

⁴¹ *EppIgn*, 1:568-70. See also Prat, *Le Jay*, 279.

⁴² *MonBroët*, 351.

Ingolstadt

Protestant sympathies and an urgent appeal to counteract them took Jay from Ferrara to Ingolstadt in Bavaria in September 1549. He had taught at the university there from 1543 to 1544 before being sent to Trent. The threatened collapse of Ingolstadt as a center of Catholic resistance in Germany and its possible loss to the Lutherans dismayed William, the duke of Bavaria. Planning to set up a college at the university there to serve theological students, he appealed for help to Cologne, Louvain, Paris, and, finally, Rome through Cardinal Farnese. For three years a bishop from Hildesheim filled the gap. Then the duke appealed again to Rome and the upshot was that Ignatius assigned three of his very best men, Jay, Salmerón, and Canisius to the University of Ingolstadt.

With the assignment came a problem: the three Jesuits lacked the doctorate in theology. Ignatius wanted them to have the degree, rightly and duly conferred after a serious examination, because he had come to realize how important serious learning had been and would continue to be in confronting the religious situation in Germany. So arrangements were made for the three to undergo a regular doctoral examination at the University of Bologna under a duly constituted board of examiners made up of three well-known Dominican theologians. On October 2, 1549, what Salmerón's diploma called a "difficult, severe, and fearful examination" took place. On October 4 the three became the first members of the Society to receive that degree. Ignatius's concern for the intellectual apostolate was clear from the detailed instructions he sent to them about their work in Ingolstadt. Among the forty-four specific recommendations, one counseled that "off and on, time should be given to those pious works that are more visible, such as aid to those in hospitals and prisons, as well as to other poor people"; nine others dealt directly with pastoral concerns, such as preaching and giving the Spiritual Exercises; and the other thirty-four dealt with the circumstances of life and teaching at the university.⁴³

All began well as far as the duke of Bavaria and the chancellor of the university were concerned. They were pleased with the teaching and showed interest in the establishment of a Jesuit college. At one point Canisius was named rector of the university and Salmerón dean of the theology faculty. The students were another matter, however. As Canisius told Polanco, "Would that there were four or five for whom we could hope that our lectures would be of advantage. The students of Ingolstadt, few as they are, can hardly be said to overexert themselves in the study of literature

⁴³ *EppIgn*, 12:239–247. Polanco gives many concrete details about the beginnings of this Jesuit apostolate at the University of Ingolstadt (*Chronicon*, 1:410–16).

and especially Holy Scripture.”⁴⁴ Somewhat later, Canisius thought the program was progressing in an extraordinarily satisfactory way. Then the bottom fell out when the duke of Bavaria and the chancellor of the university both died and there was no one to continue the negotiations for a Jesuit college. In June, Jay and the others started over with the new duke, especially emphasizing the international character and resources of the Society that could be brought to bear upon Germany. But that was part of the problem too, because later that month Jay, who was the most influential of the three at Ingolstadt, received orders from Cardinal Truchsess, in the name of the Pope, to come to Augsburg, where another imperial diet was to be held. Its purpose, in part, was to test the reaction so far to the actions of the Council of Trent and, in part, to start the negotiations among the Hapsburgs on how their lands, stretching from Spain to Bohemia and beyond, were to be divided among Emperor Charles (who was king of Spain) and his brother Ferdinand (the King of the Romans), and their respective heirs. The new duke of Bavaria vigorously pleaded with the Pope not to send Jay elsewhere, but all in vain. Two months later Salmerón was also dispatched to another apostolate. Canisius alone remained until, in September 1550, two new Jesuits arrived to help him. Ingolstadt applied more pressure to get Jay back, but to no avail. Meanwhile Jay continued to keep Duke Ercole in Ferrara in mind. In June 1552 all of Jay’s exertions there paid off when Ignatius could announce the opening of a Jesuit college in Ferrara.

Augsburg

While at Augsburg from July 1550 to April 1551, Jay concentrated on two matters, the diet itself and the possibility of founding Jesuit colleges. As for the diet, Jay wrote thus to Ignatius:

I have a significant chance to promote the cause of Christ and the salvation of souls. I have frequently entered into private conversations with many men of various nations—and, sad to say, of a variety of beliefs—partly to refute error, partly to settle disagreements, partly to encourage lives of virtue. With God’s grace I have frequently and happily succeeded.⁴⁵

Canisius was much more positive about Jay’s contribution.

In that assembly of the German princes, he [Jay] has gained for our Society of Jesus results such as no one else has ever achieved in Germany.

⁴⁴ *Beati Petri Canisii Societatis Iesu epistolæ et acta*, ed. Otto Braunsberger, S.J., 8 vols. (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1896–1923), 1:307, quoted in Bangert, *Jay and Salmerón*, 112. Hereafter this source will be cited as *EppCan*.

⁴⁵ *MonBroët*, 354–55, quoted in Bangert, *Jay and Salmerón*, 120f.

He has explained the name, the origin, the accomplishments, the progress of the Society in such a way, and has so impressed the Germans, that he has gained their approval of and trust in our men as they cultivate this particular vineyard of Christ. . . . Not only was he most acceptable to Catholics and a distinct encouragement to the strengthening of their faith, but he also gave satisfaction to the key Lutherans of the diet, who most willingly listened to his exposition of our faith. They questioned him about the most controversial of religious matters; they put forward their own arguments, especially on the subject of justification. Several bishops were present on these occasions.

. . . Jay responded with the utmost modesty, uncovered the roots of perplexities, communicated freedom from doubt, illuminated the truth—and in such a manner that Catholics and Protestants were filled with admiration. . . . The agents of the duke of Saxony felt that his modesty, graced by learning, and his learning, graced by modesty, would be more effective with Melancthon and the other teachers of Saxony—as indeed they had experienced its power within their own ranks—than had the bitter disputations of other apologists.⁴⁶

A window opened briefly here. The duke of Saxony thought of inviting Jay to meet Melancthon, the great Protestant theologian there. But just at that point, King Ferdinand wanted Jay to come to Vienna to start a Jesuit college, something Jay had long hoped for. The new pope, Julius III, backed Ferdinand's request for Jay; in addition he did not look favorably on this kind of meeting in Saxony. This was one of the last real chances for a respectful and peaceful discussion of the religious differences of the time in Germany. By 1551 a whole generation had gone by since the 1517 beginning of the Reformation with Luther. Few were still around who could remember an undivided Church. One hundred and one years after that first beginning in 1517, the last spasms of Protestant reform and Catholic response began with the Thirty Years War in 1618, a conflict that started as a religious war and ended with a political treaty at Westphalia in 1648. By that time, Jesuit schools were spread all over Europe; in Germany they had become one of the principal bulwarks against the Protestant challenge. To Vienna Jay was now to turn after first directing Cardinal Truchsess in the thirty days of the Spiritual Exercises.

⁴⁶ *EppCan*, 1:359–60.

