

4 *Alma Mater, Mater Exulum.* Jesuit Education and Immigration in America

A Moral Framework Rooted in History and Mission

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Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand
A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame
Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name
Mother of Exiles. From her beacon-hand
Glows world-wide welcome ...

—Emma Lazarus, “The New Colossus”

An Opening Word

This chapter explores both the history and commitment surrounding 225 years of Jesuit higher education in the United States to provide what we have called the moral framework of this study, and examines the connection between the institutions so many in the Association of Jesuit Colleges and Universities (AJCU) network call their “alma mater” and the “mother of exiles” (in Latin *mater exulum*) as described in Emma Lazarus’s famous poem. Have the Jesuit colleges and universities in the United States of America actually been places which “glow with world-wide welcome?” What elements in our collective history and in the contemporary interpretation of themes related to the distinctive spirituality taught on our campuses can put the intentions of the founder of the Jesuits, St. Ignatius of Loyola, into practice—which by objective standards have changed not only education patterns, but the history of the world—in touch with Lazarus’s own grand and sweeping vision? And why should such an intersection matter to us today?

To begin, it is important to note that, to varying degrees, virtually all of the twenty-eight schools in the United States which constitute the AJCU umbrella organization had as one emphasis in their earliest years the education of first- or second-generation immigrant populations in the U.S.¹ This fact then informed our research strategies and helped us orient the resultant findings presented here to highlight, rediscover, and apply anew a profound truth: that

Jesuit higher education shares a mission and commitment across generations to provide access to education; and in the U.S. context, especially to help immigrant families have an opportunity to earn their share of the American dream. In this chapter I have two goals related to this truth: (1) exploring the history of the Society of Jesus in the United States in terms of its relationship to immigrant populations, and (2) discussing contemporary themes which make such a continued commitment to the often excluded and underappreciated population of migrant students viable and fruitful today. By doing so, I hope to articulate the unique contribution this research sought to make in terms of understanding the role of mission-driven educational institutions in societies today.

An Honest Historical Analysis

As part of our study, we worked with twenty-five Jesuit college presidents to craft a public statement which contained in its text the following claim:

[W]e recognize that the history of Jesuit institutions of higher education in this country is inextricably linked to first- and second-generation immigrant populations. Our schools have in the past been unique places of opportunity for some of the most disenfranchised and marginalized members of American society.²

Many excellent books have been written on the history of individual institutions—from Fordham to Boston College, Gonzaga to Wheeling Jesuit, Georgetown to the various Loyolas, and so on. But no meta-narrative has been constructed, of which we are aware, that deals with the Jesuit collegiate network’s relationship with immigrant populations in America, although some influential work has been done on related histories by Gerald McKevitt and Raymond Schroth.³ Here I hope to provide as broad and variegated a picture of this topic as possible by garnering relevant examples from a variety of historical sources to argue that such a unique relationship as described by the presidents’ statement does in fact exist, while minimizing the limitations of (a necessary) particularity in selecting relevant anecdotes and testimonials which support this idea. It is very clear, both from the direct interactions of our research team and from the data we have collected around the country, that this particular dimension of the mission of Jesuit education matters in a deep and personal way to many on our campuses. Although some would likely argue that such a focus is not (and should not be) the purview of Jesuit, Catholic colleges.

In order to face such critiques, let us first here offer what would seem to be some rather grave counter-examples to at least the spirit of the presidents’ claim above. First, an unsettling account of institutional xenophobia from the annals of Gonzaga’s history in the Pacific Northwest:

[In 1887, a] few days after the beginning of the school year Father [Joseph] Joret

appeared with two Indian boys. He informed Father President that he wanted to register them as resident students of the new college. The answer he received indicates that the policy of the new school had been greatly altered since it was first conceived. “No,” Father [James] Rebmann said, “we do not receive Indian students. The school is exclusively for American boys.” “Well, you call those Americans,” Joset snorted. “What about these Indian boys? Surely they are Americans, they were born in the country and have a prior right before anyone else.”⁴

At the time, Joset’s arguments did not prevail, and the “non-Americans” were barred entrance.

There were cultural precedents for such attitudes, even within the Society of Jesus itself. Centuries earlier, even as revered a figure as Francis Xavier was not particularly open to equity of accessibility, at least in terms of ordination and its related educational and formative preparation, for as his letters make clear, he was hesitant to welcome indigenous peoples to the Society of Jesus because of his notions of European social superiority.⁵ And as has often been noted, for a period, the Jesuits participated in and profited as a body from being one of the largest collective slaveholders in the United States.⁶ John Carroll, the founder of the earliest Jesuit institution of higher learning in America, once detestably quipped, regarding potential converts among the men and women owned as property by the Jesuits, that “Diamonds are sometimes found in dunghills.”⁷

