

THE JESUITS AND GLOBALIZATION

Historical Legacies and
Contemporary Challenges

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INTRODUCTION

THE JESUITS AND GLOBALIZATION

THOMAS BANCHOFF AND JOSÉ CASANOVA

Since its inception in the mid-sixteenth century, the Society of Jesus has been closely connected with processes of globalization. During the early modern era, following the Iberian colonial expansion, the Jesuits became pioneer globalizers by founding missions and educational institutions all over the world. Along the way they developed a particular “way of proceeding” that was often characterized by flexible accommodation to local circumstances that combined a commitment to the Gospel with an affirmation of the positive characteristics of the cultures they encountered. In the early modern phase of globalization, into the 1700s, no other group contributed so much to global connectivity and, through their correspondence and cultural and political influence, to a global consciousness linking the four quadrants of the world. Over time, however, the Jesuits’ influence, initiative, and open and pragmatic way of proceeding also provoked much resistance and controversy. The mid-eighteenth century saw their expulsion from every Catholic kingdom and the final suppression of the Society of Jesus by the pope in 1773.

In the decades after the reestablishment of the order in 1814, Jesuit missionaries and educators reengaged their global enterprise in new ways. The United States served not only as a place of refuge for many expelled Jesuits but also as a springboard for their renewed global religious, cultural, and educational mission. While the Jesuits made progress in the reestablishment of a worldwide network of schools and missions, their strong defense of the papacy and their militant opposition to the emerging forces of liberalism and secularism in Europe and Latin America reawakened a

virulent anti-Jesuitism that led to their repeated expulsion from multiple countries.

In the wake of two world wars, decolonization, and the Second Vatican Council (1962–65), the Society of Jesus renewed its global commitment in a new idiom, emphasizing the promotion of justice and the universal common good as part of the service of faith. A half century later in an era of accelerating globalization, Jesuits are following the lead of Pope Francis, one of their own, in exploring new ways to spread the Gospel, accompany the poor and excluded, promote education, and support a shift from what Francis calls a “globalization of indifference” to a globalization of fraternity.¹

On the occasion of the bicentennial of the reestablishment of the Society of Jesus, this book brings together experts across disciplines to address two core questions: What does the experience of globalization tell us about the Jesuits? And what does the experience of the Jesuits tell us about globalization? We aim not to offer a global history of the Jesuits or a linear narrative of globalization but instead to examine the Jesuits through the prism of globalization and globalization through the prism of the Jesuits in a way that may contribute to a more critical and reflexive understanding both of the Jesuits’ history and of our contemporary human global condition. Through a threefold focus on the themes of global mission, education, and justice, we address the complex paths and the intercultural encounters that have led to the present. We also explore the challenges and opportunities of the contemporary phase of globalization—both for the Society of Jesus and for a deeper understanding of the global present and future.

Dynamics of Globalization

The term “globalization” only came into broad usage during the late twentieth century as academic disciplines and media commentators grappled with accelerating transnational flows of people, ideas, goods, and capital enabled by ongoing revolutions in information, communications, and transportation technologies. The first extended debates about globalization took place within the social sciences, particularly within sociology and economics, in the 1990s. Anthropology, political science, and international relations soon joined the fray.² More recently historians and particularly the new fields of world history and global history have entered the debates, adding more empirical discernment and historical depth to the discussion.³ Over time the two initial opposing positions in the globalization debate—one insisting it is a new phenomenon; the other, that it has long been with us—have given way to more careful and discriminating analysis. Calls for “the globalization of history” and “the historization of

globalization” have highlighted the need for clearer distinctions not just among different phases of globalization but also among different dynamics of globalization across time and space.

Historical processes of globalization are neither constant nor continuous nor unidirectional, and they have always affected various parts of the world in quite different ways. One should avoid the temptation to reconstruct world history as the inevitable formation of ever-wider and interconnected human webs leading to the emergence of a global network society encompassing all peoples, societies, and cultures of the earth.⁴ Any approach to globalization is also complicated by the shifting relationship between what might be termed its “subjective” and “objective” dimensions. *Objective processes of globalization*, mediated by changes in communications and transportation technology, involve the movement of people, ideas, goods, and capital across greater expanses of space. The *subjective dimension of globalization* refers to the growth in global consciousness—that is, to the increasing reflexive awareness of humanity as a species sharing the same history and the same planet. In this respect, following the theorist Roland Robertson, one could define *globalization* broadly as the set of processes involving the world becoming a single place with increasing global connectivity and global consciousness.⁵

The deep historical roots of the subjective dimension of globalization are of particular importance in the Jesuit story. They can be traced back to the concurrent emergence of projects of “universal” kingdoms or empires as well as of “universal” ethical and religious visions in various parts of Eurasia during the so-called Axial Age, around the middle of the first millennium BCE. The German philosopher Karl Jaspers coined the term “Axial Age” after World War II to denote the epoch in human history when classic texts of ancient civilizations—including those in the canons of Confucianism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Judaism, and Greek philosophy—appeared around the same time.⁶ This period constituted a turning point for global humanity because a strong idea of “transcendence” first emerged and with it the very condition necessary to gain some reflexive distance from “the world” and to ground universal ethical or religious visions and even the projects of “world empires.”⁷ The subjective dimension of imagining a single humanity sharing one earth, an idea that would later shape the missionary impetus of Christianity and Islam and the self-understanding of the Society of Jesus, was first anticipated in and through the axial breakthroughs.

