# "A Century of Jesuit Education, 1900-2000"

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When the Society of Jesus was suppressed in 1773, the Jesuits were forced to abandon some 800 colleges, universities, boarding schools and seminaries serving approximately 200,000 students all over the world. Thousands of Jesuits were thrown out of their houses and sent into exile. The buildings and properties were confiscated and, for the most part, fell into the hands of the state or of church jurisdictions. The libraries and museums were dispersed or looted. The educational work of over two centuries was stopped in its tracks. A pall of desolation descended.

And yet, in reality, the Jesuit colleges did not altogether disappear. Thanks especially to no less a personage than Russia's Catherine II, the Great, who forbade the promulgation of the papal brief of suppression in her realm, thirteen Jesuit colleges eventually survived, scattered in various countries: five in Belarus, four in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, one in Great Britain (Stonyhurst), one in Ireland (Clongowes Wood), the Academy of Georgetown in the United States and the college of Brig in Switzerland. The non-Russian colleges are added to the list in virtue of the brief, Catholicae Fidei (1801), which authorized affiliation with the Society surviving in Russia.

Requests began to pour in from all over that the Jesuits return to the houses and colleges from which they had been driven out. But for the elderly Jesuits who were still alive and for the young men, still few in number, who joined them, the hope of rebuilding the former network of schools seemed hardly possible. And yet, they set to with a will. In 1844, there were fifty-three colleges; the number rose to 170 by 1860. On the threshold of the new century, in 1896, 209 colleges and universities were serving 52,692 students.

## Rebuilding the Network

The Jesuits of the 20th century have doggedly carried on the slow but steady reconstruction begun by their predecessors. Beginning with a handful of survivors in 1814, the Jesuits had grown to 15,073 in twenty-five provinces by 1900. In 1914, the centenary of the Society's Restoration, Jesuit colleges and universities numbered 234 in forty-three countries (not counting seminaries) with a total of 60,000 students. By then there were 16,894 Jesuits in twenty-seven provinces.

Pressed by the urging of friends and civil authorities who wanted a Jesuit college at all costs, the foundation of some colleges took place too hastily. Soon the Society adopted the policy of halting this rapid expansion and of giving priority to the Order's internal consolidation and to young Jesuits' solid formation. A substandard college--so ran the argument--was a powerful weapon in the hands of the Society's enemies.

Several General Congregations of the restored Society decreed that new colleges should not be founded without the guarantee of an adequate number of Jesuits prepared to take up the work. They put a stop to the opening of new boarding schools and closed a few of them. From then on, to establish a new college, the explicit approval of Father General was required. The clear supposition at that time was that those who staffed Jesuit colleges should be Jesuits at least in the majority. As for elementary schools, they were not thought to be contrary to the spirit of the Society, but it was preferable to have them administered by lay people.

In the post-Great War years, the situation appeared to be relatively under control when the Twenty-seventh General Congregation convened in 1923. Nonetheless, these restrictive measures failed to halt the multiplication of Jesuit colleges, with uneven success, to be sure, in some countries. Persecution of the Jesuits did not die down with the Society's restoration. Far from it! Perhaps at no time has the Society come up against so many persecutions, obstacles and challenges as those it encountered from the closing years of the nineteenth century through the whole course of the twentieth.

## Expansion. The European Scene.

During the first half of the century, Jesuit education in continental Europe developed against the background of social upheaval and war. Through the 1950s, it was not just the two World Wars that had a profound effect on the Society's educational work, but also other kinds of opposition, both large and small.

Examining the European province catalogues from 1900 to the end of the Great War, one is struck by the frequent notation, "dispersed" or "suspended", attached to the colleges. Surprisingly we find French colleges exiled to England and Belgium, German Jesuits who close their colleges and open new ones in Brazil and The Netherlands, Portuguese Jesuits who find refuge in Belgium and later in Spain, Italian colleges, recently opened and entrusted to the Society, closed with startling suddenness. Belgium and The Netherlands offer asylum to banished Jesuits from all over Europe.

These forced migrations are explained by the anticlericalism of many European legislatures. Of course, the Jesuits were not the only ones to be persecuted and expelled, nor were their colleges the only targets of the enemies of the Church. It was a matter of state policy that involved all religious congregations, especially the teaching orders. But there is little doubt that certain governments and certain statesmen concentrated the attack on the Society of Jesus.

France is one of the countries where the Society was beset with more numerous difficulties. The Jesuits were banished in 1845 and accepted this state of affairs peacefully until 1850, when the Falloux Act guaranteed freedom of education. But then, in 1880, the decree of Jules Ferry explicitly ordered the closing and expulsion of Jesuit colleges. Ferry wanted to rescue "the soul of French youth" from the hands of the Jesuits. Twenty-nine colleges, 11,000 students and 815 Jesuits were affected by the decree. As the years passed, the situation seemed to improve somewhat, but the new century brought no essential change. The Law of Associations of 1901 threw all religious men out of their houses and schools.

With a stroke the Society was deprived of thirty--two colleges, some of which they were able to transfer to the diocesan clergy or other groups. Of the rest, some adopted various forms of camouflage and carried on; others took the road to exile and the Jesuits of those days had to get used to names such as Jersey, LeTuquet and Antoing. There were friends of the Society who managed to get hold of some of the colleges which had been sold in order to allow the Jesuits to keep on teaching more or less clandestinely. Then there were others that simply had to close. In the same year of 1901, the Waldeck-Rousseau Law required the expatriation of the Jesuits, at least in part. Thus the French Jesuits had to discover new ways of being present to the educational scene. This explains, for example, the increased importance in France of the work of chaplaincies (aurnoneries) or pastoral ministry with university students.

Curiously, the persecutions in the metropolis only served to nourish the work of the missions. The dispersal of French Jesuits proved a boon to institutions such as the Universite de St. Joseph in Beirut (Lebanon) and the Aurora University of Zi-ka-wei (China). This period saw the foundation of colleges in Tiruchirapalli (Madurai, India), Trincomalee (Sri Lanka), Antananarivo (Madagascar), Cairo and Alexandria (Egypt) and other places. At the outbreak of the Great War, 855 French Jesuits rallied from every part of the world to enroll under the tricolor, many of whom died at the front. At war's end the hostility toward the Church gradually thawed and the Society reappeared officially in 1923. In Germany the new century brought no improvement to the situation of the Jesuits. They had been expelled from the Prussian Empire in 1848 for the first time. The offensive set in motion against the Church by Bismarck and the Kulturkampf had disastrous consequences for the Society. The law of 1872 forbade the Jesuits to teach or to exercise any priestly ministry in public. In 1912 this law was enforced with renewed vigor. Paradoxically, however, the number of Jesuits kept growing. The law was finally abrogated in 1917, when the German Jesuits numbered 1,207, whereas there were only 755 at the beginning of the Kulturkampf. All the same, several colleges were forced to close or to go abroad.

The exiled German Jesuits exercised a fruitful apostolate in The Netherlands, England, Denmark, Switzerland, the United States, Brazil and India. The colleges which they opened in Brazil and India (two in India and three in the state of Rio Grande do Sul) soon attracted a large number of students and are still flourishing today. In 1921 the mission of Japan, which had previously been immediately dependent on Father General, was entrusted to the German Jesuits. Their contribution to Sophia University (founded in 1913) is largely responsible for the prestige which this institution enjoys at present.