Vienna and the First College

On April 25, 1551, Claude Jay entered Vienna, the scene of his final labors and most long-lasting accomplishments. King Ferdinand then and always could not have been more gracious and welcoming. The church in the Austrian Hapsburg lands was in dire straits. In Vienna itself not a single priest had been ordained in the previous twenty years. The Faculty of Theology at the university had three professors lecturing to ten students. The students had little competence or interest, and the three professors had publicly declared their intention to leave the university soon. On April 28 Ferdinand and Jay learned that a group of ten Jesuit scholastics and one priest, Nicolas Lanoy, were on their way to Vienna. They arrived in early June to start their own academic program at both the Jesuit residence and the university where Jay and Lanoy now lectured on theology. At the same time, the whole group began the search for German-speaking vocations. Canisius received two and sent them to Jay in Vienna and three more came at the end of 1551.

So delighted was the King that he asked for the impossible, that thirty scholastics be assigned to Vienna. Jay and Lanoy were overwhelmed with work and asked Ignatius for another theology teacher. Ignatius replied both in word and in deed. He sent a letter to Jay in Vienna setting forth some of his most mature thoughts on what education for the priesthood of that time should be.⁴⁷ It summoned up explicitly the “modus Parisiensis” that the companions had experienced there in the 1530s, featuring an ordered sequence of preparatory courses in languages and literature, followed by philosophy and, the capstone of it all, theology. Ignatius was willing to provide men for such a project. Meanwhile King Ferdinand began a college for diocesan seminarians from the provinces of Austria. He also asked the university officials to draw up a catechism to be used in his entire domain. They in turn laid the burden on Jay. He wrote to Ignatius in October 1551 pleading for help, noting that Canisius and Nicholas Goudanus were at Ingolstadt and therefore seemingly not available. It took all the diplomacy of Ignatius to reconcile the desires of the duke of Bavaria and the King of the Romans and the faculty at Ingolstadt, but finally in March 1552 he was able to assign Canisius and Goudanus to Vienna.

By May 1552 lay students began to attend classes with scholastics, the first step to a school specifically for the laity. In the next month Canisius began work on the *Catechism*, one of the most frequently published books ever written by a Jesuit, destined to be used for centuries and forever

⁴⁷ *Monumenta paedagogica Societatis Iesu*, vol. 1, new ed., vol. 92 of MHSI (Rome: 1965), 400–405.

to be called by his name. As Canisius started on that work, Jay wrote his last letter to Ignatius. He had been in ill health, but he could still spell out in detail all the activities and all the problems swirling around the Viennese Jesuit community. As August began, chills and fever overtook him, then a daily decrease in energy, then an inability to understand what people were saying to him, and then the loss of speech. On August 6, 1552, the feast of the Transfiguration, Claude Jay died in Vienna. He had not lived long enough to receive Ignatius's last letter to him, asking him to help find and send candidates for the German College in Rome, a newly founded initiative dear to Ignatius, which became one of the great means of evangelizing Germany for the next several centuries. Peter Canisius preached the funeral sermon. He also wrote a long letter to Ignatius the day after Jay's death. A brief excerpt sums up its tenor and contents.

You are aware . . . that up to the present no member of the Society has done more work among the heretics of Germany and has endured as much as he. Everywhere he lived he always left the dearest of memories. . . . [He was a man] who was chosen by God to be of the group of our first fathers and who in later years stood before men as a very apostle of Germany. I speak what is in my heart.⁴⁸

It took a saint to know one.

Jay's foundation in Vienna brought into being the school for lay students in the beginning of 1553, the first such college in the German-speaking lands. The floodgates then opened wide. A few years later Ingolstadt too had a Jesuit college that considered Jay its initial inspiration. Within a little more than twenty-five years, throughout the German-speaking lands nineteen schools were already in operation or ready to open. They increased over the next century to the hundreds. The great German Protestant historian, Leopold von Ranke, said that their growth and their importance among the German people was "a case for which the history of the world could probably not produce a parallel."⁴⁹ And by early in the seventeenth century, every Catholic university within the empire except Salzburg, a Benedictine preserve, had been founded or was maintained with Jesuit help.

⁴⁸ *EppCan*, 1:406.

⁴⁹ Leopold von Ranke, *The History of the Popes, Their Church and State, and Especially of Their Conflicts with Protestantism in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, vol. 1 (London: 1847-48), 415-417, quoted in Bangert, *Jay and Salmerón*, 145.

PASCHASE BROËT, 1541–1562

Ireland

Supplying Jesuit help, but this time in a land at the western edge of Europe, was to be Broët's first mission after the original companions had pronounced their religious vows on April 22, 1541. By mid-May he had been chosen to replace Codure as leader of the mission to Ireland. Through that summer he worked in Rome at Santa Maria della Strada, which the Society had acquired in June. By early September Ignatius had drawn up two sets of instructions for the two papal legates, Broët and Salmerón, who were to be accompanied by a curial official, Francesco Zapata, a layman and an aspirant to the Society. On September 10 they started out for France on their way to Scotland and then Ireland. Ireland at the time was "considerably more than a geographical expression and much less than a political entity."⁵⁰ At Lyons they met Cardinal Beaton, the primate of Scotland, and gave him a papal letter requesting his help. He, in turn, painted for them a grim picture of the Irish situation and urged them to proceed no further. Henry VIII controlled the country; the faith could be practiced only with great difficulty; the Irish themselves were "the very crudest of people, barbarians incapable of any discipline whatsoever."⁵¹ At Dieppe they had to wait two weeks for a ship to Flanders. When they finally sailed from a Flemish port, Jay, Salmerón, and Zapata endured twenty tempestuous days of buffeting and seasickness before they finally landed. They reached Edinburgh on December 3, 1541.

King James V welcomed them warmly and provided a guide to go with them to Ireland. But just about everyone warned them not to make the voyage. The French ambassador, who held the Society in high regard, wanted the King to forbid them to proceed lest they put their lives in jeopardy. Several Irish priests on the way to Rome confirmed practically everything that Cardinal Beaton had told them. Broët went to Glasgow to contact Irish merchants, talk to them, and learn how they viewed the situation. Unsuccessful there, he donned an Irish kilt and went to the port of Irvine to seek information. Afterwards he returned to Edinburgh, bringing sanguine reports of the local Irish scene and averring that things were not all that bad after all. Accordingly, on February 23, 1542, Broët and Salmerón landed in Ulster.

⁵⁰ See Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England, 1541–1588* (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1996), 16. See pp. 14–24 for a careful account of the background and activity of Broët and Salmerón's mission.

⁵¹ *MonBroët*, 25. The document cited here is the report to Rome from the legates.

Things were indeed all that bad. In fact, as Broët wrote, "In a short while we found matters just as we had been told, if not worse." For thirty-four days the two of them waded knee-deep in violence, hatred, betrayal, and material and spiritual desolation. The main Irish chiefs or lords, men with such names as O'Neil, Magillapatrik, O'Connor, O'Donnell, had capitulated to Henry VIII, recognizing him as supreme head of the church in Ireland and England. Only a few of the lesser chiefs were holding out. Bishops who tried to remain faithful to Rome were turned out of their sees and had to go into hiding; the monasteries were in ruins.