For many centuries this utopian or eschatological anticipation of globalization lacked any objective or material base. Until the age of European colonial expansion inaugurated in the sixteenth century, the global

horizon of the world's great philosophical and religious traditions had very clear territorial limits, set both by the particular political, social, and economic regimes in which they were civilizationally and territorially embedded and by the geographically circumscribed limitations of existing means of transportation and communication. Between the eighth and the fifteenth centuries, the world of Islam and the Mongol Empire were catalysts and carriers of powerful trans-regional dynamics encompassing much of Afro-Eurasia and entailing increasing interconnectivity and parallel political, economic, and cultural transformations.⁸ But this incipient globalization was limited to the "Old World," given the limitations of maritime technology.

Three Phases of Globalization: Early Modern, Modern, and Contemporary

In the literal sense of the term, globalization proper begins with the "discovery" of the "New World," the circumnavigation of the globe, and the ensuing European global colonial expansion—a phase that coincides with the founding of the Society of Jesus in 1540 and its rapid international outreach. This "first globalization" was global in that it incorporated the new Columbian exchange formed by the transatlantic triangle of Europe, Africa, and the Americas, as well as the new transpacific realm linking for the first time Eurasia, Oceania, and the Americas.⁹ Afro-Eurasian exchanges continued and intensified but now became linked to the transatlantic and transpacific networks. This was the first truly worldwide human web, different both from the preceding trans-regional dynamics and from the subsequent phase of Western hegemonic globalization that would follow in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. What is striking in retrospect, and is often obscured by the intervening centuries, is the cultural and political pluralism that persisted in the early modern period. While Spanish, Portuguese, and other European expansion subjugated indigenous peoples in the Americas, in other parts of the world, powerful empires with their own economic, social, cultural, and religious bases, including the Turkish Ottoman, Indian Mughal, and Chinese Qing empires, persisted.

A second, modern phase of globalization can be dated to the turn of the nineteenth century and two powerful political and technological transformations. The American and French Revolutions ushered in an era of energetic and expansionist nationalism in the North Atlantic while successive industrial revolutions and their transformative military, transportation, and communications technologies enabled a more aggressive phase of European and American imperialism. It is certainly true that charac-

teristics of the modern phase of globalization—particularly the spread of the world capitalist system and the internationalization of the system of sovereign territorial states inaugurated with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648—had their origins in the early modern period. What was new was the near-universal reach of Western power, driven by nationalist ambition and technological superiority. By the end of World War I, the Chinese and Ottoman empires had collapsed, and the North Atlantic powers dominated most of Africa and Asia. Western global influence persisted into the mid-twentieth century, even through two destructive world wars and the rise of the Soviet Union and communist China. In comparison to the early modern period, the modern phase of globalization saw the deep expansion of Western influence, which reduced but never eliminated cultural and political diversity worldwide.

The roots of the contemporary phase of globalization can be traced to the emergence of the United Nations and the breakup of the remaining Western colonial empires in the post-World War II decades. However, its distinctive characteristics—a deeper technological connectivity, the relative decline of the United States and Europe, and a greater political, cultural, and ideological pluralism—took clear shape only in the 1980s. Since then an ongoing communications and transportation revolution has spurred the deeper integration of the global economy and brought more people across more regions into contact than at any point in history. Thanks to global media and to the Internet in particular, the subjective dimension of globalization, the awareness of living within a global frame, is much more pronounced than in the first two phases of globalization. While the United States remains the single most powerful state in the world system, the collapse of the Soviet Union and China's economic opening have not spurred convergence around the model of Western liberal democracy. On the contrary, the persistence of political autocracy in Russia and China and the rise of political Islam have generated greater degrees of global ideological and political conflict. And the differential growth of economic power—evident in the rise of China, India, Brazil, and other countries—has driven a trend toward multipolarity.

The distinction among these three phases of globalization—the early modern, modern, and contemporary—is necessarily somewhat arbitrary.¹⁰ The transitions emphasized here—from early modern European, with its global cultural and political diversity; to the modern, marked by the peak of Western influence within the world system; and to our contemporary shift toward a more pluralistic and multipolar world—contradict any simple linear scheme. For example, despite the indisputable fact that Western modernity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was inherently

globalizing—marked by the economic, political, and cultural expansion of European and American power and practices around the world—contemporary globalization is not simply, as per Anthony Giddens, “a consequence of modernity,” or an enlargement of modernity, from society to the world.¹¹ Globalization today is marked by a diffusion of power beyond the West and by a political, cultural, and religious pluralism that has more in common with the diverse historical processes of globalization in the early modern period, before European hegemony, than with the modern period.¹²

While necessarily arbitrary in certain respects, this threefold periodization provides an excellent framing for an exploration of the Jesuits and globalization. The early modern period coincides with the Jesuits’ founding, initial international expansion, and eventual suppression; the modern period overlaps with the period between the reestablishment of the Society of Jesus and the Second Vatican Council; and the transition from the modern to the contemporary phase of globalization tracks the decades between the Council and the papacy of Francis. The next sections sketch the arguments that the contributors present across all three periods, with a focus on three central areas of Jesuit concern: mission and dialogue, education and the human person, and justice and the common good. In the process they provide an initial exploration of two central questions addressed across the chapters: What does the experience of globalization tell us about the Jesuits? And what does the experience of the Jesuits tell us about globalization?

The First Jesuit Centuries: Riding the Wave of Early Modern Globalization

The foundation of the Society of Jesus coincided with the first, early modern phase of globalization. Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556), who hailed from the Basque Country of Spain, experienced a vision of Christ while recovering from battle wounds in 1521 and resolved to give his life over to the Lord. While studying at the University of Paris, he gathered a circle of companions who were captivated by his spiritual insights and practices, which drew on the tradition of personal piety inspired by Thomas à Kempis’s *Imitation of Christ*, among others. Later codified in the *Spiritual Exercises*, Ignatius’s approach called for unconditional service to the Lord, in the world, for the salvation of souls. In 1540 he and his companions received papal approval for their Society of Jesus, which quickly grew and expanded into ministries for the poor and for education. They were particularly active in Italy, Spain, and Germany, where they became associated with the Counter-Reformation.