At the outbreak of the Great War, 535 German Jesuits returned to Germany to serve in the army so that through the network of trenches one could meet Jesuits defending the fatherland which had treated them so shabbily.

At the end of the war, the Jesuits returned to their colleges and built up an impressive network of boarding schools. Obstacles, however, cropped up with a vengeance at the time of the Third Reich. From 1938 on, the Nazis stepped up the pace of closing and confiscating the colleges, both in Germany and in occupied lands, as well as in recently annexed Austria. The great boarding schools of Sankt Blasien, Bad Godesberg, Feldkirch, Kalksburg and Linz had to be shut down. The Jesuits were not trusted by the Nazis and the sentiment was mutual. One need only recall the valiant figures of Blessed Rupert Mayer and of Father Alfred Delp who was accused of conspiring to assassinate the Fuhrer and executed in 1945. In Spain the Jesuits were expelled from the country seven times between 1820 and 1932. Nevertheless, the years from the beginning of the century until the suppression of the Society in Spain in 1932 proved to be a period of relative progress, apart from isolated instances of anticlericalism or anti-Jesuit hostility. The revolution of 1868 forced them to seek refuge in France, but they returned in 1875 with the restoration of King Alfonso XII. They set about establishing a solid network of schools. By 1914 there were twenty-one colleges along with the Seminary of Comillas, the Colegio de Estudios Superiores of Deusto and the Institute Catolico de Artes e Industrias. The last three mentioned were destined to become universities at a later date.

Through the 1920's, the Spanish Jesuits maintained sixteen colleges in South America, Cuba and the Philippines which had been founded toward the end of the previous century. Spanish Jesuits were active in the Philippines until 1927, when they were relieved by Jesuits from New York and Maryland who brought a fresh approach to the Ateneo de Manila and to the whole educational system of the country.

The Society in Spain was not untouched by the movements that were dividing Catholics in general--conservative vs. liberal, integralists vs. those who favored openness to new ideas as, at least, the lesser evil. In those early years of the new century the Jesuits and their colleges carried on a very difficult task, not always understood, but certainly free of the partisan spirit which was generally attributed to them. This did not spare them the stonings and assaults visited on their houses and colleges. A number of colleges were subject to arson attempts, such as occurred in the "Tragic Week" of Barcelona (1909) at the college in the Calle Caspe. The college's sturdy iron doors, together with the convincing defense mounted by a group of Brothers on the roof who fought off wave after wave of attacks with bricks and stones, managed to save the day.

The Spanish Republic, proclaimed in 1931, abolished the Society the following year and expelled the Jesuits. A number of houses and colleges were torched. As before, Belgium and The Netherlands offered refuge. Italy and France as well opened their doors to them. Several Jesuits remained in Spain and continued their work in underground colleges. Over 200 of them were put to death during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939).

The new century was not propitious to the Jesuits of Portugal. In 1910 the days of the Marques de Pombal seemed to return and the Society was banished "forever" from Portugal and her colonies and the three colleges were looted. A year later, total separation of Church and State was decreed. The Portuguese Jesuits had to leave the country to which they did not return legally until 1933. In the meantime, they carried on their work in Africa, India (Goa) and Brazil (Bahia), where they opened two new colleges. On their return home, under conditions of great difficulty, they set about establishing three colleges and a University Faculty.

It was in Italy that the Jesuits were closest to the painful confrontation with forces hostile to the Church and to the Papacy. Expulsions followed one another throughout the 19th century: 1848, 1859, 1866, 1870. The Roman College, which had been restored to the Society with full honors, was once again confiscated in 1870. Malta, Albania, the United States, Canada, Brazil, India (Mangalore) all profited from the dispersal of the Italian Jesuits. Still, in the midst of these constant changes of fortune, by 1914 the Jesuits in Italy were running twenty-five colleges. It was only after the Lateran Treaty between the Vatican and the Kingdom of Italy (1929) that their situation achieved normalcy and they were able to expand.

In contrast with these difficult situations, other European countries entered the twentieth century under circumstances of relative peace and stability and the Jesuits were free to develop their educational ministry. The Jesuits of Belgium had fourteen colleges in 1914, including the Technical Institute of Liege, along with large colleges in India (Calcutta and Darjeeling), Sri Lanka (Galle) and the entire educational undertaking in the Belgian Congo (Kwanga). Furthermore, the Belgian Jesuits were carrying on extensive missionary work in the United States Midwest.

In 1914 there were two colleges in The Netherlands, where Jesuit education prospered in an atmosphere of complete freedom. On the island of Java, the Dutch Jesuits founded a teachers' college (1904) which endured until the Japanese occupation during World War II. The educational picture in Central and Eastern Europe varied from country to country. Amid the ups and downs due to the political and religious situation preceding and following the Great War, in 1914 the Jesuits of the province of Austria maintained eight colleges and seminaries throughout the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Hungary, which became a separate province in 1909, had four colleges. After the war, in 1918, Poland was separated from Austria and became a province. In Lithuania, a province in 1930, there were two colleges which had been founded by the German Jesuits. In the present countries of the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Ukraine, there were some colleges and a

good number of seminaries which led a precarious existence in the years between the wars, thanks to the unsettled political situation and foreign occupation.

The Treaty of Yalta (1945) sealed the fate of these countries which were drawn into the communist orbit, with the sole exception of Austria, where a reduced number of Jesuit colleges are still open. Behind the Iron Curtain, the entire educational work of the Church and of the Society was dismantled. Not a few Jesuits were imprisoned or were forced to leave their homelands.

In contrast with developments on the continent, the Jesuits in Great Britain, long established at Stonyhurst, enjoyed ample freedom of action from the earliest years of the 20th century. By then, the Catholics constituted such a small minority that they offered no threat to the establishment. The fact that the "Gentlemen of Liege," as the Jesuits were called, lived in quiet isolation on their Lancshire estate reinforced their low profile. In 1840, when Catholics were still barred from the traditional universities, Stonyhurst had no problem being admitted as affiliate member of the new non-confessional University London. Edmund Campion and so many Jesuit martyrs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries would have been astonished at the atmosphere of tolerance, peace and tranquility in which their brother Jesuits of the twentieth century carry on their educational ministry on English soil. Paradoxically, Protestantism eventually played out to the Jesuits' advantage. Any opposition they encountered came not from Protestants but from other Catholics, including Manning and some of the bishops, who were afraid that the presence of the Jesuits would reawaken the old Catholic-Protestant controversies. Some feared that the Jesuits would set up an educational system that was too much under Roman control and branded them as "Ultramontanists." Nothing of the sort took place. The Jesuits had to regain freedom of operation for others as well as themselves and tended to adopt a more liberal position. Their understanding of religious freedom, different from the continental form, was a concept roundly condemned by many of their brethren on the other side of the channel. Jesuit education in Great Britain developed without the stops and starts experienced on the continent. Mount St. Mary, Beaumont, Wimbledon are some early names of a chain of

schools which reached all over the country. Nor was this work intended to serve only the upper classes. In Preston, Leeds, Manchester, Liverpool, London and other cities throughout the United Kingdom, colleges were opened for the Catholic population which was made up, for the most part, of Irish immigrants of modest social condition.

