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# STUDIES

IN  
THE SPIRITUALITY OF JESUITS

Jesuits in Jail, Ignatius to the Present

GEORGE M. ANDERSON, S.J.

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27/4 · SEPTEMBER 1995

## THE SEMINAR ON JESUIT SPIRITUALITY

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

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

The Seminar focuses its direct attention on the life and work of the Jesuits of the United States. The issues treated may be common also to Jesuits of other regions, to other priests, religious, and laity, to both men and women. Hence, the studies, while meant especially for American Jesuits, are not exclusively for them. Others who may find them helpful are cordially welcome to read them.

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JESUITS IN JAIL, IGNATIUS  
TO THE PRESENT

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*George M. Anderson, S.J.*

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STUDIES IN THE SPIRITUALITY OF JESUITS

27/4: SEPTEMBER 1995

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## *For your information . . .*

The essay in this issue of STUDIES, "Jesuits in Jail, Ignatius to the Present," is longer than usual and it tells an extraordinary story. It could have been even longer and even more extraordinary. The author, George Anderson, assured the Seminar members that there is material enough in this sad and glorious subject to fill a good-sized book, and he may yet write such a book in the future. As for past and present, we might well dedicate this September 1995 issue of STUDIES to Saint Robert Southwell, a poet and one of the very great Jesuit prisoners and martyrs, who was imprisoned for three years in the Gatehouse at Westminster and in the Tower of London. He was tortured barbarically, and finally hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn four hundred years ago in 1595. He is a most engaging character; and the record of his friendship with Henry Garnet, also a Jesuit prisoner, executed in 1606 in connection with the Gunpowder Plot, endears both of them to all who are aware of it. Our Jesuit colleagues at Anand in India staffing the Gujarat Sahitya Prakash press published in 1991 for Asia and Africa a lovely little book by Philip Caraman, S.J., entitled *A Study in Friendship: St. Robert Southwell and Henry Garnet*. For the four-hundredth anniversary of Southwell's martyrdom, the Institute of Jesuit Sources will publish this year, 1995, its own edition of that book. Also, just a few months ago the Institute published *Robert Persons: The Biography of an Elizabethan Jesuit, 1546-1610*, by Francis Edwards, S.J. Persons and Ralph Emerson and Edmund Campion, prisoner, martyr, and saint, were in 1580 the first three Jesuits to enter England.

Where do the ideas for articles such as this one come from? More than once readers of STUDIES have asked that question. The answer: The main sources are two.

First, the members themselves of the Seminar on Jesuit Spirituality contribute ideas. Their primary responsibility is STUDIES. Upon joining the Seminar for his three-year term, each of the members enters into the process of preparing an essay. He talks with the Seminar about his interests and expertise, proposes a subject, discusses it with all the other members, writes a first draft, discusses it again at a Seminar meeting, revises the draft if necessary; finally, after further discussion at later meetings and perhaps further revision, he presents the proposed article to a vote of the Seminar that will determine whether (and perhaps with what further revisions) the essay will become an article in STUDIES. This present issue of STUDIES, "Jesuits in Jail," went through that process.

The second source of ideas and articles is those Jesuits and others who, although not members of the Seminar, send an essay for consideration as a possible issue of STUDIES. Such essays work their way through the same process just mentioned, with the addition of two steps, one at the beginning and the other near the end of the process. At the beginning, I send such "over the transom" submissions to a three-Seminar-member first-reading committee for a preliminary judgment on the question, "Should the whole Seminar consider the essay?" If the answer is affirmative, the article progresses as usual to the point where, near the end, we invite the author

to a Seminar meeting and there discuss the article at length with him or her before making that judgment on whether we shall accept it for STUDIES. The March 1994 article by Seamus Murphy, "The Many Ways of Justice," for example, resulted from such a process.

You can see how much STUDIES owes to the work of its members. So, as three-year terms end and others begin, I want to thank in a special way Allan Deck of the California Province and Thomas Stahel of the New Orleans Province for all their contributions to the ongoing work of the Seminar over these past three years. And, as their terms on the Seminar begin, I want to introduce and welcome three new members. Gerald Fogarty (Maryland) is professor of religious studies at the University of Virginia. His specialization in U.S. Church history has resulted in such books as *American Catholic Biblical Scholarship: A History from the Early Republic to Vatican II* and *The Vatican and the American Hierarchy from 1879 to 1965*. Carl F. Starkloff (Missouri) is professor of systematic theology and missiology at Regis College, the Jesuit School of Theology in Toronto, Canada. He has long been involved with the life and culture and religious practices of Native Americans both in the United States and in Canada and has drawn on his reflections and experience there in his studies and writings on theology and inculturation. Clement J. Petrik (Maryland) is the rector of the Jesuit community at Georgetown Preparatory School. Before taking on that responsibility, he served as pastor of Holy Name Church in Camden, New Jersey. Almost ten years ago he was one of the team that prepared the original edition of *Place Me with Your Son*, the Spiritual Exercises arranged for a retreat in everyday life. Over the next several years, you, the Jesuits of the United States and our many other readers, will be enjoying the results of the work of these new members of the Seminar.

Lastly, the very first member of the Seminar on Jesuit Spirituality, its founding chairman and first editor of STUDIES, Fr. George Ganss, who is still daily at work here at the Institute of Jesuit Sources, celebrates during this month, on September 18, his ninetieth birthday. I am sure that I express the sentiments of all of you, the readers of STUDIES, when I tell him that you wish him the very best of birthdays and the very best of God's blessings.

*John W. Padberg, S.J.*  
*Editor*

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## Preface

AS I BEGIN THE ESSAY, let me note that the term "incarceration" does not extend only to confinement in cells. It can include confinement in any place or area, even on the water. From Maryland, Andrew White was returned chained in a ship to London's Newgate Prison, charged with the treasonable offense of serving as a Catholic priest on what was still considered English soil.

Later, at the time of the suppression of the Society, eighteen hundred Jesuits were transported to Europe from the Spanish colonies. So harsh were the conditions aboard what were in effect floating prisons, that seventy-eight died in transit.<sup>1</sup> Still more severely treated, though he survived, was Pedro Páez: he was forced to be a galley slave in the late 1500s while attempting to reestablish the Jesuit Mission in Ethiopia.

Nor do harsh quarters, whether on sea or on land, account for all forms of incarceration if one views this state primarily as the deprivation of freedom. Isaac Jogues, for example, was confined to a Mohawk village. Writing to his provincial in France, he says of himself and René Goupil, "They left us, as it were, in a kind of free slavery."<sup>2</sup> There, in that state of free slavery, Jogues was able to minister to other prisoners.

To some degree the same could be said of Walter Cizek. He had considerable mobility within the confines of his Siberian labor camp and, albeit at considerable risk, used the mobility to baptize, hear confessions, and celebrate the Eucharist. As will become evident later, the determination to continue ministering has figured to a remarkable degree in the lives of many incarcerated Jesuits.

It is also worth remembering that some forms of incarceration are of relatively recent origin. When David Thoreau refused to pay his poll tax in nineteenth-century Massachusetts because the state condoned the buying and

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<sup>1</sup> William V. Bangert, S.J. *A History of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1972), 388.

<sup>2</sup> Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cleveland: Burrows Brothers, 1898), 39:199.

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*George M. Anderson, S.J. (Maryland Province), is an associate editor at America, the national Catholic magazine. Long interested in and personally concerned with questions of prison ministry, he has written extensively on subjects connected with that work. In the 1970s he ministered at Nativity Mission Center in New York; while there, he also served for some time as chaplain at the Men's House of Detention at Riker's Island. For fourteen years he ministered at St. Aloysius Parish in Washington, D.C., serving as associate pastor from 1980 to 1986 and as pastor from 1986 to 1994. His address is America House, 106 W. Fifty-sixth Street, New York, NY 10019.*

selling of slaves, he committed an act of civil disobedience that led to his being arrested and jailed. In this country, at least, he thus set the stage for what would become more common a century later, when men and women deliberately broke laws they perceived as unjust. In so doing they accepted what might be called voluntary incarceration.



I chose as the topic of this essay “Jesuits in Jail, Ignatius to the Present” because it relates to my earlier apostolic work in the Society. While studying theology at Woodstock College in New York City in the early 1970s, I began doing volunteer work at Rikers Island, the immense jail and prison complex near La Guardia Airport. After ordination in 1973, I continued at Rikers on a full-time basis until 1978. Later, after being reassigned to St. Aloysius, an inner-city parish in Washington, D.C., I engaged in part-time prison ministry for six years as a volunteer at the jail.

What struck me during this entire time was the degrading treatment to which prisoners are subjected: the crowding (two were often forced to share a cell designed for one), the resultant outbursts of brutal behavior on the part of inmates and guards alike, the noise, and the shabby treatment shown to visiting family members. But above all, it began to dawn on me that prisoners are for the most part from backgrounds marked by poverty.

Again and again, the words of Eugene Debs came to mind: “From the hour of my first imprisonment in a filthy county jail, I recognized that prison was essentially an institution for the punishment of the poor.”<sup>3</sup> Not just here but in countries around the world, those who fill jails and prisons tend to be from the lowest income strata of the population.

Though not poor in the same way, imprisoned Jesuits have implicitly been in solidarity with the poor and the disenfranchised. Most have embraced this solidarity willingly, as a way of being more closely linked to the poor and humiliated Christ, who was arrested, beaten, and finally executed. By and large they have been subjected to the same treatment as other prisoners. Many have been forced to exist in conditions so inhuman that they died from the effects of disease, hunger, torture, or a combination of the three.

A number, however, not only survived but lived on to describe their ordeals in autobiographical accounts. Elizabethan Jesuits like John Gerard were actually ordered by their superiors to provide accounts of this kind for the edification of novices.<sup>4</sup> And edifying the accounts frequently are—testimonies to

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<sup>3</sup> Eugene V. Debs, *Walls and Bars* (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr, 1973), 224.

<sup>4</sup> John Gerard, *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, trans. Philip Caraman (London: Longmans, 1951), xvii.

an interior strength and depth of faith that can only inspire wonder in the reader. To a considerable extent, these first-person narratives, along with several interviews, are the backbone of this essay.

In the secondary sources one finds the darker side of the incarceration experience, in references to Jesuits who were crushed in both body and spirit. This darker side is the theme of *Silence*, a novel by the Japanese writer Shusaku Endo. It is the story of two Jesuit missionaries in Japan during a time of severe persecution of Christians. Arrested and incarcerated, first one and then the other apostatizes under the various pressures to which they are subjected. While the tale is fictitious, it points truthfully enough to the fact that the outcome of the imprisonment of Jesuits is not always a triumph over adversity. Oftentimes, as Endo reminds us, the imprisonment of Jesuits is an experience of at-oneness with the brokenness and frailty of humanity.

Among the more striking aspects of the Jesuit incarceration experience is the diversity of those who have been imprisoned. Included have been both Brothers and priests, as well as novices and scholastics, the old along with the young and the middle-aged. It is noteworthy that provincials, too, have been incarcerated: in the sixteenth century, Pedro Martins, provincial of Goa, was taken captive by the Moors.<sup>5</sup> During the suppression of the Society, the Flemish provincial endured two years behind bars.<sup>6</sup> And during World War II, the Gestapo arrested and held Augustin Rösch, the Bavarian provincial who was both Rupert Mayer's and Alfred Delp's superior. Finally, again during the suppression, a general of the Society, Lorenzo Ricci, met death in a papal prison.

As far as structure is concerned, I have developed this essay around a series of themes, as outlined in the table of contents. Within these themes I have interwoven the stories of individual Jesuits in such a way as to provide concrete examples. Some overlapping of themes like prayer, Mass, and ministry have been inevitable.

In terms of time and place, I have tried to be as broad as possible, making use of resources that illustrate situations in, say, the East as well as the West, over a span of four hundred years. Inevitably, material has not been uniformly available. It has been difficult, for instance, to locate material on Latin America. As one Jesuit working in El Salvador put it, Jesuits in Latin

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<sup>5</sup> Philip Caraman, *The Lost Empire: The Story of the Jesuits in Ethiopia* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1985), 23.

<sup>6</sup> Bangert, *History*, 388. Another provincial who endured incarceration was Pedro Arrupe. He was arrested on December 7, 1941, in Yamaguchi, Japan, where he was serving as a parish priest. As a foreigner, he was suspected of espionage and was held for five weeks, until January 13, 1942. See Pedro Miguel Lamet, *Arrupe: Una explosión en la Iglesia* (Madrid: Ediciones Temas de Hoy, 1989), 148-67.

America have tended to be murdered outright, like Rutilio Grande, rather than being imprisoned.

A few Latin American Jesuits, however, have described their times of incarceration. Arrested in Santiago in 1975 in the aftermath of the Pinochet coup, Patricio Cariola in his "Dos meses" (Two months) gives an account of his time in the Capuchinos Jail. The arrest stemmed from his efforts to obtain medical assistance for Nelson Gutierrez, a member of the leftist party, MIR, who was wounded in a confrontation with Chilean security forces. His six-page reflection appeared in *Noticias Jesuitas Chile* for July-August 1976; some of his observations are incorporated into this essay.

An American who worked in Central America, James Guadalupe Carney, briefly described his detention by the Honduran military police in his posthumously published autobiography, *To Be a Revolutionary*. Held in custody for a day, he was expelled from the country in 1979. Carney returned to Central America in 1980, working for three years in Nicaragua before crossing over into Honduras in July 1983 as chaplain to a group of revolutionaries.<sup>7</sup>

Captured with them later that summer, Carney was imprisoned for two weeks at the Aguacate military base. He was never heard from again. According to family members who subsequently spent eight years investigating his disappearance, Carney was tortured at Aguacate and later killed by being dropped from a helicopter over the jungle. As Carney's family pursued their investigation, they came in contact with a member of the Honduran death squad who had defected to Canada. The defector, Florenzio Caballero, had been at Aguacate at the time Carney was captured, and corroborated both the fact that he was tortured and the manner of his execution.

Ironically, whereas Carney through his work with the campesinos of Honduras came to believe it essential to be a revolutionary—his statement "To be a revolutionary is to be a Christian" is the title of the last chapter of his book—a Mexican Jesuit living early in the twentieth century, Miguel Pro, was fiercely opposed to the revolutionary government of his country.

During the Mexican government's open persecution of the Church in the 1920s, Pro was arrested and confined to the Mexico City jail for ten days prior to his execution before a firing squad on November 23, 1927. With his

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<sup>7</sup> Carney was a member of the Missouri Province of the Society of Jesus for thirty-five years. In June 1983, realizing that his conscience-based decision to return to Honduras as chaplain to the Honduran guerrillas was incompatible with his remaining a Jesuit, he left the Society. Soon after he crossed over the border from Nicaragua into Honduras, he disappeared. In a telephone interview on June 27, 1994, Virginia Smith, a sister, said, "In his heart, Jim was always a Jesuit. He loved the Jesuits." Hence his inclusion in this essay. His autobiography, *To Be a Revolutionary* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1985), was published posthumously by his family.

brother Humberto, he was accused of being implicated in an attempt on the life of General Alvaro Obregon. There was no trial. As we will see later, deprivation of due process followed by summary execution frequently is a component of the stories of incarcerated Jesuits.

In their thinking with respect to the relationship between politics and religion, Carney and Pro would probably be poles apart were they to speak to us today. And yet both were Jesuits who died while imprisoned. Again, one realizes the diversity of those who have undergone the incarceration experience.

I have been able to discover little about Jesuits imprisoned in Africa. What follows might, then, best be regarded as a partial rather than a complete overview of Jesuits imprisoned since the early days of the Society. Those incarcerated surely number in the thousands. If more materials come to light, particularly first-person or eye-witness narratives, a book might well be in order. The present writer would therefore welcome letters and suggestions from readers.

At the end of the essay, I have added a glossary of names with thumbnail sketches of most of the Jesuits mentioned. I owe thanks to the members of the Seminar on Jesuit Spirituality who have made valuable suggestions along the way and to Joseph N. Tylenda, S.J. His book *Jesuit Saints and Martyrs* provided leads and much basic material on incarcerated Jesuits who might otherwise have remained unknown to me. Through correspondence, he kindly guided me to source material on several of them. I am also grateful to James B. Torrens, S.J., who led me to important material on Jesuits incarcerated in Albania; to Eugene M. Rooney, S.J., who, as director of the Woodstock Library in Washington, D.C., provided me with much in the way of useful resources; and to James P. Dolan, S.J., who made available to me the unpublished prison diary of John A. Havas, S.J. Other Jesuits to whom I owe special thanks are Eugene E. Fahy, Bro. Thomas A. Marshall, John W. Donohue, Antanas Saulaitis, John J. O'Callaghan, Jacques Sommet, Paul Beschet, Franco Belfiori, and Vincent Lapomarda.



# JESUITS IN JAIL, IGNATIUS TO THE PRESENT

## Voluntary Incarceration

**B**efore we consider Jesuits in jail from the time of Ignatius to the present and study the details of their imprisonment, some brief comments are in order on a recent phenomenon, Jesuits voluntarily seeking incarceration. However dissimilar such imprisonment may seem to the stories that follow, we should remember that a similar commitment and dedication to what they perceived as the values of the Gospel underlay the activities of a sixteenth-century English Jesuit such as Edmund Campion or a seventeenth-century Japanese Jesuit such as Michael Nagasuma or a twentieth-century Jesuit such as Miguel Pro, as well as the activities of some contemporary Jesuits in very different circumstances. Such Jesuits from the past and those engaged in contemporary civil disobedience knew that they were breaking the law of the land, and they thereby accepted the possibility of imprisonment in order to proclaim the values of Jesus as they understood them in the context of political circumstances of their respective times.

Opposition to the Vietnam War manifested itself in acts of civil disobedience that led to the incarceration of a number of Jesuits, both scholastics and priests. The burning of draft records outside the Selective Service office in Catonsville, Maryland, resulted in the swift arrest and imprisonment of Daniel Berrigan in 1968. He subsequently served two years in the federal prison in Danbury, Connecticut.

At roughly the same time, 1970 to 1972, Joseph E. Mulligan, then a scholastic, spent two years at Sandstone, the medium-security federal facility in Minnesota. His act of civil disobedience was similar to Berrigan's. As one of the Chicago 15, he took part in the burning of draft records outside another Selective Service office in Chicago. Like Berrigan, he was convicted of the charge of destruction of government property.

Over two decades later, a young Maryland Province priest, John Dear, with three lay persons calling themselves the Pax Christi-Spirit of Life Plowshares, entered the grounds of the Seymour Johnson Air Force Base in North Carolina and hammered on an F 15-E fighter plane. The act, deliberately scheduled for the anniversary of the December 7 bombing of Pearl Harbor, was meant to symbolize the Isaian image of beating swords into plowshares. Dear

spent seven and a half months in two North Carolina jails and another four and a half months under partial house arrest in Washington, D.C., in the Jesuit community where he had been living prior to his arrest.

Though for dissimilar reasons, during the same year as Dear's arrest, 1993, so too did Francis O. "Skip" Hagerty, a Jesuit in his seventies, go to jail. He was arrested for blocking the entrance to an abortion clinic in Brookline, Massachusetts, an act of civil disobedience for which he served over four months in jail. As he described it in a telephone interview, Hagerty—dressed in clerical attire—and two lay people, drove to 1297 Beacon Street and pulled their van up to the front door at 7 AM.

"The air was let out of the tires, and the floor of the van removed, so though still inside, we were actually sitting on the sidewalk," he said. "The police arrived, and since they couldn't get us out, they called the fire department, who came and cut open the roof of the van. Then they pulled us out through the top."<sup>8</sup>

As different as the actions of Hagerty and Dear were, arguably both of these Jesuits were motivated by a deep sense of the sanctity of life, as were Mulligan and Berrigan. All four, moreover, were implicitly witnessing to their belief that a life of active fidelity to the Gospel could place Jesuits in conflict with the generally received notion of what it means to be a law-abiding citizen.

Another who witnessed in this manner was Edward J. "Ned" Murphy, a New York Province Jesuit who was jailed approximately ten times for protests of various kinds during the Vietnam era, starting in the late 1960s. In the course of an interview at Fordham University's Murray-Weigel Hall on November 27, 1994, I asked him how he saw his personal faith as the basis of what he had done. He answered as follows:

What we're here for is the building of the kingdom of God, and building the Kingdom is usually very normal activity, like feeding the hungry and taking care of one another and comforting the people. But the kingdom also demands at times bolder action, different action. I went through most of what I did with fear and trembling, but convinced that this was at that moment what the Kingdom of God demanded.

As for the courtroom trials, both the minor ones and the major ones, like the trial of the Camden 28, Murphy said, "I took them all as opportunities to speak the truth, and so did the [lay]people we were with, even though some of them may not have used the language of the kingdom."<sup>9</sup>

In a similar vein, William J. Bichsel of the Oregon Province was incarcerated on a number of occasions in the early 1980s, in connection with

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<sup>8</sup> Telephone interview with Francis O. Hagerty, S.J., January 17, 1994.

<sup>9</sup> Personal interview with Edward J. Murphy, S.J., November 27, 1994.

illegally entering the grounds of the Trident submarine base on Puget Sound in Washington state. During a telephone interview on January 24, 1995, he explained his reason for undertaking these acts of civil disobedience. "We're called upon to share the wealth and resources of the world. But those in power, instead of seeing that they're shared with the poor, use them to create weapons of mass destruction like the Trident submarine."<sup>10</sup>

Bichsel added a further reason for entering the grounds of the naval base on Puget Sound, namely, to "reclaim the land for peace." Part of the land on which the base is located, he said, was once the site of a settlement of Native American Indians. Although several of his periods of incarceration were brief and spent in the county jail in Seattle, he also served four months at the Lompoc federal facility in California.

## Ignatius's Own Experience and Ecclesiastical Prisons

To turn to our beginnings, Ignatius experienced an incarceration that was more ecclesiastical than civil. At Alcalá in Spain, he aroused the suspicion of the religious authorities because he dressed like a pilgrim and discoursed in public on religious themes. After an inquisitor asked him some preliminary questions, an officer of the law led him off to jail. For the first eighteen days, authorities offered no reason for holding him—again, a common occurrence in the lives of more recent Jesuits too. After examining him further, Ignatius's captors finally released him after a total of forty-two days in custody.

His second incarceration took place in Salamanca. A Dominican confessor invited him to dinner, though he warned him that the prior would question him and Calixto, his companion, about their preaching. After the meal, the two were confined to the Dominican monastery for three days. Transferred then to the Salamanca jail, they were kept chained to a post in the middle of the building.

Four ecclesiastical judges examined Ignatius's copy of the *Spiritual Exercises* and questioned him on a variety of theological issues. The only fault they found was his inadequate preparation, as they thought, to treat the difference between venial and mortal sin. Having warned him to speak of the matter no more until he had studied theology for four more years, they released him from jail after twenty-two days.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Telephone interview with William J. Bichsel, S.J., January 24, 1995.

<sup>11</sup> *St. Ignatius' Own Story*, trans. William J. Young, S.J. (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1980), 46–50.

That Ignatius spent the first few days of his Salamanca confinement in a Dominican monastery is significant: by the fourteenth century, virtually all religious orders had facilities of one kind or another in which to incarcerate troublemakers. Most monasteries and convents had actual cells with bars, in which religious were confined for offenses ranging from lying and stealing to pride. In serious cases confinement could be lifelong, and might include obligatory fasting, chains, and beatings. St. Teresa of Avila herself accepted the practice and introduced it into her constitutions. Her friend St. John of the Cross spent nine months locked in a barred cell in the Carmelite monastery in Toledo.

The Constitutions of Ignatius therefore were a notable exception to those of other religious orders in that they did not include such provisions.<sup>12</sup> According to one anecdote, when Ignatius sought approval for the *Formula of the Institute*, the first sketch of what would eventually become the *Constitutions of the Society*, he was asked why it included no provisions for confinement. Ignatius, it is said, replied that none were necessary because there was always the door, that is, expulsion from the Society.<sup>13</sup>

In a somewhat different but related context, in the early days of the suppression of the Society in 1773, three English Jesuits at the English College in Bruges—Charles Plowden, William Aston, and Thomas Angier—were arrested by civil authorities and sent to the college of the Augustinian friars in Ghent. They remained there in close custody for nine months.<sup>14</sup> During World War II, after his release from a German prison, Rupert Mayer was kept under house arrest at the Ettal Monastery until March 1944. Although the Benedictine monks treated him kindly, they were obligated by the Gestapo to impose severe restrictions on his movements. The first of the Gestapo's orders read, "Father Meyer is not to have contact with the outside world in any way, shape, or fashion. You are therefore to see to it that he does not leave the monastery."<sup>15</sup>

Perhaps the most famous ecclesiastical prison to be used by the Roman Catholic Church itself was the Castel Sant'Angelo in Rome. It was there that Clement XIV, under political pressure from the Bourbons and other enemies of the Society, ordered the incarceration of the general, Lorenzo Ricci, after the promulgation of *Dominus ac Redemptor*, the bull that dissolved the Jesuit order.

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<sup>12</sup> E. Pacheco, "Carcere e vita religiosa," in *Dizionario degli Istituti de Perfezione* (Rome: Edizione Paoline, 1975), 2:272-76.

<sup>13</sup> Anecdote told to the writer by John W. Padberg, S.J., director of the Institute of Jesuit Sources in St. Louis, Mo.