From the outset Ignatius and his followers had a global, missionary orientation. As expressed explicitly in the "Formula of the Institute of the Society of Jesus," the 1540 foundational charter of the order, the Jesuits took an oath "to travel to any part of the world where there was hope of God's greater service and the good of souls" to minister to "the Turks or any other infidels, even those who live in the regions called the Indies, or . . . any heretics whatever, or schismatics, or any of the faithful."¹³ Global mobility was culturally encoded, as it were, into the makeup of the Jesuit order from its inception. A few decades after their official foundation, the Jesuits had established missions throughout the world—in Goa, Malacca, the Moluccas, the Philippines, Macau, Japan, and China in Asia; in Ethiopia, the Congo, Angola, and Mozambique in Africa; and throughout the Portuguese and Spanish empires in the Americas—and rapidly grew and expanded throughout Europe, including in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and onto the *Missio Moscovitica*. The Jesuits spearheaded the Counter-Reformation and established colleges, their main institutional innovation, everywhere. Indeed, no other group took the globe as eagerly as the focus of its activities, with the Jesuits taking inspiration from Jerónimo Nadal's famous slogan, "The world is our home."¹⁴

In the age of "gunpowder empires," Jesuits sailed around the world with conquistadores, traders, and colonial administrators. Francis Xavier (1506–52), a friend of Ignatius's and a paradigmatic Jesuit missionary, was sent to Asia by request of King John III of Portugal even before Pope Paul III had approved the new order. Colonial administrators sponsored many of the Jesuits' missions. The vast Jesuit Portuguese Assistancy undoubtedly constituted the core of the global Jesuit enterprise.¹⁵ From its beginning the Jesuit global *empresa*, besides its religious missionary connotation, also had a very worldly and secular one, that of an economic and political enterprise. The Jesuits' concurrent presence at the courts of Moscow and Beijing explains how they could have mediated the Sino-Russian Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689), helping to draft the two official Latin copies of the first international treaty that set the territorial borders of the Chinese and Russian empires.¹⁶ Not surprising, the Jesuits have been analyzed as the first "multinational corporation" and maligned as the first "international" secret organization bent on global political power.¹⁷

Yet as the contributors to this volume emphasize, the Jesuit global missionary enterprise ought not be reduced to the globalizing logic of the emerging world capitalist system or to a rigid missionary impulse to spread the Gospel.¹⁸ The Jesuit globalizing mission or impulse always had a surplus that exceeded, transcended, and, at times, even contested prophetically the dominant logic of capitalist expansion and state territorial colonial power.

This was most evident in the missions to China and India, where Jesuits showed dexterity in engaging with local religious, social, and political systems on their own terms. While adhering unswervingly to their Gospel command to win souls for Christ, Alessandro Valignano in Japan, Matteo Ricci in China, and Roberto de Nobili in India, among others, developed a distinctive way of proceeding that involved dialogue, the patient mastery of languages, and cultural and scientific exchanges not just in the pursuit of narrow missionary aims but also in recognition of a common humanity. Valignano's method of accommodation, elaborated throughout his writings, demanded that European Jesuits adopt local customs and habits as a condition for Christianity to take root and become inculturated in Japan and China.¹⁹

The historical chapters by Antoni Ucerler, Francis Clooney, and Daniel Madigan examine critically the very diverse early Jesuit encounters with the leading traditions of Asia—and in particular with Confucianism, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam—and reach different conclusions about the scope and significance of the Jesuit way of proceeding. In "The Jesuits in East Asia in the Early Modern Age: A New 'Areopagus' and the 'Re-invention' of Christianity," Ucerler makes the case for far-reaching cultural accommodation in Japan and China. His main thesis is that the Jesuits' schooling in Renaissance humanism, with its high estimation of the cultures of pagan antiquity and training in classical rhetoric, as well as their theological understanding of the Pauline mission to the Gentiles, led early Jesuits to understand their missionary work in East Asia as a re-enactment of the apostolic experience of the primitive Church. Inculturation implied a form of recurring historical reincarnation of the universal Christian kerygma in new and diverse cultural settings, reminiscent of the inculturation of Hebrew Christianity in Hellenic and Roman antiquity, in a process that entailed deep theological, metaphysical, and epistemic transformations.

Ucerler further argues that rather than being an idea generated by European missionaries enacted upon passive Asian subjects, inculturation was often the result of a pragmatic interactional process. In fact, he writes, "the initiative for cultural accommodation often came from members of the local cultural elites who helped the Jesuits understand the cultural, social, political, linguistic, and religious contexts in which they were operating," impressing upon them "the urgent need to engage the local culture *on its own terms* if they wished to make any significant progress." In Japan the decision to promote the formation of a "native" clergy and the admittance of Japanese into the Jesuit order led to the establishment of a Jesuit novitiate and a college of higher learning in Funai. Valignano soon recognized

the need to adapt the educational guidelines of the *Ratio studiorum* (*Plan of Studies*) to Japanese circumstances and to blend the teaching of Western and Eastern classics—an early intercultural experiment in humanities education. In China Ricci's method of accommodation went even further. He developed what Ucerler calls “a new Chinese rhetoric of pre-evangelization” to persuade the Chinese literati, through dialogue and scholarship, that “Christianity, far from being an alien doctrine brought to China by foreign barbarians, represented the fulfillment of Confucian philosophy in that it provided a more authentic reinterpretation of its central tenets.” The parallel incorporation of Confucian rites into some Christian practices entailed an ambiguous but productive distinction between the one true Catholic faith to be upheld, idolatrous beliefs and customs to be rejected, and virtuous civic practices to be accommodated. As in Japan, the Jesuits' experience of globalization in China deepened their own understanding of their missionary vocation, as it had for the apostle Paul, because it involved bringing the Christian message to different cultures in a pragmatic spirit.