In 1914 the English Jesuits ran ten colleges. This number increased and Jesuit missionary endeavor brought them to Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and Guyana. During the Great War, the English Jesuits repaid previous Belgian hospitality, welcoming a college of the Belgian Jesuits at St. Leonard's on-the-Sea.

In Ireland at the start of the century, the Jesuits enjoyed an enviable peace. At the outbreak of the Great War, there were six colleges under their care. James Joyce, one of the greatest twentieth century writers, has left us a less than affectionate recollection of his years in the colleges of Clongowes and Belvedere. Not all the Jesuits fit the description of the severe priests described in Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man, to judge by the high regard for Jesuit education in contemporary Irish society. Physical punishment was certainly not permitted in the Jesuit colleges, nor were the boys so abusively treated as, apparently, was the case in both state and "public" schools of the time. In addition to their colleges at home, the Irish Jesuits opened four large colleges in Australia and two in Hong Kong and laid the groundwork for more in present day Zambia.

One cannot help noticing that, as Christopher Hollis has observed, at the beginning of the century, the only traditionally Catholic areas where Jesuits enjoyed the broadest freedom of operation were those in which education was under Protestant governmental control.

#### America

Until well into the 1930s, Latin America reflected the ideological and religious currents prevailing in continental Europe. Anticlericalism and anti-Jesuit hostility were widespread, encouraged by the powerful Masonic lodges. Official laicism flourished--as it does today--in Uruguay and Ecuador. There were waves of persecutions and expulsions beginning at the

end of the nineteenth century (Argentina, Colombia, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Costa Rica) and continuing well into the twentieth. In 1914 there were 1,630 Jesuits in Latin America. In Mexico this hostility went to extremes during the presidencies of Alvaro Obregon (1920-1924) and Plutarco Elias Calles (1924-1928). Blessed Miguel Agustin Pro, murdered in 1927, is the symbol of the indomitable spirit of the Catholics who spared no efforts in defense of their faith and support of the Church. After the persecution subsided, the Church and the Society, still without official recognition, were able to emerge from the underground. The Jesuits began, little by little, to build up a solid network of colleges, none of which was given a religious name, of course! In Bogota, Colombia the Universidad Javeriana was established in 1937, reassuming the name and the work of the old university which the Jesuits had founded in the seventeenth century. This was the first link in a chain of some twenty universities directed by the Society spreading through all Latin America. The United States deserves a chapter to itself. Just as in Britain and Ireland, the Society was able to develop its educational work at its own pace. In the land of religious liberty par excellence, the Jesuits encountered no interference. It was separation of church and state that allowed for a freedom unknown in countries governed by Christian kings and Catholic regimes. The controlling power was not only the state but also, and especially, the local bishops who were protectors of Catholic education and zealous guardians of its identity. The Catholics were well aware that there was no Concordat to which they could appeal nor could they expect any kind of financial help from the state. But they had rights and liberties to put to their advantage. A body of Catholic education came into being with the strong backing of a community which was conscious of its responsibility to support the Church and, in particular, its educational role.

In the early days, the student body of Jesuit schools was made up of poor immigrants coming from all over Europe. Year after year, with enormous effort and with financial contributions from the Catholics themselves, new institutions at every level were rising. Prominent among these establishments is Georgetown University, founded by the bishop and former Jesuit, John Carroll, during the period of the suppression of the Society (1789), and later entrusted

to the restored Society. In the United States and Canada by 1912, there were forty educational institutions--colleges or universities (tertiary level) and high schools (secondary level, "colleges" in European terminology)--serving 18,068 students.

Of the twenty-eight present day Jesuit colleges and universities in the United States, twenty-one were founded in the late nineteenth century. The rest, apart from Georgetown, have been opened in the twentieth century. Of today's forty-six high schools (secondary schools), twenty-two were founded in this century. One of them, Regis of New York City (1914), is an all-scholarship school thanks to a generous, solid endowment. Fund-raising and the setting up of foundations and scholarships has always been--and continues to be--a characteristic trait of North American Jesuits in their concern to offer access to their schools to all applicants without discrimination, especially to minorities.

Not only does a system of freedom permit the Jesuits an exceptional expansion, it offers them the opportunity for ample flexibility and adaptation in its programs. Contrary to the practice of continental Europe, there are no state institutions designed to regulate and centralize all instruction. The North American educational model bears the stamp of its European inspiration, but it embodies this inspiration in distinct ways according to its own culture and results in the American high school and the American university. The distinctive American character of Catholicism and Catholic education in the United States is unmistakable.

The first Jesuit educators of the sixteenth century knew how to adopt and adapt the cultural reality of the Renaissance, appropriating the best pedagogical methods of the day and giving them their own imprint. In a similar fashion, the Jesuits of the United States have been able to assimilate elements of their own culture and mint them as Jesuit coinage. The Society in the United States has known how to inculturate its education. This has been, and continues to be, the great contribution of the North American Jesuits to the Church and to the educational tradition of the Society. According to Bangert, "the chief symbol of the service rendered by the Jesuits to the Church of the United States has been the school."

Throughout this century, the Jesuits, by dint of efforts of heroic proportion, have earned prestige and official recognition for their institutions. With the passage of the years, their schools have been considered among the best. The fact that a school or university calls itself "Jesuit" increases its "market value." Before World War II Jesuit universities served the undergraduate population for the most part. Their graduates tended to pursue careers based on the liberal arts, such as law, business administration and in some cases, medicine. Little by little, with the development of departments and institutes that encourages more diverse specialization, a greater variety of programs was introduced.

All through the twentieth century, the North American model of education was transplanted--at times completely, point for point--to mission countries served by North American Jesuits (the Philippines, Jamaica, Belize, Iraq, Nepal, Korea, Nigeria and China).

## The "Missions"

In the so-called "mission" countries, in addition to the traditional college and institute of higher education, schools of other types appeared in great number: primary schools, agricultural institutes, technical schools, seminaries. It would be an endless task to describe in detail the various categories and the pedagogy involved. We will consider here only a few places where educational developments merit special mention.

Beyond a doubt, it was in India that Jesuit education spread most rapidly since the late nineteenth century, due to the outgoing missionary spirit of the Germans, Belgians, Italians, French, Spanish and Portuguese. Around the turn of the century there were some sixty-five secondary schools and fifteen university colleges. In the first half of the present century, this rhythm of growth has been constant.

In China the missions of French, Spanish, Italian, Austrian and Hungarian Jesuits flourished until the proclamation of the People's Republic in 1949, which marked the end of the Society's missionary and educational work. Plagued by extreme harassment, the foreign

Jesuits were forced to leave mainland China while many Chinese Jesuits were thrown into prison. Six colleges went into exile in Taiwan, the Philippines and Macau.

The educational effort in Africa, begun in the sixteenth century by the Portuguese Jesuits, reached its greatest growth during the twentieth century with an outpouring of new primary schools, orphanages, technical schools and seminaries. Into the 1960s, the decade that brought independence to many African countries, Jesuits from Belgium, Britain, France, Germany, Portugal, Italy and Poland carried on a vast educational undertaking in the former colonies or mission territories entrusted to their provinces.

In the United States, Canada and Latin America countries with significant numbers of native populations, education played an irreplaceable role in the promotion of human development and evangelization of the aboriginal communities.