Broët's report sets forth succinctly the purpose of their mission and the circumstances that made its fulfillment impossible.

Our main objective, according to the instructions we received from the very reverend cardinals, was to bend our efforts to the establishment of peace among the chiefs and lords of Ireland, so that in their unity they might the more vigorously resist the King, protect themselves, and even take the offensive, if need be, for the faith and the strengthening of obedience to the Apostolic See. We actually met some of the chiefs, such as MacQuillan and O'Cahen, and some others. But our eyes were opened to the fact that the disease of internal strife in this country is a hopeless thing and, in our judgment, irremediable because of age-old hatreds as well as because of a savage and barbarous way of life, worse than bestial and hardly to be believed unless actually seen. Often these people, having become reconciled, establish peace. Then after a month they break their treaties. And then the latter situation becomes worse than the first. . . . The man who is the more accomplished in the business of plunder enjoys the greater honor and distinction among them. . . . What does a kingdom amount to whose justice consists merely in piracy? In Ireland no punishment is meted out to culprits, murderers, robbers, the impure. When we asked some prelates why they did not punish the violators of purity in their diocese, they replied that they were powerless in the absence of the secular arm to carry out the penalties for them. But what is worse, the leaders themselves, spiritual and lay, whose office it is to correct their subordinates, are infected with the same leprosy.⁵²

The two Jesuits could do little more than hear some confessions, make use of the faculties received from Rome to dispense from the penalties attached to illegitimacy and incest, and give some indulgences. After a month they decided to leave the country because in their judgment they had little probability of dealing with the Irish chiefs, many of whom had gone over to the English king, and there was little hope of getting any of them to unite peaceably. Furthermore, their instructions made it clear that they were

⁵² Ibid., 28.

to leave if their lives were in danger, as indeed they were. Some in Scotland were greatly surprised when they reappeared because, as Broët writes, "they had not believed they would ever see us again until the day of resurrection" (26). On the way back to Rome, Broët and Salmerón left Zapata to study in Paris with the community of Jesuit scholastics there. They were briefly arrested in Lyon under suspicion of being Spanish spies; but Cardinal de Tournon knew who they were, so he obtained their release and sent them on to Rome, where they arrived late in the autumn of 1542.⁵³

Italy

For the next year, from the end of 1542 to the fall of 1543, Broët did apostolic work especially in and around Montepulciano and Foligno, carrying on the usual ministries of the Society while also exerting efforts to eliminate concubinage. One of those regular ministries was to assist in the reform of religious houses. He undertook several such expeditions. At the request of Cardinal Pio di Carpi, he supervised reform at a convent of Poor Clares in Reggio. He was both gentle and, when necessary, severe with them, going so far as to deny the nuns the Eucharist on Ascension Thursday, presumably because for some reason he thought them unworthy of it. In the summer of 1544 he contracted a long and severe but unspecified illness, received the last rites, recovered, and then suffered three relapses over a period of three months.⁵⁴

At the beginning of 1545 Broët went to Faenza at the request of Cardinal Pio di Carpi, bishop of the city, and of Ignatius. For the next two years he regularly sent both of them an account of his activities. By this time making such reports was an established custom in the Society; in 1547 it became a permanent practice. During the years of 1545 and 1546, he carried on such common Jesuit ministries as visiting the sick and founding a *Compagnia della carità*, a confraternity to care for them; explaining Christian doctrine, "going from shop to shop" and holding discussions on the points of doctrine contested by the Lutherans, by Bernardo Ochino in particular, who had preached there the year before;⁵⁵ and drawing individuals

⁵³ An English agent in Lyon took note of this and informed Henry VIII that "two Spaniards had lately been in your Majesty's land of Ireland." Zapata gained his licentiate in Paris, went to Rome to live at S. Maria della Strada, entered the Society as a spiritual coadjutor in 1546, was rather abruptly dismissed by Ignatius in 1547, and then became a Franciscan.

⁵⁴ *Chronicon*, 1:628f., and the letter of Broët to Ignatius, Nov. 1, 1544, in *MonBroët*, 32-34.

⁵⁵ Letter of Broët to Ignatius, Nov. 1, 1545, in *MonBroët*, 36-38.

and groups out of “something pitiful in the extreme and terrible to think about” in Faenza and throughout Romagna, “that is, the long-lasting enmities caused by various factions and leading to a great number of murders.” He was able to bring about more than a hundred reconciliations, celebrated with great solemnity in the main church of the town. In the spring of 1546, making use of the works of St. Antoninus of Florence, for a month he discussed cases of conscience with priests of the diocese gathered in the sacristy of the cathedral; also he submitted to the episcopal vicar a list of “many errors and disorders and daily devoted [himself] to remedying them.” In the fall of that year, he was leading priests to a better, more Christian life and away from their previous evil and licentious behavior. In addition, he explained St. Thomas Aquinas’s *Summa Theologica* to four canons and many other priests of the diocese, and—a rather unusual experience—he instructed and prepared a Turkish (Moslem?) woman for baptism.

All of this varied pastoral experience and the earlier experience of the mission to Ireland entered into Ignatius’s judgment when in 1546 he foresaw that one of the companions would be appointed patriarch of Ethiopia for the missions planned to that land. He said that if he had to make the choice, it would be no one except Broët. They were looking for three qualifications—goodness, learning, and a vigorous middle age linked to a forceful personality. Ignatius then goes on to describe Broët and his qualities.

The combination of those three qualities I have not found to exist in any member of the Society to such a degree as in Master Paschase. . . . He was, first of all, so good that in the Society we view him as an angel; secondly, along with his learning he has a great deal of experience in visiting and reforming dioceses and monasteries, and after having gone to Ireland as nuncio, he has engaged in this kind of activity more than any other member of the Society and has given an admirable account of himself in everything that he has undertaken. He is conscientious by nature and very studious, and has been much involved with episcopal matters and with cases of conscience. . . . Moreover he presents a good appearance and is strong and healthy.⁵⁶

At the beginning of 1547 Broët’s specifically “missionary period” of moving from town to town came to an end. Ignatius sent him to Bologna, which became his base of operations for almost five years, until 1552. At the beginning, he worked much too hard and fell prey to terrible headaches. Cardinal Marcello Cervini (later to be “good Pope Marcellus II”), to whom Broët was regular confessor, suggested as a remedy the waters of a town near Montepulciano, the Cervini birthplace. So Broët traveled to Chianciano, “let

⁵⁶ Letters of Broët to Ignatius, March 1 and November 1, 1546, in *MonBroët*, 38–40, and *EppIgn*, 1:599f.