<sup>14</sup> Henry Foley, S.J., *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus* (London: Burns and Oates, 1877), 5:181f.

<sup>15</sup> Anton Koerbling, S.J., *Father Rupert Mayer* (Cork: Mercier Press, 1950), 1977.

Ricci was seventy years old. His advanced age, coupled with the harsh circumstances of his confinement, undoubtedly hastened his death in Castel Sant'Angelo two years later. He was locked in a cell with boarded-up windows, no fire to warm himself during the winter months, and only scanty food rations. Denied permission to write to anyone, he was also deprived of the right to say Mass<sup>16</sup>—one of the most acute sources of suffering for incarcerated Jesuits of every time and place.

Fifteen years before the promulgation of *Dominus ac Redemptor*, Jesuits in Portugal were already feeling the effects of the coming suppression. More were incarcerated in that land during the course of the eighteenth century than anywhere else—or, one might add, during any other period of the Society's history. Not even in Elizabethan England or in Germany during the Third Reich did Jesuits know such massive persecution.

The persecution was primarily the work of Sebastião José de Carvalho, better known as the Marquês de Pombal. An inveterate enemy of the Society, Pombal persuaded Joseph I to expel all Jesuits from Portugal in 1759. Pombal was able to convince the sovereign that a year earlier a group of Jesuits had been involved in a plot to assassinate him.<sup>17</sup>

Among the ten Jesuits allegedly implicated was Gabriel Malagrida. He had already incurred the animosity of Pombal with his pamphlet "The Real Cause of the Earthquake That Ruined Lisbon on November 1, 1775." In it, Malagrida contended that the earthquake was God's vengeance on the sinfulness of Lisbon's inhabitants. The allegation was especially offensive to Pombal, who, a man of the Enlightenment, scorned what he regarded as religious superstition.<sup>18</sup>

Imprisoned first in Lisbon's Belem Tower and then in Fort Junqueira, Malagrida became mentally unbalanced during the two and a half years of confinement in underground dungeons. He claimed to be holding conversations with saints like Ignatius, Philip Neri, and Teresa of Avila. The state authorities accordingly turned him over to the inquisitors, who were relentless in their questioning of the enfeebled man. Condemned to death for heresy, he was taken to a public square, where he was strangled and then burned at the stake. His imprisonment and subsequent execution vividly illustrate the way in which cooperation between state and religious authorities could issue in devastating results for those accused of crimes.

Many other Jesuits besides Malagrida suffered in the underground dungeons of the same prisons before the century ended, including 180 brought

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<sup>16</sup> Bangert, *History*, 402.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 366–69.

<sup>18</sup> Sir Marcus Cheke, *Dictator of Portugal: A Life of the Marquis of Pombal, 1699–1782* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1938), 96.

back from the missions. Seventy-nine perished during their fifteen years of incarceration and others, like Malagrida, lost their minds. At the death of Joseph I in 1777, the remaining prisoners were released; but only sixty survived their long ordeal.<sup>19</sup>

## Arrest and Trial

**T**he summary judgments imposed on Malagrida and his Jesuit brothers in Portugal bear little resemblance to what we would call acceptable judicial procedure today. Yet a similar absence of equitable justice is to be found in the arrest and trial of Jesuits of our own time. In this respect Malagrida's experience is not unlike that of Alfred Delp, who was tried and condemned by a Nazi tribunal for alleged complicity in a plot on Hitler's life.

In the "Letter to the Brethren," at the end of his *Prison Meditations*, Delp wrote in words that call to mind Pombal's detestation of the Society: "The actual reason for my condemnation was that I happened to be, and chose to remain, a Jesuit. There was nothing to show that I had any connection with the attempt on Hitler's life. . . . There was one underlying theme—a Jesuit is a priori an enemy and betrayer of the Reich."<sup>20</sup> In *The Jesuits and the Third Reich*, Vincent Lapomarda observes that the Nazis hated Jesuits almost as much as they hated Jews, fearing their criticisms of National Socialism in their preaching and teaching.<sup>21</sup>

Principally because of the Society's ties with the Vatican, branding Jesuits as enemies and betrayers of the state has for hundreds of years been used as justification for incarcerating them. The state could take the form not only of Hitler or Pombal or Elizabeth I of England but also that of the revolutionary forces of the 1871 Paris Commune or of the Spanish Civil War, or that of Communist regimes in China and the Soviet Union.

Frequently viewed as subverting the state's control, Jesuits have been hunted, imprisoned, and, often enough, put to death because of their primary commitment to the Gospel's authority over the state's. "Why should I not obey Christ rather than the King?" asked John Ogilvie at his trial in Edinburgh.<sup>22</sup> His

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<sup>19</sup> Bangert, *History*, 370f.

<sup>20</sup> *The Prison Meditations of Alfred Delp* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1963), 193.

<sup>21</sup> Vincent F. Lapomarda, *The Jesuits and the Third Reich* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1989), 11–24.

<sup>22</sup> *An Authentic Account of the Imprisonment and Martyrdom in the High Street at Glasgow, in the Year 1615, of Father John Ogilvie, of the Society of Jesus*, trans. Charles J. Karlake (London: Burns and Oates, 1877), 45.

question helps us understand the willingness of Jesuits to remain firm against temporal powers demanding total allegiance.

In the thinking of some governments, consequently, obedience to the pope has meant an allegiance that was divided and therefore suspect. Given sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century England's not unjustified fear of invasion by Catholic forces, the issue of divided allegiance was a particular focal point in trials like Ogilvie's and those of captured English Jesuits.

During Robert Southwell's trial, the prosecuting attorney claimed that the Pope had sent "Jesuits and seminary priests, instruments of the King of Spain, to stir up sedition in all countries, whereby he might subdue them."<sup>23</sup> As late as 1644, when the mood of the government was growing temporarily more tolerant of Catholics, the sheriff said to Ralph Corby as he stood on the gallows, "Having been made priest in foreign parts . . . you have returned to England and seduced the King's subjects."<sup>24</sup>

The same fear of foreign influence through the Vatican brought about Walter Cizek's arrest, as well as Archbishop Dominic Tang's in Canton in 1958. Both men spent over twenty years either in prison or in labor camps. Although subjected to repeated interrogations, neither received a trial in any accepted sense of the word.

When there was a trial in totalitarian situations of this sort, defense procedures were usually a sham. For example, "while the proceedings were still in progress, Delp's lawyer told him that as a matter of fact he was against Jesuits too." His trial took place before a judge known to be "anti-Catholic and a priest-hater."<sup>25</sup>

In England under Elizabeth I and her successors, arrests were all the more frequent because of the lure of monetary gain. A statute enacted in 1606 promised rewards to anyone who provided information leading to the arrest of priests for celebrating Mass or engaging in other priestly duties, such as baptizing and hearing confessions.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Foley, *Records*, 1:368. The English Mission was begun in 1580, but during the worst years of the persecution, there were never many Jesuits in England. By 1598 there were only eighteen, according to Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., ed., *English and Welsh Jesuits: Catalogues (1555-1629)*, vol. 1. of *Monumenta Angliæ*, *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu*, vol. 142 (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1992), xxxvi. A century later, in 1680, there were still only ninety-two assigned to the English Mission (Francis Edwards, S.J., *The Jesuits in England, from 1580 to the Present Day* [London: Burns and Oates, 1985]), 90.

<sup>24</sup> Foley, *Records*, 3:84.

<sup>25</sup> *Prison Meditations*, 12, 162.

<sup>26</sup> Philip Caraman, *Priest of the Plague: Henry Morse, S.J.* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Cudahy, 1957), 115.

Jesuits on the English Mission tried to avoid arrest by adopting aliases and disguises. Aliases were needed in part because agents of the crown had secret access to lists of Englishmen studying abroad for the priesthood.<sup>27</sup> Edmund Campion's superior, Robert Persons, who sometimes used the name of John Howlett,<sup>28</sup> arrived in England as a Flemish captain, "in a dress of buff layd with gold lace, and hatt [*sic*] and feather suited to the same." Seeing Persons attired in this uncharacteristic manner, Campion wrote in some amusement to the general, Everard Mercurian, that "a man must needs have very sharp eyes to catch a glimpse of any holiness or modesty shrouded beneath such a garb, such a look, such a strut!"<sup>29</sup> The strutting and the bold look were additions to disguises made all the more necessary by the watchfulness of government pursuivants.

English Jesuits chose as their disguise the garb of gentlemen. In this way they could more easily move about among the homes of English gentry who provided shelter and the opportunity to celebrate Mass for the family and trusted Catholic friends from the neighborhood. And so, in his *Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, John Gerard explains that he chose this mode of dress because he could thereby "stay longer and more securely in any house or noble home where my host might bring me as his friend" (18).

In other times and places, too, Jesuits have resorted to disguises and aliases in an effort to carry on their ministry undetected. Cizek entered Russia as a laborer with the assumed name of Wladimir Lypinski; and when Pedro Páez set sail at Diu on a Turkish ship for Massawa, the gateway to Ethiopia, he and his fellow Jesuit, Antonio Monserrate, were disguised as Armenian merchants.<sup>30</sup> So too was Miguel Pro obliged to adopt a disguise to enable him to exercise his priestly duties and carry out works of charity in Mexico City once the government had closed the churches and suppressed public worship.

## Spectators

**E**specially in earlier times, the arrest, imprisonment, and sometimes the execution of Jesuits have been marked by an almost public quality. Crowds were often present as Jesuit prisoners were taken from one place to another, and the mood could be far from friendly. The inhabitants of the Arabian town of Tarim, for example, on learning that Pedro Páez and

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<sup>27</sup> E. E. Reynolds, *Campion and Persons: The Jesuit Missions of 1580-81* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1980), 88.

<sup>28</sup> Gerard, *Autobiography*, 18.

<sup>29</sup> Foley, *Records*, 3:19f.

<sup>30</sup> Caraman, *Lost Empire*, 17.

Antonio Monserrate did not believe in Mohammed, "spat on our faces and punched us with their fists. There was nothing the guards could do."<sup>31</sup> Maltreatment of a similar kind greeted the scholastic Paul Miki and his companions in 1597, as they were led from one village to another on their weeks-long journey from the prison in Miyako to their place of execution in Nagasaki.<sup>32</sup>

A century later in India, John de Brito was arrested for disobeying an order of the rajah of Marava not to preach the Gospel in his territory. Soldiers apprehended him on January 8, 1693, and forced him to walk through a series of villages to the prison in Ramandabouram. At one such village, he was placed in chains in a cart of the kind used by Brahmin priests to carry their idols. François Lainez, the French superior of the Madurai Mission, describes in a letter to the other Jesuits of the mission how de Brito was left in the cart for a whole day, in hunger and thirst, "exposed to the laughter of the public."<sup>33</sup>

A few decades after de Brito's death, another Jesuit assigned to the Madurai Mission, Venantius Bouchet, was also arrested and forced to undergo public humiliation on the way to the fortress in which he was to be imprisoned for a month. "All the streets were filled with people as I went by," he writes. "Some seemed compassionate, others—the greater number—hurled insults at me, and said I deserved all kinds of punishments for having despised their gods."<sup>34</sup>

The animosity directed by the onlookers against Bouchet, de Brito, Miki, and Páez were anti-Christian in nature. But that of the spectators in Elizabethan England was specifically anti-Catholic and could vent itself harshly on Jesuits viewed as in league with Catholic powers intent on occupying the kingdom. After being dragged through the streets of London to the Marshalsea Prison, Thomas Pounce—whose story is described later, in the section "Becoming a Jesuit in Prison"—wrote from his cell to his Jesuit brothers: "Bareheaded, I went with a heavy iron [chain], while the mob shouted 'Crucify!'"<sup>35</sup>

Though he was not personally implicated, William Weston was arrested in 1586, when the so-called Babington plot was uncovered, a scheme to assassinate Queen Elizabeth and place Mary Queen of Scots on the English throne. Weston writes in his autobiography of the crowd's reaction on learning of the plot. From the house where he was confined, he could hear the shouting nearby: "Great crowds gathered in the street . . . talking wildly all the time

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<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

<sup>32</sup> Joseph N. Tylenda, S.J., *Jesuit Saints and Martyrs* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1983), 41.

<sup>33</sup> *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses Ecrites des Missions Etrangères par quelques missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jésus*, ed. Charles S. Gobin, S.J. (Paris: Nicholas de Clerc, 1707), 2:22.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> *The Elizabethan Jesuits: Historia Missionis Anglicanae Societatis Iesu (1660) of Henry More*, trans. Francis Edwards, S.J. (London: Phillimore, 1981), 37.

against the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Queen of Scots . . . and not least, as you can guess, against the Jesuits.”<sup>36</sup>

But the mood was not always unfriendly. So widely known in England was Henry Morse’s work among the plague-stricken half a century later, that at his public execution in 1645 the onlookers were described by one eyewitness as “an almost infinite crowd that [stood] looking on in silence and deep emotion.”<sup>37</sup> Similarly, at the time of his execution earlier in the same century, Henry Garnet, superior of the English Mission, spoke so movingly of his innocence as he stood on the scaffold that the crowd forgot whatever animosity it may previously have felt. In fact, when the hangman had quartered his body and held up Garnet’s heart with the traditional cry “Behold the heart of a traitor,” the crowd refused to utter the corresponding replies of “Aye, aye” and “God save the king.”<sup>38</sup>



A somewhat different type of crowd reaction has emerged during periods of revolution. During these times, the reaction could be anger stemming from a perception that the clergy—including Jesuits—were allied with an oppressive regime favoring the rich over the poor. Such was the situation during the French Revolution. George F. Rudé notes that in 1789 “the degree of disrespect for the Church . . . had by this time become general in the markets . . . [and] this anti-clerical feeling was on the increase among the *menu peuple*.”<sup>39</sup> The mood of popular anger paved the way for the arrest and month-long incarceration of twenty-three Jesuits early in September 1792. The immediate cause of their death sentence was their refusal, seconded by other priests as well, to take the oath of support for the “Constitution of the Clergy,” which called for the establishment of a national church independent of the pope. But the crowd’s animosity was not intellectually based. When a group of the Jesuits was

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<sup>36</sup> William Weston, *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, trans. Philip Caraman (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1955), xxv. In *Campion and Persons* Reynolds notes, “Religion no longer plays a determinative part in the lives of the vast majority of people, but from, say, 1550 to 1650, it was part of men’s thinking and was inevitably interlocked with politics” (112).

<sup>37</sup> Caraman, *Priest of the Plague*, 185.

<sup>38</sup> Philip Caraman, *Henry Garnet, 1555-1606, and the Gunpowder Plot* (New York: Farrar Straus, 1964), 439. Garnet acknowledged that in confession he had heard of the plot to blow up the King and Parliament five days before the plot was discovered, but denied having any part in it himself.

<sup>39</sup> George F. Rudé, *The Crowd and the French Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), 66.

brought forth with others from their incarceration in a Vincentian seminary on September 3, the day of their execution, the crowd's cry was "Death! Death!"<sup>40</sup>

By this time, the French monarchy had already been dissolved, replaced by a form of government known as the Commune. The same term reappeared in the nineteenth century as the name of the insurrectionary government that briefly took control of Paris in the spring of 1871. During this period, five Jesuits were imprisoned for a month and then slain in another outburst of anticlerical violence. As Pierre Olivaint, Jean Caubert, and Anatole de Bengy were being led with others through the streets of Paris on the way to their execution, communard women and children followed "with imprecations and a thousand cries of death."<sup>41</sup> Herded into a courtyard, the entire group was massacred by the mob. Two other Jesuits, Léon Ducoudray and Alexis Clerc, were killed by a firing squad a few days later.

In twentieth-century Spain, a similar perception of religious as linked to oppressors of the worker and the poor was evident during the Civil War in the 1930s. According to the authors of one study of the Spanish Civil War, the Church was largely regarded as "an instrument . . . of the rich, as the defender of property and an iniquitous social order, and as . . . the enemy of the workers."<sup>42</sup> Jesuits were especially singled out for persecution. In 1932 legislation pertaining to the separation of church and state included a provision that dissolved the Society in Spain—in effect, a second suppression of the Society almost two hundred years after the first suppression.

The hostility apparent in some segments of the population is epitomized in the events surrounding the arrest of a group of Jesuits at St. Joseph Retreat House in Barcelona on July 21, 1936. That morning, twenty soldiers arrived to search the house for arms. None were found, but the four Jesuits in the house were nevertheless taken into custody. During the drive through the city, young men walking alongside the car hurled insults and urged the soldiers to kill the four because they were priests.<sup>43</sup>

Three of these four died before they could even be incarcerated, but a number of other Spanish Jesuits did spend time in jail. Simply having a crucifix on the wall of one's room could result in arrest. Brother Constantine March Battles was in hiding with a relative when searchers came to the apartment.

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<sup>40</sup> Tylenda, *Jesuit Saints and Martyrs*, 297.

<sup>41</sup> P. Armand de Ponlevoy, S.J., *Actes de la Captivité et de la Mort des RR. PP. P. Olivaint, L. Ducoudray, J. Caubert, A. Clerc, A. de Bengy*, 5th ed. (Paris: G. Téqui, Librairie Editeur, 1872), 116. (There are variations between the fifth and sixth editions. The edition cited will be noted in future.)

<sup>42</sup> Pierre Braie and Emile Temimé, *The Revolution and the Civil War in Spain* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1970), 37f.

<sup>43</sup> Tylenda, *Jesuit Saints and Martyrs*, 432.

Although—in line with his Elizabethan predecessors—Brother Battles was using by way of disguise an identity card stating that he was a businessman from Orihuela, seeing a crucifix on the wall was enough to prompt the searchers to ask if he was a priest. He replied that he was not, but acknowledged that he was a Jesuit Brother. He was subsequently held for a month in the San Elias Prison, a former Poor Clare convent, before being shot with sixteen others.<sup>44</sup>

Jesuits at Dachau also felt the contempt of the crowd, although the crowd could simply be lay prisoners who despised fellow prisoners who were priests. A Belgian, Leo de Coninck, who wrote of his Dachau experience after the war, speaks of encountering this kind of hostility in the course of assigned tasks.

Twice a day we had to go to the kitchen for heavy cauldrons used for our food: they weighed 180 lbs. each. An equal weight of soup (so-called!) was poured in, and two of us, shod in wretched sandals we could scarcely keep on our feet, had to carry them to all the blocks. This was seldom accomplished without one or other of the carriers stumbling, amid the hostile jeers of spectators who seemed to be consumed with a bestial hatred for Pfaffen [i.e., the priests].<sup>45</sup>

Cruel jeers of this kind may well have called to mind for de Coninck the meditation on the Third Degree of Humility in the Exercises. As one who secretly gave retreats at Dachau to bolster the morale of Jesuits and other religious imprisoned there, he would surely have had the meditation in his thoughts, as, indeed, did other Jesuits over the centuries exposed to ridicule and hatred during their time as prisoners.

Jeers and insults were also the lot of three Jesuits in Albania after the Communists began their persecution of religious at the end of World War II. On January 1, 1946, the vice-provincial for Albanian Jesuits, Gjon Fausti, Daniel Dajani, president of St. Xavier College, and a scholastic, Mark Cuni, were arrested for alleged anti-Communist activities. Their trial lasted six days. Each day, along with several others, they were forced to walk chained together from the jail to the court house. “Along the way, they were insulted by people yelling, ‘Death to the traitors.’ Father Fausti . . . would walk in front of the seminarians. He was often hit or spat upon while he proceeded in resignation.”

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 435. In *The Revolution* Braie and Temimé note that the ban on public worship included a prohibition against the ownership of religious objects such as crucifixes and holy pictures. Indeed, “the revolutionary rear militias tracked down their owners, carried out searches, and made arrests” (151).

<sup>45</sup> Leo de Coninck, S.J., “The Priests of Dachau,” *Month* 182, no. 950 (March-April 1946): 117.

Taken to a wall outside the Shkodra Catholic cemetery, they were machine-gunned and buried in a mass grave.<sup>46</sup>

At the local jail in Washington, D.C., in the early 1970s, Edward Murphy experienced similar hate-filled jeers during the first night of his incarceration there after a Vietnam-related peace demonstration. "I was in a cell in the isolation unit," he said, "and all night long there were two guys outside saying that Allah had ordered them to murder the white minister, meaning me. They said the same kinds of things to me the next day," he continued in the interview, "and the following night they were still outside my cell, saying they were going to pour kerosene in and set it on fire."

Although the threat of setting fire to his cell was not carried out, Murphy had no way of knowing that it would not be. He added that the harassment took place on the weekend of Good Friday and Easter Sunday.

I experienced great fear, and prayed: "Get me out of this." Good Friday has never been the same since then, never as real as it was those two nights. I can still see their faces and hear their voices. Praying then was a talking to Jesus with a sense that there was no distance at all between him and me. The immediacy of the situation made the presence of God very real.<sup>47</sup>

Later in this essay the theme of prayer as a source of strength will be examined at some length.

## Joyful Acceptance of Incarceration for Christ's Sake

**A**lthough the initial reaction of Jesuits at the time of their arrests might well include shock, in several first-person accounts what stands out is a pronounced note of joy. Having been arrested for anti-Nazi preaching and for refusing to give the Gestapo the names of royalist party members, Rupert Mayer describes his feelings thus: "When the door [of his cell] snapped shut . . . tears came to my eyes, tears of joy that I was accounted worthy to be imprisoned for the sake of my profession and to await an uncertain future."<sup>48</sup>

Similarly, the Jesuits arrested in 1871 during the uprising of the Paris Commune "went rejoicing that they were accounted worthy to suffer reproach

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<sup>46</sup> Giorgi Silvestri, "Fr. Gjon Fausti, S.J., Strength in Serenity: The Account of an Eyewitness of His Mission," in *The Fulfilled Promise: A Documentary Account of Religious Persecution*, by Gjon Sinishta (Santa Clara, Cal., 1976), 104-9.

<sup>47</sup> Interview with Edward J. Murphy.

<sup>48</sup> Koerbling, *Rupert Mayer*, 164.

for the name of Jesus.”<sup>49</sup> This description by one of them, Léon Ducoudray, is a conscious paraphrase of Acts 5:41, regarding the reaction of the apostles after their arrest and beating: “Then they left the presence of the council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer dishonor for the name.”

It was precisely the memory of the early apostles’ imprisonment as described in Acts that led Patricio Cariola to “explode with joy” on finding himself in jail in 1975. During an interview in Washington, D.C., on July 2, 1994, he explained why. “From reading Acts in my cell in the Capuchinos, I suddenly realized that the leaders of the early Church had all suffered in prison—it was part of the tradition to be respected for going to jail, and so I felt joy at being part of that same tradition.”<sup>50</sup>

In his memoirs Dominic Tang speaks of his own reaction on being taken into custody: it too was one of happiness.

While I was being arrested, I was happy; for priests and many Catholics had also been arrested because they had obeyed my orders; they had not joined the CCPA [Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association] nor had they admitted that the Legion of Mary was counter-revolutionary. How could I not be like them?<sup>51</sup>

Not only did Tang experience happiness at his arrest, he had foreseen that incarceration might be an actual part of his vocation. After his appointment as apostolic administrator of Canton seven years before in 1951, a nun said to him, “Your vocation to be a bishop is a vocation to be imprisoned.” Commenting on her remark, Tang writes in *How Inscrutable*, “I always asked God for the grace to realize this vocation” (118).

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<sup>49</sup> Lady Herbert, *A Martyr from the Quarterdeck: Alexis Clerc, S.J.* (London: Burns and Oates, 1890), 209.

<sup>50</sup> An initial rush of joy on being incarcerated for one’s religious convictions—whether Catholic or Protestant—is not unusual. During the reign of Queen Mary, many English Protestants were imprisoned in the mid-1500s. In his *Book of Martyrs*, originally published in 1563 as *Acts and Monuments of these latter and perilous Days*, John Foxe mentions a wealthy English Protestant named John Glover who, in a letter to his wife, wrote as follows: “After I came into prison, and had reposed myself there awhile, I wept with joy and gladness, musing much of the great mercies of God, and saying to myself, ‘O Lord, who am I, on whom thou shouldst bestow this great mercy, to be numbered among the saints that suffer for the Gospel’s sake?’” (*Book of Martyrs*, ed. Marie Gentert King [Westwood, N.J.: Fleming H. Revell Co., Spire Books, 1968], 207).

<sup>51</sup> Dominic Tang, S.J., *How Inscrutable His Ways! Memoirs, 1951–81* (Hong Kong: Aidan Publicities and Printing, 1987), 81. Another Chinese Jesuit who endured many years of incarceration was Francis Xavier Chu (1913–68), who was either in prison or in labor camps for thirty-two years and who died while still incarcerated. For an account of his life, see *If the Grain of Wheat Dies*, written by a Carmelite Sister in Macao (Sr. Teresa of Jesus) and available through Xavier House, 167 Argyle St., Kowloon, Hong Kong.

For some, the vocation to imprisonment was accompanied by a longing desire for martyrdom. The Jesuit superior of both Mayer and Delp, Augustin Rösch, who was himself incarcerated by the Gestapo, wrote later of a wish to die for Christ that had been with him from childhood: "Since my first communion, I have asked every day for the grace of shedding my blood for the faith."<sup>52</sup> Though he did not receive the desired grace, as provincial he displayed extraordinary courage in supporting Delp and Mayer when they came under attack by the Nazi authorities. It was this unswerving support that brought about his own imprisonment.