## Pedagogy. To restore or to innovate?

In 1814, when the restored Society took up again its task of education, it was confronted with a fundamental problem of far reaching consequences. Were they to pick up where they left off and offer, perhaps with a few modifications, the education of a bygone era, or were they to inaugurate a new age with a new Society of Jesus and a new style of education and institutions?

The restoration, with all the ambiguity of the word, would be in the air around all Jesuit education until well into the twentieth century. It seemed obvious that their duty was to pick the thread again and to reweave the educational fabric of the Order according to the Jesuit tradition of the earlier centuries—and that, if possible, with a more tough, battle-hardened spirit. It went without saying that the restored colleges had to return to the famed Ratio Studiorum, or plan of studies for the educational work of the Society the universal norm for all Jesuit colleges since 1599.

But was this possible? The world was no longer the same. The governance of modern states envisioned a new kind of relationship between church and society. To dream of a uniform

plan of studies that would be accepted equally by all countries turned out to be a true Utopia, especially in light of the Napoleonic model of the state which promoted the state school and gave high priority to the control of education. Would they not have to consider a different kind of education, adapted to modern times? It was not simply a matter of pedagogy. The underlying question was the understanding of society, of the Church, of the world and the new reality which had surfaced in recent years.

The Twentieth General Congregation, the first of the restored Society (1820), decreed "the adaptation of the Ratio Studiorum to our times". Father General Jan Roothaan (1829-1853) urged of necessity the preparation of a new Ratio which appeared in 1832. The document was a dead letter from the first because it was impossible to apply the same way in every region. In 1906 the Twenty-fifth General Congregation admitted the failure of Roothaan's Ratio and gave up the idea of imposing a common Ratio on all colleges of the Society in view of the wide variety of civil education codes in force at the time. In practice, it was left to the provincials to determine how to apply the Ratio.

At the beginning of the century, in some countries--for example, Belgium and French Canada--elements of the old Jesuit school endured with strong emphasis on Latin, Greek and the classical authors. In others, as was the case in the United States, elements of the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture were adopted and a new style of Jesuit education was formed. In many places, especially in Europe, conflict arose between "classical" and "modern" studies. Many families questioned whether it was worthwhile to send their children to "classical" schools, where the studies were lengthier and the diplomas were not always recognized by the state, and sought instead an education less anachronistic and more in keeping with modern reality.

The Twenty-fifth General Congregation had to admit that the study of non-classical authors "is not contrary to our Institute". This declaration alone gives some idea of the problem under discussion. We are witnessing the first skirmishes of the conflict between two kinds of school: modern and classical; laicist and private-religious; school "of the people" and school

"of the rich". The controversy will poison church-state relations all through the twentieth century and still lies just below the surface.

In 1929, the year of the Lateran Treaty, Pius XI published the encyclical, Divini Illius Magistri, on Catholic education. The encyclical reflects the political spirit of the times and the polarization between the state school and the Catholic school. The subject matter, the defensive tone, the claim of rights, will all characterize ecclesiastical documents dealing with education right up until Vatican Council II: the right of the Church and of the family to educate and the duty of the state to work with Church and family. Church and civil society seem to be in a face-to-face situation rather than side-by-side, as will be the atmosphere of Vatican II.

Bowing to reality, the Catholic school yielded to government pressure. For the honor of recognition by the state, Jesuit colleges gradually adapted their programs and methods to the demands of the ministries of education and distanced themselves from the mythical Ratio, of which only outward symbolic traces remained. At times the terminology of the Ratio survived--classes of grammar, poetry, rhetoric, humanities--but the words were emptied of meaning. By mid-century many colleges were slipping into a kind of civic conformity which put at risk their very foundational inspiration.

## A Jesuit college at mid-century

A college of the Society in the 1950s was unmistakable. In the typical Jesuit college of those days we find the Rector at the helm, who was both director of the school and superior of the Jesuit community. The distinction between, and separation of, community and apostolic work, introduced by Father General Pedro Arrupe (1975), was not yet considered. There was a large community of Jesuits who taught in the college, comprising the ever present group of young Jesuit scholastics (regents), who gave the college an air of youth and dynamism. All were strictly clad in cassock (soutane, gown) and biretta.

Under the Rector, whose functions were well defined, were the Prefect of Studies (principal, headmaster), the Prefect of Discipline and the Spiritual Father or chaplain -- all of them presumably Jesuits. Every year level of the student body had its prefect. The very architecture of the college often followed this structural plan. The church or chapel and the auditorium were situated most prominently, along with the appropriate laboratories and museums. The studies were demanding and the discipline strict. A spirit of rivalry, prizes and sanctions played an important role. Sports did not enjoy equal emphasis everywhere. It is the "Anglo-Saxons" who generally stress their value--always, of course, as an element of formation. Governance was vertical; participation of faculty and families was severely restricted. The alumni (old boys) remained bound to "their" colleges through each one's respective association.

Classes, daily schedule, activities, public programs, vacations were all strictly regulated. Religious exercises (Mass, frequent confession and communion, the rosary, prayers, May devotions, First Fridays, retreats, days of recollection) occupied a firm place. Daily Mass was obligatory, a point repeatedly urged by Father General Janssens. The Sodality (today's Christian Life Community) was a key element of the formation of the students, both in the spiritual life and in their first apostolic ventures, especially in teaching catechism to the poor. The colleges were usually the nursery of vocations to the Society.

Gratuity, or the absence of fees, of Jesuit education, guaranteed through the eighteenth century, practically disappeared in the restored Society with the rise of the modern state. The colleges did all they could to acquire endowments and offer a limited number of scholarships and other financial assistance and provided courses for the poor--efforts that were not without a certain ambiguity. But despite all these attempts, Jesuit education tended in fact to serve primarily the middle and upper classes. In some countries it was constantly becoming more elitist. The discontent that this created among the Jesuits themselves, especially the young, was growing like distant thunder.

From the 1950s on, especially in Europe, new laws and school regulations opened the way to collaborative agreements with the state, thanks to which financial support of varying

amounts was forthcoming. The education provided by Jesuit colleges was thus becoming more democratic, according to the degree of dependence on the state.

Coeducation was not permitted in Jesuit secondary schools. The encyclical, Divini Illius Magistri, effectively declared it "erroneous and dangerous". A more flexible policy had to await Vatican II. In 1965 the Society began to allow coeducation at the secondary level under certain conditions and "with the approval of Father General". The Jesuits used to operate several boarding schools, much in demand by families that lived at a distance. As time passed, however, because of dwindling Jesuit staff and a different understanding of education, the boarding schools began to close their doors and exist now only in exceptional situations.

Seriousness and rigor of studies, strict discipline, sound religious and moral formation, social contact with certain circles--these were the traits of the Jesuit colleges of those days. The Jesuits were criticized, as always, but at the same time, it is undeniable that their colleges provided a level of academic excellence and a solid Christian formation that were valued by their public. In countries where Christians were in the minority, the Jesuit colleges certainly brought prestige to the Church and were synonymous with quality education.

### THE TORMENTED SECOND HALF OF THE 20th CENTURY

### Movement in the colleges

It would be a mistake to think that the education sector of apostolate grew weary of its strong tradition and its sterling record. After two world wars, society and the Church were no longer the same. The good Jesuit Fathers and Brothers--and the families--of the postwar colleges were still far from even imagining the changes to come. They would have to await the Council, of which, at the time, there was no inkling.

