giarsi, the skill of making do and coping with the unexpected, the refugees possessed a high tolerance for ambiguity. Their fluid behavior—prizing cooperation over confrontation, appropriation and absorption over resistance—followed the popular maxim *Una mano lava l'altra* ("One hand washes the other"). In a polyglot frontier mapped by racial conflict and suffused with a culture of confrontation and conquest, these adaptive tendencies served a useful purpose. That they were priests gave them added clout among America's hybridized Catholic population. That they were Jesuits facilitated cultural bridge-building.

The First Jesuits

Founded by St. Ignatius of Loyola in the mid-sixteenth century, the Jesuits resembled older orders of the Catholic church in many essential features. Like its precursors, the Society of Jesus admitted some men as candidates for ordination; others joined as brothers, full members of the institute, who were not trained to become priests. Hence the latter were called "brothers," not "fathers." As with other groups, Jesuits took the three customary vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience in imitation of aspects of Christ's life. Poverty was embraced in response to Jesus' challenge to the rich young man: "If you would be perfect, go, sell what you have, and give it to the poor." The vow was also seen as a pathway to spiritual freedom. There is "no purer and more fruitful life . . . than that most sheltered from the pestilence which is love of money," Jesuit documents declared, and therefore one should "love poverty as a mother." They did not commit to a life of utter destitution, however, but to simplicity and detachment—often described as "apostolic poverty," meaning that it was accommodated to the needs of particular ministries.[6]

Although its *Constitutions* declared that the order's "manner of living is ordinary," members inevitably differed on what that meant. Nineteenth-century Italian Jesuits inclined toward a strict interpretation, as was clear from the impression their asceticism made on John Henry Newman, when he visited them in Rome in 1847. "They have no enjoyment of life," he said, recalling an encounter with his Jesuit confessor, Giuseppe Repetti, on a cold winter evening. "I find myself in a cheerless room, door and window not shutting close—no fire of course—a miserable bed—however perfectly clean, and he reading." "What has he to look forward to in life?" the visitor wondered. "Nothing; nothing is there to support him but the thought of the next world."[7] A similar determination to remain free of dependence upon material comforts was part of the ideology brought by many Italian clergy to nineteenth-century America.

For Jesuits, as for other religious, the vow of chastity proscribed marriage, physical intimacy, and exclusive relationships. Although Protestant critics stressed the restrictive aspects of the vow, Jesuits themselves understood it as liberating them for greater service to God and community. Virginity implied a life that was chaste in every regard and invulnerable to scandal or gossip, which accounts for the strict precautions taken by Jesuits in their interactions with others. Unlike modern observers for whom the psychological value of celibacy is suspect, nineteenth-century Jesuits accepted it as an ideal without question, concurring with Ignatius, who wrote in the order's *Constitutions* that "the vow of chastity does not require explanation since it is evident how perfectly it should be preserved."[8] This uncomplicated view, coupled with a clerical fear of the opposite sex, meant that relations between Jesuits and women were tightly circumscribed during much of the order's history.

Through their vow of obedience, Jesuits made themselves available for whatever ministry their superiors assigned them. Embraced in imitation of Jesus who sought to do God's will, obedience also functioned as a way of preserving the cohesiveness of a highly mobile and dispersive organization. A hallmark of the order, Jesuit obedience became a source of caricature by outsiders who focused on Ignatius' metaphorical references to "blind obedience" and to placing oneself "like a cadaver" in the hands of superiors. As a character in one of Frances Trollope's Victorian novels declared, there was no "limit to the obedience of a Jesuit." In reality, as we shall see, the founder provided a system of checks and balances obliging authorities to consult and discuss before rendering decisions. Nonetheless, throughout the order's history, the vow gave Jesuits great flexibility in meeting the shifting needs of an expanding church.[9]

In other ways, the first Jesuits broke the mold of custom by cultivating a disposition to mediate between cultures. Shaped by the Renaissance world in which their Society arose, humanistic priests took on education as a major ministry, something no earlier Catholic order had done in such a significant way. Influenced by the classical rhetoric of Greece and Rome, Loyola's followers were dedicated to the principle of measured accommodation in all their activities, an orientation enlivened by a spirituality centered on God's adaptation to the human race for the sake of salvation. The leitmotif of every Jesuit activity, from the first school in sixteenth-century Spain to the Indian missions of nineteenth-century Oregon, was the same: to adapt all things to "the circumstances of persons, times, and places."[10] Equally central to the order's self-definition was its embrace of secular culture. As a corollary to educational work, the Society of Jesus engaged in all spheres of human activity — as theologians, philosophers, astronomers, physicists, cartographers, agriculturalists, artists, architects, and playwrights. This unconventional

approach to soul-saving enabled Jesuits to mediate between religion and a wide variety of persons and cultures. It also invested them with power in both the ecclesiastical and secular realms. And with power came enemies and controversy, two features that marked Jesuit history from its very beginning.