Joyful acceptance of incarceration could go hand in hand with a refusal to make any attempt at escape. Following his arrest, John Gerard describes in his autobiography the absence of any desire to elude his captors: "All idea of escape had gone, and in its place I felt a great happiness that I had been allowed to suffer this much for Christ's sake" (66).

The embracing of suffering for Christ's sake, even in the face of his own death sentence, also led another Jesuit, Thomas Garnet, to decline a chance to escape. "When certain Catholics amongst the crowds that flocked to Newgate . . . offered him a rope by means of which he might have effected his escape from prison, he said that he had rather be raised up by a rope than leap down to the ground by the same means."<sup>53</sup> The lightheartedness of the reply points to the interior serenity that sustained him during his incarceration.

Again, the often expressed desire to undergo imprisonment for Christ's sake can be seen as linked to the wish to embrace the third degree of humility of the Exercises—a desire, that is, to choose poverty and insults and to be counted worthless and a fool because "so Christ was treated before me."<sup>54</sup> Indeed, young men seeking entrance into the Society in the time of Elizabeth were questioned along these very lines: "Do you consent to put on the livery of humiliation worn by Him, to suffer as He did and for love of Him, contempt, calumnies, and insults?"<sup>55</sup> Campion was accepted as a novice only after assenting to these and similar questions.

Not just Jesuits on the English Mission but others too, by their acceptance of the degrading treatment to which they were subjected, demonstrated their willingness to put on the livery of humiliation and suffering. Anton Luli, an Albanian Jesuit, quickly came to know the third degree of

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<sup>52</sup> Lapomarda, *Jesuits and the Third Reich*, 31.

<sup>53</sup> Foley, *Records*, 2:492. Thomas Garnet was the nephew of Henry Garnet, superior of the English Mission. Both were executed, though at different times. Thomas Garnet was canonized in 1970.

<sup>54</sup> *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius*, trans. Louis J. Puhl, S.J. (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1960), ¶167.

<sup>55</sup> Reynolds, *Campion and Persons*, 53.

humility in the treatment he received after being arrested on December 19, 1947, and charged with speaking against Communism. He had been pastor of a parish in Shkreli for a year and a half when the arrest took place. Here is his description of what then happened.

The guard opened the door to a small room, hurled me against the wall, and then slammed the door. . . . I found myself in a bathroom full of hardened excrement. . . . Never in my life did I feel the real and true presence of the Lord as in that instant. Calvary began right away. Above the small room lived the head of the police. When I was delivered to him, he . . . punched me in the jaw, and then called in two or three guards. They stood in a circle about me. Then they shoved my body first toward one and then toward another like a ball. All the while they yelled and cursed.<sup>56</sup>

Far worse was to follow in his seventeen years of imprisonment and forced labor, but this segment of Luli's account suggests both the level of humiliation and anguish to which he was subjected and his own sense of the presence of Christ in the midst of it as, like Christ, he was buffeted and struck by his keepers.

## Physical Suffering and Torture

**I**n many instances physical suffering resulted from the conditions of confinement themselves. Páez endured not just hunger, thirst, and the constant stench of feces but also the still-greater torment of lice. They prevented what little rest might have been possible aboard the galley.

Right through the night to dawn we were forced to remain sitting up, trying all the time to rid ourselves of the lice. As they fell on us from above we threw them into the sea; if when we were overcome by fatigue or sleep we lay down and covered our face, the lice forced us to get up and went on torturing us until morning.<sup>57</sup>

A few handfuls of rice were Paez's daily food.

Constant hunger was almost a given in the conditions to which imprisoned Jesuits have been subjected. For Cizek in his Siberian prison camp, the "whole aim of life became the acquisition, somehow, of food. We thought

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<sup>56</sup> Anton Luli, S.J., "Dearest: The Painful Ordeal of an Albanian Jesuit," *National Jesuit News*, December 1993–January 1994, 6.

<sup>57</sup> Caraman, *Lost Empire*, 38. Lice have been the painful lot of many Jesuit prisoners. In his prison memoirs, *Banishing God in Albania* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1988), Giacomo Gardin, S.J., speaks of his prison in Shkodra as being "totally infested by fleas, roaches, and, most of all, ferocious lice" (41).

of it constantly.”<sup>58</sup> Reduced to eighty-two pounds at his labor camp in China, Louis Shen felt he could not survive and prepared for death. But praying to God for help, he learned how to catch fish in a lake within the camp precincts, and in this manner held on.<sup>59</sup> Not all did, however. Aloysius Jën-Shen Wong was arrested in 1953. Given a sentence of twenty years, he was sent to the White Lake Labor Camp, where he died of hunger seven years later.<sup>60</sup>

In the 1940s at Dachau, Jesuits like John Lenz also knew life-threatening hunger. In his autobiography he notes that “many of our comrades, especially Poles, died of starvation [and] we were driven in desperation to eating mice, earthworms, weeds, grass, anything we could lay our hands on.”<sup>61</sup>

Although few died of starvation, Jesuits interned by the Japanese in the Philippines during the Second World War were also acquainted with hunger. In one of a series of reflections on their experiences at Los Baños, the huge detention camp near Manila, an unidentified scholastic wrote that “the real torture of a prison camp is hunger.” He goes on to say that by late 1944, beriberi was common, with internees living on seven ounces of rice mush a day.<sup>62</sup>

One who did die primarily from hunger was Carl W. J. Hausmann, an army chaplain who became a prisoner of war under the Japanese in the Philippines. After three years of captivity, he was confined with five hundred other American soldiers in the hold of a transport ship as the Japanese began to withdraw. In the obituary that appeared in *Woodstock Letters*, a fellow Jesuit chaplain who was also on the ship, John E. Duffy, described what happened.

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<sup>58</sup> Walter Cizek, S.J., *With God in Russia* (New York: Image Books/Doubleday, 1966), 174.

<sup>59</sup> Louis Shen, S.J., “Growing Up in the Church: China and the U.S.A.,” *America*, January 23, 1993, 11.

<sup>60</sup> *Jesuits in China, 1949–1990: Ignatian Year* (Hong Kong: China P.-Macau Hong Kong P. DCA), 11. Attending Fr. Wong at the time of his death from starvation was fellow prisoner Francis Xavier Chu. See note 47 above. Other Chinese Jesuits who died in prison or labor camps were Frs. Ng Ying Fun (1979) of Sacred Heart Church and Beda Chang (1955) of St. Ignatius Church (see *If the Grain of Wheat Dies*).

<sup>61</sup> John M. Lenz, *Christ in Dachau*, trans. Barbara Waldstein (Vienna: Mission-druckerei St. Gabriel, 1960), 149.

<sup>62</sup> “Philippine Jesuits under the Japanese,” *Woodstock Letters* 74, no. 3 (October 1945): 209f. Los Baños, a former agricultural college surrounded by a double barbed-wire fence, held approximately two thousand people, including women and children. The eighteen Jesuits who contributed their reflections to the article are Edward P. Sullivan, Gerald W. Healy, Thomas A. Mitchell, Henry F. Fox, Samuel R. Wiley, Clarence E. Martin, Albert F. Grau, Francis C. Madigan, Richard T. McSorley, Philip J. Boyle, Daniel F. X. Corbett, Charles E. Wolf, Edgar A. Martin, Thomas E. Brady, Joseph N. Behr, Ralph B. Gehring, Pablo Guzman-Rivas, and Jaime C. Bulatao.

Carl died partly because he gave his food away. We were getting two spoonfuls of rice every third day and he gave it away. And the shame of it was that the men he gave it to weren't worthy of it. He gave it to the whiners, the weaklings. When they complained he'd lean over and dump his ration into their cup, without a word.

After his death from hunger and exposure, his body, along with the bodies of many others, was dropped over the side of the ship into the sea.<sup>63</sup>

During the same World War II period, a French Jesuit, Jacques Sommet, speaks in his autobiography of the way in which the effects of hunger at Dachau were especially deadly for the youths, whose bodies wasted away at a rapid pace.

The progressive effect of hunger is visible, particularly in regard to young men of twenty and twenty-two. In the showers, one realizes that the very structure of their bodies is changing, and one says, "Look, these young fellows have lost their buttocks, they're on a downward slide." Their muscles have disappeared. Then one day, the most exhausted collapse.<sup>64</sup>

Though not as young as these prisoners, Sommet himself was still a scholastic at the time. He had been arrested in Paris by the Gestapo because of his resistance work.

Two centuries earlier in India, Sebastian de Maya, a Portuguese Jesuit, wrote to his provincial in Malabar of the hunger and other deprivations that he and Robert de Nobili underwent in the Madurai jail during an anti-Christian persecution. "For the last seventeen days we are living in utter destitution: no linen to change, no water to wash, no other food than [as with Paez] a handful of rice." De Nobili was sixty-three at the time and nearly blind.<sup>65</sup>

But physical suffering could also be the result of actual torture. It has taken many forms. For Isaac Jogues it meant having his fingers crushed between the teeth of Mohawks, who later, while he still lay on the platform erected for the torture of captives, dropped burning coals on his body. Paez's sleeplessness was at least not caused by his guards; but in sixteenth-century Edinburgh, John Ogilvie's keepers deliberately deprived him of sleep for eight days and nine nights. "They forced me to keep awake with styles, pins, needles and pinchings," he writes in the brief story of his days of imprisonment which he

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<sup>63</sup> "He Kept Silence in Seven Languages: A Short Sketch of Carl W. J. Hausmann, S.J.," *Woodstock Letters* 75, no. 4 (December 1946): 334.

<sup>64</sup> Jacques Sommet, *L'Honneur de la liberté* (Paris: Centurion, 1987), 83.

<sup>65</sup> S. Rajamanickam, "De Nobili in the Madurai Jail: A Letter of Sebastian de Maya," *Indian Church History Review* 18, no. 2 (December 1984): 92.

smuggled out page by page to sympathetic visitors, slipping them under the door of his cell.<sup>66</sup>

Among Jesuits who survived to tell the story of their torture, few suffered more than John Gerard. Despite three years in the Tower of London, he consistently refused to disclose the whereabouts of his superior, Henry Garnet, whom the prosecuting attorney had described by the familiar term “enemy of the state.” For refusing to give the desired information, Gerard was taken to the Tower’s torture room.

His wrists in iron gauntlets, he was made to climb a set of wicker steps. Then his arms were raised and an iron bar was passed through the gauntlets. With the steps removed from beneath him, he was left to hang for hours. “All the blood in my body seemed to rush up into my arms and hands,” he writes in his autobiography, “and I thought that blood was oozing from the ends of my fingers and the pores of my skin.” When he fainted, his jailers revived him and hanged him up again. The procedure was carried out three times the first day and twice the next, when he almost died (36).

At one of the torture sessions, the experience took on a spiritual dimension, which helps to explain how he—and others—did survive tortures of the most severe kinds. “The pain was so intense I thought I could not possibly endure it. . . . Yet I did not feel any inclination or wish to give them the information they wanted. The Lord saw my weakness and did not permit me to be tempted beyond my strength” (109). This last sentence is a partial paraphrase of 1 Cor. 10:13: “God is faithful, and will not let you be tempted beyond your strength, but with the temptation will also provide the way of escape, that you may be able to endure it.” As Gerard’s use of Corinthians suggests, passages remembered from Scripture provided an important resource for incarcerated Jesuits in their efforts to resist pressures brought to bear on them.

During World War II most Jesuits incarcerated by the Nazis were sent to Dachau, which by 1942 held approximately twenty-five hundred religious. They were subjected to much the same torments as the other prisoners, including medical experimentation. Leo de Coninck speaks of a third-year theologian “who died after a month of atrocious suffering with his leg completely gangrenous; he received no treatment—he served as a standard of comparison for the gangrene cases they *were* treating.”<sup>67</sup>

To medical experimentation were added various forms of gratuitous cruelty. De Coninck mentions a priest in his work gang who collapsed after a day of laboring in the fields. As the priest lay “in tortured agony on a pile of hay . . . a young S.S. guard amused himself by setting his dog on him” (118).

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<sup>66</sup> Karlake, *An Authentic Account*, 27.

<sup>67</sup> “Priests of Dachau,” 119.

Being forced to witness such maliciousness toward those in pain was in itself a torture.

Over the centuries one of the most frequent forms of torture has been solitary confinement. After his arrest with five other Jesuits working at Aurora University in Yang-zheou in 1951, Eugene Fahy was taken with his companions to Shanghai. There they were imprisoned separately. Because of his recalcitrance during periods of interrogation, when he was locked into a chair with an iron bar across the arms, Fahy was placed in a dark, coffinlike cell that measured only four feet by eight feet.

After a few days, to increase his punishment, the guards manacled his ankle to the grill of the cell door. In an article written later for *Life* magazine, Fahy described his confinement in the tiny, darkened cell as “a burial above ground in a vault of boards and bars.”<sup>68</sup>

John A. Havas underwent a similar experience of deliberately brutal treatment in solitary confinement. Like Fahy a prisoner of the Chinese Communist authorities, Havas was imprisoned for almost two years, from September 1952 until May 1954. For a time he was subjected to torture by being confined in a windowless “cave” so cold that his right side became paralyzed. He writes as follows in his memoirs:

They took me . . . to a 5' by 8' concrete cave which had no number. It was made of concrete and open without windows [*sic*]. It was so cold that I cried. The pain from cold is indescribably insupportable. We had a Jesuit father who died from such a death. My right side became paralyzed; my hands still bear the mark today. (My hip sometimes, even now, begins shaking with a reflexive shock.)<sup>69</sup>

Later, Havas was moved to a cell with sixteen others who, in their desire to please their captors, informed on him for speaking what they considered disrespectful words about Mao Tse-Tung. Guards came and punishment swiftly followed. “They pushed me severely and with merciless cruelty. My hands were chained behind my back. No sleep!” To the chains were added deliberate humiliations: “Even the food placed before me was pushed far away from me. I bent for it like a dog” (96). What food there was, was of such poor

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<sup>68</sup> Eugene E. Fahy, S.J., “Burial above Ground,” *Life*, September 8, 1952, 138.

<sup>69</sup> John A. Havas, S.J., “Four, Nine, Nine, Six” (unpublished, undated typed manuscript of 105 pages recounting Havas’s experiences in China preceding and after his arrest), 91. The manuscript was found in Havas’s room at Murray-Weigel Hall at Fordham University after his death on September 9, 1994. Unfortunately for the purposes of this essay, the description of his life in prison is limited to a dozen pages or so of the manuscript; nevertheless, the document is a very valuable one. The title refers to his number in prison. Havas was a member of the Hungarian Province, even though he spent the last two decades of his life in the United States. Although his command of English is good, his native language was Hungarian; this accounts for some non-English-sounding locutions.

quality that Havas not only contracted scurvy and beriberi but also lost a hundred pounds during the time of his captivity.

The Communist police in Albania subjected many religious to torture in the post-World War II period. The ordeal for one of them, Daniel Dajani—subsequently executed with two other Jesuits in 1946—was described by an eye witness, a fellow prisoner who had been one of his students. After a midnight torture session, Dajani was dragged back to their basement cell.

His cassock and face were covered with blood which came even from his eyes. It seems his interrogators had used electric shock because this torture has this effect on a person. . . . At times it seemed he was not even alive. . . . After a while the guards took him and moved him under the stairs in that horrible dark place [the latrine] full of excrement and slime.<sup>70</sup>

The former student, Myfit Q. Bashati, goes on to note that Dajani “valiantly preserved his dignity without giving in and without a broken spirit.” Indeed, later the same day he observed a moving act of generosity on Dajani’s part. One of the prisoners in the basement cell received some food from his family; but when he offered him an orange, the priest refused, saying, “No, my son, this is for you to eat. You are young and you need it more than I do.”

A Jesuit who survived his ten years of incarceration in Albania, Giacomo Gardin, in his diary for November 1950 writes of receiving smuggled letters describing other tortures to which members of the clergy, including Jesuits, were subjected. About Dajani and four scholastics, Mark Cuni, Gjon Shilaku, Gjergj Bici, and Pronk Lesej, these letters reported that

[M]ost of them were beaten on their bare feet with wooden clubs; the fleshy parts of the legs and buttocks were cut open, rock salt inserted beneath the skin; [they were] then sewn up again . . . electrical wires [were] placed in their ears, nose, mouth, genitals, and . . . [they were] forced to drink their own urine and eat their own excrement.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Myfit Q. Bashati, “An Eye-Witness Account of the Last Days of Fr. Daniel Dajani, S.J.,” *Albanian Catholic Bulletin* (University of San Francisco, Xavier Hall) 15 (1994): 32f.

<sup>71</sup> Gjon Sinishta, ed., “The Diary of Father Ják [Giacomo] Gardin, S.J.,” in *The Fulfilled Promise*. Fr. Gardin, still living at the time of this writing (1994), has composed an account of an Albanian Jesuit, Fr. Gjon Karma, who after his arrest on Christmas Eve 1946 spent seventeen years in prisons and labor camps. He too underwent torture. “Among the preferred methods were beating his feet with metal rods, placing steaming-hot boiled eggs under the armpits, electric shocks . . . and the constant denial of adequate food and water.” Gardin, who was in close touch with Karma until 1948, notes that the worst torture occurred in the summer of 1947. “The police would tie him to a schoolyard tree until he collapsed from heat exhaustion. His captors would then revive him by pouring water in his face, only to repeat the process. It was at this point that Karma felt closest to death” (Ják [Giacomo] Gardin, S.J., “Father Gjon Karma’s Slow Road to Martyrdom,” *Albanian Catholic Bulletin* 11 (1990): 57).

Hearing of such torments, Gardin, though imprisoned himself, speaks of his anguish at being unable to help.

Although one would like to think that Jesuits who were tortured have been able to forgive their torturers as a further sharing in the passion of Christ, who forgave his own tormentors, the Uruguayan Jesuit, Luis Perez Aguirre, gives a striking example of documented forgiveness. A social activist arrested during a period of widespread repression, Aguirre—founder of the Uruguayan branch of Paz y Justicia (SERPAJ)—was subjected to torture in the early 1980s. Several years after his release, Lawrence Weschler interviewed him while preparing a two-part article on Uruguay for the *New Yorker* in April 1989.

Observing the cigarette burns running up and down both arms, Weschler asked Aguirre whether he could even imagine pardoning his torturer. Aguirre replied that he already had, and then went on to describe a remarkable encounter on the street, in which he lovingly approached the man and engaged him in conversation. The move caught the torturer totally off guard.

I took the initiative. I called him over. I said hello, how was he doing. You see, I wasn't acting the way he expected. He told me he was very depressed. He is one of the foremost accused [in a subsequent investigation of the period of government tortures]. He said that his life had become terribly complicated, that it was not good for him or anyone to live in this state of ambiguity. I showed him in a practical way that I was not angry. I told him if he needed anything to come to me. And I told him I forgave him.<sup>72</sup>

Aguirre thus sums up his reflection on his forgiveness of the torturer: "It's a personal, internal process that I went through from profound Christian conviction."

When Lawrence Weschler expanded his *New Yorker* interviews with Aguirre and others into *A Miracle, A Universe: Settling Accounts with Torturers*, he quotes Hannah Arendt on forgiveness:

In contrast to revenge, which is the natural, automatic reaction to transgression and which . . . can be expected and even calculated, the act of forgiving can never be predicted; it is the only reaction that acts in an unexpected way. . . . Forgiving, in other words, is the only action which does not merely re-act, but acts anew and unexpectedly.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Lawrence Weschler, "A Reporter at Large (Uruguay—Part II)," *New Yorker*, April 10, 1989, 89. John A. Havas also comments on his own lack of any desire for revenge. In his prison diary, "Four, Nine, Nine, Six" (referring to his number in the Chinese prison), he writes as follows: "I had no feeling of revenge, and I had no resentment then [after his release on May 13, 1954] nor have I now, because with Christ we must become brethren in one family" (70).

<sup>73</sup> Lawrence Weschler, *A Miracle, a Universe: Settling Accounts with Torturers* (New York: Penguin Books, 1990), 270. The quotation from Hannah Arendt is taken from her book *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 241.

It is the very unexpectedness of Aguirre's approaching him in the street in a friendly manner that takes the former torturer totally off guard and thereby allows the process of forgiveness to become concrete. As Aguirre put it, "I wasn't acting in the way he expected."

The process, however, had entailed considerable interior struggle well before the actual encounter on the street. As the Jesuit recalls,

It's not a very simple process. It takes a lot of internal effort. You need a strong conviction of the power of pardoning—the power of love and reconciliation—and how it affects the other person. But it has to be true reconciliation. And it's something I have to do—the state can't claim to do it for me [in its investigation].<sup>74</sup>

It is perhaps not too much to say that many tortured Jesuits have gone through a similar process in their effort to make contact, as Aguirre did, with "the power of love and reconciliation."

Aguirre underwent psychological as well as physical torture. "They were very sophisticated in how they tried to break each person, through isolation and humiliation," he said. Later in the interview with Weschler, he gave a concrete example of torture by means of humiliation: "Once, in a Montevideo prison, I was brought into a public office and kept under the table, like a dog, with my legs cramping up, for hours on end, all day long, all the passersby seeing me like that."<sup>75</sup>

How did he endure such treatment and yet remain mentally intact? Like John Gerard, he was able to tap into his spiritual roots. "Religious people are trained for such situations," he says simply, commenting on the experience in the public office. On another occasion, when he was being held in a military barracks, the strength that came to him through spiritual means was evident even to his cellmate who, thrown back into their shared cell after a torture session of his own, "told me I was lucky, because I knew how to pray. All he could do, he said, was to count up to a thousand and back."<sup>76</sup> What prayer has meant to incarcerated Jesuits will be examined more fully in the section "Prayer in Prison."

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<sup>74</sup> Weschler, "A Reporter at Large—Part II," 89.

<sup>75</sup> Weschler, "A Reporter at Large (Uruguay—Part I)," *New Yorker*, April 3, 1989, p. 78.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 79

## Brothers

Because of governmental fear of their preaching, teaching, and ties with the Vatican, priests have been the special targets of repressive regimes. But many Jesuit Brothers have also known incarceration in one form or another. Besides Brother Constantine March Battles, over thirty were detained and later executed during the Spanish Civil War.<sup>77</sup> During the Second World War, eight French Brothers were forced to work as slave laborers in German ammunition factories. Others were at Buchenwald, and four Polish Brothers died at Dachau, victims of the Nazis' dual hatred of Jesuits and Poles.<sup>78</sup> Following the same war, an Albanian Brother, Gjon Pantalija, was imprisoned by the Communist authorities in Albania. He died after being tortured in a hospital in Shkodra.<sup>79</sup>

In seventeenth-century Japan, Michael Nagasuma, a convert, brought Christians to his home in Nagasaki to receive the sacraments. Accepted into the Society as a Brother, he was arrested in September 1628. During his three months of incarceration, he was subjected to tortures that included being scalded with sulfurous water. He died on Christmas Day of the same year.<sup>80</sup>

One of the best-known Brothers serving on the English Mission was Ralph Emerson, the companion of Edmund Campion. Because of the Brother's small size, Campion referred to him affectionately as "my little man." Emerson accordingly used the alias of Mr. Homulus during his years of imprisonment.

Temporarily separated from Campion when the latter was captured at the home of the Yates family, Emerson returned to the Continent. But he was back in England by 1584 with the job of finding secure lodgings for other Jesuits. Part of his assignment after returning was to bring with him a supply of Catholic books printed abroad. The books were discovered soon after he landed, however, and so began his almost twenty years of incarceration, first at the Counter-in-the-Poultry and the Clink in London and then at the Castle of Wisbech.

While at Wisbech he became partially paralyzed and was then banished from England. He spent the last year of his life in Belgium at St. Omers, the college for English boys sent abroad for the Catholic education forbidden to

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<sup>77</sup> Ignatius Echániz, *A Symphony of Love: Stories of Jesuit Brothers* (Gujarat, India: Gujarat Sahitya Prakash Anand, 1985), 3.

<sup>78</sup> Lapomarda, *Jesuits and the Third Reich*, 391.

<sup>79</sup> Echániz, *A Symphony of Love*, 391.

<sup>80</sup> Tylenda, *Jesuit Saints and Martyrs*, 480.

them at home. There he lived out his final months, "remarkable for his great patience, and especially for his piety toward the Mother of God."<sup>81</sup>

Less well known but equally remarkable was Brother Cuthbert Prescott, who was imprisoned at Newgate. His assignment on the English Mission was to make the necessary arrangements for sending Catholic youth to St. Omers. As was the case with Emerson, after his arrest he was spared execution because he was not in holy orders. Henry Foley provides a moving description of the important services he provided for other prisoners at Newgate.

Here for some years he . . . actively and diligently exercised his vocation in serving the captive priests, in attending the dying, and in cheerfully rendering his services to all who were detained in prison. He liberally shared with his fellow captives the alms which were abundantly bestowed upon him by Catholics . . . so that they came providentially to many who would otherwise have died of starvation. (100)

Prescott's sharing of alms with destitute prisoners was a form of help that could literally mean the difference between life and death. Under the English penal system of the time, the day-to-day management of prisons was leased out to jailers who viewed those in their charge as objects of profit and so provided virtually no food or other necessities without payment.