As such cases make painfully obvious, the idealized visions of educational accessibility, due process, fairness, and equality have not been universally applied with objectivity throughout history, and that includes within the network here being discussed. Though these accounts don’t deal with immigrants *per se*, they make clear the unevenness with which the most marginalized were offered access to education and opportunity in the past. While such issues are perhaps not, technically speaking, part of voluntary “migration” histories, the relationship of the Society of Jesus to these and other marginalized communities, one clearly pockmarked with missteps and lamentable practices, is undoubtedly germane to the discussion at hand. The problematic nature of these realities was particularly evident here in the New World, whose discovery had raised a whole slew of theological, practical, political, and other unforeseen difficulties for the European mindset in the Age of Exploration and the subsequent centuries. And as with virtually every institution that has survived here for more than a few decades, the relationship between the Society of Jesus and the society of immigrants which constitutes our national and continental tapestry is a complex one.

Without shying away from these deplorable realities, our argument here is that, in fact, a unique and positive contribution of Jesuit higher education toward migrant, first-, and second-generation American populations *does* exist, which can speak to the contemporary immigration debate raging in the academy, pews, halls of congress, and dinner tables of our country today. As we will come to see, much of this relationship is rooted in the historical founding of the AJCU schools in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (of course also including John Carroll’s

flagship Georgetown, dating to slightly earlier in 1789).

In 1964, the Jesuit Educational Association conducted a national survey of knowledge and opinion regarding Jesuit higher education. One of the comments cited in their study claimed at that time that the national image of Jesuit education “includes the notion of discipline, difficulty, intellectualism, awareness of modern research and progress, and a tendency to do something about this in the practical world of today that will manifest the leadership ability of the student.”⁸ In 1986, the International Commission on the Apostolate of Jesuit Education published a document entitled *The Characteristics of Jesuit Education*, which included among its descriptions of Jesuit education terms such as “world-affirming,” “curriculum centered on the person and personal relationships (*cura personalis*),” “faith that does justice,” and exhibiting “particular concern for the poor.”⁹ Mirroring this is the AJCU’s own mission and apostolate statement of 2010, which emphasized their goal to “prioritize the education of ... often vulnerable and underserved students.”¹⁰

From where did the commitment and characteristics laid out in these statements originate, and what, if anything, do they have to do with immigration? The Jesuits have long been recognized for their dutiful efforts at missionary work among uneducated and impoverished peoples and have often been characterized as especially concerned with those deemed outcasts. They earned this reputation for their efforts prior to the faulty, sanitized accounts of history, which tend to privilege white Anglo-Protestant founding fathers, especially in terms of religious history and mission. The fabricated and quite prevalent idea that Christianity arrived in the New England and Mid-Atlantic colonies first on Puritan ships, and moved southward and westward over the following decades or centuries is patently false. As John Leary, S.J., points out in the somewhat melodramatic language of 1950s biography: “Before anyone had ever dreamt of Jamestown or Plymouth Rock, these men in black soutanes had pushed their way into Georgia. They had settled on five different spots in Florida, had ventured into the Carolinas, and had reddened the soil of Virginia with their blood.... Actually the Jesuits were a foundation only fifteen years old [after being approved by Pope Paul III in 1540] when they sent their men to the New World. They have been in America ever since.”¹¹

But since Jesuit education is not originally or primarily an American enterprise, its roots concerning this commitment to the “underserved” (*not* “undeserved”) extend even beyond this New World context. Consider the esteemed Spaniard Juan Alfonso de Polanco, Secretary to Ignatius and subsequent Generals of the Society of Jesus for almost thirty years, who in the late sixteenth century gave some of the following reasons for the establishment and proliferation of Jesuit schools in Europe: “poor boys, who could not possibly pay for teachers, much less for private tutors, will make progress in learning and that their parents will be able to satisfy their obligation to educate their children.” Thus, those “who are now only students will grow to be pastors, civic officials, administrators of justice, and will fill other important posts to everybody’s profit and advantage.”¹² In the earliest days, the schools being founded by the

Society, from Messina to Majorca to the Roman College, were at Ignatius's insistence, open to students of every social class without distinction because they were generously endowed and did not charge tuition. The movement toward wealthier student populations in the immediately subsequent years was, according to John O'Malley, "far, far from the original intention, never actualized in the degree usually attributed to it, and insofar as it occurred was the result not so much of deliberate choices as of the special nature of the humanistic curriculum [saturated with philosophy, Latin and Greek literary classics, and an appreciation of eloquence]." ¹³ Though the educational landscape shifted, the Jesuits never abandoned their commitment to the poor, the sojourner, or as so many were themselves, the exile.