Yet, after World War II, one could detect certain currents that would have an impact on the education of the Society. Social unrest, noticeable especially in Europe, challenged and

questioned the traditional social institutions such as education. These were the years of the Worker-Priests and of the strong surge of the Community party in the most Christian countries of Europe and of the shocking realization that education itself should always have a social dimension and impact.

In his famous Instruction on the Social Apostolate (1949), which is a milestone in the Society's road to commitment to the "social question." Father Janssens challenges the colleges. In bold language for those days, the General speaks of completely uprooting the spirit of "caste" among Jesuits and their students. They should not appear "to be allied with the rich and the capitalists". Those especially who labor in the ministry of the colleges should manifest "an interest and concern for the proletariats that is equal to, or even greater than, that shown to the rich". One can imagine the impact of these words on the schools. This was the beginning of a process of change and conversion that grew stronger with the Council. Nevertheless, disaffection toward the colleges remained strong, especially among young Jesuits. In 1960, in a letter to those engaged in education, the General had to confront those who doubted whether the colleges were a ministry proper to the Society or who asserted that they were not in conformity with the spirit of St. Ignatius.

Father Janssens took important steps for the restructuring of the educational apostolate. Both on the provincial and national levels he set up offices of general Prefects of Studies. In this way there was more coordination among the colleges, both province and nation-wide, as well as closer international collaboration. He appointed Visitors of the colleges in various countries and regions, for example, Spain and Latin America. National and regional educational associations were encouraged within the Society. Statutes were elaborated to guide the work of the Prefects of Studies. In 1960 the first international meeting of experts in the college apostolate was held in Rome for the purpose of formulating common criteria of inspiration and action. The work of education in the Society was taking on a corporate character.

In 1967 the new General, Father Pedro Arrupe (1965-1983) established the Secretariat for Jesuit Education for the purpose of achieving still greater coordination and of providing a

sense of unity in the educational apostolate. In subsequent years this secretariat played a role of prime importance.

## The critical 1960s

The 1960s did not treat education gently. Criticism of institutions took on a destructive tone and the school was not immune. The graffiti on the streets of Paris in May 1968 were an eloquent witness to the prevailing mentality. The educational institution was an easy target for those who were clamoring for social change. After all, by supposition, schools are incapable of confronting and changing the real situation; they are part of the system; they are elitist. From Cuernavaca (Mexico) on the other side of the Atlantic, Ivan Illich unleashed his anti-school anger, calling the school the "sacred cow" and the reproductive organ of the establishment.

The anti-institutional tide wrought havoc with the educational sector. The UNESCO Faure Report (1972) rebutted many of these criticisms and defended the irreplaceable role of the school. But it also denounced the school's limitations and called for abolishing formality in academic institutions and for taking advantage of the nonacademic educational resources of the "educational city". It gave the green light to "non-formal" education.

Within the Church a new theme of discussion arose which advanced like an irresistible wave. The poor were suddenly present to the Church. After John XXIII's prophetic words on "the Church of the poor", the subject was inevitable. The encyclical, Populorum Progressio (1967), got people thinking anew about justice. In 1971 the Synod of Bishops, dealing with Justice in the World, articulated a demand which jolted anyone connected with schools: the necessity of "education for justice".

The Jesuits were not deaf to this discussion. It is unsettling to talk about the poor and justice and by the early 1970s these subjects were not leaving Jesuit education unscathed. In 1971, in the famous document of Oaxtepec, a group of Latin American Jesuits urged "education in the faith in the perspective of structural justice". In 1973, Father General Pedro Arrupe

startled the Tenth European Congress of Jesuit Alumni in Valencia when he sprang on them the famous question: "Have we educated you for justice? Have you been educated for justice? . . . I believe that we Jesuits have to answer humbly 'no, we have not educated you for justice"'. Then Arrupe uttered the famous watchwords, "men and women for others", "agents and promoters of change".

Two years later, the Thirty-second General Congregation (1975) redefined the mission of the Society as "the service of faith and the promotion of justice", and asked all Jesuits to embark upon a process of reflection and revision of all their apostolic works. The colleges and other educational institutions had already been subjected to serious questioning about their ability to educate for justice and change. Now they were the targets of profound criticism. Most of them accepted the challenge and bravely began a process of evaluation and transformation. It was a difficult period, but also one of grace and it bore fruit. Today's Jesuit colleges and universities are not what they were at the beginning of the beginning of the century--not even what they were twenty-five years ago.

Concomitantly, the universal crisis was reflected in the severe decrease in the availability of Jesuits of working age. Jesuit numbers maintained a steady increase up to 1965--symptomatically, the year Vatican II closed--and from then on, the curve took an alarming drop. In twenty years (from 1965 to 1985), the total number of Jesuits fell almost "30%", from 36,038 to 25,549. This phenomenon was not limited to the Society of Jesus, but it had a profound effect on its apostolates, especially educational works.

## The tale told by the numbers

Some statistics can help us understand developments in the Society and in its schools throughout the twentieth century.

In the early decades of the century the educational work of the Society, in all provinces and missions, advanced steadily and strongly. It is difficult to provide comparable data to

demonstrate this advance because of the varying methods of gathering statistics before the 1940s. Therefore dependable hard numbers of institutions and students are not easily found. Relying on province catalogues and statistical studies gathering the available data with a minimalist methodology, we can assert that in 1937 4,265 Jesuits and 7,433 lay people were engaged in education serving 204,516 students. In 1947 we find 5,591 Jesuits and 20,714 lay people with a total of 257,396 students, not counting schools in the missions. Ten years later, in 1957, the data are more precise: 9,900 Jesuits in educational institutions directed by the Society, another 1,300 in non-Jesuit schools (in all, 11,200 Jesuits), 31,100 lay people, 456,000 students in Jesuit schools, 335,100 in others (in all 791,100 students). In twenty years, from 1937 to 1957, the percentage of Jesuits working in education grew from 16."7%" to 29."3%" of all Jesuits in the world (25,460 in 1937; 33,732 in 1957). According to the latest statistics on Jesuit education (1998), educational works of the Society or entrusted to the Society -- including some educational networks serving the more economically disadvantaged--number 1,611 in 73 countries. The number of students is 1,583,555. There are 4,561 Jesuits in education with 73,750 lay co-workers. These figures illuminate the decline in the total number of Jesuits in the schools: from 9,900

These figures illuminate the decline in the total number of Jesuits in the schools: from 9,900 in 1957 to 4,561 in 1998 ("54%" fewer). Nonetheless, despite the drop in absolute numbers, the Jesuit school contingent remains relatively large in the context of all Jesuit apostolates: 20."8%" of all Jesuits. The number of schools and students keeps growing. The number of lay people in the schools has more than doubled.

On the threshold of the year 2000, the proportion of Jesuits in the schools is around 5."8%" as against 94."2%" lay people. This trend of relative decline and rise is expected to continue and increase well into the twenty-first century. The demands to be faced in the dawning years of the new century cannot be more challenging.