The reference to attending the dying, too, suggests that Prescott was living out to an exemplary degree Ignatius's admonition in the Constitutions that temporal coadjutors, as Brothers were then called, should "in their conversation . . . try to further the greater interior progress of their neighbors."<sup>82</sup> He died during his incarceration at the age of fifty-five, "worn out by sufferings and the squalor of his prison."<sup>83</sup>

As happened to Michael Nagasuma, Brothers as well as priests could be subjected to tortures so severe that they resulted in death. Nicholas Owen built hiding places for priests in English homes. After his capture he was tortured "with such inhuman ferocity that his stomach burst open and his intestines gushed out," according to Henry More in his seventeenth-century history of the English Mission.<sup>84</sup>

Instant death, rather than a slow one under torture, was the lot of René Goupil, the *donné* whom the Mohawks captured with Jogues. During his captivity he asked for and received Jogues's permission to take vows as a Brother. Soon afterwards, in 1642, he was tomahawked by the uncle of a child

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<sup>81</sup> Foley, *Records*, 3:17-37.

<sup>82</sup> *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, trans. George E. Ganss, S.J. (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970), ¶115.

<sup>83</sup> Foley, *Records*, 3:100.

<sup>84</sup> More, *Elizabethan Jesuits*, 37.

to whom he had been teaching the sign of the cross—a sign misinterpreted by the Mohawk as an invocation of evil spirits.<sup>85</sup>

Half a century earlier in France, another Jesuit Brother was also taken captive and put to death for his faith. As Goupil with Jogues, Guillaume Saultemouche had an especially close bond with the priest with whom he worked, Jacques Salès. Both were assigned to the Aubenas Mission at a time of intense persecution of Catholics by French Calvinists (Huguenots). During a series of Lenten sermons, Salès was arrested and held briefly in a cell at the Huguenot headquarters. There Calvinist ministers disputed with him on the sacraments, concentrating in particular on the real presence in the Eucharist.

When Salès did not falter, the disputants soon decided that he should be put to death. Although he was not included in the death sentence, Saultemouche insisted on accompanying Salès to the public square, there to die with him. “I will never abandon the one to whom obedience joined me as a companion,” he declared.<sup>86</sup> After Salès had been shot, Saultemouche was stabbed to death, the name of Jesus on his lips.

## Prayer in Prison

Whether based on long-memorized scriptural passages or words spoken in the silence of the heart, intense prayer has been a key to a degree of strength and interior peace that would otherwise have been impossible for many incarcerated Jesuits. Those who have written their own accounts of imprisonment refer again and again to prayer as the basis of what preserved them. Thus Ciszek discusses how he came to an understanding of his pain and suffering through this means. “I learned it only by the constant practice of prayer, by trying to live always in the presence of God. . . . If I wanted to preserve my interior peace and joy, I had to have constant recourse to prayer.”<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Tylenda, *Jesuit Saints and Martyrs*, 347.

<sup>86</sup> Jules Blanc, *Les Martyrs d'Aubenas* (Valence: Chez l'auteur, 1906), 107.

<sup>87</sup> Walter Ciszek, S.J., *He Leadeth Me* (New York: Image Books; Doubleday, 1973), 137f. During his time as a missionary in Japan, Pedro Arrupe, S.J., was incarcerated for thirty-three days at the beginning of World War II, on a charge, later dropped, of suspected espionage. For Arrupe, too, imprisonment was a time of intense prayer, for which years later, he expressed gratitude during an interview. For the story of his incarceration, see Lamet, *Una explosión*, 149–67. At the same time, it should be noted that not all Jesuits found prayer easy. Incarcerated in China in the early 1950s, James Enda Thornton, in an unpublished recollection of his experience entitled “The New Proletarian Man” (n.d.), observes that “[s]itting there on my haunches [in my cell], I’d close my eyes and try to pray, but it was a prayer that was often sidetracked by vivid thoughts of food and medicine” (7).

Like a number of his Jesuit brethren then and in earlier times, Ciszek found that the efficacy of prayer had to derive from an unshakable trust in God. "In Lubianka [Prison]," he writes, "I grew firm in my conviction that whatever happened in my life was nothing else than a reflection of God's will for me."<sup>88</sup> If God willed incarceration, he reasoned, then it was a part of God's plan which was to be accepted because the same God would stay at his side throughout the ordeal. "He would protect me" are the words with which Ciszek concludes his reflection on Lubianka in the above quotation.

Paul Beschet, a French Jesuit who, like Jacques Sommet, was a scholastic at the time of the Second World War, expressed a similar feeling in his own autobiography, *Mission en Thuringe*. Beschet had gone to Germany in 1943 with a group of Catholic students and priests connected with the Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne movement. Entering as voluntary workers, they hoped to provide support for Frenchmen conscripted as laborers in the Thuringia region.

Fearing that they might be engaging in subversive activities, the Nazis arrested Beschet and his companions. During his detention at the Gotha Prison in the spring of 1944, he describes how the initial experience of incarceration filled him with a sense of happiness that became part of what he called the fundamental prayer of desiring only God's will.

Here I am in the disposition needed for an eight-day retreat, prelude to a new step in our missionary witness. A feeling of happiness fills me: that of being with God now, at the bottom of this prison. . . . It only remains for me to let myself be led according to his pleasure. God chose this for me, placed me in this situation . . . in order that I might bring forth better fruit, and that it might endure. I bring all my companions into this fundamental prayer, and I sense that it is already heard by God.<sup>89</sup>

Beschet's trust in God's providence, as we will see later, was frequently tested after he was moved to the Flossenberg Concentration Camp, and later to a forced-labor factory at Zwickau. But he never lost the sense of God's sustaining presence.

In the midst of torments inflicted by his Mohawk captors, Jogues could reflect in a similar manner that it was not his own courage that upheld him, but "that of him *qui dat fortitudinem lassis*."<sup>90</sup> And John Lenz, an Austrian Jesuit who survived Dachau, writes that "it was prayer that saved us, not only in our physical but also in our spiritual need."

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<sup>88</sup> *With God in Russia*, 133.

<sup>89</sup> Paul Beschet, *Mission en Thuringe au temps du Nazism* (Paris: Editions Ouvrieres, 1989), 117.

<sup>90</sup> Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 39:197.

Lenz goes on to say in *Christ in Dachau* that only in the school of suffering is it possible to learn “the sort of prayer which pierces the soul like a sword . . . , a blind submission to the divine will.” The submission was all the more necessary in the face of the Nazis’ special hatred at Dachau of “Jews and priests [who] personified the worst kind of criminals in the eyes of those who knew no God” (47). This hatred resulted in the deaths of forty-three Jesuits in German concentration camps; another twenty-six died either in captivity or as a result of it.<sup>91</sup>

Also in the context of prayer, some Jesuits were able to see their suffering as purifying. Delp observes in his *Prison Meditations* that the long hours in his cell, manacled, harassed both in body and in spirit, “must have broken down a great deal that was hard in me,” so that “much that was unworthy and worthless has been committed to the flames” (11). He even implies that without his imprisonment he would not have come to know God as he did. “I have truly learned to know him in these days of trial and to feel his healing presence” (165).

For other Jesuits, prayer involved finding new meaning in certain portions of the Bible, like the Psalms and the Book of Job. Jacques Sommet at Dachau speaks of discovering “a sort of connaturality between our situation and the cry of the Psalms, or Job’s love for the God who seems to abandon him to his suffering.”<sup>92</sup>

Another for whom the Psalms were a strong source of support was William Bichsel. After one of the several acts of civil disobedience in which he engaged at the naval base on Puget Sound, he was held for two weeks at the county jail in Seattle, Washington. There, he was crowded together with fifteen others in a single large cell. During our telephone conversation of January 24, 1995, he spoke of the tensions caused both by the crowding (there was only one toilet for all sixteen men) and by the volatile ethnic and racial mix among the prisoners—African-American followers of Islam, Hispanics, and whites.

In his telephone interview Bichsel mentioned two Psalm verses in particular that he turned to in the midst of these tensions. One was Psalm 40:1: “I waited patiently for the Lord. He inclined his ear to me and heard my cry.” The other was Psalm 121:1: “I lift up my eyes to the hills. From whence comes my help? My help comes from the Lord, who made heaven and earth.”

Sommet also found himself returning to vocal prayer as a way of enabling him, like Job on his dunghill, to protest his situation and even blame God, while at the same time remaining faithful. “Vocal prayer has a physical dimension,” he writes, “tied as it is to the cry for God’s grace. At the same

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<sup>91</sup> Lapomarda, *Jesuits and the Third Reich*, 313–18.

<sup>92</sup> *L’Honneur de la liberté*, 144.

time," he continues, "it's the giving over of oneself to . . . the divine mercy through a medium which is to some degree biological." By way of example he speaks of a Chinese Jesuit incarcerated for twenty years who had once told him, "For five or six years I was alone in my cell; I forced myself to say my rosary aloud to the wall opposite me."<sup>93</sup>

Prayer in the group setting of Dachau could also involve communal discernment. Sommet took part in a discernment process with others during a devastating outbreak of typhus. A person who fell ill with the disease was separated from the other imprisoned religious and taken to a special set of barracks surrounded by barbed wire. The discernment therefore revolved around the issue of whether some of those who were still healthy should accompany their sick companions and consequently run the risk of contracting the disease themselves. Sommet goes on to describe the process.

Imagine, in the life of the camp, these few days when we remained in a state of prayer over this question. . . . There was a mystical aspect involved in the decision: in the ones stricken with typhus. Jesus Christ is present with his wounds. . . . Here we are truly face to face with the excluded, the rejected. In the new society we envision, what place will it have for the rejected ones of tomorrow? If we stand apart from them now, what hopes do we have to struggle later for the dignity of all people? (105)

After several days of prayer, the discernment resulted in a decision to intervene in the situation immediately. The group selected an elderly priest to coordinate the process, which involved accepting the names of those desiring to accompany and remain with the ill members of the community in the quarantine barracks. Sommet tells us what the former faced.

The action consisted of immuring oneself in the barracks with those ill with typhus. To live among the living, and to assist the dying to die. . . . To share the life of the dying person in such a way that his agony might truly be a struggle for life. . . . Some who went in could return, others would leave their lives there. (106)

Of the prisoners who volunteered—Sommet was one of them—only a certain number were chosen. With a touch of regret, he speaks of not being among these.

Because these men were Jesuits, it is not surprising that their prayer was often specifically Ignatian. Finally back in his cell after the torture ended, Gerard turned to the Exercises. "Now, as in the first days of my imprisonment, I made the Spiritual Exercises," he writes in his autobiography (72), going on to say that each day he spent four or five hours on the various meditations, making them from memory (116).

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<sup>93</sup> *L'Honneur de la liberté*, 145. Sommet does not give the name of the Chinese Jesuit.

Dominic Tang, too, informs us in his *How Inscrutable* that during his twenty-two years of incarceration he faithfully made his eight-day retreat every year; as with Gerard, memory served him well. "Luckily, before my imprisonment, I often preached retreats; so I remembered the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius and the order and matter of the meditations." Here too the element of purification was present. Tang notes that during his meditations, he tried to "find out my predominant bad inclinations . . . [and] after each retreat I made some resolutions to reform" (45).

During his incarceration in the Paris Conciergerie at the time of the 1871 uprising, Pierre Olivaint wrote a series of letters to Jesuits on the outside. In several of them he speaks not only of making the Exercises but also of extending them far beyond the traditional period of thirty days. In a letter of May 5, 1871, for example, he comments on being on the thirty-ninth day of his ongoing retreat.<sup>94</sup> It continued virtually up until the time of his violent death less than three weeks later. As was the case with Tang, who called them the center of his life, the Exercises for Olivaint, too, served as a bulwark against the approaching chaos that would engulf him and his martyred companions.

John Havas was another who went beyond the traditional thirty days of the Exercises when he made them himself as a prisoner in China. Locked alone in a windowless, nine-by-five-foot cell, without a bed or any other furniture apart from a wooden bucket for a latrine, he too relied upon his memory as he embarked upon a retreat which he thought would last for forty days, to correspond with Jesus' forty days in the wilderness.

The darkness of the cave, however, prevented him from distinguishing one day from the next. Judging the passage of time as best he could, he made a scratch on the wall to mark what he thought was the passage of each day. Eventually, when he was allowed to have light in his cell, Havas counted the scratches and realized that his retreat had lasted not forty, but fifty-five days in all—so deep had been his spiritual involvement and so fluid the passing of the days.<sup>95</sup>

As an additional help in preserving his sanity while confined to the same darkened cell, which he called "this cage of living death," Havas combined his prayer with a mental exercise in an effort to keep his faculties alert. The exercise consisted of reviewing his knowledge of Chinese shorthand, "using my fingers in formulating the symbols by way of sign language against the darkness of the pit." Observing the strange movements of his hands, his guards were puzzled and assumed that Havas was beginning to lose his mind—an ironic assumption indeed, in view of the fact that it was these same movements of his fingers that helped him to remain sane (99).

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<sup>94</sup> Ponlevoy, *Actes de la captivité*, 5th ed., 32.

<sup>95</sup> "Four, Nine, Nine, Six," 99.

Ignatian, too, was the prayer of Francis Hagerty in his Massachusetts jail. In our interview, he observed that when he rose at 5 AM, long before the other prisoners, his morning prayer was based on the Exercises, especially the meditations on the Two Standards and the Third Degree of Humility, as well as on the Passion and Death of Christ. As for Dominic Tang, "My favorite prayer was an Ignatian prayer: 'Suscipe, Domine': 'Take, O Lord, and receive all my liberty, my memory, my understanding and entire will, all that I have.'"<sup>96</sup> This deliberate self-emptying which allowed God to come in may well have acted as a counterbalancing antidote to the stripping of liberty by the prison authorities.

In our own century, the sufferings of imprisoned Jesuits have sometimes tended to be more psychological than physical; they included fewer of the physical tortures that were so commonplace for earlier Jesuits, such as the Elizabethans. One of the most prevalent forms of modern, human-inflicted suffering has been the interrogation process, carried out in a manner calculated to break down resistance through fatigue, fear, and frustration.

In 1979, when Anton Luli was close to seventy and had already for thirty-two years been under criminal-justice supervision either in prison or in work camps, he was again subjected to grueling days of questioning, over a period of many months.

For nine months there was the continuous pressure of being thrown against the wall, standing without the slightest movement with my hands tied behind my back all night from evening to dawn, the constant repetition of the same questions. The guards constantly repeated the same phrase, "We know everything you have done, but we want you to confess."<sup>97</sup>

The interrogations finally over, Luli was sentenced to twenty-five years more of imprisonment. He served ten of them before being suddenly released without explanation, when the Communist regime in Albania collapsed in 1991.

Ján Korec, a Czech Jesuit, who later became cardinal of Nitra after eight years in prison, in his autobiography, *La notte dei barbari* (The night of the barbarians), comments on his own long, exhausting interrogations. As a help in withstanding the intense pressure produced by the interrogations, Korec made a small circle on the wall of his cell with the burnt end of a matchstick, as a character from one of Franz Kafka's writings had done.

Gazing intently at the circle, Korec prayed: "In you, O Lord, I am strong! You give me strength! With you I am invincible. You have given me the

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<sup>96</sup> *How Inscrutable His Ways!* In his letter of January 14, 1994, John Dear also speaks of this aspect of Ignatian prayer in regard to his incarceration in a North Carolina jail: "I feel Christ is answering my Ignatian prayers, 'Take, Lord, receive all my liberty.' Nowadays, I am concentrating on the last part of the prayer: 'Give me only your love and your grace.'"

<sup>97</sup> "Dearest," 7.

health and the strength to exist.”<sup>98</sup> Whereas Kafka’s character acts without religious motivation, Korec transposed to a spiritual level the focusing method of seeking inner calm.

In Tang’s case the interrogations were accompanied by thought infusion, a euphemistic term for brainwashing. Loud speakers in the prison blared propaganda, and Tang was ordered to read the *People’s Daily*. During his seven years in solitary, he was required to sit in a fixed position in his cell all day. Prayer was expressly forbidden, but secretly, as he reveals in *How Inscrutable*, he recited the rosary while holding the Communist newspaper in his lap (118f.).

Another Chinese Jesuit for whom the rosary was an important form of secretly recited prayer wrote of it anonymously in the *London Tablet* of May 21, 1994. George B. Wong managed to fashion a rosary of “ten knots made from a torn rag like a five-inch string.” The piece of rag had to be short, he explains, because “prisoners are not allowed to have any long string or cord in their possession for fear that they might commit suicide with it”—a bleakly indirect reflection of the pressures to which those in Chinese prisons in the post-World War II period were subjected.

Wong, preferring anonymity in his *Tablet* account, signed it simply “A Jesuit Priest.” He notes at the beginning that he had been arrested for refusing to let his name be put to a statement accusing his bishop, Dominic Tang, of being a so-called “imperialist running dog.” The writer goes on to say that he had spent seven and a half years in prison, two of which were in solitary confinement, “simply because I was discovered to be a dangerous ‘propagandist’ for the Gospel.” In his solitary confinement, he reported, instead of becoming depressed, he was “the more joyful and contented for being all alone” because he had “the spiritual company of Our Blessed Lord and Our Heavenly Mother and the angels and saints.”<sup>99</sup>

For some Jesuits in solitary confinement, though, the isolation was painful, especially when exacerbated by knowing that they were being spied upon. In *How Inscrutable* Tang speaks of warders who “would peep through the small hole to spy on what I was doing, [to see] whether I was keeping the rules” (115). He adds in his memoirs that the warders were careful to open and close the peephole door so quietly that he could not detect their presence by the sound.

Ciszek had a similar experience during his times of solitary confinement in Russia. Mayer, too, was subjected to the same kind of unnerving pressure. At

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<sup>98</sup> *La notte dei barberi* (Rome: Piemme, 1993), 198.

<sup>99</sup> The *Tablet* (London), May 21, 1994, 638. In a letter dated March 17, 1995, George B. Wong gave the writer permission to use his actual name in this essay for STUDIES IN THE SPIRITUALITY OF JESUITS. He resides at the Sacred Heart Jesuit Center in Los Gatos, Cal.

the concentration camp at Sachsenhausen, Mayer's guards wore "straw sandals so that they might observe the prisoners without being detected."<sup>100</sup>

The pain of isolation could be heightened still more by the lack of communication with the outside world. Tang was not allowed to receive or send letters for most of his twenty-two years in custody. His relatives assumed that he was dead, as did his fellow Jesuits, who had Masses said for the repose of his soul. It was the same with Cizek's relatives.

As de Coninck experienced at Dachau, the clearly perceived anguish of other prisoners added to the inner pain of incarcerated Jesuits. When Luli arrived at the Albanian prison in which he was to undergo nine more months of interrogation, "weeping, lamentations, desperate screams, insults and moaning met my ears as soon as I set foot inside that place."<sup>101</sup> The sounds of others' torment was an affliction for Daniel Berrigan too. Writing of his time at the Danbury, Connecticut, prison, he compares the "cries, pounding, catcalls, and screams" of men in the hole (punitive segregation) to the nightmarish scenes in paintings by Bosch.<sup>102</sup>

How did Jesuits subjected to these and other kinds of inner suffering maintain their sanity? Gino Belli, a long-time observer of the China scene who is personally acquainted with a number of Jesuits who underwent incarceration there, noted in an interview, "It was their faith and their prayer that saved them."<sup>103</sup> The same could be said of other Jesuits who emerged from their ordeals psychologically intact.

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<sup>100</sup> Koerbling, *Rupert Mayer*, 165. Another who had to endure the sense of being constantly watched was Eugene Fahy. Of his 1951 incarceration in China, he has this to say: "Guards and instructors [for indoctrination] were continually at the slide of the door peering at me. . . . One of our memories is that unblinking rolling eye that came and went both day and night, unnerving all the while" (*Life*, September 8, 1952, 135).

<sup>101</sup> "Dearest," 7. Other Jesuits have commented on the pain of witnessing or hearing the sufferings of other prisoners. A California Province Jesuit, Thomas Phillips, who was incarcerated in Shanghai from 1953 to 1956, heard the moans of a Belgian priest in a nearby cell. The Belgian's hands were chained above his head to the bars of his cell, in punishment for complaining over the small daily ration of hot water. Kurt Becker, S.J., tells the story of Phillips's imprisonment in *I Met a Stranger* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Cudahy, 1958). The ordeal of the Belgian priest is recounted on p. 51. Another who knew this same kind of pain was Giacomo Gardin. In the autobiographical account of his imprisonment in Albania, he speaks of a gallows near the gate of his labor camp "that admonished . . . [those] tempted to be disobedient or to rebel. We saw people hanging from their wrists on that block more than once. Their wrists were bound with metal wire and they were just left there screaming" (*Banishing God*, 82).

<sup>102</sup> Daniel Berrigan, *Lights On in the House of the Dead* (New York: Doubleday, 1974), 25.

<sup>103</sup> Interview with Gino Belli (pseudonym), October 20, 1993.

Those with access to a Bible learned to read and pray over the scriptural accounts of persecution and suffering in a new way. For Patricio Cariola, both the Gospel of Mark and Acts took on a deeper meaning. In "Dos meses" he writes the following: "These were books written for communities . . . whose members were frequently incarcerated. . . . The writers themselves, to judge from what we know of Paul, were as familiar with courts and prisons as we are with days of recollections and retreats."<sup>104</sup> Cariola goes on to comment on the way in which his fellow prisoners in Santiago instinctively understood the biblical theme of persecution, not because of any catechetical instruction, but because of what they had viscerally experienced.

The same identification with the disciples in Acts entered into the prayer of Joseph Mulligan and served as a sustaining factor during his time at the Sandstone Prison in Minnesota. In one of his writings after his release, he says: "Working our way through Acts [in Bible-study sessions] with other prisoners, we were impressed by the apostles' principled disobedience to earthly authority (e.g., 5:29), and we used their prayer: 'Now, Lord, take note of their threats and grant that your servants may proclaim your word in all boldness'" (Acts 4:29).<sup>105</sup> The impulse to proclaim the word of God "in all boldness," despite threats of retaliation, pervades the thought and writings of imprisoned Jesuits of others times and places too.

## Mass

A central component of Jesuit prayer is the Eucharist. In this regard, some incarcerated Jesuits were more fortunate than others. The chaplain at Cariola's jail saw to it that he had everything necessary for the celebration of the Eucharist the second day after his arrival in 1975. It was a Mass celebrated alone, but it was the Mass.<sup>106</sup>

In Ciszek's case, nuns were able to smuggle wine into his Siberian work camp. Faithful prisoners then saw to it that supplies of the wine and of bread were placed at various locations inside the camp precincts. As a result, not just Ciszek but other priests imprisoned with him were also in a position to celebrate the Eucharist. There were dangers: if discovered, they were severely punished. But as Ciszek observes, "The Mass to us was always worth the danger

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<sup>104</sup> Patricio Cariola, S.J., "Dos meses," *Noticias Jesuitas Chile* (Santiago: July/August 1976): 3.

<sup>105</sup> Joseph E. Mulligan, S.J., "Reflections on the War in Vietnam," *St. Luke's Journal of Theology* (Sewanee, Tenn.) 28 (September 1985): 21.

<sup>106</sup> "Dos meses," 14.

and the sacrifice.” He adds, a few pages later in *He Leadeth Me*, “We would do almost anything in order to say or attend a Mass” (143).

At his prison in Shkodra, Giacomo Gardin speaks in his diary of his happiness when he was able to attend a Mass celebrated in secret in a cell, after three years of Eucharistic deprivation. In his entry for November 1948 we find these words:

Through hidden channels, due to the inscrutable workings of Providence, we are able to partake of the Eucharist. . . . It is truly a great happiness. In just a moment, the reality of our suffering and isolation disappeared, and we now feel happy. I witnessed the fact which is a testament to genuine confessors of faith: a priest celebrating Mass in his prison cell. For altar, he has his lap. The host is a piece of bread and a few drops of sour wine sprinkled upon it. The comrades partake of Communion while going back and forth to the bathroom.<sup>107</sup>

Gardin says later in the same entry that an informer—a scorpion, as spies were called—revealed the clandestine Masses to the authorities, with the result that “the priest is locked in a solitary cell, after being severely tortured.”

Gardin himself, after being transferred to a work camp from the Shkodra prison, was finally able to celebrate the Eucharist for Easter of 1952. At the time, the Albanian authorities were trying to establish a national Catholic church separated from ties with the Vatican. As a result, the camp commander granted the request of Gardin and the three other priests in the camp to observe the Easter celebration, and even allowed the necessary supplies to be brought in from outside. “We got everything we needed to celebrate the Mass from the sister of one of us who lived in Tirana. We received hymns and popular prayers, adorned the walls and altar with our best rags. . . . After five years of absolute void even I could finally celebrate Easter!”<sup>108</sup>

John Gerard too, by bribing the jailer at the Clink in London, was able to say Mass early in the morning, as well as hear confessions and reconcile people to the Church.<sup>109</sup> In our own time, as Francis Hagerty stated in his telephone interview, the Catholic warden of the jail in Massachusetts allowed the Jesuit to celebrate for his fellow prisoners while he was incarcerated because of his act of civil disobedience in front of the Brookline abortion clinic.