Another source of strength (and vulnerability) was the order's universality. Since its founding moment, the Jesuit institute, like the expansionist Europe of its day, drew members from all over the world. It was likewise global in its activities. Their *Constitutions* admonished Jesuits to embrace mobility for the sake of the Gospel, " to be ready at any hour to go to some or other parts of the world where they may be sent." This dispersive trait was reinforced by a special fourth vow of obedience to the pope. Taken by selected Jesuits outstanding in virtue and learning, the vow committed them " to go anywhere His Holiness will order, either among the faithful or the infidels . . . [for] the welfare of the Christian religion." Accordingly, adaptive missionaries labored as astronomers and Confucian scholars in China and as linguists in Vietnam.[11] To support their evangelical projects, early Jesuits invested in the silk trade in Japan, served as diplomats in Portugal, and grew sugar on slave plantations in Brazil and tobacco in colonial Virginia.

As a result of these far-flung activities, Jesuits were disposed to think and act globally. Their interconnected multinational communities engaged a " great diversity of persons throughout a variety of regions," as their *Constitutions* urged. In an effort to understand alien cultures, Jesuits adopted a type of cultural relativism that complemented their ad hoc approach of " using some means at one time and others at another."[12] Innovation and a cosmopolitan outlook served them well in missionary countries. But it alienated rulers dedicated to enhancing the sovereignty of newly emerging nation-states. In the late eighteenth century, the Jesuits' transnational organization contributed to their suppression as a religious order. Purged first in Portugal in 1759, they were subsequently disbanded throughout the world by a papacy pressured into action by European monarchs bent on curtailing ecclesiastical leverage over their national churches.

Rehabilitated by papal decree in 1814, the reemerged Society had lost much of its original flexibility and verve during the near half-century of its repression. In the absence of a living tradition upon which to rebuild, the resurrected order relearned its manner of proceeding from books. Brought low by the trauma of dissolution, it was cautious and conservative. Nevertheless, the Society managed to retain some of its instinctive tolerance for cultural difference — in part because it quickly resumed a global missionary thrust. Imbued still with an adaptive mind-set, Jesuits of nineteenth-century Italy were primed by both cultural and religious ideology to engage American diversity.

Italian Jesuit Émigrés

Although better educated than the average frontiersman, the refugee clergy resembled many of their American contemporaries. The sons of merchants, shopkeepers, civil officials, lawyers, and other professionals, the Italians sprang largely from middle-class soil. Many of them had rural roots. The Indian missionary Giuseppe Cataldo came from a prosperous farm family in Sicily, while the parents of his contemporary Giuseppe Chianale were landless *contadini*, or peasants. The father of Giuseppe Sasia, a Piedmontese missionary, earned his living as a poor railroad worker. Although most of the Jesuits were from the bourgeoisie, a few belonged to the Italian nobility. Some were related to high church officials, including the Oregon missionaries Gregorio Gazzoli and Filiberto Tornielli, whose uncles were popes. In short, the Jesuits drew recruits from all strata of Italian society.

A common denominator among those who became priests was that their families valued education. Many had been drawn to religious life by the example of Jesuit teachers; others attended diocesan seminaries before signing up. Rich or poor, high-born or common, they were all well-schooled prior to joining the Jesuits — in part because the order itself placed a high priority on academic qualification for trainees studying to become priests. Different expectations, however, were applied to the Jesuit brothers, a few of whom were illiterate. Charged with managing the physical plant at a college or mission, a brother typically performed humble domestic chores and manual labor, exhibiting "the virtues befitting his vocation," summarized by a nineteenth-century Jesuit as a "spirit of devotion [that] went hand in hand with his spirit of labor."[13]

Their motives for entering religion varied. But the vast majority ascribed their decision simply to a sense of being called and to a desire to place their lives at the service of lofty ideals. Twenty-four-year-old Michele Accolti, Oregon missionary and founder of the order's California Mission, was enrolled in a pontifical academy in Rome when he set off to become a Jesuit in 1831. After making the *Spiritual Exercises*, a form of Jesuit retreat, he applied for admittance, saying he felt strongly drawn to God, to religious life, and to apostolic service. Some youths, looking for ways to satisfy their idealistic selves, responded to the allure of a missionary career in Indian America. Opportunities for escape and advancement lured others — a few as early as age sixteen. The possibility of pursuing those goals in a community rather than as solitary diocesan priests intensified the attraction.