the waters drip on his head,” and began to feel much better. Still, he remained a victim of what seemed to be a form of migraine headaches, for which he employed an unusual remedy, a day of total fasting. Then he went to live for a while in the pleasant villa that the cardinal had constructed out of an abandoned monastery. There he gave the Exercises to the cardinal’s brother and sister-in-law; afterwards he went to Montepulciano and gave them to many others, among them three of the cardinal’s sisters, one of whom was the mother of Robert Bellarmine, then five years old. For the rest of the year, Broët gave the First Week of the Exercises repeatedly, both to large groups, “making them available to many of both sexes,” and also to small groups of no more than a dozen people at a time. Through 1548 and 1549 his ministries were much the same in and around Bologna, including the conversion of a good many Lutherans, a group not usually associated with Italy.⁵⁷ By 1550 some fourteen Jesuits were in Bologna, though there was much coming and going of personnel in that important center. They all engaged in these usual ministries. Broët mentioned especially his making friends with many diocesan priests. Some of them, influenced by the Jesuits, even preached to their people, a surprising novelty. During these years Broët was also taking care of the material needs of the community and the academic and spiritual needs of Jesuit aspirants. Some whom he judged to be strong candidates he sent on to Rome, thus making Ignatius happy. His obligations were so time consuming that he was not asked to come to Rome in 1551 to examine Ignatius’s draft of the *Constitutions*.⁵⁸

Finally Ferrara was going to have the college for which Jay had long been hoping. So in April 1551 Broët went there to choose the site for the college, and in June he brought to Ferrara the seven Jesuits who were to start the classes. In December 1551 Ignatius appointed him the first provincial of Italy. He was, therefore, responsible for the men and the schools, already established or inchoative, in Bologna, Ferrara, Florence, Modena, Padua, and Venice. Almost six months later he received a new assignment. Now that the suspension of the Council of Trent had freed Laínez for other ministries, Ignatius planned to make him provincial of Italy and to send Broët to Paris to take charge of the foundation there. Of course, this decision left Ferrara very unhappy. Nonetheless, on June 3, 1552, he left Ferrara on his way to Paris.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ *Chronicon*, 1:217f., 275f.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 2:52–57, 191–94, and *MonBroët*, 55.

⁵⁹ *EppIgn*, 4:234, 243f., 247; *Chronicon*, 2:497, and *MonBroët*, 67.

France

Broët's first assignment after the vows in Rome, the mission to Ireland in 1541, had been difficult but brief. His last assignment, to Paris in 1552 was to be difficult and long, lasting until his death in 1562. In 1540, before the Society of Jesus even existed, Ignatius had sent his first group of Jesuit students to Paris. In 1542 the eight Spaniards among them had to flee to Louvain when war once again broke out between France and Spain. Among the early Jesuit students in Paris were men such as Pedro Ribadeneira, Andrés Oviedo, and Everard Mercurian, who was later to become the fourth general of the Society. In the early years the group lived at the Collège des Lombards while they studied and carried on a set of quiet ministries. In 1550 the bishop of Clermont, Guillaume du Prat, who had come to know and appreciate Jay, Salmerón, and Laínez at Trent, offered them his Paris property as a residence. This later became the first site of the Collège de Clermont, later known as the Collège de Louis-le-Grand, one of the three or four greatest and most influential schools that the Society conducted anywhere in the world. In September 1552 Broët was already giving the Spiritual Exercises and hearing confessions on Sundays and feast days at St.-Germain. He said, however, that he did not have a good enough memory to give long sermons. In October he was officially appointed "superior of the Society in the University of Paris and in all of France."

In order to take possession of the Clermont property, the Jesuits had to be legally recognized in France. Among their supporters at the court of Henry II was the powerful Guise family, especially the Cardinal of Lorraine. From the time they arrived in Paris, they had encountered opposition from the bishop of Paris, Eustace du Bellay (his family were rivals of the Guises), from the Parlement of Paris, and especially from the Paris Faculty of Theology, the last two of which were heavily imbued with Gallican sentiments. The bishop spoke openly against the Society. The privileges given to the Society by the Holy See set on edge the teeth of the Parlement and the faculty. Then and in the ensuing years, poor Broët had to deal with this implacable opposition.⁶⁰ To complicate his life still more, the plague had been raging in Paris.

At the invitation of the bishop of Clermont, he had gone to Billom in the Auvergne to see about taking over a flourishing school there. He returned to Paris in February 1554 to face the increasing storm. The Parlement refused to grant recognition to the Society. The theological faculty condemned it on December 1, 1554, in a ringing public declaration. The

⁶⁰ The *Chronicon* in its fifth and sixth volumes contains too many references to be used here conveniently.

“Society of Jesus” was an arrogant name, the Parlement thundered; the Jesuits interpreted their vows in an unorthodox way; they did not live according to the accepted customs of religious life; their so-called privileges were an affront to the rights of bishops, pastors, religious orders, and universities. The list went on, but the final sentence summed it all up: “This Society appears to be a danger to the faith, a disturber of the peace of the Church, destructive of monastic life, and destined to cause havoc rather than edification.”⁶¹ The faculty went so far as to say that if the Jesuits appealed to the Pope, the faculty would appeal from the Pope to a council. The Society was now in interesting company: it joined Erasmus and Luther on the list of those condemned by the Paris Faculty of Theology. This opposition must have been especially painful to Ignatius, who had such high regard for the education he had received there and for the grace that had brought together there the ten men who were to be the first Jesuits, all graduates of the University of Paris. The public condemnation brought out of the woodwork other opponents of the Jesuits. Some Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, and others demanded that the Society be beaten out of France with sticks and clubs.⁶² Public notices hostile to the Jesuits appeared on church doors, and denunciations echoed from church pulpits.

Now that the Society had two houses in France, at Paris and Billom, in 1554 Ignatius finally appointed Broët the first provincial of France. Even before the official letter of his appointment arrived in August 1555, another official notice reached him: the tribunal of the Diocese of Paris summoned him and proclaimed that any member of the Society performing any ministry in Paris was subject to the penalty of excommunication. Ignatius hesitated to roil the waters any further by appealing to the Pope against the bishop or the theologians. Besides, the pope was now Paul IV, who gave evidence enough that he might be in sympathy with the charges that had been published. Ignatius decided on a tried-and-true tactic: he solicited testimonials on behalf of the Society from places around Europe where Jesuits lived and worked. They came in satisfying numbers from the rulers of places such as Austria and Portugal and Tuscany and Bavaria and Ferrara, and from universities and bishops. In the meantime, this strain took its toll on Broët and caused him to fall dangerously ill in the summer of 1556; later on, however, he recovered his health.⁶³ So did Ignatius fall

⁶¹ Henri Fouqueray, S.J., *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus en France des origines à la suppression (1528–1762)*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1910–1925), 1:210. The text of the decree of the faculty of theology is in *Chronicon*, 4:328f.

⁶² *Chronicon*, 5:334f.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 6:479.

dangerously ill that summer, but for him there was to be no recovery. He died on July 31, 1556.

In February 1557 Broët left for Rome to attend the First General Congregation, arriving there on April 12. But the congregation could not be held as planned because of the intense hostility between Pope Paul IV and King Philip II of Spain. So in September the congregation was postponed to the following May. Broët remained in Rome during those twelve months. Five of the first ten companions were still alive to participate in the congregation, Bobadilla, Broët, Laínez, Rodrigues, and Salmerón. Eventually the congregation got under way on June 19, 1558, and elected Laínez by a majority of thirteen out of twenty votes.⁶⁴ Jerónimo Nadal received four votes, while Nicholas Lanoy, Francis Borgia, and Broët each received one. Broët, as the senior professed member, officially promulgated the decree of Laínez's election.