As Jesuit education developed into and then in the wake of the Ratio Studiorum in 1599, it sought to transcend the provincialism of nationalist identity. ¹⁴ It was common practice that students from varied backgrounds, locations, and social classes studied together. In his text on their earliest educational endeavors, Michael Foss points out: "The Jesuits took great care that their schooling should reflect the internationalization of the Society.... At Jesuit schools, the students had the chance to observe that strange animal, the foreigner, and measure him against the official propaganda. And since nationalities were treated equally under the church, individuals, too were given an equal opportunity to prove worthy and respectful sons of the church." ¹⁵ (The chance for daughters to do the same was a later development.) To keep this accessibility and internationalization a priority, "the schools were to cost the Society nothing—except time and manpower—and the pupil nothing." ¹⁶ Their own constitutions included the stern commandment: "No obligations or conditions are to be admitted that would impair the integrity of our principle, which is—To give freely what we have received freely." ¹⁷ We know that such approaches to tuition changed over time in order to make the system sustainable, as it became more institutionalized around the world, and as the face of that "manpower" eventually shifted in more recent decades from scholastics and priests to an increased presence of lay collaborators and employees. But the underlying commitment to providing opportunity for the disenfranchised remains a central theme which links Jesuit education today with its earliest period.

From the nascent days of the U.S., the Society of Jesus played an integral role in its development on a wide variety of fronts. Jesuits who crossed seas or borders to come here, like Andrew White (England), Isaac Jogues (France), Eusebio Kino (Italy), Jacques Marquette (France), Pierre-Jean de Smet (Belgium), John Bapst (Switzerland), and Michael Nash (Ireland), all obviously immigrants, were pioneers and trailblazers who were moved in diverse ways and with radically different charisms and expertise to help lay the intellectual, spiritual, and in many cases sociopolitical and organizational foundation for what would become the United States as we know it today.

The fusion of Ignatian spirituality and renaissance humanism, along with the growing mission of international education which, while a bit sedentary for Ignatius's original vision of

his company, had become so much a part of the Society in the intervening years, crossed the Atlantic along with the meager possessions of refugee, émigré, and/or missionary Jesuit priests and brothers in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. While that earliest college on the banks of the Potomac housed both English- and American-born Jesuits, St. Louis University was run by Belgians; Alabama, Kentucky, and New York had schools launched by Frenchmen; Woodstock and the seminary in Maryland were run by Neapolitans; and Jesuit schools of the Mid- and Far West had German, Italian, and other immigrant populations in their classrooms and administration from the earliest days.¹⁸ The founding community at Fordham University in the Bronx was made up of 19 Frenchmen, 11 Irishmen, 6 Canadians, 3 Germans, and 1 Englishman, Spaniard, Belgian, Haitian, and Czechoslovakian, with only 3 American-born Jesuits. In fact, the first rectors of all but two of the twenty-one current AJCU schools founded in the nineteenth century were immigrants.¹⁹

This multiculturalism provided the American Jesuit schools with a rich and contoured understanding of important themes like “universality,” “home,” and “mission” right from their earliest days. Many of their own had sought refuge in this land of the Mother of Exiles, especially in the wake of the Society’s suppression and restoration in the 1700s. The uniquely traumatic ordeal the order had undergone at the hands of their influential and wealthy enemies, when those suspicious of the Society in Portugal, France, and Spain convinced Pope Clement XIV to suppress the Jesuits, helped them recognize the need to carry such an initiative forward both during and after their forced exile in so many cases. New geographical *and* pedagogical contexts provided ample means of reenvisioning their work after the Society’s official restoration in 1814.²⁰

Their own history and that of the relationship between Catholics and Protestants in our nation led to the schools being perceived by others—and sometimes even envisioning themselves—as standing apart “socially, organizationally, and ideologically from native academies.”²¹ Yet, they wanted to assimilate in some important ways, so as to make the colleges themselves culturally appealing and to reach the maximum number of people. McKevitt points out through his reading of Philip Gleason, “The resulting push and pull between their desire to retain a distinctive identity and their need to serve the society [lowercase “s”] for which they existed has been (and remains) an ongoing tension within Jesuit universities.”²²

McKevitt goes on to describe the period in which most of these institutions arose: “Students came from all economic classes. St. Xavier College, a New York commuter school, drew the sons of working-class families because its location in the center of Manhattan’s developing mass transit system made it economically and geographically accessible. Founders intended Boston College to be a ‘low tuition college for day scholars.’ ‘No student, however poor, is refused admission because he is unable to pay tuition’ officials reported in 1899, ‘and of the four hundred young men registered in the college, scarcely more than half do so.’ ”²³

By the time the nineteenth century came to a close, sons of immigrant families were finding their way into Jesuit classrooms across the country, often alongside native North Americans from Alaska to the Mexican border, all aspiring to forge paths of upward mobility because of the opportunities a Jesuit education provided. As one Santa Clara alumnus put it, “Whether native or Eastern, Mexican or South American, English, French, or Italians, Catholic or Protestant, Jew or Gentile, they were Santa Clara boys.”²⁴ As will be made clear in the following chapters of this volume, the same Santa Clara University continues to lead the nation in some of these efforts toward greater access for the most vulnerable and excluded today through a program called the Hurtado Scholars.