Individuals who enlisted as brothers, although usually older, were drawn to Jesuit life for the same reasons as potential priests: apostolic zeal, a sense of adventure, and a quest for a more meaningful existence. John Donnegan, an Irishman who became a Jesuit at the age of forty-eight, recounted why

he joined the Italian Jesuits as a brother in the Pacific Northwest. His motives mirrored those of many men with experience of the world. "I became wealthy" in the gold mines of Montana, "rich, but not happy," he said. Seizing the chance to draw upon a clean slate, "I sold my farm and my goods," and entered the Society. "I have nothing any more, [but] I am always happy."[14]

Jesuits who emigrated to the United States found ample opportunity to test their dedication. Their nomadic life started with a grueling trip across the Atlantic, undertaken with the certainty that they would never see home again and ended with uncertainty about the future. Although orphaned away from their familiar past, the vast majority of the expatriates lived out their lives as Jesuits. Nevertheless, emigration from a hierarchical and authoritarian society to a pluralistic and democratic one tested their readiness to adapt all things to "the circumstances of persons, times, and places." But the experience of hardship and expatriation also produced qualities of maturity, endurance, and flexibility that enabled them to tolerate the challenges that came with uprooting.

For most migrants, acclimatization started on the East Coast. There priests found work in schools and churches run by their American brethren while seminarians resumed studies cut short by revolution in Europe. Young men bent more readily than did their elders, some of whom were dismayed at American nonchalance regarding Jesuit rules. Convinced that religious life as practiced in Italy stood as a global paradigm, migrants believed laissez-faire American Jesuits were too much men of the world. The Americans also seemed enmeshed in running rural parishes when they should have busied themselves with care of the nation's expanding urban population. Taking advantage of their leverage with European church authorities, the refugees prompted a series of reforms that profoundly transformed the way Jesuits lived in the United States.

The Italians' eastern sojourn shaped their subsequent missionary work in the West. In Massachusetts, Maryland, and Virginia they acquired the apparatus of assimilation. They mastered the language and became acquainted with the mores of their adopted homeland. The experience of teaching at Georgetown College and the College of the Holy Cross charted their path. Stumbling into unfamiliar territory, the missionaries often groped eastward for help when they raised up colleges of their own in California and New Mexico. Their western institutions would be essentially autonomous and based on Italian models. The East continued, however, to supply the expatriate educators with ideas, counsel, and personnel. Thus, in the religious as in the secular world of nineteenth-century America, the east-west cultural divide was never as wide as geography made it appear.

Jesuits were drawn west by many of the same possibilities that lured thou-

sands of other migrants in the aftermath of the Mexican War. In the vast territories acquired by the United States in 1848, a developing community offered fresh opportunities. Clergymen and teachers responded as enthusiastically to new possibilities as investors, farmers, miners, and ranchers did. From California, its population swollen by an international influx of gold seekers, Catholic bishops appealed to the outside world for missionaries to staff churches and open schools for both newly landed immigrants and resident Spanish-speakers. Similar summons issued from Santa Fe, where a largely Hispanic population had for several generations during Mexican rule operated without benefit of clergy. In the Pacific Northwest, missionaries warned that their mission to Native Americans would collapse if reinforcements were not forthcoming.

The first Jesuits to respond to these entreaties were Piedmontese from northern Italy. Perched on the edge of extinction at home, the dispersed clergy saw in the American West an opportunity to reinvent themselves. Consequently, in 1854 the *piemontesi* adopted California and the Pacific Northwest as permanent mission fields. Twelve years later, Neapolitan Jesuits, who had fled home when the Italian upheaval spread to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, took up missionary work in New Mexico. Arriving with little more than a can-do attitude and a sense of adventure, these expatriates shaped frontier culture by founding Indian missions, hospitals, churches, presses, and colleges that blended American and European antecedents.

In the Pacific Northwest, the Italians' linguistic skills and their ambiguous national allegiance gave them entrée among many tribes not receptive to American missionaries. Their encounter with native peoples demonstrated that the brokering of cultures was a reciprocal affair. Through a process of subtle manipulation, cooperation, and resistance, there evolved a native Catholicism that merged Euro-Christian doctrines with traditional beliefs and practices.[15] When the dream of creating a Christian utopia in the midst of the indigenous world proved illusory, the Jesuits became school masters, underscoring the role of education and religion in the encounter between Indians and whites. The missionaries' industrial boarding schools manifested features that set them apart from other schools for Native Americans. They also sparked the fires of jealousy and sectarian conflict. The priests' success in winning federal funds from Congress for their institutions during the Grant Administration eventually precipitated a backlash that ended government support of church schools on a national level. And more. It produced a reinterpretation of the first amendment of the U.S. Constitution that strengthened the wall of separation between church and state.