Francis Clooney's chapter, “Jesuit Intellectual Practice in Early Modernity: The Pan-Asian Argument against Rebirth,” explores some of the limits of the Jesuits' way of proceeding in their encounter with Hinduism in particular. During the early modern period, Jesuit missionaries in South and East Asia made impressive efforts to engage Hindu and Buddhist elites in debates about the transmigration of souls, a doctrine that contradicted core Catholic beliefs about the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body. The comprehensive Jesuit apologetic against rebirth, articulated in different fashions by Xavier, Valignano, Ricci, and de Nobili, does demonstrate the real measure of the Jesuits' resolve and capacity to engage a variety of new cultures, their great capacity for quickly learning new ideas in new languages, and their faith in the power of rational argument. At the same time, as Clooney argues, it suggests the limits of their ability and willingness to engage beliefs and ideas that were genuinely different from their own.

Interestingly the limits of the Jesuit approach to interreligious dialogue in the early modern period were not always, or even primarily, theological. Clooney demonstrates how, in their critiques of Asian doctrines generally and rebirth in particular, the Jesuits did not refer to the Bible, to divine revelation, or to positive Christian faith doctrines. Instead, they couched their rhetorical arguments in solely philosophical terms, premised on the notion that any reasoning person could reach conclusions concerning the sole birth of the “soul” and the impossibility of rebirth on purely logical grounds without the help of revelation. Clooney's analysis probes how the limitations to the Jesuit way of proceeding were not so much grounded in

Christian-theological doctrine but in epistemic-metaphysical assumptions about the self, free will, justice, and subjective moral responsibility that were deeply embedded in the entire Western philosophical tradition that the Jesuits took for granted. In this case, the encounters of early modern globalization reinforced existing cultural divides.

Daniel Madigan's chapter on the Jesuit engagement with the world of Islam probes even more strikingly the limits of the Jesuit method of accommodation. It shows that in their dealings with Muslim "infidels" in South Asia during the rule of Emperor Akbar (1542–1605), Jesuit missionaries could not free themselves from the traditional negative religious taxonomy that was centered on Roman Catholicism as the one true faith and considered any deviation from it a dangerous error. Madigan argues that in their missions abroad and in their theological writings, "Jesuits have very often shared the negative view of Islam that they inherited from the Church's long history of polemics, that they imbibed from the cultures and politics in which they lived, or indeed that they may have drawn from Ignatius's own rather ambivalent attitude toward Muslims." One cannot find precursors to the contemporary interest in Christian-Muslim dialogue in the global Jesuit encounters with Islam in the early modern era.

This negative approach was not limited to Islam but extended, in different registers, to all of what are now called the "Abrahamic faiths," including non-Catholic Christianity. In early modern Jesuit encounters with Muslims, Jews, and Protestant "heretics," or even Eastern Christian "schismatics" in Ethiopia, India, or Eastern Europe, one can hardly find any trace of the Jesuit way of proceeding in accommodating differences. In important respects the "Otherness" of China and India and the newly discovered "pagan" cultures of the Eastern and Western Indies created more of an opening to accommodation, because they could be approached as cultures and not as competing religious systems. Madigan's discussion of the Jesuits and Islam suggests the greater facility of inculturation into unknown cultures that share no long histories of mutual prejudices or theological entanglements. By contrast, he points out that it is difficult to conceive of inculturating into what we perceive as a heretical form of our own tradition.

The impacts of global encounters on the Society were very different in the context of the Spanish and Portuguese empires in the New World. As they did in Asia, some Jesuit missions evidenced an openness to native cultures. In his *Natural and Moral History of the Indies* (1590), for example, José de Acosta not only described the new cultures in the Americas but also advised adopting an openness to the differences they presented and an accommodating attitude. But as Aliocha Maldavsky points out in her

chapter, "Jesuits in Ibero-America: Missions and Colonial Societies," a crucial variable in the early modern Jesuit encounters with other cultures was the extent to which they could free themselves from their colonial sponsors, whether Portuguese or Spanish, and enter into more equal and non-hegemonic relations with the Other while relatively free or seemingly unencumbered by Western colonial baggage.

The Jesuits were rather latecomers in the Iberian colonial enterprise, and they had to find their own niche in a mission of Christian evangelization that the older mendicant orders, the Franciscans and the Dominicans, had pioneered. Maldavsky examines four of these Jesuit niches: urban colleges and Jesuit residences, indigenous parishes, rural missions, and the indigenous "reductions," or settlements that the Society managed at the borderlands of the Iberian empires. The analysis stresses the interplay of local settlement and global mobility, the embeddedness of the Jesuit missions in colonial coercion and political control, and their accommodation not only to native cultures but also to emerging colonial societies. In contrast to China, Japan, and India, where early colonial empires never gained a firm foothold, Jesuit global encounters in Latin America were mediated by political power structures that limited their freedom to maneuver but also provided flexible spaces for cultural accommodation and institutional growth.

As examples from Asia and the Americas demonstrate, the experience of early modern globalization presented both challenges and opportunities for the Jesuit order. Its work of mission and dialogue was enabled by Ignatius's pragmatic way of proceeding and the global vision articulated in the *Spiritual Exercises*, through which he encouraged the exercitant to imagine people across "the face of the earth, in such great diversity in dress and in manner of acting. Some are white, some black; some at peace, and some at war."²⁰ But it was also constrained by inherited Western philosophical and religious categories, which set limits on dialogue, and by the growing secular power of states and empires that restricted Jesuit freedom of maneuver.