Thus, the historical origins of the Society of Jesus, the development of their apostolates into the most successful international educational network the world has ever seen, and the complex challenges faced by immigrants, asylum-seekers, refugees, and interconnected members of an increasingly shrinking and globalized world are inextricably interwoven. In the sixteenth century, St. Ignatius famously claimed the most effective way to catechize, transform, and set the world on fire was to “Go in through another’s door, so as to lead them out through yours.” Meeting people in need where they are has always been a primary focus of the Society of Jesus. For hundreds of years, the classrooms of Jesuit colleges and universities have been filled with immigrants, on both sides of the desk and chalkboard. Today is no exception. The Golden Door of opportunity to the American dream has been and is still being offered to countless immigrant, first-, and second-generation families through their efforts, though sometimes through channels that, while demonstrating authentic interpersonal care and commitment, are fragile, tenuous, and frankly in many cases uninformed about the nuances of many of the attendant issues involved with students who are new immigrants. It is an important, if underappreciated, cultural, spiritual, and historical heritage of the network of Jesuit schools which needs to be re-emphasized and discussed openly in these times of vitriolic debate on immigration and related issues. Our campuses, from administration to facilities, from faculty and staff to students and alumni, need to be given the opportunity to learn more about their own institutional past and the rich patrimony they inherit as members of our intentionally diverse communities, and to forge ahead with new strategies and techniques for ever-better serving one another, with an eye toward those who are navigating the always difficult waters of higher education with the added challenges associated with immigration.

A Contemporary Arena for Applying Jesuit Principles

To move this analysis from the historical context to a more contemporary exploration of the theme as to why immigration and Jesuit education are realities still intertwined and mutually informative to one another, and how best to envision these paths forward, we turn first to the current Pope Francis, formerly known as Jorge Bergoglio. When then-Provincial of the Jesuits

in Argentina, the future pope made an important administrative decision at the Colegio del Salvador in Buenos Aires, an institution then composed of two parallel bodies: one where children of privilege paid for an education and another non-tuition-paying one for those who could not afford the fees, but sought to rely on the generosity of the Society to teach their children. Without informing either sets of parents he was doing so, Bergoglio merged the two bodies, so that all the students went to class together.²⁵ His commitment to the underprivileged continued with his time as Archbishop of Buenos Aires, where he was tireless in his support of migrant communities in the poorest areas of the country, known in dialect as *villas miserias* (literally “towns of misery”), and often spoke out against injustice and corruption which doomed local people to a life of intolerable suffering. Such concerns obviously did not end with his election as pontiff, but have perhaps even intensified with the global awareness that comes from leading the universal Catholic Church. His first papal visit outside of Rome was to Lampedusa, the island “borderland” of Europe, and he has time and again brought the issues of migration, human trafficking, and the “globalization of indifference” to the fore of his papal teaching.²⁶ He has said that the trials of migrants pain him as would a “thorn in [his] heart.”²⁷ There are a number of thematic areas from which we can suppose the current Jesuit pope is drawing his inspiration on this front, and related insights into the American context in which Jesuit education can be seen as offering our academic progeny both nourishment (the literal meaning of *alma mater*) and refuge (*mater exulum*).

First and foremost, Jesuit spirituality agrees with wider Catholic social teaching in asserting that believers and the church as a whole should strive to work for the *common good*. *The Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church* defines this as “the sum total of social conditions which allow people, either as groups or as individuals, to reach their fulfillment more fully and more easily.”²⁸ It argues that society must keep in mind the “good of all people and of the whole person” and that the “human person cannot find fulfillment in himself, that is, apart from the fact that he exists ‘with’ and ‘for’ others.”²⁹ Such themes intersect almost verbatim with two hallmarks of Ignatian pedagogy: commitment to *cura personalis* and to an explicit hope to cultivate “men and women for others.” All of these obviously are rooted in an even more fundamental reality, namely, that of the dignity of every human person regardless of race, creed, birthplace, residential status, or documentation. *Cura personalis*, and its dedication to formation of the person (here understood as a student) to flourish not just intellectually but holistically and its concomitant commitment to mold graduates who are civically and morally engaged with their surroundings, thirsting for justice and willing to critique situations of disempowerment or marginalization, can all be read as having direct correlates to the immigration issues this current volume explores.