The Italians made their greatest impact as teachers. Of the nearly four hundred priests who fled Italy between 1848 and 1919, the vast majority spent all or part of their careers in the classroom. In 1902, for example, 30 of the

FIGURE 1. Jesuit faculty of Las Vegas College, New Mexico, together with writers of the influential Spanish-language newspaper *La Revista Católica*, 1886. Third from right in the front row is white-haired Salvatore Personè, a jovial Neapolitan whom contemporaries dubbed "George Washington" because of his resemblance to the first president. Courtesy Jesuitica Collection of Regis University

108 Jesuits working in the Neapolitans' New Mexico-Colorado Mission were concentrated in Denver's College of the Sacred Heart.[16] As founders of five institutions of higher learning, the Italians participated in what contemporary churchmen described as "the great battle" for cultural hegemony of the American frontier. "If Western society is left destitute of seminaries of a decidedly Protestant character," warned Yale professor Noah Porter in 1852, "the Jesuits will occupy the field."[17] The only remedy to the Catholic invasion was "to preoccupy the ground with colleges and schools" before Jesuit institutions sprouted "in the unformed society of the West." "Let them have the privilege of possessing the seats of education in the West," another alarmist in the East cautioned, "and we may give up all efforts to reproduce in the West what Puritanism has gained here."[18]

Denominational rivalry unleashed a remarkable proliferation of church-related colleges in the United States, transforming the nation into what one scholar dubbed "the land of colleges."[19] Nowhere was that competition more apparent than in the West, which provided a vast and fresh arena for mis-

sionary zeal. According to one study, sectarian rivalries yielded a fervor for educational supremacy among the churches of California to a degree evidenced on no other American frontier.[20] From the foundations laid by the immigrant clergy there arose numerous preparatory schools and five institutions of higher learning that exist today: Santa Clara University and the University of San Francisco in California, Gonzaga University and Seattle University in Washington, and Regis University in Colorado.

Catholics vied with both Protestants and one another to plant their standard in virgin terrain. "The banners of St. Benedict are now unfolded in the middle of the United States on the great Mississippi River," boasted Abbot Wimmer, founder of the American Benedictines, in 1857 when his men opened a monastery in Minnesota. "The stream of immigration is tending westward. We must follow it. . . . We must seize the opportunity and spread." The desire to surpass rivals was not limited to male religious. In 1841, Sister Louis de Gonzague of the Sisters of Notre Dame in Ohio rejoiced at the news that members of her congregation were sailing from Belgium to Oregon. The reason: Notre Dame was catapulting even farther west "than where the Religious of the Sacred Heart have gone."[21] Jesuits were not above using pious subterfuge to block competition. Under the pious pretext of avoiding "any danger of misunderstandings so prejudicial to the cause of our dear Lord," missionary Michele Accolti pressured church officials to prevent the Picpus Fathers, a rival French congregation, from establishing themselves in northern California.[22] In a region without established precedents, the struggle for supremacy in debates over property titles and jurisdictions found religious congregations and bishops frequently at odds.

It was dread of Protestantism that drove Neapolitan Jesuits to scatter their institutions throughout the length and breadth of the desert Southwest. Although relatively latecomers to the region, beginning in 1867 the Italians speedily established themselves among New Mexico's Hispanic and immigrant populations. They extended their sway into neighboring Colorado, Arizona, and Texas. Determined to prevent the absorption of Hispanic civilization by Anglo-American Protestant culture, the priests engaged in a delicate balancing act. They embraced the region's Mexican heritage by promoting time-honored celebrations such as Holy Week and Corpus Christi and other public rituals and collective devotions. But the Jesuits also altered customs they judged unorthodox, reshaping them according to normative European practice. They thus reformed the Feast of Santiago, a popular Southwestern holiday that was customarily celebrated with horse races, rooster pulls, and cock fights, by inserting a solemn high mass and special sermon into the festivities.[23] Through a tangled mix of accommodation, coercion, and subtle redefinition, the Italians standardized local practice while paradoxically preserving it.