Through the intervention of the Catholic hierarchy in Germany, Rupert Mayer was supplied with a portable altar and was permitted to celebrate daily in his cell.<sup>110</sup> By a similar but broader arrangement with the Holy See, Jesuits and other priests at Dachau were able to use part of a block as a chapel.

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<sup>107</sup> “Diary of Ják Gardin,” 144.

<sup>108</sup> Gardin, *Banishing God*, 114.

<sup>109</sup> *Autobiography*, 78f.

<sup>110</sup> Koerbling, *Rupert Mayer*, 160, 171.

De Coninck describes it in his account of his three Dachau years. "The chapel was nothing more than a prisoner's room with a partition between eating and sleeping quarters removed. . . . The use of the chapel had to be shared by the different denominations, and this was arranged with notable charity on the part of all concerned" (119). The parish priest of the town of Dachau sent in wine and hosts. Mass was celebrated daily before rising time.

Although de Coninck speaks of laymen attending the services, as well as religious, their numbers would have been comparatively few, if only because the chapel was so small. Providing sacraments outside the chapel was forbidden. To offset this limitation, a Czech Jesuit, Aloysius Koláček, went to other blocks to celebrate there. As noted in a brief description of his work in *Woodstock Letters*, Koláček "often said Mass secretly and from memory for the inmates of the camp. He used only a plain table and a water glass containing a very few drops of wine . . . and a handkerchief covering the glass with a smuggled wafer in its folds for the ceremony, while prisoners kept watch at the door for approaching S.S. guards."<sup>111</sup> For Koláček, the risk was secondary to the importance of making the Eucharist available to others.

Alfred Delp's situation regarding Mass was marked by what might be termed manacled isolation, yet, like Ciszek, he describes how essential to him the Eucharist was. On the eve of the trial that would lead to his death, he writes in his *Prison Meditations*, "Thank God, my fetters were so loosely fastened that tonight I could celebrate Mass . . . with my hands quite free." This same celebration also meant that he was able to have a consecrated host hidden on his person during the trial itself. "I am taking the Lord with me," he observes (13).

Daniel Berrigan and his brother Philip were allowed to celebrate twice a week in the chaplain's office at Danbury. They disliked both the chaplain ("a man subject to Caesar") and the arrangement, which caused them to be separated from other prisoners who might have wanted to share in their Eucharist. Nevertheless, they found themselves "against all expectation strengthened to bear our lives one day more."<sup>112</sup> On other occasions, they were able to celebrate in a clandestine manner with bread and wine brought in surreptitiously by friends when the defendants met together with their attorneys prior to a court appearance.<sup>113</sup>

In the farm-type labor camps of Communist China, Jesuits wrote to Gino Belli in Taiwan asking for ballpoint pens with tops. The tops were important for Eucharistic reasons. Under the less stringent regulations of some camps, prisoners could buy flour and wine. Jesuits used the flour to make hosts,

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<sup>111</sup> "Varia: Germany," *Woodstock Letters* 74, no. 4 (December 1945): 361.

<sup>112</sup> *Lights On*, 189.

<sup>113</sup> Interview with Daniel Berrigan, January 4, 1994.

cutting them out with the tops of the pens. The tiny hosts looked enough like pills to escape detection by guards, as he informed me during our interview.

Far stricter were the conditions faced by Korec. At the Valdice Prison, which held most of the incarcerated religious in Communist Czechoslovakia, he manufactured a kind of wine made from eggs and kept it in medicine bottles. Discovered with a small bottle of the "wine" in his pocket, Korec was punished, but nonetheless continued in secret to make Communion available to lay prisoners. Concealing tiny pieces of consecrated bread in a matchbox, he distributed them in the prison infirmary.<sup>114</sup>

Through the ingenuity of friends in nineteenth-century Paris, the French Jesuits arrested during the 1871 uprising there were at least able to receive Communion through the help of devout friends on the outside. In a letter of April 13, 1871, Pierre Olivaint describes the ruse of a woman apparently bringing to the prison only a basket of food. In the pocket of her apron, however, the woman also carried two small pots of cream. Each had a false bottom, beneath which lay consecrated hosts and three silk sachets with cords.<sup>115</sup>

Olivaint and two fellow Jesuits, Léon Ducoudray and Alexis Clerc, placed hosts in the sachets and hung them around their necks. As with Delp, the presence of the Blessed Sacrament on their persons was a source of strength. Just before their transfer from the Mazas Prison to La Roquette, the prison for the condemned, they received a second supply of consecrated hosts. How much these meant is evident in a letter of Ducoudray. "I am no longer alone. I have the Lord as a guest in my little cell."<sup>116</sup>

For Jacques Sommet at Dachau, the secret distribution of consecrated hosts served not only as a manifestation of God's presence to the recipients, the very process of distribution created what he calls a Eucharistic network, one that bound together all who received the Body of Christ. It united them to one another and to the Church as a whole. The network became a key component, therefore, in creating a sense of community providing a level of support which otherwise would have been impossible.

To avoid discovery and its consequent punishments, the network involved anonymity. Sommet's first experience with it occurred soon after his arrival. Lying on his wooden bunk one night, he found in the pocket of his tunic a small packet. "Someone put it there. Who? I still don't know who. In this tiny packet, there was a small box, and in the box, a piece of ordinary bread and—a part of a host. How had I been marked out by whoever put the

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<sup>114</sup> *La notte dei barberi*, 183, 189, 207.

<sup>115</sup> Herbert, *A Martyr from the Quarterdeck*, 228f.

<sup>116</sup> Ponlevoy, *Actes de la captivité*, 5th ed., 83.

packet together? Whoever it was, never told me.”<sup>117</sup> On the same page of his autobiography, Sommet reflects further on the meaning of this “revelation,” as he terms it, the awareness of a Christ-centered linkage through the secretly given host, as well as the gift of real bread. The latter was no small gift either, in view of a constant, gnawing hunger.

The packet found in his pocket causes him to realize that he is no longer simply a prisoner in an unknown universe, but that he is recognized for what he is, a believing individual. The realization results in a sense of comfort that carries with it a suggestion of the miraculous. “Yes,” he writes in his autobiography, “in this terrifying and unknown universe, there rises up something that is awaiting me. A solidarity appears. Later, I myself will take part in this network which is epitomized by the Eucharist given in secret” (75). His way of taking part in the network was, at considerable personal peril, to carry bits of the consecrated hosts to the quarantine barracks for newly arrived prisoners. Many of these were mortally ill; for them, receiving the host from Sommet was receiving the viaticum.

The hosts used in the network were consecrated by another Dachau prisoner, a German priest, long before dawn in a corner of their barracks that served as a chapel. One day a sudden inspection found Sommet holding the tiny box that he used as his pyx. The S.S. guard made him hold out his hands, but ordered him to open only one: not the one in which he was holding the box with the consecrated particles. Again, Sommet experienced a sense of the near-miraculous (108f.).

Consoling though Communion was, however, it could not entirely compensate for the inability to celebrate or assist at Mass. Ducoudray speaks of this deprivation as a cruelty, and Olivaint expresses pain because for six weeks he had been unable to go to the altar to celebrate the Eucharist. Two hundred and fifty years earlier in Japan, Francis Pacheco keenly felt the same deprivation as he lay in his dungeon in Shimabara.<sup>118</sup>

Indeed, it might be said that the worst trial for incarcerated Jesuits was being deprived of both the opportunity to say Mass and to receive Communion. Such was the view of John W. Clifford, a missionary arrested in Shanghai in 1953 and imprisoned for three years. In the account of his experience, he writes the following: “For me, the greatest punishment inflicted by the Communists was the brutal attempt to suppress my religion. I had not said Mass or received Holy Communion for 888 days. . . . No one but a priest can fully realize the significance of that deprivation.”<sup>119</sup> Ciszek’s thoughts on the same issue offer a

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<sup>117</sup> *L’Honneur de la liberté*, 75.

<sup>118</sup> Tylenda, *Jesuit Saints and Martyrs*, 186.

<sup>119</sup> John W. Clifford, *In the Presence of My Enemies* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1963), 208f.

close parallel. "Those who have never been deprived of an opportunity to say or hear Mass do not really appreciate what a treasure the Mass is."<sup>120</sup>

Like several others mentioned in these pages, Clifford was more fortunate than some, in that eventually he found the means to celebrate in secret. Toward the end of his three years of incarceration, family members in California managed to send him a package through the Red Cross. Along with other items, the package contained two little bottles marked *Pabulum Vitae* (the food of life), a label whose meaning did not register on the authorities who inspected the packages. In one bottle was wine; in the other, hosts between nickel-sized slices of sugar candy. The stopper of the wine container, which resembled a medicine bottle (like the one containing Korec's egg wine), became a miniature chalice when inverted.

To avoid detection by his cellmate, Clifford waited each night until the other had fallen asleep. Then, around midnight, he would lie on the floor and celebrate his solitary Eucharist. By using only tiny amounts of the wine and hosts, he was able to celebrate forty-one times before the supply gave out.<sup>121</sup>

Some who lacked what was necessary for a proper Mass resorted to the dry mass. In 1593, before being sold as a galley slave in the slave market on the Red Sea coast, Pedro Páez was held captive by a Turkish pasha in Yemen. There, each day before dawn, he and his Jesuit companion, Antonio Monserate, recited the Mass prayers. They blessed a piece of bread at the offertory, and at the elevation, in place of wine, they raised a crucifix.<sup>122</sup>

For John Gerard in the Tower of London, the dry mass was a consolation too. "Every day . . . I rehearsed the actions of the Mass, as students do when they are preparing for ordination," he writes, adding that he went through these actions "with great devotion, which I felt most keenly at those moments when in a real Mass the priest consummates the sacrifice and consumes the *oblata*."<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> *He Leadeth Me*, 143.

<sup>121</sup> *In the Presence of My Enemies*, 207-10. Under similar circumstances, Thomas Phillips, who was incarcerated in Shanghai during the same period (1953-56), also received wine and hosts through the Red Cross. The two containers of "vitamins" had labels in English and Chinese. The label for the container of wine read, "To be taken daily by those suffering from lack of nourishment. Dose: one capful." The other container, a cylindrical glass tube with hosts, suggested one "tablet" before breakfast each morning. In addition, the package contained what Phillips initially thought were handkerchiefs, but which were in fact altar linens with embroidered crosses. Although in the same prison, Phillips and Clifford never saw each other until the end of their period of incarceration in June 1956. The account of Phillips's surprise package is to be found in Becker, *I Met a Stranger*, 166-69.

<sup>122</sup> Caraman, *Lost Empire*, 32-37.

<sup>123</sup> *Autobiography*, 116. During his time at the Lumberton, N.C., jail, John Dear's *oblata* were a piece of Wonder bread and a cup of cold water. At the second jail where he was

The Chinese Jesuit whose anonymously written account of prayer in prison we mentioned in the previous section also speaks of saying “in the privacy of my mind and heart a ‘dry Mass’ every day.” He continues: “My so-called ‘dry mass’ was said without bread and wine, and of course without book . . . but I was blessed with a good memory in those days, as I could recite by heart all the fixed prayers of the old Latin Mass.” After his seven and a half years in an actual prison, he was transferred to a farm labor camp for another twenty years. There, he was able to obtain bread and wine “in a small penicillin bottle” for a real Mass.<sup>124</sup>

An especially moving form of the dry mass, with communion, was the experience of the scholastic, Paul Breschet, on Christmas Eve of 1944. After their arrest and initial internment at the Gotha Prison and then at a concentration camp, he and several other young Jeunesse Ouvrière companions were working as forced laborers in a factory at Zwickau, near Leipzig. A priest there had concealed parts of consecrated hosts in an empty tin container intended for tooth powder, which he gave to a young Catholic worker named René, who in turn gave it to Beschet to hold. For the three days before Christmas, Beschet kept the tin container in his pocket during the nighttime hours and then returned it to René during the day for safekeeping when he went on his own twelve-hour shift. Both knew that it might otherwise be discovered in the course of unexpected searches on the factory floor.

On the night of Christmas Eve itself, Beschet gathered with twenty others at a prearranged time in the shower room of their block, which also served as the temporary repository for the bodies of those who had recently died of illness or exhaustion. In his autobiography Beschet describes what then happened.

Having come back to the block at midnight, Camille, Marcel, and some others gathered around the little box placed on my knees. I slowly read the Midnight Mass. A Protestant, aware of what we were doing, offered to stand watch in the corridor. Just before communion, a young fellow . . . whispered in my ear, “Paul, we’re only lacking Him. . . .” Another moment, my friend, and you’ll have Him! Amazed, tears in his eyes, he received the host. Camille and Marcel received theirs. The Protestant wept. [Marcel later died at the Mauthausen Concentration Camp.]<sup>125</sup>

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held, in Edenton, he received as part of his weekly food ration a container of grape juice, which he saved for an actual daily Mass with two of his codefendants (letter to writer, January 14, 1994).

<sup>124</sup> *The Tablet* (London), May 21, 1994, 638.

<sup>125</sup> *Mission en Thuringe*, 196f.

The very bleakness of the scene—the young men half-starved, with corpses only a few feet away—would have lent a special significance to their receiving from Beschet's hands the bread of eternal life.

On another Christmas Eve six years later, in 1952, John Havas longed to celebrate Mass in his Shanghai prison. Although his hopes in this regard were unrealized, the painful experience to which he was subjected as a result of his request led to an unexpectedly deep and joyous understanding of the meaning of Bethlehem. Havas recounted the story almost four decades later, in a reflection piece written as a 1991 Christmas letter to his friends, only two years before his death at Fordham University. Excerpts from the letter follow.

Two days before Christmas, the [Commissioner] of the prison came to my cell. "So you would like to say your Mass tomorrow. We have no objection to your superstition, but I do not believe that you are a priest. I think you are an imposter, a faker, an international spy. And you are a liar." Here he paused and read the floor. "However, if you would sign the confession and give us the names of your students, our kind government might consider your request." "No, thank you. Forget it!" I said. He spun on his heels and disappeared.

On Christmas Eve, two of the guards barged into my cell, roused me from my uneasy sleep, and ordered me to get up. "Where am I going?" I dared to ask. One guard stuffed the question down my throat, while the other grabbed me by the scruff of my neck and dragged me through the corridor, down the stairs and dumped me into a damp, dark, and stinking cave, and left me there. The place reeked of cadavers augmented [*sic*] by the stench of human excrement. I became nauseous.

I had gone down into the pit. I prostrated myself and cried like a baby. "My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?" I bawled so loudly that one of the guards came and told me to shut up. If the purpose of my captors was to humiliate me, it worked. . . . My humanity cried out as I continued to harangue with the Lord. "I took a vow to serve you and trust you, and you treat me like this. I left everything behind to follow you and look where I ended up—abandoned. Is this my reward for doing your will and preaching your word?"

Then, in the midst of inner and outer darkness, came the Epiphany-like moment of understanding.

As I struggled with my feelings in this total darkness, and without any noise or light, the word "Bethlehem" perfectly formed, flashed on my mind. "Bethlehem! Bethlehem!" I repeated and then—Pow! "My Lord and my God!" What a fool I had been. "O Lord, forgive me. It was on a night like this, in a cave like this, that You, the Almighty God, came down to earth to save a sinner such as me. Your poverty and state were even worse than mine. Forgive my ingratitude. Thank you for not deserting me. Thank you for purifying me."

The moment of understanding is followed by a burst of joy.

Such an indescribable joy invaded me that I could not contain myself. At first I thought my heart would break because of my despair. Now I thought my pounding heart would break because of my unbounded joy. I had to do something physical to get relief from this overpowering emotion. I crawled on my knees in the darkness kissing my chains . . . until I bumped into the wall. I even kissed the wall. I felt the presence of the Lord. I experienced the wonderful realization that God, glowing in Holiness, was in me. It was my first transcendent experience. I repeatedly thanked God for his goodness and mercy. . . . He touched me. This was the happiest day of my life. I prayed for the whole world, especially for my captors. . . . Though a prisoner in chains, I knew that I was caught up in His will and no harm would come to me. I was prepared for anything and everything.<sup>126</sup>

## Daily Order and Work

While prayer and trust in God have been two primary mainstays through which Jesuits found the strength to deal with their imprisonment, they discovered a related strength in establishing a daily structure for their lives. Cizek resorted to an almost literal reconstruction of the daily order of his earlier life in the Society. During the long months in solitary at Lubianka, as he notes in *With God in Russia*, "I began to organize my days as if I were in a Jesuit house back home, and I made up a daily schedule for myself." He goes on to add these details:

After breakfast, I would say Mass by heart—that is, I would say all the prayers, for of course I couldn't actually celebrate the Holy Sacrifice. I said the Angelus morning, noon, and night as the Kremlin clock chimed the hours. Before dinner I would make my noon *examen*. . . . Before going to bed at night I'd make the evening *examen* and points for the morning meditation, following Ignatius' *Spiritual Exercises*. (75)

Still more meticulous was the schedule outlined by Léon Ducoudray, whose incarceration ended in violent death. In an 1871 letter written from the Mazas Prison in Paris, he describes in detail what he called his little daily regimen: 5 A.M., rise, wash, and clean cell; 6 A.M., prayer; 8 A.M., matins and lauds; 8:45, rosary; 9, breakfast and Office of the Virgin Mary; 10 A.M., spiritual sharing in the Mass celebrated at this hour in his community; 11:45, examen;

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<sup>126</sup> This description of his Christmas Eve in a Shanghai prison is not included in Havas's autobiography, "Four, Nine, Nine, Six"; it was written while Havas was living at Murray-Weigel Hall at Fordham University. A copy was sent to me by James F. Dolan, S.J., who lived with him from 1972 to 1978, while both were on the staff of the Loyola House of Retreats in Morristown, N.J.

noon, second rosary; and so on through the day until evening litanies before bed.<sup>127</sup> Virtually every moment of the day was accounted for. Jesuit training in terms of a tightly structured daily routine now came to Ducoudray's aid, at a time when the accustomed order of the world around him had been shattered by the political upheaval in the city. In terms of remaining calm in the face of adversity, following the long-familiar daily routine may well have given Jesuits like Ducoudray an advantage over other prisoners.

Although not in so tightly knit a manner, Ján Korec, too, in the early days after his arrest in 1960, quickly established an order for the day. Each morning he recited the prayers of the Mass, then walked round and round his cell for an hour saying the rosary. Afterwards he recalled by memory theology lessons from the past and sang songs.

"Singing helps me a great deal," he observes in his autobiography. "I gave at least half an hour a day to singing hymns, and thus reviewed many." Because of the guards' presence nearby, Korec had to sing under his breath, not aloud; but even so, the singing helped him to maintain his mental balance. He used both hymns and popular songs to add variety to his periods of meditation.<sup>128</sup>

Tang, likewise, found that singing was a calming element in his own effort to construct a daily order. "Besides my prayer and meditation, every day I sang some hymns in a soft voice: 'Jesus, I live for you; Jesus, I die for you; Jesus, I belong to you. Whether alive or dead, I am for Jesus!'"<sup>129</sup> On a note of humility, Tang mentions that he had learned this particular hymn from a Protestant minister who for a time shared his cell. He mentions several other hymns, such as the bedtime hymn, "Good night, holy Mary, my merciful mother," "Adeste, fideles," and "Silent night," commenting that they gave him "great spiritual strength"—an observation reminiscent of St. Augustine's remark that the person who sings, prays twice.

At midday Tang made an examination of conscience and another before retiring at night, together with an act of contrition including the prayer: "Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, I give you my heart and soul; Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, assist me in my last agony; Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, may I breathe forth my soul in peace with you." In view of the uncertainty of his own fate from month to month and year to year, the references to death in this prayer must have taken

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<sup>127</sup> Ponlevoy, *Actes de la captivité*, 6th ed., 65f.

<sup>128</sup> *La notte dei barberi*, 117.

<sup>129</sup> *How Inscrutable His Ways!* 126. Tang's practice of singing hymns to himself has its parallel in James Enda Thornton's reciting of poems. "In trying to hasten, be it ever so little, the monotonous oppression of slow-moving time, I scheduled my day, reciting so many poems after breakfast, and so many after supper at 4:30. . . . Then I'd hold imaginary conversations with my relatives and friends" ("New Proletarian Man," 17).

on a depth of meaning that they might not otherwise have had. Besides the usual prayers on Fridays, he made a simple way of the cross. His goal was to leave no time unaccounted for. "Every day I prayed, meditated and sang hymns so that I had no free time," he writes (127).

Although under circumstances that were much less threatening and confining, Berrigan, too, sought a sense of order in the midst of the noise and chaotic movement at Danbury. "One resolves in the face of this to continue his diet of prayer, reflection, and reading."<sup>130</sup> The verb "resolves" is a key to understanding the tenacity with which incarcerated Jesuits have tried to base themselves on a foundation strong enough to withstand the near-demonic elements around them.

The daily order could also include work. Berrigan was assigned to the dental clinic, Mulligan to the kitchen as a janitor. His age notwithstanding, Francis Hagerty had a job too. In our telephone interview he described his work on the prison farm from noon to four, gathering, washing, and stacking eggs. As these examples suggest, the work exacted of American Jesuits serving time for acts of civil disobedience was for the most part light and seldom occupied more than a few hours a day.

But for Jesuits in Europe, China, and elsewhere, assigned work has been far more burdensome. But even then some were able to see their labor in a positive light because of their conviction that it represented part of God's plan for them. This attitude is strikingly expressed in *He Leadeth Me*, in which Ciszek has this to say of his Siberian construction labor:

I did each job as best I could. I worked to the limit of my strength each day and did as much as my health and endurance under the circumstances made possible. Why? Because I saw this work as the will of God for me. . . . The labor I did was not a punishment, but a way of working out my salvation in fear and trembling. . . . It was ennobling, for it came from the hand of God himself.<sup>131</sup>

Finding his outlook on work bizarre, Ciszek's fellow prisoners asked how he could cooperate with the wishes of a government that had stripped him of his freedom. But for him work was a good in itself, one that could even be seen as a means of reparation for his and their past failings. He was thus able to give spiritual meaning to what he was forced to do.

The prison work of Tang and Korec evoked little in the way of a positive response. Tang's assignment was to paste together ten dozen cardboard boxes each day. If the work was not done satisfactorily, he had to redo it. And

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<sup>130</sup> *Lights On*, 129.

<sup>131</sup> Ciszek, *He Leadeth Me*, 117f.

no matter how much he and the other two prisoners in his cell produced, there was no change in the meager diet of *congee* (rice and sweet potatoes)—a diet that left him shivering with hunger, and one so low in nutrients that he developed beriberi, as did numerous other imprisoned Jesuits.<sup>132</sup>

Korec had several jobs, ranging from stringing artificial pearls into necklaces to making safety pins. His quota, eighty a day, was so high that he could never fill it. In the autumn, he was led outside to pick beets, watched over by guards with machine guns and attack dogs. The hardest kind of labor came when he was transferred from the Valdice Prison to a factory. His assignment there was to produce the frosting on car headlights by pressing them against a rotating stone. The procedure caused his fingers to bleed; at night the pain would awaken him.<sup>133</sup> Jobs such as these, though part of the daily routine, make it clear why men like Korec and Tang had to create an order of their own that wove prayer and meditation into the daily order imposed by the prison authorities.

At Dachau, the Jesuits' work was so heavy that in some instances it led to death from exposure or exhaustion. De Coninck notes that although—again, through an agreement between the Reich and the Holy See—religious at Dachau were technically exempt from heavy labor, the reality was quite different.

In the winter, for instance, they were assigned to snow removal. "All day long we were out shifting the snow, piling it on upturned tables on long wagons and tipping it into a river at the edge of the camp." De Coninck adds that the work was made doubly difficult by the "capos" who acted as overseers. Prisoners themselves, these foremen were "poor, degenerate brutes, worse than the S.S. and the cause of death of many unfortunate people."<sup>134</sup>

At other seasons they were sent out in gangs to clear land. "I was in one of these," de Coninck writes. "I have seen unhappy men die in the fields, worn out by privation and neglect" (118).

Equally grueling was the labor of Giacomo Gardin. At a work camp in southern Albania, near the Greek border, he was assigned to a crew that was draining a marshy area by manually digging canals that would empty the water into a nearby river. Standing in waist-high mud and stagnant water was a daily ordeal. "The waters would invade finished sectors, filling them with stagnant sewage that had to be manually pushed back to the river bed, and the shovellers often had to work in waist-high mud. The horrifying job put an end to many lives. It added more victims to the already high malaria death toll."<sup>135</sup> The work

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<sup>132</sup> *How Inscrutable His Ways!* 103.

<sup>133</sup> *La notte dei barberi*, 117.

<sup>134</sup> "The Priests of Dachau," 117.

<sup>135</sup> *Banishing God*, 87.

in the marsh brought on such severe arthritis that there were times when Gardin could stand up only with difficulty.

The only food each day was a ladle of soup and eight hundred grams of bread in the morning, and the same amount in the evening. How did Gardin survive? Although prayer and deep faith are part of the answer, communal support from the other priests working on the same project was essential too. (The importance of community in this regard will be examined later in the essay.) There were twenty-nine priests in all, Gardin reports, and “we would program our work carefully so that we often did more than required in less time” (83f.). Even the commander, who disliked the priests and often assigned them the most difficult jobs, begrudgingly commended them before the other workers.