As part of the events surrounding this research project, we partnered with the Ignatian Solidarity Network to put some of these principles into action, promoting a “faith that does justice.” With their help (particularly through the tireless coordination of Christopher Kerr, the

organization's executive director), we were able to arrange for sixty undergraduate students from around the Jesuit network throughout the United States to travel with us to Washington, D.C., both to participate in the presentation of our research findings and to meet personally with either their House and/or Senate representatives to advocate for immigrant rights in higher education. Some of these students were themselves undocumented, which exhibits incredible courage and conviction to speak out regarding a claim to their share of the American dream. However, many others were students born in the United States (some of quite privileged backgrounds) who cared about the struggles being faced by their friends, peers, and classmates, or who simply saw the issue as a moral and social one having an impact on their lives and their nation. This was quite inspiring to those of us involved in the project from different angles, be it researchers or participating staff, administrators, and organizers. Our sessions and exchanges—with university presidents and politicians or simply among small groups of students—where so many shared their stories and concerns, hopes, and fears, engaging one another in authentic encounters which expanded each others' intellectual, social, and spiritual horizons, were resonant of why Jesuit education remains a formative element in the self-identity and priority in the lives of so many alumni after their graduation.³⁰

Much of the form and content of these authentic and direct encounters rooted in relationships center on solidarity, the Catholic intellectual virtue which espouses the interconnectivity and interdependence of all human beings. The Second Vatican Council made clear that “One is the community of all peoples, one their origin, for God made the whole human race to live over the face of the earth. One also is their final goal, God.”³¹ The pope has carried such a vision forward, not only in terms of our common home as in his encyclical *Laudato Si'*, but also specifically in terms of migrants, when it comes to fostering what he has called a “church without borders.”³²

Besides being a guiding principle for social living, solidarity with one another is also a primary moral virtue connected to the practice of justice. As St. Thomas Aquinas puts it, a moral virtue is a habit that comes from action and repetition, and in so doing, becomes somehow incarnated in the practitioner.³³ Solidarity as promotion of justice is a virtuous way of thinking and acting which propels one to cultivate a habit of working and caring for the common good of all humanity irrespective of their national origins or legal status. It promotes the union of all people, including but not limited to the poor and weakest, to enhance flourishing and public discourse. This has long been a driving principle behind the mission of Jesuit education and to the specific apostolates related to it.

Other related Jesuit themes that guided our moral and ethical framework for the project included St. Ignatius's call to seek and find God in all things, and the description of the Ignatian vocation as being “contemplatives in action.” These interrelated concepts lead us to argue that our moral and political lives necessitate informed reflection and active engagement in our world. It is not and has never been the goal of Jesuit education to foster a flight into the sacristy

when problems of injustice, hatred, or intolerance present themselves. Rather, students and graduates of these institutions are called to recognize the transcendent dimension in every element of life, and to work accordingly to serve the human family, to be “contemplatives in action” oriented toward and tireless in their efforts for a better present and future. In 1993 Jesuit Superior General Peter-Hans Kolvenbach, S.J., penned a letter regarding Ignatian pedagogy in which he described the goal of educators in the Jesuit network as producing students excelling in “competence, conscience, and compassionate commitment.” This implies that in whatever field our graduates choose, they should be willing and able to coordinate their ambitions and successes with a greater, transcendent focus on the good, the beautiful, and the true both metaphysically speaking, and as concretely expressed in familial, professional, and social life. The success or failure of such a goal turns on the ability to cultivate in students an appreciation and development of their own cognitive and moral agency in ever-changing contexts and situations.

Pope John XXIII’s encyclical *Pacem in Terris* makes clear the Catholic position on migration: “[E]very human being has the right to freedom of movement and of residence within the confines of his own State. When there are just reasons in favor of it, he must be permitted to emigrate to other countries and take up residence there. The fact that he is a citizen of a particular State does not deprive him of membership in the human family, nor of citizenship in that universal society, the common, world-wide fellowship of men.”³⁴ Our project sought to take such a principle and articulate it in terms of our contemporary situation, an example of what Ignatian education has long called *eloquentia perfecta*. This phrase is intended to encourage students to wrestle with matters of morality, civic duty, and prudential judgment in areas both theological and humanistic, and to provide tools to articulate with “perfect eloquence” the results of this rigorous critical analysis for the benefit of the church, academy, and world. The Jesuits have long sought to cultivate the rhetorical skills to express with precision, persuasion, and grace one’s most deeply held convictions. The current initiative explored in this volume has sought to provide for the world of higher education and the wider nation a cogent and ethical argument “to support our students—both documented citizens and not—as full members of our campus communities and of society at large, where their voices and personal narratives deserve to be acknowledged,” as the shared presidential statement puts it.³⁵