The wider global significance of the Jesuit experience during the early modern period is most evident in the area of education and scholarship. Although not envisioned as part of the Society's original foundational mission, after the founding of the first Jesuit school in Messina in 1548, education became the primary and premier ministry of the order. As John O'Malley highlights in his chapter, "Historical Perspectives on Jesuit Education and Globalization," the Jesuit model of education emerged from the melding of three separate currents: the Aristotelian philosophical-scientific synthesis institutionalized by the medieval university, the classical tradition of humane letters that crystallized in the Renaissance

humanist college, and the Christian tradition of "spiritual conquest" through conversion of the Other. By the time of the suppression, some seven hundred Jesuit schools and universities operated in Europe and around the world. The combination of the ideal of missionaries on the move with that of resident schoolmasters proved an effective way to share Western learning and to win converts.

It also sparked an infusion of scholarship about foreign languages, cultures, and practices back into Europe, contributing to a greater awareness of global humanity. As O'Malley points out, it was Jesuits on foreign missions, many of them engaged in schools, who produced grammars and dictionaries while following Ignatius's injunction to learn local languages and engage more deeply with alien cultures—knowledge that they shared through scholarship and correspondence. The virtuous feedback between the global network of Jesuit colleges and the global network of missions shaped the Jesuits as pioneer globalizers of the early modern era, creating the conditions for what, according to Steven Harris, could be called "the global Jesuit geography of knowledge."²¹

In the early modern period the Jesuits both thought globally and acted globally, constituting perhaps the first self-conscious global network. Historically with their final defeat in the Rites Controversy at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the Vatican rejected the strategy of cultural accommodation in China and India, the Jesuits' way of proceeding lost ground. Their ethical contextualism was ridiculed as opportunistic casuistry.²² Critics within the Church, particularly the Dominicans and the Franciscans, accused the Jesuits of using a cunning strategy of relativist "accommodation" that compromised the universality of Christianity. The Eurocentric perspective and uniform Romanization prevailed within the Church. Externally the transnational papal order also lost the battle against the triumphant Westphalian model of sovereign territorial states and against the absolutist Catholic kings who one after another expelled the Jesuits from their realms and conspired with Pope Clement XIV to dissolve the order in 1773.

The expulsion of Jesuits from the Spanish and Portuguese empires and the suppression of 1773 had complex political causes. Sabina Pavone's "The History of Anti-Jesuitism: National and Global Dimensions" offers an interpretative key to understanding the confluence of anti-Jesuit currents that led to the papal suppression. She groups the sources of anti-Jesuitism into four main analytical types—"religious-political," "ecclesiastical," "Jesuit," and "Enlightenment" anti-Jesuitism—although in fact she shows how they tended to overlap and grow together almost from the very founding of the Society. Ultimately the frequent juxtaposition of two seemingly opposed tropes frequently used against the Society of

Jesus from its beginnings—that of being “a state within the state” and “a world empire”—captures best the interstitial and ambiguous position of the transnational order both within the Westphalian system of nation-states and within the competing imperial projects.

Throughout the early modern phase of globalization, when Jesuit influence was at its peak, the order's growth and direction was shaped by its global encounters. The Jesuits impacted the wider course of globalization by becoming key players in the colonial enterprise and through their role, as missionaries and educators, in generating pathbreaking scholarship on geography, native languages, history, and culture that shaped the Europeans' understanding of an emergent global order. However, their efforts to bring Christianity to powerful empires in India, Japan, and China tested the Jesuit way of proceeding, demonstrating the difficulty of cultural accommodation as a means to spread the Gospel. Only in Ibero-America, where Spain and Portugal destroyed existing empires, were Jesuits able to advance the missionary enterprise and engage more deeply with native populations. Two key dimensions of their global enterprise—their efforts toward cultural accommodation in Asia that ignited the Rites Controversy and their extensive social and political influence in the Americas—sparked opposition both in the Church and across states that contributed to their suppression.

From Reestablishment through Vatican II: Globalization's Modern Phase

Suppression proved a catastrophe. The Society was stripped of its property, including its network of schools, most of which were transferred to other ecclesiastical or secular authorities. The Jesuits could remain priests but were subordinated to their local bishops. Only in Prussia and Russia, whose non-Catholic leaders largely ignored Clement XIV's suppression order, did the Jesuits maintain some continuous existence. Not until the changed political climate after the defeat of Napoleon and the restoration of monarchies in France and across Europe did Pope Pius VII reestablish the Society of Jesus in 1814. Amid the growth of secular politics and increased challenges to papal authority, the pope had good reasons for turning to the Jesuits, who remained eager to offer their services for the Church's cause. What followed was not an immediate renaissance but a gradual consolidation as the Jesuits were permitted to operate in more and more countries over time. By the early twentieth century, their numbers grew from less than a thousand aging members at the time of the reestablishment to more than seventeen thousand, not far from pre-suppression levels.

The rebirth of the Jesuit order in the nineteenth century coincided with

the second, or modern, phase of globalization that was marked by a new wave of migration from Europe and the imperial expansion of Europe and then the United States. "The first and most basic impetus behind Jesuit globalization," John McGreevy notes in his chapter, "was one of the great migrations of modern history, the decision of sixty million Europeans to leave the continent over the course of the nineteenth century." Jesuits also participated in a new wave of European colonial expansion, which was made possible by an ongoing industrial transformation and revolutions in transportation and communications that translated into Western economic and military hegemony. Like other Christian missionary organizations, the Jesuits followed the European powers into sub-Saharan Africa, which was completely colonized by the end of the nineteenth century. And they established a presence in the Middle East and South Asia, mainly under British and French protection. Japan and, to a lesser extent, China resisted Western military encroachments, placing a limit on the penetration of missionary activity, including that of the Jesuits.