Later on, Gardin was sent to work in a brick factory, where the temperature was high and the air full of dust and ashes—the very opposite of the wet work in the swamps, though equally enervating. “The rough hot bricks had to be touched by hand. We would walk out of there exhausted, with sweat dropping from our bodies, dust in our mouths and noses, and our hands stripped of flesh. What a torment!” (122). Paradoxically, the heat of the factory almost cured Gardin of the arthritis he had contracted in the marshes, a blessing he is quick to attribute to God’s help. “How could I not consider this a fatherly intervention of Providence?”

Paul Beschet was assigned to a similar setting in his forced labor at Zwickau, in a factory that manufactured glass cylinders for thermos bottles. For twelve hours a day, with little food to bolster his strength, he had to carry the burning-hot cylinders from the bellows to an oven for additional heating. In the course of a day, he covered sixteen kilometers.<sup>136</sup>

The work of the Jesuits at Los Baños in the Philippines was not slave labor; rather, they undertook it of their own accord, in order to survive in the camp. As one scholastic describes their tasks, “We cut wood, carried it, worked the fires, boiled the rice, tilled the garden, fought disease, nursed the sick, buried the dead. . . . Everybody had a job.”<sup>137</sup>

As the Japanese reduced food rations toward the end of the war, more deaths occurred among the mixed population of religious and lay prisoners, men and women of all ages. The Jesuits built the coffins and opened the graves. “You will find this burial crew working even in the middle of the night,” the same scholastic observes. “Men are dying two a day now and they cannot keep ahead of them” (206f.).

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<sup>136</sup> *Mission en Thuringe*, 147.

<sup>137</sup> “Philippine Jesuits under the Japanese,” *Woodstock Letters* 74, no. 3 (October 1945): 217.

Filipino Jesuits were dealt with more rigorously than were the American internees. At the San José Seminary for native clergy outside Manila, the Japanese conscripted a third-year theologian into a labor battalion, where he succumbed to exhaustion. They also shot and killed two philosophers attempting to remove liturgical vessels and vestments from a church so that they could store them in a safe place.

## Ministry

Prison labor, heavily burdensome or otherwise, has frequently served as an avenue for ministering. During an interview on January 4, 1994, Daniel Berrigan spoke of welcoming his job in the Danbury dental clinic because it allowed him access to the prison's medical wing. There he provided counseling, along with such pastoral services as getting messages out to prisoners' families. His goal, as he expresses it in *Lights On in the House of the Dead*, was to "lighten the burden of one or another of the men; a simple exercise in the truth that 'God is love'" (13).

In addition, with his brother Philip he was given permission to conduct classes on great books, like *Gulliver's Travels* and several of the Greek tragedies. He also led a smaller evening group in the study of the Gospels. Commenting on what his ministry meant to him in Ignatian terms, Berrigan said in the interview, "Phrases like 'deeds not words' from the Contemplation to Attain the Love of God in the *Exercises* are in our bloodstream, and so much are we contemplatives in action that we continue to take our ministry seriously even in abnormal circumstances." He added that ministering in these circumstances helps to reduce the sense of abnormality, an observation that might well be applicable to the experience of other incarcerated Jesuits.

Serving time in his Minnesota facility during the same period, the scholastic Joseph Mulligan ministered to fellow prisoners by offering basic catechism classes and Bible-study sessions. Informal counseling was also part of his ministry. In an interview in New York on July 12, 1994, he spoke of a man who was serving a sentence on a tax-fraud conviction. After having his parole application rejected, he became despondent. "We often prayed together," Mulligan said. "The encounter made me realize how much we're thrown back on faith in God when a lot of other supports fall away, because it's then that fellowship with the Lord can grow."

Thanks to his sympathetic Catholic warden, Francis Hagerty had permission to move about freely in his Massachusetts jail. As he recounts in our interview, in addition to celebrating an early Mass for inmates in the library, he visited the men in segregation, who were confined to their cells for twenty-three

hours a day. Listening to their stories, he too provided informal counseling. He also made contact with their families and even obtained permission to bring small gifts of candy to them from the commissary.

Unlike Berrigan, Mulligan, and Hagerty, who were allowed to minister openly, some could do so only in secrecy, under conditions that called for considerable ingenuity. Once it became known that Korec was a priest, young prisoners began to come to him with questions about religion. By way of reply, he would write out short passages on their cigarette packs, which they would then use for reflection. For a fellow Jesuit prisoner, Martin Viscupic, Korec prepared meditations from the Exercises on tiny pieces of paper and placed them in a matchbox. Then he passed the matchbox to Viscupic, who returned it the next day for another meditation. Korec speaks of the great joy he experienced while writing out the brief meditations<sup>138</sup>—a commentary on the life-giving nature of ministry, no matter how “abnormal” the circumstances.

Ciszek too had to be cautious: discovery of his priestly work could bring punishment. But in contrast to the close confinement of Jesuits like Korec and Tang, the comparative freedom of movement within his Siberian labor camp allowed Ciszek to minister unobtrusively in the midst of the daily comings and goings of his fellow laborers.

In the early morning, for instance, as men prepared to leave for their work details, he was able to give the Exercises to other priest-workers one at a time, “recalling the meditations from memory and adapting them to the situations and circumstances of the camp.”<sup>139</sup> He met with the same prisoners again in the evening. If confession was desired, he concealed the administering of the sacrament from watchful guards by pretending to be playing a game of dominoes as he sat on a bunk with the penitent.<sup>140</sup>

Ciszek ministered to unlettered lay prisoners as well as to educated priests. In one moving account he describes a thief named Yevgeny, who had befriended him. The friendship resulted in Yevgeny’s return to the faith through confession and Communion. He was later murdered by two other prisoners;<sup>141</sup> the brutality of the prison camp involved more than the labor itself and the harshness of the guards. But without commenting on the murder, Ciszek lets the reader of *With God in Russia* realize just how far Yevgeny had moved forward in his relationship with God before his life came to its abrupt end.

Yevgeny and others who came to Ciszek did so not solely because they knew he was a priest but also because he represented for them how a genuine

<sup>138</sup> *La notte dei barberi*, 211, 240.

<sup>139</sup> *He Leadeth Me*, 158.

<sup>140</sup> *With God in Russia*, 198.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 206.

believer should live. Ministry in prison, therefore, involves the concept of witness. "The key word, in fact, of our priestly apostolate in the camps had to be the word 'witness,'" Cizek writes. He goes on in *He Leadeth Me* to say that his effectiveness had less to do with talking about religion than with the visible living-out of the faith he professed (129). The same could be said of other Jesuits in a position to minister in prison.

At Dachau, too, Jesuits found ways to minister. John Lenz went among prisoners isolated in the typhus block,<sup>142</sup> as did a Polish scholastic, Jurek Musial. Infected with the disease himself, he died and was buried in one of three collective graves outside the town. (A shortage of fuel had caused the crematorium to be closed down.)<sup>143</sup> De Coninck organized conferences and retreats for other clergymen, in this way helping to strengthen them spiritually. For example,

In the blocks we had, from January 1943 onwards, a series of conferences which I gave in one of the rooms at 8 A.M. We had some amusing adventures: the subject would have to be abruptly changed when 'the enemy' . . . popped in before our [own] guard, caught unawares, could signal to us. I repeated in these conferences the course of Pastoral Theology I used to give at Louvain.<sup>144</sup>

De Coninck adds, "I had not a note to help me, only my memory," underscoring again the crucial role of memory in the ability of incarcerated Jesuits not only to sustain their morale but also to bolster that of others through the remembrance of passages from the Bible and of courses they had taught.

During a secretly organized eight-day retreat at Dachau, de Coninck gave three exercises a day in Latin; thus priests of various nationalities could all understand him. To avoid detection, they had to hold each conference at a different location. The retreat included "a daily Ciborium Benediction, with my spectacles case as the Ciborium and my knee as the Throne on which we placed our Treasure" (122f.). Although, as noted earlier, religious activities were forbidden outside the chapel, de Coninck, as well as Koláček and others, refused to be deterred from sacramental ministry in other parts of the concentration camp. They accordingly broke consecrated hosts into small fragments, concealed them in cigarette papers, and moved about distributing Communion undetected by the guards (122).

For most of his ten years in Albanian prisons and labor camps, Giacomo Gardin was unable to exercise a sacramental ministry, and there were consequently times when he was afflicted with feelings of uselessness. In his

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<sup>142</sup> Lapomarda, *Jesuits and the Third Reich*, 82 n. 26.

<sup>143</sup> Peter van Gestel, "Jesuits in the Bonds of Dachau," *Woodstock Letters* 76, no. 2 (June 1947): 125.

<sup>144</sup> De Coninck, "The Priests of Dachau," 123.

diary for March 1950, he describes his discouragement. "Oppressed by fatigue and malnutrition, I am assaulted by the feeling of being a priest who does not exercise his vocation, feeling completely lost. Doubts circulate through my mind, as to why I was ordained a priest." But later in the same entry, he acknowledges that his very presence as a priest and Jesuit and his ability to show small acts of kindness to his fellow prisoners are forms of ministry.

I realize that I can do much through my mere presence and my name, in my capacity as a priest and Jesuit, here, in this place of torment and martyrdom. . . . A word of relief, of consolation, in passing by someone, whose strength sapped, has fallen down not only physically, but spiritually as well. . . . The tenderness in a small piece of bread, taken from my daily portion and given to a fellow prisoner whose bread has been denied—all these excite my soul in the monotonous passage of days and months, and are brightening the image of a new ministry.<sup>145</sup>

He is able to conclude this passage with a statement of self-affirmation: "So I am not lost after all."

Jacques Sommet, too, found other ways of ministering besides taking part in the Eucharistic network. At Dachau there were unexpected opportunities for evangelization. In *L'Honneur* he describes an encounter with a young French Communist prisoner who one day

found on the side of his bunk—no one knows where it came from—a page torn from a gospel pamphlet. Thus, he read the beatitudes without knowing what they were. He was overwhelmed. He did not know what churches were. In his eyes, they were only monuments, like museums or bank buildings, and for him, all that belonged to the past. But after what he read, he discovered that there were Christians in the camp. He had never met any. (99)

Sommet goes on to speak of telling the young Communist "of the community that embodies this gospel, and of the Church. For someone who knew only the language of the party," he adds, "it was not easy for him to comprehend that the Church was community, communion." We are not told anything further about the young prisoner, but it is clear that the discovery of the beatitudes and the subsequent conversations with Sommet were the beginnings of an inner growth that might not otherwise have been possible.

James E. Thornton, a California Province Jesuit who was incarcerated for a year in China in the early 1950s, had a similar experience of discovering ministry in forms he would never have dreamed of prior to his imprisonment. Three months after his arrest on July 31, 1951, two nursing mothers with their babies were placed in the cell he was already sharing with several others. He gave them his only blanket—no small sacrifice in itself, as it was October and

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<sup>145</sup> "Diary of Ják Gardin," 145.

the weather was turning cold—and his wooden platform bed. Because one mother had insufficient milk in her breast, her baby cried continually from hunger. Thornton describes his reaction: “The mother and I took turns masticating a bite of the Chinese pancake we used to get each morning and coaxed the baby to swallow the mash.”<sup>146</sup> With the mother, he found himself sharing in a ministry that was literally life-giving: it helped to save the baby from starvation.

In a similar manner, John Robinson and Henry Morse, two Jesuits incarcerated together in York Castle in 1627, collected alms from Catholic friends on the outside and, like Brother Cuthbert Prescott, bought food with them for impoverished prisoners who might otherwise have starved to death.<sup>147</sup>

Besides assisting with material needs, Robinson and Morse also administered sacraments and reconciled prisoners to the Church. One night they heard a man and his wife uttering oaths in the dungeon reserved for those scheduled to be executed the next day. Morse managed to enter their cell and spent the rest of the night speaking words of comfort. As a result they requested absolution in the hours before their death (56).

At Wisbech, another English castle used for Catholic prisoners a quarter of a century earlier, William Weston—who used the alias of Mr. Edmunds in memory of the recently martyred Edmund Campion<sup>148</sup>—ministered with much greater freedom, thanks to a willing and well-bribed warder. In his autobiography Weston speaks of establishing actual classes along the lines of an English college. The classes attracted both visitors and prisoners.

Catholics daily came to see us, and we were able to give them spiritual succor. We now set out to model our life on the pattern, as it were, of a college, arranging study classes and every other form of humanistic exercise. Days were fixed for cases of conscience, controversies, Hebrew and Greek classes, disputations and lectures. (167)

Weston himself taught Hebrew and Greek. More elaborate though it was, the arrangement at Wisbech offers parallels with the classes on great books that Berrigan gave at Danbury. Experienced teachers, Jesuits have known how to apply their pedagogic skills in prisons as well as in classrooms.

For some, confinement was so restrictive that active ministry was impossible. Rupert Mayer speaks of having “no opportunity for apostolic action aside from prayers and sacrifices for others.”<sup>149</sup> But Jesuits seized upon the slightest opportunity; for example, despite near blindness and other infirmities and the harsh conditions that prevailed during his four months in the Madurai

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<sup>146</sup> Thornton, “The New Proletarian Man,” 17.

<sup>147</sup> Caraman, *Priest of the Plague*, 55f.

<sup>148</sup> Weston, *Autobiography*, xxxv.

<sup>149</sup> Koerbling, *Rupert Mayer*, 168.

jail, de Nobili practiced the one form of ministry open to him: preaching to non-Christian visitors. "Through the force and energy of his will," his fellow Jesuit prisoner, de Maya, writes, "Father Robert is constantly preaching the gospel to them, and all go away pleased with his discourses and charmed by his polished courtesy."<sup>150</sup> The phrase "force and energy of will" suggests again the determination with which incarcerated Jesuits have persisted in their efforts to minister.

De Nobili's preaching to non-Christian visitors calls to mind the incarceration of the Japanese scholastic Paul Miki. When he and others were being taken from their prison in Miyako, the capital, he preached to bystanders along the way during the six-hundred-mile journey to Nagasaki, where he was to be martyred.<sup>151</sup>

Just as the prospect of imminent death did not daunt Miki and others, neither did it deter Bartholomew Arbona's impulse to minister. In July 1936, during the Spanish Civil War, the house in which the Jesuit was staying in Barcelona was searched. A piece of folded paper with a host inside was found in one of the pockets of his jacket. The searchers asked whether he was a priest. After Arbona acknowledged that he was, they took him to the San Elias Prison, a former Poor Clare convent. When the prisoners there learned that a priest was among them, several sought him out for confession during the three days before his execution at the age of seventy-four.<sup>152</sup> His final ministries had thus been twofold: before his arrest, distributing Communion through the medium of the folded paper as he walked through parks and other public places, and after his arrest, hearing the confessions of other condemned prisoners.

Though the rule against speaking was often strictly enforced, it did not always prevent incarcerated Jesuits from exercising a sacramental ministry with other prisoners who were Catholic. In his Shanghai prison Thomas Phillips and other prisoners were occasionally allowed to go into an enclosed yard for brief periods to take exercise and to do their laundry. Phillips realized that some of his fellow prisoners were secretly trying to catch his attention, though at first he did not understand the message they were trying to convey. His biographer, Kurt Becker, S.J., describes what happened once Phillips realized that they were seeking the sacrament of reconciliation. "A prisoner would be kneeling, scrubbing away at his colorless laundry, and then would shake his hand to dry it, and put it on his breast for a moment, as if to scratch. The sign was unmistakable: the kneeling man beating his breast, a penitent in the act of confessing his faults, wanting absolution."<sup>153</sup> "It was a wonderful thing for Shen Foo" [Phillips'

<sup>150</sup> Rajamanickam, "De Nobili in Jail," 92.

<sup>151</sup> Tylenda, *Jesuit Saints and Martyrs*, 41.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, 430f.

<sup>153</sup> Becker, *I Met a Stranger*, 133f.

Chinese name], Becker continues, “as out of a full and priestly heart, he was able to wipe away a man’s sins.”

After twenty-six months in the Loukawei prison, Phillips was transferred to the Massenet, a former French fortress in Shanghai. He was placed in a cell crowded with other prisoners; among them was a Chinese man who had received a life sentence. Because of the crowding, it was difficult for the guards consistently to enforce the prohibition against speaking. So when the man began to ask questions about the Catholic faith, Phillips was able to respond.

Eventually, the man asked to be baptized. But realizing that the prisoner would probably never be able to take part in the Eucharist or any other aspect of Catholic life, Phillips was uncertain about granting the request. What persuaded him to do so was the man’s asking him one day about the significance of the third glorious mystery of the rosary, the descent of the Holy Spirit on the apostles. Taking the question as a definitive sign, Phillips proceeded with the baptism the next morning. With a wet rag, he squeezed a few drops of water on his forehead. That same evening, Phillips was transferred to another cell and never saw the man again (155f.).

One senses throughout the various accounts of ministry in prison the manner in which it imparts a life-giving vigor both to the one who ministers and the one who receives the effects of it. As Cizek puts it in *With God in Russia*, “The experience gave me new strength. I could function as a priest again, and I thanked God daily for the opportunity to work among his hidden flock, consoling and comforting men who thought themselves beyond his grace.”<sup>154</sup> Jesuits over the centuries must have experienced the same gratitude as they devised ways of reaching out to their fellow prisoners.

For Jogues the desire to minister was so deeply imbedded that his frequent possibilities to escape could not override his wish to continue serving other captives. “I have often enough the opportunity to escape,” he informs his superior in France, “but I will not do so while I can help, console, and confess the French or Barbarian captives, assist the dying, baptize the children, etc.” Later in the same letter, he underscores his resolve, declaring that “if it be necessary to live here even to the end, *flecto genua mea*.”<sup>155</sup>

During his initial torture, when his captors dragged him from village to village with Huron prisoners, Jogues nonetheless used the occasion to offer instruction to his fellow prisoners, then baptizing them “with the dew, which I found quite abundant in the great leaves of the Turkish corn, the stalks of which they gave us to chew” (195). Once settled into his “free slavery,” he began studying his captors’ language. He learned enough to be able to “instruct

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<sup>154</sup> Cizek, *With God in Russia*, 173.

<sup>155</sup> Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 39:221.

the chief persons of the nation in our holy mysteries, and to preach to them the faith." They, in turn, responded with "a thousand curious questions" (213). Whatever the questions were, the fact that they were asked at all would surely have been a consolation to Jogues, showing as they did that the seeds of his evangelizing efforts could take root even among the very people who were tormenting him.

It was only on learning of a plan to put him to death that Jogues allowed himself to be rescued by the Dutch. But so great was his desire to continue ministering both to the Hurons and to his former tormentors that he returned from France in 1644. He again went among the Mohawks during a supposed period of peace and thereby met his death.

The same fierce commitment—a commitment so intense that it outweighed the opportunity to leave the prison setting after serving the sentence—has characterized some of the Jesuits incarcerated during the second half of the twentieth century. In the course of an interview, Gino Belli declared that several Chinese Jesuits had actually asked permission to stay on in their labor camps after their formal release.

Along the same lines, in *Jesuits in China, 1949-1990*, there is the story of a group of unnamed Jesuits, all former prisoners, who refused an offer to leave the country in 1989. In their statement they said, "Our place is here, in prison, in camps or whatever place they allow us to stay." They go on to add, "We have a lot of work to do, even if only by our presence, and we are happy to be privileged to give witness to our faith." The prospect of freedom in another country could not deter them from their resolve to remain near the prisoners they had served when they themselves were prisoners (20).

John Havas expressed similar sentiments at the time of his expulsion from China after serving twenty-two months in prison. He told the Chinese guard who escorted him to the border, "I am not happy that you are expelling me from China. . . . I have loved your country and your people more than my own, because I sacrificed my own for yours!" Havas continues in his memoirs, "I will tell you more. If I could go back in the prison cave again, and know that I would die there, I would rather choose death in your prison than freedom in Hong Kong because I love you."<sup>156</sup> He adds that when the soldier heard these words, his eyes filled with tears.

In some ministerial situations Jesuits faced agonizing decisions whether to jeopardize their own survival in order to help another prisoner survive. Near the end of World War II, as the Allied forces were approaching, Paul Beschet and hundreds of other captive laborers were evacuated from the factory at Zwickau and forced to commence what for many would be a death march. S.S.

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<sup>156</sup> "Four, Nine, Nine, Six," 15.

guards shot those who were too exhausted and weakened by hunger to keep up with the rest.

As the marchers began to climb a hill one day, a Frenchman named Perret, whom the Jesuit had known as a worker in the French resistance, cried out for help as he began to fall behind the other marchers: "A friend to give me his arm!" Beschet describes how, ignored by scores of his fellow marchers, he fell farther and farther behind. Finally the man came abreast of Beschet and called him by name.

Totally exhausted and ready to drop to the ground myself, I pretended not to hear him. . . . "Paul, your arm!" "If I give you my arm, I'll fall down with you." "Paul, I've no one to give me his arm. They're going to kill me." He makes the sign of the cross on himself, slowly letting his hand drop. I sense his hand searching for my arm, which is already tired from having sustained others. His fingers touch the fabric of my sleeve.

Perret's pleading continued, and Beschet tried to encourage him to keep on walking.

"Come, you're doing better," I say, without looking at him. "Keep going!" "Paul, give me your arm! . . ." "You want to see your kids again, so march, take one step at a time, like me." "No, I'm going to die." "If you take my arm, I'll fall with you." "Paul, give me just your hand, I won't pull on it."

Finally, wordlessly agreeing to this compromise between arm and hand, Beschet does take Perret's hand, which he describes as moist, like the hand of a dying person. "I squeeze it very hard. He responds. Later I gradually let it go." The saving action of the hand grasp allows Perret to complete that day's march.<sup>157</sup>

A strongly communal element marked another act of ministerial generosity on Beschet's part earlier in the same death march. At dawn, a French Jeunesse Ouvrière companion named Chabert was so chilled after spending the night in a field that he was unable to rise from the ground. Both knew that if he could not get up when ordered to, he would be shot. He asked Beschet to warm him by rubbing his back. "'Paul, warm me.' I turn over. It's Chabert. I no longer have the strength to rub his back." Unable to assist Chabert by himself, Beschet asks another French youth, Olivier, to help. "With Olivier, we clasped him between our chests to give him a little warmth." The life-giving body heat of the two helped, but more was needed in the way of assistance.

Taking from inside my shirt the last piece of bread I had, I broke off a piece. "Eat." "You're crazy, I don't want to. It's like taking your life." "Eat." I had to force him, though not for long. "Eat, or else; look what's happening." At that

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<sup>157</sup> *Mission en Thuringe*, 211f.

moment, the S.S. guards were going through the field where we were encamped, shooting the human forms that could not rise from the ground. (211f.)

## Becoming a Jesuit in Prison

**G**ino Belli said in our interview that some Chinese he knew had begun their Jesuit training while actually in prison. Political dissidents were usually confined together. Older incarcerated Jesuits were therefore in a position to instruct young men seeking entrance to the Society, in effect creating a novitiate behind bars.

A similar situation occurred in seventeenth-century Japan. A Portuguese Jesuit, Francis Pacheco, along with four catechists, was betrayed by a former host who apostatized after the shogun's decree forbidding Japanese Christians to practice their faith. The catechists and Pacheco, who was provincial superior for the Jesuits working in Japan, were imprisoned for six months, from December 22, 1625, until the time of their execution the following June. During this period, Pacheco admitted the four into the Society and created a minicommunity with set hours for rising and prayer.<sup>158</sup>

If he did not become a Jesuit while actually in prison, Louis Shen might be said to have entered between periods of incarceration. Having studied in a preparatory seminary closed by the Communists in 1955, Shen was arrested in 1958 for the "crime" of membership in the Legion of Mary, an organization considered to be subversive. After three years of imprisonment, he was transferred to a labor camp, where he remained for twenty-five years.

Following his release from the labor camp, he entered the Society in 1981. He did not have time to pronounce his first vows, though, because he was arrested again toward the end of the same year. Seven months passed before his release. Eventually Shen obtained a visa and enrolled in the Jesuit School of Theology at Berkeley. His ordination took place in 1993. Recounting his own story in *America* (January 23, 1993), he speaks of what sustained him during his long years of confinement.

How did I keep up my faith all that time? . . . I prayed and prayed. Even though I had no opportunity to attend Mass or to receive the sacraments for almost twenty years, I had the experience of belonging to the Church, which is a sacrament by herself, as Karl Rahner said, and God's self-communication offered to me always.<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> Tylenda, *Jesuit Saints and Martyrs*, 185–87.

<sup>159</sup> Shen, "Growing Up in the Church," 11.

Again, prayer, together with the sense of belonging both to the Society and to the Church as a whole—these two factors have served as crucial elements in sustaining incarcerated Jesuits over the centuries.

René Goupil became a Jesuit while in captivity among the Mohawks, and so it was with a number of young men of the Elizabethan period in England. Henry Morse, whose ministry we treated earlier in these pages, was ordained in Rome as a secular priest. In 1624 he was sent to England; but after working for a year among Catholics who resisted the new form of religion, he was arrested and imprisoned.