The last Ignatian theme to be discussed here can likely best be understood as a necessary element in all that has been traced in this chapter, and a unifying capstone to the entire project when understood through these lenses. St. Ignatius of Loyola’s Spiritual Exercises have always been appreciated for endorsing the virtue of prayerful discernment when it comes to decision-making at all levels, both private and corporate. It has sometimes been described as having a focus on being *attentive*, *reflective*, and *charitable* (“caritative”) in weighing potential paths forward on a given matter, but always experienced through a disciplined and rigorous sifting

process to determine the proper course of prudential action and its relevant meaning for one's life and for the world at large. While it has vocational overtones in the Jesuit system, Roger Haight, S.J., has recently described the core components of this process as having potentially wider applicability, even among non-believers.³⁶ Pope Francis has affirmed the indispensability and centrality of discernment in the Jesuit way of thinking and living, and seems to support such a broad appreciation of its intrinsic value. He is then worth quoting at length:

Discernment takes time. For example, many think that changes and reforms can take place in a short time. I believe that we always need time to lay the foundations for real, effective change. And this is the time of discernment... A Jesuit is a person who is not centered in himself. The Society itself also looks to a center outside itself; its center is Christ and his church. So if the Society centers itself in Christ and the church, it has two fundamental points of reference for its balance and for being able to live on the margins, on the frontier. If it looks too much in upon itself, it puts itself at the center as a very solid, very well 'armed' structure, but then it runs the risk of feeling safe and self-sufficient. The Society must always have before itself the *Deus semper maior*, the always-greater God, and the pursuit of the ever greater glory of God, the church as true bride of Christ our Lord, Christ the king who conquers us and to whom we offer our whole person and all our hard work, even if we are clay pots, inadequate. This tension takes us out of ourselves continuously. The tool that makes the Society of Jesus not centered in itself, really strong, is, then, the account of conscience, which is at the same time paternal and fraternal, because it helps the Society to fulfill its mission better....

Only in narrative form do you discern, not in a philosophical or theological explanation, which allows you rather to discuss. The style of the Society is not shaped by discussion, but by discernment, which of course presupposes discussion as part of the process. The mystical dimension of discernment never defines its edges and does not complete the thought. The Jesuit must be a person whose thought is incomplete, in the sense of open-ended thinking.³⁷

While recognizing that the value and *imago Dei* present in every human life, whether "native-born" or immigrant, is unequivocal and straightforward, we of course recognize that immigration reform and its relationship to higher education is a complex reality, with many attendant dimensions, causes, variables, and consequences. The Jesuit "way of proceeding" and contribution to the conversation about immigration unfolding in the public square, with its historical antecedents as outlined above, must be rooted in a realization that discernment is necessary in determining the best possible course of action in terms of the former, current, and future students whose lives we hope to touch and better, and on the wider society in which they live, move, and wield various types of influence.

Conclusion

Christians and Jews read in the Book of Leviticus the unambiguous demand levied upon believers: “When a stranger resides with you in your land, you shall do him no wrong. You shall treat the alien among you as if he were native-born, for you were aliens yourself in the land of Egypt; I am the Lord your God” (Lev 19:33–34). The member institutions of the AJCU have a specific mission and obligation to work for the promotion of justice, as informed by the biblical mandate put forth in such passages in the scriptures. From the time of Ignatius himself, Jesuits have seen in education a path “to help souls,” as he put it succinctly. Our work in this project has examined the cultural, historical, and political context in which we find ourselves today in terms of mirroring this intention.

Applying such a goal to today’s debates has led us to a number of conclusions. First, as the presidents’ statement asserted: “We oppose public policies that separate human families living peaceably in our midst, especially those involving students and/or minors, and urge all citizens to recognize and support those inhabitants of our nation who seek to contribute more fully to civic life and the common good through education and personal development.”³⁸ Justice, mercy, and charity—which are always interconnected virtues—demand care for those immigrant families who live, work, and raise their children among us, many of whom lack even the most basic legal protection or subsistence living standards, to say nothing about social mobility. Surrounded by young people and students, many of whom had ties to the Jesuit University of San Francisco, former Auxiliary Bishop of San Francisco Robert McElroy (since named Bishop of San Diego) articulated the moral demands laid upon believers in a public gathering at City Hall: “The religious communities stand with the undocumented on [their efforts at rights involving work and education] not merely out of solidarity, not merely out of love for them, not merely out of a sense that this is a terrible marginalization which occurs in our society, but because at the very core of religious belief is the understanding that all of us are the children of the one God who has made us one family, and that documented rights are a fundamental human right which we ignore and deny at our peril as a nation.”³⁹ Though Jesuit colleges of course welcome students of all faiths and none, the institutions themselves are formed by and rooted in such ethical and religious worldviews, and as such, Bishop McElroy’s perspective finds authentic patterns of resonance in the findings and moral framework of our study.

Second, the history of Jesuit higher education traced above makes clear that the twenty-eight Jesuit colleges in the U.S., to varying degrees, have always prioritized and continue to prioritize vulnerable and underserved students, including immigrants and children of immigrants. For four and a half centuries, the Jesuits have sought to live and minister at the interface between church and culture. For the purposes of this exploration, the focus has largely been on their efforts at doing so in the United States. The critique of unjust social structures and pathologies in the political system which routinely lead to xenophobia, nativism,

or neo-Know-Nothingism represent crucial arenas where Jesuit education can continue to live at this cultural frontier and mold the future.