By November 1558 Broët was back in Paris. Over the next three years the status of the Society remained unresolved, in part because of the death of the king, Henry II, in 1559 and of his successor, Francis II, in 1560; in part because of the 1561 Conspiracy of Amboise and the accession of Charles IX; and in part because of the continuing opposition of Bishop du Bellay. But the Jesuits could and did work outside Paris. Vocations were on the increase among men who admired the Society. Quietly Broët took on colleges at Pamiers, Tournon, and Mauriac.

Finally, in 1561 the opposition abated to some extent. The French bishops became even more concerned about the advance of Calvinism; the work of Laínez at the Colloquy of Poissy made a favorable impression. The King had kept urging the bishop of Paris to accept the Jesuits. This he did under certain conditions after the Assembly of the Clergy had given its approval to the Society. Finally in 1562 the Parlement also, under certain conditions, granted legal recognition and existence to the Society of Jesus in France. The Faculty of Theology obstinately refused to annul its formal condemnation, but for some time had done nothing to urge its implementation.

Meanwhile, at the end of 1561 Broët went to Billom to await Nadal, who was to come to France to promulgate the *Constitutions*. While Nadal was explaining the origins and development of the Society, the Jesuits present had their eyes fixed on Broët, one of the original Jesuits, who listened intently from beginning to end without a sound, tears streaming down his face. In mid-May, after accepting into the Society a dozen new

⁶⁴ For the history and decrees of this meeting, see John W. Padberg, S.J., Martin D. O'Keefe, S.J., and John L. McCarthy, S.J., *For Matters of Greater Moment: The First Thirty Jesuit General Congregations* (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1994).

novices, Nadal and Broët left Billom for Paris, arriving there only on May 28 after a detour to avoid bands of roving Calvinists threatening mischief.

Within little more than a month, in early July 1562, the plague made its appearance in Paris. Broët sent the scholastics out of the city and then on to Noyon to escape its ravages. He and two brothers stayed to watch over the house; eventually only he and the cook remained. A young Jesuit, Otto Briamont, whom Broët had wanted to see before he went off to Belgium, arrived at the house on August 28 after making his way through the Paris suburbs where the plague was already raging. He had contracted it near his journey's end and died on August 29, the day after his arrival. During that single day Broët had nursed him and given him the last Sacraments, only to fall victim to the plague himself. On September 11 he wrote a last letter to Ponce Cogordan, one of the Jesuits whom he had sent away from Paris because of the epidemic, telling him that he himself had contracted the disease, warning him of what he had touched in the house after becoming infected, and commending his soul "to God . . . and to Father General and the whole Society and to all of you . . . asking you all to pray for me to the Lord." Even then solicitous about the details that enabled a community to function, he added a postscript: "The main keys are to the right of the mats in the clothes room."⁶⁵

On September 14, 1562, Paschase Broët died. As a lasting memorial he left behind in France the origins and the solid foundation of a province and subsequently of several provinces that for the next two centuries up to the suppression were among the most flourishing regions of the Society's apostolates.

Conclusion

So many elements entered into the foundation of the Society of Jesus and the development of its fundamental characteristics. The last chapter of *The First Jesuits* recounts them brilliantly, detailing them in four phases that were to a degree distinct but also intertwined.⁶⁶ The prehistory of the Society involved Ignatius's conversion and the composition of the *Spiritual Exercises*. The first phase began with the gathering of the first companions and concluded with the formal approval of the Society in 1540. In the second phase, which lasted to about 1548, pastoral activities with all kinds of people

⁶⁵ *MonBroët*, 194f.

⁶⁶ The four phases here noted and their characteristics come from the concluding chapters of O'Malley's book, pp. 363–76.

at all levels of society distinguished the work of the Jesuits, a group that by now had grown much beyond the original ten companions. They traveled everywhere, engaged in every form of the ministry of the word of God, and imparted consolation whenever possible; they established a variety of social institutions, often involving lay confraternities in this work. In the third phase, which lasted from 1547 or 1548 to the death of Laínez in 1558, part of that ministry of the word was also institutionalized as colleges were founded. This was a move that Ignatius had vigorously encouraged once he realized how necessary the colleges were and how great were the results that they could produce. This particular educational ministry in turn definitively influenced much of the internal life of the Society itself. For instance, it brought increased provisions for the education of its members in view of the increasingly learned ministry in which they were to engage; it also decreased the personal mobility that had characterized the earlier years. In this phase, too, the *Constitutions* were completed and promulgated, providing the Society with a second major text in addition to the earlier *Spiritual Exercises*. The fourth phase began in 1558 or 1559 and brought confirmation and consolidation of the fundamental provisions of the "Formula of the Institute" and the *Constitutions*. It also initiated what increasingly became a routine and univocal interpretation of documents that earlier had originated in a variety of day-to-day experiences.

Jerónimo Nadal perhaps best summarized the Jesuit "way of proceeding" in the phrase "spiritu, corde, practice." "In the spirit" involved a direct, personal sense of God's presence. "From the heart" described how Jesuits were to deal with their fellow men and women and how they hoped such persons and groups would respond, namely, in a personal change of heart. "Practice" meant "pastoral," in the sense of "helping souls," helping people live gospel lives. In the long run the *Spiritual Exercises* and the ministries deriving from them and from the schools became the most potent institutional features that shaped individual Jesuits, their community lives, and their apostolates.

Jean Codure, Claude Jay, and Paschase Broët not only participated in these four phases of the early development of the Society but, just like the other seven founding companions, they too helped shape the activities that took place therein. The *Spiritual Exercises* brought them to desire an apostolic life and a companionship among themselves. The experiences of such a life led them to the decision to join in the permanent companionship that resulted in the Society of Jesus. All three of them engaged in the apostolic labors described above. "Spirit, corde, practice" well describes the ways in which they thus engaged in those activities. Their letters and the accounts of others who worked with them witness to their own direct, personal sense of God's presence and their deep desire to impart that sense to others. The change of heart which that sense inspired in them from their entrance into the first

companionship in 1535 and 1536 was a gift. They hoped, indeed almost expected, that God would give this same gift to those to whom they ministered, not because of their own talents or virtues, but because of the ever-present generosity of God made manifest in the Jesus whom they preached. In the great variety of persons, places, and circumstances that they encountered, their work always had a personal, pastoral orientation, whether it involved reconciling feuding families, for instance, or founding schools, teaching catechism, expounding theology at the Council of Trent, or establishing lay confraternities. Yet, while all three, Broët, Codure, and Jay, participated with the other founding fathers in the fullness and variety of their work, each of them also contributed in a special way to those founding activities.