# Avenues of change

The Jesuits of the second half of the century were obliged to confront a crisis which began at the end of World War II and became universal in the 1960s. It was not just a question of coping with the decline in numbers and the aging of the Society, nor of answering the criticism directed against schools. It was rather a matter of rediscovering the direction of Jesuit education in a new context and of meeting the needs of the present day. Never had Jesuit education come up against a problem like this.

The crisis, especially in the 1960s, deeply affected the Society almost everywhere, but especially in European countries, troubled also by a declining birth rate and an ever growing secularism. Not all the provinces were touched to the same extent nor did they react in the same way.

Here is a summary of how different provinces or regions set about responding to the imperatives of change in the second half of the century and where they stand today. In France, coming to terms with the impossibility of carrying on the educational apostolate as before, the Society handed some colleges over to others. They hit upon the formula of Associations and Unions among diocesan schools and those of religious communities for the purpose of maintaining Catholic education. Beginning with the Debre Law (1959), Catholic education received various forms of assistance, determined by a contract with the state, which provided financial support for the colleges. With close collaboration of the Society, the Federation of Regional Unions (UNIREF) was founded in 1991. The Center of Pedagogical Studies in Paris promotes Ignatian pedagogical reflection among the colleges of the federation. In this way there are 13 lycees and colleges connected with the Society. A valuable presence is also maintained in the area of higher education through similar groups, most notably, the ICAM (Instituts Catholicjues d'Arts et Metiers).

In Italy after World War II, the declining birth rate, as well as the lack of any state support for private education, led to a fall in the number of students. Contributing to this decline was the shrinking number of Jesuits along with their rising average age. Of the 18 colleges in

1947, over half had to be closed or transferred to others. The eight survivors have to cope with a dwindling number of students, the accusation of elitism and perennial financial problems. Paradoxically, of all the countries in the European Union, Italy is one of the few in which private education receives no state support. The battle for recognition of "school parity" between public and private sectors is an unending one, still without solution at century's end.

In contrast with what was happening in other countries, Jesuit education in Belgium flourished in the years preceding World War II with a large number of colleges and boarding schools. The "School Agreement" of 1958 granted state subsidy to ensure free education. As things have worked out, the colleges have to contend with a multitude of problems arising from state restrictions which affect the salary scale, labor conditions and even the freedom of pedagogical theory and orientation of the colleges. The Belgian Jesuits are formulating new juridical norms of governance which will enable them to maintain their own identity in their sixteen colleges and in the three Faculties or Institutes.

The situation is less fortunate in the Netherlands. Even though in the 1950s the colleges received complete financial support from the state and absolute freedom of teaching, the religious crisis which hit the country in the 1960s fell with full force on the Society, whose numbers fell off dramatically. At the same time there was a decline in both birth rate and demand for education. The Society was finding it difficult to ensure the presence of Jesuits and Jesuit identity in their seven colleges. The situation soon became intolerable. The Jesuits began leaving administrative posts to concentrate on fostering the spiritual life of the school. Control of the general direction of the college passed out of Jesuit hands.

Beginning in the 1970s responsibility for the schools was entrusted to lay administrative boards with minimal Jesuit presence. The Netherlands represents the extreme form of this process of passage to lay control: the Society in fact ends up accepting the proposition that the colleges will cease being juridically considered "Jesuit" and gives them up. Only the college of Delft retains a certain Ignatian inspiration but with no juridical responsibility on the part of the Society.

In Spain the former Jesuit colleges were restored to the Society after the Civil War and the work was resumed. In addition to the traditional colleges, the Jesuits ventured into new territory with professional technical education, provided with state support and directed to the working classes. Worthy of special mention is the Holy Family Escuelas Tecnicas Professionales (SAFA), founded in 1943. At the present time, this enterprise, entrusted to the Society, embraces twenty-six schools and a university level education school designed to benefit the people of Andalusia. They now serve around 20,000 students. In the late 1970s the forty-four Jesuit colleges and professional schools--an impressive group, the soundest in Europe--reached an agreement with the state which allowed them a certain degree of financial support. The colleges have made a serious effort to define their "special character" or identity and to pool their resources of pedagogical and spiritual formation. Since 1969 the Spanish Jesuit colleges have been collaborating within the framework of the National Commission of Colleges (CONED). Their two universities and five Institutes of Higher Studies devise various administrative formulas for ensuring Ignatian presence and inspiration. A system of education by radio is provided by ECCA, which was started in the Canary Islands and has served as a point of departure for similar projects in Latin America. It was not easy for Portugal to recover after the persecution at the beginning of the century, which put a stop to educational expansion. There are three colleges that enjoy partial support from the state. A similar arrangement prevails in Germany where the school apostolate has been carried on with some limitation this past half century. There are four colleges, two of which are boarding schools. Austria operates two colleges with an ever dwindling number of Jesuits. Denmark and Malta are represented with one college each. In Great Britain a number of colleges and boarding schools had to be closed, including the well known Beaumont College. Still, the Society has found ways of ensuring its presence and identity in ten colleges and schools. Ireland maintains seven schools and colleges. The collapse of the Berlin Wall (1989) opened up new expectations for Jesuit education in Eastern Europe. Slowly, and under conditions of extreme difficulty of every kind, the educational network is being reconstituted and a tradition is reappearing which had vanished

40 years before. In these closing years of the century, the Jesuits of formerly Communist Europe have vigorously undertaken the second restoration of the Society. In addition to a handful of colleges and seminaries in Albania, Croatia, Slovakia, Hungary, Lithuania and Poland, special emphasis is placed on formation of the local clergy—and this in Russia as well—and on running pastoral academic centers for the formation of catechists. In stark contrast with the countries of Western Europe, one cannot help observing that it is precisely in the countries of eastern Europe that the number of Jesuits appears to be on the rise. In all these European countries, the process of transferring responsibility to the laity is gaining ground, but, at the same time, collaboration with the laity is considered important as a way of ensuring fellow workers who guarantee the continuation of the Society's mission and the Ignatian identity of the institutions. The idea of simply abandoning or handing over the colleges without further ado, with consequent loss of their special characteristics, is generally rejected.

In Latin America discussion of the social problem is particularly heated. During the 1970s military dictatorships seemed to cover the ground and there was much discontent among the Jesuits about the public they were serving. With no state support, the colleges were becoming more and more elitist. At Medellin (1968) the Latin American bishops addressed Catholic institutions and called for "liberating education", inspired by Paolo Freire. That same year the provincials, meeting with Fr. Pedro Arrupe at Rio de Janeiro, demanded a greater social commitment of the colleges. Some years later, the Puebia Conference (1979) launched the "preferential option for the poor".

The colleges were not deaf to all these calls. An emblematic case would be that of the Institute Patria, the most prominent Jesuit college in Mexico, which, in 1971, took the radical decision to close its doors because it realized the impossibility of persuading its students or their families to accept social change. The ensuing uproar echoes today throughout Latin America. Without going so far as that, the other colleges undertook a thoroughgoing transformation in order to come to terms with their raison d'etre and strike a new course.

Now at the end of the century, there are seventy-eight Jesuit colleges in Latin America which are working in close mutual collaboration in national and regional associations. In the dark days of the military dictatorships some of them were accused of being Communist and suffered persecution. The Rockefeller Report (1969) criticized the Church for being close to the poor. Without state support, the Latin American colleges have to work hard to avoid becoming exclusive. To this end they clearly establish their social orientation and give their students opportunities to experience genuine contact with society.