In these colonial contexts during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Society of Jesus did not display its earlier embrace of intercultural encounter as a hallmark of the traditional way of proceeding. With few exceptions, the Jesuits aligned themselves with the status quo of Western subjugation of colonial peoples. To some degree this position was in line with the nationalist and militarist spirit of the times, to which the Jesuits were not immune. But in Europe it was also linked with a reactionary and antirevolutionary stance that grew out of the trauma of the French Revolution and concern about further encroachment on papal power. Popes from Gregory XVI through Pius IX, battling to maintain their territory and autonomy in the wake of new revolutionary convulsions in 1830 and 1848, unleashed a series of encyclicals against modernity and the dangers of the Enlightenment and secular thought. Pius IX's 1864 *Syllabus of Errors* was the most famous. Successive Jesuit superior generals took up this antimodern siege mentality, which militated against cultural or religious accommodation both in Europe and in Jesuit missions worldwide. This stance contributed to hostility from secular governments and, in many cases, to expulsions around the world. As McGreevy notes, "Between 1840 and 1901, the Jesuits were expelled, often multiple times, from Switzerland, various parts of modern-day Italy (including Rome, Piedmont, and Naples), New Granada (modern-day Colombia), Uruguay, Ecuador, El Salvador, Costa Rica, Peru, Austria, Spain, Germany, Guatemala, France, and Nicaragua. In Mexico a liberal government expelled 'foreign-born' Jesuits."

The Jesuits in the United States represented a partial exception to this

overall pattern. With a focus on the American experience, McGreevy reconstructs the process through which many Jesuits ended up in the United States, through migration or as a result of expulsions, and flourished within the country's more open society even in the face of entrenched anti-Catholic prejudice. With America as a base, many reengaged internationally as missionaries and schoolmasters in response to central direction from Rome. At a time when the Jesuits could hardly be viewed as a pioneering avant-garde of globalization but rather saw themselves and were viewed by others as a reactionary rear guard countering the spread of nationalism and liberalism, they also began to emerge as a truly transnational papal order that was enabled by ongoing revolutions in communications and transportation technology. Paradoxically, McGreevy points out, even in the high age of capitalist and Western imperial globalization, "some of the most global citizens of the nineteenth century were not cotton exporters developing global markets or physicians tracking the spread of disease. Instead, they were Jesuits."

The chapters by both O'Malley and Thomas Banchoff highlight the educational dimension of the Jesuit renaissance in the United States and its radiation around the world. As O'Malley points out, the rapid expansion of Jesuit colleges and universities in the United States—twenty-two existed by the turn of the twentieth century—showed the adaptability of the model of the *Ratio studiorum* in a context of rapid demographic, economic, and cultural change. In a country that placed a premium on social mobility, colleges gradually reduced required courses in philosophy and the humanities to make room for the natural and social sciences. In his chapter on "Jesuit Higher Education and the Global Common Good," Banchoff argues that the pragmatic growth of Jesuit colleges into universities with schools of law, medicine, and business, in response to a dynamic society around them, adapted a long tradition of civic engagement to modern circumstances. Similar adaptation took place in other parts of the world but not with the pace and scope of the changes seen in the United States.

At the height of the second Industrial Revolution, around the turn of the twentieth century, new currents in the Jesuit approach to social and political issues presaged a turn to "the promotion of justice" as a core element of the global Jesuit mission since Vatican II. One trend was the rise of Catholic social teaching, which took a structured form with the publication of Pope Leo XIII's encyclical *Rerum novarum* (1891). Many Jesuit missionaries, scholars, and teachers gravitated toward the ideas of solidarity and social justice, which resonated with the ideals of charity and the common good that were first expressed in the "Formula of the Institute," the Society's founding document. In response to the plight of the burgeoning

urban poor in industrializing societies, successive superiors general supported the creation of social institutes both to promote understanding of new economic and social dynamics and to minister to workers and their families. Jesuit scholars influenced the further elaboration of Catholic social thought in Pius XI's encyclical *Quadragesimo anno* (1931), published during the Depression. As Banchoff points out in his chapter, more than a decade before the watershed of Vatican II, Jean-Baptiste Janssens in 1949 was the first superior general to connect the social justice imperative with the Jesuits' global engagement. According to Janssens:

In regard to our missions however I cannot refrain from stressing not only the necessity of teaching the true social doctrine, but even more of promoting social works and a public order that is in conformity with justice and human dignity. For there is a danger, since we are not aroused by what has become customary, that we shall hardly notice to what degree most of the natives are deprived of the condition of life that befits a human being and a Christian. . . . For it is not merely souls but men that we must love in Christ.²³

In the period between the reestablishment of the Jesuit order and Vatican II, globalization shaped the Jesuit order in several ways. It provided a new outlet for missionary activity; it enabled the creation of a more centralized international structure, directed from Rome, and the movement of Jesuits around the world at a greater pace; and, in the experience of the laboratory of the United States, it facilitated the growth and expansion of educational institutions and the export of new models around the world. The impact of the Jesuits on globalization over this period is less easy to demonstrate. In their conservative stance, the Jesuits accommodated to the political status quo through most of the nineteenth century, partly as a survival strategy amid reconstruction but also out of conviction. From around the turn of the century, amid the economic, social, and political dislocation of the Industrial Revolution, the Depression, and world war, the Jesuits played an important role in the development of Catholic social teaching and movement toward the idea of universal human dignity as the foundation for justice at a global level.