Finally, the hallmarks of Jesuit education include unwavering commitment to Catholic social teaching and the common good, *cura personalis*, solidarity and the promotion of moral virtue, seeking God in all things, and helping form “men and women with and for others” and “contemplatives in action.” All of this involves a conscientious, active, and attentive dedication to discernment in both spiritual matters and the prudential applications of living them out in our individual lives and the public square. We argue that the immigration crisis in this country, understood of course not in terms of their arrival but rather our oftentimes failed responses as a church and nation to appreciate them as brothers and sisters and not statistics, proves one place, among many, where Jesuit education can serve as a vanguard in informing and helping to shape discourse by making a substantive contribution from a principled Catholic perspective. Our work, as a morally-committed endeavor, has sought to accomplish such a goal. We consistently and strenuously reaffirm our commitment to this process and to allowing ourselves to be inspired. Interestingly, roughly 10 percent of the members of Congress have undergraduate or advanced degrees from AJCU schools. Life in the public square should, and in many cases does, reflect the good being done by so many on our campuses to stand in solidarity with all students, immigrant and not.

When Emma Lazarus wrote “The New Colossus,” about the new Statue of Liberty erected a few miles from where Fordham and St. Peter’s Universities already existed, there was, as there is now, nativist and parochial criticism about its message. Lazarus had been deeply troubled by the ongoing persecution of eastern European and Russian Jews and by the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, a law severely restricting immigration to the United States.⁴⁰ Her sonnet ultimately linked the Statue forever in the American imagination with those “huddled masses” who arrive here from elsewhere generation after generation. I have here used her less familiar allusion to the “Mother of exiles” to ask if it can inform the approach we have taken to our research, mission, identity, and communities. The land that served as such a Mother to so many exiles associated with Jesuit education, members of that Society and in the intervening years of all societies, is today in yet another period of turmoil when it comes to recognizing the rights and dignity of those “yearning to breathe free.” Without denying the multifaceted challenges associated with immigration policy and its related socioeconomic, security, and governance concerns, our research has been framed by a moral duty to see what so many call our *alma mater* anew through the lens of this *mater exulum*. Our research findings argue that if the whole Jesuit network of higher education in the United States were to become more fully engaged in the challenges and issues of undocumented students, an engagement rooted in the history and principles of Ignatius and his followers through the years, then other colleges and universities could be emboldened with their own unique senses of mission and identity to exercise new models of leadership in related areas. Through its research and broad support,

this study has sought to explain the current situation and practices at Jesuit institutions surrounding some of the most vulnerable members of our society and to examine the concerns and perceptions of students, staff, faculty, and alumni on critical issues related to their development, well-being, flourishing, safety, and contribution to society. We have tried to present a deeper understanding of the complex lives of undocumented students with the hope that our research will generate more public compassion for them, a compassion that has its roots in who we collectively have been as a network, and who we are now called to be.

Notes

1. Wheeling Jesuit University is a notable exception. While it has a unique identity and mission focused to a large degree on native-born, first-generation college students in Appalachia, even that institution is not divorced from many of the commitments to the marginalized and to social mobility, which will be discussed here.
2. AJCU presidents' statement—January 2013. Accessed July 11, 2015, www.fairfield.edu/immigrantstudent.
3. See for instance Gerald McKevitt, S.J., "Jesuit Schools in the USA, 1814–c.1970," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits*, ed. Thomas Worcester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) 278–297; and Raymond A. Schroth, S.J., *The American Jesuits: A History* (New York: New York University Press, 2007).
4. Wilfrid P. Schoenberg, S.J., *Gonzaga University, Seventy Five Years* (Spokane, Wash.: Gonzaga University, 1963).
5. See Thomas M. Cohen, "Racial and Ethnic Minorities in the Society of Jesus," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits*, ed. Thomas Worcester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 199–214, at 206.
6. For more on this, see the Jesuit Plantation Project through Georgetown University.
7. Schroth, *American Jesuits*, 71.
8. *Findings and Implications of a National Survey of Knowledge and Opinion of Key Groups Regarding Jesuit Higher Education in the U.S., Volume III: Selected Verbatim Comments of Participants* (Greenwich, Conn.: Nowland and Company, March 1964).
9. *The Characteristics of Jesuit Education, 1986*. Produced by the General Curia of the Society of Jesus, Borgo Santo Spirito, 5, 00193, Rome Italy, December, 1986.
10. 2010 AJCU Mission and Apostolate Statement.
11. John P. Leary, S.J., ed., *I Lift My Lamp: Jesuits in America* (Westminster, Md.: The Newman Press, 1955), ix.
12. John W. O'Malley, S.J., "How the First Jesuits Became Involved in Education" in *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum: 400th Anniversary Perspectives*, ed. Vincent J. Duminuco, S.J. (New York: Fordham University Press, 2000), 66. See also O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), esp. 200–242.
13. O'Malley, "Became Involved in Education," 67.
14. For more on the Ratio Studiorum, the official pedagogical system at the heart of Jesuit education for centuries, see the full text itself, available online in English at www.bc.edu/sites/libraries/ratio/ratio1599.pdf, accessed July 11, 2015. Also helpful is Robert Schwickerath, S.J., *Jesuit Education: Its History and Principles Viewed in Light of Modern Educational Problems* (St. Louis, Mo.: Herder, 1903). Of course, "modern" here is a relative term when considering the Ratio Studiorum was already in use for three hundred years at the time of this work's publication. It still inspires programs on Jesuit campuses today, notably the University of Scranton's Special Jesuit Liberal Arts (SJLA) honors cohort.
15. Michael Foss, *The Founding of the Jesuits* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1969), 176.
16. *Ibid.*, 164.
17. See Thomas Hughes, S.J., *Loyola and the Educational System of the Jesuits* (New York: Scribner's, 1901), 67.
18. McKevitt, "Jesuit Schools in the USA," 278.
19. For more on this, see Schroth, especially 58–76.
20. For more on this period, see Robert E. Scully, S.J., "The Suppression of the Society of Jesus: A Perfect Storm in the Age of 'Enlightenment,'" *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 45/2 (Summer 2013): 1–42.
21. McKevitt, "Jesuit Schools in the USA," 278.
22. *Ibid.*, 279.
23. *Ibid.*, 281.