The Latin American universities and institutes of higher learning entrusted to the Society form the association AUSJAL, which numbers twenty-three members and a total of 166,000 students. The murder of the Jesuits of UCA (University of Central America) in 1989 is symbolic both of the universities' commitment to the cause of justice and of the reactions awakened by this commitment.

The educational movement, Fe y Alegria, began in Venezuela in 1954. This is a cooperative project of several religious communities under the ultimate responsibility of the Society. It has reached thirteen countries, in 835 schools serving some 400,000 students of the most disadvantaged sectors of society. Fe y Alegria is a powerful example of how to educate and promote all the people--children, teenagers, adults, women--combined with a strong component of community participation. Education through the radio waves reaches those in greatest need and has considerable impact on public opinion.

In the United States the JEA (Jesuit Educational Association), established in 1934, was the first association of national character in the Society. For over thirty years, the JEA provided strong support for the American Jesuit colleges and universities which were in a constant state of expansion. In 1948 Father General Janssens published an Instruction approving new regulations for the colleges and universities of the United States, setting up a National Education Secretariat and organizing further the Jesuit education network which was steadily gaining in strength and prestige.

Moreover, in 1967, an important new step was taken. It approved the involvement of administrative boards of competent lay people (trustees) in the governance structures of the

Jesuit educational institutions. With this decision to share the Society's authority with others, began a more participatory and democratic model of educational administration, within the American academic and cultural tradition. This model was to serve as an inspiration for other schools and provinces and as an effective formula for incorporating lay people in the governance of the works of the Society.

In 1970 the JEA split into AJCU (Association of Jesuit Colleges and Universities) and JSEA (Jesuit Secondary Educational Association). The JSEA Preamble establishes a new direction for Jesuit education: the search for academic excellence based on an Ignatian vision which draws its fundamental inspiration from the Spiritual Exercises. AJCU also emphasizes the Catholic and Jesuit atmosphere of its institutions, seeking to articulate the mission in concrete practical terms. But these were still embryonic stages. Years later the document, Characteristics of Jesuit Education, would be brought to light.

It had been a long journey from those early schools founded before the turn of the century, almost exclusively for Catholic immigrants in a closed, minority situation. Jesuit education in the United States has come to enjoy an established position in the academic and cultural framework of the country with a clear sense of identity. But the crisis did not pass them by. Six colleges, including two boarding schools, had to be closed. The new structure of Jesuit education made it easy to incorporate experienced lay people into the governance of the schools.

In the 1990s the Jesuits of the United States are placing special emphasis on the education of African American, Native American and Hispanic minorities as well as immigrants. They also try to reach pockets of poverty in the inner city. On both university and high school level, effective efforts have been made to achieve integration. Moreover, the network of "Nativity Schools" and other alternative educational forms have arisen to meet the needs of the emarginated.

In Canada it became impossible for the Jesuits to support all their schools or to maintain their identity under the limitations imposed by free education. The Society ended up transferring to others more than half of the eleven establishments it held at mid-century. At present they have only two colleges and two secondary schools.

It is a very different story on other continents where the Society and its educational ministry is expanding.

With the independence of India in 1948, the Indian Jesuits took over responsibility for an educational system which has developed in full vigor as nowhere else in the world, in a variegated intercultural and interreligious context. India today holds first place in the whole Society in the number of educational centers and students, with twenty-six university colleges and other institutes of higher education, 149 colleges and primary schools, along with various academic networks serving the aboriginal inhabitants (tribals) and for the outcasts (dalits). The total number of students is around 228,000.

State subsidies, while never completely sufficient nor punctually delivered, allow the Indian Jesuits to provide an education that is relatively accessible to all. The challenge for them is how to combine a high level of academic and human quality and effective access to this education for the poor. And this has to take place in the framework of today's dominant globalization. The visible face of the Church and the Society in India is education. In Indonesia the education numbers keep rising, with three secondary schools, three large professional technical schools and a Normal School for teachers (1955), which has become the Sanata Dharma University in Jogjakarta. The network of popular education. The Canisius Foundation, which earlier in the 1990s was reaching 40,000 students in 200 schools, is currently threatened with extinction due to the systematic deprivation of state support.

The Philippines too is witnessing an expansion of Jesuit education with five universities (Ateneos), eight large colleges and schools and a constant demand for more.

In Hong Kong and Macau, the colleges, hitherto supported by the state, look to China with hope and uncertainty. Jesuit education in Taiwan is doing all it can with scarce Jesuit personnel to meet the growing demand.

After World War II, Japan became an international mission and Jesuits from all over the world came to the aid of Sophia University. The new Elizabeth University of Music was founded in Hiroshima while the Society was operating four secondary school and a college for girls. The Society takes great pains in maintaining a high academic level in its universities and colleges so as to display clearly the values of their education in a milieu of advanced technical development and implacable competition. In Korea the Society was not involved in education until 1960, with the establishment of Sogang University in Seoul, which serves as the principal apostolic field of the Korean Jesuits.

In all the countries of Asia, one of the biggest challenges is the formation of teachers, whether Christian or not, in the Ignatian spiritual and pedagogical tradition.

Australia runs seven large colleges and four university colleges. The province systematically inculcates the "Ignatian Fundamental Insights" in the direction of its institutions.

In Africa and the Near East the Society carries on its educational work as a minority in a religious and cultural universe that is predominantly Muslim, with the exception of Lebanon, where there is a strong Jesuit presence in the university and scholarly world. In Sub-Saharan Africa and Madagascar Jesuit education is growing slowly amidst endless difficulties which hinder development in the "ocean of misfortune" which the African continent has become n the second half of the century. The most significant educational effort is in the Democratic Republic of Congo with nine colleges and technical schools, which must contend with enormous problems. Next is Zimbabwe with eight colleges and

technical schools and Madagascar with five.

Special mention should be made of Ethiopia, where the country's first university college was established by the French Canadian Jesuits in 1945. Also noteworthy is the Catholic Institute of Yaounde in Cameroun. This is the only Jesuit university properly so called in Africa. It was founded by the French Jesuits in 1991 to serve the region of West Africa. In the whole history of the Society, Jesuit education has never had to cope with such farreaching changes and such great challenges as those with which it has coped in the second half of the 20th century.

### ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE NEW MILLENIUM

#### The Ratio Studionim and the Characteristics

The Jesuits of the sixteenth century succeeded in creating a uniform system of education with the help of an instrument that brought together projects, programs and methodology in a single humanistic concept of formation: the Ratio Studiorum, unmistakable stamp that distinguished the colleges of the Society of Jesus from Europe to the most remote lands of Asia or America. Their successors of the twentieth century at first thought to reconstruct the same unity built on the Ratio, until they soon realized that the task was impossible. The merit of the twentieth century Jesuits lay in the fact that they provided a sense of unity to their educational work, not based on a common plan or method, but on a fundamental Ignatian inspiration. Of course that basic inspiration was implicit in the Ratio. But it had never been shown so clearly as in the twentieth century that the deepest raison d'etre of the colleges and of all the educational works of the Society, that which gives them their sense of unity, is the vision of Ignatius of Loyola and the mission of the Society of Jesus. In other words, the pedagogy of the Jesuits--or, rather, the education of the Jesuits--is based on the Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius of Loyola. Perhaps one of the achievements of the twentieth century Society, so shaken by the convulsions and crises it has been forced to endure, has been the rediscovery of the Exercises of Ignatius as the inspirational source of its works, educational and apostolic in general, rather than the formality of a predetermined pedagogical code.