Other factors, too, were involved in that exchange. For years, the Jesuits and other Catholics opposed to public education successfully blocked the emergence of a state school system in New Mexico. This flaunting of priestly power angered Anglo-Americans, but it gratified natives because it promoted the use of Spanish in the classroom and thereby preserved aspects of traditional culture. The Neapolitans' Spanish-language newspaper, *La Revista Católica*, molded public opinion throughout the Southwest on a host of combustible issues at a time when Anglo-American and Hispanic viewpoints competed for ascendancy. Through their advocacy of cultural pluralism, the Jesuits emerged as insiders within indigenous Southwestern communities.

Wherever they went, the émigrés were torn between two conflicting desires. On the one hand, they sought to adhere to European conventions in all their undertakings. On the other, they sought to adapt to the exigencies of American culture. As Americanizers, the Jesuits advanced the assimilation of the populations whom they served—Native Americans, Hispanics, and European immigrants—into mainstream society. Their schools, for example, operated as fulcrums, facilitating the transition of young *californios* and *nuevomexicanos* from pre- to post-conquest culture in the years after the Mexican War. And for European immigrants, the Jesuit colleges filled much the same function as the Catholic parish, a mediating force between old and new cultures. Missionaries in the Pacific Northwest, recognizing the coming domination of the region by Anglo-Americans, assumed a similar role vis-à-vis Native Americans. They instructed their Indian converts in farming and irrigation techniques while also tutoring them in the Catholic catechism. In the process of facilitating the assimilation of their hybrid flocks into the new American order, the Italians themselves entered the American mainstream.

Even so, the Italians bucked against aspects of Americanization that they found objectionable. Offended by the secular character of state education, they struggled against public schools in the United States as vigorously as they had in Italy. Victims of anti-clerical government in Europe, the Jesuits appreciated American religious freedom, if not church-state separation. Their relations with Protestants ran the gamut from friendly to downright hostile. As ministers to varied ethnic communities, they favored assimilation but not co-option. Advocates of distinctiveness within community, the Italian Jesuits functioned, therefore, neither exclusively as Americanizers or as Europeanizers, but as brokers of multiple cultures.

Like all refugees who move from their own culture to an alien one, the Jesuits carried their European legacy with them. In the clerical world of Italy, men and women were assigned separate spheres of activity and contact between them was assiduously monitored. St. Ignatius, founder of the Society of Jesus, had devoted much attention to women and relied on them for sup-

port in the order's early years. So chastened was he, however, by charges of undue familiarity and other difficulties that his *Constitutions* ordered Jesuits not to " take charge of religious women or any other women." Although that ruling proved to be highly elastic, for much of their history Jesuits betrayed the same prejudices against women that prevailed in European society at large.[24]

But in the United States, Italian émigrés encountered a bewildering array of behaviors that challenged old assumptions. For example, gender-based divisions of labor that applied in Europe did not apply in Indian America. Among some matriarchal tribes, husbands were economically subservient to their wives. And women in Anglo-American culture enjoyed greater social mobility than they did in Italy. As a result, Jesuits came daily into greater contact with females. In the Pacific Northwest, nuns and sisters even toiled as partners with the clergy in running schools for Native American children. To forestall temptation, scandal, and false accusations in laissez-faire America, Jesuit authorities erected a firewall of regulations between the sexes. But on the western frontier, that barrier was frequently put to the test.

The importing of Italian religious customs was less controversial. Wherever they went in frontier America — in the Hispanic Southwest, in the Native American world of the Northwest, or in urbanized California — the Jesuits fostered distinctively Italian forms of piety. Their lodestar in matters spiritual was Rome. Intent on avoiding the homogenization of their religion in Protestant America and on conserving what was distinctive about Catholicism, they hastened the Romanization of American culture in their colleges, missions, parishes, and publications. In pursuing these objectives, they were one with other contemporary churchmen who believed, in the words of historian R. Laurence Moore, that some ways of becoming American were incompatible with remaining Catholic.[25]

In their promotion of Roman usages, the Jesuits insisted on the universality of Catholic culture. Eschewing notions of American exceptionalism, they were counted among churchmen who promoted — to borrow a phrase from the scholar Peter R. D'Agostino — " the profound connectedness of European and American Catholic peoples, ideas, practices and institutions."[26] That they were successful in imparting this ideology to ethnically diverse congregations underscores an argument made by another historian. In the melting pot mix that was America, Colleen McDannell has suggested, Catholics embraced the transnational feature of their religion. Why? Because that connectedness enabled them to enjoy both " the familiarity of ethnic traditions . . . and the universality of the supernatural." Standardized religious practices not only provided spiritual satisfaction, they also brought relief from the age-old tensions between nationalities.[27]