The Jesuits and Globalization in our Contemporary Era

The contemporary phase of globalization has its roots in the postwar decades with the rise of US hegemony, the construction of the United Nations system, and the dissolution of Europe's remaining empires. Under

US leadership a global human rights regime came into being, expressed in the UN General Assembly's Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). In part a weapon against the Soviet Union and its allies during the Cold War, the idea of universal human rights deepened the subjective dimension of globalization, the awareness of being part of a common humanity. And it was increasingly complemented by objective technological forces drawing the world together—an emergent reality evoked by Marshall McLuhan's use of the term "global village" (1962) and by William Anders's *Earthrise* (1968), the first photograph of Earth taken from space. While the contemporary phase of globalization accelerated with the information and technological revolutions of the 1980s and 1990s and the rise of the Internet, it had its roots in the postwar decades.

The Catholic Church's opening to the modern world at Vatican II unfolded in this new global context. It involved three related shifts: an embrace of human rights and religious freedom, an opening to interreligious dialogue, and an increasingly global frame for Catholic social thought and practice. As David Hollenbach illustrates in his chapter, American Jesuit John Courtney Murray played a decisive role in the Church's final embrace of religious freedom and liberal democracy in one of the Council's key declarations *Dignitatis humanae* (1965). Drawing on the American experience while at the height of US global power, Murray argued that the best way to advance both religion and justice was to provide constitutional guarantees of the free exercise of faith both in conscience and in action. His argument ultimately helped to persuade the Council fathers to abandon any official preference for regimes that favored Catholicism over other faiths, the basic stance that the Church had taken since the era of emperor Constantine in the fourth century.

Vatican II was also an opening to the religious Other and to the whole world—religious and secular—as a frame of reference. The declaration *Nostra aetate* (1965) broke new ground by embracing dialogue with Judaism, Islam, and other religions in a spirit of mutual recognition and respect. Other Council documents highlighted the importance of social justice on a global scale, encompassing all humanity across cultural, social, and national boundaries. The Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, *Gaudium et spes* (1965), opened with a declaration of global solidarity: "The joys and the hopes, the griefs and the anxieties of the men of this age, especially those who are poor or in any way afflicted, these are the joys and hopes, the griefs and anxieties of the followers of Christ."²⁴

Fr. Pedro Arrupe, elected superior general in 1965 as the Council was ending, adopted the global opening of Vatican II, linking it to the original charisma of Ignatius and his companions. Under Arrupe's leadership, the

Jesuits took up the themes of human rights, social justice, and interreligious dialogue as central to their mission. The Thirty-Second General Congregation in 1974–75 was a turning point. Its famous Decree 4 committed the Society to “the service of faith, of which the promotion of justice is an absolute requirement.”²⁵ Two decades later the Thirty-Fourth General Congregation in 1995 emphasized the importance of interreligious dialogue, going beyond *Nostra aetate* in an openness to other traditions as part of God’s plan for human salvation. Arrupe and his successors invoked the spirituality of St. Ignatius, with its emphasis on reflective action in the world, and built on the work of Jesuits who had embraced Catholic social teaching and universal human rights in earlier generations. The new emphasis on social justice and interfaith encounter broke with the order’s previously predominant political conservatism and religious exclusivism, earning the enmity of many Church conservatives.

As the Society of Jesus itself became more global over this period—a decline in its ranks in the West was partly balanced by a growth in vocations in the developing world—a truly transnational conversation about mission, dialogue, and justice could unfold for the first time in the Jesuits’ history. As Hollenbach emphasizes, Jesuit transnational collaboration spurred new theological and social analysis of the relationship between promoting justice, overcoming poverty, and changing the dynamics of global economic interaction. In Africa, for example, the Cameroonian Jesuit Engelbert Mveng wrote passionately about the need to overcome the consequences in Africa of the slave trade and colonization by European nations. Mveng called these consequences “anthropological poverty,” or the deprivation not only of material well-being but also of the people’s history, language, culture, faith, and, indeed, their very humanity. Elsewhere Jesuit pioneers in interfaith dialogue have included Aloysius Pieris in exchange with Sri Lankan Buddhism and Michael Amaladoss with Indian Hinduism.

Latin America provides a powerful example of a regional dynamic within the Society of Jesus and its wider global impact. In her chapter Maria Clara Lucchetti Bingemer shows how colonial legacies, economic and social conditions, and the determined leadership of Latin American bishops in the aftermath of the Second Vatican Council shaped a “preferential option for the poor” of great relevance to the global Church. The flowering of liberation theology in the 1970s, in dialogue with Marxism, generated divisions within the Church and a rebuke from Rome. While the most famous Latin American liberation theologians were not Jesuits, Latin American Jesuits corporately served as a supporting community and think tank for the movement. An initial impetus was a meeting between

Arrupe and Jesuit major superiors in Rio de Janeiro in 1968. His successor as superior general, Peter-Hans Kolvenbach, later acknowledged that “it is Latin America that has opened the eyes of all Jesuits to the preferential love for the poor and to the fact that the true, integral liberation of men and women must take priority as the focus of the mission of the Society of Jesus today.”²⁶

The new priority had deep implications for the two main Jesuit ministries—mission and education. This was nowhere more evident than in the transformation of the University of Central America in El Salvador under the leadership of the philosopher-theologian Ignacio Ellacuría and his Jesuit community, most of whom were assassinated by the Salvadoran Army during the country’s civil war in 1989. Their martyrdom served as the ultimate witness to their commitment to what Ellacuría called a liberating “civilization of poverty” in opposition to the oppressive civilization of wealth. He was a deep mystical thinker, a contemplative in action, who was firmly anchored in Ignatian spirituality and supported by his friendship with the also martyred archbishop Óscar Romero. The life and legacy of Ellacuría continue to inspire Latin American Jesuits to work for peace, justice, and development well into the era of Pope Francis.