The deepest meaning of the Society's educational work is understood in the light of the very life of Ignatius and of his spiritual experience. This was one of the favorite themes of Jeronimo Nadal, a contemporary of Ignatius who had the deepest insight into the spirit of the founder. The life of Ignatius is the point of departure for understanding the Society and its proper vocation. The rediscovery of the trajectory followed by Ignatius--the spiritual road

of the "pilgrim" in his Autobiography--has helped the Jesuits and the Society to understand itself and to come to terms with its mission.

Father Arrupe was the one who brought this new focus to our attention. In 1980 he summoned to Rome a small group of Jesuits and lay people to discuss a number of points about the colleges. The big question was how to bring the colleges to comply with the apostolic purposes of the Society of Jesus in the context of the new reality, and how to face the challenges of the future. The members of the group agreed that the indispensable condition for this purpose was fidelity of the colleges to their proper Jesuit heritage. It was a matter of reawakening the vision of Ignatius and applying it to education, making allowances for present circumstances. At the end of the meeting, Fr. Arrupe gave his famous allocution, "Our colleges, today and tomorrow", which was to signal a new epoch in the Society' educational ministry.

The public still sees schools and universities as symbols of Jesuit commitment to education, though these have changed considerably in aim and structure, and there are many novel ventures. But they all have a Jesuit family resemblance.

Out of this meeting arose the ICAJE (International Commission for the Jesuit Apostolate of Education), which met in 1982 to prepare a document which would capture the spirit which should animate a contemporary Jesuit college. After four years of meetings and consultations held all over the world, finally in 1986, the document "Characteristics of Education of the Society of Jesus" saw the light of day, promulgated by the new General, Fr. Peter-Hans Kolvenbach.

This document seeks to identify that which distinguishes an educational institution which wants to be called Jesuit. The Characteristics find it precisely in the vision of Ignatius, born of his own spiritual experience. It is found in the way Ignatius himself applied his vision to education and in the concrete manner in which this vision has developed and been applied in the course of history.

The impact of the Characteristics has been, and continues to be, extraordinary, not only for the Jesuit colleges, but also for other educational centers of Ignatian inspiration. Some 2,000

educational institutions all over the world lay claim to an inspiration that is Ignatian, if not necessarily Jesuit. This is not an idle distinction. The Characteristics have established a sense of identity and have certainly brought greater clarity to the being and work of Jesuit education than no other document since the Ratio. The Characteristics are absolutely not a new Ratio. And yet, they project a vision and a sense of purpose which far transcends the formality of the Ratio.

In 1993 the Secretariat for Jesuit Education published a new document, the Ignatian Pedagogical Paradigm. Practical proposals, whose purpose was to be a guide to applying the Characteristics to the concrete situation of the classroom, by means of pedagogical practice inspired by the experience of the Exercises of St. Ignatius.

Nowadays, all the colleges and universities of the Society, in their mission statements or descriptions of school philosophy, have taken up the basic principles of the Characteristics, applying them to the concrete situation. Fr. Kolvenbach, for his part, continues to inculcate the practical application of the Characteristics in his visits to colleges and universities everywhere. His address at Georgetown University (1989) remains a programmatic statement of intense actuality.

## Challenges of the mission

In 1995 the Thirty-fourth General Congregation revisited the theme of the mission of the Society. The Congregation highlighted a number of themes which significantly touched upon education. One deals with the three dimensions of the mission in the modern world as three branches of a single trunk: faith, culture and interreligious dialogue. The education of the Society is determined to incorporate and appropriate these three dimensions, especially in a world subject to constantly growing globalization, in which the service of the faith is impossible to accomplish without promotion of justice. It desires to enter into and be part of the world's cultures and to be understanding of the religious experience of others.

Another document of the General Congregation dealt with collaboration with the laity in our mission. We have come a long way from the decrees of General Congregations of a century ago, which considered a majority of Jesuits in a Jesuit college as the ideal situation. To keep the schools going and to maintain their Jesuit, or Ignatian, identity with an ever diminishing number of Jesuits--or, simply, without Jesuits--is one of the greatest challenges of the mission.

The loyal collaboration of the laity with the Society and, vice versa, of the Society with the laity, with a view to the mission is the new demand with which the Society is challenging its apostolic works, especially education. The Thirty-fourth General Congregation endorsed what the practice of recent years had laboriously discovered: the necessity of sharing the spiritual heritage and pegagogy of the Society with lay people and the necessity of preparing lay people to take responsible positions in the schools of the Society.

The Society has adopted new governance structures in order to share power which had earlier rested exclusively with Jesuits, thus bringing about great participation of lay people. This state of affairs poses far-reaching question to our institutions, especially those of higher education. It would be self-contradictory for these new structures to end up diluting the identity of the schools, abandoning the Ignatian vision and the sense of mission proper to a Jesuit institution. The Thirty-fourth General Congregation firmly insisted on both the noun, "university", and the adjective, "Jesuit", as elements to be fully respected.

A special decree of the Congregation is dedicated to nonformal education (not institutionalized, popular) as completely in line with the Society's mission. In this way citizenship papers are granted to educational experiments which are finding ever wider acceptance, especially in the service of people most in need. These projects flourish alongside the traditional institutional forms. The apostolate of education is moving beyond the walls of the schoolroom.

The Congregation insists that the Society is an apostolic body and, as such, should work with an ever more consciously corporate sense. Working as part of the network is an urgent need nowadays and education is precisely the apostolic field where the Society is more clearly

engaged in the network. JEA in South Asia, EAOJEC and EAOJECCU in East Asia and Oceania, JSEA and AJCU in the United States, AUSJAL in Latin America, JECSE in Europe, ICAJE and ICJHE on the Education Secretariat level are a few indications of the network that is binding the schools of the Society ever more closely together.

The twentieth century has not been an easy time for the Jesuits. The education which the Society offers the world is a far cry from what it was 400 years ago--and from what it was 100 years ago. The effort of adapting to a reality always new, always changing, while remaining faithful to its own identity and to the spirit of Ignatius, has put its stamp on the Jesuit school. Social upheavals, persecutions, crises, scenery changes, trial and error, progress, setbacks have been milestones on its road through the past century.

Despite all the difficulties and failures, the vision and mission of Ignatius, in a totally different historical framework, remain vital forces in the Society's education today. The rediscovery and realization of this spirit has been the great achievement of the Jesuits of this century. Their educational work is, if anything, more Jesuit and more Ignatian, because they have found how to walk closer to the Lord, trusting--as did Ignatius the pilgrim--that by unsuspected paths the Lord of history is leading them.

There are fewer Jesuits today than yesterday, but there is an ever growing number of committed lay people who share the vision and the mission of Ignatius. With these new companions on the journey, they can face the future with hope. Along with Ignatius the pilgrim, Jesuit education will stay the course for "the help of souls" and "the greater service of God".

by Gabriel Codina, S.J. translated by John F. Dullea, S.J.