Codure had the briefest personal experience of that life and those activities, but he, too, engaged in them. What is perhaps more important, he participated with Ignatius in the unsung work involved in the first elaboration of the texts that were to become the *Constitutions*. And, although he could not have known it, he was the first to begin to expound in writing on the text of the *Spiritual Exercises*, even before it had been printed. In that respect, his notes stand first in a long line of written works based on the *Exercises*, a line that extends from the first unofficial *Directories* to the thousands of commentaries, personal reflections, prayer books, and theological treatises that have appeared up to this present year, 1997, one year before the four-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the official approval of the *Exercises*. As for the *Constitutions*, there, too, he stands first with Ignatius in the work of fashioning that document, a work to which Ignatius devoted most of the rest of his life. It is a work that continues to our own day and has recently culminated in the edition of those same *Constitutions* annotated by the Thirty-fourth General Congregation and complemented by the norms that express how the Society wishes to continue to be faithful to the *Constitutions* in the circumstances of today.

Jay labored in Italy and especially in Germany and helped to bring the Society to the favorable and ever-widening notice of the bishops there and at the Council of Trent. Along with Pierre Favre, he began the task that Peter Canisius continued so successfully for many years, the retention, recovery, and reform of great areas of the German-speaking lands for the Catholic Church. It was an age when the success of such a program depended heavily on the support of the political and religious powers, that is, upon the civil rulers and the bishops. Everywhere that Jay worked in Germany, he gained the respect and support of such rulers and the enthusiastic cooperation of almost all the bishops. In this religious endeavor, it was, unfortunately for both Catholics and Protestants, too late and too early for anything remotely approaching the ecumenical activity that today is so important in the life of the Church and of the Society. Attitudes and judgments, accomplishments and

defeats, and positions to be maintained that had hardened in the course of almost a generation on both sides of the Catholic-Protestant divide made it too late to regain the ideal of the unity of Christendom. It was too early for an ecumenism that is, as the Thirty-fourth General Congregation describes it, "a new way of living as a Christian. It seeks, namely, what unites rather than what divides; it seeks understanding rather than confrontation; it seeks to know, understand, and love others as they wish to be known and understood, with full respect for their distinctiveness, through the dialogue of truth, justice, and love."⁶⁷

Unfortunately, both Jay and the other early Jesuits and the Reformers among whom they were working had little or no real opportunity to know or understand each other or to engage in a dialogue of truth and justice. And it is hard for a person to love what he or she does not really know. But even so, it is certainly true that Jay wanted God to give the light and love of Christ to those whom he regarded as opponents of the truth, and it is especially true that he regularly prayed for them and for their salvation. As positions hardened and battle lines grew better fortified in the decades after the Council of Trent, both Catholics and Protestant all too often became more deaf and more hostile to each other. Jay was to die before that happened on a large scale, but he left as a heritage to Canisius and other Jesuits an abiding love and concern for the unity of Christians as they saw it. More than four hundred and fifty years of history and experience and theological reflections on that experience have brought present-day Jesuits to a very different way of seeing and understanding and to an ecumenical activity on behalf of those whom both Protestants and Catholics now recognize as our separated brothers and sisters in the Lord.

At least of equal importance as his other work, Jay helped Ignatius to comprehend how vital the ministry of education was for the preservation of the Church and how important it was to institutionalize this work in the schools of the Society. Founding such schools and securing the resources to help them flourish brought the German-speaking lands their own particular opportunities and problems, just as was the case in Italy or France or Spain. Those last-mentioned lands remained basically Catholic in their geographical entirety and in their population. Germany divided into Protestant and Catholic lands. The Jesuit schools came to be confined to the Catholic territories, but at least for several generations some of them served a certain percentage of non-Catholic students. We have still to investigate and learn

⁶⁷ "Complementary Norms," in *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and Their Complementary Norms*, ed. John W. Padberg, S.J. (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996), §268 (p. 297).

how the Jesuits dealt with those quite unusual circumstances; perhaps we can profit from their experience in our Jesuit institutions today.

Broët, in responding early in his Jesuit life to the papal request to serve as nuncio in the fact-finding mission to Ireland, took on a task characteristic of the fundamental insight and desire of the Society, its availability to undertake the service of the universal Church anywhere in the world that the pope, charged with the responsibility to serve the whole Church, might send its members. As the Society has regained an increasing flexibility and imagination in its choice of apostolates since Vatican II and the recent general congregations, it may well take on and be called to take on works such as that mission of Broët to Ireland. Tasks such as this may or may not be physically taxing and dangerous, but in other ways they may be as perilous and challenging in the unknown intellectual, psychological, imaginative territories that we enter, in the misunderstandings and divisions that we encounter, in the obstacles that can all too easily lead to discouragement, in the failures that sometimes occur because of circumstances over which we have little or no control, in the successes that usher in yet more challenges.

Later in life, when Broët assumed the burden of firmly establishing the Society and its apostolates in France, amidst obstacles of every sort, he exemplified the courage and the magnanimity, the large-heartedness, that Ignatius so wanted to characterize Jesuit enterprise of every sort. The obstacles to establishing not only Jesuit schools but the Society itself in France would have daunted anyone lacking the characteristics that Ignatius had recognized in Paschase Broët. Once established, both the Society in France and its schools there flourished extraordinarily well. But to do so in the perennially volatile atmosphere of a country that underwent profound changes in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries required a sureness, a delicacy, a tact, and a determination that Broët was the first to exhibit. Today the worldwide Society and its schools exist in similar circumstances of change calling for the same qualities of sureness, delicacy, tact, and determination. We could well take Broët as an example and model for Jesuits engaged in that work today.

Finally, these three “founders” may well serve us as examples of the first of many unsung and lesser-known Jesuits who have made so great a difference in the life and work of the Society of Jesus. They attracted other men to join the Society, serving as living witnesses to the fundamental insights and desires that moved ten students of Paris from diverse lands to join out of love of the Lord and of each other in a lasting companionship to serve and proclaim the Gospel anywhere in the world. We could do no better.

Martin E. Palmer, S.J.

**On Giving the Spiritual Exercises
The Early Jesuit Manuscript Directories
and the Official Directory of 1599**

Granted that the basic manual for giving the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius was always the book of the Exercises itself, Ignatius, his associates, and their successors all realized that on many points fuller explanation was needed. This need they met with the Directories translated by Fr. Palmer in this book.

It gives us all the supplementary guidelines for giving the Exercises which derive from St. Ignatius and other 16th-century Jesuits. Much of the material survived only in manuscript form until the last century, and appears here in English for the first time. The documents range from a simple page of notes by St. Peter Canisius to a full-scale handbook by Ignatius's Secretary and long-time collaborator, Juan de Polanco. The book concludes with a fresh translation of the comprehensive *Directory to the Spiritual Exercises* published for the use of Jesuits in 1599, which served for over three centuries as the official guidebook to giving the Exercises.

For those involved with today's rapid growth in individually directed Ignatian retreats, these texts offer unparalleled insight into the original practice of the Exercises under St. Ignatius and his associates. Spiritual directors, retreat directors, and students of the Spiritual Exercises as well as of religious thought in general will not want to be without this book.