While incarcerated at York Castle, Morse made his novitiate under John Robinson, the Jesuit who shared his cell, whom Richard Holtby, founder of the mission outposts north of the Humber River, had designated his novice master.<sup>160</sup> Robinson guided Morse through the thirty days of the Exercises, devoting the greater part of each day to this activity. In his life of Morse, just cited, Philip Caraman observes that in terms of vocation, it had already been tested “in the streets of Newcastle and among the poor of Durham.” What took place in prison, Caraman adds, was “a deepening of vocation . . . [there was] not any difficulty in choice of life: that had been made” (58).

Banished from England after four years behind bars, Morse returned in 1632 and began the work for which he became famous—attending to the needs of plague victims. Imprisoned again, he pronounced his final vows before a co-worker among the plague-stricken, Fr. Edward Lusher, who visited him at Newgate. Morse writes in his journal: “Tuesday in Easter Week, 23 April [1637], in this very prison I was more closely bound to the Society, making my solemn profession of the three vows of religion.” He speaks of the occasion, despite his grim surroundings, as “this signal and unexpected blessing” (135).

Morse was released once more, but after a period of service as a chaplain in Flanders, he returned to England in 1643. Arrested a final time, he was condemned to death the following year. His execution was carried out in the usual manner for English-born priests convicted of treason: he was first hanged, then cut down and quartered; finally his heart was then torn out and his entrails burned in the sight of the spectators. Such gruesome scaffold scenes, however, were becoming less frequent by the middle of the seventeenth century; Protestantism was being increasingly accepted, and the government was not anxious to create martyrs out of Catholic priests.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> Caraman, *Priest of the Plague*, 34.

<sup>161</sup> Edwards, *Jesuits in England*, 70, 73, 79. In his introduction to Weston, *Autobiography*, Philip Caraman points out that the Catholic threat to the English government in 1585 waned in the course of the next forty years, “as a new generation of Englishmen were catechized in the Anglican belief and found satisfaction in the services it provided” (xxiii).

It was a different matter some forty years earlier with Alexander Briant. Like Morse, he was already a priest at the time of his arrest. In an extraordinary letter that he wrote to the English Jesuits shortly before his execution with Edmund Campion, he asked to be admitted to the Society. He speaks in his letter of how his private vow to seek admission had helped him to bear the tortures to which he was subjected and had been, in fact, "a source of great comfort to me amid my worst trials and sufferings." He continues in these words:

Since not the slightest hope is left to me of meeting you again, good Fathers, in the liberty which we formerly enjoyed . . . I humbly ask you to decide my case according to whatever seems good to you in the Lord. If it is the done thing to admit anyone in his absence, I would beg to be admitted with all the insistence I can muster. I promise by this letter obedience before God . . . and all of those placed in authority or already constituted my superiors.<sup>162</sup>

Briant was immediately admitted into the Society. At his execution he was treated more ruthlessly than Morse. Morse at least was allowed to die before being disemboweled. Briant, on the other hand, after being hanged, was cut into quarters while still alive.

Also among those received into the Society while incarcerated was Thomas Pounce, who spent upwards of thirty years in and out of various English prisons. A man of wealth and distinguished lineage, in his youth he was popular at the court of Queen Elizabeth. But at the age of twenty-nine, he underwent a profound experience of conversion and returned to the Catholic faith.

Like others described in these pages, Pounce accepted his incarceration joyfully. While a blacksmith was riveting irons on to his legs at Stratford Castle, he bent forward and tried to kiss the shackles. Angered, the blacksmith struck him on the head with them, opening a wound. Pounce's response was, "Would that blood might here flow for the cause for which I suffer."<sup>163</sup> So powerful was the example of Pounce's patience and prayerfulness in prison that the blacksmith embraced the Catholic faith himself.

Because of his incarceration Pounce was unable to petition for admission to the Society in the normal way. He consequently asked a friend, Thomas Stephens, to go to Rome to make the request of the General in his behalf. Father Acquaviva wrote back in 1578 that, although the Society admitted no one "unless well tried by many trials," he was willing to accept Pounce's "labours and sufferings of so many years" as fulfilling the requirement (50).

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<sup>162</sup> More, *The Elizabethan Jesuits*, 132.

<sup>163</sup> A Member of the Society of Jesus [Henry Foley, S.J.], *Jesuits in Conflict, or Historic Facts Illustrative of the labours and sufferings of the English Mission and Province of the Society of Jesus in the Times of Queen Elizabeth and Her Successors* (London: Burns and Oates, 1873), 65.

A small but telling detail concerning his imprisonment had to do with his manner of dress: "His dress was rather a gay one, not for vanity's sake . . . but rather by way of protest, that to a captive for the profession of the faith in Christ . . . every day was a solemn feast" (82). Pounce's festive apparel, in other words, was his way of highlighting the difference between the ways of God and the ways of a world bent on persecuting believers unwilling to be daunted by incarceration.

Even in Dachau Jesuit formation continued. Priests were able to provide sufficient instruction for young members of the Society to have it counted as a year of their prescribed studies. This was hardly surprising, for as one Dutch Jesuit observes in his account of life in the concentration camp, "we had professors of every type of secular and sacred learning." The same writer, Peter van Gestel, observes that there were novices among them, and one was allowed to take his vows in the camp.<sup>164</sup>

In our own time, Joseph Mulligan was able to continue his studies while serving his two years at Sandstone. By the time of his arrest, he had already completed his first year of theology at the Bellarmine School of Theology in Hyde Park, Illinois. His teachers there sent him the required reading for three courses: the letters of St. Paul, the thought of Paul Tillich regarding his writings during the early days of Nazism; and a course entitled "Theology of Protest and Revolution."<sup>165</sup>

At an interview in the summer of 1994, Mulligan said that the course on St. Paul was particularly meaningful, because of Paul's own imprisonment. The Tillich course was important to Mulligan because Tillich's criticism of Nazism's insistence on absolute authority "was nourishing to us . . . in our promoting disobedience against a warring government which seemed to receive unquestioning submission from most Christians" concerning the war in Vietnam.

When the Japanese invaded the Philippines at the beginning of the Second World War, two Maryland Province scholastics and another from the New York Province—Clarence Martin, Richard McSorley, and Joseph Kavanaugh, all still in active ministry at the time of this writing—were interned at Los Baños. Along with other scholastics, they were able to complete two years of theology behind the barbed-wire fence that encircled the camp. "It was a time of

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<sup>164</sup> Van Gestel, "Jesuits in the Bonds of Dachau," 125.

<sup>165</sup> Mulligan, "Reflections on the War," 20. In our interview, Mulligan noted that books sent by his teachers at the Bellarmine School of Theology had to pass through the hands of the prison chaplain; and that some, like those with such words as "revolution" in the title, "blew the chaplain's mind"; but the chaplain could not legally refuse to pass the books on to him because they were seminary texts.

great grace,” said Martin during an interview early in 1994. “There was a sense of being in God’s hand, and great peace came out of it.”<sup>166</sup>

## Community

Because the scholastics at Los Baños were with other Jesuits, not only did they have an opportunity to continue their studies but they also enjoyed the strengthening support of community life. The same phenomenon has been noted elsewhere: communal activities with fellow prisoners, both religious and lay, have eased situations of incarceration which might otherwise have proven unbearable. At Dachau, Lenz began a rosary confraternity. Having no rosaries, members simply counted on their fingers. “This communal prayer gave us new strength,” Lenz observes in *Christ in Dachau*.<sup>167</sup>

So numerous were the Jesuits at Dachau that they were able to form a community of their own, with their own superior.<sup>168</sup> In his “Priests of Dachau,” Leo de Coninck, who himself became superior, describes how the group of sixty-three came together as a community.

It seemed necessary to have a bond of authority and someone responsible for the conservation of the Society’s ideals. We received the appointment of a superior by secret channels, and thenceforward led a true community life. Each month we had a full reunion: our spirit was fortified by an exhortation from the Spiritual Father (Father Pies) and an address from the Superior. (128)

De Coninck adds that community activities included the regular renovation of vows, preceded by a triduum.

Fellow Dachau prisoner Peter van Gestel speaks of how much the establishing of community life meant. “We had lost that embarrassing feeling of being scattered atoms, cut loose from the body to which they connaturally belong; the full communication with our rules and constitutions was restored,

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<sup>166</sup> Interview with Clarence A. Martin, S.J., January 7, 1994. Also during the Second World War, several California Province Jesuits were able to complete their theological studies in the missionary compound in Zikawei, Shanghai, where they were interned. A dozen were ordained there: Thomas Carroll and James Enda Thornton in 1942; Robert Dailey, William Klement, and Edward Murphy in 1943; Louis J. Dowd and Philip Olinger in 1944; and Ralph Brown, Morgan Curran, Eugene Fahy, John Gordon, and William O’Leary in 1945 (Peter J. Fleming, “Chosen for China: The California Province Jesuits in China, 1928–1957: A Case Study in Mission and Culture” [doctoral dissertation presented at the Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, Cal., 1987], 393).

<sup>167</sup> Lenz, *Christ in Dachau*, 196.

<sup>168</sup> Lapomarda, *Jesuits and the Third Reich*, 25.

together with the full merit of a daily life of obedience.”<sup>169</sup> For van Gestel, the presence of a superior meant that “our young scholastics now had a father who cared for them.” He goes on to comment on the many ways in which Jesuits helped each other, as when “One of Ours, weak himself, found a way to help a fellow-brother who was weaker still by managing to get the ‘privilege’ of doing some extra cleaning in one of the other blocks” (124).

The strong sense of community displayed by Father Otto Pies, whom de Coninck mentioned as a spiritual father for the Dachau Jesuits, helped bring about the appointment of a superior. A story recounted by John Lenz in *Christ in Dachau* illustrates Pies’s extraordinary courage. The story suggests, too, the intense sense of bonding that Pies felt with his brothers in the camp, a bonding that led him to risk his life in a stunning act of daring.

Shortly before the end of the war, in March 1945, he was released from Dachau and went to Munich, where he worked as a liaison between the diocesan administration and those still in captivity. As the Allies approached a month later, the S.S. decided to evacuate the camp and to force the prisoners into a death march similar to the one Paul Beschet underwent. Hearing of it, Pies, along with another Jesuit, Franz Kreis, disguised themselves as S.S. officers. They then went to a military depot in Munich and obtained a thousand loaves of bread and three hundred cans of meat, as well as a supply of schnapps and cigarettes.

The two loaded everything into a truck and, after locating the marchers on the evening of April 28, told the S.S. guards at the camp site that the bread and meat were for the prisoners, lest townspeople be dismayed on seeing them so clearly underfed; the schnapps and cigarettes were for the guards. Later the same night, Pies and Kreis hid ten priests in the empty truck and drove them off to safety. They returned the next night and took away another nine, along with three Protestant pastors.<sup>170</sup>

The communal aspect of imprisonment helped Ján Korec, too, because the Valdice Prison held a number of priests with whom he could feel solidarity.<sup>171</sup> Similarly, serving one another as confessors, the priests at Ciszek’s Siberian labor camp helped him not only sacramentally but through the common bond of their priesthood.

The same bond was a source of strength for Giacomo Gardin, too, in his Albanian labor camp. “Another of God’s consolations which helped me during those years of physical and spiritual pain was the company of religious

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<sup>169</sup> “Jesuits in the Bonds of Dachau,” 115.

<sup>170</sup> *Christ in Dachau*, 264. The story was told to Lenz by a Father Reiser, one of the priests on the death march. In *Jesuits and the Third Reich*, 57 n. 69, Lapomarda mentions another source for the story too: Alfred Rothe, “P. Otto Pies,” *Mitteilungen* 19 (1960–62): 397–402.

<sup>171</sup> *La notte dei barberi*, 207.

and diocesan brother priests. We were segregated in the same ugly surroundings and subjected to all kinds of brutality and humiliations.”<sup>172</sup> He adds that the very fact of having to suffer together softened some of the rougher edges of their varied personalities, thereby helping them to live more fully in communion with one another and with God.

The relative freedom of movement that prevailed in some Elizabethan prisons made it possible for John Gerard to become part of a small lay community in the Clink. “I had Catholics praying in the next cell,” he writes in his autobiography; “they came to my door and comforted me.” They were also able to pass pen and paper to him through a hole in the wall between their cells, concealed by a picture (76).

Even when Gerard was transferred to the Tower, he was not entirely alone. He found himself in the cell formerly occupied by Henry Walpole, who had etched his name on the stone wall. The mere sight of the name of his Jesuit predecessor was a solace for Gerard. “It was a great comfort to me to find myself in a place sanctified by this great and holy martyr, and in the room where he had been tortured so many times—fourteen in all, as I have heard” (105).

The sense of being with unseen others, living or dead, could in itself be a source of strength. Physically isolated though he was for over two decades, Dominic Tang nonetheless felt in touch with the universal Church. “Although I was separated from the outside world, I knew that the Catholics of the whole Church and the Jesuits supported me; my priests and Catholics were praying for me. . . . Hence I found great spiritual strength.”<sup>173</sup>

The experience of indirect support from the Church and from his Jesuit brothers that had fortified Tang also lent support to Delp. In his “Letter to the Brethren” toward the conclusion of *Prison Meditations*, he specifically acknowledges his debt in this regard.

Here I am at the parting of the ways and I must take the other road after all. The death sentence has been passed. . . . I thank the order and my brethren for all their goodness and loyalty and help, especially during these last weeks. . . . I ask for your prayers. And I will do my best to catch up, on the other side, with all that I have left undone here on earth. (166)

By his reference to catching up “on the other side,” Delp implies that death cannot break the bond of solidarity he had felt with his fellow Jesuits and with the order itself.

The Jesuit bond could be so intense that at times it has meant a Jesuit’s taking steps to share in the captivity of others, even when he himself was not in danger of apprehension. After ministering in England for eighteen years, until

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<sup>172</sup> *Banishing God*, 86.

<sup>173</sup> *How Inscrutable His Ways!* 131.

1678, Anthony Turner learned that several Jesuits had been imprisoned in connection with the Titus Oates plot against the King's life, a fabricated effort to discredit Jesuits and Catholics in general. Turner's superior urged him to leave the country, and initially he did attempt to raise the necessary funds. But when this proved impossible, he gave himself up to the authorities and thereby joined his four Jesuit brothers who had been arrested. All were hanged the following year.<sup>174</sup>

The spirit of community has also found expression in the identification which Jesuits have felt with non-Jesuit fellow prisoners. When Thomas Phillips was at the Massenet in Shanghai, he noticed another prisoner, a Chinese, holding a small knotted rag in his hand. With barely perceptible signs he kept calling Phillips's attention to it. At first puzzled, the priest gradually came to realize that the man was a Catholic and the knotted rag was a rosary; he concluded that the man wanted Phillips to realize that he and others were praying for him. "As his fellow prisoners passed, they signaled: small, apparently insignificant gestures, unnoticed by the watchful guards, to indicate that they were praying for him and for each other. Tiny gestures of blessing. Fleeting smiles and words of acknowledgement."<sup>175</sup> For Phillips the exchange of gestures of blessing became a symbol of "the Church united and acting in suffering, prayer, and charity."

Eugene E. Fahy, another Jesuit who spent time in the Massenet, also experienced support from Chinese prisoners. Later describing his nine-month ordeal to readers of *Life* magazine, he wrote, "Marching in pairs . . . we could hold whispered conversations at times, during which I received many marks of sympathy—a pleasant revelation in this jail of thoroughly brainwashed men" (143). The expressions of sympathy undoubtedly played a significant role in helping to maintain his mental equilibrium.

In a similar but more personal manner, in "Dos meses" Patricio Cariola writes movingly of hearing the voice of an old Chilean man in a nearby cell asking, "Are you a priest?" Cariola approached the bars of his own cell and said that he was. The old man, Emmanuel, replied, "How wonderful; you're here with us." By the same token, he found in Emmanuel, as well as in other broken people in the Santiago jail, "the Lord who waits for us in prisons" (5).

Even a fly had its impact in leading Cariola to see community in terms not just of human beings but of the bond uniting all living creatures. Sitting by himself in his cell one day, he noticed the fly on the wall. "Everything changed," he writes. "I was no longer alone, I tried to caress it, and it flew off. I felt great affection for it and spoke to it" (2).

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<sup>174</sup> Tylenda, *Jesuit Saints and Martyrs*, 182.

<sup>175</sup> Becker, *I Met a Stranger*, 133.

John Havas also had a brief but encouraging experience of community. It came about through the use of Latin, a language which the guards in his Chinese prison could not understand but which some of the faithful could. By speaking in Latin, he even discovered another priest in a cell on the same corridor. Since the guards already considered Havas partially mad, they paid little attention to what was taking place in the way of communication between him and other Catholic prisoners. Havas describes this secret mode of communication as follows:

I started to sing. As long as they thought me crazy, I decided to use this privilege.

“Estne hic sacerdos?” (Is there a priest here or not?) From a distant corner came the answer: “Ita!” (Yes!)

Later, I tried to contact him again, but there was no answer anymore. They had taken him to another place.

Later, I tried to find Catholics!

“Dominus vobiscum.”

“Et cum spiritu tuo.”<sup>176</sup>

The combined voices of the Catholics repeating “et cum Spiritu tuo” come to his ears as a “great echo from many places,” and now “I knew where my sheep were.”

Once the mutual recognition had taken place, Havas—again, like Phillips—was able to confer absolution in silence from the window of his cell door as the Chinese Catholics among the prisoners filed past on their way to their forced daily labor.

I watched them every day as they went to their slave labor. The Catholics recognized me as a priest. The next time they passed my grave [cell], each made a cross over his heart. Later on they made their acts of contrition by striking their breast and I gave them absolution in silence. . . . It was an exciting experience, even though my service for them was limited. (101)

It is experiences like these that have led many Jesuits subsequently to view with gratitude their time of incarceration. Later in his reflection paper, Cariola expands on this concept in terms reminiscent of the prison writings of other Jesuits. “The bars, the prosecutor, the interrogations, the solitude of being out of touch with others, the guards, the stepping out of the police wagons in handcuffs in the midst of reporters—these are a double grace: the humiliation

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<sup>176</sup> “Four, Nine, Nine, Six,” 101.

and the material identification with Christ and many of his saints.”<sup>177</sup> That his—and others’—suffering could be seen as a grace is a testimony to the depth of their faith.

Cariola, Phillips, Havas, and most other Jesuits mentioned in these pages had total support from the Society. Cariola speaks of being moved to tears on hearing that Father General Pedro Arrupe sent words of encouragement through the assistant for Latin America. Francis Hagerty, likewise, had his provincial’s support for his civil-disobedience action, as did John Dear. Joseph Mulligan, too, received numerous demonstrations of support after his arrest.

## Conclusion

**T**he Jesuits whose stories are touched upon in the preceding pages represent only a fraction of the many who have undergone incarceration of one sort or another since the time of Ignatius. Those sent on the English Mission in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries knew beforehand of the grave risks they would incur by returning to their native land to minister to the beleaguered Catholic population. Elsewhere they were taken unawares, with little understanding of why they were being held against their will. “What is happening? What do they want of us? What are we accused of?” asks Pierre Olivaint at the time of his arrest in 1871 by the Parisian Communards. He concludes, “I do not understand anything about all this.”<sup>178</sup>

Once confined, however, many displayed a fortitude that testifies to their belief in the God who first guided them into the Society of Jesus. As seen earlier, some experienced actual happiness at the conditions of their captivity. Ralph Sherwin, another who was executed with Campion, wrote from prison of feeling so consoled that he could hardly refrain from smiling when he heard the rattling of his chains.<sup>179</sup>

Prayer, often in a specifically Ignatian mode, serves as the continuous thread that binds together the stories of those who have provided accounts of their incarceration: prayer in solitude or with others, prayer under torture or

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<sup>177</sup> Cariola, “Dos meses,” 5. Daniel Berrigan, at least among fellow Jesuits who disagreed with his civil-disobedience actions in regard to Vietnam, felt less support. In *Lights On* he refers to “the silence and abandonment of the Jesuits” following his arrest and incarceration after the burning of the draft files in the parking lot outside the Catonsville, Md., Selective Service office (156). But during our 1994 interview, he spoke of a kinship among Jesuits that goes deeper than ideologies; he said that, despite differences of outlook, he never felt the bond with Jesuits had been broken.

<sup>178</sup> Ponlevoy, *Actes de la captivité*, 6th ed., 37.

<sup>179</sup> More, *Elizabethan Jesuits*, 129.

during interrogation; prayer uttered during a dry mass or in the struggle to establish a daily order that would help maintain a needed mental balance. Prayer in its various aspects helps to explain the tranquility of Alois Grimm, an Austrian Jesuit imprisoned under Hitler. Two months before he was beheaded at the Brandenburg Prison, he wrote these words to his sister: "What I presently suffer is only a station on the way of the cross that God has traced for me in union with Christ."<sup>180</sup>

But as we pointed out in the introduction, there have also been the many who were crushed both in body and spirit by the conditions to which they were subjected. Gabriel Malagrida and his Portuguese brethren, locked in underground dungeons in Lisbon, were not the only ones to have perished without leaving behind a full account of their sufferings. Their own way of the cross therefore has about it a painful quality of isolation that perhaps unites them that much more closely to the Christ who prayed alone in Gethsemene.

Ciszek himself, for all his basic optimism and trust in God, knew times of desolation as he observed the dehumanizing effects of imprisonment. One summer evening, after an exhausting day of forced labor, he paused to admire a mother bird bringing food to the little ones in her nest. Suddenly, he saw the mother bird plummet to ground. A fellow prisoner had killed it with a stone. Ciszek describes his reaction. "All at once, I began to shake all over, completely beside myself with rage. I shouted and raved at him almost irrationally. That night," he continues, "I fell into a mood of depression that lasted more than two days."<sup>181</sup>

A Maryland Province Jesuit who heard Ciszek speak after his return from Russia told me of hearing him say that following one especially grueling interrogation, he had been tempted to commit suicide by throwing himself off a staircase as he was being led back to his cell. The incident does not appear in either of Ciszek's books; perhaps it was considered out of keeping with their theme of survival through trust in God.<sup>182</sup>

Ciszek, along with Campion, Delp, and numerous others, made a conscious discernment regarding their apostolic options. Had they so chosen, they could have lived out their lives without ever exposing themselves to the dangers that overtook them. Campion could have remained on the Continent using his Oxford education and brilliant mind to write from there in defense of the Catholic faith. Similarly, after his ordination in Rome, Ciszek served as a parish priest in Poland. But as war approached, despite advice from the American Embassy that he return to the United States, he decided to cross the border into Russia, thus fulfilling a longtime dream. Delp was not obliged to join the

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<sup>180</sup> Lapomarda, *Jesuits and the Third Reich*, 75.

<sup>181</sup> *With God in Russia*, 243.

<sup>182</sup> Statement of Lucien Longtin, S.J., to author.

Kreisau Circle, the anti-Nazi group accused (wrongly) of conspiring against Hitler's life. All three entered willingly into situations where they would encounter the conflict between preaching the Gospel and facing the enmity of governments that felt threatened by what they represented. It is a testimony to their very effectiveness that they were arrested and imprisoned.

Unlike Cizek, Dominic Tang had little opportunity to minister to fellow prisoners; but one could hardly consider his two decades of incarceration any the less apostolic. Rather, his behavior demonstrated the role of passivity as a spiritual force. Indeed, it is arguable that the enforced passivity to which he was subjected was part of his calling to be, as the nun had foreseen, incarcerated for his faith. In joining the Jesuit order as a young man, he had become a contemplative in action. For the twenty-two years of his captivity, however, it was necessarily action of an interior kind.

Jesuits like Tang and many others experienced freedom to enter into situations leading to incarceration and even death, a freedom to some degree gained by the vows. In his interview Patricio Cariola spoke of the vows from precisely this perspective. It was only after his arrest and incarceration, for example, that he came to understand fully the liberating effect of the vow of chastity, of which he said in the interview, "When a person has a family, it's hard to take the risk of being picked up by the police." He went on to point out that religious in Santiago could become more fully involved in the kinds of situations that led to his arrest because they had no dependent family members who would be directly affected.<sup>183</sup>

A related circumstance applies to the vow of poverty. "After the coup, professional people like doctors, who might be asked to treat people who'd been recently tortured, risked their careers," Cariola said. He gave the example of a physician who had to leave the country for this reason. "His whole career was threatened and with it the source of his livelihood." Cariola observed that the vow of poverty has often freed Jesuits from a crippling worry over the possible loss of their careers and source of income.

Obedience, too, in Cariola's view, is a freeing vow, because with it goes an implicit level of fraternal support. "When I saw Jesuits waiting in the street as I was being taken in handcuffs from the court and led to the paddy wagon, I realized that there was a whole outfit praying for me and providing moral support," he declared.

Before Cariola became involved in the action that led to his arrest—seeking medical help for the wounded leftist, Nelson Gutierrez—he had asked for and received permission from his provincial and also from the auxiliary

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<sup>183</sup> Interview with Patricio Cariola, S.J., July 2, 1994.

bishop of Santiago, the latter of whom even lent him the car with which to pick up Gutierrez.

"I had a good church behind me," Cariola reflected in his interview, adding that when the cardinal came back from Rome, he visited the Jesuit in jail the next day. Cariola summarized what for him was the meaning of obedience by saying: "You give up many things in taking the vow of obedience, but you get back much more by having the support of a team. Once I was in jail, it was a great consolation to realize this."