The chapter by John Joseph Puthenkalam and Drew Rau sheds light on the social engagement of the Jesuits in India, with the largest province in Asia. They track the Jesuits’ response to the forces of globalization impacting the region—that is, their critique of economic and social inequality around the world and their productive contributions to the idea of global human development. The history of Jesuits in Social Action, an initiative founded in 1973 in India to fulfill the order’s new emphasis on promoting justice, illustrates a practical response to the challenges of globalization. Today India occupies a critical position at the intersection of the Jesuits and globalization. The country’s impressive economic growth and democratic institutions have made it a key player in the global order. And it has displaced the United States as the country producing the most Jesuits, many of whom are engaged in missionary, educational, and additional pastoral work in other parts of the world.

Two of the chapters move beyond specific regions to explore how the Society of Jesus has grappled with the wider challenges of globalization. Peter Balleis focuses on migration, refugees, and the Jesuit mission in a global context. He shows how during two previous waves of globalization—in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and again in the nineteenth century—human mobility on a global scale shaped the internal composition of the Jesuits and their understanding and practice of a vocation to serve the poor and others on the margins of society. In our contemporary era of

globalization, the Jesuit Refugee Service, founded at the behest of Arrupe in 1980, has collaborated with a range of other humanitarian actors and addressed the needs of millions displaced through war and civil conflict. During the first trip of his pontificate in 2013, Pope Francis dramatically illustrated the idea of accompaniment, with deep roots in Jesuit spirituality, when he visited the island of Lampedusa and drew attention to the suffering of refugees trying to make their way to Europe.

Banchoff's chapter, "Jesuit Higher Education and the Global Common Good," shows how the global and civic dimensions of the Jesuit educational enterprise have evolved into our contemporary era. Across successive waves of globalization the Jesuits have maintained an extensive international network committed to the care of souls and the cultivation of skills and knowledge to benefit the common good. In the fifty years since the Church's opening to the modern world at Vatican II, most of the more than 150 Jesuit institutions of higher learning have aspired not just to pursuing academic excellence, *cura personalis*, and the service of faith but also to promoting justice around the world. This new orientation of Jesuit higher education to the *global* common good, not uncontested, has generated opportunities for deeper international collaboration among Jesuit colleges and universities that is often difficult to realize in practice.

In our contemporary era what does globalization tell us about the Jesuit experience, and what does the Jesuit experience tell us about globalization? The main lines of Jesuit global development over the past several decades—its embrace of the promotion of justice, human rights, and interfaith dialogue—constitute a positive response to the onset of the contemporary phase of globalization after World War II and its acceleration since the 1980s. Pedro Arrupe lived and worked in a constructive reaction to the scale of human suffering at mid-century—he himself was a witness to the cataclysm of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima—and his legacy is mediated by the teaching of Ignatius in striving to do more for the common good and the greater glory of God. Globalization not only impacted the mission and identity of the Society of Jesus, reawakening the global frame of reference present to Ignatius and his first companions, but also enabled new forms of transnational interaction within the order and the internationalization of its perspectives on the world.

The experience of the Jesuits also sheds light on the current phase of globalization. The Society of Jesus has explored, as in the early modern period, the possibilities of deeper cultural encounter in a pluralistic age. Against the expectations of many, the collapse of the Soviet bloc, the progressive opening of China, and the politics of the developing world have

not led to any convergence around the Western model of free markets and liberal democracy. The rise of violent political extremism and political disintegration in the Middle East in the wake of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq and the Arab uprisings attest to the persistence of deep political, religious, and ideological conflict even as information and communications technologies draw the world closer together. In our contemporary era the international Jesuit educational network, with its global and intercultural orientation, illustrates possibilities for meaningful dialogue and collaboration for the global common good. And the work of the Jesuit Refugee Service shows how religious organizations can partner with secular partners to serve the marginalized.

One should not overestimate the impact of the Society of Jesus on globalization today or into the future. In the papacy of Francis, a Jesuit deeply formed by Ignatian spirituality, one can see a powerful expression of both the service of faith and the promotion of justice on a worldwide scale. The Jesuit network remains influential in many parts of the world, even though it is much smaller, less centralized, and less connected to political and economic elites than it was during the pre-suppression centuries. As Francis has pointed out, it may be a blessing to operate at the peripheries and not at the centers of globalization. Today, more than ever, the mission of the Jesuits—and of the Church—is focused less on instruction and conversion and more on listening and serving while accompanying the people at the margins, those who are most negatively affected by contemporary processes of globalization, and advancing the globalization of fraternity.

What are the implications of the Jesuit experience across the centuries for our theoretical understanding of globalization? In conversation with the other contributors, José Casanova's concluding chapter looks at contemporary social scientific theories of globalization through the prism of Jesuit history and at Jesuit history through the prism of globalization. In their complex history, in their global consciousness, and in their global practices, the experience of the Jesuits supports those theories of globalization that emphasize the simultaneous and seemingly contradictory dynamics of homogenization and heterogenization and the interweaving of the global and the local. In the eye of successive global storms, the Society has illustrated the unexpected turns, zigzags, and contingent dynamics of the processes of globalization from the sixteenth century to the present. The history of the Jesuits confounds and complicates simple, unambiguous narratives and one-dimensional, unilinear theories of globalization. Their present and future trajectory, too, will be bound up with humanity's global fate.

Notes

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