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SOURCES

Writings of the Forgotten Founders

These three selections from the writings of Paschase Broët, Jean Codure, and Claude Jay illustrate well the diversity of ministries that they engaged in during the early founding years of the Society of Jesus. The other seven first companions also carried on quite similar activities. The earliest of these documents is a letter by Jay from 1537, even before the founding of the Society, during the period in which the whole group dispersed throughout northern Italy to engage both in personal prayer in solitude and in apostolic activity. His second letter here reproduced is from 1542, in far different circumstances, from Germany in the midst of the Reformation. Meanwhile Codure, already deceased in 1541 had written the pages in which he further developed several parts of the Spiritual Exercises. One of those contemplations is printed here. Finally, the chronologically last letter, by Broët, gives a vivid picture of his engagement in several of the "customary ministries" of the Society, including the promotion of vocations! The translations are the work of Father Martin E. Palmer, S.J., a member of the Institute of Jesuit Sources.

Paschase Broët

Letter to St. Ignatius, Faenza
November 1, 1545

Broët describes for St. Ignatius his apostolic labors in northern Italy. Writing from the time and place that provided the background for Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet, Broët details especially the difficult ministry of reconciling feuds.

Ihs.

The supreme grace and love of Christ our Lord be ever our continual protection and help.

Four months have already gone by since I told you of my negligences and tepidity; and so I shall now do the same, so that you will have greater occasion to pray the Divine Majesty that he will aid me and increase in me his holy love, and so that in the future I may be more diligent in his holy service and also in that of the neighbor.

Regarding confessions: I have continually kept them up, both individual, daily confessions and many general confessions as well. And although neither he who plants nor he who waters is anything, nevertheless, through the grace of the Lord who gives the increase, there are always some good results—if not in everyone, at least in many.

Likewise, a few days ago, through the Lord's grace we won over two prostitutes and placed them in the monastery of converted women along with the others. In their church on feast days and Sundays, I give them an exhortation on the current Gospel. And though my tongue is ineloquent, crude, and stammering, nevertheless, by the grace of Christ our Lord, who gives growth where there is barrenness, many of them are making good progress, as can be seen by the effects.

I also make frequent visits to the hospitals to hear confessions or exhort

the sick poor to patience, and also to get the staff in the hospitals to be more concerned about the treatment, provision, and service of the sick poor.

Also, in Faenza and throughout Romagna there are numerous enmities, hatreds, and factions, i.e., of one clan or family against another, so much so that some feuds go back more than a hundred years and many killings are committed. This is a great pity and most fearful to contemplate. Wishing to bring about some peace and concord among certain families, I spoke with some of the principal persons, prudent and qualified to reconcile these conflicts. And by this means the Lord in his goodness and mercy has reconciled—with great solemnity in the principal church—more than a hundred men, who for love of Christ our Lord have pardoned and forgiven one another the past killings, wounding, insults, and other harms that have issued from these enmities. And so I gave a little exhortation on the good which derives from peace and the evil which follows upon discord. For the last three weeks we have also been trying to bring about peace and reconciliation among three or four other families. But when they had all agreed and expressed willingness to be reconciled, the enemy of human nature stirred up some of his members, who murdered three men in the piazza and wounded three others; and so the whole thing was ruined. But we will keep on trying with the Lord's help to see if we can reconcile these feuds—or others, since there is no shortage of them.

Also: I have here in Faenza a boy of about twelve years who is very eager to join the Society. He is quite intelligent, healthy, and of good outward appearance. I plan to send him to Rome

with the first trustworthy person I can find.

I have also devoted care and vigilance to seeing that there be no more talking or disputing about Lutheranism, as was done previously throughout the city. As a result, it is no longer spoken of, at least publicly. I myself have corrected and demonstrated the truth to many persons who I had been told did not believe in purgatory, praying to the saints, or fasting. They answered me that they do believe and hold that there is purgatory, that they do pray to the saints, etc. And so I urged them to persevere in the teaching of the holy Roman Church—in which may God in his infinite goodness also preserve and confirm us all. No more.

Faenza, November 9, 1545

Paschasio Broet

(MHSI, vol. 24, *EpBroët*, 36–38)



Jean Codure

Contemplation on the Nativity

The following amplification of the exercise on the Nativity is taken from a manuscript at the top of which St. Ignatius wrote in his own hand "Exercises of Master John—not all that corrected." Careful detective work has led to the conclusion that the Master John in question can only be Jean Codure.

The second contemplation will be on the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is made up of the same preludes and articles as we indicated in the first contemplation.

The preparatory prayer is here the same as in all the other contemplations.

The first prelude is a consideration of the history and event, that is, how

the most holy Virgin, then about nine months pregnant, riding on an ass and accompanied by Joseph her husband and one little serving girl, made the trip from Nazareth to Bethlehem. Likewise, how Joseph brought along an ox to pay the tribute required at that time by Caesar Augustus, who, according to St. Luke's testimony, had issued a decree that the whole world should be counted and registered, and that everyone should go to his native city to profess a subject's obedience and give his name to the Roman emperor. Just as the Lord Jesus' parents then paid tribute in Bethlehem, our Savior himself later paid the poll tax in Capernaum, not because he was under any obligation to pay it, but in order that he might not give scandal to others. In Bethlehem also, he willed to be registered and enrolled in an earthly empire as soon as he was born, like a commoner or subject. Though king and lord of all, for our sakes he took the form of a slave. That he might set us at liberty, he did not shrink from undergoing this kind of servitude.

In the second prelude, we should contemplate the place, that is, the road from Nazareth to Bethlehem: seeing how long and painful it is; whether it is mountainous, steep, level, wooded, deserted, or crowded. Picture also in your mind the stable where the holy Virgin stayed when she could find no room in the inn, and where she gave birth to the God-man. Consider over and over how wretched it was, how humble and bare, how ill-suited for such a birth—especially since there is no woman so humble or poor who upon approaching the moment of childbirth does not at least borrow from her neighbors some furnishings to adorn her birth-chamber. But our Lord, who would one day preach contempt for riches and the world,

willed to be born far from home in a miserable and wretched stall, and to be laid in a feeding-trough.

The third prelude has the same form as in the previous contemplation. Here you will beg God's grace and assistance so that you may have a true, active, and inward knowledge of how humbly Christ deigned to be born for your sake—he who was God most high.

In the first article, consider the persons, that is, the blessed Virgin Mother, Joseph, the serving-girl, and the little newborn Jesus. Imagine yourself as a servant, poor and unworthy of this sight (since the angels long to look upon Christ), present at the birth of the God-man and rendering eager but reverent service to him and to his mother. Further, imagine that you see the most high Father looking down from heaven and gazing with joy upon his Son newly born. Finally, see the angels standing by and rendering him the highest honor; see them also joyfully declaring to the shepherds the good news of the Savior and singing the noble hymn "Glory to God in the highest."