Like other immigrants, the Italians faced opposition, not only from

nativists, but from within their own ranks. The tension between adherence to European norms and adaptation to American mores brought inevitable conflict among Jesuits. As increasing numbers of Americans joined the order in the West, resentment of European domination festered among native-born clergy. Opponents were not strictly divided along national lines, however, since some of the most vocal advocates of assimilation were Italians.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Jesuits butted heads on many things — the way they should live in America, how seminarians should be trained, what ministries they should undertake, how they should relate with women. In their colleges, members of the Society debated the merits of the classical curriculum. Should the time-honored emphasis on Latin and Greek be retained — or should it be jettisoned in favor of a more utilitarian course of studies that better suited American interests? Traditionalists, cheered on by superiors in Europe, argued for the status quo; many Americans fought for reform. As western demographics shifted at the end of the century, the Jesuits also argued over which populations should receive the bulk of their attention. The diverse student body with whom Augustus Splivalo had studied at Santa Clara College in the 1850s was replaced fifty years later by mostly Anglo- and Irish Americans. Like California, the Pacific Northwest and the Southwest too were increasingly dominated by Anglo Americans. Italian missionaries, who had earlier ministered primarily to immigrants, Native Americans, and Hispanics, were challenged by co-workers who argued that influential Anglo-American populations should benefit from their ministry as well.

With the new century, internecine struggles for power between so-called Americanizers and Europeanizers intensified. As Jesuit operations in the West steadily moved from reliance on Europe to being independent American entities, ethnic conflict among the clergy as well as natural evolution eventually led to a severance of ties with Italy. Piedmontese jurisdiction on the West Coast folded in 1909. Ten years later, Neapolitan administration of Jesuit operations in the Southwest ceased. In the seventy-some years in which they dominated their Society's operations in the West, however, the Italians had contributed unique features to the cultural, intellectual, and religious life of the region. In the process, they themselves were changed and Americanized.

2 *"Out with the Jesuits"*

BECOMING REFUGEES

> Take the first passerby and ask him, " What are the Jesuits?" He will at once reply: " Counter-revolution."
> —Jules Michelet, *Les Jesuites*, 1843[1]

On the evening of March 28, 1848, Jan Roothaan, the Dutch-born superior general of the Society of Jesus, received an urgent message at his headquarters on Rome's Piazza del Gesù. Written by Pope Pius IX, the letter was hand-delivered by Cardinal Castruccio Castracane, an official of the papal government. Its news, exploding in the night air like a thunder clap, was exceedingly unwelcome. The pope informed the Jesuit that he could no longer guarantee the safety of the members of his order living in the city. He left to Roothaan what course of action the superior general should take to side-step bloody violence.[2]

As both churchmen recognized, many forces contributed to the cloudburst that had engulfed papal Rome and now began to rush toward dramatic resolution. Opposition to the Society of Jesus had been brewing for decades, the culmination of a host of complaints, some of recent origin and others of long-standing inception. What neither the cardinal nor the Jesuit superior general could foresee, however, was that the Roman disaster of 1848 would have far-reaching, even global significance. Before the hurricane of anticlerical fury spent itself, Jesuits from Italy would be dispersed to six continents. In the nations that took them in, particularly in the United States, the deposed religious would emerge as a significant force in the evolution of Roman Catholicism in their new homelands. Even in uncharted regions of the American frontier, the form and direction of religion would be directly traceable to church-state tensions in nineteenth-century Europe and to the chain of irreversible events that precipitated the Jesuits' expulsion from Italy.

The steps leading to dispersal were as dramatic as they were unpredictable. In the months preceding the pope's communiqué to Roothaan, Rome had echoed with the sound of protesters howling derision at Jesuits. Easily recognized in their black cassocks, priests no longer dared appear in public by early 1848. During carnival season, a belligerent rabble had rallied nightly

in the torch-lit piazza fronting the Society's Roman College to stage mock religious ceremonies and scream threats at the clergy walled inside. Frequent late-night harassment and fear for their students' safety finally forced the Jesuits to close the school. Protesters had pelted the door of Roothaan's residence at the Gesù with stones while threatening still worse violence if the occupants did not vacate the city.

Unrest was not confined to the Papal States. Reports pouring into Rome from the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia in the north were even more ominous. In mid-March, King Carlo Alberto, capitulating to the demands of a revolutionary parliament, ordered the seizure of all institutions of the Society and the banishment of its many members from the realm. His desk cluttered with requests for help, Roothaan penned a hasty letter on 25 March, "Every day is critical and menacing here."[3] Three days later, Cardinal Castracane appeared in his office with the announcement that Rome had become ungovernable. Rapidly sinking into the hands of revolutionaries, the city was no longer safe for Jesuits.