Writing on his incarceration experience, Mulligan also has commented on the role of the vows. In somewhat the same spirit as Cariola, he reflects that "the choice of celibacy as a life style can help prepare one for the risks of prophetic mission." As for freedom gained by poverty, he notes that "prophetic action requires a spirit of detachment, for it will result in persecution and deprivation." And in his comments on obedience, he speaks in terms that could well call to mind not only Jesuits imprisoned for civil disobedience in this country but also earlier Jesuits, like John Gerard and Edmund Campion. Obedience, he says, includes the "possibility of disobedience to lesser lords, systems, and institutions."<sup>184</sup>

During our interview I asked Mulligan whether he had requested permission before taking part in the Chicago 15 action. He answered that he had discussed the possibility with one of his superiors, who had been "quietly supportive." After the arrest he received much support from other Jesuits, a number of them attending his trial, testifying in his behalf, and organizing a day of support at the time of sentencing. One is reminded of Cariola's experience while he was led out of the Santiago courthouse.

The Jesuits described in these pages have given witness in a variety of ways. In addition, they represent a wide range of outlooks in regard to the mode of their witness. If they were all assembled today for a discussion among themselves, there might be disagreements along political lines. Would Pierre Olivaint, for example, have approved of Daniel Berrigan's civil disobedience? Perhaps not, though he would probably have approved of Francis Hagerty's act of civil disobedience in blocking the abortion clinic, because it was a protest that underscored the Church's official teaching with regard to the wrongfulness of abortion. Berrigan's on the other hand, was a challenge to the military establishment, one with which Jesuits have frequently had close connections. (Before he joined the order, Olivaint's contemporary, Alexis Clerc, had been a captain in the French navy.)

But both Hagerty and Berrigan, along with Mulligan and Dear, acted out of a conviction that defying the law could be part of a Jesuit's vocation. "I'd

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<sup>184</sup> "Reflections on the War in Vietnam," 20f.

do it again," said Hagerty in the interview. "God called me to it." His comment parallels a statement of Berrigan's: "Jesuits are supposed to be in trouble—it's imbedded by now in the tradition."

However the trouble may come—through deliberately breaking the law, through accepting the kinds of risks that could lead to imprisonment, or simply through being caught up unwittingly in violent political upheavals—the experiences of incarcerated Jesuits form a distinctive part of the Society's history. If it is frequently a painful part in terms of hardships endured, it represents a segment of Jesuit history that attests to the desire to find God not only in all things but also in all places, including jails, prisons, and other places of confinement. It is also a part of Jesuit history that is not yet over. In December 1994 and January 1995, two Chinese Jesuits were arrested and, as of the spring of 1995, remain imprisoned.



## Glossary

- Aguirre, Luis Pérez.** B. 1941. Social activist and founder of Uruguayan branch of Servicio Paz y Justicia (SERPAJ), the country's main human-rights organization. Arrested and tortured in early 1980s during government repression. Currently edits monthly *Mision de Fe y Solidaridad*, sponsored by Uruguay Province. Also directs home for abandoned children. Author in 1993 of *The Incredible Church* (La iglesia increible), critique of Uruguay church hierarchy.
- Arbona, Bartholomew.** 1862–1936. Arrested during Spanish Civil War in 1936. Held in jail three days and then executed. Had said Mass in homes and distributed Communion in parks despite danger. Seventy-four years old when killed.
- Battles, Constantine March.** 1877–1936. Lay brother in Sarria assigned to Ramon Lull Academy at time of Spanish Civil War. Arrested in 1936. Executed after five weeks in jail, at age 60.
- Berrigan, Daniel.** B. 1921. Arrested in 1968 after burning draft files in parking lot of Selective Service office in Cantonsville, Maryland. Served two years at Danbury Federal Prison in Connecticut. Continues as peace activist, writer, and lecturer in New York.
- Beschet, Paul.** B. 1921. French Jesuit who, while still a scholastic in his early twenties, joined a group of young French Catholics who voluntarily traveled to Germany in 1943 to provide support for Frenchmen conscripted by Nazis as forced laborers. Arrested, he spent time in prison and in a concentration camp before being sent as a forced laborer himself to a factory at Zwickau till liberation. Described his experience in *Mission en Thuringe* (1946, reprinted 1988).
- Bichsel, William J.** B. 1928. Arrested several times in connection with civil-disobedience protests at Trident submarine base on Puget Sound in Washington state in early 1980s. Served time in Seattle jail and four months in a federal facility in California. Currently works with Catholic Worker community and with mentally ill in Tacoma, Washington.
- Bouchet, Venantius.** 1655–1732. French Jesuit who began working on Madurai Mission in India in 1689. Labored there twelve years; also worked in Siam. Jailed in India during anti-Christian persecution.
- Briant, Alexander.** 1553–81. Sent from Rome to English Mission in 1579, not as a Jesuit but as a secular priest. Arrested after two years of ministry in Somersetshire by priest hunters searching for Robert Persons, superior of mission and Briant's teacher at Oxford. Accepted into Society during incarceration. Tortured and hanged.
- Brito, John de.** 1647–93. Portuguese Jesuit. Lived as an Indian ascetic in order to be able to approach all castes. Spent most of his life in Madurai Province of India. Held in jail for a week before being beheaded.
- Campion, Edmund.** 1540–81. Reared as Protestant, but reconciled to Church while attending English College in Douai. One of first Jesuits to be assigned to mission in England in 1580. Wrote famous "Brag" to offset government claims that he had come

for political reasons. Arrested within a year, imprisoned, and tortured prior to execution.

**Cariola, Patricio.** B. 1928. Incarcerated in Santiago in 1975 for assisting leftist guerilla Nelson Gutierrez obtain medical help after being wounded by Chilean security forces. Currently director of CIDE (Centro de Investigacion y Desarrollo de la Educacion) in Santiago.

**Carney, James Guadalupe.** 1924–83. Missouri Province Jesuit who worked with campesinos in Honduras. Expelled from country in 1979. Returned to Latin America in 1980 to work in Nicaragua. Secretly crossed border into Honduras in 1983 with group of guerrillas and disappeared. Family members discovered he had been imprisoned and executed. Had left Society just before reentering Honduras.

**Ciszek, Walter.** 1904–84. American son of Polish immigrant parents. After ordination in Rome, assigned to Poland in 1938. Captured after secretly entering Russia disguised as workman. Spent fifteen years in prisons and labor camps. Released in 1955, he returned to United States in 1959.

**Clifford, John W. D.** 1984. California Province Jesuit who, after release from Chinese prison, returned to California to work on Ph.D. Continued research at Taiwan, where he died.

**Clink.** The name of a famous London prison which came to be used as a general term for penal facilities in general. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the word may be derived from the word "clinch," meaning to fasten securely.

**Commune of 1871.** Name given to revolutionary group that occupied Paris in spring of 1871, after municipal government had moved to Versailles out of fear of German occupation of Paris during Franco-Prussian War. Intense persecution of religious by Commune, with five French Jesuits imprisoned and executed:

**De Bengy, Anatole.** 1824–71. Member of St. Genevieve School community. Caring for soldiers wounded during Franco-German war at time of arrest with eleven other Jesuits on April 11, 1871.

**Caubert, Jean.** 1811–71. Former lawyer who joined Society as late vocation. Member of rue de Sèvres community. Arrested there with Pierre Olivaint April 18, 1871.

**Clerc, Alexis.** 1819–71. Former naval commander who, like Caubert, joined Society as late vocation. Taught math at St. Genevieve School and tended wounded soldiers. Arrested with Léon Ducoudray April 4, 1871.

**Ducoudray, Léon.** 1827–71. Rector of St. Genevieve School community. Arrested with Clerc and de Bengy April 4, 1871. He and Clerc the first to die, on May 25, before a firing squad. Other three killed by mob the next day.

**Olivaint, Pierre.** 1816–71. Member of St. Genevieve School community who also helped tend wounded of Franco-Prussian war. Arrested with Caubert April 4 and slain by mob on May 26, along with de Bengy and Caubert.

**Contemplation to Attain the Love of God.** A key meditation toward the end of the Spiritual Exercises. Begins with two points: Love should reveal itself in deeds rather than words and love consists in a mutual sharing. Ends with prayer of self offering:

“Take, Lord, and receive all my liberty, my memory, my understanding, and my entire will, all that I have and possess.”

- Corby, Ralph.** 1598–1644. Secular priest who entered Society at age of 28 and then sent to English Mission six years later. Ministered in Durham area. Arrested in 1644 by Calvinist soldiers while saying Mass in a home. Held two months in prison, then executed at Tyburn.
- Dajani, Daniel.** 1906–46. Native-born Albanian. President of St. Xavier College and rector of Pontifical Seminary in Shkodra. Arrested with Gjon Fausti, vice-provincial of Albanian Jesuits, December 31, 1945, by Communist authorities. Executed March 4, 1946.
- Dear, John S. B.** 1959. As a Maryland Province novice, took vow of non-violence. Arrested December 7, 1993 (anniversary of Pearl Harbor), after entering Seymour Johnson Air Force Base in North Carolina. Sentenced to twelve months, of which he served seven and a half months in two local jails.
- De Coninck, Leo.** 1889–1956. Belgian Jesuit arrested for encouraging clergy to resist Nazis. At Dachau 1942–45. Became superior of Jesuits there and helped morale by retreats and conferences.
- Delp, Alfred.** 1907–45. An editor of Jesuit periodical *Stimmen der Zeit*. Member of Kreisau Circle, an anti-Nazi group planning for Christian social order after war. Arrested in 1944 following attempt on Hitler’s life. Wrote *Meditations* in prisons prior to execution.
- Dominus ac Redemptor.*** The brief promulgated by Pope Clement XIV in 1773 suppressing the Society of Jesus, a move urged by the Bourbons, the duc de Choiseul, the Marquês de Pombal, and various political factions inimical to the Jesuits. The Society was restored in 1814 by Pope Pius VII.
- Douai.** City in northern France, site of a college established by English Catholics after accession of Queen Elizabeth in 1558, to ensure possibility of Catholic education for English youth. Also a center for publication of Catholic works forbidden in England.
- Emerson, Ralph.** 1551–1604. Lay brother who accompanied Edmund Campion and Robert Persons (q.v.) to England in 1580 to begin mission there. Arrested and, after twenty years of incarceration, exiled to St. Omer’s Catholic College in northern France.
- Fahy, Eugene M. B.** 1911. Arrested by Chinese Communist authorities August 28, 1951, while associated with Aurora University. Imprisoned for almost a year in Shanghai. Expelled from China in June 1952. Currently (1995) in pastoral work in Taiwan.
- Fausti, Gjon.** 1889–1946. Vice-provincial for Albanian Jesuits. Arrested on December 31, 1945, with Daniel Dajani, president of St. Xavier College and rector of Pontifical Seminary in Shkodra. After six-day trial, executed by machine gunners outside Catholic cemetery.
- Gardin, Giacomo. B.** 1905. Italian Jesuit who worked in Albania. Taught at St. Xavier College in Shkodra and at Pontifical Seminary. Imprisoned from 1945 till 1955, then repatriated to Italy. Wrote of prison experience in *Banishing God in Albania*.
- Garnet, Henry.** 1555–1606. Sent to English Mission with Robert Southwell (q.v.) in 1586. Succeeded William Weston (q.v.) as superior of mission, and by 1604 had

increased number of Jesuits in England to forty. Arrested in 1606 in connection with Gunpowder Plot to blow up King and Parliament; imprisoned and executed in same year.

**Garnet, Thomas.** 1575–1608. Nephew of Henry Garnet (q.v.). Like his uncle he was arrested in connection with Gunpowder Plot. Banished in 1606, he later returned to England and was arrested again and executed.

**Gerard, John.** 1564–1637. Joined Society in Rome after ordination there as secular priest. Sent to English Mission in 1588. Arrested after eighteen years and tortured, but never revealed whereabouts of his superior, Henry Garnet (q.v.). Escaped from Tower in 1597 and crossed to Continent. Died in Rome at age seventy-three.

**Gestel, Peter van.** 1897–1972. Member of Netherlands Province of Society. Arrested by Nazis September 1941 and imprisoned at Dachau. At time of arrest, was rector of Jesuit theologate at Maastricht. After war, became General's assistant for Germany.

**Goupil, René.** 1607–42. Attached himself to Society as a *donné* (lay assistant) at age 32 and was sent to New France. Assigned to Huron Mission with Isaac Jogues (q.v.). Captured with Jogues by Mohawks and tortured. Pronounced vows as a Brother in Jogues's presence shortly before his death at hands of a Mohawk.

**Grimm, Alois.** Austrian Jesuit in parish work in Germany when World War II began. Because of his influence on youth, the Gestapo planted two "converts" to gather evidence against him. Arrested and condemned to death in 1944. Treated so badly at the Brandenburg Prison that he weighed only ninety pounds at the time of his death. Beheaded September 11, 1994 (Lapomarda, *Jesuits and the Third Reich*, 75).

**Gunpowder Plot.** Conspiracy by a group of Catholic laymen angered by James I's failure to show more tolerance to Catholics. They intended to blow up Parliament and James on November 5, 1605. Government tried to implicate Jesuits but could prove nothing substantive.

**Havas, John A.** 1908–94. Hungarian Province Jesuit missioned to China in 1930s, where he was ordained in 1941. Arrested by Chinese Communist authorities and imprisoned for twenty-two months, from September 1952 till May 1954. Worked in New York Province for last twenty-eight years of life.

**Hagerty, Francis O. "Skip."** B. 1916. Member of Boston College High School community in Dorchester, Massachusetts. Spent four and one-half months in jail for helping block abortion clinic in Brookline as part of Operation Rescue action.

**Hausmann, Carl W. J.** 1898–1945. Born in Alsace-Lorraine, but raised in New Jersey. Missioned to the Philippines, where he worked among lepers. After outbreak of World War II, served as chaplain in the U.S. Army. Interned for three years by Japanese. Died of hunger and exposure in the hold of a Japanese prison-transport ship.

**Holtby, Richard.** 1552–1646. Sent to English Mission in 1579 and worked there for fifty years without being imprisoned. After execution of Henry Garnet in 1606, he became superior of mission until 1609.

**Jogues, Isaac.** 1607–46. After ordination in 1636, sent to work with Hurons in New France. After six years, he was captured by Mohawks with René Goupil (q.v.) and

held prisoner for a year. Escaped with help of Dutch and returned to France, but came back to martyrdom.

- Kavanagh, Joseph J. B.** 1915. While a scholastic in Philippines, taken captive by Japanese at beginning of World War II. At Los Baños internment camp till liberation. Now associate pastor at Nativity Church in New York City.
- Koláček, Aloysius.** 1887–1970. Was superior of St. Ignatius Church in Prague at time of arrest by Nazis in March 1941. After brief stays in two prisons, sent to Dachau in November of same year. Secretly said Mass for other prisoners at Dachau.
- Korec, Ján. B.** 1924. While studying theology in Czechoslovakia, arrested by Communist regime in 1950. Secretly ordained a bishop at age 27 in order to be able to ordain priests. Worked as laborer nine years till arrested again in 1960. Served eight years in prison. After his release, he became bishop of Nitra in Slovakia. Pope John Paul II later appointed him a cardinal.
- Layne, Francis.** 1656–1715. Portuguese Jesuit sent to Madurai Mission at age 28. Imprisoned and sentenced to death in 1693, but later released. Became bishop of San Thomé.
- Lenz, Johan Maria. B.** 1902. Austrian parish priest before World War II. Arrested for criticizing National Socialism. Spent six years at Dachau. After the war, left Society to become secular priest.
- Luli, Anton. B.** 1910. Albanian Jesuit who had been assigned to Xavier College in Shkodra. Arrested after Communist takeover in 1944. Spent seventeen years in prison at forced labor. Now serves in Jesuit parish in Tirana.
- Lusher, Edward.** 1587–1665. Sent to English Mission in 1633. After arrest of Henry Morse (q.v.) took over ministry to plague victims. Twenty-eight years after Morse's execution, again ministered to plague victims during another outbreak and subsequently died from the disease.
- McSorley, Richard T. B.** 1914. Maryland Province Jesuit interned as scholastic during Japanese occupation of Philippines. Longtime peace activist and currently director of Georgetown Center for Peace Studies.
- Malagrida, Gabriel.** 1689–1761. Italian-born Jesuit working in Portugal. Incurred enmity of powerful Marquês de Pombal (q.v.), the prime minister. This enmity helped bring about unjust accusation regarding attempt on King's life. Imprisoned for two and a half years and then executed.
- Martin Clarence A. B.** 1918. Interned as a scholastic in Philippines by Japanese during World War II. Held at Los Baños. Now subminister of Jesuit community at Wernersville, Pennsylvania.
- Maya, Sebastian de.** 1598–1638. Portuguese Jesuit assigned to India in 1637. Joined Madurai Mission and worked with—and was arrested with—Roberto de Nobili during anti-Christian persecution.
- Mayer, Rupert.** 1876–1945. Arrested several times in 1930s for speaking out against National Socialist movement. After outbreak of World War II, sent to concentration camp at Sachsenhausen. He was later transferred to a Benedictine abbey because of failing health and kept under close confinement till end of war.

- Miki, Paul.** 1564–97. A scholastic, he was arrested two months before his ordination during period of anti-Christian persecution. After five weeks of imprisonment, executed with two other native-born Jesuits (a novice Brother and a scholastic), along with six Franciscans and their fifteen tertiaries.
- More, Henry.** 1586–1661. Sent to English Mission in 1621. Arrested in 1632 and spent a year in prison. Later wrote first account of English Mission, published in 1660. Not to be confused with Henry Morse (q.v.).
- Morse, Henry.** 1595–1645. After arrest in England as a secular priest, began Jesuit formation in prison under direction of Jesuit prisoner John Robinson. After release, worked among plague victims. Martyred at age 48.
- Mulligan, Joseph E. B.** 1943. Detroit Province priest arrested as scholastic for antiwar protest with Chicago 15 during Vietnam era. Served two years at federal prison in Minnesota. Now works in Nicaragua.
- Murphy, Edward “Ned” J. B.** 1937. Soon after his ordination in New York in 1968, began a long-term involvement with peace-and-justice issues that entailed frequent arrests for civil disobedience, mostly in connection with the Vietnam War. Later founded a soup kitchen and outreach center in the Bronx called P.O.T.S. (Part of the Solution).
- Nagasuma, Michael.** 1582–1628. Offered home as refuge for Jesuit priests and other missionaries during persecution. Received as lay Brother in 1627. Arrested a year later and, after four months in prison, died as result of torture.
- Nobili, Roberto de.** 1577–1656. Missioned to India after ordination. Adapted self to native customs, living as a sannyasi (holy ascetic) and thereby gained acceptance. Imprisoned twice because of anti-Christian activity.
- Ogilvie, John.** 1579–1615. Missioned to his native Scotland three years after ordination in 1610. Arrested eleven months later and imprisoned for five months; tortured and hanged.
- Owen, Nicholas. D.** 1606. Entered as lay Brother and worked with Edmund Campion and Henry Garnet (q.v.) on English Mission. Famous for building hiding places for priests in homes. Arrested in 1606 after discovery of Gunpowder Plot. Died as result of torture.
- Pacheco, Francis.** 1565–1626. Portuguese Jesuit serving on Japanese Mission. Expelled in 1614 when Christianity was outlawed, but returned disguised as a merchant. Arrested and imprisoned for six months, then burned at the stake.
- Páez, Pedro.** 1564–1622. Spanish Jesuit. Following ordination in India, sent with fellow Jesuit Antonio Monserate to reestablish mission in Ethiopia. Underwent various forms of captivity for seven years, including a period as a galley slave.
- Pantalija, Gjon.** 1887–1947. Italian lay Brother who worked in Albania, serving as editor of a Jesuit periodical. Arrested by Communist authorities in 1945, he died several years later as result of torture.
- Persons, Robert.** 1546–1612. Accompanied Edmund Campion and Brother Ralph Emerson (q.v.) to England as their superior in 1580 to begin English Mission. Established secret printing press for printing of Catholic devotional books. Returned

to Continent in 1587 and remained abroad for rest of life, serving as focus of opposition to Elizabethan religious policy. Author of *The Christian Directory*.

**Phillips, Thomas.** 1904–68. California Province Jesuit who was rector of Christ the King in Shanghai. Arrested with John Clifford (q.v.) by Communist authorities and incarcerated for three years. Released and repatriated to the United States.

**Pies, Otto.** 1901–60. Prior to arrest by Nazis, he had been novice master for Eastern Province of Germany. Arrested and sent to Dachau along with Leo de Coninck (q.v.), in 1941. Served as spiritual father to Jesuits there and helped to establish a community structure.

**Pombal, Marquês de.** 1699–1782. Most powerful man in eighteenth-century Portugal and one of the Society's greatest enemies. Caused Jesuits to be expelled from Portugal in 1759 and worked for Suppression of Society in 1773.

**Poude, Thomas.** 1539–1615. Catholic layman who worked with Campion and Persons (q.v.) after latter's arrival on English Mission in 1580. Incarcerated for about thirty years, during which time he was received into the Society.

**Prescott, Cuthbert.** 1592–1647. Entered Society as lay Brother and sent to English Mission, with job of assisting Catholic youth to travel to Catholic institutions on Continent. Arrested and sentenced to life in prison. Died in prison at age 55.

**Pro, Miguel.** 1891–1927. After Mexican government suppressed public worship, Pro secretly administered sacraments in various parts of Mexico City. Arrested after attempt on life of General Alvaro Obregon, confined in jail for a week before being executed.

**Ricci, Lorenzo.** 1703–75. Eighteenth general of Society. Arrested after suppression and imprisoned for two and a half years in the Castel Sant'Angelo in Rome until his death. Accused of knowing of buried Jesuit treasures and of involvement in conspiracies; both charges were fabricated.

**Robinson, John.** 1598–1675. Sent to English Mission in 1628 and imprisoned twice. During first imprisonment, served as novice master to fellow prisoner Henry Morse (q.v.). Second imprisonment took place twenty-five years later. Sentenced to death in 1653, but sentence was never carried out.

**Rösch, Augustin.** 1893–1961. Provincial of Upper German Province, and superior of Alfred Delp and Rupert Mayer (q.v.), whom he supported in their anti-Nazi work. Arrested after attempt on Hitler's life in 1944 and imprisoned till freed by Russian troops.

**St. Omer's College.** School for English youth established in 1593 in northern France by Robert Persons (q.v.), in reaction to laws against Catholic education in England. After French Revolution, moved to England as Stonyhurst College.

**Shen, Louis.** B. 1936. Between periods of incarceration by Chinese Communists, he joined the Society in 1981. After release from prison, he was sent to study theology at the Jesuit School of Theology at Berkeley. Ordained 1993. Currently (1994) a tertian at University of Detroit.

**Sommet, Jacques.** B. 1912. While still a scholastic, arrested by Gestapo in May 1944 because of work with French resistance. Imprisoned for a year at Dachau, an experience he described in his autobiography, *L'Honneur de la liberté* (1987).

**Southwell, Robert.** 1561–95. Assigned to English Mission along with Henry Garnet (q.v.) as superior; a poet of note. Arrested after six years, he was imprisoned for three years, during which time he was tortured. Hanged at Tyburn.

**Suppression.** 1773–1814. Caused by enmity toward Jesuits on the part of powerful political groups and individuals like Pombal (q.v.). Began in Portugal in 1759, then France and Spain. Under pressure, Pope Clement XIV finally ordered suppression of whole Society in 1773 with his brief *Dominus ac Redemptor*.

**Tang, Dominic. B.** 1908. Archbishop of Canton. Arrested in 1958 by Communist authorities. Refused to approve Catholic Patriotic Association, a government-controlled organization of religious. Imprisoned for twenty-two years, though never formally charged or sentenced.

**Third Degree of Humility.** A key meditation in Second Week of Spiritual Exercises that focuses on desire to share in poverty, humiliation, and insults endured by Christ, rather than be rich and honored by the world.

**Thornton, James Enda.** 1910–93. California Province Jesuit working in Shanghai at time of Communist take-over. Arrested and imprisoned, 1950–51.

**Titus Oates Plot.** Once an Anglican minister, Oates (1649–1705) converted to Catholicism and attended Jesuit colleges for brief periods till expelled. Applied for admission to Society but was refused. In revenge, he fabricated a plot claiming Jesuits and others planned to assassinate Charles II in 1678. Provoked last large-scale persecution of Catholics in England.

**Walpole, Henry.** 1558–95. Sent to English Mission in 1595, but arrested on arrival. Frequently tortured and finally hanged for refusal to take oath of supremacy acknowledging Elizabeth I as the supreme authority in religious as well as in secular matters.

**Weston, William.** 1550–1615. Missioned to England in 1584 and arrested two years later. Spent eighteen years in various English prisons, including five years of solitary confinement in Tower. Exiled in 1603 after accession of James I.

**White, Andrew.** 1579–1656. Sent to North American Mission, arriving with Lord Baltimore's expedition to establish a Catholic colony in Maryland. Captured by band of Puritan soldiers from Virginia and sent back to England as prisoner accused of treason. Eventually acquitted.

**Wong, George B. B.** 1918. Ordained in Shanghai in 1951. Spent only two years in ministry before his arrest in 1955. He was sentenced to fifteen years: incarcerated for seven and a half years and then assigned to farm labor for seventeen years. Now (1955) resides at Sacred Heart Jesuit Center in Los Gatos, California.



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