The second article asks you to observe and contemplate with the greatest care what the persons say to each other: how they thank almighty God for the wonderful incarnation of the Word, how they rejoice that in their own time the Messiah has come to redeem the human race and that with their own eyes they can look upon the one whom many kings and prophets wished to see but could not, whom all holy persons from the creation of the world had awaited. Seek out other thoughts of this kind, which the event itself will suggest to you abundantly.

In the third article, you can consider the actions of the persons: what a

long and hard journey they had, what a rough hostel they met with after their great hardships, how the Lord was born in the greatest poverty and was to live therein his entire life, enduring hunger, thirst, heat, pain, insults, injuries, and hurt for your sake, and finally dying on the cross. Then consider how Mary acts the part of a loving mother: how carefully she warms her Son, nurses him, wraps him in swaddling clothes, and lays him in the manger, entirely fulfilling a mother's duties, so that she might worship and adore him whom she had borne, praying to him over and over to deign to show her how he wished to be reared and brought up.

End the contemplation with a colloquy as described in the previous contemplation. By way of conclusion add the Lord's Prayer.



Claude Jay

Two Early Letters

A letter to another (unknown) of the first fathers, from the period of their apostolic dispersal in northern Italy, 1537.

May God, according to the riches of His glory, grant that our virtue may be strengthened by His spirit in the inner man. Amen.

Saturday morning, September 1, Master Ignatius and Master Peter Favre left us for Vicenza. After they left, Master Simão had a minor attack of fever. Blessed be Jesus Christ, for whose Name we ought patiently to bear every adversity and tribulation in this present life; indeed, we ought to glory in our tribulations, because "tribulation produces patience, patience character, and character hope; and hope does not disappoint." And so, while the world pursues and

stores up gold and silver, and glories in these, the servant of God takes delight in poverty, and places in poverty his glory. For "blessed is he who has not gone after gold, nor placed hope in money and treasures." The world's joy is in men's praises, but God's servant is glad to suffer contempt for Jesus' name. To the world Christ's cross seems foolishness, and the world calls them fools who carry the cross behind Jesus. But Paul used to say, "Far be it from me to glory except in the cross." And so, dear brother in Christ, naked let us follow the naked Christ. That man is rich enough who is poor with Christ. "The rich," says David, "are in want and hunger, but those who seek the Lord shall lack no good thing."

Dwelling in a solitude, I write as a hermit. Farewell in Christ.

San Vito, Bassano, September 5, 1537

(Tacchi Venturi, *Storia*, 1:439 [= 1, part 2: 43f.]

A letter to Ignatius and the Roman Jesuits from Regensburg, where Jay had teamed up with the exiled Scottish bishop Dr. Wauchope to reform the Catholics and win back the Protestants.

IHS.

God's grace and love be ever in your hearts.

As for ourselves, we are continually in grave danger, and are not without experiencing the cross from many quarters. We have made efforts by various means to remove a tainted preacher from the pulpit, but he is a great favorite of the citizens and we have incurred the bitter hostility of many.

The Doctor, also, for having made known the bulls giving him authority

over a Scottish monastery here, has met with widespread opposition.

In addition, because of our label as reformers—a word odious to many of the clergy—we are not without experiencing something of the cross. Hence, if we ought to glory in tribulations, then we will indeed glory in Christ; and, thanks to God's goodness and mercy, the worse the tribulations, the greater are our consolations. So we can say to the Lord, "According to the multitude of my sufferings, your consolations have rejoiced my soul." The opposition we meet from the wicked gives birth in us to a deep hope of seeing it issue in some good fruit.

In sum, what the Doctor and I have been doing in Regensburg is to give frequent exhortations to the bishop, the cathedral chapter, and the people. In private conversations as well, each tries to achieve some good. We have given the Exercises to a few people, and that has borne fruit. That is all for now—except to ask Your Reverence to be so kind as to console us with letters from yourself and prayers from our brethren and friends. We commend ourselves to you.

Regensburg, 28 July 1542

Jay

(MHSA, vol. 24, *EpJaji*, 273f.)

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Editor:

Edward Beckett's excellent monograph on Jesuit slaveholding (STUDIES 28, no. 5 [November 1996]) might convey the idea that slavery among Jesuits was confined to Maryland and some southern states.

An authentic depiction of Fr. Charles Van Quickenborne's well-known 1823 journey to Missouri would show two flatboats: one for the Jesuits, another for the horses and six slaves—Tom and Polly, Moses and Nancy, and Isaac and Sucky. In his description of this trip (32 n. 129), Beckett does not mention that a third of those on the venture were slaves.

Gilbert Garraghan's book (*The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, 3 vols. [New York: America Press, 1938]), drawing upon a diary kept by one traveler, Peter De Smet, 23, details hardships for the young Jesuits (Van Quickenborne was 35), but has nothing to say about those experienced by the slaves.

Van Quickenborne began the Florissant novitiate farm, "largely worked by slave labor" (GG, 1:610); by 1859 Missouri Jesuits had a twenty-slave colony. "Most of the houses of Missouri before the Civil War appear to have made use of slave labor at one time or other" (GG 1:614). The school at Bardstown, Ky, used slaves for eight years, but stopped the practice in 1856 because it "had always been a source of trouble" (GG 1:616). The last survivor of the "Negro colony" at Florissant, who had married a black woman bought in 1863, died only in 1907.

Garraghan's ten pages (1:610–20) on slavery illuminate a shameful aspect of Jesuit history. He and Beckett both state

that moral considerations did not motivate the Jesuits to abandon the slave system. Rather, Garraghan reinforces the idea that "the system wasn't working." Abusers always claim that the abused person caused the problem: "I beat the child because she wouldn't stop crying." With modern sensitivity, we're not surprised that those wakened to begin forced (lifelong) labor at 5 A.M. might be less than enthusiastic about the tasks at hand. To read that at Christmas each adult received "a little treat" (GG 1:615), worth about twenty-five cents, strikes us as a detail worthy of Dickens. Beckett is far more sanguine than I am that persons deprived of freedom could be "co-laborers in the Society's mission" (15). Only free persons can give true obedience or love, or invest themselves in work—a simple but clear moral truth that enslavers (or abusers) have discovered repeatedly in various places, whether Maryland, Missouri, or Russia.

It must have been a particularly shameful, confusing experience to be owned, sold, and bought, not by the Simon Legrees, but by those professing to seek and promote the life of perfection, who spent time debating the precise shading of evil of some minor matter in the moral manuals (in 1961, Jone reassured us that a priest who inadvertently swallowed a fly on All Souls Day at his first Mass could still say the other two [p. 360]), yet to whom this obvious demeaning of humans was completely invisible.

That this injustice was uniformly invisible to Jesuits (and bishops) explains Ellison's title *The Invisible Man* for the black person. Slaves owned by Jesuits were all but invisible, designated in

books and on Florissant headstones by first names only, and given ten pages of a three-volume history. Garraghan tells us those young Belgians who came here with the aim of working among the Indians had never seen a black person before. But they got the idea quickly when

the black people, men and women, got on their own boat with the horses.

Edward J. Mattimoe, S.J.
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