Pius IX's missive called for immediate action. Having lived for several weeks with the possibility of flight, Roothaan now bowed to the inevitable. After a hastily convened conference with his staff, the Jesuit leader informed the pope of his decision and began preparations that night for the evacuation of himself and 350 other Jesuits from Rome. The next morning Roothaan trudged the corridor connecting his residence with the adjoining church of the Gesù. After kneeling for a long time at the tomb of St. Ignatius, founder of the order, he descended into the vault under the massive Baroque temple for a few moments of final reflection before the resting place of his interred predecessors with whom he shared responsibility for governing the Society. That afternoon, disguised in a black wig and wearing the cassock of an ordinary parish priest, the twenty-first general superior of the Society of Jesus waved good-bye to the handful of his staff that remained and quietly slipped out of the city in a carriage provided by Lord Clifford, an English supporter. Before boarding the vessel that would carry him into exile in Marseilles, the sixty-two-year-old priest told friends he expected never to see Rome again.[4]

To Roothaan and his contemporaries, the crisis of 1848 recalled the darkest pages of Jesuit history. Seventy-five years earlier, a storm of anticlericalism unleashed in Portugal by the government of the Marquis of Pombal had roared across Europe and swept the Society of Jesus into oblivion. Except for a small remnant of survivors in Russia and Prussia, the entire order—once 23,000 men strong—was suppressed by papal mandate in 1773. Although the Society was re-established in 1814, recovery was slow because the forces that had engulfed it in the eighteenth century continued to buffet it. "Old calumnies, decked out in new colors, are scattered broadcast among the people," Roothaan lamented in 1839, "with word and writ-

ing, in book, pamphlet, and periodical, flooding the world like a deluge, they daily defame and vilify us." Within a decade, a tide of antipathy once again threatened to submerge the order. As the general observed in 1848, the similarity between his experience and that of his eighteenth-century predecessors was disconcertingly similar. "The same happens in many places that once took place under Pombal, with this difference however that then it was the work of one tyrant while now there are thousands."[5]

That the Society endured the recurring assaults of the nineteenth century testified to its powers of survival. Although the order experienced remarkable growth under Roothaan's leadership, it did so under trying circumstances. Barely reconstituted in Europe in 1814, it was banished from St. Petersburg in 1815, and from the entire Russian realm and Belgium three years later. Revolution drove Jesuits from Spain in 1820, from France in 1830, from several Italian states in 1831, and from Portugal in 1834. The following year, they again fled Spain after a mob savagely massacred fifteen members in Madrid. The only country in South America that offered safe haven to Jesuits after 1842 was Brazil. "There is no place in the world wherein we are not the target for the poisoned shafts of our enemies," an anxious Roothaan declared in a circular letter to Jesuits in 1847. "To such an extent have the minds of the people been embittered in our regard" that we seem "not human, but the monstrous exhalations from the depths of Hell. What the future may bring, He alone can tell who knows all things." A bitter religious civil war that ousted 274 men from Switzerland that same year portended still worse. The flight of Roothaan and other Jesuits from Rome in 1848 was part of a general European dispersal that left half the Jesuits in the world in exile within the space of a year. The second half of the century witnessed still more expulsions: from Spain once more in 1868, Italy again in 1870, Germany in 1872, and France in 1880.[6]

Thus, the century that endowed much of Europe with the beginnings of constitutional democracy was not gentle to Jesuits. Nor was it kinder to other religious congregations. In the course of the nineteenth century, Franciscans, once ten thousand strong in Spain, shrank to a few hundred members. The Augustinian Hermits, who had earlier possessed nearly fifty monasteries in Portugal, evaporated. Dominicans were suppressed throughout Europe and Latin America again and again. It was ironic, a historian observed, that the "suppression of religious orders, especially the Jesuits, and confiscation of their goods were even more characteristic of the era of constitutional Liberalism than of the era of 'enlightened despotism'" that had preceded it.[7]

How did the Jesuits provoke such universal enmity? That question puzzled John Henry Newman, who mingled regularly with them when he lived in Rome following his conversion to Catholicism. "Plodding, methodical, unromantic Jesuits," the Englishman described them in a letter to his sister

in 1847. " It quite astonishes me how little the Jesuits are understood or estimated generally. I respect them exceedingly, and love individuals of them much," he declared. " They are a really hardworking, self sacrificing body of men — but they have little or nothing of the talents that the world gives them credit for." " They certainly have clever men among them . . . but tact, shrewdness, worldly wisdom, sagacity, all of those talents for which they are celebrated in the world they have very little of. They are continually making false moves, by not seeing whom they have to deal with. . . ."