24. *Ibid.*, 282.
25. Paul Vallely, *Pope Francis: Untying the Knots* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 50.
26. See for instance Pope Francis, *Homily in the Salina Quarter of Lampedusa*, 8 July 2013. http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/francesco/homilies/2013/documents/papa-francesco_20130708_omelia-lampedusa_en.html, accessed July 11, 2015, and his Message for the 2015 World Day of Migrants and Refugees, where he calls for a “church without borders [*fronteras*], mother to all.” Of related note is his commitment to end the scourge of human trafficking, which involves forced migration. See the *Joint Declaration Against Modern Slavery*.
27. Pope Francis, *Homily in the Salina Quarter of Lampedusa*, 8 July 2013. Accessed July 11, 2015, http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/francesco/homilies/2013/documents/papa-francesco_20130708_omelia-lampedusa_en.html.
28. *Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Catholic Church*, 164. The footnote to this definition alludes to related sources: Second Vatican Ecumenical Council, *Gaudium et Spes*, 26: AAS 58 (1966), 1046; cf. *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 1905–1912; John XXIII, Encyclical Letter *Mater et Magistra*: AAS 53 (1961), 417–421; John XXIII, Encyclical Letter *Pacem in Terris*: AAS 55 (1963), 272–273; Paul VI, Apostolic Letter *Octogesima Adveniens*, 46: AAS 63 (1971), 433–435.
29. *Compendium*, 165. The gendered language is obviously cited directly from the text.
30. Interestingly, roughly 10 percent of the members of Congress are included in this group, having undergraduate or advanced degrees from AJCU schools.
31. *Nostra Aetate*, 1.
32. See his Message for the 101st World Day of Migrants and Refugees (3 September 2014).
33. *Summa Theologica* (I–II, q. 64).
34. *Pacem in Terris*, 25.
35. AJCU presidents’ statement.
36. See Roger Haight, *Christian Spirituality for Seekers: Reflections on the Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius Loyola* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 2012). Other key resources in the tradition on discernment include Karl Rahner, “The Ignatian Logic of Existential Knowledge: Some Theological Problems in the Rules for Making an Election in St. Ignatius’s Spiritual Exercises,” abbreviated in English in *The Dynamic Element in the Church* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1954), and Jules J. Toner, *A Commentary on St. Ignatius’s Rules for the Discernment of Spirits* (St. Louis, Mo.: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1982).
37. Pope Francis, “A Big Heart Open to God,” interview in *America* 209 (30 September 2013):14–38.
38. AJCU presidents’ statement.
39. See USF’s web page for their Office of Diversity Engagement and Community Outreach, <https://www.usfca.edu/studentlife/undocumented>, accessed July 11, 2015.
40. For more on the Chinese Exclusion Act, see John Soennichsen, *The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882: Landmarks of the American Mosaic* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Greenwood, 2011). On Lazarus’s writing of the sonnet, see Alexandra Socarides, “The Poems (We Think) We Know: Emma Lazarus’s ‘The New Colossus,’” *Los Angeles Review of Books*, April 2, 2013, <http://lareviewofbooks.org/essay/the-poems-we-think-we-know-emma-lazarus-the-new-colossus>, accessed July 11, 2015.