More troubling, the Jesuits manifested " a deep suspicion to *change*, with a perfect incapacity to create any thing *positive* for the wants of the times." Their conservatism, Newman explained, made them " unpopular in the extreme and the butt of journalists." They are " considered the enemies of all improvements and advance." " It is most difficult to say what will become of the Jesuits," he mused. " I cannot understand a body with such vitality in them, so flourishing internally, so increasing in numbers, breaking up — yet the cry against them in Italy is great — they are identified with the antinational party in the thoughts of people."[8]

The roots of the Jesuit predilection for the status quo remarked upon by Newman were bound to broader events. In large part, the traumas sustained by the order in the nineteenth century reflected the challenge religion itself faced in finding a *modus vivendi* with forces set in motion by the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. Unwilling or unable to accept the political and social transformations of the post-revolutionary era, the Society and the Catholic Church at large found themselves in open conflict with the dechristianized modern state. The two powers disagreed on everything. When secular governments attempted to extend their control over activities that had for centuries been the domain of religion — marriage, public charity, and education — church and state found themselves in a face-off. The violent upheaval that attended that struggle in many European countries frequently called into question the existence of not only Jesuits, but even the papacy and the church itself.

In Italy the disestablishment of religion was complicated by the temporal power of the papacy. There, in addition to separating the functions of the state from those of the church, reformers sought to mold the diverse kingdoms of the Italian peninsula into a single entity. That amalgamation was fraught with special difficulties, however, because of the existence of the Holy See. " To advocate the independence and unification of Italy," one historian has said, " or even to demand significant reforms within the existing states entailed a confrontation with the papacy." Pope Gregory XVI and his successor, Pius IX, made it clear that they would never sacrifice the existence of the Papal States on the altar of Italian political consolidation. In consequence, the Italian *Risorgimento* became, first and foremost " an anti-

Catholic movement." Promoted by Italy's network of Masonic lodges and secret societies, opposition to the church was its "most important unifying principle." And the *Risorgimento*'s most obvious targets were the temporal power of the papacy, the powerful Roman curia, and the Society of Jesus.[9]

There were many reasons why Italy's patriots directed their hottest fury against *i gesuiti*. The memory of the suppression was a factor in the anti-Jesuit movement in Italy as it was in the rest of Europe. Popular belief in the anathemas hurled against the order in the eighteenth century continued to fester, keeping fresh the memory of that confrontation. Like a wound that refused to heal, it left the Society a vulnerable target of Italian anti-clericalism. The power of the restored Society provided still more motives for resentment. In the eyes of many Italians, the black-robed priests symbolized the clergy in general; in particular, they also represented the church's resistance to the winds of change sweeping through Europe in the nineteenth century. As a contemporary Piedmontese writer summarized, Italy heaped its "hatred and revenge" upon Jesuits because they were "the priests of priests."[10]

The order's conservatism was another incentive for attack. Resistant to innovations embraced by the modern world, Jesuits themselves often supplied the rocks hurled at them by their enemies. "To friend and foe" alike, the Society of Jesus symbolized the values of ante-1789 Europe, a historian has said. "Born during one of the great transitional periods of European history, the Renaissance," the order was "reborn during still another important era of change, that of the democratic and industrial revolutions of the nineteenth century." Adaptation was not achieved with equal ease in each case. To most Jesuits, the wave of democratic values unleashed by the French Revolution challenged the peace and stability of established political order. Those innovations also undermined the very foundations upon which Christian culture rested. Most Jesuits (there were exceptions) opposed in principle, if not in practice, Italian unification, representative government, freedom of conscience and of the press, state control of education, and the granting of political rights to religious dissenters.[11]

Forced to choose between buttressing an old order that was crumbling or joining the creation of a new world of democratic freedom, the Society clutched the familiar. As a consequence, its members appeared to European liberals as "the enemies of all improvements and advance," as Newman had noted. Indeed, their staunch refusal to reconcile religion and modernity made them "the only cloud in an otherwise clear sky." "The Jesuits and their friends wonder that the modern State abhors them," added Prince Hohenlohe, a Catholic member of the German Reichstag in 1872. "And yet the Society has taken upon itself to make war on the modern State."[12]

The Jesuits were in many ways victims of their own history. Founded in 1540, "fresh and unhampered by memories of the medieval world," in the